

THE TENT, CAMEL, AND COFFEE
SAFEGUARDING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF
THE RUM VILLAGE BEDOUINS

by

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“As I stood there, the brown tents merging into the desert, I thought to myself, if there are men like these, Jordan will always be all right.”

From *Uneasy Lies the Head: The Autobiography of His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEZA	Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority
FES	Friends of the Environment Society
FOAH	Friends of Archaeology and Heritage
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
MedLiHer	Mediterranean Living Heritage
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOTA	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RFC	Royal Film Commission
RSCN	Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature
RTCS	Rum Tourism Cooperative Society
STDP	Second Tourism Development Project
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WRPA	Wadi Rum Protected Area

LIST OF TRANSLATIONS

ARABIC	ENGLISH
Al Dayf	Guest
Al Kayf	Personal enjoyment
Al Sayf	Sword
Badiya	Desert
Bedu	Desert dweller
Beit Al Sha'ar	House of Hair
Dabkeh	Foot stamping
Dihhyeh	Form of singing
Hejin	Camel
Hjeni	Form of singing
Huda	Form of singing
Jameed	Dried yogurt
Khubiz Shrak	Thin bread
Mansaf	The Traditional Jordanian Dish
Muharram	Sacred
Qasa'id	Poetry
Qaseeda	Poem
Qasood	Poet
Qassas	Desert tracker
Qat'a	The cut
Rababa	String instrument
Sahra	Evening gathering
Sheikh	Leader
Umm El Gheith	Rainmaking
Wasta	Network of contacts
Zarb	Traditional Bedouin meal

ABSTRACT

In an era marked by rapid globalization and modernization, Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) faces unprecedented threats, ranging from cultural homogenization to the erosion of traditional values and practices. This thesis addresses the critical importance of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of the Bedouins of Rum Village, located within Jordan's Wadi Rum Protected Area. Through an in-depth analysis of the Rum Village context, the study illustrates the potential threats to Bedouin heritage, including the erosion of traditional practices and the risk of cultural commodification. It advocates for empowering the local community through participatory approaches that involve Bedouins directly in decision-making processes related to heritage conservation and tourism management. The thesis proposes a collaborative framework that engages various stakeholders—local communities, government bodies, and NGOs to support community-led initiatives in protecting and promoting the ICH of Rum Village. By analyzing specific challenges and opportunities within the context of Rum Village and beyond, this work contributes to the larger discourse on ICH preservation, advocating for enhanced mechanisms and collaborative initiatives to protect our shared cultural legacy.

INTRODUCTION

The conservation of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) holds paramount importance in understanding the very fabric of human civilization and its diverse cultural expressions. This thesis delves into the concept of ICH, focusing on its preservation, significance, and the challenges it faces in the contemporary world, with a particular emphasis on the Bedouin culture in Jordan. Intangible cultural heritage, as recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), encompasses the practices, expressions, knowledge, and skills that communities, groups, and individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This heritage is not merely a relic of the past but a living component of societies, instrumental in fostering cultural diversity, social cohesion, and sustainable development.

Against the backdrop of globalization and modernization, ICH is increasingly vulnerable, necessitating concerted efforts for its safeguarding. The thesis underscores the role of local communities and international frameworks, particularly the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in preserving this heritage. Through the lens of the Bedouins in Jordan, specifically in Rum Village of the Wadi Rum Protected Area, this investigation explores how the interplay of local traditions, globalization, and tourism impacts the conservation and transmission of ICH. The Bedouin culture in Rum Village, with its rich oral traditions, social practices, and ecological knowledge, offers a compelling case study on the challenges and opportunities in preserving ICH amidst rapid socioeconomic changes.

This thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing discourse on ICH conservation by providing a comprehensive analysis of the factors influencing the safeguarding of

Bedouin cultural heritage. It seeks to highlight the importance of community-led approaches, education, legal frameworks, and sustainable tourism in ensuring the vitality of ICH for future generations. By examining the specific context of Rum Village within the Wadi Rum Protected Area, this study not only focuses on the intricacies of safeguarding Bedouin heritage but also offers broader insights on the conservation of ICH worldwide. This work endeavors to shed light on the significance of intangible cultural assets, advocating for enhanced mechanisms and collaborative initiatives to protect our shared cultural legacy.

Chapter 1: Intangible Cultural Heritage of Rum Village

1.1 Intangible Cultural Heritage Overview

1.1.1. Definition and Components

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) encompasses all non-material aspects of culture, showcasing the diverse living heritage of humanity and serving as a crucial promoter of cultural diversity.¹ The international community has recently acknowledged the importance of preserving intangible cultural heritage, resulting in the inception of the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003.² This convention aims to preserve humanity's living heritage, fostering creativity, cultural diversity, and the well-being of groups owning these practices and expressions. ICH encompasses various aspects such as practices, perceptions, knowledge, skills, artifacts, and cultural sites, considered integral to cultural heritage by groups and individuals. It's a heritage continually recreated by communities, adapting to their surroundings and historical interactions, nurturing a sense of identity. UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as:

“The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”³

¹ Federico Lenzerini, “Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples,” *European Journal of International Law* 22, no. 1 (February 2011): 101–20, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chr006>.

² Michelle L. Stefano and Peter Davis, *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2017), 11. <https://doi-org.libproxy1.usc.edu/10.4324/9781315716404>.

³ “The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2022 Edition” (UNESCO, 2022), Article 2.1. https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-2022_version-EN.pdf

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 outlines five general 'domains' representing the various expressions of intangible cultural heritage:

- Oral traditions and expressions

The scope of oral traditions and expressions includes a wide array of spoken mediums like proverbs, narratives, nursery rhymes, myths, songs, prayers, chants, dramatic performances, and beyond. These forms serve as conduits for transmitting knowledge, cultural and social values, as well as preserving collective memory within societies.⁴

- Performing arts

The performing arts encompass a wide spectrum, spanning vocal and instrumental music, dance, theater, and more. These forms of expression represent diverse cultural manifestations, showcasing human ingenuity and creativity.⁵

- Social practices, rituals, and festive events

Social practices, rituals, and festive events are routine behaviors integral to the cohesion of communities, shaping their collective identity and shared experiences. These activities, whether conducted publicly or privately, hold cultural significance as they commemorate important occasions, such as seasonal transitions, agricultural milestones, or life stages. They serve as expressions of a community's worldview, reflecting its historical narrative and cultural memory. Ranging from intimate gatherings to grand celebrations, these

⁴ UNESCO, “Intangible Cultural Heritage Intangible Cultural Heritage Domains”, page 4, <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01857-EN.pdf>.

⁵ UNESCO, “Intangible Cultural Heritage Intangible Cultural Heritage Domains”, 6.

customs are vital for strengthening social connections and nurturing a feeling of belonging within communities.⁶

- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe

Knowledge and customs regarding the natural world encompass a spectrum of understanding, expertise, abilities, rituals, and depictions shaped by communities through their engagement with the environment. These perceptions are articulated through language, oral heritage, sentiments of connection to specific locations, memories, spirituality, and overall worldview. They significantly mold societal norms, beliefs, and customs, playing a foundational role in various social and cultural practices. Moreover, they are intricately intertwined with the broader environment and the collective context of the community.⁷

- Traditional craftsmanship.

Traditional craftsmanship serves as one of the most tangible manifestations of intangible cultural heritage. However, the 2003 Convention emphasizes preserving the skills and know-how of craftsmanship rather than its tangible outputs. Efforts should focus on fostering artisanal continuation and knowledge dissemination within local communities.⁸

Intangible cultural heritage gains recognition as heritage solely through acknowledgment by the communities, groups, or individuals involved in its creation and transmission.

Safeguarding initiatives should actively involve these communities to ensure effective

⁶ UNESCO, “Intangible Cultural Heritage Intangible Cultural Heritage Domains”, 9.

⁷ UNESCO, “Intangible Cultural Heritage Intangible Cultural Heritage Domains”, 12.

⁸ UNESCO, “What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?” Intangible Cultural Heritage, accessed March 7, 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

preservation. "Safeguarding" involves various efforts to sustain intangible cultural heritage, including recognizing, recording, studying, preserving, promoting, enhancing, and transmitting it, with a focus on education and revitalization.⁹

Safeguarding ICH on the international level:

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage maintains representative lists featuring 678 elements corresponding to 140 countries which cover local practices, representations, expressions, and skills. UNESCO also provide support for safeguarding efforts including funding programs, projects, and activities. "The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" seeks to enhance recognition and understanding of important intangible cultural heritages, and "The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding" supports efforts to protect endangered cultural heritages. Moreover, the convention funds and promotes national, regional, and subregional safeguarding programs and projects, especially in developing countries.¹⁰

Safeguarding ICH on the national level:

The key requirements and measures for countries to safeguard important intangible cultural heritage within their territories are outlined by the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. It details how countries should identify, inventory, promote, and protect important intangible cultural practices and knowledge with the involvement of communities. They should identify cultural elements and create inventories with community participation, establish policies

⁹ UNESCO, 2003 Convention, Article 2.3.

¹⁰ UNESCO, 2003 Convention, Article 16.

and bodies to promote intangible cultural heritage, and support research, training, and access to safeguard heritage. In addition, communities should be involved in management and participation as well as public awareness and education programs.

Communities and groups that can identify and acknowledge elements of their intangible cultural heritage are empowered to establish methods for passing them down to future generations.¹¹ The 2003 Convention emphasized the essential involvement of individuals, groups, and communities in the conservation of their ICH, recognizing their unique ability to manage it. This includes conducting workshops within these communities to create inventory lists, and fostering participatory approaches for effective heritage conservation. Additionally, empowering elder members, who are custodians of intangible cultural heritage, to act as educators within their communities enhances heritage preservation efforts.

1.1.2. Significance of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Conserving and disseminating this heritage, given the importance of its cultural subjectivity and its impact on the prosperity of societies means the possibility of building capacities for dialogue among different cultures. Intangible cultural heritage and dialogue are inseparable, and one may realize how close and organic they are.¹² In this regard, it is prudent that we, the children and producers of this heritage, play our part in preserving it in its various dimensions so that we can pass it on to succeeding generations and achieve prosperity.

¹¹ Lenzerini, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples," 102.

¹² Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

The significance of intangible cultural heritage is not in its visual displays, but rather in the profound knowledge and expertise transmitted across generations through these cultural expressions. This heritage is passed down across ages, adapts to environments, and maintains identity and continuity over time. It doesn't isolate practices as specific to any culture but rather promotes social unity by nurturing individual and collective identities, fostering responsibility, and enhancing community bonds within society.¹³

Globalization has significantly impacted ICH worldwide, potentially causing its erosion and marginalization, and resulting in a loss of cultural significance, particularly among younger generations.¹⁴ Predictions also suggest that by the twenty-first century's end, one-third of the world's remaining languages may vanish, highlighting the urgency of preserving these invaluable aspects of ICH.¹⁵ This has prompted a growing awareness among heritage enthusiasts about the importance of reinforcing the connection between community heritage and youth identity. This equation has often given strength to those working in this sector, as it often evokes strong emotional responses, especially concerning the protection of human rights. The link between identity and heritage, by virtue of its interpretation from the analytical psychology perspective, is a process of intergenerational transfer.¹⁶ The transmission of ICH elements, such as stories and

¹³ “UNESCO - What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?” Intangible Cultural Heritage, accessed March 7, 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

¹⁴ Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

¹⁵ Natsuko Akagawa and Laurajane Smith, *Intangible Heritage: The Practices and Politics of Safeguarding* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 169.

¹⁶ Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

traditional arts, helps to uphold community values across generations, preserving a genuine historical identity.

Encouraging community involvement in preserving and revitalizing intangible cultural heritage is crucial, with governments promoting this through diverse strategies. These include initiating public discussions on heritage's social, educational, and cultural aspects, and developing specialized programs to raise awareness among people. Establishing an educational system valuing heritage and fostering transmission is vital, requiring collaboration among ministries, municipalities, and cultural institutions. Additionally, creating networks among various schools and cultural institutions aids in educating children and younger generations about intangible cultural heritage.¹⁷

Programs can be developed to disseminate elements of ICH in school curriculums, such as including handcrafts, traditional and popular singing and instruments in arts subjects, and possibly developing separate heritage curriculums. The need may arise to create a position to manage heritage in formal and non-formal educational institutions, to prepare suitable conditions and use global expertise to create a professional qualification system for managers of heritage-bearing communities and specialists and teachers. Media can be requested to disseminate information about best efforts to educate about intangible cultural heritage as well.

No matter how diverse educational methods are for heritage transmission plans, all of this must be interpreted within the broad framework of sustainable development. In

¹⁷ Michelle L. Stefano, “*Practical Considerations for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*”, (Routledge EBooks, 2021), 61. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003034216>.

all cases of safeguarding, factors such as gender, age and their impact on heritage transmission should be taken into account. It should be noted that including intangible cultural heritage in educational programs should not preclude positive adoption of changes in social and natural structures in a changing society. Transmitting heritage in a spirit of tolerance should also be encouraged in a society that may have diverse social backgrounds and origins. All of this may lead to increased interest in the profound meanings embodied in intangible cultural heritage and its relationship to other social practices.

Intangible heritage, akin to culture at large, undergoes continuous evolution and enrichment with each succeeding generation. Yet, numerous facets of intangible cultural heritage face endangerment, threatened by globalization, cultural uniformity, and insufficient acknowledgment. Without active preservation efforts, there's a risk of irretrievably losing or stagnating these traditions.¹⁸ For instance, during a UNESCO meeting in Tokyo in 2004, the Greenland Minister of Culture, Education, and Science criticized globalization, equating it to a modern form of colonization. She emphasized that while Greenland has numerous distinct names for snow and ice essential for hunters, many children are only familiar with a few. This scenario reflects a common phenomenon in today's world, where dominant societies' cultural norms and preferences become globalized, disadvantaging minority cultures. This trend leads to cultural domination and uniformity across local, national, and international levels. Ultimately,

¹⁸ Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

resulting in the establishment of standardized and stereotypical cultural patterns, undermining the significance of cultural diversity.¹⁹

Therefore, safeguarding this heritage involves unique strategies distinct from those employed for tangible landmarks. Sustaining intangible cultural heritage demands ongoing practice, learning, and transmission within and across communities. This ensures its vitality, relevance, and capacity to adapt to evolving cultural landscapes, thereby securing its legacy for future generations.

Because intangible culture evolves naturally, akin to water's flow, it inevitably leads to change. The disappearance of a component can challenge the identity of the heritage holders, especially amidst globalization introducing new cultural elements. New generations should recognize fading components as part of their heritage without assimilating emerging cultures. For instance, original Arab music is gradually fading as Western styles prevail.²⁰ Mu'tasem Adileh critically examines the impact of Western influence on Arabic music, arguing that there is a transformation in listening habits and media consumption, especially among the youth, favoring Western music and values, further distancing Arabic music from its cultural roots.²¹ Highlighting the importance of distinguishing between them, preservation efforts must respect this natural evolution, ensuring the fading elements are understood as part of the cultural heritage.

¹⁹ Michelle L. Stefano and Peter Davis, *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2017), 103.

²⁰ Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

²¹ Mu'tasem Adileh, "Arabic Music between the Hammer of Technological Creativity and the Anvil of Cultural Identity" *Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 42 (1): 145–63, (2011).
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41228646>.

In this context, prudence is essential in managing this intangible heritage, as it defies conventional preservation methods and embodies a fusion of intellectual, emotional, and interactive components. Experts in intangible cultural heritage must exercise great care, drawing on their profound understanding, while heritage custodians contribute to a dynamic heritage that reflects the diversity of contexts over time and space. This underscores the collaborative nature of heritage conservation, driven by humanity's innate desire to shape identity and heritage, which are intrinsic to human psychology.²² Therefore, any policy or strategy concerning this heritage should embrace this collaborative approach, ensuring it addresses the multifaceted aspects of cultural, social, and environmental resources.

1.2. Bedouin Heritage in Jordan

The tribal Bedouin system in Jordan was established long before the advent of Islam, or even Christianity.²³ The term "Bedouin" originates from the Arabic word "*Bedu*" which translates to "desert dweller" and is derived from the word "*Badiya*" (desert).²⁴ Bedouins in Jordan are groups of linked families that claimed lineage from a founding ancestor. They identified their system as segmentary, meaning that the tribe resembled a pyramid made up of segments or groups, each of which served as both a governmental and social organization.²⁵ Before the creation of the Emirate of Transjordan

²² Hani, Hayajneh, The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Challenges of Globalization. *Al-Ra'iy Newspaper*, Issue 14334, (January 2010).

²³ Jennifer Rowland, "Democracy and the Tribal System in Jordan: Tribalism as a Vehicle for Social Change," *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*, 2009, 12.
https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/749

²⁴ Nancy Allison Browning, "*I Am Bedu*": *The Changing Bedouin in a Changing World* (University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, 2013), 5.

<https://scholarworks.uark.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1902&context=etd>

²⁵ Hayley Mohan, "Jordanian Tribal Violence: Historical Context and Current Problems." (Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, 2010).

in 1921, at a time when the tribes were fairly autonomous relative to the power of the Ottoman Empire, the traditional authority of the Bedouin tribal Sheikh came from other sources: the prestige of their ancestors and their qualities as leaders and mediators with other tribes. This structure was appropriate for Jordan at the time because the population was generally nomadic and lived primarily through agriculture and livestock. With the establishment of a more powerful national government and the availability of military service, hospitals, and education, tribes gradually began to embrace more sedentary lives.

The evolution of the new state model, the development of the state bureaucracy, and the settlement policies have all contributed to the gradual loss of Jordan's nomadic Bedouin culture, and their traditions are at risk of being lost forever.²⁶ Moreover, Jordan lacks substantial awareness among its populace regarding their intangible cultural heritage and its role in shaping national identity.²⁷ It is crucial to recognize that individuals cannot solely be blamed for their disassociation and inability to identify these heritage elements, as the mismanagement and overlapping of government roles heavily impact this understanding. For instance, communities lack decision-making authority and a sense of ownership, heritage sites are being damaged and cultural traditions are not being practiced, and Jordan's educational system teaches heritage only in terms of its economic value, leading communities to view their heritage solely as a source of income rather than an integral part of their identity.²⁸ Therefore, to better preserve its intangible

²⁶ Abdel Hakim K, Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan." *Human Social Sciences Human Social Sciences*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2007 <https://eservices.ju.edu.jo/HSS/Article/FullText/1909?volume=34&issue=2>.

²⁷ Hani Hayajneh, "The Legal Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," *The Legal Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2019, 87–115, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72983-1_6.

²⁸ Hayajneh, "The Legal Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," 111.

cultural heritage, Jordan should strengthen its efforts to connect these cultural elements with their respective custodians and communities. The primary focus should be on the conservation, protection, and eventual transmission of these elements to future generations.

1.2.1. Historical Overview

Jordan's Hashemite Kingdom was created in 1946 after breaking free from colonial connections. The British decree of Transjordan was established in April 1921 by an agreement among the British, the Hashemite family from Saudi Arabia, and the Bedouin tribes of southern Jordan. These groups fought against the Ottoman Empire and formed Transjordan.

Before World War 1, the Bedouins of Transjordan had a history of conflict and raiding, often attacking Muslim pilgrims traveling from Constantinople to Mecca. Protecting the Hajj caravan route was crucial for the Ottoman occupation leading to control of the region. Despite attempts to secure the route, the Bedouin's desert prowess enabled continued raids, prompting the Ottomans to pay them to cease attacks and safeguard pilgrims. However, In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the relationship between Ottomans and nomads shifted. The Hwaitat Bedouin, led by Auda Abu Tayi, allied with British liaison T. E. Lawrence to challenge the Ottoman rule. Supported by Sherif Hussein ibn Ali of Mecca, they aimed for a unified Arab state, launching a campaign against the Ottomans. This uprising altered the political landscape, leading to the end of Ottoman rule.²⁹

²⁹ Laura Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", (McMaster University, October 2012), 63-65 <https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/12362>.

Emir Abdullah, from the Hashemite family, who subsequently became King Abdullah I, oversaw Transjordan's 300-400,000 inhabitants, of whom approximately 80% were nomadic.³⁰ The major tribes existing in the Emirate of Transjordan at the beginning of its formation were the Bani Sakhr in the north, the Adwan in the Jordan Valley, and the Huwaytat in the South. Rwala nomads roamed around Wadi Sirhan while The Beni Khaled, Beni Hassan, and Sirhan were minor tribes who lived on the outskirts of the capital Amman. During the winter, the tribes traveled from the highlands to the desert and Wadi Araba in the east, but during the hot summer months, they migrated to the cooler mountains in the north. In 1929, the British policy of settling the Bedouin gave tribes no control over the territories they roamed. They only had rights to the summer settlements, where they were able to farm. The Bani Sakhr were allocated land on the fringes of Amman and in the Jordan Valley, while other Huwaytat clans obtained territory in the Sharah Mountains and Wadi Araba.³¹

³⁰ Mikkel Bille, *Being Bedouin Around Petra: Life at a World Heritage Site in the Twenty-First Century*, (Berghahn Books, 2019), 1-26 <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12pnrqm>.

³¹ Nadine Méouchy, Norig Neveu and Myriam Ababsa, “*The Hashemites and the creation of Transjordan. Atlas of Jordan: History, territories and society*” (2013), 212-21. <https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/5010?lang=en>.

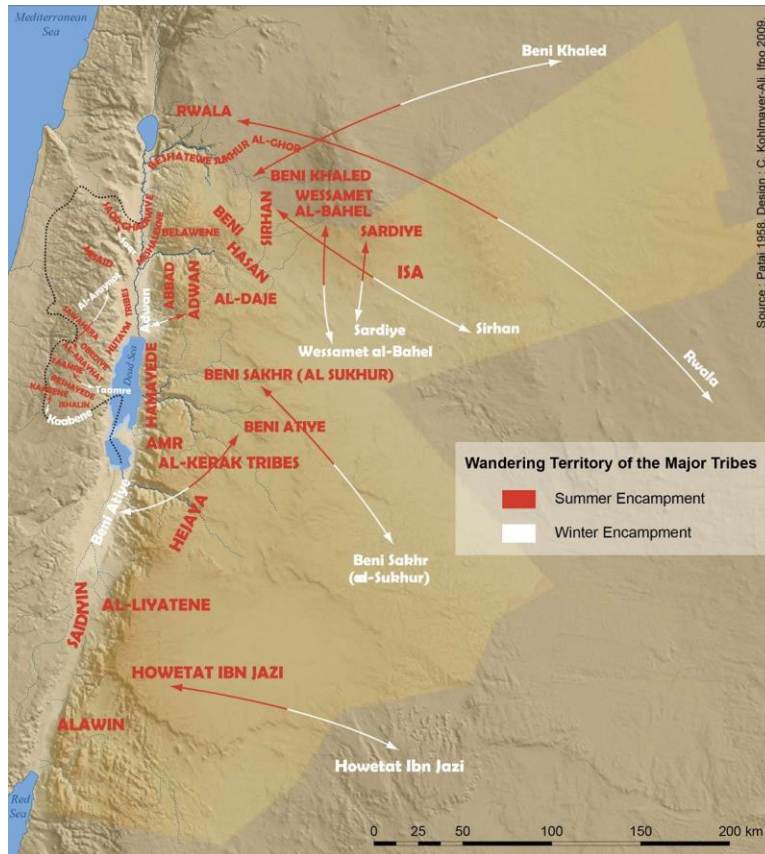


Figure 1. 1. Wandering Territory of Jordan's Major Bedouin Tribes. Map from Atlas of Jordan.

The tribal system was well-suited for Jordan's historical context, where the population was predominantly nomadic, relying on agriculture and livestock as their way of life. Tribes progressively evolved toward a more settled lifestyle when a more centralized government emerged in the 1930s, along with the introduction of services such as military, healthcare, and education.³² While Bedouins historically led nomadic lives, aspects of their nomadic ways began to diminish over the decades. The shift towards a sedentary lifestyle involved giving up certain nomadic practices such as migration, tent dwelling, and pastoralism. Modernization, coupled with evolving socio-

³² Peter Dicampo, "The Effects of Modernization on the Bedouin Populations of Jordan." (*Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection, 2004*) https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1524&context=isp_collection.

political dynamics, influenced Bedouin communities to adapt to a more settled existence.³³

Additionally, economic factors and opportunities in urban areas such as employment, education, and healthcare contributed to the allure of a sedentary lifestyle.³⁴ A new generation began to reside in towns, obtaining higher education and starting new professional jobs while yet retaining close ties with their native villages and tribes. This process contributed to the preservation of Bedouin traditions and values among these city residents.³⁵

1.2.2. Key Elements of Bedouin Heritage

The Bedouin heritage in Jordan is multifaceted, comprising various cultural practices and both tangible and intangible elements. The Bedouin heritage in Jordan is deeply rooted in their clan system, which plays a pivotal role in their social structure and identity.³⁶ The tribal system organizes Bedouin society into distinct familial groups, each with its own leadership, customs, and traditions. This system fosters a strong sense of community and mutual support among clan members, shaping their interactions and collective identity.³⁷

Honor and Pride

³³ Browning, “*I Am Bedu*”, 33-39.

³⁴ “The Opportunity for Legal Pluralism in Jordan.” *The Yale Review of International Studies*. January 25, 2021. <https://yris.yira.org/winter-issue/4650>.

³⁵ Geraldine Chatelard, “*Today’s Bedouin in Jordan*” (the French Cultural Centre, Amman, July 2008), 2. https://shs.hal.science/halshs01963959/file/Chatelard_Today_bedouins_Jordan.pdf.

³⁶ Mikkel Bille, “*The Samer, the Saint and the Shaman: Ordering Bedouin Heritage in Jordan*.” (January 2013) 101–26. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004249226_006.

³⁷ Browning, “*I Am Bedu*”, 23-31.

Bedouin society typically follows a patriarchal structure characterized by traditional gender roles where men hold primary authority and decision-making power within the family and society. The notions of manhood are significant within Bedouin culture, often tied to ideals of strength, honor, and responsibility.³⁸ The Bedouin concept of manhood encompasses roles as protectors and providers for their families and communities, shaping their behaviors and social interactions.³⁹ Marinaki's article tackles the concept of "Bedouinism" and examines "manhood" as self-identification as perceived through encounters with the "other." She states that the Zalabieh Bedouins of the Wadi Rum desert, chosen for their loyalty and integrity, staffed the army and police, thereby preserving and building state institutions. It also demonstrates, ironically, how their confidence in doing so gives them the bravery and audacity to challenge the State and its officials on specific concerns.⁴⁰ A feeling of honor is a vital masculine characteristic for Bedouins. To an extent, if a man loses his honor through actions or circumstances that are perceived as shameful or dishonorable within the community, such as violation of gender norms, sexual transgressions, and inability to settle disputes, he loses the ability to fully engage in Bedouin society, regardless of whether he keeps up his pastoral and nomadic lifestyle. This is why men make tremendous efforts to preserve and raise their honor, as well as that of their tribe.

³⁸ Nuzha Alhuzail, "The Meaning of Masculinity for Educated Young Bedouins." *British Journal of Psychology*, (April, 2023). <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12658>.

³⁹ Rula Odeh Alsawalqa, Maissa Nasr Alrawashdeh, and Shahedul Hasan, "Understanding the Man Box: The Link between Gender Socialization and Domestic Violence in Jordan." (October 2021) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e08264>.

⁴⁰ Katerina Marinaki, "Between Desert and State: Power Relations and Balance between Tradition and Modernity among the Zalabieh Bedouins of Wadi Rum Desert." *Social Sciences* 10 (3): 140. (2021) <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20211003.19>.

The welcome of guests and its rituals are practices that have resisted lifestyle changes: a man of honor must be generous to his guests and to the poor, even excessively so if he can afford it. Another element of honor is military bravery and all the activities that are linked to firearms, which the Bedouin continue to use for their celebrations even though it is against the law. Joining the armed forces, and more particularly the *Badia* or Desert Police remains a more legal and more respectable way of maintaining the traditional sense of bravery. Women's behavior is also an important aspect of family and tribal honor: values, high morals, and respect for the rules of separation between men and women are required, but this does not indicate a lack of character or invisibility. There are certain powerful female personalities in Bedouin society who command everyone's respect because they properly follow the rule of honor.⁴¹

Strong connection with the environment

The Bedouin heritage in Jordan is characterized by a strong connection with the environment, using simple techniques to provide fundamental needs like shelter and housing. The desert plays an important part in the formation of the distinct Bedouin identities. Their nomadic existence and intimate understanding of the land instilled a great appreciation for the environment and a sustainable way of life. This connection with the environment is reflected in their cultural practices, such as camel herding, ecological knowledge, and traditional craftsmanship and skills which have been passed down through generations.⁴²

⁴¹ Chatelard, “*Today’s Bedouin in Jordan*”, 5-7.

⁴² Na’amneh, Shunnaq, Tastasi, “The Modern Sociocultural Significance of the Jordanian Bedouin Tent.” 149–63.



Figure 1. 2. Hussam Zawaydeh in the Wadi Rum Desert. Photo by Author.

Physical culture

The Bedouin community's physical culture, including their traditional architecture, is a key element of their cultural heritage. The traditional Bedouin tent, referred to as "*Beit Al Sha'ar*" translates to "house of hair." This designation directly alludes to the tent material crafted from goat hair. The tent is extremely adaptable in its use both as domestic and public space. It is partitioned into distinct male and female spaces, visually represented by a curtain known as the "*Qat'a*" meaning "the cut." This serves as a clear symbol of the pronounced separation between the domains designated for males and females.⁴³

⁴³ Akram Rosheidat, "*Tribal Symbolism Within The Built Form in The Middle East*", (The University of Arizona 1989) 38-44. <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/555407>.

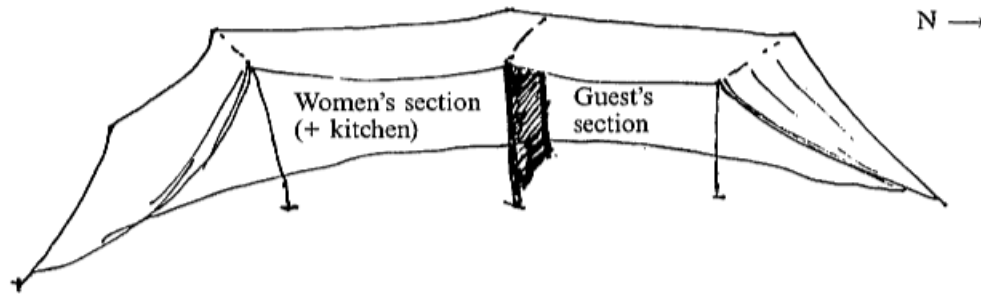


Figure 1. 3. Bedouin tent and its divisions. Image from Tovi Fenster, 1999. "Space for Gender: Cultural Roles of the Forbidden and the Permitted." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (2): 227–46. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d170227>.

The delineation between the two realms and their respective contents serves as a visual representation of the distinct roles, duties, and conduct within Bedouin society. While men primarily engage in exhibiting hospitality to guests, socializing, and participating in military endeavors. The women of the family maintain and erect the tent themselves or under their guidance. They construct the tent from readily available materials (goat hair and sheep's wool) and maintain it regularly.⁴⁴

The tent's symbolic function, in addition to its functional element, is to provide a real space for guests to enjoy the hospitality and protection of the owner of the home. The tent no longer signifies the Bedouin's mobility, but rather the preservation of their values and consequently their identity.

The designated area for women is termed the "*Muharram*" which translates to "sacred". In Bedouin culture, a desert code of honor ensures the sanctity of women. Only the husband is permitted in the "*Muharram*." Honor holds profound significance, serving as a sacred criterion for evaluating every man. The "*Muharram*" space functions as a

⁴⁴ Chatelard, "*Today's Bedouin in Jordan*", 3.

sanctuary, preserving the honor not only of the individual man but also of the tent and, extending further, of the entire tribe.⁴⁵

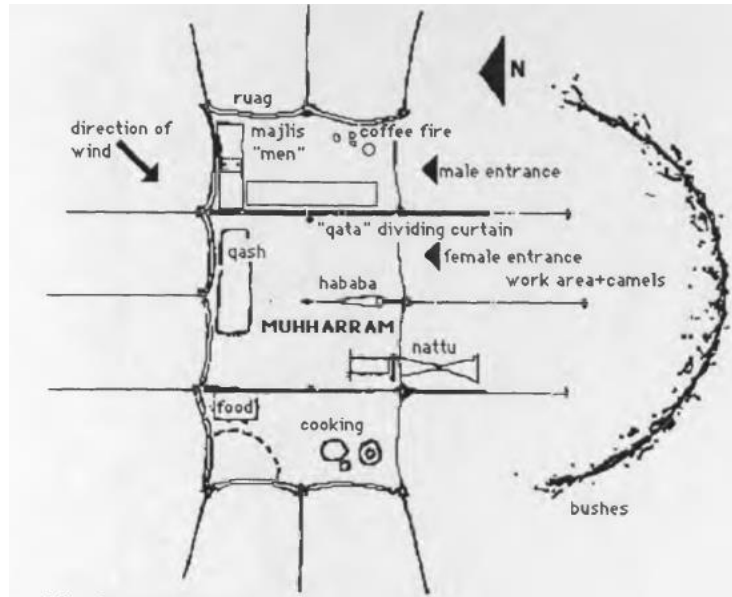


Figure 1. 4. The Bedouin Tent. Image from Akram Rosheidat, “Tribal Symbolism Within The Built Form in The Middle East”, (The University of Arizona,1989) 38-44. <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/555407>.

Furthermore, Na'amneh, Shunnaq, and Tastasi's investigation into the spatial features of the Bedouin tent highlights the cultural significance embedded in the physical environment, demonstrating the interconnectedness of tangible and intangible aspects of Bedouin heritage.⁴⁶

Mansaf: The Traditional Jordanian Dish

The national dish *Mansaf* symbolizes Jordanian identity and culinary heritage, widely enjoyed across urban, rural, and Bedouin regions. It fosters solidarity and collective identity, embodying significant social values within the Jordanian community.

⁴⁵ Rosheidat, “Tribal Symbolism Within The Built Form in The Middle East”, 38-44.

⁴⁶ Mahmoud Na'amneh, Mohammed Shunnaq, and Aysegi Tastasi, “The Modern Sociocultural Significance of the Jordanian Bedouin Tent.” (2008) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43123817>.

Classified under UNESCO's 2003 Convention as part of cultural practices, it reflects social rituals and festivities. Historically linked to Bedouin culture predating Hashemite rule, *Mansaf* is served at ceremonies ranging from joyous to mournful, marked by extensive community involvement. Rooted in an agro-pastoral lifestyle, it epitomizes a traditional culture where meat and yogurt are abundant, and hosts prioritize guest hospitality.

The traditional preparation of *Mansaf* involves layering “*Khubiz Shrak*”, a thin bread, soaked in a flavorful yogurt broth as the base. Rice covers the bread, followed by chunks of lamb or goat cooked in yogurt broth atop the rice. On special occasions, the animal's head is placed in the center. Pine nuts, almonds, and parsley garnish the dish, and dried yogurt broth “*Jameed*” is poured over it to keep it warm and moist. Eaten communally by hand, *Mansaf* holds significance among Jordanians, symbolizing security, respect, and honor for hosts, guests, and the meal itself.

The importance of *Mansaf* in communal ceremonies and its widespread adoption in Jordan stems from its communal nature, symbolizing solidarity and collective identity. It has persisted over time as a significant social practice, requiring expertise to prepare. Its preparation and consumption emphasize inclusivity, bringing people together regardless of age, ethnicity, or gender, further strengthening the bonds within Jordanian society. This unifying tradition is observed across urban, rural, and Bedouin areas, underlining its cultural significance and societal cohesion.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Hayajneh, “The Legal Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,” 148.

Bedouin oral and intangible expressions

Since the Bedouin culture is a pre-literate culture, that lacks a written tradition, intangible expressions serve as the vessel through which their entire cultural heritage is historically formed and sustained.⁴⁸ The Bedouins of Jordan have a rich and enduring heritage woven through oral traditions and folklore, reflecting the essence of their nomadic lifestyle and cultural identity. These traditions serve as vital repositories of historical narratives, social norms, and communal values, contributing significantly to the preservation of Bedouin cultural heritage. They also represent a very precious legacy for humanity, having evolved via a complex process of adaptation and connection between man and nature.

Scholarly research, such as Hood's exploration of Bedouin identity in Jordan, highlights the importance of performance traditions as integral components of Bedouin identity. Men's traditional song collection includes various genres performed accompanied by the “*Rababa*” (string instrument) or groups of men. Women's traditional song collection includes wedding songs, circumcision songs, and lullabies, among others. Bedouin poetry, known as “*Qasa'id*”, explores themes such as love, praise, honor, and historical events.⁴⁹ The “*Sahra*”, an evening party or gathering, is a main site for the recreation of Bedouin identity, featuring performances of poetry and music by men. Several academic studies contribute to a deeper understanding of the intangible cultural

⁴⁸ Mikkel Bille, “Assembling Heritage: Investigating the UNESCO Proclamation of Bedouin Intangible Heritage in Jordan.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18 (2): 107–23 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.599853>.

⁴⁹ Kathleen Hood and Mohammad Al-Oun, “*Changing Performance Traditions and Bedouin Identity in the North Badiya, Jordan*” *Nomadic Peoples* 18 (2): 78–99. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43123947>.

heritage of Bedouins in Jordan, emphasizing the need to safeguard these invaluable cultural treasures for future generations.

1.2.3. Socio-economic Context

Bedouins in Jordan, unlike those who live in other Middle Eastern countries, were regarded as the foundation of Jordanian identity and have been recognized from the state's inception.⁵⁰ During the course of the twentieth century, the Hashemite monarchy and state institutions put Bedouin authority into a national framework by encouraging the ancestral values of respect for authority, the individual autonomy of the head of family, honor, and hospitality. It is in large part thanks to this process that Bedouin identity has survived and is considered imported to Jordanian Nationalism.⁵¹

Jordanian heritage narratives are shaped by Jordan's complex history, which includes the royal family's roots in Bedouin culture. The Hashemite royal family claims Bedouin lineage and tribalism is regularly mentioned in their speeches on unity, solidarity, and tradition. For example, King Abdullah II reacted to the accusation that tribalism is unsuited for democracy by saying:

“We have a deep-rooted culture and a strong national fabric that makes us invincible to challenges. We are the inheritors of the Great Arab Revolt; the homeland of Arab Islamic Hashemite heritage and the country that is rich with its tribes that will remain the pillar of its strength, steadfastness, stability, and progress”⁵²

Bedouins who still reside in rural areas, maintain close ties to their ancestral lands and sustain their nomadic lifestyle.⁵³ Moreover, Bedouin customary laws and social

⁵⁰ Bille, “*Being Bedouin Around Petra*”, 10.

⁵¹ Chatelard, “*Today's Bedouin in Jordan*”, 5.

⁵² Bille, “*Being Bedouin Around Petra*”, 11.

⁵³ Mahmoud Na'amneh, Mohammed Shunnaq, and Ayseguï Tastasi, “The Modern Sociocultural Significance of the Jordanian Bedouin Tent.” (2008) 149–63. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43123817>.

structures, deeply rooted in tribal traditions, continue to shape their governance and interactions within broader Jordanian society.⁵⁴ Maintaining the social structure within Bedouin communities is crucial, emphasizing respect for elders and loyalty to the tribe. That is why members of parliament and modern figures of authority amongst the Bedouins, must convince everyone that they will know how to be of service to the whole community and each family individually.⁵⁵

The tribe system is still officially utilized in Jordan to "smooth things over" and as a means of social identification. For much of Jordan's population, tribes are the primary source of access to essential government aid and services via *Wasta*, which is similar to a personal network of contacts. Instead of being condemned as corruption, *Wasta* acts as a social and economic lubricant in the frequently tense exchanges among the state and society. Through such actions, the government reinforces and maintains tribal structures by depending on tribes to care for themselves.⁵⁶

1.2.4 Changing Dynamics and Challenges Faced by Bedouin Heritage

The Bedouin heritage in Jordan is experiencing changing dynamics and facing numerous challenges that arise from the impact of modernization and globalization, the erosion of traditional practices, and tourism. Donald P. Cole's essay, "Where Have the Bedouin Gone?" explores the transformation of Bedouin identity from nomadic

⁵⁴ Ann Furr and Muwafaq Al-Serhan, "Tribal Customary Law in Jordan." *South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business* *South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business*, Vol. 4: Iss. 2, Article 3. (2008) <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1055&context=scjilb>.

⁵⁵ Chatelard, "Today's Bedouin in Jordan", 5.

⁵⁶ Kristen Kao, "Do Jordan's Tribes Challenge or Strengthen the State?" *Washington Post*, May 28, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/05/28/do-jordans-tribes-challenge-or-strengthen-the-state/>.

pastoralists to sedentary individuals, highlighting the complexities of socioeconomic, political, and cultural changes that have significantly altered Bedouin life.⁵⁷

The Bedouin tribes in Jordan have been affected by the process of modernization. With the transformation of the country from a mandate to a nation-state, Bedouin tribes have faced changes in their social and economic systems.⁵⁸ The introduction of modern technologies, urbanization, and policies implemented by the government have disrupted their traditional nomadic lifestyle and brought about significant changes.

Additionally, the traditional knowledge, customs, and practices of the Bedouin heritage are gradually eroding as younger generations increasingly embrace modern ways of life and pursue formal education. there is a risk of losing traditional skills such as herding, weaving, and traditional medicine. This leads to a potential loss of cultural diversity and identity within the Bedouin community.

Tourism in Jordan also poses a threat to the Bedouin heritage. While it can bring economic opportunities, it also has the potential to disrupt the traditional Bedouin way of life and put pressure on their cultural heritage. Increased tourism has led to changes in the Bedouin lifestyle, as some Bedouin individuals shifted from their traditional occupations, such as herding, to engaging in tourist-related activities, altering their traditional way of life. The Bedouin lifestyle has traditionally been self-sufficient, but with the growth of

⁵⁷ Donald P. Cole, "Where Have the Bedouin Gone?", (2003) *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (2): 235–67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3318400>.

⁵⁸ Peter Dicampo, "The Effects of Modernization on the Bedouin Populations of Jordan." (Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection, 2004) https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1524&context=isp_collection.

tourism, some Bedouin communities have become increasingly dependent on tourist-related income, which may undermine their self-sufficiency and resilience.⁵⁹

All these factors have placed the intangible cultural heritage of Bedouins at risk of being lost. The number of truly nomadic Bedouins left in Jordan decreases each year. Those who still nomadically reside are mainly found in the southern areas of Jordan specifically Petra and Wadi Rum. These two places, which are major tourist attractions and historically significant for Jordan, arguably best represent Bedouin material culture and traditions today. On 25 November 2005, the Bedouins of Petra and Wadi Rum gained international recognition as UNESCO proclaimed the “The Cultural Space of the Bedouins in Petra and Wadi Rum” a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.⁶⁰ For my research, I will focus on the situation in Wadi Rum rather than Petra, even though both are strongly involved in the Jordanian heritage sector.

⁵⁹ Erika, “Self-Sufficiency and Tourism in the Wadi Rum Desert.” Field Study of the World, February 19, 2018. <https://www.fieldstudyoftheworld.com/self-sufficiency-tourism-wadi-rum-desert/>

⁶⁰ “National Assessment of the State of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Jordan.” MEDLIHER – Mediterranean Living Heritage, 32. Accessed February 13, 2024.

1.3. Intangible Cultural Heritage of Rum Village

The intangible cultural heritage of the Bedouins in Wadi Rum holds significant historical value for Jordan. This is largely due to political and historical factors. Wadi Rum served as the epicenter of the Great Revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1918, which solidified the Hashemites' rule in the region with the support of Bedouin tribes and the British government.⁶¹ It was noted earlier that the Hwaitat tribe, led by Auda Abu Tayi from Wadi Rum, collaborated with British soldier T.E. Lawrence and Sherif Hussein to oppose Ottoman rule and establish a unified Arab state. While much attention has been given to Lawrence's role in the Arab Revolt, today's Wadi Rum Bedouin regard Auda and their Hwaitat ancestors as the true heroes.⁶² This connection to national origins and military achievements contributed to the construction of a collective national memory, positioning Bedouins as emblematic of Jordanian national identity.

After the Arab revolt ended, British Captain Glubb arrived in Transjordan in 1931. He initiated the Desert Patrol, a specialized division of the Transjordanian army tasked with maintaining order in the desert. The primary objective was to suppress longstanding Bedouin tribal conflicts and eliminate their raids entirely. The Hwaitat tribes from Wadi Rum were the first major group in Transjordan to embrace Glubb's proposals, eventually forming the core of the Desert Mobile Force. According to elder males from Wadi Rum clans, Glubb initially focused on recruiting the sons of sheikhs or tribal leaders. Once convinced of the nobility of this cause, other Bedouin fathers readily

⁶¹ Mikkel Bille, "Assembling Heritage: Investigating the UNESCO Proclamation of Bedouin Intangible Heritage in Jordan." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18 (2): 107–23 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.599853>.

⁶² Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 65.

consented to their sons joining Glubb and the sheikh's offspring to defend their ruling family and nation.

During the Great Arab Revolt and for several decades thereafter, there were no settlements in or near Wadi Rum. The Bedouin continued to live in their traditional tents, crafted from the hair of their livestock. In the 1930s, a Desert Police Station was established near Jabal l Rum, now known as Rum Village. When families journeyed to Rum Spring, they pitched their tents there. The Wadi Rum clans remained largely isolated from developments in Transjordan due to their nomadic lifestyle. They had limited interactions with urban areas and were so deeply entrenched in the desert that they remained unaware of events like World War II. Initially, the transition of their homeland from a vast desert to a modern state had little impact on the Bedouin clans. However, over time, changes experienced elsewhere in Jordan gradually reached Wadi Rum.⁶³

1.3.1. Wadi Rum Protected Area

The Wadi Rum Protected Area (WRPA) is located in southern Jordan, near the Saudi border, about 290 kilometers south of Amman and 60 kilometers northeast of Aqaba. It forms a major part of the Hisma desert and covers an area of 74,200 hectares, roughly the size of New York City.⁶⁴ It represents almost one percent of the country, making it the largest protected area in Jordan and the Levant region.⁶⁵ Wadi Rum is known for its distinct cultural and natural heritage. This region has been inhabited for

⁶³ Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 66.

⁶⁴ "A Guide to Wadi Rum, Jordan." National Geographic, 17 Jan. 2016
www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/world-heritage/article/wadi-rum-jordan.

⁶⁵ "Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" document, UNESCO, January 2010.

thousands of years and has been shaped by its harsh environment. It has a diverse desert landscape with narrow canyons, natural arches, towering cliffs, huge landslides, and caves. The site's petroglyphs, inscriptions, and archaeological remains attest to 12,000 years of human occupation and interaction with nature. 25,000 rock carvings and 20,000 inscriptions trace the evolution of the human idea and the early development of the alphabet.⁶⁶ Wadi Rum also ranks as the second most visited site in Jordan and one of three significant tourist attractions in the southern region.⁶⁷ It was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2011, recognizing the significance of this heritage both nationally and internationally.



Figure 1. 5. Wadi Rum Landscape. Image by Author.

⁶⁶ “Wadi Rum Protected Area.” UNESCO World Heritage Center, 2011 whc.unesco.org/en/list/1377/.

⁶⁷ Laura Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, (McMaster University, October 2012), 114 <https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/12362>.



Figure 1. 6. Wadi Rum Rock Mountains. Image by Author.



Figure 1. 7. Thamudic Inscriptions. Image by Author.

The Wadi Rum Protected Area is home to numerous Bedouin tribes that have established their villages since the 1960s. The villages within or on the borders of the area include:

- Shakriyeh Village
- Disi Village
- Tuweiseh Villages
- Mnaishir Village
- Al Taweel Village
- Salhiyyeh Village
- Rashdiyeh Village
- Rum Village

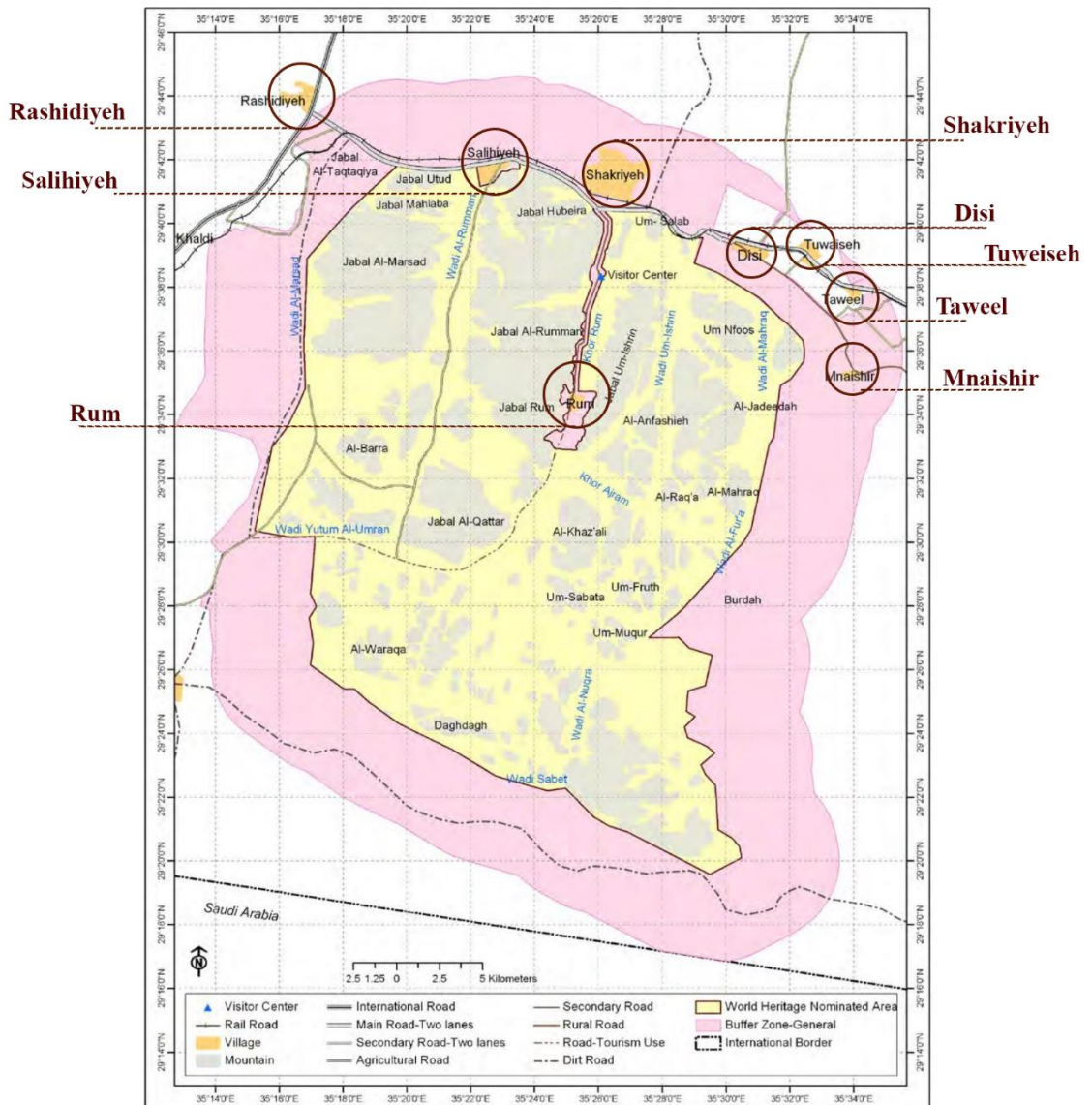


Figure 1. 8. Villages within the Wadi Rum Protected Area. Map from UNESCO World Heritage Centre

The inhabitants of the Shakriyeh village belong to the Swelhiyyin tribe who mainly rely on wage labor as their primary source of income, while only a few still practice pastoralism by herding goats and camels. The Disi and Tuweiseh villages are inhabited by members of the Zawayda tribe. The primary economic activity in these villages is government employment, followed by agricultural jobs. Additionally, tourism has become a growing source of supplementary income for members of the Rum Tourism Cooperative Society (RTCS), which is a society managed by villagers who distribute the

tourism industry among themselves. The Mnaishir and Taweel villages are occupied by individuals from the Mazanah, which was formerly a part of the Zawayda tribe. The majority of the population holds government jobs. There are also three additional Bedouin tribes living near the boundaries of the Protected Area: the 'Umran, Dbour, and Qudhman. These tribes are small and make their living from trading and raising livestock. They reside mainly in the Rashidiyya and Salhiyyeh villages.⁶⁸

1.3.2 Rum Village

In 1934 a fort was constructed in Wadi Rum as part of the Badia Desert Police, a specialized force tasked with overseeing desert borders and comprising solely of tribal members.⁶⁹ The region then saw the establishment of a military school in 1960, followed by a clinic in 1965, which marked the beginning of the small Rum Village.⁷⁰ In contrast to typical Jordanian villages and those surrounding the Protected Area, Rum Village is relatively small, boasting a population of approximately 2000 individuals, a rise from 1499 in 2010 and 1132 in 2004 according to census data at the time.⁷¹ Originally nomadic and tent-dwelling, the inhabitants of Rum Village, belonging to the Zalabiya tribe, trace their ancestry back to the Aniza tribe, having inhabited the region for over 350 years. The Zalabiya tribe is subdivided into numerous branches, including the Salmaniyyin, Awaadiyyin, Rabaa'in, Hamdaniyyin, Muhammadiyyin, Samran, Aidiyyin, Zaidaniyyin, Aliyyin, Balawinah, Mua'taqah, and Qabaliyyin. Relying on tourism for sustenance, the

⁶⁸ "Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" document, UNESCO, 63-66.

⁶⁹ Geraldine Chatelard, "Tourism and Representations: Of Social Change and Power Relations in Wadi Ramm" Beyrouth & Amman: institute Francis du Proche-Orient (IFPO) 2005
<http://wadiram.userhome.ch/fichiers/Tourism%20and%20representations.doc>.

⁷⁰ "Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" document, UNESCO, 63-66.

⁷¹ Mufleh Al Adwan, "رم: سحر المكان... ومعاناة الإنسان" AIRa'i Newspaper, December 15, 2016.

villagers engage in activities such as transporting tourists, camping, serving as tour guides, and some find employment at the military school. A small percentage of villagers earn a living through sheep and camel husbandry⁷². Over the past two decades, the village has seen significant growth both in size and population, attributed to factors including the establishment and development of the Wadi Rum Protected Area, alongside the notable surge in tourism since the mid-1980s, leading to a shift in the local economy from traditional pastoralism to modern tourism. Additional contributing factors encompass the heightened occurrence of drought periods and government initiatives aimed at settling Bedouins, offering essential services, and supporting developments such as schools, paved roads, and basic utilities.



Figure 1. 9. Rum Village Location within WRPA. Maps by Author.

⁷² Mufleh Al Adwan, “رم: سحر المكان... ومعاناة الإنسان”, *AlRa'i Newspaper*, December 15, 2016.

1.3.3 Intangible Cultural Heritage of Rum Village

Oral Traditions and Folklore

Within the pre-literate Bedouin society, storytelling functions as a crucial mechanism for imparting the entire system of Bedouin values from one generation to the next. These stories are integral to the broader collection of Jordanian folklore, focusing primarily on societal realities deeply rooted in historical context.⁷³ An illustrative example is Khalf ibn Da'ijaa, a renowned historical figure among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum. He was a respected Arab warrior who played a significant role in battles and commanded admiration across the Arabian Peninsula. Within the storytelling tradition of Wadi Rum, his leadership and valor in guiding his tribe during conflicts are often recounted, portraying him as a revered figure esteemed within the Bedouin community.

Animal stories also hold a significant place in Bedouin oral tradition. Given the rich fauna of the Wadi Rum desert, both wild and domesticated animals feature prominently in Bedouin narratives, particularly in storytelling and poetry. The camel, in particular, stands out as the quintessential domestic animal accompanying Bedouins, central to various facets of their lives such as warfare, transportation, and communication. Bedouins express pride in their camels, evident in the customary practice of opening Bedouin poems (*Qaseeda*) with praises for the camel's beauty, strength, and speed.⁷⁴

⁷³ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 9.

⁷⁴ Al Husban, 7.

In the entire region's history, a distinct and unparalleled bond between the Bedouins and poetry can be discerned. Bedouin poetry serves as a vital medium for recounting significant events in Bedouin life, encompassing wars, droughts, tribal alliances, nature, and celestial phenomena. Essentially, Bedouin poetry functions as the primary means of documenting the entirety of Bedouin society, offering insights into their temporal and spatial perspectives, as well as their interdependent relationships with nature and neighboring communities.⁷⁵ During nighttime gatherings, Bedouins from various tribes exchange poems and songs, often discussing homeland ties and relationships with tribes transcending present Jordanian borders or fixed locations. This is especially evident in the proximity of the Al-Zalabieh tribe to the Jordanian-Saudi Arabian border, maintaining familial connections across borders.⁷⁶

Recounting tales of heroism and enjoying coffee are primary leisure pursuits for Bedouins, performed nightly. These narratives are accompanied by lengthy verses of poetry that parallel the events being described, serving purposes akin to classical Arabic poetry, including themes of love, conflict, and admiration. Bedouin values of generosity, gallantry, sacrifice, and nobility are highly esteemed and often extolled in their poetry and storytelling. The *Qaseeda*, a form of long poem, encompasses various themes such as tribal and historical events, eulogies, and descriptions of beloved figures. The performance of *Qaseeda* may be accompanied by a slow dance and soft hand clapping by one or more women, with the performer known as the *Qasood*. It's essential to recognize

⁷⁵ Al Husban, 9.

⁷⁶ Olivia Mason, "A Political Geography of Walking in Jordan: Movement and Politics." *Political Geography* (June, 2021), 8. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102392>

that the *Qaseeda* represents a collective mode of oral expression within Bedouin culture.⁷⁷

The Bedouins of Rum Village regard folk music as a significant avenue for cultural expression, with Bedouin songs being a distinctive form of Jordanian popular music. These songs merge oral poetic texts with musical melodies, akin to other popular songs, and change over time, mirroring the societal and cultural evolution. Characterized by the flexibility, adaptability of melodies, popularity, and anonymity of their original composers, Bedouin folk songs reflect the Bedouin lifestyle, thus predominantly featuring serious themes. These songs primarily focus on social, political, and historical events, often of a challenging and painful nature, thus joyous or light-hearted themes are seldom found. Among Bedouins, songs expressing grief and sorrow are typically sung by women, particularly during times of mourning, such as upon receiving news of the death of a close relative. This genre of poetry delves into the philosophy surrounding life and death and typically comprises two thematic segments: the first part encapsulates the speaker's emotions of sorrow and grief upon receiving news of the death, while the second part honors the characteristics and legacy of the deceased individual during their lifetime.⁷⁸

Additional forms of singing within Bedouin culture encompass syllabic songs, *Huda*, *Hjeni*, and *Al Dihhyeh*. Syllabic songs are structured around one or more musical phrases that remain consistent over a fixed duration. Typically performed a cappella by a

⁷⁷ Al Husban “The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan”, 9.

⁷⁸ Al Husban “The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan”, 10.

group, these songs accompany various activities such as walking, dancing, working, or playing. *Huda* singing, originating from camel drivers and horsemen, serves to urge animals to move faster during long journeys or battles and holds significance in wedding traditions. These songs feature brief verbal and musical phrases. While resembling *Huda*, *Hjeni* singing often comprises extended passages with a simple, tranquil rhythm. Derived from the Arabic word for camels, "*Hejin*," *Hjeni* singing is commonly performed while riding camels, involving two men with one echoing the words of the other. This style aids Bedouins during arduous desert journeys. Each song consists of multiple lines, with every pair of lines featuring a unique rhyme.⁷⁹

B. Traditional Practices and Rituals

Hospitality is highlighted as a prominent aspect of Jordanian national identity, exemplifying how heritage politics leverages international acknowledgment of cultural richness. The connection between hospitality and the Jordanian people received global recognition in 2004 when UNESCO added it to the 'Harmony List for Cultural Practices'. In her acceptance speech, Jordanian Princess Basma bin Talal stressed that "Hospitality is a national asset to be cherished for its immeasurable value. It requires minimal effort yet yields significant benefits to our lives".⁸⁰ Additionally, the renowned tradition of hospitality is inseparable from the presence of coffee. For Bedouins, coffee transcends

⁷⁹ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 10.

⁸⁰ Bille, "Assembling Heritage: Investigating the UNESCO Proclamation of Bedouin Intangible Heritage in Jordan." 112.

mere refreshment; its presence in every household signifies the host's perpetual readiness to welcome guests.⁸¹

Coffee holds a central position in the daily life of Bedouins. The act of making and consuming coffee is reserved for the Sheikh's tent, where both his people and guests gather. The preparation of coffee is a ceremonial ritual, requiring meticulous adherence to specific steps to achieve the desired flavor profile. The art of coffee preparation involves various intricacies, including roasting, brewing, and precise measurements of water, each of which can significantly impact the quality of the coffee.

In Wadi Rum, Bedouins serve coffee on three distinct occasions: for guests “*Al Dayf*”, for personal enjoyment “*Al Kayf*”, and ceremonial purposes known as “*Al Sayf*” (for sword). When welcoming a guest, coffee is the first offering extended to them upon arrival. The act of accepting and drinking the coffee signals the establishment of normal and cordial relations between the guest and the host. Subsequently, discussions regarding the purpose of the visit ensue, whether it involves requests, needs, or problem-solving. For personal enjoyment, coffee serves as the primary beverage for both men and women, symbolizing maturity, and is often consumed at regular intervals. The person designated to serve coffee distributes it to each present, starting from their right. Lastly, coffee is consumed “for sword” during solemn vows of revenge. In this context, the individual consuming the coffee pledges to avenge wrongdoing, symbolized by drinking a cup of

⁸¹ Ahmed Bani Mustafa, “Untold Bedouin Traditions Still Alive in Wadi Rum”, Jordan Times, (October 2, 2017). <https://jordantimes.com/news/local/untold-bedouin-traditions-still-alive-wadi-rum>

coffee and then breaking the cup. They refrain from drinking coffee until they fulfill their mission.⁸²

Regarding the culinary traditions of the desert, Wadi Rum is renowned for a unique cooking method known as "*Zarb*." This centuries-old technique involves Bedouins digging a hole in the ground, placing food on hot coals, and covering it for a duration of two to three hours.⁸³ Additionally, a traditional Bedouin custom is the "*Dabkeh*," which translates to 'foot stamping.' It is a dance typically performed by men during weddings and celebrations, featuring a series of lively rhythmic songs punctuated by audible foot stamping. There is also a variation of *Dabkeh* performed by women, substituting foot stamping with hand clapping.⁸⁴

⁸² Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 8.

⁸³ Ahmed Bani Mustafa, "Untold Bedouin Traditions Still Alive in Wadi Rum", *Jordan Times*, (October 2, 2017). <https://jordantimes.com/news/local/untold-bedouin-traditions-still-alive-wadi-rum>.

⁸⁴ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 10.



Figure 1. 10. Zarb preparations in Wadi Rum. 2018. Image by Amanda Ruggeri.

Seasonal festivities and rituals constitute a significant aspect of the intangible cultural heritage of Wadi Rum. Similar to many indigenous societies, the Bedouin community perceives nature as an integral component of human existence, one that can be influenced and even controlled. Believing in their ability to manipulate rainfall, the Bedouins employ rituals such as “*Umm El Gheith*” (Rainmaking) as a means to regulate nature and encourage the skies to provide the necessary water for themselves and their herds. Consequently, the Bedouins of Wadi Rum traditionally organize annual ceremonies aimed at inducing rain. These rainmaking ceremonies commence when a particular clan or segment of a tribe establishes the date and time for the event, inviting other clans to participate. Women from various tribes and clans gather to plant flags into the earth, while camels are assembled, and vessels typically used for water transportation are placed empty on their backs. Subsequently, families bring forth goats or sheep for

sacrifice and commence food preparation. Throughout the ceremony, discussions about rain ensue, accompanied by songs imploring the heavens for precipitation.⁸⁵

As reported by *The Jordan Times*, another customary practice observed in Wadi Rum involves a ritual performed upon the birth of a child. In this ritual, the father hunts for a scorpion, which he then burns and crushes. The resulting mixture is combined with olive oil and applied to the infant's body under the belief that it will offer protection from scorpion stings throughout the child's life. Abu Ryad, a resident of Wadi Rum, attested to the widespread adoption of this formula among infants in the area, claiming its efficacy in safeguarding them from scorpion stings. He recounted instances where individuals stung by scorpions experienced minimal pain, further endorsing the practice. Veterinarian Suzana Anati suggested that this practice might stimulate the production of antibodies against scorpion venom, thereby enhancing immunity. Additionally, Bedouins conduct "surgeries" on she-camels that become infertile. This involves removing the womb and treating any potential wounds with desert ants. Zeid Jwayan, another Wadi Rum resident, explained that after extracting the womb, they examine it for cuts and use ants to close them. This practice is deemed necessary due to the prolonged calf-bearing period, during which the womb may expand and develop cracks. Veterinarian Anati noted that contemporary veterinarians perform similar operations using surgical stitches instead of ants.⁸⁶

C. Indigenous Knowledge and Skills

⁸⁵ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 12.

⁸⁶ Mustafa, "Untold Bedouin Traditions Still Alive in Wadi Rum", *Jordan Times*, 2017.

The indigenous knowledge and skills of Bedouins encompass traditional craftsmanship, sustainable practices regarding the environment, and various practical skills. As mentioned earlier, Bedouins refer to their tents as "*Beit Al Sha'ar*," as these tents are crafted from handmade goats' hair and wool.⁸⁷ Crafting a medium-sized tent typically takes around two years and is primarily the work of women, who weave it using a simple loom fashioned by fixing pegs into the ground. These pegs support strings of mixed hair and wool, forming the warp, with additional strings woven across. The combination of hair and wool allows the tent material to contract and expand when exposed to rain, effectively preventing water penetration. Each component of the tent, from the wooden pillars and poles of varying heights to the ropes and pegs securing it, serves a specific function. The tent is divided into two to seven chambers, delineating spaces for guest reception, main gathering areas, and private sleeping quarters. Positioned on an elevated plane facing eastward, the tent offers a panoramic view of the surrounding landscape. For Bedouins, the tent embodies numerous abstract values, symbolizing honor, dignity, and mobility. Unlike permanent stone houses, which bind owners to a fixed location regardless of circumstances, the tent provides flexibility, enabling Bedouins to relocate when faced with unfavorable conditions or neighborhood dynamics.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Chatelard, "*Today's Bedouin in Jordan*", 3.

⁸⁸ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 7.



Figure 1. 11. Bedouin tent structure. Image by Amanda Ruggeri.

Desert tracking involves the expertise of specialized individuals known as “*Qassas*”, who possess the ability to follow footprints. These trackers fulfill various functions, including tracing lost animals, locating stolen livestock belonging to tribal groups or individuals, and recovering lost or stolen items within the Bedouin community. Numerous distinctive characteristics allow trackers to identify specific individuals based on their footprints. Variations in walking styles, such as the pressure exerted on toes, heels, or the sides of feet, create unique indentations in the sand.

Furthermore, Bedouin trackers can differentiate between the footprints of men and women, even discerning the traces of a pregnant woman, even if she is wearing footwear. This specialized knowledge is intrinsic to the Bedouin culture of Wadi Rum, evolving from a nuanced relationship between humans and the unique desert habitat.

However, this knowledge is at risk of disappearing, as only a few elderly trackers possess these skills, and their numbers are diminishing over time.⁸⁹

Bedouins possess extensive knowledge of the numerous species of plants and herbs found in the southern region of Jordan. Alongside identification, they have a profound understanding of the various uses of these plants and herbs, including their utility as animal fodder and their nutritional value for human consumption. One notable plant in Wadi Rum is the "*Al Ajram*" plant, which, when mixed with water, produces a foam-like substance that Bedouins use for handwashing, often referred to as "The Bedouin Soap." Additionally, Bedouins can identify plants containing poisonous substances that may pose harm to themselves or their animals. Their comprehensive knowledge of flora enables Bedouins to harness nature and develop various medicines and healing techniques for addressing a wide range of diseases and health issues specific to their region. This wealth of knowledge stems from a sophisticated interaction between Bedouins and their natural environment, wherein the plants and herbs thrive.

This intimate understanding of flora signifies a unique cognitive relationship between Bedouins and the ecology of Wadi Rum. It underscores the Bedouin belief that nature is an inseparable part of human existence, with both entities intertwined. Indeed, Bedouins perceive themselves as inherently connected to their surroundings, with nature being an integral aspect of their identity.⁹⁰ For instance, Muhammad al-Zalabiya, who emphasizes the significance of upbringing over ancestry, highlights the deep-rooted

⁸⁹ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 11.

⁹⁰ Al Husban "The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan", 14.

connection that Bedouins have with Wadi Rum. Despite their ancestors' migration to the region when geographical borders were more fluid, Bedouins in Rum Village consider themselves as the people of Wadi Rum. “We are the people of this region. Even when a tourist gets lost, the specialized agencies rely on us; for we know the place inch by inch.”⁹¹

Rum Village stands out as one of the few areas in Jordan where the indigenous crafts, traditions, beliefs, and skills have survived for decades or even centuries. Their traditional folklore, Bedouin ceremonies, and rituals, as well as their traditional craftsmanship and sustainable practices adapted to the desert environment, have been passed down from generation to generation, retaining much of their authenticity and cultural expression. Nevertheless, some elements of this heritage are at risk of disappearing. In light of the significance of preserving and protecting these intangible expressions, UNESCO's incorporation of the Bedouin tribes of Wadi Rum, along with Bedouin tribes around Petra on its list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity aimed to motivate the Jordanian government, NGOs, and local communities to safeguard and promote their cultural heritage. However, a recent UNESCO evaluation of Jordan's efforts in preserving intangible cultural heritage highlighted several shortcomings. These include the absence of a centralized official body dedicated to addressing such issues, significant challenges in integrating cultural heritage concerns into the national strategic plan, limited financial support, and a lack of coordination among various stakeholders. Additionally, the deficiency of awareness programs emerges as a key issue, as many Jordanians lack an understanding of the true importance of their

⁹¹ Rasha Salameh, “أهالي وادي رم.. تمسك بالمكان”, www.hafryat.com. (September 1, 2019).

intangible cultural heritage and the numerous threats it faces, including those impacting the rich and deeply rooted living heritage of Wadi Rum.⁹²

My research centers on Rum Village, distinct from neighboring villages, despite sharing similar intangible cultural heritage. Rum Village's exclusive location within the protected area makes it particularly impacted by regulations and management plans that affects its intangible cultural heritage. The Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA) governs Rum Village exclusively, while nearby villages operate under different administrations despite proximity to WRPA. The villages of Salhia and Shakriyyah operate under the jurisdiction of the Queryira Municipality, while Ad Diseh and nearby Mazanah and Zawaydeh villages are managed locally. As they are not within the jurisdiction of the ASEZA, Bedouins in these villages, unlike the Bedouins in Rum Village have the freedom to access resources and lands, engage in agriculture, and maintain their customary lifestyles.

⁹² “National Assessment of the State of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Jordan.” MEDLIHER – Mediterranean Living Heritage. Accessed February 13, 2024.

Chapter 2: Governance and Management of Rum Village

Rum Village started to grow in 1971 as new housing units were constructed, however, with the increase in tourism in the mid-1980s, there were criticisms from visitors about the aesthetics of Rum Village as it was facing significant infrastructure issues.⁹³ Queen Noor, wife of the deceased King Hussein, experienced this personally during her trip to southern Jordan in 1988. Accounts suggest that during one of her visits to engage with the Bedouin tribes residing in Wadi Rum, she observed the challenging conditions faced by the local people.⁹⁴ Until the early 1990s, there were still problems with insufficient water and no access to electricity. Although the village had a clinic, it lacked essential medical equipment and supplies. Most of the streets, including the main municipal road, were unpaved. The region remained largely impoverished, and the majority of the population relied on tourism as a source of income. In late 1994, following a sudden increase in government interest, Rum Village was provided with additional services such as electricity, telephones, and water. However, the intensified competition among various stakeholders, specifically the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature (RSCN), Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA), and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA), for the future of the area made the situation more complicated.⁹⁵

⁹³ “Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” document, UNESCO, 63-66.

⁹⁴ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 79.

⁹⁵ Laurie Brand, “Development in Wadi Rum? State Bureaucracy, External Funders, and Civil Society”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 33(4), (2001), 574. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3594787>

2.1. Stakeholders

Since Rum Village lies within the boundaries of WRPA, it is governed and managed under ASEZA by laws.⁹⁶ The ASEZA is a distinct entity in the country, independent of individual ministries in terms of financial and administrative matters. It has jurisdiction over the entire Rum preserve and has the authority to use state land and property in the region as it deems necessary. While ASEZA is granted control over all land use in the area, MOTA considered any location that drew in tourists to be under its administrative responsibility. The RSCN on the other hand, commonly recognized as a non-governmental organization (NGO), has a public-service mission of safeguarding the wildlife in the kingdom's nature reserves with jurisdiction over environmental matters, including WRPA.

In late 1995 MOTA announced that no investment in Wadi Rum would be prohibited as long as it was based on a previous study. However, ASEZA argued that it had the final say about investment in Wadi Rum since it was under Aqaba district land regardless of its use. On the other hand, RSCN claimed prior jurisdiction over Wadi Rum as it was designated as a protected area in 1978. Another organization that had similar interests in protecting Wadi Rum's monuments was Friends of Archaeology and Heritage (FOAH). The only organization that seemed to balance environmental concerns with advocating for the local community of the village was The Friends of the Environment Society (FES). The local Bedouins on the other hand found themselves caught in the middle.

⁹⁶ “Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” document, UNESCO, January 2010.

By 1996, Wadi Rum experienced major growth in tourism. The Second Tourism Development Project was created by the World Bank, which included a plan for an alternative village. The proposal aimed to move Rum Village away from the core of the Protected Area to prevent the long-term effects of the village's urbanization on the area's potential land values. According to the World Bank document, the local population was consulted about the project. However, documents from the locals and NGOs concerned with the issue contradict this claim. For example, in a letter addressed by Mohammed Zalabiyah, one of the notables of Rum Village and president of the Tourism Cooperative Society (RTCS), expressed his complaint about the lack of consultation and coordination with the locals regarding plans to move the village to a new location. Zalabiyah pointed out that external investors were eager to invest in Wadi Rum, while the locals were left out of the decision-making process. He insisted that the locals had refused to move to the proposed site as it was unsuitable and would not allow for future expansion.⁹⁷ None of the Bedouin men or women thought that building a new village would help address the issues arising from an increasing population. Instead, they believed they had the right to stay in Wadi Rum even if it meant constructing homes on undesignated lands.⁹⁸

Zalabiyah called for appropriate consultation with the people of Rum Village to preserve their rights and later met with the late King Hussein bin Talal, who had a famous saying about Wadi Rum: "Wadi Rum belongs not to man but to humanity." When

⁹⁷ Brand, *"Development in Wadi Rum? State Bureaucracy, External Funders, and Civil Society"*, 571-590.

⁹⁸ Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 145.

he heard the complaints of the people of Rum Village, the king at the time ordered that no one should interfere with the affairs of the people of Rum at all.⁹⁹

Nonetheless, in 1998, the ASEZA created a comprehensive plan for the expansion of the Rum Village that included a defined organizational structure. One proposal was to establish a "village wall" that would restrict unregulated growth. The Jordanian government also defined the village boundaries, limiting the area to 404 dunums (approximately 40 hectares) to minimize the impact of the expansion on the Protected Area. Construction beyond these boundaries was strictly prohibited.¹⁰⁰ The World Bank document also included plans for "improving" current conditions, yet it did not address improvements within the village walls and spaces to benefit the Bedouins living. In fact, ASEZA enforced rigorous regulations and building codes limiting the village's outer and upward expansion. (Villagers are banned from building multiple stories) They also prohibited all forms of farming on WRPA lands, effectively preventing Bedouins from cultivating their ancestral territories. The establishment of WRPA, complete with conservation principles and a structured management plan, significantly changed the lives of the local tribes which led them eventually to oppose this shift. A frustrated Zalabiyah resident noted in 2002 that most Bedouins didn't comprehend the Reserve's regulations and viewed them as a threat to their traditional land management and governance.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Mufleh Al Adwan, "رم: سحر المكان... ومعاناة الإنسان", AlRa'i Newspaper, December 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁰ "Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" document, UNESCO, 64.

¹⁰¹ Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 109.



Figure 2. 1. Rum Village, viewed from the south. Image taken in 2019 by Matthew Cruickshank.



Figure 2. 2. Rum Village, viewed from Rakhabat Canyon. Image taken in 2019 by Matthew Cruickshank.

In her thesis titled "The Bedouin Know," Laura M. Strachan conducted interviews with the Bedouins of Rum Village, discussing alterations in the desert landscape and their livelihoods following the declaration of Wadi Rum as a conservation area. Strachan's fieldwork in 2007 involved a meeting with Judge Salhsalm Al Zalabiah in Wadi Rum, where he expressed significant discontentment with the regulatory measures enforced.

“Judge: They put into the heads of people these ideas so that they would sign the paper to protect us. Many things come up that people don’t know about such as the Visitor Centre. Now we can’t build in the village for our children. We can’t build one

room without asking ASEZA's permission. The village is not ours we were told. It is forbidden to build.

Laura: When did building become forbidden to the Bedouins of Rum Village?

Judge: Now when we go to responsible people they say "We can't give you lands inside the Reserve. We can give you lands outside instead." This divides families.

Laura: Who are the responsible people?

Judge: Dr. Bilal and the big ASEZA commissioner. They said that this is Rum but we can give you land outside of the protected area.

Laura: What were you trying to get permission for?

Judge: At the start of Mahmiah, there was a paper that said you can build inside of the village. Now there is a man who made problems with the building in Rum."

He clearly expressed his frustration regarding the extent to which they had relinquished control over what they previously believed to be their own, along with the unfulfilled commitments. Another resident of Rum village voiced his discontent, stating:

"They made the place after us who have been here 100 years – don't build outside, don't build second floor, don't go out of the wall, no lights in the streets,"¹⁰²

The villagers of Rum initially believed that the entrance to the WRPA would be situated south of their village, leaving them outside the protected area and undisturbed. However, the village was ultimately encompassed within the WRPA boundaries. Despite assurances from the RSCN that the Bedouin and their land would be safeguarded, and they could maintain their traditional way of life, ASEZA's stringent regulations significantly impacted their access to land and their perception of their status within the village and the WRPA. The Bedouin were not granted ownership of lands they had occupied for generations unless they had been formally claimed or registered previously. Additionally, the high fees required for obtaining building permits and plans, based on urban standards rather than rural contexts like Rum Village, caused further dissatisfaction

¹⁰² Interviews by Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 144.

among the villagers. They felt that applying urban regulations to their small village was unjust. Moreover, large empty lands were seized by the government and remained inaccessible to villagers leading to a sense that their long-standing occupation of the land was not being respected by the regulations imposed after the establishment of the protected area. Mohammad Al Zalabiyah stated:

“They said they would help, but no land and no home. Why take my family’s land and business and not give us land? Nobody listens to the Bedouins”¹⁰³

The limitations imposed by village regulations have significantly affected Bedouin pastoral customs as well. Families not only require land for housing but also sizable plots for keeping their livestock nearby. However, existing laws often allocate plots too small for young men to construct homes and accommodate their animals. Additionally, increased enforcement of village ordinances raises concerns that village livestock may vanish over time. All these land disputes and construction limitations pose fundamental challenges to Bedouin life. In Rum Village, the landscape holds profound significance; it is not merely a cluster of buildings but a symbol of ancestral ownership. It is the land where ancestors once tended to their livestock, worshipped, and sought refuge from the desert heat.

2.2. Development Projects

In the year 2002, the village began an extensive overhaul and enhancement of its infrastructure and appearance funded by the Second Tourism Development Project (STDP). The project aimed to rebuild plot walls using suitable materials such as rendering and painting. Unfinished homes would be rendered and painted as well. The

¹⁰³ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 150.

streets would be tidied by removing trash and waste. Landscaping efforts involving planting trees and desert bushes both on properties and elsewhere were also part of beautifying the area. Improving utilities like water distribution, sanitation, and solid waste disposal was another focus of the investment consistent with the recommendations of the World Bank report numbered 16485-JO from July 11, 1997.¹⁰⁴

Despite upgrades carried out in 2002-2003, the infrastructure in Rum Village remains substandard. According to observations by Strachan, Bedouins have raised concerns about persistent issues like unreliable electricity, inadequate street lighting, and water access problems. The construction of village walls has compounded these issues, with many perceiving it as a superficial effort to “beautify” the village's appearance for passing tourists. Behind these walls, the authentic Bedouin village is obscured from view, with residents feeling excluded from the decision-making process. According to Strachan, villagers were not consulted about the walls' construction or their potential impacts, nor were they given the opportunity to provide input on design specifics. While the Bedouin had previously built their own walls according to their preferences, the funding for the new walls did not support upgrades to existing structures or address concerns about the inner side facing Bedouin residences. Officials aimed to utilize remaining development funds to demonstrate progress to lenders, without adequately explaining how the walls would benefit the Bedouin communities. One villager stated:

"They are choking the life out of the Bedouin."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ “Second Tourism Development Project”, The World Bank Report No. 16485-JO, (July 11, 1997). <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/867791468752361147/text/multi0page.txt>.

¹⁰⁵ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 157-159.

Another Bedouin, Salem Al Zalabya, who holds various leadership positions in the community, recently posted pictures on the "Sons of Al Zalabya and Zawayda Tribes Forum" Facebook page in October 2021, showing the poor conditions of the village.¹⁰⁶



Figure 2. 3. Rum Village. Images taken in 2021 by Salam Al Zalabya.

Additionally, he wrote an emotional letter in Arabic criticizing the responsible authorities for neglecting the village. He wrote the following:

“My letter to whom it may concern,
This is the case of Wadi Rum
You who allege that Wadi Rum is full of activities and events...
...This is the case of the village of Wadi Rum, whose people built the tourist attraction that everyone praises today
This is the case of Wadi Rum village

¹⁰⁶ Salam Al Zalabya, "Sons of Al Zalabya and Zawayda Tribes Forum", Facebook, October 5, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/954650238388111/permalink/1214132235773242/>.

You who left the name of Wadi Rum...

...This is the village of Wadi Rum, O representatives of the southern desert, O people of promises

This is the case of the village of Wadi Rum, O Minister of Tourism...

...This is Wadi Rum and no other

Our children and tourists are at risk because of the inaction of those who are responsible...

...Be merciful with those on Earth and God will be merciful with you”

It's evident that the development of the Wadi Rum Protected Area prioritizes conservation and tourism projects, often neglecting the concerns of local Bedouin communities whose historical territories encompass the protected region. The very same Bedouin tribes in Wadi Rum, honored in 2005 on UNESCO's list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, now find themselves constrained under the guise of development and UNESCO protection. They were initially recognized for their rich oral traditions and nomadic skills deeply rooted in the landscape, which they now lack control over due to UNESCO's ‘tangible’ heritage. The inhabitants of Rum Village lead lifestyles that deviate from traditional Bedouin culture, no longer predominantly residing in black tents as they once did. Instead, due to UNESCO's policies on tangible heritage protection and national settlement initiatives, Rum Village has been confined within boundaries poorly suited to the Bedouin way of life, leaving limited space for erecting tents or raising animals. Bedouins have now transitioned to living in concrete structures and primarily earn their livelihood through participation in the tourism industry, offering guided tours, and selling souvenirs.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Bille, “Assembling Heritage: Investigating the UNESCO Proclamation of Bedouin Intangible Heritage in Jordan.” 107–23.

In the transformation of Rum Village's Bedouin way of life, there is a risk of losing the intangible elements that embody their heritage. Moreover, a significant portion of their cultural legacy remains poorly documented because the Bedouins are nomadic and traditionally oral in their communication, lacking written records. Their intangible cultural heritage has been preserved solely through oral tradition, passed down from one generation to the next. Elements such as their mythology, music, poetry, code of honor, and customs have not received sufficient scholarly attention over time, resulting in limited written documentation of the rich heritage that forms a vital part of their socio-cultural identity.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Abdel Hakim K, Al Husban “The Socio-Anthropological Value of Oral and Intangible Expressions of the Bedu in Southern Jordan.” *Human Social Sciences Human Social Sciences*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2007 <https://eservices.ju.edu.jo/HSS/Article/FullText/1909?volume=34&issue=2> .

Chapter 3: Challenges and Opportunities

3.1. Identifying Threats to Rum Village's Intangible Cultural Heritage

The establishment of the WRPA has threatened Rum Village's ICH, including the erasure of local narratives, loss of land control, and commercialization. Tourism and conservation development infringe on the lives of the Bedouin people living in Rum Village and its desert landscape, relegating them to serving the WRPA rather than protecting it as a cultural site. Initiatives and developments within the WRPA prioritize goals outlined in agreements between investors and private entities, rather than meeting the aspirations of local residents or the ecological needs of the area. This neglect results in a decline in overall quality of life and threatens the preservation of the community's intangible cultural heritage.

Before the establishment of the WRPA, the Bedouin tribes in Rum Village lived autonomously, without significant external interference in their customs, land management, or involvement in local tourism. The introduction of the protected area, with its focus on conservation and structured management plan represented a significant shift for the local Bedouins. They perceived that the WRPA did not effectively safeguard resources and marginalized them from decision-making processes. Many Bedouin individuals believed that WRPA imposed its authority on them, viewing it as an external burden rather than a collaborative effort.

3.1.1. Modernization and Globalization Challenges

Efforts to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of Rum Bedouins are inadequate despite its significance to Jordanian cultural identity. The "National

Assessment of the State of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Jordan”

highlights various risks threatening the ICH of Bedouins in Rum Village. These risks include:

- The change from nomadic to sedentary living has resulted in alterations or loss of many of the Bedouin's ICH.
- Bedouin skills, knowledge, and oral practices are quickly vanishing due to key shifts in the lifestyle of these people.
- Traditional poetry has declined, giving way to more commercialized and financially driven forms.
- Wedding traditions have also evolved, with shorter festivities and modern customs replacing traditional practices.
- The younger generation shows less interest in learning traditional songs and dances, leading to the gradual irrelevance of these oral and intangible expressions to them. In her study “Changing Performance Traditions and Bedouin Identity in The North Badiya, Jordan”, Hood states that “modern pop songs and dances seem more fun and interesting to them.”¹⁰⁹

Moreover, external donor like USAID also often prioritizes their own interests over those of the Bedouin they claim to support. Reports by Strachan demonstrate the inadequately brief funding periods that offer insufficient time for local organizations and staff to enhance their skills and capabilities; the scarcity and unreliability of job

¹⁰⁹ Hood and Al-Oun, “*Changing Performance Traditions and Bedouin Identity in the North Badiya, Jordan*”, 79-96.

opportunities; and the minimal assistance provided on-site to aid in the conservation efforts of the protected area.¹¹⁰

There are also growing misconceptions and misrepresentations of Bedouin culture that jeopardize the ICH of Wadi Rum. According to a survey carried out by the MedLiHer project in Jordan, urbanized Jordanians often hold stereotypes about Bedouins, viewing them as socially backward despite the diversity and adaptability of Bedouin culture.¹¹¹ Similarly, local ethnographies may freeze Bedouin culture in time, failing to acknowledge its regional and tribal diversity.

Another risk to the ICH of Rum Bedouins is the loss of local narratives and histories rooted in pastoral nomadism and oral culture due to the emergence of tourism-related narratives. The increasing local and international interest in Wadi Rum, which is now listed on both UNESCO's tangible and intangible heritage lists put decision-makers, including ASEZA, in a challenging position of ensuring the protection of the sites while concurrently preserving the ICH and involving the communities that carry this heritage, without negatively affecting them. Moreover, development and conservation plans focused on 'tangible' heritage and tourism management, frequently neglect the local interdependence between Bedouin people and the site. This marginalizes local communities, limiting their access to resources without offering adequate alternative development possibilities.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Strachan, "The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan", 202.

¹¹¹ "National Assessment of the State of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Jordan." MEDLIHER – Mediterranean Living Heritage.

¹¹² "National Assessment of the State of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Jordan." MEDLIHER – Mediterranean Living Heritage, 53.

For instance, the WRPA management plan included a prohibition on agriculture within its boundaries, effectively preventing Bedouins from farming on their ancestral lands. This restriction made Bedouins feel constrained in their movements and alienated from their own territory, perceiving it as an infringement on their traditional lifestyle and access to resources, rather than genuine environmental conservation. One Bedouin interviewed by Strachan stated:

“Will God give us lots of rain? Where is rain? Where is the manager? Why can’t we build? Government is a problem and we are people of the government. Protected land is not supposed to keep us from the land”¹¹³

Moreover, accusations in the past were made by the RSCN against Bedouins for illicitly gathering green wood, which they refuted. Bedouin cultural and religious values oppose the cutting of green wood, recognizing its importance as fodder for their livestock. Surprisingly, Bedouins in Rum Village asserted that illegal hunting and wood cutting had actually escalated following the establishment of the WRPA. One Bedouin stated:

“The Reserve should respect the Bedu culture because Bedu have always collected only dead wood and nothing else. We always avoided the cutting of a green tree in the past and present.”¹¹⁴

Another Bedouin expressed concerns about the detrimental impact caused by outsiders visiting Wadi Rum. He observed that young men disrupt the dunes with cars, engage in excessive rabbit hunting, damage plants, and create noise. This went against

¹¹³ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 110.

¹¹⁴ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 113.

Bedouin traditions of only taking what was needed. He felt the land no longer belonged to them.

Similarly, some locals reject the authority of WRPA, doubting its commitment to their protection. They suspect hidden agendas beyond local resource preservation. The Bedouin strongly resist WRPA due to its perceived facilitation of external groups assuming control over governance and tourism, sidelining the Bedouin's influence. Moreover, many Bedouins doubt the protected area's effectiveness in enhancing plant and animal life recovery. They believe that regional control shifts have deprioritized conservation in favor of tourism development.¹¹⁵

3.1.2 Tourism Threats

Tourism in Wadi Rum began to develop in the 1990s when the Jordanian government recognized the potential of the area as a tourist destination. The government encouraged the development of infrastructure and services, such as roads, accommodations, and guided tours, to attract visitors to the region. The tourism industry in Wadi Rum has since grown, with more than 300,000 tourists visiting the area annually.¹¹⁶ The desert scenery of Wadi Rum is the primary interest of visitors, with secondary interests being Bedouin culture, archaeology, the film *Lawrence of Arabia* which was filmed there, “wilderness” and desert adventure. Standard activities for visitors are 4x4 tours, camel rides, hiking, camping, rock climbing and horse riding. The

¹¹⁵ Strachan, “The Bedouin Know: Using Local Knowledge to Understand the Effects of Development at the Wadi Rum Protected Area in Southern Jordan”, 97-114.

¹¹⁶ “A Guide to Wadi Rum, Jordan.” National Geographic, 17 Jan. 2016
www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/world-heritage/article/wadi-rum-jordan.

4x4 tours are the most popular, with an estimated 85% of visitors using them.¹¹⁷ While tourism has brought economic benefits to the area, it has also posed a number of threats to Wadi Rum's tangible and intangible heritage including the degradation of rock art and archaeological sites, tourism infrastructure and the management of illegal camps, and the commodification of Bedouin culture.

The Wadi Rum Protected Area's management has made some progress in documenting rock art. However, there has been little success in protecting rock art and inscriptions, which are prone to degradation, and vandalism such as graffiti. In 2018, new damage from bullets was discovered, apparently caused by using rocks as target practice.¹¹⁸ The degradation of rock art and archaeological sites in Wadi Rum poses a significant threat to its intangible cultural heritage in several ways including the loss of historical narratives as rock art and archaeological sites often contain depictions and remnants of ancient cultural practices, rituals, and beliefs. Their degradation can erode the connection between present-day communities and their ancestral heritage, leading to a loss of cultural identity.

¹¹⁷ "Wadi Rum Proposal for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" document, 61, UNESCO, January 2010.

¹¹⁸ Review of Wadi Rum Protected Area 2020 Conservation Outlook Assessment. IUCN World Heritage Outlook. December 2, 2020. <https://worldheritageoutlook.iucn.org/>.



Figure 3. 1. Rock vandalism. 2023. Image by Author.

In 2019, the government recognized the importance of sustainable tourism management in Wadi Rum but also noted its complex nature. The growing tourist influx has resulted in a surge of unauthorized camps, with approximately 400 unregistered ones now active within the protected area.¹¹⁹ Improperly managed tourism infrastructure and illegal campsites can contribute to environmental degradation, affecting the natural surroundings and ecosystems that are integral to the cultural heritage of Wadi Rum. In addition, the proliferation of tourist facilities and services can diminish the authenticity of the cultural experience in Wadi Rum and disrupt the traditional lifestyle and practices of the Bedouin community. Moreover, mismanagement of tourism infrastructure and illegal

¹¹⁹ Review of Wadi Rum Protected Area 2020 Conservation Outlook Assessment. IUCN World Heritage Outlook. December 2, 2020. <https://worldheritageoutlook.iucn.org/>.

campsites can lead to conflicts between local communities and authorities, further exacerbating tensions and undermining efforts to preserve intangible cultural heritage.

While some believe that tourism can support the economic incentives of intangible cultural heritage, the increasing demand for "authentic Bedouin culture" from desert tourism can lead to the commodification of Bedouin traditions and lifestyle, potentially degrading their intangible cultural heritage. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Bedouin hospitality is demonstrated through the traditional practice of serving coffee, which carries symbolic significance. This ritual involves offering three distinct servings: for guests, personal enjoyment, and for the sword, symbolizing mutual respect or defense between host and guest. However, the increasing commercialization of hospitality has led to a shift away from this symbolic pact formed through coffee, replacing it with profit-driven transactions. This transformation has sparked controversy within the local community, as it contradicts traditional values that prioritize genuine human connections over monetary exchanges. Mahmoud expressed his disapproval of this trend in an interview with Arab News, stating, "I'm against making hospitality a business; it makes me sad. These people exploit the name 'Bedouin' to make money."¹²⁰

We should not ignore the sense of identity, social status, cultural pride, and recognition of heritage when attempting to benefit from any element of intangible cultural heritage for material gain. Bedouins inheriting their traditions from their ancestors fulfill cultural expectations, contributing actively to society and reinforcing their heritage's uniqueness regardless of economic motives. Unfortunately, tourism is

¹²⁰ Tamara Turki, "The Spirit of Bedouin Hospitality Thrives in Jordan's Tourism Renaissance" Arab News, (January 9, 2024). <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2438701/middle-east>.

turning those heritage elements into a commodity for consumption in pleasing visitors, empty of the spirit that sustained it over time. Therefore, any process or step aimed at benefiting from intangible cultural heritage in the tourism sector must prevent tourism from separating crafts and inherited culture from their original social context.¹²¹

3.2. Opportunities for Community Collaboration

The conservation and documentation of the ICH of Rum Bedouins have the potential to fulfill various social and cultural goals for both the Bedouin community and the broader Jordanian populace. The Bedouin culture holds significant value for many Jordanians, serving as a foundational aspect of their historical and cultural identity. Recognized as custodians of the original Jordanian identity, the Bedouins' ICH can play a pivotal role in fortifying and reconstructing a more encompassing national identity for Jordan. By safeguarding Rum Bedouin's ICH, numerous objectives concerning the social and cultural welfare of the Bedouin and the entirety of Jordanian society can be attained.

The preservation and documentation of ICH offer the opportunity to create a comprehensive archive containing extensive data about the Bedouin community. This archive enables researchers and scholars to conduct in-depth studies on various aspects of Bedouin socio-economic organization. It would help ensure that the rich details documenting Bedouin civilization accumulated over millennia are preserved for future generations. Additionally, by engaging Bedouins in documenting their own culture, such efforts can combat negative stereotypes perpetuated in the media.

¹²¹ Hani Hayajneh, "Intangible Cultural Heritage -Bedouins in Petra and Wadi-Ramm-S. Jordan.pdf." Www.academia.edu. (2013)
https://www.academia.edu/27774933/Intangible_Cultural_Heritage_Bedouins_in_Petra_and_Wadi_Ramm_S_Jordan_pdf.

Furthermore, the Rum Bedouins will acquire full ownership of their cultural artifacts and associated rights. This ownership ensures the preservation of their cultural integrity, granting them intellectual property rights over their heritage and its applications. Recognizing their heritage and identity as valuable assets presents numerous avenues for bolstering and perpetuating the well-being of their community.

Chapter 4: Recommendations for Safeguarding

In general, involvement by residents in their community's well-being varies widely, ranging from minimal to extensive engagement, including democratic participation and community-led decision-making.¹²² A cooperative, location-specific strategy for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage integrates local governments, community organizations, and residents to collaborate and jointly address intricate challenges. These frameworks aim to address community needs for welfare by aligning the community's recognized strengths with enhanced social, economic, and environmental results. Furthermore, this approach acknowledges the necessity for innovative methods and procedures aimed at instigating systemic transformations and striving for enduring achievements based on priorities determined by the community.

The Register of Good Safeguarding Practices is a platform established by UNESCO to document and share exemplary practices in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. It offers an opportunity for States Parties, communities, and various stakeholders to exchange effective methods for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. It enables the sharing of successful experiences and strategies for overcoming challenges encountered in passing down their living heritage, encompassing its traditions, practices, and knowledge to future generations.¹²³ These techniques and approaches serve as valuable lessons and models that can be tailored to different contexts, including those

¹²² Rosa Gonzalez, "The Spectrum of Community Engagement to Ownership." Movement Strategy Center, 2019). <https://movementstrategy.org/resources/the-spectrum-of-community-engagement-to-ownership/>.

¹²³ UNESCO, "Good Safeguarding Practices - intangible heritage", <https://ich.unesco.org/en/register#:~:text=The%20Register%20of%20Good%20Safeguarding.knowledge%20to%20the%20future%20generation.>

prevalent in developing nations. In addition, Stefano's book *"Practical Considerations for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage"* delineates ethical principles essential for preserving intangible cultural heritage, emphasizing community engagement, respect, consent, and ongoing assessment. These principles underscore the pivotal role of communities, groups, and individuals in safeguarding their heritage, while also advocating for mutual respect and collaboration between states and communities. Transparent collaboration and consultation with communities, ensuring access to resources, and assessing the impacts of actions on heritage viability are highlighted. The dynamic nature of intangible cultural heritage, inclusive of diverse identities, is emphasized, with a call for cooperative efforts that respect and preserve heritage without alienating communities from their cultural legacies.¹²⁴

4.1. Community-Led Approaches to Intangible Heritage Preservation

Various community-led initiatives, like the Kishkinda Trust's project in Hampi, Karnataka, India, have successfully preserved intangible heritage. Operating within the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Hampi, the trust restored old village houses, conducted awareness campaigns, and provided skill-building opportunities for local youths to foster rural tourism. Their objective was to establish a community-driven arts and crafts village within the heritage site

The Kishkinda Trust bolstered the capacity of women, enabling them to operate production units autonomously. More than 200 were trained and 150 are presently employed. Proceeds from product sales sustain livelihood projects, empowering women

¹²⁴ Michelle L. Stefano, *"Practical Considerations for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage"*, (Routledge EBooks, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003034216>.

financially. Furthermore, this initiative cultivates a supportive environment for women to collaborate, share experiences, and foster a familial bond.

Initially, some villagers had no income, but now the average monthly income ranges from Rs 3,000 to Rs 10,000. Additionally, traditional folk cultural practices have been revitalized, craftspeople are gaining recognition as creative artists, and culture-based rural tourism supports livelihoods and preserves traditional culture. Tour guides provide insights into village life, folklore, and mythology. The trust's interventions have significantly increased incomes, revived traditional cultural forms, and improved standards of living for villagers.¹²⁵ The case study exemplifies how preserving intangible heritage can have wide-ranging benefits, fostering cultural sustainability, economic growth, and community empowerment.

On the national level, a project led by UNESCO in the city of Irbid called 'Intangible heritage and creativity for sustainable cities' demonstrates another effective community-based method for safeguarding ICH. Situated in northern Jordan, Irbid boasts a diverse cultural landscape shaped by various traditions, expressions, and local wisdom. Historically, the city has attracted immigrants, including Palestinians, rural Jordanians, economic migrants, and Syrians, fostering a rich cultural milieu. This cultural diversity has positioned Irbid as a pivotal site for UNESCO's initiative to inventory intangible cultural heritage.

¹²⁵ The Kishkinda Trust (Hampi, India), 2017, "Conserving Cultural Landscape at World Heritage Site Hampi Area of Work", 3.19.

In partnership with the Ministry of Culture and the Petra National Trust, UNESCO has conducted training sessions for eleven young people from Irbid. The purpose is to educate them on identifying and documenting their intangible cultural heritage. This endeavor, backed by funding from the Yong Xin Hua Yun Cultural Industry Investment Group, contributes to a global initiative aimed at capturing living heritage, such as oral traditions, local wisdom, and traditional crafts, within urban environments. The documented practices are now archived in the Ministry of Culture's database, serving as a guide for future efforts to conserve intangible heritage not only in Irbid but also in other urban regions across Jordan.¹²⁶ Over a span of two months, the youth participants employed community-based inventorying techniques to document various expressions of living heritage in Irbid's urban landscape, detailing aspects such as traditional embroidery, religious and ceremonial practices associated with Ramadan, and traditional medicinal practices.

These projects offer several valuable lessons including community empowerment, sustainable development, and education and awareness, in addition to women's empowerment and culture revitalization. Involving local communities in cultural preservation and the management of heritage sites fosters a sense of ownership and empowers them to take charge of their heritage. Moreover, promoting education, vocational training, and awareness enhances the community's understanding of conservation, sustainable practices, and cultural heritage.

¹²⁶ “UNESCO Supports Safeguarding Urban Living Heritage Practices in Irbid in Jordan.” United Nations. Accessed March 14, 2024. <https://jordan.un.org/en/188021-unesco-supports-safeguarding-urban-living-heritage-practices>

It is also important to provide training in various fields such as crafts, design, and hospitality to enhance the skills of community members, enabling them to sustain traditional practices and generate income from intangible cultural heritage. In the case of the Hampi project for instance, reviving traditional cultural forms and crafts not only preserved intangible heritage but also added value to the local economy and identity. These lessons underscore the importance of a holistic approach to intangible heritage conservation that integrates cultural, social, economic, and environmental considerations, ultimately contributing to the well-being of both the community and the heritage site.

4.2. Recommendations for Safeguarding Rum Village's ICH

Drawing from the insights garnered throughout these case studies, this concluding chapter presents a comprehensive set of recommendations aimed at preserving the ICH of Rum Village Bedouins. Proposals include enhancing community capacity, exploring the potential of ecomuseums, integrating ICH into education, supporting NGOs in the field, modifying existing legislations, raising awareness through media, and researching best practices for ICH safeguarding in cooperation with the communities. These recommendations are intended to serve as a strategic blueprint for stakeholders at all levels in the endeavor to protect and perpetuate the intangible cultural heritage of the Bedouin community in Rum Village.

4.2.1. Build shared understanding and capacity for safeguarding ICH

Initiate programs that provide guidelines for how to safely handle ICH and knowledge passed down through generations. The guidelines will focus on principles and suggestions for carrying out actions aimed at teaching, sharing, promoting, and spreading expressions of important cultural heritage between people. Potential groups and

communities that could help with efforts to protect important cultural traditions include local, regional, and national cultural organizations as well as international networks. The goal is to ensure that these cultural traditions that are part of the community's identity can still be experienced and appreciated now and in the future.

The first step in building capacity in these areas is to build a shared understanding among all constituents of the importance of the ICH of Rum Village. Involving local residents from the beginning in setting goals, making decisions, and sharing knowledge enables authentic and sustainable efforts to conserve and safeguard their ICH. The success of such campaigns can not only benefit the Rum Village community but also contribute to the broader conservation of ICH in Jordan and help ensure the transmission of traditional knowledge to future generations.

This recommendation focuses on grassroots initiatives that aim to raise awareness among the Rum Village community about the importance of their ICH, encourage active participation and involvement of community members in conservation efforts, and establish sustainable practices for the transmission of cultural knowledge to future generations. To achieve these objectives, it is essential to meaningfully engage key constituents, such as Rum Village residents, particularly elders and cultural leaders, including “*Sheikhs*” from Al Zalabiyah tribe, youth and children (as future guardians of the cultural heritage), and local authorities (ASEZA) and institutions responsible for managing ICH in Jordan (including the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Tourism, Department of Archeology, and Jordanian universities).

While grassroots initiatives are by definition driven by the constituents themselves, effective engagement campaigns typically follow some basic principles and include standard elements. I recommend the following approach:

Goals:

We need community members to actively participate in ICH preservation activities, share their traditional knowledge, and engage in educational activities. Specific goals could include:

1. Get at least 50% of community members to attend one or more activities
2. Conduct oral histories with at least 10 community members to share their traditional knowledge
3. Develop a network of volunteers to collaborate on various tasks and responsibilities during cultural festivals and events

Key Messages:

A specific communications campaign might include the following key messages, tailored to the needs, concerns, and motivations of each specific audience.

1. **Authentic Representation:** Involving the local community ensures authentic representation and transmission of intangible cultural heritage, preserving traditional practices and knowledge.
2. **Sustainable Development:** Engaging the local community in conservation efforts fosters sustainable development by empowering them economically and socially, contributing to the region's long-term prosperity.

3. **Ownership and Pride:** Employment of local residents instills a sense of ownership and pride in preserving their heritage, fostering a stronger commitment to conservation efforts.
4. **Cultural Continuity:** Involving the local community increases the chance of ensuring the continuity of cultural practices and traditions across generations, preventing their loss.
5. **Tourism Enhancement:** Empowering local residents in conservation can enhance the tourism experience, as visitors often seek authentic cultural encounters, thereby boosting tourism revenue.

Challenges:

Engaging multiple audiences—each with distinct needs, concerns, priorities, and motivations—can pose significant challenges. Specific examples are listed below, along with potential strategies and tactics to help build support toward the shared goal of sustaining Rum Village’s ICH.

Challenge	Strategies/Tactics
Lack of interest/awareness	Ensure inclusive participation and demonstrate benefits
Culture/gender sensitivity	Collaborate closely with community elders (Sheikhs) and respected figures to ensure that conservation efforts respect Bedouin traditions and values

Limited resources	Seek funding from governmental organizations and NGOs. Leverage crowdfunding platforms and inform partnerships with like-minded businesses
Communication barriers between different groups/tribes	Use trained facilitators (and if needed, mediators or conflict resolution specialists) to ensure clear understanding and effective communication

Assets

To help meet these challenges, a campaign for Rum Village could leverage existing assets, including:

1. Support from local cultural organizations and NGOs
2. Traditional knowledge holders and cultural experts within WRPA
3. Existing community networks and social structures

Strategies and Tactics

While local residents would play key roles in deciding which actions to take, examples could include:

1. Organize interactive workshops to educate community members about the significance of intangible cultural heritage, including storytelling, traditional crafts, and music.
2. Host cultural events and festivals showcasing local traditions, rituals, and cuisine.

3. Engage youth through educational programs and cultural activities to help ensure the transmission of heritage to future generations.
4. Launch a storytelling campaign where elders and Sheikhs share oral histories and legends.
5. Create digital archives and multimedia resources documenting local traditions and practices, making them accessible for educational purposes and promoting wider recognition.
6. Communicate through a range of channels including social media, national radio, and local gatherings.
7. Collaborate with local artists, researchers, and cultural organizations (such as Darat Al Founoun, the Royal Film Commission (RFC), and Shams Al Jabal Association for Cultural Heritage) to develop projects that celebrate and safeguard intangible cultural heritage.

Resources

Successful implementation of such a campaign requires a range of resources, including:

1. Funding for workshops, events, and educational materials
2. Time for organizing and conducting activities
3. Skills in community engagement, cultural heritage conservation, and communication

Responsibilities

This type of engagement campaign requires strong collaboration, with shared responsibilities among a range of partners, including:

1. Coordination and implementation: Campaign organizers
2. Facilitation of workshops and events: Cultural experts and educators
3. Communication and outreach: Marketing and media team

As in any collaborative effort, engagement campaigns inevitably face challenges ranging from interpersonal dynamics to unforeseen obstacles. Clear goals and constant internal communication can foster a relatively smooth process and effective resolution of issues that arise.

Tracking

Specific measurement tools can help make the most of limited resources by assessing whether the engagement campaign is working and what might need refining along the way. Examples include:

1. Surveys and feedback forms to determine community involvement and awareness
2. Monitoring social media engagement and attendance at events
3. Regular evaluation and meetings to assess progress and adapt strategies accordingly

4.2.2. Explore the Potential of Ecomuseums

Ecomuseums, a distinct concept, disrupt traditional museum norms by prioritizing community involvement in preserving intangible cultural heritage. Unlike conventional museums, ecomuseums adopt decentralized and community-led strategies. They operate within expansive territorial networks, prioritizing engagement with local communities to safeguard and honor intangible cultural heritage.

*“Museum = building + collections (+ experts) + public
Ecomuseum = territory + heritage (+ memory) + population”*¹²⁷

The concept of ecomuseology encompasses several key principles that guide its implementation and functioning. These principles, as Stefano states, highlight the community-driven nature of ecomuseums. Ecomuseums are typically initiated and managed by local communities, emphasizing democratic decision-making processes and encouraging active participation from community members in all activities. Moreover, they promote shared stewardship, involving input from various stakeholders such as academic advisors, local businesses, authorities, and government structures. Ecomuseums focus on the safeguarding and management of heritage resources, prioritizing processes over products for consumption. They often rely on voluntary efforts from local stakeholders and encompass a defined geographical area with shared characteristics. Additionally, ecomuseums consider both spatial and temporal aspects, aiming for continuity and change over time. They advocate for the preservation and conservation of heritage resources in their original context and give equal attention to tangible and intangible heritage. Furthermore, ecomuseums promote sustainable development, facilitate ongoing documentation of past and present life, encourage interdisciplinary research approaches, and serve as a bridge between heritage and responsible tourism, offering benefits to local communities in terms of pride, regeneration, and economic opportunities.

The Batana Ecomuseum in Rovinj, Croatia, exemplifies a successful community-driven approach to conserving heritage, emphasizing local engagement in protecting and

¹²⁷ Stefano, *“Practical Considerations for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage”*, 117.

honoring intangible cultural heritage. Centered on preserving the Batana fishing culture, the ecomuseum documents various cultural aspects, adhering to fundamental ecomuseological principles. Community members actively engage in organizing workshops, educational programs, regattas, and traditional events, contributing significantly to the ecomuseum's direction. Initiated and guided by the local community, the ecomuseum has approximately 250 members participating in decision-making processes. They are also involved in preserving living traditions and documenting oral histories, languages, music, and culinary traditions. The Batana Ecomuseum received international recognition in 2016 as a notable accomplishment, aligning with UNESCO-ICH guidelines emphasizing community leadership in ICH safeguarding.¹²⁸

The ecomuseum model can effectively be applied in Rum Village, aiding in safeguarding local heritage through active community involvement. Such projects promote community integration and cooperation, strengthening social bonds and fostering a sense of belonging. By documenting and preserving traditional practices and knowledge, the ecomuseum model fosters the transmission of cultural heritage to future generations, ensuring the continuity of Bedouin traditions. Furthermore, the active involvement of the Bedouin community in decision-making processes and activities related to an ecomuseum would promote empowerment and self-determination.

4.2.3. Integrate ICH into Formal and Informal Education

Both formal and non-formal forms of learning can significantly help to strengthen and increase understanding of important cultural heritage and how it spreads both within

¹²⁸ Stefano, “*Practical Considerations for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*”, 104-7.

and beyond the groups.¹²⁹ Cooperative efforts in Rum Village can involve all sides working in the field of ICH in developing, creating, and applying educational initiatives to safeguard ICH.

Recommendations:

Collaborate with academic institutions and cultural organizations to strengthen the efforts of recording and preserving intangible cultural heritage in Wadi Rum. This can include partnerships with universities or research institutions to conduct in-depth research on specific aspects of Wadi Rum's intangible cultural heritage and collaborate with them on projects such as publications, exhibitions, and educational programs.

Collaborate with local schools and educational institutions to integrate the preservation of intangible cultural heritage into the curriculum, providing students with opportunities to learn about their cultural heritage and actively participate in recording and preserving it.

4.2.4. Enhancing NGOs' Role in The Field of ICH

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) offer valuable insights and perspectives and can work together with the local people of Rum Village as they aim to protect ICH in close cooperation. NGOs can help plan and implement educational programs about cultural traditions for young people, as well as provide recommendations to UNESCO and ASEZA on how to encourage and strengthen cultural preservation policies and long-term plans.

¹²⁹ Hani Hayajneh, and Giorgia Cesaro, “The UNESCO Contribution to Safeguarding and Preserving Jordan’s Cultural Heritage”, *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* (2022) 16 (3): 367–86. <https://doi.org/10.54134/jjha.v16i3.665>.

4.2.5. Modifying Existing Legislation

Modifying the existing legislation could effectively address ICH issues in a harmonious way that respects the rights of the Bedouin community, allowing them freedom over expressions of their ICH. Meanwhile, government bodies could ensure the community is not misled into providing authorization without consultation or not involved in decisions at all. This balance allows the preservation of ICH with participation from those it belongs to.

4.2.6. Enhancing Media and Communication Channels

Media serves a crucial function in spreading and presenting ICH. Using online platforms and social media enables the development of effective communication strategies, leveraging the vast resources available on the internet for dissemination. However, precautions are necessary to prevent overexposure, which could distort the original social purpose of ICH. As discussed earlier, the current and potential commodification of ICH for tourism or profit, requires careful management to maintain its integrity.

4.2.7. Supporting Research on Best Practices for Safeguarding ICH

Currently, there's a noticeable decline in research emphasis on ICH at the national level. This poses challenges in determining effective strategies to tackle the numerous issues related to the diminishing stature of a significant portion of Jordan's intangible cultural heritage.¹³⁰ There's a need for further research to devise solutions that can reverse

¹³⁰ Hani Hayajneh, and Giorgia Cesaro, "The UNESCO Contribution to Safeguarding and Preserving Jordan's Cultural Heritage", *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* (2022) 16 (3): 367–86. <https://doi.org/10.54134/jjha.v16i3.665>.

the decreasing importance of this substantial segment of Jordan's intangible cultural heritage and ensure its conservation for future generations.

4.2.8. Investing ICH in The Tourism Sector

The economic benefits derived from tourism have positively impacted the local Bedouin community in Rum Village. However, the rising desire for "authentic Bedouin culture" in desert tourism, as highlighted in Chapter 3, has resulted in the commercialization of Bedouin customs and way of life. Hence, there is a pressing need for additional research to formulate sustainable tourism strategies that preserve cultural identity. It is essential to ensure that any use of intangible cultural heritage for economic purposes respects the people, honors their intrinsic sense of identity, and avoids the detachment of crafts and traditional culture from their original social context.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

The journey through this thesis has been an exploration of the Rum Village Bedouins' intangible cultural heritage (ICH), its significance, preservation, and the myriad of challenges it faces in the contemporary world. This investigation, grounded in the context of the Wadi Rum Protected Area (WRPA), provides a comprehensive examination of how globalization, modernization, tourism, and protected area management policies influence the conservation and transmission of ICH. Through the diverse voices of the local community and scholars, and taking into consideration UNESCO's frameworks, this study sheds light on both the vulnerabilities and the enduring vibrancy of Bedouin culture in Rum Village.

The intangible heritage of Rum Bedouins is facing threats from various fronts, including globalization that diminishes traditional practices, modernization altering lifestyles, and the paradox of tourism commodification. The installation of the WRPA, while aimed at conservation, has inadvertently marginalized the local Bedouin community, restricting their access to natural resources and disrupting their traditional nomadic lifestyle. Therefore, a call to action is necessary for stakeholders at all levels—local communities, national governments, international bodies, and non-governmental organizations—to reevaluate and reinforce their commitment to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. This call emphasizes the importance of:

1. Enhanced collaboration that prioritizes the voices and leadership of local communities in heritage conservation efforts.

2. A paradigm shift toward sustainable tourism models that respect and nurture the intangible heritage of indigenous populations rather than commodify them.
3. The adoption of community-defined metrics for success in conservation efforts, allowing for a more inclusive and participatory approach to heritage management.
4. Increased funding and support for grassroots initiatives and educational programs aimed at documenting, conserving, and transmitting intangible cultural heritage to future generations.
5. A global mobilization around the principles set forth by UNESCO, advocating for policies and practices that are inclusive and responsive to the evolving dynamics of cultural heritage preservation.

Future Research

By delving into the case of Rum Village, this study opens avenues for future research on the intersection of cultural sustainability, community participation, and heritage conservation. This thesis not only aims to deepen our understanding of Bedouin culture and the challenges it faces but also seeks to identify innovative solutions for the conservation and revitalization of ICH in similar contexts worldwide. Future research endeavors could consider the following directions:

1. **Comparative Studies:** Investigating the conservation of ICH in other Bedouin communities across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, comparing strategies, outcomes, and community engagement models. Such studies could enrich the global knowledge base on safeguarding ICH, offering insights into diverse cultures and the efficacy of different conservation approaches.

2. **Impact of Tourism:** A detailed analysis of the socio-economic impacts of tourism on ICH, focusing on both negative consequences and potential benefits. Future studies could explore sustainable tourism models that empower local communities, enhance cultural understanding, and contribute to the economic sustainability of indigenous populations.
3. **Legal and Policy Frameworks:** Analyzing the effectiveness of existing legal and policy frameworks in protecting ICH at national and international levels. Future research could propose modifications or new frameworks that better address the needs of indigenous communities, ensuring their active involvement in decision-making processes.
4. **Ecomuseums and Community-Led Museums:** Expanding on the thesis's exploration of ecomuseums, further research could delve into case studies of successful community-led museums around the world. Investigating their organization, challenges, and contributions to heritage conservation could provide actionable insights for similar initiatives in Jordan and beyond.
5. **Climate Change and Environmental Management:** Given the Bedouins' deep connection with their natural environment, future research could examine the impacts of climate change on their traditional ways of life and ICH. This includes the exploration of traditional ecological knowledge as a resource for sustainable environmental management.

By addressing these areas, future research holds the potential to contribute significantly to the ongoing efforts to conserve intangible cultural heritages, ensuring their resilience and relevance for future generations. In doing so, we not only honor our ancestors and

their legacies but also offer future generations a link to their past and a foundation upon which to build new expressions of cultural identity. The conservation of ICH is, ultimately, an act of hope—a testament to our belief in the enduring value of cultural diversity and the shared humanity that binds us all.

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