

Resettlement of the Bdul and its effect on Preservation Initiatives at Petra, Jordan

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the resettlement of the Bdul tribe at Jordan's archaeological site of Petra from 1985 through 1987 and considers whether relocation achieves the type of results that heritage professionals and organizations desire. The United States National Park Service *Master Plan for the Protection & Use of Petra National Park* of 1968 advocated for the Bdul to be relocated for the sake of preservation. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the World Bank, echoed the USNPS's initial request for relocating the Bdul, and Jordanian governmental organizations carried out the resettlement in 1985, when Petra became a World Heritage Site, as opposed to Jerash Archaeological Park, where the Department of Antiquities did not even attempt relocation. The actual results of the Bdul tribe's relocation to Um Seyhun, a buffer zone of the park, arguably did not change the preservation status of Petra, as tourism, promoted by heritage professionals, is a major threat to the site. The research conducted for this study consisted of twenty-two interviews in Amman and Wadi Musa, Jordan with current and former members of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism, Jordanian professors of archaeology and tourism, foreign and Jordanian members of Non-Governmental Organizations involved with past and present projects at Petra, and foreign and Jordanian archaeologists working at Petra.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Nicholas Lashway graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from Oberlin College in 2012, where he majored in Archaeological Studies and Classical Civilizations. His interest in archaeology began as a field school student for the Porolissum Forum Project, Porolissum, Romania, in the summer of 2010. He went on to work as a trench supervisor for the Sangro Valley Project, co-run by Oberlin College and Oxford University, in Tornareccio, Italy during the summers of 2011 and 2012. Beyond Nicholas's work overseas, he was an archaeological technician at Fort Drum, New York before beginning his graduate studies at Cornell University in August of 2013. During his time at Cornell, Nicholas conducted research on the Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient of 1907 and 1908, and at the conclusion of his research in Jordan, he was an intern at the UNESCO Amman office. Nicholas is particularly interested in heritage management, preservation initiatives, and nationalism and politics as they relate to archaeology. He looks to continue his work in the fields of archaeology, preservation, and cultural heritage management at the completion of his degree.

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Introduction

In 1968 the United States National Park Service developed the *Master Plan for the Protection & Use of Petra National Park*, which helped establish future heritage management projects for Petra and recommended that the Bdul Bedouin tribe, a minority group in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan that occupied the Petra basin, be relocated. The goal of the Bdul's relocation was to preserve the site and prevent the habitation of caves, the illegal sale of artifacts, and the erosion of Petra's features due to habitation and livestock grazing. Studies of consultants from the World Bank and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as well as approvals from the Jordanian government, reiterated the USNPS's initial 1968 request for relocating the Bdul. The Jordanian government adopted and carried out the plan for resettling the Bdul to Um Seyhun from 1985 through 1987 when Petra became a World Heritage Site (Farajat 2012: 147). This course of events that occurred at Petra can be compared to the situation at Jerash, where the Department of Antiquities and the Jordanian government were unable expropriate lands from the people of the city of Jerash. The actual results of the Bdul tribe's relocation arguably did not change the preservation status of Petra. As a result of resettlement, the Bdul live in a buffer zone of the park, Um Seyhun (Figure 1), which is problematic for preservation in and of itself, as any development of the area encroaches on or is within the park. Further, the resettlement of the Bdul in 1985 by heritage professionals was for the promotion of tourism and preservation initiatives, but their advocacy of touristic developments has placed the current preservation status of Petra at a greater risk due to the massive number of tourists and associated activities that occur at the park on a daily basis. In effect, tourists are a greater threat to the preservation of Petra than any documented evidence of destruction from the Bdul's habitation of the Petra basin.

For my research, I was based in Jordan at the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman (ACOR) and Wadi Musa from June 2 to July 15, 2014. I conducted twenty-two interviews at both field sites with current and former members of the Jordanian Department of

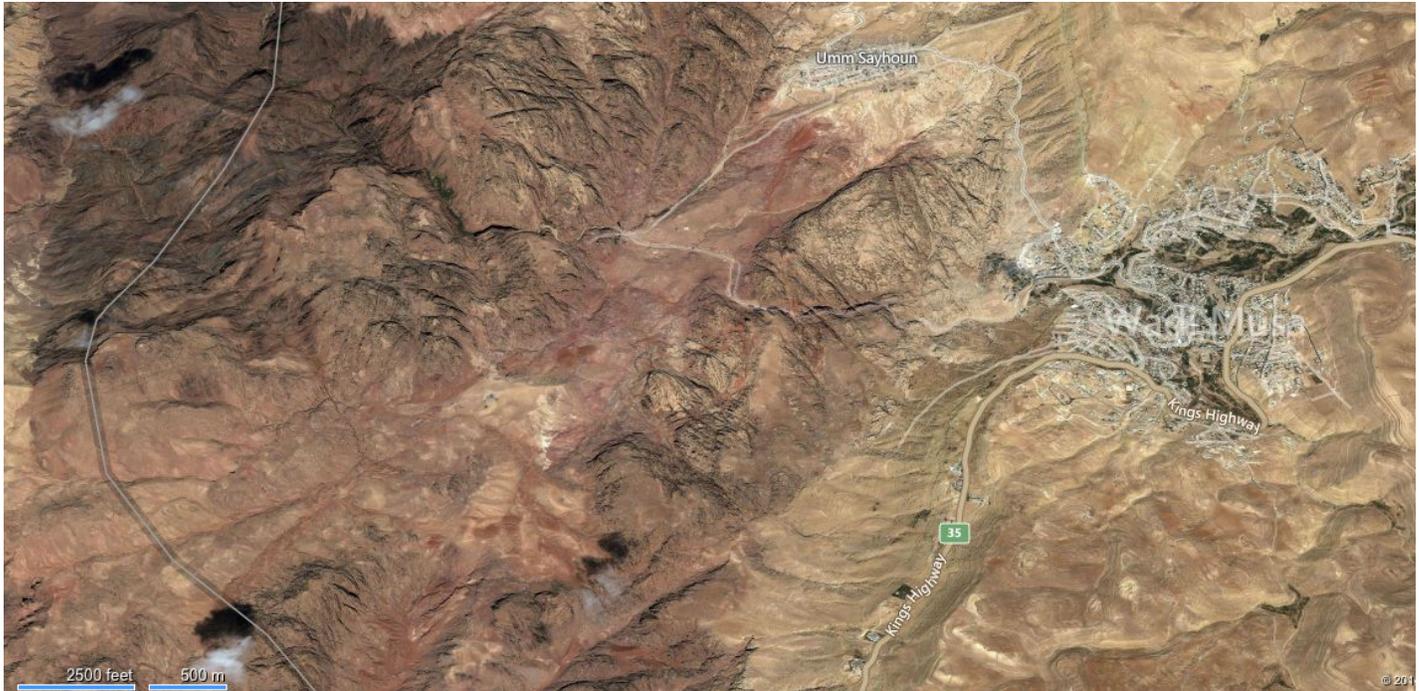


Figure 1: Bird's eye view of Petra, Wadi Musa, and Umm Sayhoun. ©2014 Microsoft Corporation, ©2014 Digital Globe, and ©2014 Nokia

Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism, Jordanian professors of archaeology and tourism, foreign and Jordanian members of Non-Governmental Organizations involved with past and present projects at Petra, and foreign and Jordanian archaeologists working at Petra (see the Appendix for a list of interviewees). Unfortunately, I was unable to interview any members of the Bdul community, but I incorporate their voices through the use of secondary sources. This study examines the practice of resettlement in Petra and considers whether relocation achieves the type of results that heritage professionals and organizations desire.

The Legacy of Early Archaeological Endeavors in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

The Western world rediscovered Petra in 1812 when Swiss explorer Johann Ludwig Burckhardt became the first documented traveller to visit the site since the age of the crusaders

and the voyage of Sultan Baibars in 1276 (Amadasi 2002: 103). Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, various colonial powers created cultural societies that provided a basis for launching archaeological research in the Near East (Amadasi 2002: 104-106). The involvement of Western powers in Transjordan during the Ottoman occupation, which lasted until 1918, and the subsequent British Mandate period (1920 - 1946), led to the establishment of more systematic archaeological research in the region and came to significantly shape the priorities and practices of heritage management in the independent Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Maffi 2009: 12-16). In 1923 the British helped establish the Transjordanian Department of Ancient Antiquities with main offices located at the Jerash archeological site, which aided in the establishment of an antiquities bylaw for Transjordan by 1925 (Myers et al. 2010: 11). In 1929 a British team under George Horsfield led the first excavations of Petra (Amadasi 2002: 106). Due to Western involvement in Transjordan, the later independent state of Jordan initially inherited its approach to cultural heritage management from scholars operating under the Ottoman and British Empires and earlier bible scholars from across Europe. It was against this background that, after gaining its independence in 1946, the newly established nation of Jordan focused its interests on “bible lands” and ancient cultures (Maffi & Daher 2000: 26).

The narrow definition of heritage established under the British as that which pertained to built remains of the classical and biblical ages summarily excluded the culture of the Bdul and other Bedouin communities in Petra. Despite the Bdul’s claims of direct descent from the Nabataeans, it is unlikely that the Bdul began living in Petra more than 150 years ago (Bienkowski 1985: 150). During Alois Musil’s expedition to the Near East from 1896 to 1900, which included travels to Petra, he mentions the Bdul; in one anecdote, Musil recounts a myth transmitted to him by a member of the Bdul tribe about a princess who lived in al-Kasr, or Qasr

al-Bint, “the place of the pharaoh’s daughter” (Musil 1907: 108), a relatively intact Nabataean temple believed to have been built around 30 BCE (Levy 1999: 81, 105). Until 1926 the Bdul did not own tents, but lived in the caves around Petra (Peake 1958: 203). The Bdul’s unique associations with the monuments of Petra and their claim of direct descent from Nabataeans are a part of the tribe’s rich oral history that allow for a deeper understanding of the park’s monuments within an ethnographic context that provides a form of knowledge distinct from traditional academic modes. Other local tribes regarded the Bdul as latecomers to Petra, as described by Elena Dodge Corbett, the Council on International Education Exchange (CIEE) Amman resident director: “There is a totem pole of locals, and [the Bdul] have always been at the bottom. They showed up last. They served the tourists” (Corbett 2014: 8 July). The Bdul’s hospitality toward tourists in the Petra basin was first documented in the 1920s by travel agency Thomas Cook & Sons (Angel 2012: 107) and is still an inherent part of the Bdul’s lives. The next half-century would bring significant change for the Bdul and Petra, as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan gained independence and began to construct its own global presence.

The archaeological legacy of the British and other Western powers affected the Kingdom of Jordan’s presentation of archaeological sites during the period of its control over the West Bank of the Jordan River from 1948 to 1967, as Jordan attempted to attract tourists to its “Holy Bible Lands” (Corbett 2011: 178). This presentation aimed to legitimize the political image of Jordan as a place of religious and cultural tolerance between different civilizations while simultaneously promoting tourism (Maffi 2009: 22). The advocacy of “holy” sites was especially apparent during the period leading up to Pope Paul VI’s visit in 1964 (Maffi 2009: 22). The promotion of “holy” sites was also clearly on view at the 1964 World’s Fair in New York’s Meadows-Corona Park, where the representation of the Stations of the Cross as they occurred on



Figure 2: Column from the Roman ruins in the city of Jerash presented at the New York World's Fair, 1964 (Cotter & Kraus 2010: <http://www.nywf64.com/jordan05.shtml>)

Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem were on display, along with a column from the Roman city of Jerash that still stands in the park (Figure 2) (Cotter and Kraus 2010: Pavilion of Jordan). The emphasis on both the column from Jerash and the Stations of the Cross from Jerusalem can be explained with reference to the narrative of heritage management established by the British. This may be the reason why Petra, a site with distinct Nabataean ruins, only gained notoriety after Jordan gained independence in 1946, and the Bdul did not fit into this narrative of

heritage, limited to ancient and holy sites, and were systematically resettled once Petra achieved World Heritage status in 1985.

Occupation of the West Bank and the Development of Petra: Catalysts for Relocation

The Kingdom of Jordan lost the West Bank and a number of well-known holy sites following its defeat by Israel in the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967. In losing the West Bank, the Jordanian economy lost approximately 40% of its GDP, about half of its industrial capacity, and 25% of the country's arable land. The West Bank was also responsible for 90% of the tourism sector, which took off in the mid-1960s (Robins 2004; 124-125). Nonetheless, the loss of the West Bank may have promoted infrastructural growth in southern Jordan, as described by Michel Hamarneh, Jordan's former director of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities from 1977 until 1984:

In a way it helped, unfortunately. Jordan's main areas of attraction were on the West Bank, mainly the Christian sites. The rest of Jordan was not

developed toward getting more tourists. We didn't have good roads to Petra or any facilities to deal with the needs of tourists. We didn't have hotels. We didn't have bathrooms. So when the West Bank was occupied, it helped Jordan to develop these areas. This is the only way I can think of it. It didn't help in terms of bettering management of Petra itself. The occupation itself was catastrophic for all of us (Hamarneh 2014: 1 July).

This apparent lack of infrastructure at heritage sites within Jordan led to the consultation of the United States National Park Service in 1968. The result was the first international management plan for Petra, including the management projects at Jerash and the Amman Citadel initiated by the United States Agency for International Development in 1966, to prepare the park for visitors (Abu-Khafajah, S. & Al Rabady, R. 2013: 188, USAID 1993: 10). The 1968 USNPS management plan for Petra was established under a United States National Park Service model, which emphasized Petra's historical landscape as the site's primary resource. The management plan did not consider or involve the Bdul tribe in and around Petra in the process of development except in so far as the plan strongly recommended their removal:

Resettlement of the Bdul tribe is one of the most urgent requirements of this plan if the Government is to preserve and develop Petra as one of the great National Parks of the world. It is recognized that resettlement is not proposed lightly nor should it be taken as a simple exercise in the physical movement of a people from one place to another (United States National Park Service 1968: 22).

It seems that heritage professionals and organizations deemed it necessary to relocate indigenous populations for the sake of site preservation, and this rhetoric was standard to the field of heritage management at the time. The relocation of the Bdul was justified with documentation from the USNPS, the World Bank, and UNESCO consultant Sharif El-Hakim, which maintained that the Bdul tribe undertook illicit excavations, profited from the illegal sale of artifacts, damaged ancient caves through fires and their inevitable erosion due to habitation, and degraded Petra's features through livestock grazing. Further, the 1968 USNPS Plan for Petra

recommended, “that an adequate Socio-cultural study of the Bdul tribe precede any attempt to move them” (U.S. National Park Service 1968: 22-24).



Figure 3: Bird’s eye view of Petra, Wadi Musa, Umm Sayhun, Al Beidha, and an arrow pointing towards the area of Stooth Al Nabi Harun. ©2014 Microsoft Corporation, ©2014 Digital Globe, and ©2014 Nokia

Along with the USNPS Plan, the Jordanian government issued a defense order in 1970 to evacuate inhabitants at all archaeological sites. Due to a lack of funding, a committee was only formed in 1975 to see to the evacuation of sites, and included the “Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Tourism, and the Director of the Housing Department” (Farajat 2012: 151). The Jordanian governmental committee also recommended the relocation of the Bdul, urged that a social study regarding the effects of relocation be performed, and “delegated the Governor of Ma’an district to negotiate with the Bdul” (Farajat 2012: 151), Ma’an

being the governorate where Petra is located. Additionally, a World Bank Report in 1976 recommended the relocation of the Bdul, as listed under the general description of the project: “Ninety-six families of the Bdul Bedouin Tribe who live in the Petra Basin would be resettled to preserve the cultural, historic and tourist attraction of the area” (World Bank 1976: 45). The World Bank also endorsed a sociocultural study: “The UNDP [United Nations Development Programme] office in Jordan has offered the assistance of a sociologist to study possible types of employment which might be of interest to the Bdul Bedouins” (World Bank 1976: 34), which prompted UNESCO consultant Sherif El-Hakim’s sociocultural study in 1978. El-Hakim noted that there were ninety-seven households and 504 men, women, and children, while only 347 Bdul actually lived in the Petra basin (El-Hakim 1978: 5). Within his report, El-Hakim describes the reasoning behind relocating the Bdul:

This decision to relocate was taken as part of the Project Plan because it was felt that the Bdul Bedouins endanger the archaeological value of the site by their practice of walling up the entrances of tombs for living purposes and their unauthorized excavation of the area for saleable artifacts. Furthermore, it was felt that, although their population was not now a significant problem, it would become one in the near future and that the necessary social services and infrastructures could not be provided to the people without causing serious damage to the Basin’s landscape (El-Hakim 1978: 4).

He went on to detail the Bdul’s economy, stating that 70% of households were engaged in commercial and/or touristic practices, enumerated their housing needs, weighed in on different relocation sites, identified the Bdul’s attitude toward relocation, and provided suggestions regarding the socioeconomic implications of resettlement (El-Hakim 1978: 7-17). El-Hakim’s thorough sociocultural study of the Bdul in 1978 addressed many of the challenges of relocation for the Bdul, as seen when he detailed the attitudes of the Bdul toward resettlement:

The issue of resettlement and the problems of locating a site is not new to the Bdul—for the last decade the problem has been raised on a number of

occasions and there have been provincial—and ministerial-level committee assessments on this matter. During this time, official Bdul consensus has changed from outright opposition to resettlement to formal support for evacuation from the Petra caves to a modern village in the vicinity of Petra (El-Hakim 1978: 12).

Yet, there were a “few Bdul” who did not agree with this consensus and wanted to remain in the Petra basin (El-Hakim 1978: 12). Interestingly, El-Hakim observes that, “only a few families inhabit the caves between the theatre and the Urn Tomb” (El-Hakim 1978: 10). This portion, Petra’s main spine extending from the Siq to El Deir, was the only section of the current park that had designated coordinates when Petra was granted World Heritage status in 1985 (Figure 3) (Comer 2012: 18). Suleiman Farajat, a former commissioner of Petra Archaeological Park, provided further details on the relocation of the Bdul:

The government had proposals and didn’t just come and force those people to go there. They negotiated with them and met with them many times. They didn’t agree, but they gave them options. Um Seyhun was proposed by the Bdul, so they took that option. The government at the beginning had other options to resettle them outside of the area (S. Farajat 2014: 24 June).

The options offered to the Bdul for resettlement sites included Um Seyhun, Wadi Musa (Karrara), Beidha, and Stooth Al Nabi Harun (Figure 3 & 4)(El-Hakim 1978: 12-14). Karrara, in Wadi Musa, in the tribal territory of the Layathneh, was “consistently rejected” by the Bdul due to the tense relationship between the two tribes. The older members of the Bdul community preferred Stooth Al Nabi Harun (“Mountain of the Prophet Aaron”), south of Petra, due to its location on Bdul territory and proximity to Bdul graveyards and pastures. Many Bdul felt that this option was acceptable, but the site was too far away from Wadi Musa and routes of communication. Beidha, also an archaeological site known as “Little Petra,” was not accepted for similar reasons to Stooth Al Nabi Harun, and beyond a few Bdul households in the area, Beidha was predominately territory of the Amarin tribe (El-Hakim 1978: 14). The Bdul preferred

Um-Seyhun, as it “would permit Bdul development without compromising their proximity to Petra” (El-Hakim 1978: 13). The Bdul wanted to be close to Wadi Musa, which had government

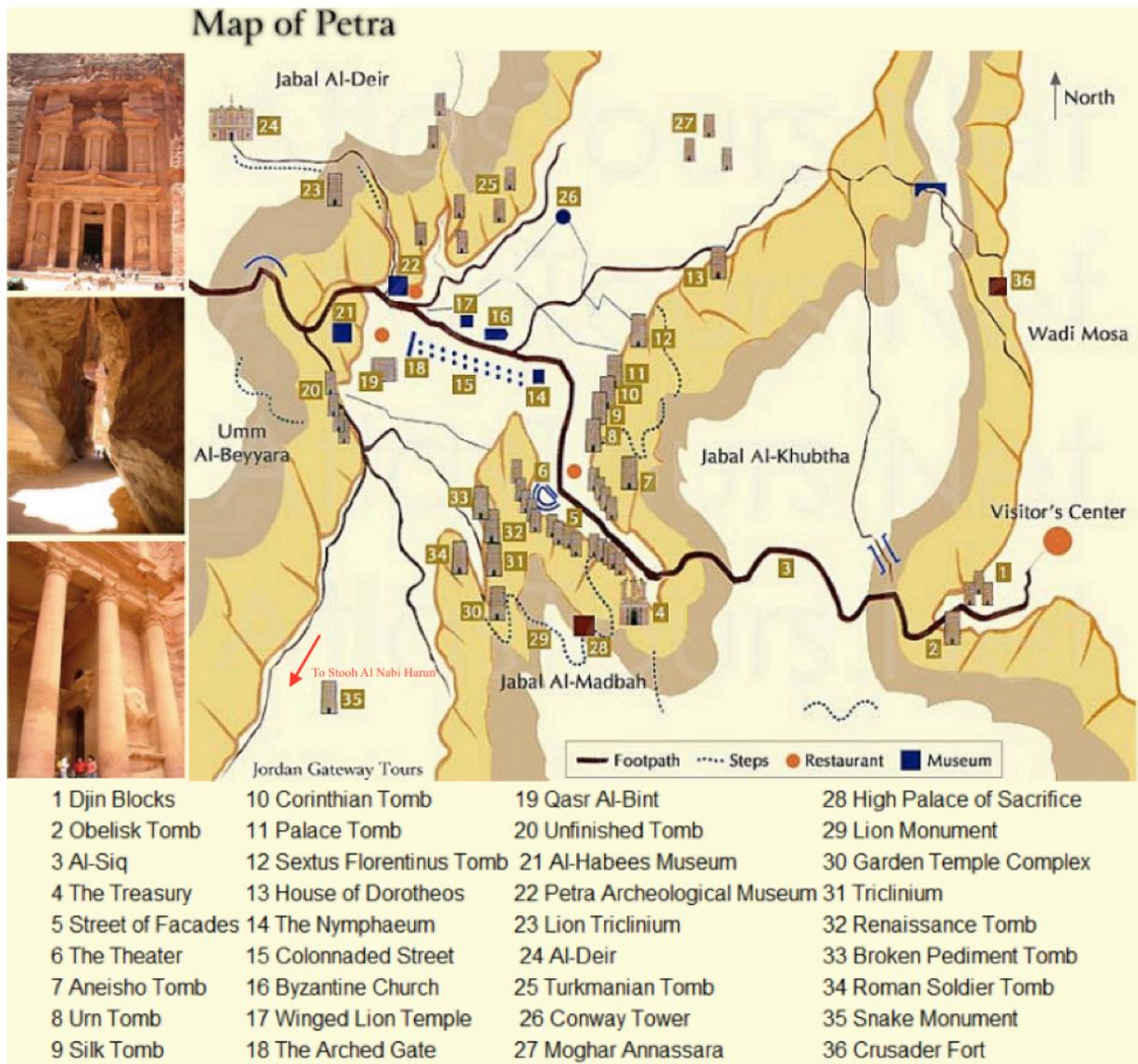


Figure 4: Tourist map of Petra Archaeological Park ©AtlasTours.Net.
http://www.atlastours.net/jordan/petra_map.html

schools for their children. The Bdul’s relocation, according to El-Hakim, was made on the basis of a “series of petitions and telegrams” (El-Hakim 1978: 13), and included the following provisos:

- (i) that the housing provided will be at Um Sayhun;
- (ii) that priority be given to Bdul for work in Petra in skilled and unskilled tasks (El-Hakim 1978: 13).

The Jordanian government fulfilled these basic requests when the Bdul were relocated in 1985. Marguerite van Geldermalsen wrote about the resettlement in April of 1985 in her book entitled *Married to a Bedouin*:

In seven days all seventy-eight families had been moved from the bowl of Petra. The tribe had grown as I predicted and the families living near Jabal Haroon and the Beitha plains had to wait another year for more units to be completed (Geldermalsen 2006: 264).

Yet, not all elements of the Bdul were removed from the basin, as Geldermalsen notes, “Apart from the tables of the souvenir stalls and the cooling *thilaajas* of the Pepsi vendors, everything else to do with the community was moving” (Geldermalsen 2006: 263). Heritage professionals focused on the development of Petra for tourism, and unfortunately the Bdul were merely a piece of the tourism enterprise. El-Hakim concludes the report with his recommendations “regarding the socio-economic implications” of resettling the Bdul with the following premonition: “Resettlement by itself, without a complementary programme of socio-economic development for the resettled people is bound to fail” (El-Hakim 1978: 15). But there was no such program for socioeconomic development for the Bdul beyond their request to be prioritized for touristic work within Petra, which in essence was a continuation of their current and previous actions.

1985: Petra a World Heritage Site and the Relocation of the Bdul

It was not until 1985, when Petra became a World Heritage Site, that the World Bank provided funds for a 100-unit housing development in Um Seyhun for the Bdul. The housing development lacked livestock pens and the necessary provisions for the average Bdul family of seven (Farajat 2012: 151). In 1978 El-Hakim stated: “Fifty-four families (55.6 percent) have households of between five and thirteen individuals” (El-Hakim 1978: 10). Clearly, there was little foresight put into the application to the World Heritage Committee in 1985 for Petra’s

World Heritage status, as noted by Giorgia Cesaro, a UNESCO Cultural Officer in Amman, when asked about the strengths and weaknesses of Petra's World Heritage application:

It was four pages, maybe six maximum, and it is not really an application or dossier. From the information that is available at the UNESCO Amman office, and from research I did in other archives, it is the only documentation available. It is four pages, and it is the evaluation of an advisory body, ICOMOS. While I was doing my research on Petra, I found that many sites that were inscribed at the end of the '70s, and the beginning of the '80s were not inscribed following the current methodology (Cesaro 2014: July 1).

In 1985, prior to Petra's World Heritage application and the relocation of the Bdul, the International Council on Monuments and Sites suggested the deferral of the World Heritage application for Petra, "as there is no plan for Petra National Park," and "all efforts to determine the exact limits of the site would be fruitless" (ICOMOS 1985). There was little evidence that the World Heritage Convention gave serious attention to the establishment of site boundaries or the evaluation of resources needed to undertake the management of Petra (Comer 2012: 17-18).

Geraldine Chatelard, a former UNESCO consultant and heritage specialist was asked how the Bdul were addressed within the World Heritage application for Petra in 1985, and she noted that the removal of the Bdul was in line with King Hussein's Bedouin relocation initiatives in the '50s, '60s, and '70s:

There was a plan by the palace to build housing for Bedouins, so the construction of this village for the Bdul to take them out of the site was being applied throughout the whole country for Bedouin. People were not forced to go. They were induced (Chatelard 2014: 10 June).

King Hussein, who ruled Jordan from 1952 to 1999, established incentivized resettlement programs for Bedouin, which were directly cited within the 1968 USNPS plan for Petra as a model for relocation that could be suitable for the Bdul:

The Government has projects in the el Jafr, al Hussainys, and al-Qarien areas of the Ma'an Governorate under the supervision of the Department

of Research, Ministry of Agriculture and in cooperation with the United Nations in which members of the al-Huwaitat tribe have been settled (USNPS 1968: 24).

The USNPS plan then lists provisions and necessities that were implemented for the relocation of the al-Huwaitat tribe, which could be applied to relocation efforts for the Bdul such as a home with “50 dunums for land suitable for farming,” and specified how each home would be leased until the “tribes-men” could purchase the homes after five years with “long-term, low interest loans” (USNPS 1968: 24). By listing the Bedouin relocation programs in Ma‘an as successful ventures endorsed by King Hussein, the USNPS plan rationalized their suggestion for relocating the Bdul, as it would fall within the Kingdom’s current initiatives. Resettlement for the Bdul, whether they were induced or not, was not optional. Christopher A. Tuttle, the former associate director of ACOR and director of the Temple of the Winged Lions Cultural Resource Management project, when asked whether the relocation of the Bdul mirrored other settlement programs of Bedouin by King Hussein, stated:

It’s one thing to be out building a village along a new road in the ‘60s or ‘70s. The government was building these settlements and people chose to come. Petra was mandated. You must move out. That was more about creating a pristine archaeological and national park (Tuttle 2014: 11 June).

The primary reasons stated for the relocation of the Bdul were for the preservation of Petra and the park’s preparation for visitors. If the Bdul’s relocation had been for their betterment, heritage management professionals would have attended to the process with more forethought.

The United States National Park Service plan in 1968 was arguably a catalyst that led the Jordanian government to relocate the Bdul to Um Seyhun when Petra became a World Heritage Site. The situation of relocating the Bdul is described by Suleiman A.D. Farajat, a professor of tourism management and archaeology at the University of Jordan, when asked about the parties responsible for relocating the Bdul in 1985:

The international organizations were responsible for the idea of removing them, and the Jordanian authorities executed the plan, because UNESCO said if we want to have Petra on the list, the Bdul have to be moved out (Farajat, S.A.D., 2014: 30 June).

The events that prompted the relocation of the Bdul were the uncontested agreements between heritage professionals from international organizations and the Jordanian Government. They were orchestrated with the shared goal of preservation and the presentation of a pristine archaeological park, as seen in the remarkably similar rhetoric that both parties used with reference to the Bdul's resettlement and the recommendations for sociocultural studies. Douglas C. Comer, the co-president for the International Council on Monuments and Sites, and a former United States National Park Employee, stated that a lot has changed from the 1960s and 1980s and that relocation is necessary for preserving a site:

The philosophy of the Park Service has changed dramatically since the '60s. We now allow Native American communities to have access to the parks, use traditional herbs, and we accommodate those sorts of things more so than we did 45 years ago. This is something that I ran into in Thailand; do these people have to move out? It is a heavy thing to say, but you know they have to go. You have to try to have some way of managing whatever damage they might have produced through certain activities (Comer 2014: 19 June)

Shatha Abu-Khafajah, a professor of architecture at the Hashemite University, further emphasized this point:

I think that the situation now has not differed from the situation in 1985- we are still in the same circle where we are just implementing the rules and regulations of the internationally relevant bodies that are involved with tourism and heritage management and surprisingly, the government of Jordan, and the elites from both groups are also part of this circle (Abu-Khafajah 2014: 14 June).

This sentiment was reiterated by Suleiman A.D. Farajat when he was asked about the role of international heritage organizations at Petra before and after 1985: "Heritage is about interest groups. The one that has more power has more access. This is the way it is all over the world"

(Farajat, S.A.D., 2014: 30 June). Unfortunately, the Bdul make up a small percentage of the population in the Kingdom of Jordan, and therefore do not have the clout to negotiate with government officials or heritage professionals that a majority would. The limited sphere of archaeological heritage management and the exclusion of communities were points raised by Michel Hamarneh when asked whether the local communities were considered when Petra became a World Heritage Site in 1985:

I am referring to people who are living in any historical area. When you are trying to safeguard this area for better management, you should look into how those people socially and economically dealt with each other. We don't have it in our management [plans] today. We manage the site as a site. As a dead place, as stones, but we don't go further (Hamarneh 2014: 1 July).

Hamarneh raises a point that reflects upon the limited heritage management policies that led international and Jordanian heritage professionals to relocate the Bdul for the sake of preservation in 1985. Further, these quotes highlight some of the major problems of managing archaeological heritage sites with multiple stakeholders, including minority social groups. Morag Kersel, a professor of anthropology at DePaul University and ACOR fellow, states some of the problems with the discrete criterion associated with World Heritage status:

It is this weird Western ideal that gets translated all over the world. It's basically the West telling everybody what's of universal value, and you have to click those criteria, and make sure you meet all of these determinations, or at least two or three of them in order to comply with the criteria (Kersel 2014: 14 June).

The many stipulations of becoming a World Heritage Site have deterred Jordan from enlisting additional sites. World Heritage Sites such as Um er-Rasas, an archaeological site in the Madaba Governorate, which contains remains from the Roman, Byzantine, and Early Muslim periods of the 3rd to 9th centuries CE (UNESCO 2014), and Quseir Amra, located in the Eastern Desert in the Az Zarqa' Governorate, a desert castle and residence of Umayyad caliphs constructed in the

early 8th century (UNESCO 2014), are isolated, unlike Petra and Jerash, and do not require the expropriation of lands from stakeholders.

Comparative Analysis: Jerash

Jerash, formerly the Roman city of Gerasa, lies 50 kilometers north of Amman (Myers et al. 2010: 3) and provides an excellent example of an intact provincial Roman city. In order to contextualize the heritage management situation at Jerash Archaeological Park, it is necessary to present a brief contemporary history of events surrounding the city. After the Arab Israeli conflict in 1967, approximately 300,000 Palestinian refugees flooded the East Bank (Robins 2004: 124-125). The influx of Palestinians into the Kingdom of Jordan after the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 led to internal issues with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which was initially an amicable relationship established over the mutual disdain of Israeli occupation of the West Bank. Yet, civil war erupted in September 1970, commonly referred to as “Black September,” and ended in Jerash and the Ajlun Hills in July of 1971, where 5,000 Palestinian Liberation Organization guerilla fighters fled or surrendered to Jordanian authorities (Robins 2004: 131-132).

As previously mentioned, in 1966 USAID proposed management plans for the Amman Citadel, Jerash, and Petra, which were eventually carried out by the USNPS and Jordanian governmental agencies in 1968 after the Arab-Israeli conflict. Two Palestinian refugee camps, Souf and Jerash, were established in Jerash in 1967 and 1968, respectively. Jerash camp, also known as Gaza camp, and Souf camp were set up as “emergency” camps for roughly 11,500 Palestinians situated within five kilometers of the Roman ruins of Gerasa (Figure 5) (UNRWA 2014). Today, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East notes that there are currently 20,000 Palestinian refugees in Souf and 24,000 in Jerash camp

(UNRWA 2014). Beyond Palestinians, the city of Jerash's population of 58,000 is made up of traditional Jordanian tribal groups: Damascene, Circassian, Armenian, and Kurdish peoples (Myers et al 2010: 17). It is arguable that the demographics of the population of the city of Jerash affected the heritage management initiatives of the Jordanian government when it nominated Jerash Archaeological Park for World Heritage status in 1985.

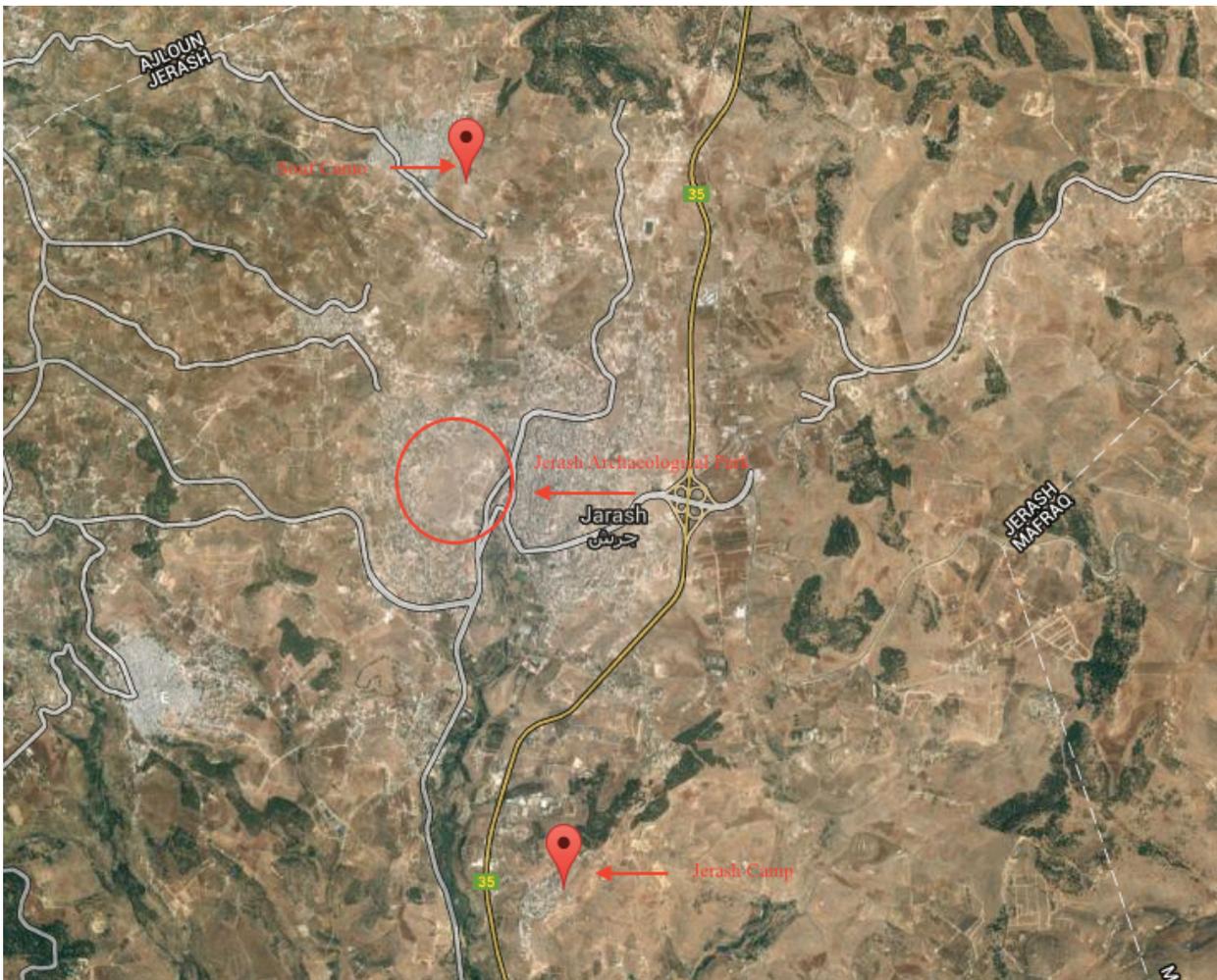


Figure 5: Satellite image showing Palestinian refugee camps Jerash and Souf in relation to Jerash Archaeological Park. Map Data: ©2014 Google, Mapa GISrael, ORION-ME Imagery ©2014 TerraMetrics,

Similar to Petra, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities submitted an application for Jerash to become a World Heritage Site in 1984 (Myers et al 2010: 19). Yet, unlike Petra, in 1985 the application for Jerash was deferred due to the fact that Jerash's boundaries were not

properly defined, an adequate management plan did not exist, and restorations to the site were necessary (Myers et al 2010: 19). Further, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities owns the western half of the ancient city, Jerash Archaeological Park, while the eastern half of Gerasa is controlled and mostly covered with modern developments by the governorate of Jerash (Figure 6) (Myers et al 2010: 3). The Jordanian Department of Antiquities resubmitted the World Heritage Nomination for Jerash in 1993, and in 1994 an ICOMOS mission reassessed Jerash Archaeological Park (Myers et al 2010: 19). Ghazi Bisheh, the Director General of the Department of Antiquities from 1988 to 1991 and from 1995 to 1999, explained the problems he faced when he tried to re-enlist Jerash:

In Jerash for example, we applied to include it on the World Heritage List. It is the best provincial Roman city in the Middle East, so we thought that we should include it on the World Heritage List, but then the director of this organization came to Jordan, visited Jerash, and said that the site needed a 1km to 2km buffer zone around the city wall. This was impossible. I told him sorry I can't do that. That would require land appropriation, and you have to convince the owners of these lands with a substantial sum of money that we could not afford. He told me to withdraw the application, so I did (Bisheh 2014: 19 June).

The lack of a buffer zone, due to the location of the modern city of Jerash, is a major reason why Jerash Archaeological Park was not given World Heritage status, and the site was only placed on the World Heritage tentative list in 2004 (Myers et al 2010: 19). Conversely, Petra, which also does not have a proper buffer zone, was granted World Heritage status in 1985, because the Bdul and other Bedouin tribes could be easily relocated.

Census data from 2008 shows that Palestinians make up an estimated 60% to 70% of Jordan's population (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2008), which was estimated at 7,930,491 in July 2014 (U.S. CIA: July 2014). Unlike the Bdul, Palestinians represent a majority in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As mentioned above, interest groups determine heritage

management initiatives, and the Jordanian government would likely be unable to easily relocate Palestinians, many of whom are refugees, given that only two decades earlier, from 1970 to 1971, Palestinians led a civil war in Jordan. The Bdul consisted of 504 persons in 1978, while only 347 Bdul actually lived in the Petra basin; this number pales in comparison to the thousands



Figure 6: Satellite image showing the ancient city wall of Gerasa, solid line, and the dashed yellow line represents the boundary between the city of Jerash, and Jerash Archaeological Park owned by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities. ©2008 Digital Globe, ©Google (Myers et al. 2010: 5).

of Palestinian refugees surrounding Jerash and the millions of Palestinians that make up the population of Jordan. The Jordanian government easily resettled the Bdul due to their status in the Kingdom of Jordan, especially when King Hussein carried out Bedouin relocation initiatives, which made the removal of the Bdul at Petra seem customary.

Petra: Preservation and the Effectiveness of Relocation

There are six main towns and villages surrounding Petra: Beidha, Um Seyhun, Wadi-Musa, Taybeh, Rajef, and Dlagha (Farajat 2012: 145). In 1985 when Petra became a World Heritage Site, the Bdul were systematically relocated from the Petra basin to the park's proposed buffer zone, Um Seyhun. This transition was particularly difficult for the Bdul, as described by Aysar Akrawi, the executive director of Petra National Trust:

The Bdul lived in Petra. I imagine living there for years in a closed off area, you develop your own ideals, practices, religion etc. So when they came up to the level of the other villages [at Um Seyhun], they were a pariah. People saw them as strange. Up there was conservative Islam, so there was a clash (Akrawi 2014: 16 June).

The location of the Bdul's new village at Um Seyhun placed them in direct contact with the people of Wadi Musa, predominately of the Layathneh tribe, which led to disputes over land use and competition over tourism benefits (Farajat 2012: 155). In 1993 the Jordanian government confiscated the area of the park of Petra, 264 square kilometers, from the Layathneh, Bdul, Amarin, and Sa'idiyyine tribes and registered it as parkland (Figure 7) (Farajat 2012: 153). Lands traditionally owned by Bedouin tribes directly surrounding the park, Miri Lands or "tribal fronts," now comprised government property and were allocated for the development of the tourism industry (Farajat 2012: 147).

The shortsighted relocation of the Bdul to Um Seyhun, stipulated by heritage professionals and organizations from both the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and international heritage organizations, did not meet their goals of preservation for Petra, but they did meet their goals for tourism development. Many of the problems that plagued the park in 1985 still exist today, such as the Bdul tribe's location in the park's buffer zone and their use of caves for souvenir shops, but these challenges are a symptom of heritage professionals' focus on touristic

development at Petra, which is now a major threat to Petra's preservation status. In effect,

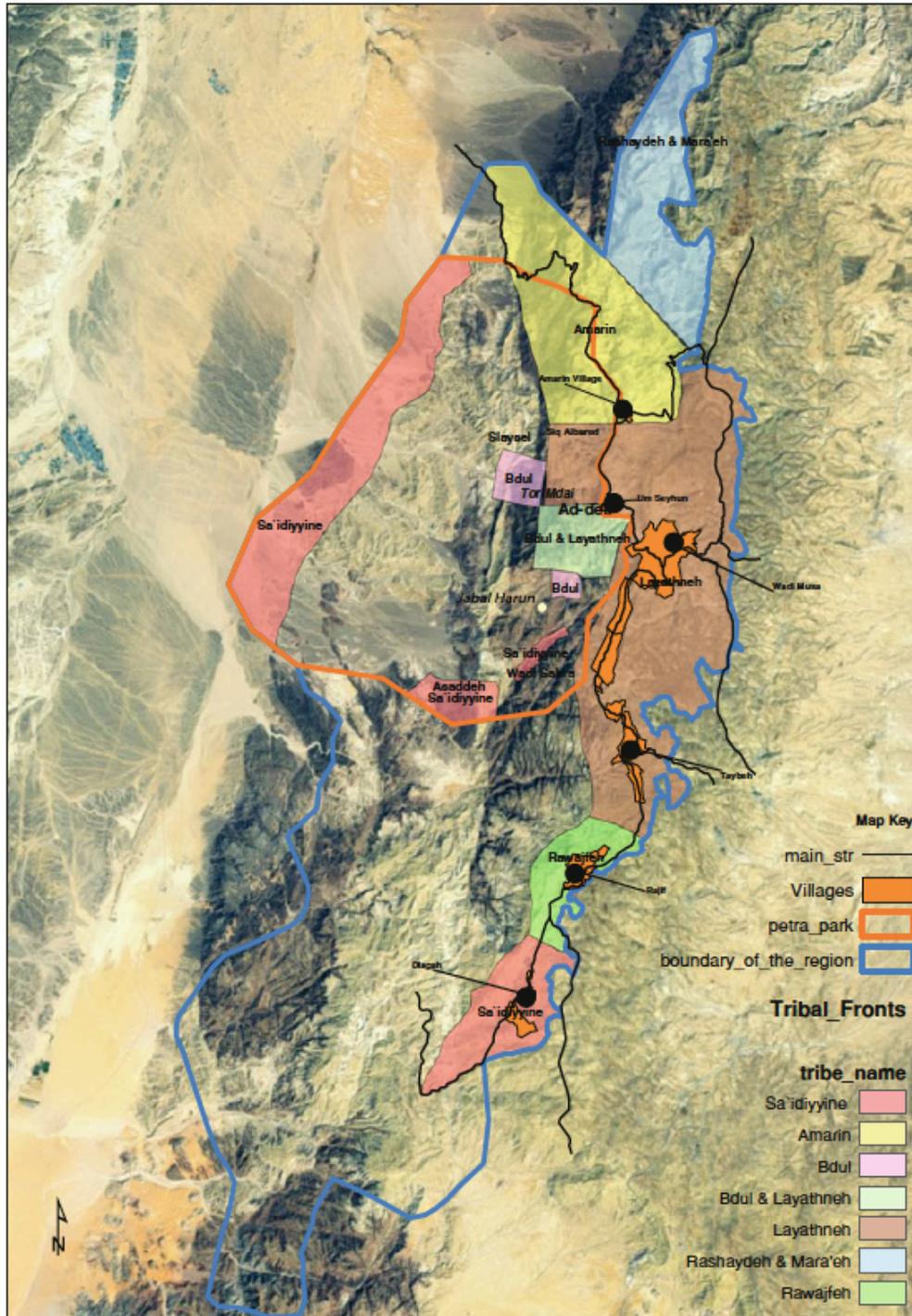


Figure 7: Map of tribal fronts in and around Petra (Farajat 2012: 148).

the events that led to the World Heritage status of Petra froze the park and many of its

infrastructural problems in 1985, as described by Elena Corbett:

The associations that people have with the site become frozen in time, as if it is still 1985 in Petra, and it will always be 1985. That is troubling for a lot of reasons. If you want to look at it and say: 'well that's a good thing for development, because some things cannot be trampled on,' but has it been a good thing for development? The site is under more threat than ever. It was doing okay in 1985. The people's economic situation isn't better, it's probably worse. You've got more threats ecologically, archaeologically, and you name it to the site. So is being frozen in 1985 a good thing? (Corbett 2014: 8 July).

Heritage professionals' objectives for relocating the Bdul were for tourism and preservation, but there was little forethought from heritage professionals on how to sustainably engage the Bdul, and in the past twenty-five years, the population of the communities surrounding Petra has grown from 500 to nearly 3,000 (Angel 2012: 107). Expanding the settlement of Um Seyhun, or even developing new homes within the community, is counteractive to preservation initiatives of heritage organizations and professionals at Petra, as it would be building within the park's buffer zone. Heritage professionals should have accounted for population growth in 1985, and preemptive plans should have been made for the expansion of Um Seyhun.

In the 1970s only a few thousand visitors visited Petra annually. Petra burst into popular consciousness with the feature film *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* in 1989, and, coupled with the advent of inexpensive travel, improved roads, and global advertising, more than one million visitors sojourn to Petra each year (Comer 2012: 5). During the 1994 Petra UNESCO management plan, it was estimated that the site could withstand 1,500 visitors per day. Arguably, two events caused major spikes in the increase in visitors at Petra: the signing of the peace agreement with Israel in 1994, and Petra's promotion to one of the New Seven Wonders of the World in 2007. In 2010 an average of 2,740 visitors attended per day, and at times, attendance exceeded 5,000 persons per day (Figure 8) (Akrawi 2012: 55-59).

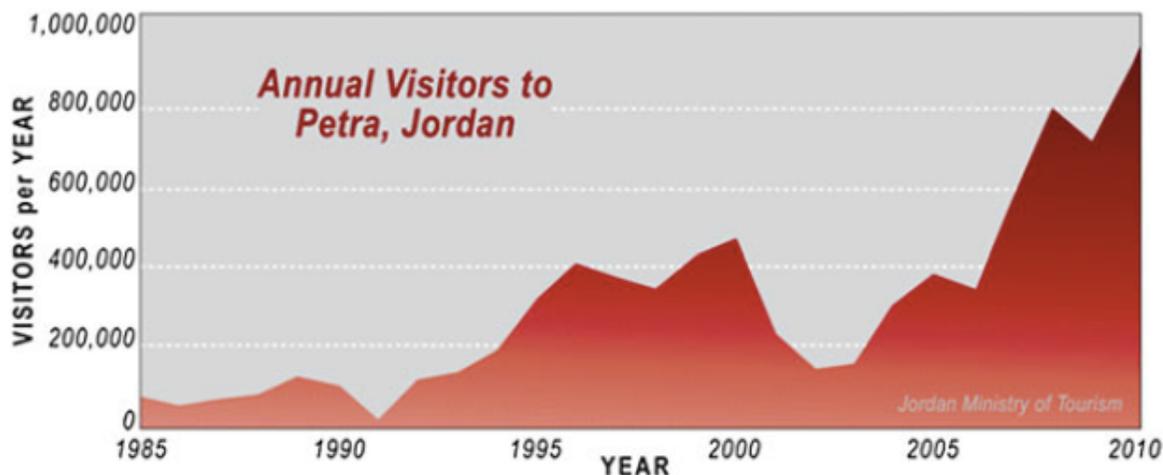


Figure 8: Jordan, annual visitors to Petra; 1985-2010. Courtesy of the Jordan Ministry of Tourism (Comer 2012: 6).

Controlling visitor flow is a basic principle for the management of archaeological sites. If properly managed, surrounding communities, local governments, and archaeologists can all benefit from a site. Tourism can provide economic and social advantages for local populations, along with opportunities for tourists to understand an area's past and present cultures (Comer 2012: 12). Yet, regulations for sites, especially at Petra, remain largely unchecked.

Without proper infrastructure and control of tourism at Petra, graffiti and theft continue to be major problems. The first documented example of graffiti dates to the 11th c. CE, and vandalism continues well into the modern era (Figure 9). Additionally, to meet the needs of tourists, vendors, typically from local communities, will sell pieces of bedrock from the park to tourists, degrading the site (Akrawi 2012: 66). The management in the park has allowed private dinners, marathons, raves, concerts, performances, and camping. These activities are conducted in the absence of zoning and regulations that express the value and significance of the site along with an appeared lack of supervision of events (Akrawi 2012: 68). There is an urgent need to develop a zoning plan for the 264-km² area of Petra, along with separate plans for areas with high densities of archaeological monuments frequented by visitors (Akrawi 2012: 70).

In 1985 through 1987, as a stipulation of resettlement, the Jordanian government granted the Bedouin a privileged status over the tourism industry in the Petra basin. Unfortunately, the rapid growth of tourism within and around Petra arguably has not matched the expansion of preservation initiatives that are needed for the park. In many ways, the local communities surrounding Petra have adopted the attitude of many government officials; Petra is a lucrative,



Figure 9: Close up on graffiti on *Biclinium* 849, east wall (Courtesy of PNT and Courtlaud) (Akrawi 2012: 64).

income-generating source, and allocating funds for site conservation reduces profit margins from tourists. Saad Twaissi, a professor at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University, stated the relationship between the Jordanian government and local communities' attitudes toward Petra:

...Petra for the officials, the local communities, and the government is a milking cow. It's true. When they plan for something, the main thing that they base their decisions on is 'how will we benefit from that? Will this contribute to more tourism flow? Will this contribute to a longer stay for tourists, and will this create more tourism expenditure?' It's good, but we should also look at Petra for its cultural value and from a cultural point of view. What is the value of Petra from a scientific or historical value? What is the value of Petra for the students of cultural heritage, and art history? We should have this balance. Will this plan help protect and better manage the site? Is this product friendly to the environment or not? I think that this is the main point- they look at Petra as a milking cow (Twaissi 2014: 24 June).

Tourism is Jordan's largest export sector, the second largest private sector employer, and according to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, the tourism industry contributes more than

U.S. \$800 million to Jordan's economy, while accounting for 10% of its GDP (Myers et al 2010: 20). The Jordanian government has spent approximately the last sixty years building its tourism industry, and this often means that preservation initiatives compete and impede the financial benefits of tourism. Adding to this point, Monther Jamhawi, the director general of the Department of Antiquities, presented the careful balance between preserving a site and promoting it for tourism:

We used to discuss this with the ministry of tourism. There are two tracks, developers seeking change, and the conservatives who seek to leave everything as is. Two questions arise: Do we need our site forever? Or for all? The Ministry of Tourism wants to get as many tourists as possible to generate income, which would affect the forever value of the site, while the DoA wants the site to be kept and saved forever. We need to create a kind of balance. We will accept proposals that increase tourists while saving and managing the site (Jamhawi 2014: 23 June).

A balance such as this may or may not be possible, but it is necessary to strive toward it. Yet, the chain of command for managing Petra places the Department of Antiquities in a lower position than the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (Figure 10). Therefore, as seen in the past thirty years, the “forever value” of Petra is secondary to the “for all” value that fills the coffers of the state. Emad Hijazeen, the commissioner of Petra Archaeological Park, aired his frustration when asked how local communities were considered by heritage organizations in the management plans for Petra before and after 1985:

What was the plan for the community? Move them over there, have them get involved with tourism, and then have 50% of their children drop out of school? (Hijazeen 2014: 24 June).

Even with an increase in the number of schools and student enrollment in the communities surrounding Petra, attrition rates remain high due to the tourist industry. Many children are drawn by the chance to earn money for their families by selling trinkets around the park (Farajat

2012: 159). The challenges that the Bdul face today were predictable in 1985, considering that the plans for the management of Petra focused on the local community only as a means to an end for tourism. The emphasis on building infrastructure for tourism at Petra has ultimately detracted

PDTRA's Organization and Governance Structure (Law No. 15, August 2009)

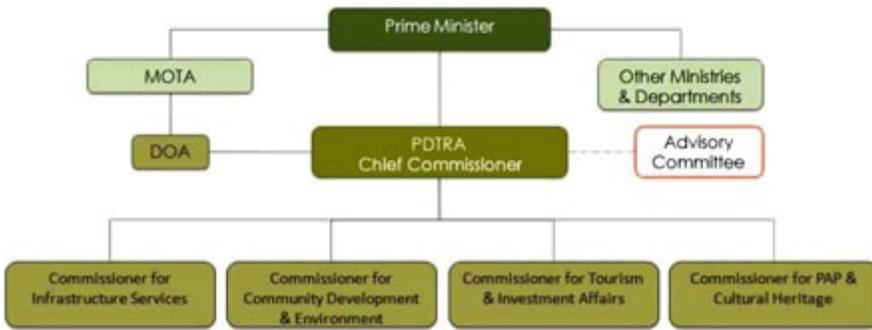


Figure 10: Petra management; chain of command. Courtesy of Petra Development and Tourism Region Authority (PDTRA) (Akrawi 2012; 44).

from the preservation and conservation initiatives established by heritage organizations. The goals of preservation from international heritage organizations and the

Jordanian government through the relocation of the Bdul at Petra in 1985 through 1987 when

Petra became a World Heritage Site, were not met; the Bdul were relocated without a sustainable long-term plan that accounted for population growth in a buffer zone of the park, Um Seyhun, and more vendor sites and caves are utilized now to meet the demand of the constantly growing number of tourists at Petra. The tourism industry at Petra, promoted by heritage professionals, is ironically one of the major preservation challenges that Petra currently faces, and the haphazard relocation of the Bdul in 1985 did not safeguard the park as heritage professionals intended, but merely helped to promote an ever growing and destructive tourism industry.

Conclusion

The relocation of the Bdul at Petra in 1985, when Petra became a World Heritage Site, for the purpose of preservation and the preparation of the park for visitors, pales in comparison to the damage caused by the millions of tourists who journey to Petra each year and are a greater threat to preservation initiatives at Petra than the Bdul ever were. As seen at Jerash, the relocation of indigenous populations at heritage sites is dependent upon whether an interest

group or set of stakeholders are minorities. The relocation of the Bdul at Petra for the sake of heritage initiatives dictated by the USNPS, Jordanian governmental organizations, UNESCO, and the World Bank, was carried out and rationalized within the normative Bedouin relocation schemes of King Hussein, but did not fulfill the goals of preservation at Petra. The efforts of Jordanian and international heritage organizations at Petra concentrated on global directives and developmental politics that harnessed tourism, and unfortunately, the initial goal of preservation became secondary at Petra due to heritage professionals' initiatives that focused on tourism development with an absence of sustainable plans for local communities, in particular the Bdul. Christopher A. Tuttle stated the status of the field of heritage management:

I think that the concept or model that indigenous peoples damage sites is an old concept that our discipline, Cultural Heritage Resources and related disciplines, is only now starting to realize doesn't work. Sustainability must involve the local communities (Tuttle 2014: 11 June).

It was only in 2005 that UNESCO proclaimed the cultural spaces of the Bedouin of Petra and Wadi Rum, a natural and cultural World Heritage Site south of Petra, as Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage to preserve the traditional knowledge and skills of Bedouin communities through the collection and transmission of oral heritage (UNESCO 2014). The inscription of the intangible heritage of the Bdul was a positive step towards preserving and safeguarding Bedouin culture, despite the fact that its implementation only surfaced three decades after Petra's inscription as a World Heritage Site, and it does not necessarily address sustainable development programs for Bedouin communities. Further, the United States Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation presented a grant of \$600,000 to increase the accessibility to the Temple of the Winged Lions in Petra. The project has trained conservation specialists and educated the local community about the site (Luke & Kersel 2013: 42). Additionally, an initiative to involve local communities and tourists by Petra Archaeological Park, Care for Petra, began in October 2014,

as described by director Emad Hijazeen:

I want to work with tourists and have them help. There will be three main topics: child labor, animal welfare, and site protection. This will last for two years, and we have many international organizations funding it (Hijazeen 2014: 24 June).

These types of initiatives will engage tourists and allow for the sustainable growth of stakeholders while simultaneously promoting preservation initiatives at Petra. Unfortunately, departure from earlier models of heritage management is complicated, as described by Abu-Khafajah:

The challenge is to break from the paradigm that continues to dominate approaches to heritage everywhere. The alternative approach should consider tourism as a means for sociocultural and economic development rather than an aim unto itself. In this sense, local sociocultural and economic contexts are assets rather than hindrances... (Abu-Khafajah et al. 2014: 15)

A method and theory that attempts this balanced and inclusive approach is Collaborative Inquiry (Bray et al. 2004). Collaborative Inquiry follows four basic steps: forming a group of co-researchers, creating the conditions for group learning, acting on the inquiry question, and making meaning by constructing group knowledge (Bray et al. 2000: 14). This model is similar to Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR), which brings reciprocal benefits to each partner and allows communities to build capacities (Atalay 2012: 3). A tenet of CBPR is the valuing of ideas contributed from diverse knowledge systems, and the CBPR approach combines information that can be incorporated through different traditions and experiences, while requiring scholars and community members to develop equitable partnerships (Atalay 2012: 4). Additionally, it is important for archaeologists, heritage professionals, and government officials to continuously make adjustments to the needs of communities (Atalay 2012: 256), so that development and growth of all of the concerned parties can continue to progress alongside

heritage in a sustainable manner. The CBPR approach for the Bdul, and other Bedouin tribes in and around Petra, would be beneficial, as each tribe has a unique association with Petra and its monuments that are manifested through oral histories as opposed to traditional academic discourses. The Bdul's association with the site not only adds to the contemporary history of Petra, but also provides a basis on how people engage and interact with monuments that could give scholars ethnographic data on how previous populations engaged with the same sites. Petra would benefit from a collaborative mode, or CBPR, if implemented properly, as seen in the Temple of the Winged Lions Project, which would allow for sustainable development of tourism and preservation initiatives. The Bdul and other Bedouin tribes need to be engaged by heritage professionals, Jordanian government representatives, and other actors in the management of Petra in a way that incorporates local communities as decision makers. Collaborative processes are important first steps in creating foundations of development that can lead to the cooperative, balanced guardianship of a site by all of the concerned parties and stakeholders. Without a balanced and holistic approach to heritage management at Petra, which includes its indigenous populations and stakeholders, the overarching cultural value and preservation of Petra will continue to be significantly diminished by the park's ever-growing tourism enterprise.

Appendix

The list of interviewees is as follows: Shatha Abu-Khafajah, a professor of architecture at the Hashemite University, Ta'lal Akasheh, director of CulTech for Heritage and Conservation, Aysar Akrawi, the executive director of Petra National Trust, Khairieh 'Amr, a technical consultant to the Jordan Museum, Ghazi Bisheh, a former director of the Department of Antiquities, Giorgia Cesaro, a UNESCO Cultural Officer in Amman, Geraldine Chatelard, a former UNESCO consultant and heritage specialist, Douglas C. Comer, the co-president for the International Council on Monuments and Sites and former United States National Park Employee, Elena Dodge Corbett, the CIEE Amman resident director, Suleiman A.D. Farajat, a University of Jordan professor of tourism management and archaeology, Suleiman Farajat, a former commissioner of Petra Archaeological Park, H.E. Michel Hamarneh, former director of the Ministry of Tourism, Jehad Haron, the director of studies and scientific research at the Department of Antiquities, Emad Hijazeen, the commissioner of Petra Archaeological Park, Monther Jamhawi, the director general of the Department of Antiquities, Zeidan Kafafi, a dean at the Queen Rania Institute of Tourism and Heritage at the Hashemite University, Morag Kersel, a professor of anthropology at DePaul University, Mohammad Najjar, the director of Jordan's Landscape Tours and heritage consultant, Megan Perry, a board member of ACOR and co-director of Petra Northridge Project, Benjamin Porter, a professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, Christopher A. Tuttle, the former associate director of ACOR and the Temple of the Winged Lions Cultural Resource Management initiative, and Saad Twaissi, a professor of archaeology and tourism at Al-Hussein Bin Talal University.

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