The Deep Past as a Social Asset in the Levant (DEEPSAL)

A study of the livelihoods of the communities living close to the Neolithic sites of Basta and Beidha in southern Jordan.

Dr Oroub El ABED

With contributions from Professor Bill Finlayson, Dr Paul Burtenshaw and Dr Carol Palmer

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The Deep Past as a Social Asset in the Levant (DEEPSAL) project grew from the fortunate timing of several initiatives. The Neolithic Heritage Trail (NHT) had recently been established as a concept by Bill Finlayson during his time as CBRL Director, in conjunction with a group of Jordanian and international colleagues (Samantha Dennis, Hans-Georg Gebel, Charlott Hoffman Jensen, Mohammad Najjar, Alan Simmons, Ingolf Thuesen, and Talal Hamad al-Amarin). This trail was intended to combine the promotion of Neolithic archaeology in southern Jordan as a tourism asset with both economic benefits for local communities and improvements in the conservation of the selected sites. Finlayson had also recently completed a project at Beidha, building on the results of long-term conservation and presentation work to interpret and display the site to the public and working within an MoU with the Ministry of Tourism, the Department of Antiquities, the Petra Development and Tourism Region Authority, and USAID/ Jordan Tourism Development Project II (Siyaha). Paul Burtenshaw had recently completed his PhD studying local communities in Wadi Faynan, at one end of the NHT, and the economic value of heritage, at the same time revealing the complexities and opportunities involved in local community engagement beyond those initially envisaged. Carol Palmer, whose research included a focus on rural livelihoods in Jordan, was working as Director of the CBRL's institute in Amman, and Burtenshaw had commenced a CBRL post-doctoral fellowship at the Institute.

In this context, the British Academy, CBRL's main sponsor, announced a new round of their Strategic Development Fund in 2013/14, an opportunity to assist the British Academy-Sponsored Institutes and Societies (BASIS), to diversify their research portfolios, in particular to develop research in the social sciences. CBRL had been successful in previous rounds, winning funds to support research on contemporary issues in the region, and extending its programme in the social sciences. One aspect of this diversification had been the growth of two rather separate strands of research, ancient and modern. We decided to seize the opportunity afforded by this new funding round to propose a project that not only built on the existing projects and expertise, but which also provided a bridge between these two strands. This academic and intellectual benefit was further enhanced by the impact provided by the project, where the applied research has proved invaluable in guiding plans for tourism and development, as well as education. DEEPSAL, therefore, builds on areas of experience and expertise in archaeology, cultural heritage management, rural economics, and contemporary politics and identity. This technical report forms one of the main outputs of the project conducted between January 2015 and November 2016.

Oroub El Abed, DEEPSAL Post-doctoral Fellow, holds a PhD in political economy from SOAS and conducted the studies of the communities of Beidha and Basta building on her expertise and experience in human development and work on livelihood strategies. Bill Finlayson provided expertise on the Neolithic heritage and overall project coordination; Paul Burtenshaw, who during the course the project was Director, Projects at the Sustainable Heritage Initiative (SPI), acted as consultant providing expertise in public archaeology, heritage tourism and the use of heritage in development; and Carol Palmer contributed her knowledge of rural communities and led on CBRL organizational support in Jordan.

CBRL staff at our institute in Amman – including Nadja Qaisi, Rudaina Al Momani, Adam Ferron, and Nancy Abaza - provided collegial and logistical support for the project and its associated activities. Outreach activities included: a community heritage day in Basta (8 August 2015), kindly promoted by the Bedouin actor, Shaiysh Al Nuimi; a two-day trip for interested members of the public to highlight the potential for tourism and economic enterprise of the Beidha area (8–9 October 2015); a community stakeholder meeting held at CBRL Amman on 19 October 2015 with representatives of heritage organizations; and, finally, a closing event on 19 November 2016 held in Beidha with participants from both Basta and Beidha and beyond.

Sincere thanks are extended to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA); the Department of Antiquities (DoA), and its then Director General Dr Monther Jamhawi; the Petra Development and Tourism Region Authority (PDTRA), and the then Deputy Chief Commissioner, Dr Dr Emad Hijazeen for their support of the project. The Phenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies, Director Dr Ahmad Awad, undertook the quantitative study of the villages. Isabelle and Claire Ruben undertook final copy-editing and type-setting of this report.

This research would not have been possible without the kind co-operation and participation of many individuals from the communities of Beidha and Basta, from teachers to tour guides and representatives of community-based organizations described in this report, as well as enthusiastic members of the public and the many friends and supporters of CBRL and the communities of Basta and Beidha across Jordan.

Executive Summary

The Deep Past as a Social Asset in the Levant (DEEPSAL) project aims to understand how local cultural heritage can contribute to people's lives today. Two communities, from the villages of Beidha and Basta in south Jordan, are studied, each of which contains highly significant Neolithic archaeological sites. The sites are from a period of huge change in human history, 9000 years ago, when people first began farming and living in large settled communities. The historic impact of this period is fundamental to how we live today; the process of settling down and domesticating barley and goats has a potential resonance with the lives of the modern communities in the region. Our study seeks to understand how this 'deep past' can be an asset to the communities who live around the sites today.

It is well known that archaeological sites have the potential to benefit the public in a variety of ways. They can help in understanding present-day production and social patterns, provide identity and sense of place, give artistic and social inspiration, and create economic benefits from tourism, branding or local craft businesses. Indeed, in Jordan cultural heritage has been seen as a very valuable social and economic asset bringing tourism and contributing to the development of the national identity. However, initiatives to use cultural heritage in contemporary development plans are often narrowly focused and unsuccessful, either proving to be unsustainable or failing to provide benefits to target communities.

Providing relevant, sustainable and locally focused benefits from cultural heritage resources necessitates both a thorough understanding of the lives of the communities that are the intended beneficiaries, and of the variety of strategies which could be used to bring those benefits. As a result this project sought to:

- Understand the current socio-economic, political and cultural life of the local communities of Beidha and Basta.

- Understand the current relationship between the communities and their local heritage, the values they put on it, any responsibility they take for it, and the benefits they get from it or the problems it causes for them.

- Explore potential strategies in each location for making local archaeology into a sustainable social asset. Such strategies include education programs, tourism promotion, the creation of local small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), the use of the archaeological site as a community social space, and protection of the site for the use of future communities.

- Make recommendations for actions which will bring real value to local communities and archaeological sites.

The project collected data through surveys of the communities, as well as in-depth interviews, public events and participant observation.

Livelihoods of Local Communities

The recent past has been a period of significant economic and social change in Jordan. Although the communities of Basta and Beidha share some elements of cultural history, their current socio-economic and cultural lives are very different due to the contexts in which they find themselves. The community of Basta has been settled for longer and lies outside the Petra Park, while some members of the Beidha community continue to be more mobile, and are more exposed to the tourism around Petra.

Basta

- The residents of Basta belong to the Nuaimat tribe, who also have five other villages to the east of Petra on the road leading to Ma'an.

- Traditional sources of income in the village are declining: less than 20% of the community continues to work and trade the products of animal husbandry, although local women are well known for the production of high-quality dairy products, working from home and making small-scale sales. Similarly, less than 20% grow wheat and barley on tribal lands, with traditional bread making also in decline. While fruit trees are grown in the village, these are for personal consumption, not for market.

- The public sector (both civil and military) is the majority employer of local people and is seen as providing desirable, stable jobs that bring social protection to families. There is no tourism in Basta, and villagers' perceptions of possible tourism are dominated by what they see of large-scale tourism in Petra.

- Education is highly valued locally – there is pride in hosting the first school established in the region – and parents are keen to have their children obtain university degrees. However, the low entrance requirements for military positions often disincentivizes completion of school.

- Community-based organizations exist within the village, and they have been successful in securing services including water treatment and solar panels. However, these initiatives have previously been let down by a lack of coordination between the village members. There is little evidence of self-starter entrepreneurial activity within the community. This is related to a tradition of dependency on the state as the main welfare provider. This 'rentierism mentality',[1] relying on the state's distribution of allocations and rewards, plays against individuals' sense of agency.

- Currently the Neolithic site of Basta is not part of the villagers' social, economic or cultural landscape. Knowledge about the site is very limited amongst residents and it does not feature in local education. The only connection with the site is through the generation who worked directly on excavations on the site in the 1980s.

- The *kherbeh* – the remains of the Ottoman village – is the focus of local community cultural values, especially in relation to the narrative of current community life. The Neolithic past of the location forms no part in the narrative that connects to contemporary life patterns.

Beidha

- Beidha is inhabited by the Ammarin tribe and forms part of the community which formerly lived in Petra and nearby Little Petra. The modern settlement (known as the Beidha Housing) is within 2 km of the Little Petra tourist site (Siq al Bared), and the Neolithic site.

- The livelihoods and outlook of the current community are dominated by its position close to Petra and its large-scale tourist industry. Many village members work for the Petra Development and Tourism Region Authority (PDTRA) as guards, tour guides or shopkeepers.

- Very few of the villagers continue to depend upon animal husbandry. Tourism and work on archaeological excavations are the main livelihood options. However, the community is excluded from working in Petra itself and must rely on the comparatively small number of tourists who venture to the secondary site of Little Petra.

- While the Neolithic site features on some local guide itineraries, visits are limited by lack of knowledge and its perception as an 'extra' site at the end of what are often long days during a short visit to Jordan. However, while the number of visitors is low compared to Petra, the site still receives several thousand visitors each year. Unfortunately, at present there are limited mechanisms through which the local community can gain any economic benefit from these visitors.

- Due to the dominance of tourism in livelihoods, education is not seen as a priority. Informal work can be obtained without formal qualifications and many people rely on a mixture of income-generating activities.

- Community-based organizations have been effective in gaining funds and micro-grants from the national and international aid focused on Petra and its region. However, few of these initiatives have proved sustainable, often because of a lack of investment in the core business skills required to support them in the long term.

- However, the community demonstrates signs of having good entrepreneurial skills and there are many plans for local initiatives. Business and the community work well together.

- While it is a feature of the economic landscape, the Neolithic site plays little part in local identity or contemporary social life. There is some narrative around the involvement in the excavations of the 1950–60s and those in recent years. However, local perceptions of the distant past are dominated by the Nabataean heritage, which is the foundation of many people's livelihoods.

- The site does not feature in local education and little information is available. The school teachers are often from outside the community and outside the region and therefore know little about local heritage.

- Pride and knowledge about local intangible heritage and recent history is strong, and a small museum has been established by the community as part of local tourist facilities. Bedouin music, poetry, food and stories are part of local lives, as well as being turned into tourist products. As a result, there is a strong interrelationship between intangible heritage and the economic livelihoods of the community.

1 A rentierism mentality "breaks the conventional work/risk/merit and reward causation found in the production economy, with the result that getting access to the rent circuit is a greater pre-occupation than reaching productive efficiency". The risk of the rentierism mentality is that it is not only limited to getting access to the rent circuit but it also encourages those with the available resources to attempt to gain control of the rent (Knowles Warwick, 2005. Jordan SsSice 989, A Sttud St Political EeEcnom, London, I.B Tauris, p.10).)

The Role of Cultural Heritage in Contemporary Lives

Several factors have affected the link between local communities and cultural heritage:

- The Neolithic sites in both locations are presently limited in their role as a social asset. In Basta, there is little knowledge of, or interaction with the sites. In Beidha, although there is some economic benefit from the site through tourism and archaeological excavations, its social and cultural role is limited. What narratives exist about the sites tend to focus on a social history of the archaeological excavations and there is little connection between the site itself and its history and contemporary lives. There is little sense of 'ownership' of the site, with local people stating that maintenance is the responsibility of state authorities. As a result, there is a social separation between people and the site.

- In both locations other local heritage has a greater perceived value. At Basta, the *kherbeh* is the focus for local identity and value, while in both communities intangible heritage and traditions are valued and practised. In both villages, ideas of the ancient past are overshadowed by the tourist focus on Nabataean heritage and, at present, the lack of knowledge regarding the Neolithic means it is generally just ignored.

- Local education does not make it easy for communities to learn more about their local sites. While there is some information on Neolithic sites in school books, no connection is made between this information, and the local sites. There are very limited resources for extra-curricular activities which may involve local cultural heritage. In Beidha, for example, the fact that teachers are often not locallimits incentives for locally-based teaching.

- The perceived potential of tourism differs between the sites. In Beidha, the large Petra tourism market dominates the outlook. The use of the Neolithic site is limited by wider structural problems of tourist schedules and guiding. In Basta, tourism is non-existent with little current prospect of the development of local destinations to create a sustainable market. Both communities share a 'Petra Syndrome' where views of tourism are dominated by the model visible in Petra, one focused on visitor centres and mass tourism, which obscures innovation and the consideration of other markets. There is a greater spirit of entrepreneurship in Beidha than in Basta, and experience of working as guides provides more openness to developing new forms of tourism.

- The potential for entrepreneurship based on local cultural heritage differs between the villages. While both communities exhibit a rentierism mentality, Basta's ability to form SMEs is hampered by its lack of social unity on what may concern public interest, creating an insurmountable obstacle in the short term. The community in Beidha has a larger potential for SMEs but needs assistance in basic business skills for that potential to the realized.

Recommended Actions

Basta

For the Neolithic site in Basta to contribute to local people's lives, we recommend actions that seek to place local cultural heritage within the social and cultural lives of the community. Given the prevailing market conditions, the lack of readiness of Basta and limited evidence of entrepreneurial skills within the village means that an economic strategy based on tourism or tourist products is unlikely to succeed in the short or medium term. Instead, efforts should focus on increasing knowledge and awareness in the local community.

The village's enthusiasm for education provides a foundation for this. The Neolithic site and the *kherbeh* offer excellent assets to diversify local education and offer the potential for extra-curricular activity. Both can also offer a social space for community meetings and initiatives. We recommend that actions first focus on providing resources to the local school to support lessons and extra-curricular activities, including extra staff with specialized training. This action would provide a platform for wider community initiatives including oral history, examination of traditional life patterns and identity, which will assist in building a more resilient community in the future.

The knowledge built up in the community can also act as an asset for future tourist activities when market conditions permit. The educational activities developed could act as a model for similar locations within the region and throughout Jordan.

In the absence of an immediate plan to develop tourism to the site, we recommend that the Neolithic site be fully or partially reburied, as its fabric is suffering from exposure, and the steep sides to the excavation trenches are seen as a hazard for children.

Beidha

The large local tourist market and nascent entrepreneurial skills in the community offer opportunities to leverage the Neolithic archaeological site as more of an economic asset. Interventions should focus on basic business skills – accountancy, marketing, management, organization, English language – which will provide a foundation for the community to act on its many ideas and take advantage of the aid and development resources they are offered to build more sustainable businesses based around local cultural heritage tourism. SMEs should be developed to capitalize on inspiration from the Neolithic site, providing unique branding in the marketplace.

As part of that, it is recommended that the planned Neolithic Heritage Trail is promoted, with a terminus in Beidha to increase traffic to the site and raise its profile. Equally, greater tourism diversification should be promoted in the region to spread tourist opportunities beyond Wadi Musa, provide variety in the types of markets served, and increase potential for repeat visits. It is envisioned that through increasing the role of Neolithic heritage as a tourism destination and inspiration for local businesses the site would become more part of the fabric and everyday interaction of local life, providing a platform for wider educational programs and social relevance of this heritage.

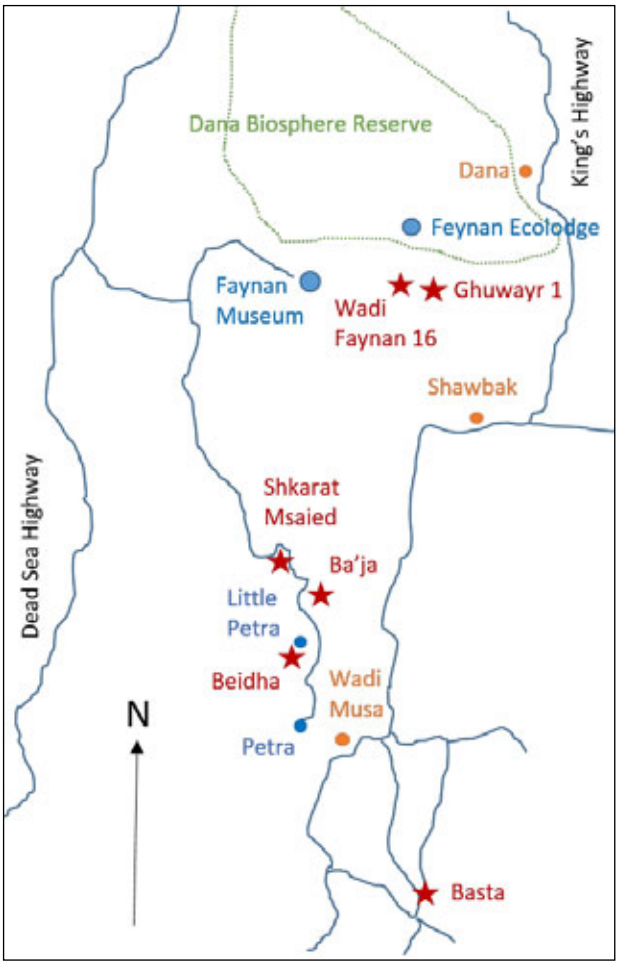
It is recommended that resources be invested in local schools to support extra-curricular activities visiting nearby sites and providing specialized training and workshops for youth. This will not only prepare the local youth to take part in tourism and related businesses but will also create interest amongst them to learn more about their traditional life through oral history projects, which can also be an asset for group cohesion and identity.

1. Introduction

Jordan is endowed with a wealth of cultural heritage that goes well beyond the famous tourist destinations such as Nabataean Petra or the Roman city of Jerash. The 'New' Stone Age, or Neolithic period, starting about 10,000 years ago is of huge historical significance, and the Neolithic sites in Jordan are amongst the most important and well-preserved such sites in the world. These sites represent the period when people first began to live in settled communities, and domesticated the plants and animals that provided the economic basis for the subsequent development of urban societies. However, Jordan's cultural heritage is not limited to such ancient sites, but extends to local traditions, practices, food and poetry that have, over the years, shaped Jordanian national identity. There is a particular resonance between the modern communities at Beidha and Basta, where people are in the process of settling down, and the processes of transition that characterize Neolithic cultural heritage, whether represented by archaeological sites (tangible heritage) or by communal narrative and traditions (intangible heritage). This ancient cultural heritage has the potential to be an asset for group cohesion and identity through its incorporation and deployment in the cultural present. It can contribute to local community livelihoods, as it is incorporated into daily lives and narratives, as well as socio-economic and cultural practices. The successful mobilization of cultural heritage as a social asset depends on an understanding not just of heritage assets, but of the social, economic, cultural and political context of the communities involved, their institutional capacity, and their access to resources and education, as well as their current relationship with their cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage is thus important to social mobility and the matrix within which social change is facilitated. It represents, with all its myriad manifestations, cultural capital that can be mobilized, including at times of radical political and economic changes, "as a means of enhancing prosperity and as a foundation for effective and productive dialogue among nations" (and other communities) (Hassan et al., 2008: v). Its tangible and intangible aspects are among the most fundamental sources of social solidarity, world views, beliefs, practices, and aspirations. It becomes important for the sustainable development, well-being and resilience of communities and their members, when embedded in the cultural economy and everyday life.

This study examines a deep past which laid the ground for modern life as we know it today. The south of Jordan was an important part of the Neolithic process, and the Neolithic villages of Basta and Beidha represent a period of important changes in the way people lived 9000 years ago, notably through the introduction of agriculture and pastoralism. The Neolithic redefined the roles of men and women in society, re-shaping gender relations, and coordinating community labour and developing specialized crafts. It also redefined humanity's relationship with nature through the production of food, the domestication of plants and animals, and the control of resources such as water. This enabled people to settle down and build permanent settlements. Even the earliest of these reflected sophisticated community organization, with public buildings and shared storage. Later, rectangular houses with private household storage places and enclosures for livestock appeared, with more specialized ritual buildings. Complex mortuary practices were developed, extending the legitimacy of the community and household. People were learning how to live together, to cooperate and to survive in a big social community.



Map 1: Southern Jordan project area with original proposed Neolithic archaeological sites (starred) along the Neolithic Heritage Trail.

Southern Jordan has some of the best-preserved evidence in the world for this dynamic period. This is highlighted by the Neolithic Heritage Trail, a 50-km (31 mile) route that runs between Faynan (Wadi Araba) along the ancient route of Wadi Namala and the majestic Sharah mountains leading to Beidha (Little Petra) and then Basta (West Ma'an). These significant Neolithic archaeological sites have the potential to contribute to people's lives today and to accommodate change, through participation in communal activities, that serve the interest of the people and the villages.

These sites also have the potential to enable diversification of the market and to increase the geographical spread of tourism. They may be able to shed light on the modern practices of the present community, which are handed down through the generations (including diet, animal management, house architecture, and gender relations). For this potential to blossom and to benefit the local community requires the involvement of that community. This could include knowing about and appreciating their past, safeguarding their heritage, passing knowledge on to younger generations, and marketing the site and their cultural products. As Abu Khafajah argues, "archaeological sites gain their contemporary meanings among local communities through a process in which these sites interweave with people's contexts. It is through this process that archaeological sites transfer from remains of the past to cultural heritage: something relevant to people's culture and contemporary lives" (Abu Khafajah, 2010: 138). Linking cultural heritage with local community development thus has the potential to improve the quality of life and enhance human dignity, self-esteem and pride, enabling communities to benefit from a rich past to which they are able to relate and which they can learn to value. Most importantly, while it can contribute to economic welfare, it may also serve as a means of providing opportunities for education, political participation, empowerment, and encouragement for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The involvement of local communities strengthens their sense of ownership of place and emphasizes their sense of pride in their past and their present with its traditional habits and customs. Their engagement may also generate economic revenue for them, through entrepreneurial projects and creative ideas to market their tangible and intangible heritage. However, a cultural and touristic development approach for these sites, such as the launch of the Neolithic Heritage Trail, may not benefit the community unless an informed and sustainable approach is designed by the local communities themselves.

2. Objectives

This project seeks to examine how Neolithic sites contribute to local communities, to analyse how different factors affect that contribution, and to assess how cultural heritage assets can be mobilized in the future to benefit the communities. The objective of valorizing this Neolithic heritage is not to celebrate a singular identity of a glorious past, but rather to explore the means by which "a sustainable civilization is forged and make a new generation aware of the values and practices that make a civilization great" (Hassan 2008: 16).

The role of heritage in a society is measured by the way local communities engage with it. This is achieved through integrating heritage in their identity, ideologies, cultural and socio-economic livelihoods. This project aims to understand how a desire amongst local people to be actively engaged in protecting their past and conserving their heritage can be encouraged, placing the focus on strengthening the value of a sense of place, of belonging, of the archaeology and of the community. A sense of place and belonging is a strong outcome of engaging and directly involving people with their environment, which, in turn, fosters a desire to protect assets, both natural and cultural, for future generations (Brown, 2014: 79).

This report is intended to provide baseline information for planning and development. It also lays the ground for "a more proactive engagement with local communities to mobilize identified potential" (Brown, 2014: 79). In order to engage local communities as owners or stakeholders, the project endeavoured, through communal activities, participatory discussions with community members, school teachers and students, to raise awareness about the rich past in their villages, informing them about the archaeology and aiming to start capacity building within the different generations. The research highlighted the importance of cultural heritage management through engaging authorities, the development community, intellectuals, educators, policy makers, the media and scholars in developing a vision of how to mobilize cultural heritage to the benefit of the local community and its economy, and the tourist market as a whole.

Unfortunately, present-day public-benefit projects around archaeology are all too often poorly informed and, by failing to involve local people, may not benefit the community as a whole, and may ultimately undermine the importance and value of their heritage. Local meanings, values and practices often have to compete with those offered by archaeologists, governments and other official

bodies, potentially placing the community perspectives in conflict with the highly formalized narratives of official discourse. In contrast, this project intended to ensure the mobilization and inclusive participation of all segments of the community, together with government representatives and archaeologists, and to provide spaces within the site or elsewhere for traditional and domestic activities.

This research took place in the context of the development of the Neolithic Heritage Trail to understand whether promoting tourism was an appropriate form of development for the cultural heritage and for the communities concerned. The results of the project indicated that very different approaches were required by each community.

3. Methodology

The project included three phases of research on the local communities in Basta and Beidha to analyze their livelihoods and relationship with local cultural heritage (in particular the Neolithic sites), and how it contributes to their lives. These phases were to study (1) livelihood sources, (2) local perspectives of the Neolithic archaeological sites, and (3) their understanding of their past and their cultural heritage (tangible and intangible).

Field research started in February 2015 after a desktop literature overview of the topic and the villages. Qualitative face-to-face interviews were conducted with representatives of the community, heads of local associations, municipal officers, schoolteachers and identified active members of the community. The in-depth interviews sought to explore the social context in order to reach an understanding of daily practices. In this process of exploration, questions were designed to investigate themes: the village, the archaeological site, herding, agriculture, employment opportunities and education. Questions were of various kinds, some attempting to find out about experiences in time and place (things, events, knowledge and attitudes), others looking for the reasons behind these experiences and the way they can be explained. Some questions sought to ascertain the feelings, thoughts and intentions that people construct for their experiences in time and place.

The second phase aimed to build a general understanding of the population, their education, employment trends, and their perceptions of the site, including views about tourism, potential entrepreneurial projects designed to market tangible and intangible heritage, and the way the inhabitants would hope to see their village if there were more development and communal engagement. The quantitative survey covered 52 households from Beidha, which has a population of 447 and 147 households in Basta which has a population of 2005 people, according to the latest Department of Statistics figures (Table 1).

Table 1: Population per village by gender

Village	Female	Male	Total
Beidha	217	230	447
Basta	991	1014	2005

Source: Department of Statistics for the census of 2015

A private sector statistical firm (Phenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies) was contracted to conduct a quantitative survey. A questionnaire was prepared and ten field researchers were assigned the task. The themes in the questionnaire were based on the preliminary interviews and the literature review. The work was conducted over a weekend in May2015 in order to meet as many of the family members as possible, who otherwise might work or study elsewhere in Jordan. The team of researchers consisted of 8 women and 2 men. The women mainly conducted the interviews while the men made connections with key informants, dividing the area to be studied into clusters, and collecting the questionnaires and numbering them. It was believed that having women conduct the interviews would facilitate the process. Female researchers have access to both women and men, are generally more trusted and are allowed into the household. In this survey, the female researchers, visiting the households at weekends, often ended up talking to the women only. The local men generally preferred to continue with their normal relaxing Friday rituals and left the women to be interviewed. The role of local women in communal meetings and decision making regarding issues related to the village is limited and as a result not all questions were answered, especially those about the archaeological sites, the village, and plans/ visions about the future. In contrast, the women's perspective came over strongly, especially when questioned regarding employment and planned projects in the village.

The third phase of the research started in July 2015 and was based on focus group discussions to allow community members to express values and opinions around issues raised in the data collection and to build consensus on how best to enhance and use heritage assets. This included meeting with young men and women as

well as more senior representatives of the community, and with schoolteachers.

The gatherings and activities held for the community were an "opportunity to observe the interaction with the place" (Abu Khafajah, 2010: 129). This interaction is a means of gaining insights into terms and meanings that people create and develop for archaeological sites from the context in which they live. Observation helped to introduce the researcher to potential respondents and to discuss issues of concern affecting their interest in and engagement with the Neolithic archaeology.

Section One

1. Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

Heritage, as explained by Hassan (2008: 17) provides the fundamental basis for human existence. More specifically, UNESCO defined cultural heritage "as the entire corpus of material signs – either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind'.[2] UNESCO's attention to this heritage highlighted the importance of preserving, safeguarding[3] and presenting it, and thereby gained worldwide recognition for the very idea of heritage. Cultural heritage encapsulates the characteristics and features of places and the human experiences associated with them. This is reflected in Abu Khafajah's definition of cultural heritage as "a social communication process in which material of the past is encoded and decoded according to influences from contemporary contexts and ways of life as well as individuals' experiences and perceptions of time and place" (Abu Khafajah 2010: 129).

Over time, the definition of cultural heritage has expanded beyond objects and monuments; "the idea of the heritage has now been broadened to include both the human and the natural environment, both architectural complexes and archaeological sites, not only the rural heritage and the countryside but also the urban, technical or industrial heritage, industrial design and street furniture" (Abu Khafajah 2010: 129). Furthermore, the preservation of cultural heritage now includes non-physical cultural heritage, such as the signs and symbols

Figure 1: Heritage varies from a sacred mountain, temple, agricultural land, Palace, public spaces for festivities, meeting place to urban construction- (Image From Cultural Heritage and local development, UNESCO, 2006)

2 In the UNESCO Draft Medium Term Plan 1990-1995 (UNESCO, 25 C/4, 1989, p.57), specifically in *Programme III, 2: Preservation and Revival of the Cultural Heritage Background*, in Jokilehto 2005: 5.

3 "Safeguarding" means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage. As in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/)

passed on by oral transmission, artistic and literary forms of expression, languages, ways of life, myths, beliefs and rituals, value systems and traditional knowledge and know-how. This is defined as 'intangible cultural heritage' as per UNESCO convention for 2003, which covers 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 (Abu Khafajah 2010: 129). 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.

From this, and as defined by Watson and Waterton (2011: 3), heritage can be seen as the discursive process within which an authorized version of the past emerges by the powerful and mediating institutions of the state, by a culturally conditioned deference to professional expertise, but also, in a new trend, by the engagement of the community to whom a particular narrative actually belongs.

In representing the culture of a society undergoing change, heritage may be mobilized to guide the shaping of the future and to safeguard the past. As a result of rapid urbanization and environmental factors, which have led to heritage being neglected or even endangered, awareness campaigns have been run around the world, visiting buildings and architectural complexes and encouraging interest in the intangible heritage. Moreover, policies regarding cultural heritage generally seek to make an effective contribution to development through their impact on economic activity and tourism. Heritage has a role in furthering social integration; improvement of living conditions together with continuation of multicultural heritage images is likely to promote social cohesion and a sense of dignity.

The literature on cultural heritage describes several rules and elements that prioritize the understanding of local situations and explore the ways local people could value their cultural heritage and envision how they could manage and benefit from both tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Waterton and Smith, 2011; Throsby, 2009).

"Heritage, if properly managed, can be instrumental in enhancing social inclusion, developing intercultural dialogue, shaping identity of a territory, improving quality of the environment, providing social cohesion and – on the economic side – stimulating tourism development, creating jobs and enhancing investment climate (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013: 138–9).

Culture (and heritage, as its indispensable partner) is an important pillar of sustainable development, even if it is not always seen as being on an equal footing with social, economic and environmental development.[4] Advancing these four pillars together generates social benefits and economic growth:

"On the one hand, economic growth brings prosperity and well-being to a territory. On the other hand, social harmony – community cohesion, absence of conflicts, tolerance, etc. – is a prerequisite to economic development. Thus the ability of heritage to provide distinctiveness of a place is seen as an advantage both for tourist development and for the well-being of local communities" (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013: 139).

The recent "Strategic Action Plan for the Implementation of the Convention, 2012–2022", adopted by the 18th General Assembly, also integrates a concern for sustainable development, notably in its "Vision for 2022", which calls for the World Heritage Convention to "contribute to the sustainable development of the world's communities and cultures", as well as through its Goal No. 3 which reads: "Heritage protection and conservation considers present and future environmental, societal and economic needs", which is to be achieved particularly through "connecting conservation to communities".[5]

Engagement of local people is not limited only to sharing archaeological practice between professionals and volunteers, it also promotes connection to place, which can increase levels of social capital and civic engagement, both for communities in general and, especially, for marginalized groups. "The impact of these 'soft' benefits, although sometimes taking a while to emerge and being difficult to recognize and measure in the way that governments might wish, are nonetheless real," (Jackson et al. 2014: 81). In 2010 in an article entitled "the meaning-making of the value of the archaeology", Abu Khafajah explained that meaning is shaped through

4 The Three Pillars of Sustainability http://www.thwink.org/sustain/glossary/ThreePillarsOfSustainability.htm

5 Sustainable Development, World Heritage and Sustainable Development http://whc.unesco.org/en/sustainabledevelopment/

interaction and by the context in which the interaction is taking place, referring to knowledge, culture, belief and behaviour, and the extent to which the local communities are able to understand and value the realities.

To give one example of this from the study: during a festival, the 'Story of Basta', held at Basta in August 2015 as part of the project's activities, an old man in his mid-70s looking at the Neolithic archaeological site that was the focus of the event said: "I did not expect we had such wealth in our village, I have passed by the wall of the archaeological site everyday since I lived here, but I never thought of coming in to see what lies there. I am glad to know such a past is in our village." (Basta, August 8, 2015.)

The heritage industry has been growing over the last 20 years. Nowadays, it not only encompasses the care and attention provided by professional intervention to the materiality of objects from the past, but most importantly it expects energized individuals and communities who are engaged with the past to be involved in a broad range of activities, from watching TV programmes to visiting sites through the organization of community activities (Waterton and Watson 2011: 3). Thus, the nature of heritage discourse becomes evident in everyday interactions and experiences and in this way it becomes open to everyone. This is one of the roots of development – helping to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence in the community.

The chart in Figure 3 below, taken from English Heritage,[6] highlights the main variables that are essential for a community to value their cultural heritage, but also those that will impact and sustain their livelihoods for a better quality of life. It suggests a cross-disciplinary analysis is essential for a better understanding of the nature of people's relationships to place.

A sense of place and belonging is a strong outcome of engaging and directly involving people with their environment, which, in turn, fosters a desire to protect assets, both natural and cultural, for future generations. Over the years, it has become clear that history and archaeology contribute to local people's sense of place and to their wellbeing. "When people feel connected to a certain place, they are more likely to live, work, visit and shop there" (Brakman 2011: 128). Appreciation of

Figure 2 Festival at Basta, August 2015

6 http://www.english-heritage.org.uk

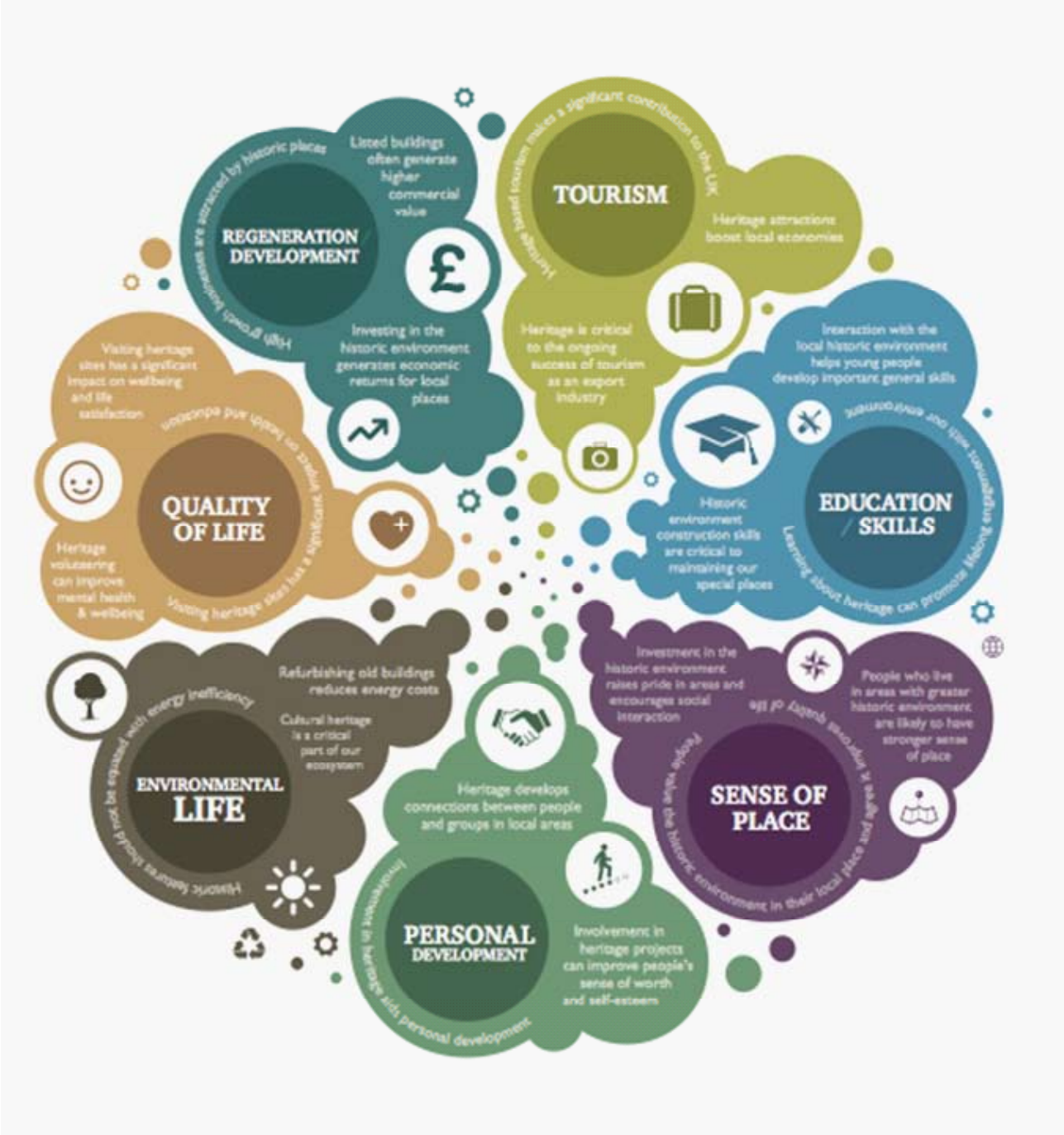


Figure 3 Main variables for evaluating cultural heritage
https://historicengland.org.uk/research/heritage-counts/2014-the-value-and-impact-of-heritage/

a place, its uniqueness and its atmosphere nurtures what Brakman called the 'the spirit of the place' (Brakman 2011: 120). The cultural significance of places are given value based on the narrative of the elders, and on traditions and cultural practices.

"But instead of expecting an instant sense of place by brushing off archaeological remains and putting them on display or providing an overdose of information about the past, it is important to try and find a way in which the history of the location links to the inhabitants' personal world of perception" (Brakman 2011: 128).

Such local places and areas of landscape are also 'reference points' which, according to Relph (1985, in Schofield and Szymanski 2011: 3), construct in our memories and affections a 'here' from which to discover the world, and a 'there' to which we can return.

A sense of place feeds a sense of ownership and belonging. This in turn makes local people feel accountable to their past and to their cultural heritage. Moreover, this nurtures the sense of citizenship that inspires local citizens to sustain and protect their territory and all it may represent. In his work, the theorist Levi-Strauss, who advocated for greater and more equal representation of all cultures in the formulation and general approach to heritage, referred to active citizens, which signified greater ownership of actions, enhanced participation in civic society, and a more democratic approach to the past. "Heritage is much more than a few stones and relics: it bears witness to the actions of people, to centuries and values".[7]

Active citizens are not only aware of their rights but are also able to act upon them while being able to be responsible for the place and to represent a unifying identity. Maintenance of historical sites against environmental degradation and protecting the past are thus not tasks limited only to the state but are also the responsibility of local people as part of their engagement with their own heritage. This creates a collective spirit in a community that seeks to work together by participating in making a difference for their own place and so sustain a better quality of life.

The following points in this section discusses the cultural heritage assets of south Jordan in their tangible and intangible forms.

1.1 South Jordan: the Desert and the Bedouin

Jordan's badia region makes up 80% of the country's territory but has only about 6.5% of the population. "Geographically, the area extends from the east, across to where the western mountains border the Jordan Valley, and it is elevated between 700 and 1100 meters above sea level".[8] Badia refers to the semi-desert or steppe land (Chatty 1986: xv) where, according to the Hashemite Fund for Badia Development, rainfall is below 200 mml.[9]

There is a strong imagined image of what being Bedu or Bedouin should mean. Classic Bedouin life has been shaped by the harsh environment. Animal husbandry has not only been the Bedouin's main source of income but is a very particular, traditional, way of life characterized by mobile pastoral nomadism. It is strongly affected by seasonal rainfall, which influences cyclical movements and migrations for grazing purposes inside and outside the badia. With the sedentarization programmes in the 1960s, many Bedouin left their nomadic and tribal traditions and settled in new villages, adopting a more urbanized lifestyle. However, despite the new setting, they continue to retain strong elements of traditional Bedouin culture with concepts of belonging, traditional music, poetry, dances, and many other cultural practices.

Rural life has changed drastically since the 1950s. Before then, there was no health care and no access to education or jobs. People were dependent on what they could produce themselves and the fluctuating market demand for their herds of camels, sheep and goats. Their nomadic migration was mainly to sites where vegetation and water were available. However, in the last few decades, improvements in infrastructure, sources of employment, health and education have changed this seasonal pattern of movement. By the late 1960s, people started to explore new opportunities and sought to settle in houses. The drought in the late 1960s affected them; some moved to areas where they rented pasture to graze and others had to sell their herds and become wage workers in the cities (Cole 2003 in Bille 2008: 38). Nomadic Bedouin were encouraged, for health reasons[10] or forced economically, to settle and lead a modern 'sedentary life' in either government designed or vernacular houses and villages. UNESCO, WHO and governments in the Middle East all supported an intensive sedentarization programme of the pastoral nomadic Bedouin tribes.

As a result of this, Bedouin lifestyle changed, even if the image of the Bedouin that is popularly evoked remains the same. The Bedouin continues to be seen as a pastoral nomad in a desert environment who is a camel herder – as opposed to a sedentary farmer or a city dweller (Bocco 2000: 202, Bille 2008: 41).

The two communities studied in this project were semi-nomadic. While their living habits were mostly

7 BEMIS (2011) New perspectives on heritage: A route to social inclusion and active citizenship, report. http://bemis.org.uk/PDF/new_perspectives_on_heritage.pdf

8 Hashemite Badia Fund http://www.badiafund.gov.jo/en/node/310 (accessed January 5, 2016)

9 Interview with Dr Raed Tbeini, head of the HFBD, February 19, 2015.

10. WHO's general assembly, in its annual meetings in Athens in 1956 and Baghdad in 1957, after calling for various health measures and a campaign against malnutrition, also recommended the sedenterization of nomadic people. Its aim was to eliminate diseases (particularly malaria and tuberculosis) the eradication of which would not be possible as long as nomadism continued (Bocco 2006: 305).

nomadic, including migratory journeys, they planted crops seasonally and even grew fruit trees when they lived close to water springs. In Beidha, the community self-identifies as Bedouin and was historically dependent on goats, but also cultivated wheat and barley and had an orchard at the spring of Debdebeh. In Basta people do not self-identify as Bedouin, but as something in between. They were semi-nomadic villagers practising nomadic pastoralism and farming – both arable and horticulture – before the sedentarization campaigns of the 1960s. In reality, today, many Bedouin are settled agriculturalists.[11] Others live in tents seasonally to herd sheep and goats, but combine this with agriculture and living in built settlements in other seasons. Most importantly, being Bedouin remains an identity: "The lifestyles change but identities remain" (Bille 2008: 42).

To safeguard their intangible cultural heritage, these settled and urbanized Bedouin organize cultural festivals, usually held several times a year, in which they gather with other Bedouin to partake in, and learn about, various Bedouin traditions, from poetry recitation and traditional sword or dahhieh dances, to playing traditional Bedouin music (using a rababeh or mizmar).

1.2 The Archaeology and Cultural Heritage of Beidha and Basta

This research focused on two locations, chosen as they were potentially part of the proposed Neolithic Heritage Trail. It investigated the livelihoods of the local communities, their interactions with the Neolithic sites and whether they should be included in the trail. The two communities are quite distinct, as are the archaeological sites.

I. The Neolithic Site of Beidha

Beidha lies 7 km north of Wadi Musa, the main tourist town at the entrance of Petra. At about 1000 m above sea level, Beidha is situated in the upper part of the Sharah mountains, which lie between the Jordanian plateau to the east and the Wadi Araba in the west. Beidha is most widely known for the Nabataean Siq al Bared, often called Little Petra, but there is a range of other archaeological sites in the area. The Neolithic site located a few hundred metres beyond Little Petra features in many guidebooks, albeit briefly. Buses and taxis bring tourists to Little Petra, where a few stalls are managed by Ammarin Bedouin from the nearby modern settlement of Beidha. Some of these tourists go on to the Neolithic site, sometimes as a destination in its own right, and sometimes as part of a walking tour into the back of Petra. However, the numbers remain small, and most visits are very brief (see maps at end of report).

Beidha is in the governorate of Ma'an, and within the Petra Archaeological Park, which was established in 1986. By 2009, the Petra Development and Tourism Regional Authority (PDTRA) was officially established and red poles were used to mark the borders of the Park, following a decision by UNESCO. PDTRA is an independent legal, financial and administrative authority that aims to develop regional tourism, economy, society, culture, and to contribute to local community development (see maps).

The Neolithic site of Beidha was excavated in the 1950s and 1960s by the British archaeologist Diana Kirkbride (Simmons 2014:5). Kirkbride had previously worked with Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho where much information on the Neolithic had been gathered from small areas exposed at the bottom of deep excavation trenches. Kirkbride developed a new approach to Neolithic archaeology at Beidha, exposing large areas of the settlement to explore how the community had been constructed. The large excavated area revealed a sequence of layers that date as far back as about 10,000 years ago. The site covers the transition from circular structures to multi-storey rectangular buildings, and includes large communal structures, courtyards, and ritual buildings. To begin with, the economy was still based on hunting wild goats and ibex that lived in the area, but local experiments in the management of these wild animals finally led to the domesticated goat.

As well as playing an significant role in the development of agriculture, Beidha is important for social developments, as people learned to live and work together in settled communities. Early in the history of the site the people constructed a large building, with a very hard wearing floor that seems to have been designed for community events, such as meetings, celebrations or rituals. Later on, a small cluster of buildings was erected directly outside the settlement. With standing stones and

11 According to Destree, a French sociologist, "Used to exerting strenuous but brief efforts, [nomads] do not readily countenance the necessity of staying continuously near their cultivated plots. Furthermore, the nomad feels a certain contempt for agricultural activities, which he views as inferior tasks traditionally carried out by slaves" (Bocco 2000: 203).

Figure 4 Beidha, the archaeological site

a big carved basin this looks as if it was purpose-built for ritual activity, perhaps reflecting an increased formalization of people's ideas about the world and religion. Over time, people stopped living in single-roomed structures and began to live in houses that had both living and storage space, segmented into separate rooms.

The modern dwellers of Beidha: the Ammarin

In recent times Beidha has been inhabited by the Ammarin tribe. The tribal boundaries are not exact but they live in "the area farthest north of the Petra Basin, from Wadi Debdebeh and Siq al Bared, until just south of Wadi Feynan", as well as in Beir al Dabbaghat and "around the village of Graigara in the Arabia Plateau to the west" (Bille 2008: 47). The Ammarin tribe is part of the larger Beni Atieh tribe (originating from the Bani Maath tribe in the Hijaz). This tribe has four family sub-branches (Eyal or Fakhd) all over Jordan: Eyal Awwad, el Ghfoush, Eyal Hmeid and Abu Shousha. Within Beidha, the Ammarin used to live in caves in Siq al Bared during periods of inclement weather, and otherwise in their tents (Beit al Sha'r) in the vicinity of Beidha. To store their products of wheat and barley and keep their herds during winter time, these communities built stone and mud-brick settlements. There are several within the Beidha area, Kherbet Eyal Awad in al Farsh and in Beidha, Kherbet Eyal Hmeid in al Naqa'a, a few kilometers away from Siq al Bared, as well as Kherbet al Ghfoush in Debdebeh, up the hill toward the water spring overlooking Beidha.

In 1985 Petra was proclaimed a World Heritage Site and the 25 Ammarin families living in the caves in Siq al Bared were moved about 2 km away to the new village of Beidha,[12] where in October 1987, 42 units were established to house them and others who were moved from the surrounding areas (al Farsh, al Naq'a).[13]

A few families, after taking their new houses in the village, decided to return to their tents with their sheep and goats and continue the seasonal migrations. The houses are kept for their children who attend school, or for those who are newly married and prefer to live in the village. The tents are dispersed around the Neolithic site and in al Naq'a, where they are close to the water reservoir of Sad al Ahmar. These families are from the Ammarin, Sa'idiyyin (from Wadi Araba) and Bdoul (from Petra and Umm Sayhoun).

"The urban life does not suit us", said Um E., "my daughters are married in Wadi Araba (Graigara) and my son took the house in Beidha, my husband and I never thought of moving to the village". They have 35 sheep and chickens with one cockerel. She goes out grazing with the herds while her husband takes care of errands, such as bringing water and gas bottles in his pickup. They also have land they cultivate with a Bdoul family. They plant the grain and a Sa'idiyyin family does the harvest and they share the income between them (Beidha, al Naq'a, February 27, 2015).

The locals used to grow wheat and barley in the open areas around the borders of the Park, and to this day, some people still do in the land around Beidha, though very few of the villagers are interested in doing so. "The risk is very high and it has come to be very costly: we need to buy the seeds (JD 22 for 50 kg), rent the tractor for 80 JD instead of using animals (*bahayim*) like in the old days, and expect any climate risk which could burn the crop," commented Abu Q., who is from the Amareen and works as a guard at the entrance of Siq al Bared (Beidha, September 18, 2016). "This year I lost the 600 JD I invested on planting the land, though last year I had a good harvest and made use of it for the family."

These lands are part of the tribal properties that people claim to have used for generations. In 1942, a land division agreement was made (*qesmeh a'shaerieh*) led by important people from Wadi Musa (from the Farajat family), from Beidha (the Bani Atieh) and from Ma'an (from the Huwaitat: Hamda bin Jazi and A'rarah bin Jazi). Lines were drawn to allocate agricultural lands to the people from Wadi Musa and Beidha. The tribe of Bani Atieh divided the lands amongst its four branches, each share then being divided again amongst its sub-branches. The Petra Park borders do not significantly affect these tribes and their land shares.[14] As long as they do not live in caves and do not create new constructions or demolish existing constructions within the area, there is no problem with them using the land and planting it. Both Article 9 and Article 26/4 of the Department of Antiquities bylaws warn against scratching, damaging or demolishing any archaeological site and sets out penalties for doing so.

12 This included the Bdoul who were moved out of Petra to a village of their own called Um Sayhoun.

13 Oral communication with an official from the Petra Park involved in community participation, February 2, 2016.

14 As discussed in the next section, the new regulations on land use and forbidding planting beyond 500 metres of the main road has created some rage amongst the local peoples.

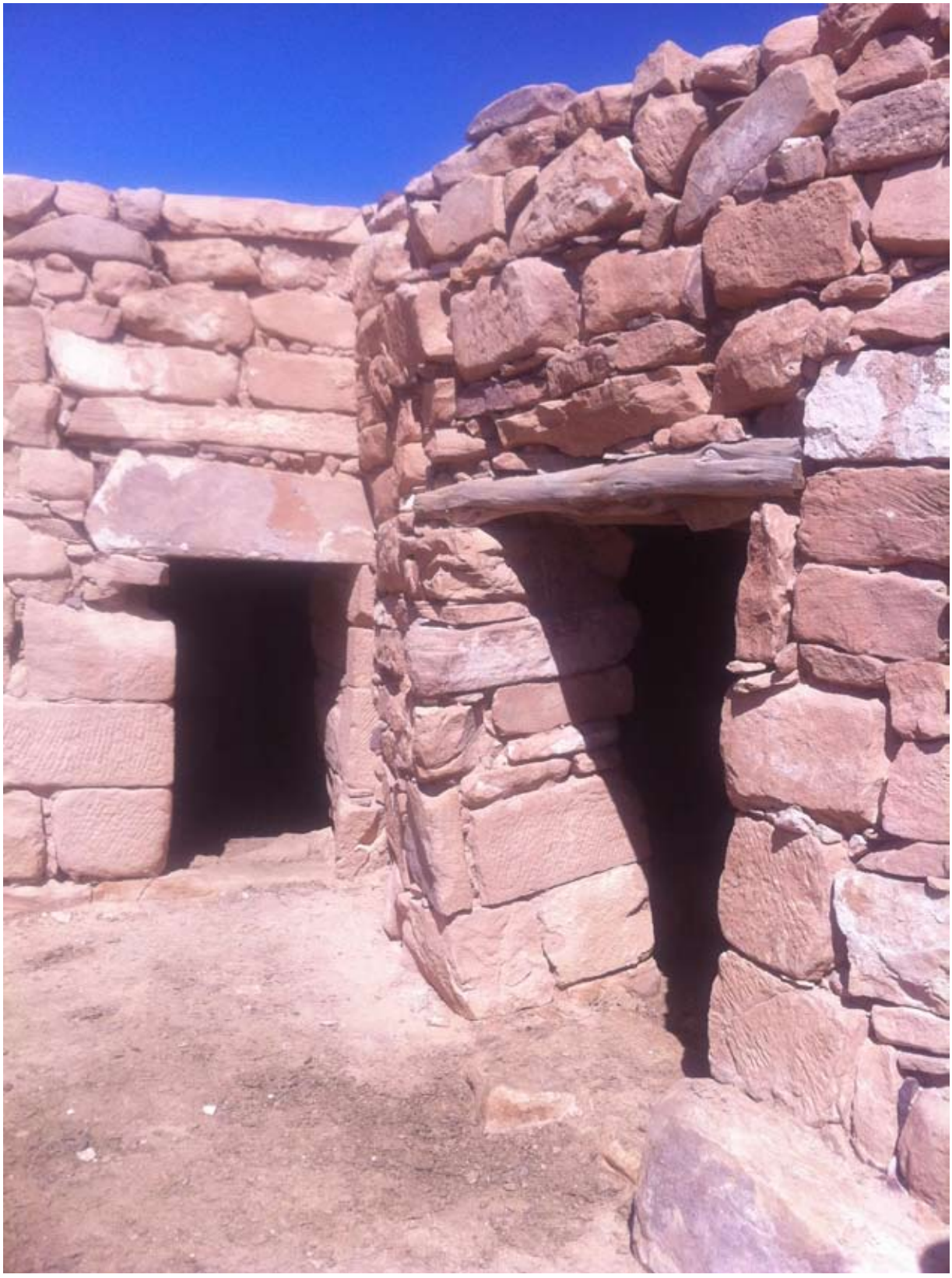


Figure 5 Kherbet Eyal Awad

Figure 6 Some local people working with archaeologists

The local society adopted their own ways of modernizing over time while safeguarding their Bedouin identity and traditions. People reinterpreted modern lifestyles using their own traditional principles. For example, some of the Ammarin guards of Siq al Bared from Beidha spend their summer leave in the desert with their children. They buy *hilal* (animals) and set up their *beit al sha'r* towards Graigara and live the life they lived before modernity: "I appreciate this life and I miss it. I am keen to teach my children how to appreciate the life I lived with my father" (Abu A., Beidha, February 31, 2015).

In Beidha, because of the small population and low proportion of educated people, the teachers in the boys' school come from elsewhere in Jordan while the teachers in the girls' school are from Wadi Musa. A few years ago, one young lady from Beidha joined the school as an Arabic teacher and another Ammarin graduate is expecting to join the boys' school this coming academic year.

II. The Neolithic Site in Basta

Basta is part of the Ma'an governorate and lies 36 km east of Wadi Musa and 25 km west of Ma'an. It is situated to the east of the Sharah mountains on the Jordanian plateau at about 1460m above sea level. The archaeological site was discovered in the 1980s during the construction of a modern village immediately adjacent to the old stone and mud-brick settlement. The Neolithic site lies in the middle of the village and the excavated part is partially surrounded by a wall to protect it.

The archaeological site of Basta is more recent than that of Beidha and dates back around 9000 years, from the time when people were beginning to rely on food from domesticated crops and animals, especially wheat, barley, goats and sheep. Being able to produce food, rather than relying on hunting wild animals and gathering plants, meant people could stay in one place and live in larger communities: Basta is a considerably larger settlement than Beidha. The people living at Basta had no pottery, no metal tools, no wheels, and no animals like donkeys to help them, but the discoveries they made in how to live together, how to build houses, and how to grow and store food were very important steps towards how we live today.

The Neolithic houses here were rectangular, rather than the older circular type, which allowed them to be built closely together; they are much more closely spaced than at Beidha. A key development at Basta is the appearance

Figure 7 Basta, two-story Neolithic buildings

of large, multi-roomed houses. The excavations at Basta were among the first to show that Neolithic people had begun to build houses two stories high. This is deduced from the height of the walls, and in some places from stone ledges that would once have held wooden floors. There are small rooms that were probably for storing crops, and larger rooms for living in. The floors and walls were once covered with plaster, some of which was coloured. Clay was used to make fireplaces, as can still be seen today.

You cannot see them, but the people of this ancient village used to bury their dead below the floors. Archaeologists think this may have been to remind people of the connection between families and the new houses, running from one generation to another in a society organized around household lineages. As farmers and villagers, they had begun to develop new ideas of property and the development of the house, which is reflected in the internal, private storage rooms.

During the excavation tools, utensils and decorative objects were found made of stone and bone. Many grinding tools were found, including quernstones with different shapes of rubbers made of hard limestone, showing the importance of cereals in the diet. Flint was skilfully worked to produce arrowheads and other sharp tools which were found in great numbers.

Several baked clay animal figurines were found including a seated gazelle, the head of a bull or cow and the head of a ram, but it is hard to know if these were ritual objects, or perhaps simply toys. Many of the local residents in Basta recall having seen them before they were moved to the Archaeological Museum in Yarmouk University in the north of Jordan. There were also beads and the remains of a stone mask.

The dwellers of Basta: the Nuaimat

Basta is one of the five villages in Qadaa Eil where the Nuaimat tribe lives: Eil, Farthakh, Bir Abu Danneh, Rawdet al Amir Rashed (al Qa'a)[15] and Basta. The tribe in Basta is diverse and includes 4 branches and 11 sub-branches (Fakhd): Al Aladeh (Rashaydeh, Al Zabadeen, Tanatra, Atha'theh, Najajmeh, Khreisat), Al Sahaleen (Abu Khadra, Al Howwad), Arakdeh-Jarab'ah, Layathneh (Khleifat and Masha'leh).[16]As of 2016, there were 365 family registration books (books given to each household indicating all the members of the family) and 2005 persons registered for Basta.[17]

Basta is agriculturally rich with a spring, ein, deriving from the Sharah mountains. Nowadays, a system of water channels fed by the spring irrigate an area, al Bareesah, that has fertile soil and is planted with fruit trees, including figs, grapes and pomegranate. The old Ottoman village (kherbeh) sits on the hillside of Basta, overlooking the main water channel. The date of its constructed is not known exactly, but people say that it was during the period of Ottoman rule over the region. Only in the 1970s did people start to move to new, modern houses as public services were becoming available to villagers. The kherbeh changed its character from being a vibrant, living place to one of storage houses for grains and a shelter for chickens and herds of sheep and goats.

Figure 8 Basta, the development of new ideas of properties and houses

15 Bir al Bitar (a district of Rawdet al Amir Rashed).

16 Originally from Wadi Musa, these two families have been living in Basta for the last 100 years.

17 Interview with Ibrahim Awad Nuaimat, head of the Basta association for development, Basta, March 24, 2015.

Water attracted people to settle in Basta. Moreover, its close proximity to Ma'an, which stands on the Hijaz railway and was an important stopping point on the Hajj pilgrimage route to Mecca was another major factor in shaping local socio-economic and cultural practices. There was an exchange relationship, taneeb, between people in Basta and in Ma'an based on the exchange of dairy products for commercial goods and services, such as accommodation. A taneeb is the person with whom the exchange is done. Over time the relationship expanded to include social relations through marriage[18] and this gradually shaped their economy and socio-cultural habits. In addition, Basta was in a strategic location close to an Ottoman military station. Ottoman coins and other military equipment are found there, as confirmed by several people interviewed in the village.

Figure 9 Basta al Bareeseh

Nuaimat tribe: the narrative

The people of Basta have inherited stories about their past and are proud of their cultural heritage. This is clearly seen when they talk about the *kherbeh* and the recent settlement in the village.

"My grandfather ran away from the Ottoman seferberlik[19] after the Turks killed his father. Eid Abu Khadra sought refuge in Ma'an then with groups of some of his tribe and they arrived in Basta. The village then was close to a Turkish military base. We used to find coins on top of the hill when we were young. The hill used to have many more trees than now. It got mostly destroyed by the Turks who were cutting trees to make the railway in 1909." (A.B. Nuaimat, Basta, March 24, 2015)

The now largely ruined stone and mud-brick *kherbeh* is said to have been designed by an architect and, at the time it was constructed, was an indicator of class, distinction and power. The story varies from one person to another, but it was claimed that an architect was invited from Hebron in Palestine to come to their village and build their houses. Some also believe that the architect followed the example of the Neolithic site, using the same plastering material (mud and straw) and re-using the Neolithic building stones. The people of Basta proudly talk about the arches, *qanater*, which were the main feature of their old stone houses. Dr Fawzi Abu Danneh (March 2, 2015) from the Nuaimat village of Bir Abu Danneh claims that the first stone-built house was built at Basta.

Figure 10 Basta, the arch (qanater) is the main feature of the old stone houses

The Nuaimat also proudly talked about Basta hosting the first school in the region. A teacher from Irbid was invited to come to Basta in the late 1940s and live in one of the houses and teach the people in the *kherbeh*.

18 An active member of Naimat, Youssef Naimat: oral communication, January 29, 2016.

19 Seferberlik is a term that signifies the Ottoman government's conscription practices for the Balkan wars and WWI; and the same term invokes all memories associated with the experience of war.

The teacher's name was Ahmed Kofahi (B. Nuaimat, 24 March 2015). This distinguished them from other settlements. The first person from the Basta community graduated from university in 1976, which is seen as great achievement for their village and their people. Almost all teachers at both the girls' and boys' schools in Basta are from the Nuaimat tribe, living in Basta or in the surrounding Nuaimat villages, reflecting the large number of university-educated people amongst the Nuaimat.

Figure 11 Old houses in Basta

The inhabitants of Basta are proud to claim that their village hosted other elements of modernity, such as the first cement construction, started in 1956, and in the same year their first mosque was built. They are also proud of having had the first post office in the southern district. However, the first asphalt road was not made until 1986 and electricity poles were installed only after the 1980s.

There is a big gap between modern cement houses and the cyberspace technology of satellite and mobiles on the one hand and their grandfather's traditional heritage of grazing and seasonal farming on the other. Some people in Basta still maintain the Bedouin tradition of migrating out during the winter to warmer areas further east (Al Jitheh, Al Tahouneh, Minsharheh and Al Jafer) but they do not exceed 20% of the sample studied in Basta (and 8% in Beidha). A few of the Nuaimat continue to employ a 'Syrian shepherd' to take care of the herd on one of the mountains within the environs of the village, following a tradition they had in the days when they lived in the *kherbeh*.

"It is more convenient since we have someone taking care of the herds all the time. He [the Syrian herder] lives with his wife in the *beit al sha'r* and we have a shed for the *hilal* (the herd). I go every week with my husband in the pick-up to check on them and to take some milk (during the season) (Um Ab., Basta, June 12, 2015).

Some Nuaimat move between herding in the mountains towards the east of Jordan during the winter and planting and harvesting on their *wajhat al 'ashariah* land.[20] They have combined this traditional lifestyle with having a regular job to secure a regular income.

1.3 Lifestyle and Services in the Current Villages

I. Services in the Villages

Both Beidha and Basta are relatively remote villages with only basic services, such as electricity and water, provided. There are mosques, schools for boys and for girls and a health centre in each village. In Basta, there is a municipal office (connected with the main municipality in Eil) that has a tractor to provide an agricultural ploughing service for the villagers. Modern cement houses have been built since the 1960s, electricity and water were then provided by the municipality. "It was not until the 1980s,that streets were asphalted and roads were made to be easier for our commute." (Moukhtar B. March 24, 2015.)

There are no street cleaners in Basta but waste collection vehicles with two street cleaners come twice a week to collect the rubbish.[21] In Beidha, despite the fact that it has more exposure to tourists, the village remains simple with very basic services. Some women from the Sa'idiyyin tribe work as street cleaners, collecting the rubbish and sorting through it to sell what can be used for recycling.[22]

20 *Wajha ashariah*, or tribal façade, is property granted based on historic use by the leaders of tribes and by committee at Department of Land and Surveys. These lands are given to tribal members everyone over 18 years old with a family book and a salary (defined by Mahmoud Msayyab – the former headmaster of the boys' school (Basta, March 24, 2015).

21 G. Nuaimat , Basta Municipality Director, March 24, 2015.

22 The Sa'idiyyin tribe are nomads from Wadi Araba, some of them move with their herds between Wadi Araba and Beidha.

There are buses, operated by private owners, in both villages, running to the main towns. In Basta, there are two buses run by the Awad Salem Nuaimat Company (from Bir Abu Danneh). One goes around the villages in the early morning and then heads to Amman. The other bus goes daily to Aqaba At weekends, this bus makes two trips in response to the high demand from employees who come from Aqaba and from those who go there to shop. There are also two university buses that take students to Al Hussein University. In Beidha, there is one bus owned by the Association for the Retired Military. Its route is Beidha-Wadi Musa return. The timing of the bus is around the time when teachers and students go to and come back from school: the last public bus leaves Beidha at 2:30 pm returning the school teachers to their homes in Wadi Musa.

In both villages, there are private vans that offer transport based on an agreed rate. The only other means of transport available is with people who own cars who may be willing to offer a ride to others.

II. Education

Table 2 Student number at schools in both Beidha and Basta 2015/16

	Basta	Beidha
Girls' School, preparatory (Mixed until 5th grade)	151	77
Boys' School, preparatory	125	37

Schools in Beidha and Basta provide education only until the 10th grade (primary education). In Beidha, those who pass their 10th grade and want to go on to secondary education, go either to Wadi Musa or to the military school in Um Sayhoun. For Basta, the secondary schools are in Eil.

The accomplishment of the students in both villages varies according to the quality of the teachers, the failure to match teacher specialization with taught subject, class educational environment and the taught curriculum, the educational background of parents and the students' interests. The fact that Basta is exposed to an urban centre like Ma'an, and Beidha is exposed to Petra and its tourism business, does not seem to influence the educational achievements of the students. Challenges in both villages seem to be similar. The average success rate in high school exams (Tawjihi) at the national level is modest: it was 41.1% in 2016 and 40.2% in 2015 (Jordan Times July 29, 2016).[23] The average pass rate in the governorates of the south over the last three years (2013–2016) did not exceed 28%.[24] In Basta, the average is about 36%,[25] the average does not seem to be higher in Beidha.

According to Professor Shtwei, a sociologist at Jordan University, in an article submitted to the World Bank's *Voices and Views* in 2015, there were "seven districts in which more than 50% of the schools had no students who passed the exam, while in the southern district of Shobak this applies to over 75% of the schools". This problem, which he considers as fundamentally a developmental issue and not an educational one, is seen in provinces that are rural and poor with high unemployment.[26] The present study confirmed these findings and managed to highlight some of the concerns affecting the educational progress and how it influences the potential expectations of the youth by discouraging them from taking more of an entrepreneurial role in their villages.

The automatic upgrade!

"It took them [the Ministry of Education] that long to finally decide that students who fail three subjects are to be failed and asked to repeat their class. In the past, students were asked to sit for make-up exams and would simply be upgraded." (R. Nuaimat, March 24, 2015).

This was an alarming warning from the headmaster of the boys' school about the educational level of the students. According to him, the easy upgrade for weak students is a major problem during the final school exams. The problem, as he and other school teachers in both Basta and Beidha explained, is the automatic upgrade, regardless of whether students pass all their exams or not, particularly for weak students who fail to compete with their peers at the local and regional levels. School teachers and headteachers tend to waive the results of students with three failed subjects, "in order to permit them to continue with their colleagues in the class" explained a teacher in Basta.

23 "This year 2015/16 a total of 49,972 students sat for the academic stream of the examination; 20,521 students passed,making a pass rate of 41.1%," Minister of Education, Thneibat said (*JordanTimes*: July 29, 2016).

24 S.E. Hasanat, headmaster of the boys' school, Beidha, December 10, 2016.

25 R. Nuaimat, headmaster of the boys' school,Basta, March 24, 2015.

26 Shtewi , Musa (2015) 'It is time to restore public education in Jordan', in Views and Voices: MENA region (October 9, 2015) http://blogs.worldbank.org/arabvoices/it-time-restore-public-education-jordan

"This has been done because student numbers at each grade are very limited and classrooms are often empty. If one lags behind, that would mean having a class for one or two students only", explained H., one of the teachers in Basta (May 19, 2015). In Beidha for example, at the girls' school, there is a gap in the class series: there is no 6th grade class nor is there an 8th grade class.[27] The new Ministry of Education regulation of 2015 is to halt this automatic upgrade and oblige students who fail even one course to repeat the year. This measure was taken as a reaction to the very mediocre level of education, yet it has not been fully applied.

Disciplines

In both villages, students (boys and girls) tend to choose the literary stream at the age of 16, rather than the scientific, IT, industrial, or agricultural streams. It is believed that the literary stream is safer since it depends more on the personal efforts exerted by the students, plus the fact that there is a clear shortage of staff who can teach scientific subjects. To fill in gaps, teachers with different specialities teach the subjects for which there are no teachers, regardless of their own discipline. In Beidha, for example, there is no mathematics teacher and the physics teacher fills in for this subject. In Basta, tutors from Eil or other towns sometimes come to take classes. In both villages, the majority of pupils fail their Tawjihi because of their weakness in English and mathematics. English particularly seems to be a major issue, with only a very few good English teachers able to equip the students well.

Despite the limited choices students have, almost none of the pupils appear to be interested in registering at the vocational education centre in the village of Eil, 5 km away from Basta. And the hospitality training centre in Wadi Musa does not even appear on the range of possible choices given to pupils in Beidha.

Opportunities for girls seem no better than for boys. Their chances of passing the high school exams are higher, a general observation at the national level, indicating that they are more studious. Those who pass the Tawjihi exam tend to secure scholarships or get funding from their parents to go to university. However, the choice of subjects for girls at Al Hussein University in Ma'an are limited to children's education, school teaching or social work; with limited work opportunities, many graduate and then stay at home. Those who fail the high school exam also stay at home.

"I would have wanted to study finance but firstly it does not exist as a speciality at the university and then I would not have the chance to work in such a field in Basta. Living elsewhere won't be welcomed by my father"(A.L., Basta, June 15, 2015).

In contrast to the enthusiasm that brought a teacher from Irbid to Basta in the 1940s to teach the children at home and to ensure better living standards and quality of life for them, the educational system of today does not fulfill their hopes and expectations. Both policy reports and newspaper articles have been alarmed about the current educational situation. The major concern in rural village schools is the small numbers in each class. An educational consultant, Nour Abu Ragheb, commenting on the very low number of those in Jordan who pass their high school exam, perceived that "the smaller schools usually have very low resources and not well-trained teachers. It has been a trend that these schools have not been performing as well as larger schools."[28]

Teaching

Poorly trained teachers are at the heart of the problem and their poor training affects the next generation. Automatic upgrading at school and the use of social connections at university makes it difficult to ensure high quality education.

The table below indicates the educational level of the people in Basta and Beidha, based on the survey done as part of the study.

School books and cultural heritage

Although newly published school books seek to address the local sites in Jordan as a way to strengthen Jordanian national identity, traditional teaching methods in government schools remain the same. Opportunities for students to visit sites in Jordan to learn about their archaeology or history are very limited. The result is

27 S. Hasanat, Girls school headmaster, Beidha 23 March 2015.

28 Read more: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/jordan-official-exam-tawjihi-failure-students-education.html#ixzz43NbTNz3X

Table 3 Education level, area cross-tabulation

			Area		Total
			Beidha	Basta	
Educational Level	Elementary	Count	12	31	43
		% within Area	23.1%	21.1%	21.6%
	Preparatory	Count	20	27	47
		% within Area	38.5%	18.4%	23.6%
	Secondary (Passed)	Count	5	19	24
		% within Area	9.6%	12.9%	12.1%
	Secondary (Failed)	Count	7	29	36
		% within Area	13.5%	19.7%	18.1%
	Vocational Training	Count	0	1	1
		% within Area	0.0%	0.7%	0.5%
	Diploma	Count	0	7	7
		% within Area	0.0%	4.8%	3.5%
	BA	Count	2	25	27
		% within Area	3.8%	17.0%	13.6%
	Higher Education	Count	0	4	4
		% within Area	0.0%	2.7%	2.0%
	Illiterate	Count	6	4	10
		% within Area	11.5%	2.7%	5.0%
Total		Count	52	147	199
		% within Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

that students are not interested in their past, paying little attention to archaeology and understanding very little about cultural heritage. Field trips to sites need resources such as staff who are able to explain things to the students and some security measures to ensure student safety; currently these are not available.

Teachers at the Beidha boys' school are all from other parts of Jordan, not from the village itself. The headteacher, who is from Wadi Musa, was surprised to learn about the Neolithic past which is so close to the Nabataean site in Little Petra. However, at the Beidha girls' school, the teachers are all from Wadi Musa, except for one woman from Beidha who graduated recently. Not being local in the village and having little information about the villages or towns where they are placed, teachers fail to widen the horizons of the students by looking around them to appreciate their local heritage.

Moreover, when teachers are assigned for a limited period to teach in a town or village with which they are unfamiliar, they rarely get time to bond with the local community or with the new place. In Beidha, teachers at the boys' school arrive on Sunday mornings from their home villages, they live in a staff flat on the school premises, and on Thursday afternoons they travel away from Beidha again back to their families. As a result there is no extra-curricular education such as local history, nature or archaeology, the focus being solely on the material assigned for each term.

During the research for this project, students walking home from school past the archaeological site in Basta were asked about the site and whether they had visited it. They had not, and only a few managed to say that the site was Stone Age. None of them knew anything else about the site other than the stories transmitted by their grandfathers (in the case of Beidha) or their fathers (in the case of Basta).

In a meeting with a young woman from Beidha in her twenties in which the project was explained to her, it was difficult to convince her that the Siq al Bared area had any archaeology other than Nabataean. When the school system fails to shed light on the cultural heritage of the local area (represented here by archaeology), and it is not socially or culturally celebrated, it is difficult to expect students to be curious about the past that sits in the middle of their village. A trip to the site in Beidha during the research period for a group of youths, armed with the leaflet about the site and led by Professor Finlayson, opened their eyes to something that had never meant anything to them before and had never been discussed in school books or at home.

Figure 12 The visit with Professor Finlayson

Education and Career Vision

Both villages have limited public service institutions. Work opportunities in the private sector are almost non-existent. As a result the only job opportunities apparently available for young men, are in the public sector and the military. To reward them for their role in the 1916 Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire, the Bedouin continue to be heavily represented in the Jordanian army (Bille 2008:39). This consequently shapes educational perspectives, and provides no opportunity to take up a subject that creates a passionate interest. In Basta, a clear majority of the residents work for the military, a career that has been accepting candidates without any rigid entrance requirements based on school performance, other than to sit for the high school exams. There has been a change in this recruitment policy, but it does not yet seem to have been enforced. School pupils, in the majority, rely heavily on this opportunity to join the military. Seeking university education reflects social status. Most students are easily satisfied with securing a job with a salary and attendant advantages with their basic Tawjihi certificate.

In Beidha, securing a job in the public sector whether in the civil or military branch, or in tourism, or in the restoration of archaeological sites in Petra (on short term contracts), all appear to be a more attractive option for students than going to school. Such work is believed to be more lucrative for them to the extent that they tend to drop out of school at a very early age. The table below reflects the perspective of the people in Beidha and Basta.

Table 4 Do you believe education creates better opportunities for finding a job?

			Area		Total
			Beidha	Basta	
Do you believe education creates better opportunities for finding a job?	Yes	Count	49	139	188
		% within Area	94.2%	95.2%	94.9%
	No	Count	3	7	10
		% within Area	5.8%	4.8%	5.1%
Total		Count	52	146	198
		% within Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4 shows that, in theory, people believe education creates better work opportunities for them. An educational title secures a certain level of prestige. However, during the face to face interviews, the young people in Beidha and Basta thought that getting a job does not necessitate a degree, but rather good connections amongst friends and family who can later secure a job for them in the public sector or in the Petra Authority. "These [jobs] do not require passing exams, they require a close connection" said a young man in a shop in Basta. Social capital has a major effect on people's livelihoods and their status and power in the community.

III. Economic Activities

Public and Private sectors

As discussed above, people from these communities tend to look for work in the public sector (both its civil and military branches) because the jobs are secure, there is a good social protection package, and working hours are convenient. The numbers of those from both villages working in the public sector could not be confirmed by this survey. The Department of Statistics indicates that more than 80% of workers in the southern governorates are employed in public-sector jobs, evidence of the limited opportunities in the private sector.

Our survey showed that some residents in Basta work in Al Shaidieh where there are two private sector factories (an Indian factory and a cement factory). Many young people say that the income and the benefits in these jobs are limited and thus not worth the effort.

The social capital of the tribe (its influence and ability to change) is a combination of traditional and modern lifestyles. The young men and women of the two villages argue that only a connection through the family network (*wasta*) enables them to find a job, whether in the public sector, the military or PDTRA, with the result that they rely on their tribal connections and their social networks to secure them a regular job. After finishing their education at school or university, some apply to the Civil Service Bureau (CSB), which in principle registers all graduates and all vacant jobs in the public sector and matches them. They also apply to the military and wait for their social capital to get them the job. The social capital in such enclosed societies depends on exchanges made within the community, very similar to production exchanges between *taneeb* (mentioned earlier in this section) in the old days. When deals are made nowadays, use is still made of the tribal base and the way it can facilitate paperwork to "the constituency [who] handle all sorts of bureaucratic matters including lowering tax assessments, allocating licenses and commercial concessions, securing jobs or promotions and places or scholarships in universities" (Yoav, 2007: 154).

As a result, a sense of entitlement has grown out of this traditional tribal influence, which in turn is very dependent on awards and resources allocated by the state, exchanged by the tribal people in the village to further their interests. As mentioned above, such use of connections facilitates the employment of poorly trained teachers. In this reality, there is no role model to inspire the students and motivate them, rather there is the tribal social capital that engenders connections rather than quality and qualifications. Discussions with parents, grandparents, and young people reflected this mindset: a secure public service job with all the benefits it entails can be be obtained through tribal connections.

Basta's proximity to Ma'an, the largest urban centre in the governorate, influences the job market. It is claimed that 80% of the community in Basta works in Ma'an (I. Nuaimat, Basta, March 24, 2015). However, opportunities in the labour market are still limited. Following established traditions, military work is seen as the best option. It does not (at least, not yet) have difficult entry conditions (high school exam with success or with failure) and most importantly, it secures a job for at least 20 years with a regular, though modest, salary, a pension, health care for the family and access to easy loans, particularly for housing.

Self-Employment

In Basta, some people invest in creating a commercial space in their houses to provide a potential source of income. It is estimated that there are more than 30 shops in Basta. Almost half of these are shops and services: two car mechanics, one bookshop, one chicken vending shop, two barber's shops, one shop selling home utensils and seven mini-markets. One store is rented to be used once a week by the vegetable vendor who displays his vegetables there every Monday, while the rest of the week he goes around the houses in his van. The remaining commercial spaces are rented for storage or are being used as storage by the household.

Fewer than ten families have greenhouses built with funding from the Ministry of Agriculture in which to grow vegetables as an income-generating project intended to help families become self-sufficient and create a business. Only four have been successful as businesses, generating income through selling the produce to shops and directly to the local community. Others are satisfied with being self-sufficient, growing enough for the daily needs of the household members.

In Beidha, the economic activities of the people of vary. Being close to Petra, Beidha participates partially in the tourist economy. According to our survey, 38.5% of the group studied worked in the tourism industry within the Petra Park; this includes local guides, working in the Siq during events, in the souvenir shops, and as wage workers in archaeological excavations and restoration. Such jobs also includes work as guards (employed by the Petra Park/public sector) 16 of whom are from Beidha.

Some people from these communities, especially those from Beidha, choose to stay in the open desert with their *hilal*, but rather than depending on the income gained from trading their *hilal* in the Wadi Musa or Husseinieh livestock markets, they seek 'wage work' to secure extra income, and take contracted jobs from the Petra Park as cleaners. Um Ed (she is S'yydeyyn, married to an Ammarin, and living in a tent), for example, usually takes a three-month contract to clean the main road leading to the Siq. She makes 200 JD per month. She has 30 sheep, which she trades in Wadi Musa. She manages to secure 60 JD support from the National Aid Fund when she fails to renew the contract with the Petra Park. Of her eight children (the eldest is 22 years old), only two go to school. The rest work with the *hilal*, the donkey and the everyday errands (Beidha, May 3, 2015).

A few families live in the Hajarieh, which means "stony area" and irefers to the Neolithic site of Beidha. B., who has always lived in caves in the area surrounding the Neolithic site, knows the area well and makes jewellery (from stones) which she sells in the tourist area. She wishes more work could be done in the Hajarieh, "my father, Ali Ibn Salem, used to work with Sitt Diana Kirkbride. He used to bring the water to them and my Mum made the bread (*shrak*)". The family's income has been inspired by the Neolithic site (Beidha 3 May 2015).

Excavation is something all generations in both villages see as a source of income (but not necessarily as a cultural heritage activity). Local workers in Basta were paid 2.25 JD a day to work on the archaeological excavations in the late 1980s. Abu Gb., who worked with Diana Kirkbride in Beidha in the late 1950s and early 1960s, recalls being paid 0.25 piasters. In his shop at the entrance to Siq al Bared, Abu Gb., who is over 80 years old now, remembers how important this phase of working with Sitt Diana was in his life: "the exposure, the contacts with good people and the good income" (Beidha, June 17, 2015). Today, several projects support training and funding local people to be involved in the maintenance of archaeological sites (maintenance, cleaning and non-

archaeological work). Young men in Beidha earn about 180 JD a month working on restoration on sites in Petra, on short three month contracts.

Some people work selling souvenirs at stalls by the entrance of Siq al Bared (Little Petra) which have been organized and divided as 'cooperative shares' by the PDTRA. Each stall was made into a cooperative consisting of 14 shares. Due to low tourist numbers, these small shares make it very difficult to generate a reasonable income for all the shareholders.

Between the Ammarin village and Siq al Bared, in the middle of the beautiful coloured mountains, a Jordanian investor, Z. Hamzeh, with an interest in the intangible cultural heritage and the serenity of nature in that area,[29] supported the Ammarin tribe to create a desert camp. This was to be a venue for them to safeguard their traditions and to invite tourists and visitors to discover nature and the wealth of local culture. The Ammarin Desert Camp lies just off the road leading to the entrance of Siq al Bared and it provides Bedouin-style accommodation and traditional food and music. It has been created on one of the *wajhat al 'ashariah* of the Ammarin (land used by the tribe and assigned to them in accordance with tribal law and with the state's approval). This camp falls under the supervision of the Archaeological and Touristic Association for the Ammarin and is now managed as a shareholding business for members of the Ammarin tribe. It distributes revenue to the local members in the association as a way to benefit the local community and engage them in their cultural heritage. Some of the Ammarin work in the Ammarin Desert Camp. This association also manages a souvenir and drinks shop in Siq al Bared and some income-generating projects for women in its main premises at the village.

In Beidha village itself, there are 3 mini-markets and more than 7 shops currently used for storage. A few income-generating projects exist in the village but these do not seem to have attained the necessary revenue to be seen as successful. Abu Q., for example, had one of the three honey-producing projects that were given to some members in the village by the Ministry of Agriculture. "I now have 18 kilos of honey which I cannot sell to anyone. I do not know how to market this and people who come to the village or tourist area are not interested" (Beidha, September 18, 2016). The greenhouses did not do well in the village either. "We do not need projects only, we need training: why do you expect me to know how to deal with diseases and climate change", exclaimed Abu Q. The crops in all five greenhouses were badly affected by insect damage. "The yogurt factory that the ministry offered to us needed 100 sheep as well!" Abu Q. pointed out. Abu I. and Abu Ah. were unhappy with projects that expect them to produce without providing them with the basic needs (Beidha, September 18, 2016). According to them, they cannot rely on the existing herds owned by each member, they need to be given a new herd as part of the factory project, so that collection of milk could happen in one place and daily production would be secured.

There is no bakery in either village. Locals argue that the villages are too small to sustain a bakery; in Basta, a previous attempt to open a bakery failed.[30] Instead, buses bring bread in the mornings and afternoons as well as other popular goods (canned food, legumes) to the villages. Moreover, in a village like Basta, since more than 80% of the men work outside the village, they bring bread daily from Ma'an or the town where they work. During the final phase of this study, a sandwich shop was opened in Basta, on the main road, selling traditional sandwiches (*shawarma* and *falafel*). Local people cheered the event on social media (October 29, 2016). Six months later the shop was closed – the cost of the one Egyptian labourer with his wife was too high to sustain.

Table 5 below, indicates the most common economic activities of people in Basta and Beidha:

Table 5 Activities in which residents of both villages are involved

Beidha	**Basta**
Herding	Herding
Agriculture	Agriculture
Tourism/restoration of archaeology	Military work
Guards at Petra Park	Public sector (municipality, schools, health centre)
Shopkeepers (souvenir)	Shopkeepers (food consumption)
Entrepreneurs (vendors of rugs, jewellery) or tour guides	Entrepreneurs (making diary products from their *hilal*)
Military work	

29 In discussion with a businessman from Amman, Rami, who is interested in ethnography and civilization and used to have a business base in Wadi Musa.

30 Currently, a bakery is due to open on the road connecting Basta with Eil and other villages.

A few families in Basta are dependent on agriculture and herding, mainly to produce goods for export and to make dairy products: *jameed* (dried yogurt), fat and butter. This brings in a good income as it is sought by buyers from the wider southern region, who appreciate its quality. These families make use of their *wajhat al 'ashariah* (tribal façade), which is available for them based on a familial agreement to invest and generate livelihood capital.

Um An. is known in Basta for her *taboun* bread and her dairy products. Opposite her house, lies the tribal land of the Zayadeen (the sub-tribe of Nuaimat mentioned earlier). Her retired husband, in agreement with his siblings to invest in the land, plants on the 300 *dunums* (one *dunum* is 1000 square km). Their income depends on growing wheat, trading animals and making bread. This is in addition to Abu An.'s pension as a former military officer (Basta, May 4, 2015).

In these arid lands, agriculture is limited to rain-fed crops such as wheat and barley. The harvesting process is costly and the crops need to have a guard to protect the field from animals. Some of the tent dwellers in Beidha who go out on daily basis with their herds, risk losing money if they have to pay compensation to those whose lands have been damaged by their animals. Abu Ad., from Beidha, was indebted to Um Sd. for the loss he caused her when his herds damaged her crops last summer, "we have not yet agreed on how much I'll pay her but it will not be less than 300–400 JD" (Beidha – al Farsh, May 2015).

The state welcomes people who go back to their traditions and have their own herds. Several people from Beidha claimed that the Ministry of Agriculture gives sheep to people who express interest in this domain. This is added to the subsidized fodder given to herders, based on a ration card showing the number of animals they have.

In Beidha, of the households studied, only 20% answered that they have herds and depend on herds for their livelihood. The majority of them represent the last generation who have been brought up in tents. Some were keen to educate their children and secured a house in the village so that the children could be close to schools,

Table 6 Do you have herds? Do you have any agricultural land?

Beidha:

			Do you have any agriculture land?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you have herds?	Yes	Count	4	8	12
		% within Do you have herds?	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	40.0%	20.5%	24.5%
		% of Total	8.2%	16.3%	24.5%
	No	Count	6	31	37
		% within Do you have herds?	16.2%	83.8%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	60.0%	79.5%	75.5%
		% of Total	12.2%	63.3%	75.5%
Total		Count	10	39	49
		% within Do you have herds?	20.4%	79.6%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	20.4%	79.6%	100.0%

Table 7 Do you have herds? Do you have any agricultural land?

Basta:

			Do you have any agriculture land?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you have herds?	Yes	Count	12	13	25
		% within Do you have herds?	48.0%	52.0%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	24.5%	13.5%	17.2%
		% of Total	8.3%	9.0%	17.2%
	No	Count	37	83	120
		% within Do you have herds?	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	75.5%	86.5%	82.8%
		% of Total	25.5%	57.2%	82.8%
Total		Count	49	96	145
		% within Do you have herds?	33.8%	66.2%	100.0%
		% within Do you have any agriculture land?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	33.8%	66.2%	100.0%

others believed that their children could go to school while still living in the tents, by walking to the main road and securing a ride to the school in Beidha. Some of the younger generation have opted out going to school, given the challenge of commuting, especially during bad weather, but most importantly because they fail to understand the use of education other than to learn letters and numbers. "Yes, we need to know how to write and do calculations for our work" (a young girl, who was just coming back with the herds from the morning trip, May 2016).

The fertile land around Basta has meant that more households are involved in farming. The tradition of having a Syrian herder has permitted people from the Nuaimat to remain in the village, get an education and oversee the herder (whether local or Syrian). Because of education and secure employment, people in Basta tend to have cars and thus able to access the surrounding towns and the lands that are part of their *wajhat al 'ashariah*.

The exposure of both villages, one to Ma'an with the many government jobs it offers and the other to Wadi Musa with the option of many private sector/tourism jobs, has shaped the aspirations of the local people. The level of education remains modest, although it appears to be a little higher in Basta than in Beidha.

Section Two

1. Cultural Heritage as a social asset

In light of the circumstances at schools and the limited work opportunities, mainly involving waiting for opportunities to be offered by the state, local people have shown little interest in cultural heritage. Education and school books could have a significant influence, but narratives of the older generation about the heritage matter as much. In the survey, when asked about their local Neolithic site, at least half of those interviewed had some knowledge about this heritage through stories passed down from one generation to another, as indicated below.

Based on the answers to these questions about knowledge and shared narratives, it can be argued that cultural heritage is not necessarily known about or valued by everyone in the local community. As Abu Khafajah observed in the communities that she studied, there is the idea that only wealthy people can have cultural heritage. "At a community level, the past is considered 'dead' and only those who can afford an easier life can capitalise on the past as a source of inspiration" (Abu Khafajah 2010: 134). A similar perception may be present in the communities of Beidha and Basta where, in general, the prehistory of the area is not recognized as being part of their cultural heritage. However, for both the younger and older generations in both villages, there is clearly a sense of ownership of the place that became the kherbeh: "knowing it more intimately, and having memories and stories woven into its fabric" (Schofield and Szymanski 2011: 4) makes it a special heritage to which each generation is able to relate in a different manner.

A sense of pride in their recent heritage is found amongst the Amareen in Beidha when they talk about their tribal heritage and the villages they established sometime early in the 20th century. While the Neolithic sites are unknown to the majority of the local people in either Basta or Beidha, their strong connection with and pride about their places comes through when they talk about their forefathers, fathers or themselves. However, those who have worked with excavation teams on the Neolithic sites are proud of having done so, and see it as part of their contribution to their village's heritage. Being a labourer, guard, cook or a supervisor on a site that is now seen as an important representation of the past provides a sense of pride, and most importantly it provides a direct connection to and a sense of ownership of their past. People previously had failed to realize that such connections with the sites and stories about the work in themselves represent cultural heritage and form part of the past on which they are building.

Table 8: Do you remember having been told about the archaeological site and its story

			Area		Total
			Beidha	Basta	
Do you remember having been told about the archaeological site and its story?	Yes	Count	28	71	99
		% within Area	53.8%	48.3%	49.7%
	No	Count	24	76	100
		% within Area	46.2%	51.7%	50.3%
Total		Count	52	147	199
		% within Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9: Do you have stories in your village about the archaeological site (including old people's stories, fun/horror stories or jokes)?

			Area		Total
			Beidha	Basta	
Do you have stories in your village about the archaeological site (including old people's stories, fun/horror stories, or jokes)	Yes	Count	29	48	77
		% within Area	58.0%	33.6%	39.9%
	No	Count	21	95	116
		% within Area	42.0%	66.4%	60.1%
Total		Count	50	143	193
		% within Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Stories of the past provide a context that enable people to project their identities, and to identify themselves with places (Abu Khafajah 2010: 134). The Amareen are proud of their history, of the time when they lived in rock-cut monuments and caves in Beidha. They are proud of being part of a past that has become one of the world's wonders. "Places are important to people because they relate people to a grander cycle of life, suggest continuity of time through sequences of generations, and convert life's transforming events to particular places on this earth" (Abu Khafajah 2010: 134). They relate to their winter and summer moves, Wadi Araba and Beidha (caves) during the winter and Beir Dabaghat and Beidha during the summer. "This has been done by more than nine generations of our tribe: the land and the ritual means lots to us" (Abu Q., Beidha, September 18, 2016).

I. Personal Skills: Organization of Local Community and Challenges

In a dissertation studying community services in the municipalities in Jordan, Eleanor Gao (2012: 1) asked a lady who used to work in the Ministry of Municipalities (MOM), "Why do you think services vary across municipalities?" Her answer pointed out several issues that this research highlights as challenges affecting service provision, as well as socio-economic and cultural development.

> "She hesitated for a few seconds in thought and then began rattling off the usual factors I had already been told many times: the socio-economic situation of the municipality, its population, the leadership ability of the mayor and his motivation to actually serve his community rather than desiring to utilize the municipality to reward his cronies, the education level of residents, topography of the landscape, whether the municipality was receiving assistance from other organizations, and finally – tribal diversity" (Gao 2012: 1).

By this, she summarized the power structure in the society: how accountable the leader is to the local community in his village, how accountable he is to the stakeholders who have the funds and power to promote his rank and his rewards, how aware the members of the local community are of the decisions taken to serve their village, and how involved they are in decision-making. Both a person's sense of agency and their sense of ownership are essential if they are to seek to play a leading role in the village and in decisions that are expected to have a positive impact on the family and the tribe. In this research these issues have often been encountered in those who head associations or those assigned as representatives of the community to provide services to the village.

For example, one engineer in an association in Basta could not understand why his association, which is well funded by local and international organizations, needs to do any cleaning work in the archaeological sites (the housing area and the water-well area). "As long as this is a site run by the Department of Antiquities, it is their job to assign a guard and to take care of the site while protecting vulnerable places in it." (Basta, February 24, 2015). The higher the percentage of educated people in the village, the more they expect from the state (employment, economic opportunities and financial support). With a mindset that expects so much from the state, members of the communities are not ready to assume major public roles. This emphasizes centralization in decision-making and permits very limited space for local people to initiate their own projects.

To elaborate on Gao's last point concerning tribal diversity (2012: 3–4), she presents the pros and cons of diversity in the community. She argues that "tribal diversity is good because it makes the society less tribal. When there are lots of tribes, people tend to work together and to support the most qualified candidate. They don't just vote for a member of their tribe in the municipal elections". People tend to be more innovative and to be more accepting of changes. The opposing view is that diversity is bad for the public good as illustrated by scholars who have focused on areas of the world where relations between different tribal groups are tense, antagonistic, or distant. In those cases it has been difficult to muster the collective effort required to make provision for the public good. This fieldwork has found that diversity within a single tribe (with several branches) creates subtle tensions in relationships where each is trying to compete against the other with ideas and projects. Although tribal unity is claimed, each family branch tends to present its own views on problem-solving and on seeking funds, and tries to appear to be active, and these competing interests are not helpful for the wider community. In turn, the more homogenous the people of one village are, the more united and supportive they are of the one candidate that could represent them and address their needs with a clear sense of agency aiming to serve the majority.

During this research, bottom-up, local-interest discussions were held several times with the various groups. The study attempted to involve as many young people as possible, those who have the time to participate and to

volunteer for projects that could serve the community. Leadership was needed to sustain the discussions and the actions: to invite the young people regularly and to follow up the ideas. This presented a challenge: who would have the time to volunteer to invite everyone (including local associations claiming to work for the public interest) and which of these young students is likely to volunteer, given the lack of a role model? This is in contrast to Jackson's argument that, as a result of state cuts and economic austerity, there should be increased pressure to widen participation, and so communities could play a role through localizing agendas (Jackson et al. 2014: 76).

The high expectations that the state will provide the basic needs for people's livelihoods, including higher education, employment and management of archeological sites, does not encourage bottom-up, local-interest, community-led initiatives to blossom. The private sector and the mass tourism of Petra, in particular, have set high expectations of a lucrative market, which has impeded the young and their community representatives from initiating ideas or creating projects that serve the public interest.

II. Culture and Education Management

During a meeting with his Excellency Minister of State Dr Salameh Nuaimat (June 17, 2015), who is from Basta, he discussed efforts to bring more material about the Neolithic sites into the current school curriculum, which have resulted in details about Neolithic cultural heritage being added to Jordanian school history books. As a professor of History at Jordan University, he is involved in committees in the Ministry of Education which review the education plan, seeking to sharpen Jordanian national identity by teaching students about local sites that connect them with their territory and its past. The minister believes that administration and bureaucracy are partly responsible for limiting archaeological knowledge to only books, without exposing students to the sites.

Extra-curricular education is not a common practice in Jordanian schools, especially in more rural areas. S. Hasanat, the headmaster of the Beidha boys' school, had never heard of the Neolithic site, which is only about 1.5 km away from the school. During a project visit to the schools to give them leaflets about the Neolithic sites, he welcomed the idea of his students being given an archaeological talk followed by a visit to the site (November 24, 2015). He went himself to the site soon after the meeting to explore the ways his students could learn about this deep past and how to be involved. Only two students in his school had been to the Neolithic site and knew of its history. In Basta, activities over and above daily school attendance depended on the youth centre, run by the Higher Council for Youth, and two other initiatives (al Khair and Hakek; see Annex 1 for community organizations), which run volunteer activities to paint school walls, clean up water streams, fix broken things and, most importantly, to work in a group in order to serve the public good.

Education about cultural heritage should not be limited to learning the archaeology and history of places; it is about connecting with the place through appreciating the culture and wealth of past life. Notwithstanding this reality, little is being done to raise awareness about the past and to make students proud of their cultural heritage. Apart from what is provided in class and memorized from books, the school environment does not nourish interest nor stimulate the students to explore their heritage through family narratives or antiquities handed down from earlier generations.

The problem noted above of teachers in Beidha not being from the local area is recognized by the teachers themselves. According to one teacher, originally from Irbid: "We barely get the chance to learn about the area in which we live (since school teachers live in the school apartment). We leave at the weekends to go back to our families and we are in Beidha during the week, busy with our work." (Beidha, March 7, 2015). Lack of time limits their teaching to what is in the school books and so they do not provide the students with any incentives to explore their tangible and intangible heritage.

The case is different in Basta where the majority of the school teachers are from Basta or from the Nuaimat tribe (from the surrounding villages). However, the idea of organizing trips to the sites is still not welcomed. According to R. Nuaimat, the headmaster of the boys' school, "It is not safe and I cannot risk having any student fall or play in the archaeological site if I fail to control him" (March 24, 2015). This raises another important point: how safe is the site for visitors and how appropriate is it for presenting the story of the past.

Continuous revisions of the curriculum are bringing the cultural heritage of Jordan into the school books. However, neither the directorate of schoolbooks at the Ministry nor the teachers have considered innovative ways of visiting sites and of improving the local population's relationship with their land and their cultural heritage. Potential local engagement with cultural heritage is not limited to school activities, but should include volunteering and holding activities at the sites.

III. Tourism Management

In both Beidha and Basta people in interviews and conversations argued that tourists do not visit their villages because they have no visitor centres. They thought that if a visitor centre were to be built, with toilets, souvenir shops and a cafeteria, run by someone from the village, the tourism situation would improve and the local community would then benefit from the archaeological site. They do not realize that tourist numbers are not dependent only on the creation of a visitors' centre. They depend on planning strategies that will involve all actors in the community; this has to start with education to spread knowledge and information, followed by engagement of the local communities through participation in decision making, and in activities related to their own village. The management of all these elements also requires marketing the sites and trails of Jordan, which involves official bodies, tour agents and tour guides, bus companies as well as the local communities.

The experience in neighbouring Petra and of the tribe that lives in Wadi Musa, the Layathna, many of whom shifted their work to the tourism industry, has had a marked influence on the people Beidha and Basta, creating an image of mass tourism and the economic benefits of an archaeological site. The attention and interest in Petra since it was nominated to UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1986 has attracted many tourists from all over the world. Shoup writes on the Layathna experience in his article about the impact of tourism on the people of Petra:

> "The Layathna have enriched themselves from the tourist trade. The location of their village has given them access to tourists on their own ground. That is, the Layathna have easy access to jobs created by tourism, but they can control the circumstances. Their general hostility towards foreigners has allowed them to keep their dealings with foreigners on a purely business level and foreigners have not invaded their own personal lives to a great extent. Their high level of education and ability to speak English gives them a good understanding of the West, better than Westerners have of the Middle East" (Shoup 1985: 286).

Beidha, despite its close proximity to Petra, has not received large numbers of tourists. This has been a major concern for the Amareen, who have their shops and local guides at the entrance to Siq al Bared. "The tours monopolized by travel agencies and tour guides have played against us," believes Abu I. (Beidha/ Siq al Bared, March 26, 2015). There is little communal effort to market the area and the modest income produced by the souvenir shops of the Amareen does not permit them to give commissions to tour guides in order for them to bring their tour groups to their area. "The commission is what matters in marketing our area and we cannot afford to give of the little revenue we make to tour guides," said G., whose father has a souvenir shop at the Siq al Bared (June 8, 2015).

In a subtle way, the commodification of tourism has excluded Beidha from guided tours. "It is necessary to have it on the tourism map of Jordan in order to draw the attention of the tourists to it," argue many of the Amareen. The commodification of tangible cultural heritage has transformed pride in the past into a marketable product, valued simply as a financial item. The commodification of Bedouin culture appears to be inevitable in the Petra region, as noted by Shoup (1985). The desert camp of the Amareen has been marketed through the internet and advertisements produced by the Amareen association, promising visitors exotic nights with traditional food, practices and music.

In the Petra region, it is clear that tourism, and archaeology, have been responsible for a number of major changes, mainly rapid development, in nearly every aspect of life. The local people have been caught up in that development process and have been forced to change in the manner dictated by it. They have adapted to the conditions created by tourism yet have been able to maintain many ties with their cultural past (Shoup 1985: 284).

SM, who is 16 years old, heads to Siq al Bared after school every day. He is the eldest in his family and needs to generate a daily income. For many of the Amareen, the trend has been to leave school early and join a lucrative business, whether through short contracts with companies or undertaking local guiding work in the tourism industry (local guide or restoration). SM is still able to strike a balance between attending school and generating an income from tourism. He hopes to pursue his studies and obtain a BA in tourism. His concern, however, is that the flow of tourists is very modest in his area.

In 2015, the PDTRA started construction work on an eco-village and a traditional village that are to be created on the hills overlooking Beidha (http://www.maisam.com.jo/content/al-beidha-eco-village). The plan, as explained by Dr Emad Hijazeen, the Deputy Chief Commissioner of

the PDTRA, is for tourists to walk through the whole area of Petra. Instead of using the same route to go in and out, tourists would continue through the site and be picked up by a shuttle bus at the gate of Abu Ouleiqa, close to the end of the colonnaded street, which would take them up to the new tourist villages. "The people in Beidha will benefit from this new trail because they will have more opportunities to market their products and would receive more visitors" (Wadi Musa, March 9, 2016). The local community, strangely, have not been consulted regarding this new plan. The two new villages would take the tourists away from Siq al Bared and the local community's existing shops. The plan involves bringing the local people to the new villages rather than helping them invest in their own land and expand tourism within the Siq al Bared area.

The people in Beidha are not happy with the PDTRA planning. The regulations of the Strategic Comprehensive Plan of Petra Region are seen as working against the local community's interest in investing in their own area, according to Eid Amareen, the *Mukhtar* of the Amareen, who is a guard at the entrance to Siq al Barid and owns a share in the shops there (Beidha, March 26, 2015). According to the Strategic Comprehensive Plan, no one will have the right to use their land within 500 metres of the boundaries of the Authority, nor within 500 metres of the roads, which have been classified as 'restricted land' in order to create a green belt-like area along the tourist roads, such as the one leading to Siq al Bared. The Amareen and others argue that they have thus also effectively lost any of their land (the *wajhat al 'ashariah*) which falls within the borders of the Authority. *Wajhat al 'ashariah* within the PDTRA border (see map in Annex 3) have been affected by the new divisions and zones in the Petra Park area. Their land on the higher mountains of the Heesheh area also fall under the ecological-touristic classification. They have no rights to build anything there (see map in Annex 3). The Amareen argue that since the creation of the Petra Park they have lost all their land rights within the Park. Abu J. Amareen at the Siq al Bared, where he continues to have his tent, says that he, like many others, "want our lands to be compensated" (Beidha, May 4, 2015).

Figure 13 Petra, the path to the Abu Ouleiqa gate, passing by the court

Figure 14 Beidha mountains

In Basta, where the majority of people are government workers in the civil or military sector, very few have worked in tourism. Those who are aware of the archaeological site in the heart of their village think that the role of the Ministry of Tourism is to build a visitors centre beside the Neolithic site so that tourists will stop to visit their village. The fact that some tourist buses travel from Petra to Aqaba along the main road that passes by their village makes them lament the little being done to encourage them to stop there. "We can benefit from tourism and show our tradition and heritage, only if tour guides bring the visitors to our village and the Department of Antiquities provides us with the needed visitors' centre" (B. Nuaimat, *Mukhtar*, March 24, 2015). From time to time, buses do stop for a quick visit to the Neolithic site of Basta. It is infrequent but people confirmed that it does happen occasionally.

Petra, as one of the new seven wonders of the world, along with its masses of international visitors, has created a certain image of tourism and has raised expectations. When talking to local communities in Beidha and Basta about their Neolithic sites and what they expect to get out of investing effort in them, they often referred to the mass tourism of Petra, expecting many people to visit their sites as well, thereby generating good money for the local people. Yet since 2011, the masses who used to visit Petra have reduced dramatically in light of the political situation in the region and the conflict in several neighbouring countries. According to the British *Daily Telegraph*, "visitors to Petra fell from 800,000 in 2010 to 400,000 in 2014, and guides and hotels report dismal bookings. […] Around 5,000 visitors per day are expected at the UNESCO World Heritage Site at this time of year, but [...] there are (only) '500 to 600 on a good day at the moment'".[31] According to the statistics of the Ministry of Tourism there were 599,000 visitors to Petra in 2015.

People in Beidha complain because they do not really benefit from the tourism industry due to the monopoly exercised by travel agents and the fact that the commission made by the tour agent is the key factor in deciding which places tourists will visit.

In Basta, one of the residents came up with an idea of how to develop the *kherbeh* for tourism. He met an Egyptian investor who was ready to lease the old stone-built *kherbeh* and turn it into a tourist village. The owners of the houses did not agree to the rate offered. Some individuals tried to negotiate higher rates, which played against the interest of the community as a whole. Most importantly, the religiously conservative owners, influenced by images of Petra, did not welcome the idea of having a tourist village in the middle of their own calm and peaceful village. They did not wish to have strangers with different cultures and traditions visiting Basta and upsetting traditional and religious principles, particularly fearing the negative impact they might have on their young children. Today, some people blame each other for having missed what they feel might have been a big chance, but they do not to see the wider context: the two well-established tourist villages in the neighbouring towns (the Nawafleh village in Wadi Musa and Taybet Zaman in Taybeh) have closed recently as a result of the current economic conditions due to the political tensions in the region.

Through tourism, archaeology can surely generate different types of positive change including social, cultural, economic, political, scientific and environmental. If well planned, it can bring quality (wealthy or intellectual) tourists who would wish to explore sites other than the classic ones. With a community-friendly vision aiming to

31 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/middle-east/jordan/articles/Petra-nobody-in-sight-as-visitor-numbers-halve/

empower local communities, archaeological sites should attract tourists to the villages, which would bring benefits through the sale of local food, renting accommodation, selling souvenirs and providing transport and guided tours for the visitors. The current trend in tourism for generally smaller establishments favours more local ownership and management: the operational requirements of small-scale establishments are less complex than those of larger hotels and do not need the highly trained staff that five-star hotels require (Hampton 2005). This new tourism thus is more participatory in an economic sense for the local community, engaging them more and giving them a sense of ownership. For communities living near the Neolithic sites, this new tourism could generate small-scale businesses and thereby significant economic benefits.

According to Lepp (2007 in Al-Hammad 2012: 152), residents' attitudes towards tourism are important indicators of the appropriateness of tourism. This attitude is shaped by successful planning, marketing, sustainable engagement of the local community and by policy considerations. The local people alone are not the only actors in the matter. When asked about what projects they would want to have to help market their village and its deep past better, the most common suggestion was to create a shop (to sell ready-to-eat food or souvenirs and post cards), followed by creating a visitors' centre where a few of the local residents would work in the ticket office and manage the amenities. The relationship they have with the site is focused on the financial revenue the site could generate and on potential salaries for a few employees in the visitors' centre. No-one who answered perceived the archaeological site and the village as a part of their distinct cultural identity. Cultural vision and community ownership is acquired through education, oral history and a better understanding of tourism and its objectives, beyond the material gains.

IV. Entrepreneurial initiatives

An entrepreneur is expected to be engaged in "a process of creating new ideas and innovative use of resources and opportunities based on knowledge, and acceptance of the risk" (Rahimi 2001 in Samiei and Akhoondzadeh 2013: 1426). Entrepreneurship is an important element in creating a sustainable development. To make an entrepreneurial market, a high sense of responsibility is needed and a studied plan of innovative approaches and ideas with an anticipated vision for the future and high motivation. It is indispensable to prepare a risk assesment and management plan while remaining optimistic about the results.

The state welfare system in remote areas within the south has rendered people somewhat dependent on the state for many of their needs, whether it is university education, employment in the military or public sector, or support for local agricultural cooperatives which give away subsidized saplings and animal fodder. This was clearly reflected in the way local communities perceive the archaeological sites by questioning what role is played by the Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism. In a question seeking to understand whether the local community sees the potential in the archaeological site for entrepreneurial work or commerce for their products, very few have been able to see the possibility of the former. With the little knowledge they have about tourism and about the past as represented by archaeology, they fail to see the potential of presenting creative work through the window of cultural heritage and the Neolithic sites.

Beidha's Amareen Association sought to get funding to create a plastic recycling project (see Annex 2 for details). The project, despite its originality, did not have a marketing venue. Moreover, the Association failed to set prices for their products. The funding bodies focused on the feasibility of the project, forgetting to address the training of local people, not only to produce goods but also in thinking 'business'. In one of our participatory meetings, an economist commented that the high prices of products displayed in the souvenir shop and at the Association did not take into consideration the competition in Amman and elsewhere in the country. Their response was that the products were expensive to produce: wages for the trainer, the women making them, and the raw materials needed.

In Basta, the strongest entrepreneurial business is in diary products. Many people from Wadi Musa buy their yearly supply of dairy products (jameed, fat, butter) from Nuaimat families. There is an existing network in Wadi Musa, and people buy their products by calling the ladies they usually deal with. There are no shops for these products and the only way to obtain them is by going to the house of the producers. The same is true for shrak bread (used for the traditional mansaf dish), and taboun bread (made in a cement oven in the ground). Marketing is done by word of mouth and sales are arranged over the phone.

The main barriers to starting a new project, according to the people questioned in the field survey (see Table 10), relate to the lack of finances, physical capital and motivation to learn skills and become a model. Most importantly, it is the lack of a sense of responsibility that

Figure 15 Taboun in Basta

makes the entrepreneur accountable for his ideas to the local community and to donors.

The lack of capital from the government (in this case the Department of Antiquities) means there are no services (especially a visitors' centre) and this is seen as the reason that tourists fail to come. The local people do not see the reason as the lack of a responsible united initiative that could make their village different, vibrant with life and production that could generate the benefits to which they aspire.

Table 10: Barriers to starting a new project

Barriers/challenges	Frequency	%
Lack of capital	164	82.4
Lack of market	52	26.1
Lack of supported infrastructure	23	11.6
Lack of skills	17	8.5
Bureaucracy	11	5.5
Lack of role models	7	3.5

During discussions, several youth groups thought they would want to make post cards and to run exchange programmes with young people elsewhere in the world, which would give them a chance to go abroad and give youth from the world a chance to live in their villages and be exposed to their lifestyle. The young people from these communities are full of ideas that could benefit them and make them representatives of their place and ambassadors of their special identity. Yet, limited communal interest in the place over the years has created a sense of alienation between the place and others. These ideas need to be hosted by an established organization in the community that would provide support for the youth and assume responsibility together. There are many organizations in Basta, outlined in Annex 1, but they do not really seek to expand the interests of young people.

As discussed earlier, facilitating engagement can engender benefits not only on a small scale but also at the national heritage level. The challenge resides in building up the momentum through instilling pride in cultural heritage, taking responsibility and having organizational skills that override social differences and misunderstandings. In an activity undertaken by the research project, some of the people active in the community presented their communal projects and ideas, outlined in Annex 2. Very few of them materialized despite the support provided by some authorities and the research team.

V. Development, local engagement and economic potential

There is a wide range of themes in the study of tourism and community development, mostly focusing on the basic elements that could turn cultural heritage into a social, environmental, business and economic asset for local people. The integration of local people in the tourism industry is essential for it to function, as argued by Murphy: "Tourism, like no other industry, relies on the goodwill and cooperation of local people, because they are part of its product" (Murphy 1985, in Hejazeen 2007: 44). Most importantly, roles for local people are not limited to providing services but include representing their cultural identity as part and parcel of the place: "The locals' view is concentrated on the economic and social benefit, while visitors want to see people in their daily life" (Murphy 2002, in Hejazeen 2007: 44). Cultural heritage becomes a social asset when local people and the main actors co-operate in assuming responsibility and seeking to present cultural wealth in the best way possible. Putnam (2002 in Strzelecka and Wicks 2013: 104) indicates that actors develop social networks only when they are willing to invest their personal resources in relationships that they regard as beneficial. Such networks establish trust among the members of the community, and channel the collective

efforts for the communal interest, representing identity and the national culture. An increased understanding of the role of cultural heritage would encourage local people to engage as owners, valuing their cultural identity.

The main government stakeholders, such as the Ministries of education, culture, tourism, trade and commerce, the municipalities, and the Petra Park have a role to play in unifying their efforts and ensuring the participation of locals in decision making. The government facilitates the building up of human capital through education and planning, and supports development projects that enhance community action.

Economic and cultural development requires support by training local people, students and active people in the field. Training should not be limited only to a certain project but should address a wider understanding of culture, and the tourism market. Learning these basic elements well will enable new generations to value their heritage and to invest in bringing out the distinct characteristics of the place, the people and the culture.

To give cultural heritage an economic potential is a process that requires the engagement of the community, ideas for development and cultural projects and informed, knowledgeable and responsible citizens working together under one institution or authority. Engagement of the local community in their heritage creates a bridge between their past and the archaeological heritage, helping to shape an identity that is associated with the place. This demands extra responsibility or time commitment but in order to be able to relate to the place, the relationship between locals and their past must be nourished with care, education, belief and a vision drawn in policies and strategies. This is how sustainable development can be secured and how communities are empowered. Only then can cultural heritage be marketed to generate revenue and profits for the local people.

Communication is crucial in establishing trust between the members of the local community, which then allows them to take on responsibility for their own cultural heritage, to maintain and clean it and keep it vivid through narratives and stories of the past. Attachment to the past happens through engagement with place and with other members of the community. Through this, each member is able to bring in his or her diverse experiences as well as multiple perceptions of the historical and contemporary contexts of the place. It is a complicated and dynamic process, as described by Abu Khafajah (2010: 130) through which people integrate socially with the place and shape their individual identities and also one that brings a community together with a collective identity and a collective narrative.

Conclusion

This research set out to study the local communities from Beidha and Basta and consider their knowledge and understanding of their cultural heritage, especially with regard to the Neolithic sites beside which they live, and to consider how the sites currently do, or could possibly benefit the communities as a social asset. Both tangible and intangible cultural heritage can be a social asset when local communities are able to perceive them as essential to their culture and are motivated by a sense of ownership. The aim of the project was to investigate the mobilization of cultural heritage to benefit the local community.

Through both quantitative and qualitative fieldwork, this study provided baseline information for planning and development. Basta and Beidha were explored as places with human, natural, cultural and touristic potential. The socio-economic and cultural livelihoods of the local people were studied to understand daily practices and assess how to help the population perceive the value of the heritage in their villages.

Heritage, if appreciated, valued and embedded in social practices, can be a trigger for promoting civic participation to advance social inclusion and equality amongst people. The process of participating in activities related to cultural heritage slowly but surely mould the cultural identity and the sense of place amongst local people. This fosters community empowerment and enhances confidence, civic pride, tolerance and broadening opportunities for learning new skills.

There is a joint responsibility for all stakeholders to work together and coordinate efforts to enhance engagement with cultural heritage through establishing and implementing strategic social awareness and development programs. The role of the community as an agent and the extent to which citizenship is understood, taking into consideration the context, political economy of power relations and the particular characteristics of local tribal authority, have to be better understood, before development plans are made.

There are few people available locally who have the skills or time to take on organizational or logistical roles or to be heavily involved in the initiation and management

of people or projects. In a society where the majority depend on the state and where financial support is not readily available, changing the local mindset in order to facilitate the development of entrepreneurial skills is not an easy task.

General Recommendations

A better understanding of heritage and its role in society should be developed. Professional staff in national organizations, whether schools, universities, tourism or cultural agents, are indispensable for enhancing the profile of cultural heritage, and need to be given the information and skills to support this. This capacity-building encompasses supporting rural development, economic entrepreneurship, historical and archaeological orientations, architectural specialists, and oral history narratives. This is needed to support the economic well-being of the communities and the sociocultural dynamics of their daily life that are embodied in festivals, practices, songs, sayings and poetry.

Community development

For cultural heritage to be a sustainable social asset, it is important that local communities be encouraged to adopt it to ensure a flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life. This requires policymakers to involve local communities in the planning and strategy development process to ensure that they can fully buy into plans for which they have a sense of ownership. The issue of power relations and the economic space for local community involvement has to be addressed. To provoke thinking about cultural heritage, it is imperative to invite local community members to engage in conserving the narratives of the older generation.

Education and cultural heritage

The modest quality of education, the high turnover of teachers, and the lack of subject specialization have played a role in poor educational achievement. This, in turn, affects the motivation of students who feel challenged by the high school exam. More attention must be paid to the qualifications of the educators and the role assigned to them in building up the human capital of future generations that will be responsible for conserving and protecting their past.

Regular visits to the archaeological sites can support the educational process. They should not be limited to learning about individual sites and their history, but should include learning how to interact with the place as citizens with a sense of ownership and responsibility. Such an exercise should include not only local communities living within the proximity of archaeological sites but to the wider Jordanian population, nurturing cultural identity and opening the interests of students to new educational disciplines and new career opportunities. Most importantly, this relationship between people, places and their cultural heritage strengthens community identity and cooperation, and empowers local roles as owners and agents of social change within their communities.

A package is therefore needed to organize visits to sites, motivate students to be interested in history and local narratives, and engage with the older generations to learn more about their perception of these places and the past. It will take time and effort to build up citizenship with a feeling of cultural belonging in place, and to engage young generations in the creation of their own entrepreneurial ideas.

Tourism, cultural heritage and marketing

Tourism and cultural heritage contribute to the economic development of local communities, which can generate wealth, investments and employment. It also plays a significant role in the construction of national and local identities. While tourism development may create and provide jobs, it is essential to ensure that it is for the benefit of the community as a whole, or it may undermine the social fabric, and deprive members of the community of an economic resource. It is important to support communal organizations that benefit as many as possible of the community (the Amareen Association for Tourism and Archaeology is a clear example of success).

With limited local marketing strategies, ongoing local initiatives need support and help to engage with non-governmental organizations to provide training and capacity building and to host the positive ideas of young people to grow them into real projects. It is necessary to ensure the participation of all segments of the community including respected community leaders, along with the traditional agents of development such as foreign funding agencies, government representatives, and archaeologists, and to provide spaces within the site or elsewhere within the village for traditional activities.

Sustainable tourism and the long-term protection of archaeological sites depends on support from local communities. If they cannot be persuaded that they have a stake in these sites, and that the heritage is their heritage, no initiative, no matter how well-funded, will be sustainable. The potential for economic benefits and cultural value should be made clear, but the precise realization of these benefits must be developed with input from the community, to ensure that they are congruent with local practices. Direct jobs, such as guarding or guiding, should be available to local people, and support should be given for indirect entrepreneurial gains. Recognition should be made of other aspects of local livelihoods, such as the availability of alternative seasonal work, existing skills, and current craft and cultural activities. Developments should always be congruent with existing society.

Recommended actions for each community:

Basta

For the Neolithic site in Basta to continue to contribute to local people's lives, we recommend actions that seek to place local cultural heritage within the social and cultural lives of the community. Given the prevailing market conditions, the lack of readiness of Basta and limited evidence of entrepreneurial skills in the village mean that an economic strategy based on tourism is unlikely to succeed in the short or medium term. Instead, efforts should focus on increasing knowledge and awareness in the local community.

The village's enthusiasm for education provides a foundation for this. The Neolithic site and the kherbeh offer excellent assets to diversify local education and offer the potential for extra-curricular activity. Both can also offer a social space for community meetings and initiatives. We recommend that actions focus first on providing resources to the local school to support lessons and extra-curricular activities, including extra staff with specialized training. This action provides a platform for wider community initiatives including the transmission of oral history and the examination of traditional life patterns and identity, which will assist in building a more resilient community in the future.

The knowledge built up in the community can also act as an asset for future tourist activities when market conditions permit. The educational activities developed could act as a model for similar locations in the region and throughout Jordan.

In the absence of an immediate plan to develop tourism to the site, we recommend that the Neolithic site be fully or partially reburied, as its fabric is suffering from exposure, and the steep sides of the excavation trenches are seen as a hazard for children.

Beidha

The large local tourist market and nascent entrepreneurial skills in the community offer opportunities to leverage the Neolithic archaeological site as more of an economic asset. Interventions should focus on teaching basic business skills: accountancy, marketing, management, organization, English language. This will give the community a foundation from which to act on its many ideas and take advantage of the aid and development resources that are offered for them to build more sustainable businesses based around local cultural heritage tourism. SMEs should be developed to capitalize on inspiration from the Neolithic site, providing unique branding in the marketplace.

As part of that, it is recommended that the planned Neolithic Heritage Trail be promoted, with a terminus in Beidha to increase traffic to the site and to raise its profile. Equally, greater tourism diversification should be promoted in the region to spread tourist opportunities beyond Wadi Musa, provide variety in the types of markets served, and increase potential for repeat visits. It is envisioned that through increasing the role of Neolithic heritage as a tourism destination and inspiration for local businesses the site would become more integrated into the fabric and everyday interaction of local life, providing a platform for wider educational programs and social relevance of this heritage.

It is recommended that resources be invested in local schools to support extra-curricular activities involving visits to nearby sites and to provide specialized training and workshops for young people. This will not only prepare the locals to take part in tourism and related businesses but will also create interest amongst them to learn about their traditional life through oral history projects, which can be an asset for group cohesion and identity.

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ANNEX 1

Community-based Organizations

There are several local associations in Basta. This section summarizes the interests of these bodies and the way they seek to benefit the local community as a whole.

Basta

1. Basta Association for Development (this is part of the Princess Basma Centre for Development under the umbrella of the Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Development). It oversees several projects addressing people with special needs, the poor and the needy. It also gives financial support to university students, to day care for children, and to a kitchen producing food for schools and conferences (not yet functioning – building is in progress). To this is added an investment project to create a building and rent it to the Higher Council of Youth to create a youth centre and a school on the second floor. The association invites groups to Basta to hold entertainment activities for children. The archaeological site was never one of their priorities.

2. Princess Basma Centre for Development is a niche for a youth committee that seeks to initiate projects that serve the community and support all social groups. The centre falls under the supervision of JOHUD, which has several development and support agendas for local communities, including *Hamlet ber we ihsan* (campaign of charity and kindness) that gives out food during the winter, clothing and makes repairs to houses for those who are in need. The campaign also has funds to support students to enrol in university, a mobile clinic in cooperation with the private sector, and grants for local associations and individuals who have projects in need of funding.

3. The Wadi Basta Association is funded by several international donors and runs several well-funded projects such as giving loans (600 JD per household). The association helps in getting subsidized solar systems for village households through a grant from the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. The association has a water desalination base in Eil funded by the Hashemite Fund for Badia Development and they own a tractor which they rent out to farmers.The association has an extra fund of about JD 45.000 and is looking into investing in a new project after securing more funds. Tourism and the archaeological site do not interest the association because they do not generate revenue.

4. Mubadaret Fael Khair (the initiative of good intentions): led by 35 young, active university students from the village who initiate communal activities addressing children, women and young people. They aim to bring life to the village through activities coordinated with members from other villages or with stakeholders interested in supporting people in villages through training and capacity building.

5. Mawasem Khair is funded by the Hashemite Fund for Badia Development and has 45 members. It aims to support women in the production of dairy products and in their household needs by getting cheaper prices for wholesale goods.

6. Basta Association for Youth, led by the Higher Council for Youth, supports competition amongst the youth in the village and with other villages and towns. It has a computer laboratory and play area (ping pong and billiard tables) in Basta.

Beidha

1. Ruwwad for local community activities, funded by the social corporate responsibility of Aramex, a business established in Amman. The association focuses on children's activities during the afternoon, and on women's activities during the day. The centre has grants for students who wish to pursue their education at university, and they are expected to pay back through volunteering some of their time at the centre, moderating meetings with youth every Saturday (dardashat). The centre is seen as a community hub for discussing projects and exploring activities for the local community.

2. The Amareen Tourist Association, created in 1997 by Sheikh Sulaiman in order to run the desert camp, which was funded by Ziad Hamzeh from Amman. It has 200 members. Each member pays100 JD to become a shareholder and thus to benefit from the revenue the association is able to generate. It has a souvenir shop in Siq al Bared, the desert camp and the headquarters, which includes weaving and plastic recycling machines. It also caters parties held in Siq al Bared.

3. The Amareen Agricultural Association, which is funded by USAID and the Hashemite Fund for Badia Development, has 43 plots of agricultural land (each of which measures 1000 square metres) owned by 80 association members. They benefit from the purified waste water from the water treatment project to grow

fodder for their herds. The project is not well perceived. Some of the local people do not trust the quality of the water that they use to irrigate the fields. Unfortunately, fodder prices in the neighbouring market are more competitive than in the local markets. Today only 13 plots of land are used.

It is remarkable that each of these community organizations secures a regular flow of funds. Many of their projects are inspired by the everyday life of the local people, the need to provide basic services for households and some production projects. The following annex explains the organization and power structure in these bodies.

Annex 2

Projects proposed by local people in Beidha and Basta.

The field research sought to hold participatory discussions over a twelve-month period to invite the local people to voice their needs and to involve them in finding their role in improving their communities. Discussion meetings were held with various people, and often lasted two to three hours. Questions covered topics such as: What would you wish to have in your village to make it an attraction for visitors (including locals from neighbouring villages and towns)? How would you want your cultural heritage to be seen by others? What is the product, symbol or picture that you would wish others to see? What makes your village different given the history, geography, landscape and people it has? These groups were asked to design projects, focussing on ideas that would not require asking for money or counting on the government or the PDTRA. It was difficult for them to see how to capitalize on their human and cultural wealth, and not to expect the state or a decision maker to secure money, a building or to supply regulations. Nevertheless, some ideas were proposed by the local communities in both Basta and Beidha:

Basta

1. Creating a cultural heritage archive and visiting station in one or two of the houses in the kherbeh. An agreement with a specialist from Al Hussein University in oral history and data collection has been made to provide training and to oversee the collection of data and the making of short documentaries.

2. Marketing the Neolithic site and the cultural heritage of the village by inviting school and university trips led by specialists to teach the students about the site. The plan is to ask two students from each university to pass on leaflets about the village, focusing particularly on the specialized archaeology and architecture, inviting them to organize trips to see the site with other students.

3. Appreciating the local assets: preparing the parks in the village so that the local residents can go out and enjoy the physical assets in their own place.

4. National attention: Marathon to invite Jordanians to visit the village. A yearly event could bring people from all over Jordan and could make a difference for the village.

5. Kiosks: several people have suggested creating kiosks on the main road and in the village close to the site to sell diary products (jameed, cheese and butter, for which the area is famous) and postcards of the village.

6. A weekly market to sell meat to visitors from the region, since the Basta area is known for its sheep and goat rearing.

7. Creating a visitor's centre at the entrance of the village in the Princess Basma Centre, with an exhibition of photos and antiques collected from the old people in the village; also training people from the village to guide visiting groups and to provide the services needed to make the trip easy for visitors.

Beidha

1. Herbal oil production. The south of Jordan is known for its herbs, which are used as medication. A project using the herbs is proposed by the local community in Beidha and has been supported by UNDP under its funds allocated for agricultural production.

2. Wool production. Many people in Beidha have sheep and goats. The project aims to make use of the sheep's wool to make rugs. Noll machines were bought a few years ago through a USAID fund. A trainer working in Farthakh has promised to give some timeto train the women in Beidha to make yarn.

3. Oral history narratives. Their oral history tells of the mobility between the caves in Siq al Bared and the new village, and also encompasses poetry, songs, music, food and customs. A specialist in oral history started some training in Beidha on collecting narratives. The collected material is to be made into documentaries and, together with photos, will be used in the small museum about the Amareen tribe located in the Amareen Desert Camp.

4. Recycled plastic. In a place where the weekly visitors to the tourist area leave many plastic bags, the local people proposed making household utensils by recycling the plastic bags. A machine to do this was funded by USAID a few years ago.

5. Visiting Station: the Amareen Association at the edge of the village is seen as a visiting station to welcome visitors and to introduce them to the local communities' products and to support local guides to accompany the visitors through the Beidha area. It is seen as a base which provides services including food, drinks and toilets.

6. Hiking in the mountains in Beidha. The young men are keen to start this service in Ba'ja and Beidha. A permit from the Petra Park to have local guides is a requirement and funding is needed to run professional guided tours, particularly since the hike to Ba'ja needs ladders and ropes. The guides also need to be knowledgeable about the past and the history of the sites.

7. Facebook page to market Beidha. The use of technology has been limited in marketing Beidha, the beauty of its natural surroundings and the wealth of its archaeology. The young are exploring the possibilities of having a program for foreign people to come and live in their village for free in exchange for them giving English lessons. (English is poorly taught in the school and this affects the progress of many students at Beidha; they need to have people who speak English to help them out).

8. Park and playground in the village. Currently the park is very arid and has no shade. Very few children play it in because of the strong sun. No funds yet have been secured to solve this problem.

These projects were proposed in a workshop held by the research team in Amman; several bodies expressed interest in supporting these ideas. However, how to take responsibility (a key aspect in being an entrepreneur) by following up with donors or supporting bodies was not obvious. These projects were suggested by several people and groups, many of them with other commitments at school, at university or some kind of work. Trying to take responsibility, lead and manage the projects as they were first proposed has become a challenge. An umbrella body continues to be necessary to create local conditions that may enable people to think and discuss development issues for their village. The grassroots momentum is not yet ready to stand alone.