

Meaning and Use of Cultural Heritage in Jordan: Towards a Sustainable Approach

Shatha Abu-Khafajah

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

206 53277 4

Thesis L8590

School of Arts and Cultures, Newcastle University,
Newcastle upon Tyne, UK
July 2007

**THESIS
CONTAINS CD
ROM**

Acknowledgments

Many people have helped me throughout this project, professionally and as friends. First, I would like to thank the people of Jordan, especially the local communities of Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. During my fieldwork, I have been entertained by many households of the families in these three places. I owe a special debt to the following individuals: to every member of the Omar Shbeir family in Hesban; getting to know them was a privilege and a great pleasure. I also owe special thanks to Umm el Abed and her family (Ekhlās, Samah, Sulaf and Abedl-Majeed) whose interest in my research inspired me during one of the hardest times in my fieldwork. Abu-Faesar introduced me to his Khreibt al-Suq and its people, and was extremely generous in his time and personal knowledge. I cannot mention every one here, but I acknowledge that every individual I met during fieldwork generously contributed to my research, and still continues to encourage me to do further exploration of the meanings of archaeological sites as developed by local communities in Jordanian contexts. Very special thanks are due to Mr Adeb Abu-Shmeis, the Inspector of Antiquities in Amman, for his invaluable help, support, patience, guidance and thoughtful comments.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Professor Peter G. Stone, whose scholarly guidance, encouragement and support throughout the years of my study have been invaluable and highly appreciated. His insights into theories and practices concerned with archaeological sites were fundamental in developing my doctoral research. I am also grateful to my co-supervisor Gerard Corsane, whose knowledge of theories of community-led approaches to material of the past influenced my approach to archaeological sites and their local communities in Jordan. Also, I would like to thank Dr Rhiannon Mason for her support and kind advice. Rhiannon introduced me to Michael Foucault, Frantz Fanon and Edward Said, among others, whose modes of thought have influenced mine forever. My life at Newcastle was made more pleasant thanks to the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies as people as well as a place. I am grateful to Andria Chang, Arwa Badran, Sarah Elliott and Susannah Reid for many stimulating conversations and disputations about Jordan, the Arab world and the West, and to Sarah Chapman for her important involvement with the proof-reading of this thesis.

I could not have completed this research without my family's morale and financial support. The privilege of being able to pursue the field of my choice, in the West, is down to my parents' kindness and generosity as well as their strong belief in education as the only real bequest they can give to their children.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Hashemite University in Jordan during the first three years of this research.

Abstract

This thesis examines the meaning-making processes of cultural heritage in Jordan. Although the term 'cultural heritage' is used in the title because of its universal acceptance to indicate the physical material of the past, it is frequently questioned in this thesis, and the term 'material of the past' is used instead. The first part of the thesis sets out the conventional approaches to identification, evaluation and management of 'material of the past' in Jordan within their broader contexts. It investigates the dominant theories and practices that evolved and developed in the West, and that were imposed on, and accepted by, other parts of the world, through different processes such as colonisation, Westernisation, and the unchallenged implementation of universal charters and conventions. It then questions the universality and applicability of Western approaches in post-colonial contexts such as Jordan.

Empowering people using cultural heritage is an essential element for establishing a sustainable approach to 'material of the past': therefore, sustainability is investigated as a social process that highlights the ordinary, and empowers the marginalised, rather than as a product of the dominant 'top-down' approaches. The relationship between people and places with temporal depth, and the significance of memories and stories in meaning-making processes of cultural heritage, are investigated within the context of literature on 'sense of place'.

The second part of the thesis examines conventional approaches to 'material of the past' in Jordan, with specific emphasis on archaeological sites. Critical engagement with the discourses that are used to shape the modern Jordanian identity allows for new insights into meanings and uses of 'material of the past'. The fieldwork of this study examines Jordanian communities' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, archaeological sites, using a qualitative approach. In-depth interviews conducted in three selected places (Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq) provide an understanding of the mechanisms through which local communities in Jordan create meanings for archaeological sites, and in some cases, transform them into cultural heritage: something that is closely relevant to their contemporary contexts and daily lives. The research then triangulates the data obtained from the two parts of the thesis to formulate an alternative approach to 'material of the past' in Jordan. This approach is community-based, context-oriented and culture-led. It therefore constitutes a sustainable alternative to the tourism-oriented, monument-based and 'top-down' conventional approach.

Notes on language and choice of terms

The first part of this thesis examines Western approaches to ‘material of the past’ and questions their validity in other contexts. However, the researcher finds it useful, unless referring to a quote, to use the upper case for the words ‘West’ and ‘Western’ in order to highlight her viewpoint that the approaches discussed in the thesis have evolved and developed in Western contexts, and that their application in other contexts should be conducted with critical thinking and evaluation.

Terms such as ‘material culture’ and ‘cultural heritage’ are frequently used in literature to refer to material of the past, such as artefacts and archaeological sites. However, because ascribing culture to material of the past, whether tangible or intangible, is a problematic issue, the researcher uses the term ‘material of the past’ to refer to what is generally described as ‘cultural heritage’ and/or ‘material culture’. Furthermore, the term ‘context’ is used to refer to local communities’ interaction with their geographic places that is highly influenced by historic as well as contemporary social, political and economic conditions.

Most of the second part of the thesis is based on in-depth interviewing conducted among the local communities of three places in and around Amman, the capital of Jordan: Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. These interviews were conducted in Arabic, the language of Jordan. All the interviews were translated into English by the researcher, who, on several occasions, benefited from helpful insights provided by other Jordanian scholars who conducted ethnographic fieldwork and translated their data into English as well. All quotes from interviews appear, mostly in chapters 8 and 9, with direct reference to respondents, their gender and age. Although the original names of the respondents were used until the final stages of this work in order to keep the researcher acquainted with the personalities and contexts of the respondents, in the interest of protecting them, the names were changed in the final drafts of the thesis. All quotes from fieldwork interviews appear in normal font; however, some Arabic terms that are repeatedly used by almost all respondents to refer to archaeological sites, such as *athar* and *kharabt*, appear in italics, with their English translation between brackets. The following list shows the English spelling/ pronunciation of the Arabic words used in the thesis and their English translation.

English spelling/ pronunciation of the Arabic words	English translation
---	---------------------

<i>Athar</i>	Archaeology
<i>Fonoun</i>	Arts
<i>Haradah</i>	Culture
<i>Kherbeh/ Khreibt/Kharabt</i>	Ruin/ruins
<i>Makan</i>	Place
<i>Maoke' atharee</i>	Archaeological site
<i>Mukhtar</i>	Unofficial mayor
<i>Tebr</i>	Gold
<i>Thakafah</i>	General knowledge
<i>Turab</i>	Soil, land
<i>Ummam</i>	Nations
<i>Zaman</i>	Time

Table of Contents

	Page
Acknowledgement.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Notes on language and choice of terms.....	iv
Table of contents.....	vi
List of Appendices	xiv
List of tables.....	xv
List of figures.....	xvi
List of abbreviations.....	xviii

Part I: The Dominant approaches to material of the past: Insights into mitigation of bias

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 The nature of interest in the material of the past.....	1
1.2 Defining the general context of the research and the research questions	3
1.3 Issues concerned with material of the past.....	7
1.3.1 Heritage and material of the past.....	8
1.3.2 Culture and material of the past.....	10
1.3.3 Ascribing culture to heritage: The meaning of cultural heritage.....	11
1.4 Significance of the study.....	12
1.5 Research questions and research aims and objectives.....	13
1.6 Framework of the thesis.....	15
1.7 Chapter outlines.....	15
Chapter 2: Methodology	
2.1 Introduction.....	19
2.2 The qualitative approach and its relevance to the topic of research.....	19
2.2.1 Context in qualitative approach.....	20
2.2.2 Immediate inferences, mediate inferences and theory construction...	23
2.3 The search for meaning: being with people.....	26
2.3.1 Interviews as active interaction with people.....	26
2.3.2 In-depth interviews: Empowering the marginalised.....	27
2.3.3 Identification of the representative places.....	29
2.3.4 Further selection of the places	32
2.3.5 Observation: Collecting data and approaching people.....	33
2.3.6 Choosing the respondents.....	37
2.4 Subjectivity and its strength in the interpretive approach.....	42

2.5 Triangulation in the fieldwork.....	43
2.6 Analysing in-depth interviews using NVivo.....	45
2.7 Summary.....	46

Chapter 3: Theories and Practices Concerned with Material of the Past: The Power of Context

3.1 Introduction.....	47
3.2 Approaches to material of the past: Historical background.....	48
3.2.1 Pliny at work: An early example of the Western perception of material culture in other contexts.....	49
3.2.2 The Classical past as cultural heritage.....	50
3.2.3 The Classical past in a new context.....	51
3.3 Modern Approaches to material of the past.....	52
3.3.1 Revisiting the Classical past: Establishing archaeology as a science..	54
3.3.2 The culture-history approach vs. the evolutionary approach: Defining the ‘self’ through material of the past	55
3.3.3 Restoration vs. conservation: Function vs. romanticism.....	58
3.4 Approaches to material of the past in the New World.....	60
3.4.1 Marginalising indigenous people.....	62
3.4.2 Emphasising the environment.....	62
3.4.3 The general context of the New archaeology.....	65
3.4.4 The social context of the New Archaeology.....	67
3.4.5 From the New Archaeology to Cultural Resources Management.....	68
3.5 Mitigating the New Archaeology: Liberating material of the past.....	71
3.6 Archaeology in the colonies.....	75
3.6.1 Establishing the ‘self’ in the West: Inventing the ‘other’ in the Near East.....	77
3.6.2 Biblical archaeology: Introducing archaeology to colonial contexts in the Near East	83
3.6.3 Archaeology in post-colonial contexts.....	84
3.7 Summary and immediate inferences.....	87

Chapter 4: UNESCO Documents: The Universal and the Marginalised

4.1 Introduction.....	94
4.2 The need for universal charters.....	94
4.2.1 International efforts to protect monuments: UNESCO and its affiliated bodies.....	96
4.3 <i>The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments</i> 1931: The general context.....	98

4.3.1 The ‘other’ in the Athens Charter.....	98
4.4 <i>The international charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites</i> (Venice Charter): Inclusive perceptions and limited practices	101
4.5 <i>The World Heritage Convention</i> (WHC) 1972.....	104
4.5.1 Expanding the WHC: Mitigating the bias.....	108
4.5.2 Intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO conventions.....	109
4.5.3 What is wrong with heritage universality?.....	111
4.6 <i>ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage</i> (1990).....	115
4.7 The World Archaeological Congress (WAC).....	117
4.8 <i>The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance: the Burra Charter</i>	120
4.8.1 Local people and intangible cultural heritage: Capitalising on the Burra Charter.....	122
4.9 <i>The Nara Document on Authenticity: Recognising local contexts</i>	123
4.10 <i>ICOMOS Ename Charter for the interpretation of cultural heritage sites</i>	126
4.11 Issues to be addressed by UNESCO charters.....	128
4.12 Summary and immediate inferences.....	131

Chapter 5: Sustainability: Community, Context, Culture and Development

5.1 Introduction.....	135
5.2 Development: A general context.....	135
5.2.1 Recognising the intangible: “We want bread and roses too”.....	139
5.3 ‘Liberating’ development.....	141
5.3.1 ‘Liberating’ sustainability.....	145
5.4 Capital that puts local communities first!.....	146
5.5 Sustainability and the local.....	150
5.5.1 Activating local cultures: Empowering local communities.....	151
5.5.2 Empowering the individual.....	153
5.5.3 Grassroots development.....	156
5.5.4 An interpretive approach to sustainable development.....	157
5.6 Sustainability in practices concerned with material of the past.....	158
5.6.1 Cultural sustainability and the local	159
5.6.2 Sustainable approaches to material of the past	160
5.7 Summary and immediate inferences	165

Chapter 6: The meaning-making process of the past and its material

6.1 Introduction	172
6.2 The role of culture, context, continuity and subjectivity in establishing meanings.....	173
6.3 The silence of meanings in conventional approaches to material of the past: The exclusion of contexts and the marginalisation of the human factor	177
6.3.1 Passive evaluation and the need for the anthropological approach	180
6.4 Active engagement with the past: The recognition of the human factor	185
6.4.1 Nostalgia vs. folklore	185
6.4.2 Memory	188
6.4.3 Memory and place	190
6.4.4 Counter-memory	191
6.4.5 Story.....	194
6.5 The meaning-making process of the past; the time and the place	197
6.5.1 The depth of time: Intensity, continuity, stability and identity	197
6.5.2 Places with temporal depth: Towards an inclusive approach to cultural heritage	199
6.5.3 Place-identity and the identity of place	203
6.5.4 Anchoring the ‘self’ to a place: Genuine belonging	204
6.6 Summary and immediate inferences	207

Part II: The meaning-making process of archaeological sites in Jordan: Empowering the marginalised

Chapter 7: Jordanian Approaches to Material of the Past: Inventing the ‘National’ and Marginalising the Past

7.1 Introduction.....	212
7.2 The Jordanian context	212
7.2.1 The geographic and cultural setting	213
7.2.2 Jordan: The depth of time and place	214
7.2.3 The contemporary context	219
7.3 Creating the Jordanian national identity: Excluding the past	222
7.3.1 The disruption of time and place	222
7.3.2 The Loss of the Past: The Law Giveth and the Law Taketh Away.....	224
a) The Department of Antiquities of Jordan: The search for the ‘wow’ factor	225
b) The Antiquities Law: the disruption of time and place	226

7.3.3 Heritage practices: Further empowerment and further marginalisation	230
7.4 Cultural Resources Management Programme	235
7.4.1 The retreat of CRM: The dominance of a tourism-oriented approach.....	237
7.4.2 Compromising culture: The fabrication of safe place	238
7.5 Interaction with local communities: The pervasiveness of the ‘top-down’ approach	241
7.6 Summary and immediate inferences	245

Chapter 8: The Meaning-Making Process 1: The Local Communities, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt Al-Suq

8.1 Introduction	252
8.2 Hesban: General background	253
8.3 The meaning-making process of archaeological sites in Hesban: Towards initiating cultural heritage	255
8.3.1 Attachment to the past	255
a) Contextualising time	256
b) ‘Humanising’ place.....	257
c) Spiritual attachment	259
d) Material attachment	260
8.3.2 The concept of diversity and the meaning-making process of archaeological sites	263
8.3.3 ‘Expanding’ the context using memory and story	265
a) Stories of Hesban	265
b) Cultural memories of Hesban	269
8.4 The Citadel: General background	270
8.4.1 Zone 1.....	272
8.4.2 Zone 2.....	273
8.4.3 Zone 3.....	275
8.5 Meaning and use of the archaeological sites in the Citadel	276
8.5.1 Culture, arts and archaeology in the Citadel	276
8.5.2 The Lower Citadel vs. the Upper Citadel	282
8.5.3 The human factor and the meaning-making process of the Citadel.....	285
8.5.4 Cultural memories and the meaning-making process of the Citadel.....	287
a) Culture and place in the Roman theatre	287

b) <i>Darajat fer'on</i> : Transforming the Roman theatre from the general into the 'specific'.....	390
c) The local history and the meaning-making process of the Citadel	290
8.6 Khreibt al-Suq: General introduction	293
8.7 The meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq.....	297
8.7.1 The 'developed', the 'developing' and the meaning of the archaeological sites.....	297
8.7.2 The sense of ownership and the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites	201
8.7.3 Khreibt al-Suq and the search for lost glory	303
8.7.4 The self-empowerment and the meaning-making process of archaeological sites	305
8.8 Summary and immediate inferences	306

Chapter 9: The Meaning-Making Process 2: The Local Communities, the Scholars and the Levels of Interventions in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt Al-Suq

9.1 Introduction.....	312
9.2 Hesban: The local community and the Americans	313
9.2.1 The nature of interaction between the Americans and the local community of Hesban.....	313
9.2.2 Cultural difference and active communication	315
9.2.3 Equality in Hesban: "They treat us as the owners of the Tell, and we treat them as people of our own"	317
9.2.4 Local empowerment and grassroots development: The Friends of Archaeology of Hesban	320
9.3 The Americans vs. the government	322
9.3.1 The gate of Hesban: Silencing the empowered and sacrificing the past.....	323
9.3.2 "When anything beautiful is discovered here they just move it there, what is the meaning of it if it is to go there?".....	325
9.4 The perception of the future in Hesban: Potential for sustainable approach	328
9.4.1 The role of active interaction in initiating development	329
9.4.2 Self-empowerment and its influence on shaping the future of archaeology	330
9.5 The Citadel: The local community, the scholars and the levels of interventions.....	333

9.5.1	The local community and the agencies involved: The lack of interaction.....	333
9.5.2	Trials for interaction.....	336
9.6	The impact of the levels of interventions on the development of the local community.....	338
9.6.1	Sustainable development and social inclusion and exclusion	339
9.6.2	Development in the Upper Citadel vs. development in the Lower Citadel.....	341
9.7	Khreibt al-Suq: The local community, DAJ and the foreign agencies.....	346
9.7.1	Communication with the government.....	347
9.7.2	The foreign agencies vs. the government: The search for development.....	350
9.7.3	Cultural empowerment and grassroots development	351
9.8	The impact of the levels of intervention on the local community.....	352
9.8.1	Sustainable development and social inclusion and exclusion	353
9.9	Summary and immediate inferences	357

Chapter 10: From Archaeological Sites to Cultural Heritage: Towards a Sustainable Approach

10.1	Introduction	363
10.2	Generation of mediate inferences	364
10.2.1	The role of context in generating sustainable approaches to material of the past	365
10.2.2	The dynamic relationship between the human factor, contexts and sustainability	366
10.2.3	The role of memories and stories in establishing a sustainable approach to archaeological sites	367
10.2.4	The relationship between attachment and sustainability	369
10.2.5	The role of in-depth engagement in generating sustainability.....	370
10.2.6	The necessity for initiating a critical approach to the material of the past	372
10.2.7	The role of local communities in initiating a critical approach to the past	374
10.2.8	Marginalised communities and the ‘top-down’ approach to material of the past	375
10.3	Jordanian approach to the past: Archaeology vs. heritage.....	376
10.4	“On the basis of their culture”: Reversing the ‘top-down’ approach to archaeological sites in Jordan.....	380
10.4.1	Establishing a new perception of archaeological sites.....	380

a) Rethinking the approach to archaeological sites.....	381
b) Broadening the approach to archaeological sites.....	382
c) Recognising the need for a local approach	384
d) Activating engagement with local communities.....	385
1) When cultural heritage is viewed as a process.....	385
2) When the human dimension of the past is appreciated.....	385
3) When the role of the scholars in approaching the past is reinvented.....	386
10.5 Summary the mediate inferences	390

Chapter 11: Conclusion

11.1 Introduction.....	398
11.2 The power of context in shaping theories and practices concerned with material of the past.....	340
11.3 Marginalisation of the local in post-colonial contexts.....	341
11.4 Sustainability: Interaction between local communities, contexts and scholars.....	341
11.4.1 The role of local communities in initiating a critical approach to the past.....	402
11.4.2 Broadening the perception of cultural heritage.....	403
11.5 Future studies.....	404
11.5.1 Representation of material of the past in the Arabic and Islamic culture.....	405
11.5.2 The influence of gender, age, social and economic status and level of education on the perceptions of material of the past in Jordan.....	405
11.5.3 The approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan throughout the ages	406
References.....	407

List of Appendices

	Page
Appendix 1 Guidelines to the themes of the in-depth interviews with the local communities in Jordan	438
Appendix 2 The different periods of time that shape the history of Jordan	439
Appendix 3 List of the places selected in the first stage of the windshield survey and their satisfaction degree of the selection criteria.....	440
Appendix 4 The names of the respondents in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq, as used in the thesis, their gender and age.....	452
Appendix 5 The names of the professionals interviewed during the fieldwork of this study and their careers	453
Appendix 6 Guidelines to the themes of the semi-structured interviews with the professionals involved in the archaeological sites investigated in this study.....	454
Appendix 7 Example of the data provided by the Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (JADIS)	455
Appendix 8 The duties of the Cultural and Public Communications Department in the Department of Antiquities of Jordan	460
Appendix 9 Instructions for accessing the NVivo CD attached at the end of the thesis..	464

List of Tables

	Page
2.1 The selected case studies and the type of agencies involved in them	33
3.1 Generation of the immediate inferences TPP from the data explored in chapter 3.....	88
4.1 Generation of the immediate inferences UNESCO from the data explored in chapter 4.....	131
5.1 Generation of the immediate inferences S from the data explored in chapter 5.....	165
6.1 Summary of cultural heritage value typologies	181
6.2 Meanings of time and place of the past.....	206
6.3 Generation of the immediate inferences MMP from the data explored in chapter 6.....	207
7.1 Generation of the immediate inferences JA from the data explored in chapter 7.....	245
8.1 Generation of the immediate inferences CSJ from the data explored in chapter 8.....	305
9.1 Generation of the immediate inferences CSJ from the data explored in chapter 9.....	356
10.1 The symbols of the immediate inferences in each chapter, their numbers and their tables' numbers.....	361
10.2 Generation of mediate inferences from the immediate inferences created throughout the chapters.....	388

List of Figures

	Page
2.1 Generation of immediate inferences, mediate inferences and the suggested approach.....	25
2.2 The process through which the respondents were selected and the methods that contributed to their selection.....	40
3.1 The relief sculpture over the entrance of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (adopted from Larsen 1989: 230).....	78
3.2 A Western archaeologist and a local worker in Iraq in 1911 (adopted from http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/).....	82
4.1 The sequential influence of Western contexts, Western conventional approaches, and UNESCO charters concerned with cultural heritage, on practices concerned with material of the past in post-colonial contexts.....	128
6.1 The circuit of culture (adopted from du Gay <i>et al</i> 1997: 1).....	173
6.2 The circuit of meaning.....	196
7.1 Map of Jordan and the places that are mentioned in the text of this thesis.....	213
7.2 The city centre of Jerash (the researcher 2004).....	231
7.3 The ancient Jerash and the modern Jerash (the researcher 2004).....	232
7.4 Jordan as represented in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities brochures (http://www.tourism.jo/Home/index.htm accessed 5 th March 2007).....	240
7.5 An orientalist's painting for an Arab woman dated to 1860 (alloilpaint.com/orientalist/p1.htm accessed 7 th March 2007).....	240
8.1 The upper part of Tell Hesban (researcher 2004).....	252
8.2 The caves of Hesban (the researcher 2004)	260
8.3 The columns inside the cave that is described in Abed's story (the researcher 2004).....	266
8.4 The Citadel from Amman city centre, looking north (the researcher 2006).....	269
8.5 The different zones in the Citadel; source: http://www.art-and-archaeology.com/jordan/amman/citadel.html with alteration.....	270
8.6 The reconstructed throne hall in the Umayyad area (the researcher 2004).....	271
8.7 The interior of the reconstructed dome in the throne hall (the researcher 2004).....	217
8.8 The Roman temple at the Citadel, looking east (the researcher 2004).....	272
8.9 The photo for the Roman bride in the city centre of Amman in 1935 (Abdel-Rahman: a respondent from the Citadel 2004).....	272
8.10 The Upper and the Lower Citadel, looking west (the researcher 2004)	373
8.11 The archaeological sites in the Lower Citadel (the researcher 2004).....	273
8.12 The Umayyad area after the festive event (the researcher 2004).....	276
8.13 A heavy vehicle in the Citadel (the researcher 2004).....	277

8.14	The Roman theatre as it is seen from Abu-Nart's house in the Lower Citadel (the researcher 2004).....	286
8.15	The Byzantine chapel in Khreibt al-Suq as seen from a nearby house (the researcher 2004).....	292
8.16	<i>Qasr Erdainy</i> at Khreibt al-Suq (the researcher 2004).....	293
8.17	A Roman mausoleum in Khreibt al-Suq (the researcher 2004).....	294
8.18	The Archaeological site in Umm al-Summaq (the researcher 2004).....	296
8.19	The Roman arch inside Abu-Mohamed's house (the researcher 2004).....	304
9.1	Hesban's bag shown by a member of the local community who was awarded a bag (the researcher 2004).....	317
9.2	The local community meeting at Hesban (the researcher 2004).....	319
9.3	Hisban's Gate with Tell Hesban on the horizon (the researcher 2004).....	322
9.4	The Ottoman house in Hesban (the researcher 2004).....	324
9.5	A statue that is kept by a member of the local community of Hesban (the researcher 2004).....	325
9.6	Ain Ghazal in 1985 by the time Wajeeh was working there (reproduced with kind permission from Gary Rolefson).....	340
9.7	The same area shown in figure 9.6 after 5 years (reproduced with kind permission from Gary Rolefson).....	341
9.8	"The big, rounded hotel" as it appears from Amman city centre looking at West (the researcher 2004).....	343
9.9	The reconstruction work conducted at Tell 'Umari (the researcher 2004).....	349
9.10	The sign that indicates the Suwaifyyeh chapel (the researcher 2004).....	354
9.11	Inside the Suwaifyyeh chapel; the emphasis on the mosaic floor (the researcher 2004).....	354
11.1	Sustainability as a process of interaction between scholars, local contexts and local community.....	401

List of Abbreviation

AD	Anno Domini
ACOR	American Center for Oriental Research
ADAJ	Annual of Department of Antiquities of Jordan
BC	Before Christ
BP	Before the Present
BASOR	British School for Oriental Research
CBRL	Council for British Research in the Levant
DAI	German Archaeological Institute in Jordan
DAJ	Department of Antiquities of Jordan
ICAHM	International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
IFABO	French Institute of Archaeology of the Near East
MoTA	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Jordan
NES	National Environmental Strategy
n.p.	No page available
UNESCO	United Nations for Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAC	World Archaeological Congress
www	World Wide Web

**PART I: THE DOMINANT
APPROACHES TO MATERIAL OF
THE PAST: INSIGHTS INTO
MITIGATION OF BIAS**

Chapter 1: Introduction

What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it (Hewison 1987: 43).

1.1 The nature of interest in material of the past: a general introduction

The nature of interest in the past and its material – whether an artefact or an archaeological site – evolves and develops in response to the surrounding contexts, such as social patterns, political situations, cultural traditions, geographic settings, historic events, and national and ethnic loyalties (e.g. Jones 2006, 2005; Dicks 2000; Hamilakis 1996: 977; Smith 1994: 303; Trigger 1984: 355ff; Trigger & Glover 1981: 133). The nature of the process in which a specific past is selected to be conserved and presented, or to be neglected and marginalised, is always contingent on the contexts of that past. Furthermore, changes and shifts in the nature of interest in the past is also contingent on changes in these contexts. For example, Hall (2005: 27) argues that the recent shift in interest in the past and its material in Britain from monumental sites to local places is a reflection of social and political developments. Embracement of concepts such as social inclusion in Britain resulted in acknowledging the ordinary and the local as part of the national cultural heritage. In this sense, approaches to the past are far from being general; on the contrary, they are very specific and local processes, which reflect intellectual, spiritual, cultural, social and political, as well as technical conditions of a certain context. Influences of different contexts on understanding of, and approach towards, material of the past, are examined in chapters 3 and 4.

Reasons for interest in, and conservation of, material of the past among cultures, vary, differ and overlap. Modern interest in the past in the West is the subject of many detailed studies (e.g. Harvey 2001; Graham *et al* 2000; Lowenthal 1998, 1985; Samuel 1992; Hewison 1987; Lowenthal & Binney 1981). For example, Lowenthal (1985: 40-42) sees that people's interest in the past expresses their need for a reference in their rapidly changing life. However, Hewison (1987: 144), in his investigation of the interest in the past of Britain in the 1980s, believed that a certain past was selected to serve the political goals of the Conservative party during that time. The Conservative party's perception of the past was based on 'blind' obsession

with a certain image of the past of Britain that, according to Hewison (1987: 9-10), consumed the country's resources and prevented it from facing the future.

Reasons for interest in the past can be simple and straightforward, as well as highly complicated and socially, culturally and politically contingent. While the past can be considered as a basic resource for tourism (resulting in certain times and places of the past being carefully selected, marketed and consumed as tourist destinations in order to deliver financial benefits) it also can give people 'roots' in time and place, and can legitimise their contemporary existence. People turn to the past to affirm, and in some cases, create, their modern cultural identity (e.g. Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 117ff; Bar-Yosef & Mazar 1982: 322). In this sense, the material of the past – no matter how mundane and ordinary – is an object of reverence and appreciation. Modern governments appropriate the past to serve their own ends. Examples of this appropriation are that of Jordan and Israel. On the one hand, the Jordanian Government delegates the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities as the institution responsible for the past. This reflects the Government's interest in the past as a mere financial resource that is not directly anchored to people's culture and daily life (further arguments about this Jordanian Government's approach to material of the past is in chapter 6). On the other hand, the Government of Israel uses the past as part of the Ministry of Culture because of the important impact the past has on contemporary life in the modern state of Israel (e.g. Silberman 1989: 88).

Accordingly, the meaning-making processes of the past and its material are highly dependent on the contemporary contexts in which that past exists. People's experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the past and its material are at the centre of these processes as they are directly inspired by surrounding contexts. However, they are usually obscured by the pervasiveness of governments' agendas, as well as the dominance of what can now be perceived as the conventional Western approaches to material of the past, that tend to marginalise many ordinary people. This being noted, one has to raise the following question: how sustainable are the approaches to material of the past that neglect local contexts in which meanings of the past and its material are generated? This question is investigated in chapter 5 of this thesis.

1.2 Defining the general context of the research and the research questions

Approaches to the material of the past in what are usually referred to as non-western contexts are heavily influenced by those that have evolved and developed in the West. In such contexts, the conventional Western approach to material of the past is often taken for granted and goes unchallenged. Jordan is one of these contexts where entrenched perceptions of how material of the past should be approached prevent scholars as well as governmental institutions from appreciating local knowledge, cultures and perceptions of the past and its material. Scholars and institutions are concerned in identification and evaluation of material of the past on the basis of theories that have evolved and developed in the West. For example, levels of intervention in archaeological sites are designed to satisfy the requirements of conventional universal documents, charters and conventions such as the Athens and the Venice Charters (e.g. de Cuéllar 1995: 193; Byrne 1991: 274), with no interest in the recent shift and developments that take into consideration local contexts, cultures, communities and knowledge.

At the centre of this research is 'liberating' local scholars and institutions in Jordan from Western-oriented approaches to the past. The researcher argues that in order for an approach to the past to be sustainable, it has to reflect the contexts in which it is applied. This research focuses on archaeological sites because they are the most common material of the past in Jordan and because of local communities' direct interaction with them, as they usually exist within their immediate geographic context. The researcher suggests an alternative approach to archaeological sites in Jordan that is community-based, context-oriented and culture-led. Because the contemporary approach to the past in Jordan is highly influenced by the conventional Western approach that usually focuses on monumentality and aesthetic values, it is necessary in this thesis to investigate the Western theories and practices concerned with the material of the past, together with the relevant universal charters and conventions. This investigation shapes the general background for this research. Furthermore, it sets contemporary approaches to material of the past in Jordan within their broader contexts.

In chapter 3, the different approaches to material of the past that originated and developed in the West are examined with a specific focus on the contexts in which they evolved, developed and changed. The conventional approaches to the past that are mainly derived from European concepts of monumentality, authenticity, and aesthetic values, as well as the generality and universality of the past and its material, are anchored to their broader contexts. The chapter then investigates the shift from the conventional approaches to material of the past into more dynamic ones that are based on appreciating the local and the ordinary.

Chapter 4 examines how the conventional approaches to material of the past were 'imposed' on contexts other than the West through universal charters and conventions that are concerned with material of the past. The chapter examines how most of these documents have their roots in Western culture, and how they resulted in the marginalisation of local communities, contexts and knowledge in favour of Western ones. The chapter focuses on moments at which these charters were challenged, the contexts in which these challenges took place, and the consequences of such challenges.

Many of the arguments in this thesis are based on challenging the conventional Western approach to material of the past because of its marginalisation of local communities, contexts and knowledge. Clavir (2002: 245) captures the difference between dominant and marginalised approaches to material of the past as follows: "within Western culture, heritage is often described materially, in terms of a cultural product or production; within First Nations cultures, heritage is often described culturally in terms of 'process' rather than 'product'". Furthermore, one of the major drawbacks in applying Western approaches in other contexts is that the past, in the West, is seen as "outside", "somewhere else", and "out of reach" (Thomas 1995: 356), whereas in other contexts, where Western approaches were on the whole adopted uncritically, the past is "a living component of present day-life" (Cleere 1989b: 5). The recent rhetoric about local communities in UNESCO charters concerned with the material of the past is described as an attempt at "interpolating 'locals' and their heritage into predetermined schemes of global world heritage" (Meskell 2002: 569). Difference in perceptions of the past and its material should imply difference in approaches to this material in order for these approaches to be sustainable, but this is

rarely the case, especially in post-colonial contexts such as Jordan, as demonstrated throughout the thesis. It is imperative to examine how the involvement of local communities and contexts is fundamental for initiating community-based and context-oriented approaches that are usually identified as being sustainable; therefore, sustainability as a social process is examined in chapter 5.

The different processes through which people understand and construct meanings for the past as time and place are explored in chapter 6. This exploration provides insights into the nature of people's attachment to material of the past, such as their memories and stories. It is through this attachment that people usually translate material of the past into something that is relevant to their contemporary contexts and culture (Mason 2002: 11); thus the processes of meaning-making are crucial for transferring material of the past, whether artefacts, archaeological sites, or anything else, into cultural heritage. In this sense, meaning-making processes engage scholars in academic debates beyond the confines of the conventional approaches to material of the past, and encourage them to interact with local contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences as an essential part of their professional approach to material of the past. Contrary to the conventional approaches, such an approach is 'bottom-up', and more dynamic and inclusive, as it is based on active engagement with local communities and the contexts in which material of the past exists.

Recently, 'top-down' approaches to the past and its material have been challenged by more democratic and community-based ones: studies that are concerned with archaeological sites as places rather than monuments began to acknowledge the importance of interaction with local communities and the exploration of the processes through which meanings of these places are constituted (e.g. Fontein 2006; Jones 2006, 2005; Smith 2006; Dicks 2000). In such approaches, people's memories, stories and experiences within a place of the past are increasingly recognised. This is evident in ecomuseum studies and projects, as well as strategies and plans concerned with sustainable development, both in the West as well as the 'developing world' (e.g. Smith 2006; Kreps 2003; Schech & Haggis 2000; Davis 1999).

Approaches to the past in post-colonial contexts are simply another Eurocentric intellectual construction by which dominant Western standards and perceptions –

although these have begun to be examined critically by the West itself – are imposed upon local contexts. This situation is sustained by: a) the lack of critical engagement with Western approaches by local scholars; b) the persistence of Western approaches through the universal charters and conventions as well as the foreign agencies operating in post-colonial contexts; and c) post-colonial governments striving to be recognised by the developed West, which prevents them, as well as local scholars in most post-colonial contexts, from recognising the necessity of establishing a critical engagement with the conventional approaches to material of the past.

The recent studies that appreciate the role of local communities and contexts in initiating a sustainable approach to the past, and that evolved mainly among Western scholars working in post-colonial contexts (e.g. Kreps 2003; Hodder 1982a) resulted in major shifts in the way material of the past is perceived and approached. However, the acceptance of these shifts and the application of them in post-colonial contexts is hardly a straight-forward process. The difficulty lies in the idea that the conventional Western approaches to the past, which were inherited in post-colonial contexts, were continuously sustained by post-colonial governments and their ‘top-down’ policies and strategies (Hall 2005: 26; de Cuéllar 1995: 193; Byrne 1991: 270). Thus, accepting a ‘bottom-up’ approach to the past in post-colonial contexts contradicts post-colonial governments’ policies and strategies. Therefore, these governments continue their ‘top-down’ approach and are hardly influenced by the new shift in understandings of, and attitudes towards, material of the past. Examples of the pervasiveness of the conventional approaches in these contexts are examined in chapter 5.

In the post-colonial context of Jordan, very little effort, if any, is invested in exploring the influences that the Jordanian contexts have on the way material of the past is perceived among local communities (interview with Naghawe, 13th August 2004). Furthermore, local communities are generally viewed by scholars and Government institutions as one of the ‘problems’ that material of the past, mainly archaeological sites, face as they threaten the physical integrity of these sites because of their lack of awareness of the different values of the past and its material (interview with Abu-Shmies, 22nd June 2004). The main approach to this ‘problem’ is based on emphasising the need to spread public awareness of the importance of the past among

local communities (e.g. Palumbo *et al* 1993: 72). A further investigation of the approach to material of the past in Jordan is contained in chapter 7.

Therefore, this research engages critically with theories and practices that are concerned with material of the past. It demonstrates that approaches to the past should reflect specific contexts and, therefore, cannot be generalised. The lack of such critical engagement among local scholars in the post-colonial context of Jordan consolidated the 'top-down' approach, and prevented the development of context-oriented and community-based approaches to material of the past. This research is exploratory in nature, and is based on 'analytic induction' (see chapter 2). Thus, the questions of the research and its theoretical propositions evolved and developed continuously as the research progressed. The research questions are listed in their final form in section 1.5.

1.3 Issues concerned with material of the past

In modern history, and as early as the 18th century, European nations started to claim historic monuments as their national cultural heritage (Fielden 1995: 5; Cleere 1989: 54; Dobby 1978: 61). The concept of 'cultural heritage' acquired universal use after the adoption of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (the World Heritage Convention: WHC) by UNESCO in 1972. The perception of cultural heritage as something general and universal prevented local scholars from investigating how certain remains of the past transfer to 'cultural heritage' within specific contexts. In the WHC, identifying archaeological sites and historic monuments as World Heritage Sites is based on emphasising these sites as having 'outstanding universal values' that are directly derived from the intrinsic values of these sites and monuments. The WHC bias towards Western values and the adverse impact of its implementation in contexts other than the West are examined in chapter 4.

In Jordan, the word 'cultural heritage' is used arbitrarily. According to the Heritage Law in Jordan, which was first passed in 2003, what is defined as heritage, or cultural heritage, is material of the past that is dated after the year 1750 AD. The Antiquities Law defines the material of the past, which is dated before the year 1750 AD as

archaeological sites. However, the word ‘cultural heritage’ is applied, by the Government and scholars, to specific archaeological sites that are recognised as having ‘outstanding universal values’ such as the World Heritage Sites of Petra and Qusair Amra. The claim that these sites are ‘cultural heritage’ is highly influenced by the rhetoric developed in the World Heritage Convention, and that is discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis. This thesis is concerned with archaeological sites that have lost their original use, and in most cases, have been reduced to ruins. More specifically, the thesis focuses on archaeological sites that exist within urban contexts, rather than rural ones, as such sites shape part of the environment that local communities interact with on a daily basis. Besides, these sites are under continuous pressure of urban development that jeopardise their existence. How such archaeological sites are transformed into the cultural heritage of their communities is the main concern of this thesis.

1.3.1 Heritage and material of the past

As arguments throughout the chapters emphasise, ascribing culture to heritage implies ‘specificity’ and locality rather than generality and universality. However, the way archaeological sites are identified as cultural heritage is based on a ‘top-down’ approach that relies on scholars’ perceptions of intrinsic and assigned values. Furthermore, the application of the term ‘cultural heritage’ to material of the past is deceptive, and in most cases, arbitrary. This section examines definitions of culture and heritage. It explores how culture and heritage are related to each other, and focuses on the ‘specificities’ and localities rather than totalities and generalities in these two concepts. It therefore argues against universality and generality in the concept of cultural heritage.

The conventional definition of heritage as tangible and intangible inheritance has shifted into a more dynamic perception that sees heritage as “a present-centred cultural practice and an instrument of cultural power” (Harvey 2001: 336). Despite the political and cultural implications that are embodied in Harvey’s definition of heritage, heritage is always inextricably related to people’s sense of temporal depth and ‘rootedness’ to a place. In this sense, “the capacity of a site to convey, embody, or

stimulate a relation or reaction to the past is part of the fundamental nature and meaning of heritage objects” (Mason 2002: 11).

People usually anchor themselves to specific times, places, people and concepts, and use this connection to construct their identities: the sense of who they are, where they come from, and what they represent (Taylor 1997: 20, 21). Thus, identity connects individuals as well as communities, to their surrounding contexts. Consequently, identity provides a form of stability for both individuals and communities by anchoring them to certain ideas, and contexts. However, this stability is missing among individuals in postmodern contexts as identities are presumed to be ‘free’ in the sense that they have no shared reference (Hall 1992: 276). The lack of contact and interaction between people who are usually identified as a nation encouraged Anderson (1991: 6-7) to describe them as imagined communities. In this present study, local communities are identified on the basis of their belonging to certain contexts in which the archaeological sites, explored in this thesis, are situated.

With the increasing political and cultural implications of heritage in the modern world, academic literature views heritage increasingly not only as a space of consensus and accord, but also as an arena of conflict and contention (Hall 1999: 15). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 6) take heritage to a further level by emphasising it as a selective process in which “an inheritance from an imagined past [is selected and] passed on to an imagined future”. This selectivity is designed, according to Hall (1999: 15), to construct collective social memory. In this sense, heritage is, as Harvey (2001: 336) states above, “an instrument of cultural power”, through which specific pasts are empowered and others are marginalised (Hall 1999: 15-17). What is selected and presented as heritage reflects specific people – their history, cultures, historic as well as contemporary contexts, and ways of life – while it marginalises others. Therefore, meanings that are constructed for heritage, and generated from it, are mostly embedded in discourses of power. The different uses of heritage to sustain certain current of thoughts and powers are examined in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Recently, the meaning of heritage as constructed by local communities and marginalised people has begun to be recognised by scholars. This interest reflects a democratised and context-related approach to the past (Hall 2005: 27-28; Harvey

2001: 331). For example, Hall (2005: 27-28) strongly ascribes the recognition of “the lives, artefacts, houses, work-places, tools, customs and oral memories of ordinary everyday British folk” to what he describes as “the democratisation process” in almost all aspects of life in Britain. Thus, the notion of heritage is shifting towards an inclusive approach that acknowledges people’s experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the past and its material. The different conditions and contexts that are leading rapidly towards a redefinition of heritage on the basis of people’s experiences, knowledge, attitudes and feelings are explored in chapter 6 of this thesis.

The above arguments about heritage focus on material of the past not only as assets, but also as a dynamic field of interaction between this material and its complex context. In this sense, issues that are inextricably related to people’s lives, such as cultural identity, empowerment and development, become part of the way material of the past is approached. It is through these issues that local communities interact with material of the past to create ‘heritage’. This interaction is at the centre of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.

1.3.2 Culture and material of the past

Culture is one of the concepts that are widely investigated in Western literature. Scholars distinguish between the terms Culture with a capital C, culture with a small c, and cultures as a plural. While Culture, with a capital C, indicates collective and general attributes and generalities that distinguish humanity, cultures, with a small c, and cultures as a plural, are about local as well as individual distinctiveness and ‘specificities’ that distinguish people from each other, and therefore, go beyond the abstraction and idealisation in the concept of Culture, which the capital C provokes (Mason 2006: 18).

The meaning of Culture has been the subject of an enormous number of studies in sociology and anthropology since the 19th century. For example scholars such as Tylor (1871: 1), Malinowski (1929: 864) and Durkheim (1964: ii) established the meaning of Culture as the activities of human beings, such as knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law and custom, that deliver order and system to human life. Culture in this

sense is a value-system that enables people to “reproduce themselves from day to day and generation to generation” (Peterson 1976: 16; also see Soukhanov & Ellis 1984: 335; Geertz 1973: 89). This traditional definition of culture was criticised in studies that explore cultural landscapes and the concept of place. For example, in *Place, Culture and Representation*, Duncan and Ley (1993: 11) approach culture as a field of conflicts and debates that govern political and ideological contests about place; in this sense, “cultural representations (like landscapes) invoke ideology and power, a power which is often institutionalised by dominant groups in legal discourses” (Duncan & Ley 1993: 11). Therefore, as with heritage, the concept of culture has shifted from being considered a product, as emphasised in traditional perceptions, into being approached as a process of encounter between different ideologies and powers.

Meanings of culture, with small or capital c, vary to an extent that there is no singular or absolute definition for it. Raymond Williams, in his book *Keywords* (1988) provides a detailed study of the word ‘culture’, its origins, meanings and uses. The following summarises the main definitions of culture as introduced by Williams (1988: 90) that are commonly used in cultural studies: a) culture as an intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development that delivers intangible values as well as tangible material culture (such as buildings and books); b) culture as a way of life; that is, a way of thinking, understanding, feeling and acting. This definition is also known as the anthropological meaning of culture; and c) ‘high’ culture, or culture as works and practices that are closely related to artistic activities.

1.3.3 Ascribing culture to heritage: The meaning of cultural heritage

Deciding on a specific meaning of culture is necessary in the context of this thesis. Choosing a certain meaning helps to orientate the subject of study into a certain approach that would be different if another meaning was adopted. Using the concept of culture in studies concerned with material of the past is problematic. Howard (2003: 24) argues that culture in ‘cultural heritage’ is mainly used to indicate art; and therefore, practices concerned with material of the past, using this perception of culture, are directed towards consuming that art, and promoting its consumption. However, if culture is to be used in its anthropological sense as defined by Williams above (that is, culture as a way of life) then practices concerned with material of the

past will exceed the conventional approaches of technical conservation into more inclusive and dynamic practices that go beyond the physical state of heritage (Howard 2003: 24). However, “public definitions of heritage are still largely dominated by highly educated professionals with expertise in fine art, architecture, engineering, literature, music or design whose professional future is underpinned by generating an academic, problem-based, literature on the subject” (quoted from Glasson *et al.* 1995, in Hall & Mc Arthur 1998: 43).

Acknowledging the anthropological meaning of culture delivers a dynamic and inclusive definition of its material. Under the umbrella of this perception, material of the past is constantly referred to as ‘material culture’. Therefore, material culture can be defined as “a socially meaningful expression that is audible, or visible, or tangible, or can be articulated ... moreover, it tells a story and that story might be sung, told, set in stone, enacted or painted on the body” (Griswold 1994: 11). This definition emphasises the ‘specificity’ and distinctiveness that is derived from culture being a reflection of certain people and contexts within which material of the past acquires meaning. Adopting the anthropological meaning of culture directs research to understand material of the past on the basis of its local communities’ contexts, knowledge and experience. Thus, it liberates material of the past from the limited, ‘top-down’ approach in the process of identification, evaluation and conservation, and encourages a more democratic, community-based, context-related, and culture-led approach to material of the past. It is therefore this sense of culture that is used in this thesis.

1.4 Significance of the study

Critical engagement with Western policies in post-colonial countries, such as Jordan, where governments and scholars alike strive to be identified with the West, is rare. The bias towards Western perceptions and practices concerned with material of the past has prevented scholars and institutions in Jordan from developing local approaches for identification and evaluation of material of the past. This thesis attempts to go beyond the unconditional acceptance of Western theories and practices in the Jordanian context by demonstrating the importance of context in establishing sustainable approaches to material of the past. It rejects the universal and general approach towards archaeological sites, and argues that cultural heritage is a local and

specific process, in which archaeological sites are translated to meaningful expressions of the current local contexts in which they exist.

The thesis approaches archaeological sites from the point of view of their contemporary contexts and local communities. Thus, it is local communities' experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites, rather than the archaeological sites themselves, that are the subject of this research. Approaching local communities in order to understand meanings of archaeological sites is not a common approach in a country where local communities are viewed as one of the problems that archaeological sites face. Furthermore, archaeological sites within urban contexts cover an enormous span of time and place in Jordan. These sites are usually dismissed as being important only for scholars and tourists. This perception of archaeological sites legitimises their exclusion from the Heritage Law of Jordan (which only recognises material of the past dated after 1750 AD). Thus, it is worth exploring, for the first time, what local communities in Jordan think and feel towards these sites, and how, if at all, they interweave them with their contemporary contexts and daily life.

1.5 Research questions and research aims and objectives

Four research questions that developed during my work, were identified as follows: a) what do archaeological sites mean for the local communities of Jordan in the 21st century? b) How have their meanings evolved and developed? c) Can a community-based approach to archaeological sites in Jordan provide a sustainable alternative to the currently employed conventional Western approaches? d) How can a community-led approach to material of the past be established? In order to answer these research questions, five aims were set and investigated.

The main aim is to formulate a sustainable approach towards archaeological sites in Jordan that is community-based, context-oriented and culture-led. In order to satisfy this aim the researcher has to:

1. define the need for an alternative approach;
2. define the features of such an alternative approach; and,
3. define the mechanism through which such an alternative approach can function.

To support the delivery of this main aim, four subsidiary aims were identified:

The first aim is to examine the different theories and practices concerned with material of the past in the West. In order to achieve this aim, the researcher has to:

- 1.1 review the literature in Western archaeological theories and practices;
- 1.2 examine the influence of different contexts and values on the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past;
- 1.3 examine the relevant UNESCO charters and conventions; and,
- 1.4 investigate how Western approaches to material of the past influenced other contexts.

The second aim is to investigate the concept of sustainability and its use in establishing a community-based, context-oriented approach to material of the past. In order to achieve this aim, the researcher has to:

- 2.1 investigate the elements of sustainability;
- 2.2 examine the role of context, culture and community in establishing sustainability; and,
- 2.3 investigate examples of sustainable approaches to the past.

The third aim is to investigate the meaning-making process of material of the past. In order to satisfy this aim the researcher has to:

- 3.1 define the elements of meaning-making;
- 3.2 investigate the meanings of time and place of the past; and,
- 3.3 examine the mechanism through which meanings are created.

The fourth aim is to investigate the approaches to archaeological sites in the post-colonial context of Jordan. In order to achieve this aim, the researcher has to:

- 4.1 examine the conventional approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan;
- 4.2 define and justify the archaeological sites which are investigated;
- 4.3 examine local experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the selected archaeological sites; and,
- 4.4 investigate local experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the levels of intervention conducted in the selected archaeological sites.

1.6 Framework of the thesis

Besides the introduction and the methodology chapters, this thesis is divided into two, interconnected parts. Immediate inferences are made throughout the chapters to help to help construct the suggested approach put forward at the end of the study. The first part constitutes a background in which the various approaches to material of the past are examined. It explores the major changes in approaching the past from 'top-down', science-oriented approaches into 'bottom-up', community-based ones. It focuses on the important role that local communities play in initiating sustainable approaches to the past. Special interest is paid to the way local contexts and communities are viewed in these approaches. Additionally, this part investigates memory, story and 'sense of place', and their contribution to the meaning-making process of the past as a new approach towards understanding the significance of material of the past.

The second part of this thesis examines the approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. It capitalises on the inferences made throughout the thesis to suggest a sustainable approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. The basic concept this part is based on is that cultural heritage is a process through which the material of the past – and more specifically archaeological sites – are transformed into something meaningful. This process implies close interaction between local communities and archaeological sites, and is highly influenced by people's contexts, culture and way of life.

1.7 Chapter outlines

The thesis is based on interaction with local communities regarding their perceptions and experiences of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. The methodology chapter investigates the epistemological and practical framework for this interaction. The process through which the case studies have been chosen is investigated in this chapter. The qualitative methodology is explored in order to establish an anthropological approach to the archaeological sites in question. In order to provide thorough answers for the research questions, triangulation methodology is used to compile the accounts investigated during the fieldwork with the literature examined throughout the thesis. Therefore, immediate inferences are generated throughout the chapters, and different immediate inferences are triangulated to create

mediate inferences that help the researcher to suggest an alternative approach to material of the past in Jordan.

In chapter 3, the dominant theories and practices concerned with the material of the past are examined. This chapter reviews how archaeological theories have been established within Western contexts. Many countries have been introduced to these theories and practices through Western colonialism during the 19th and 20th century. The influence of colonialism on the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the material of the past, is investigated with especial interest in the Arab world (the broader geographic and cultural context of Jordan).

Chapter 4 analyses the most prominent universal charters and conventions that have been adopted by UNESCO and other relevant institutions. In order to investigate the bias in these charters, the chapter weighs these charters against contexts other than those from the West. The chapter suggests that the notion of cultural heritage is used arbitrarily. Most UNESCO documents perpetuate the concept of cultural heritage as being universal and general. The chapter refutes this concept by emphasising the importance of the local contexts in transforming the material of the past into cultural heritage.

Chapter 5 investigates the notion of sustainability, its principles, the way it has evolved and developed, and the shift from material sustainability into a more humanistic and cultural one. Examples of how the principles of sustainability are applied in approaches concerned with archaeological sites are examined. Special interest is paid to the way the notion of sustainability is used to establish culture-based and community-led approaches to the past.

In chapter 6, the ways in which places with temporal depth influence people are examined. The dynamic process through which people interact with these places involves people's memories, stories and sense of identity, among other elements. This interactive process of meaning-making is affected by the surrounding contexts. The chapter demonstrates that meaning-making of the past is an interactive process through which the material of the past is transformed into cultural heritage. This chapter closes the first part of the thesis. Together with chapters 3, 4 and 5, chapter 6

introduces the way the material of the past is approached in Jordan, which is the subject of the second part of the thesis.

Part II of the thesis examines how material of the past is approached in Jordan. It focuses on archaeological sites that cover an enormous spatial and temporal span of the history of Jordan. This part investigates the data collected during the fieldwork and triangulates it with the literature examined throughout the thesis, to suggest a sustainable alternative approach to archaeological sites in Jordan that is community-based and culture-related. In chapter 7, the way the past and its material are approached on the official level is investigated, and policies and practices concerned with material of the past in Jordan are reviewed.

Chapter 8 examines how people in Jordan develop meanings for archaeological sites. It investigates the process of meaning-making of the past in three case studies that have been chosen for this purpose (examined in the methodology chapter): Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. Each case study is examined in its own terms and within the framework of its own context. The chapter focuses on the process through which different meanings for the archaeological sites in question are developed in response to people's contexts, experiences, memories and stories.

Chapter 9 takes the analysis of people's accounts discussed in chapter 8 a further step by examining people's experience and knowledge of, feelings and attitudes towards, the levels of interventions that are carried out in the three sites. The chapter weighs people's accounts against those of the experts responsible for the work conducted at the three sites. It examines the moments of 'action' at which the local communities of these sites transform the sites from remains of the past into their own cultural heritage.

In chapter 10, the data explored throughout the thesis are synthesised. The immediate inferences from each chapter are interwoven to produce mediate ones. The mediate inferences are used to establish the principles of the suggested alternative approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. Chapter 10 arrives at the suggested approach through incorporating theories and practices concerned with the material of the past from different cultural and geographical contexts with accounts delivered by the local communities within the Jordanian context. In this sense, the chapter can be seen as

part of a cultural process which capitalises on diverse knowledge and experiences to formulate a sustainable approach to the past in Jordan.

Chapter 11 is the conclusion chapter where the major findings of this research are brought together by discussing how the questions and aims of the research have been achieved, and raising further questions that can constitute a prospect for future research.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Values and other forms of meaning are produced out of the interaction of artifacts and their contexts, not from the artifact itself. This arena is where *qualitative research* methods have a particular strength; they are sensitive to *contextual relationships* (as opposed to causal connections) and are therefore indispensable in studying the nature and interplay of heritage values (Mason 2002: 16; emphasis added).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how the research questions, aims and objectives discussed in the last chapter were approached. The fieldwork was designed to explore the process through which local communities perceive archaeological sites in Jordan. What matters is people's experiences of archaeological sites, and using people's experiences, thoughts, attitudes and feelings as practical tools to develop an alternative approach to archaeological sites in Jordan is at the centre of this thesis. The suggested approach is developed through coupling and enhancing the data collected in the field with relevant data, drawn from the literature, about material of the past in different cultural contexts of the world. This is achieved through creating immediate inferences from the different data, and incorporating them to create mediate inferences, which helped constructing the suggested approach (see section 2.2.2).

2.2 The qualitative approach and its relevance to the topic of research

People construct meanings for their world through their *experiences* of the contexts they live in. Bloch (1991: 186) identifies the "networks of meanings which are formed through the experience of, and practice in, the external world" as cultural knowledge. Hodder (2003: 164), in his attempt to understand how people make sense of the past and its material, explains that cultural knowledge is hardly a systematic process. Instead, it is governed strongly by surrounding contexts:

cultural knowledge is *nonlinear* and purpose dedicated, formed through the *practice of closely related activities* ... the practical world involves *social and symbolic meanings* that are not organized representational codes but are chunked or contextually organized realms of activity in which emotions, desires, morals, and social relations are involved at the level of implicit taken-for-granted skill or know-how (Hodder 2003: 164; emphasis added).

Meanings are shaped by contexts. Being on an archaeological site involves a process through which researchers can develop an understanding of the way people construct meanings for the site, the local community of that site and its context. Informal interaction with people helps researchers to gain an insight into their cultural knowledge, and to construct a form of ‘reality’ (Gorman & Clayton 2005: 2). In this study, the ‘reality’ the researcher constructed is based on what is seen and what is heard in archaeological sites. It is directly derived from local communities living around archaeological sites rather than the sites themselves. Miller and Glassner (2004: 126) note that interacting with people provides researchers “with a means for exploring the points of view of [their] research subjects, while granting these points of view the *culturally honoured status of reality*” (emphasis added). Thus, in this study, interaction with people not only helped to achieve the research aims and objectives, but also empowered people by using their points of view to develop realistic answers to the research questions.

2.2.1 Context in qualitative approach

Context, in this study, is the ‘milieu’ where meanings of archaeological sites evolve and develop as a result of interaction between local communities and their environments. Thus, context is about geographic, economic, social, cultural and political settings in which the meaning-making process of archaeological sites takes place. Many scholars (e.g. Gorman & Clayton 2005; Maxwell 1996; Patton 1990) note that qualitative methods provide an access to context. They are designed and used to understand a context within which people act and interact with their surrounding environments and the impact that context has on people’s perceptions and actions. Qualitative methods allow researchers to conduct formative evaluations that help improve the existing situation rather than simply assessing it. Gorman and Clayton (2005: 3) identify qualitative methodology as being based on observing contexts, their people and their actions in those contexts in order to develop interpretations about certain phenomena. In this sense, qualitative methodology is “a *process* of enquiry that draws data from the *context* in which events occur, in an attempt to *describe* these occurrences...using *induction* to derive possible explanations based on observed phenomena” (Gorman & Clayton 2005: 3; emphasis added).

The basis of qualitative research is based on description of data collected, which is then compared and analysed. This description is a result of engagement with contexts, their people and their perceptions and activities. It induces data from context in order to develop theories and construct models. In addition, qualitative methodology is mainly concerned with the continuous process of interaction between people and their environment, as well as the results of this interaction (Maxwell 1996: 17, 19). Patton (1990: 94ff) goes on to argue that it is this process, rather than the outcome of the process of interaction, that qualitative research emphasises. He concludes that “an inductive, naturalistic approach can be particularly appropriate for the conduct of process studies and evaluations ... qualitative methods are particularly appropriate for process issues and questions” (Patton 1990: 96). Investigating meanings of archaeological sites in a certain context is a process study that tends to answer process issues and questions concerned with the meaning-making of archaeological sites. Thus, qualitative methodology is appropriate for conducting this study.

Qualitative methodology aims at providing interpretations. It falls within what is frequently referred to as the ‘interpretive paradigm’, which has been described as an “analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds” (Neuman 1994: 62). In this sense, qualitative methodology has the potential to serve the questions of this study adequately. The emphasis qualitative methodology pays to people, their context, and the process through which people develop their perceptions and meanings can help to explore the questions of this study as identified in section 1.5 in chapter 1.

A further emphasis on context and its importance in creating new perceptions and approaches is noted by Miller and Glassner (2004: 125). They insist that “for those of us who hope to *learn about the social world*, and, in particular, hope to *contribute knowledge* that can be beneficial in *expanding understanding* and *useful for fostering social change*, the proposition that our *interviews are meaningless beyond the context in which they occur* is a daunting one” (Miller & Glassner 2004: 125; emphasis added). It follows that data generated from observing and conducting interviews in a certain context cannot be generalised. They only make sense within that context.

However, contexts that share the same social, political and cultural conditions can be relevant. In this sense, qualitative research in certain contexts might provide insights into other contexts that share the same social, political and cultural conditions.

Qualitative methodology is a 'bottom-up' process. The data in this process are collected from a broad base of people to generate theories and new approaches. It is a democratic process as it allows the context of the study to influence the research questions. Questions in qualitative research develop in response to the data collected in the field of the study. As qualitative research progresses, the conceptual insights evolve and develop gradually. Towards the end of his or her fieldwork, a researcher is able to induce a theory or a model based on the data collected from the field. As this theory is established from the field or the 'ground' of the study, it is described as 'grounded' (Gorman & Clayton 2005: 7). Fielding and Fielding (1986: 44) sum up the mechanism through which qualitative methodology operates as follows:

Qualitative work is *inductive* rather than deductive. One does not start with a hypothesis, but rather *generates hypotheses* from the data. "*Analytic induction*" reverses the procedure of *hypothetico-deduction*, which works from the "top" down. Instead of beginning with theoretical premises, predicting a pattern of results, and examining the data to test the deduction, *one starts with data, then develops theoretical categories, concepts, and propositions* (Fielding & Fielding 1986: 44; emphasis added).

In this study, the research questions, sketched out at the start of this project, developed and crystallised in response to the contexts in which the research was conducted. For example, the idea of exploring archaeological sites as places that have potential to be 'cultural heritage', rather than approaching them as already assigned 'cultural heritage', developed through observing the contexts of the study and interacting with their local communities. Furthermore, the need to approach Jordan as a post-colonial context, and to explore the influence of colonialism on archaeology, has also emerged as a result of local communities' accounts of archaeological sites in Jordan. Allowing the ideas and propositions to develop while conducting the fieldwork is, as Fielding and Fielding (1986: 44) emphasise above, an essential feature of qualitative methodology. It shows the dynamic role that contexts and people play in developing theories and new approaches related to the issues being explored, and turning them into something more likely to be sustainable. The role that

local communities play in initiating a ‘bottom-up’ sustainable approach is further discussed in chapter 5.

2.2.2 Immediate inferences, mediate inferences and theory construction

Besides the data collected in the field, this study relies on another type of knowledge to construct a suggested approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. This knowledge is derived from the theoretical and practical approaches concerned with material of the past in culturally and geographically diverse contexts. As demonstrated in chapters 3, 4 and 7, the approach to the past in Jordan, as in most of the ‘developing world’ and post-colonial contexts, is directly derived from theories and practices evolved and developed in the West. There is an urgent need to understand the different approaches to the past and the contexts in which they evolved and developed. Understanding these contexts helps to understand the way in which material of the past is approached in Jordan. Therefore, exploring these contexts and the approaches influenced by them is crucial for providing comprehensive understanding of the current approach to archaeological sites in Jordan.

Incorporating different kinds of data, as Fielding and Fielding (1986: 47) emphasise, is essential for developing a more sophisticated approach or model. The data explored throughout the chapters about the different approaches to the past, the notion of sustainability and its use in studies concerned with material of the past, and the meaning-making process of the past and its material, are incorporated with the data collected from the field in Jordan. Incorporating these data enables the questions of this research to be answered more thoroughly. Additionally, such incorporation can be seen as a cultural process that builds on – in addition to data provided by the local context of Jordan – the achievements of other contexts and cultures, to formulate a new approach.

In a research project where different kinds of information are involved, there is a need to find a suitable technique to ‘glue’ the data together in order to contribute knowledge and develop an approach or a model. Agar (1986: 32-33) sees that this ‘glue’ is the concept of inference. For him, “inferences are nothing less than the glue of coherence. They link different pieces of knowledge and connect knowledge with

the world” (Agar 1986: 32-33). Inference can contribute to theory construction and model formulating by “[deriving] a new judgment from some other judgment or judgments previously known” (Maher 2005: www). Maher distinguishes between two types of inferences; immediate inferences and mediate ones. While immediate inference can be defined as the act that involves “[passing] from a single judgment to another involved or contained in it [the mediate inference is about proceeding] from two or more judgments, to a new judgment following from their combined force” (Maher 2005: www).

In this thesis, the data are induced and interpreted as the study progresses to generate immediate inferences. These immediate inferences are represented in tables at the end of each chapter. These tables show the data and the immediate inferences derived from them. These immediate inferences are numbered and given symbols that represent the chapters they originated from. For example, the immediate inference 1 TPP indicates the first inference from the chapter: Theories and Practices Concerned with Material of the Past. Therefore, in chapter 3, the immediate inferences TPP are generated from the theories and practices that are concerned with material of the past. Similarly, in chapter 4, the UNESCO charters and conventions concerned with material of the past are analysed to create the immediate inferences ‘UNESCO’. In chapter 5, the principles of sustainability are examined, and examples concerned with generating sustainable development are explored to generate the immediate inferences S (Sustainability). The meaning-making process is explored in chapter 6, and the immediate inferences MMP (Meaning-making Process) that explore the process in which meanings are assigned to material of the past are generated. In chapter 7, policies concerned with material of the past in Jordan are explored, and the immediate inferences JA (Jordanian Approaches) are generated. The same procedure is repeated regarding the data collected during the fieldwork. In chapters 8 and 9, the local communities’ accounts regarding the archaeological sites in question are analysed, and the immediate inferences CSJ (Case Studies from Jordan) are generated. The following table shows the symbols used to refer to the immediate inferences of each chapter.

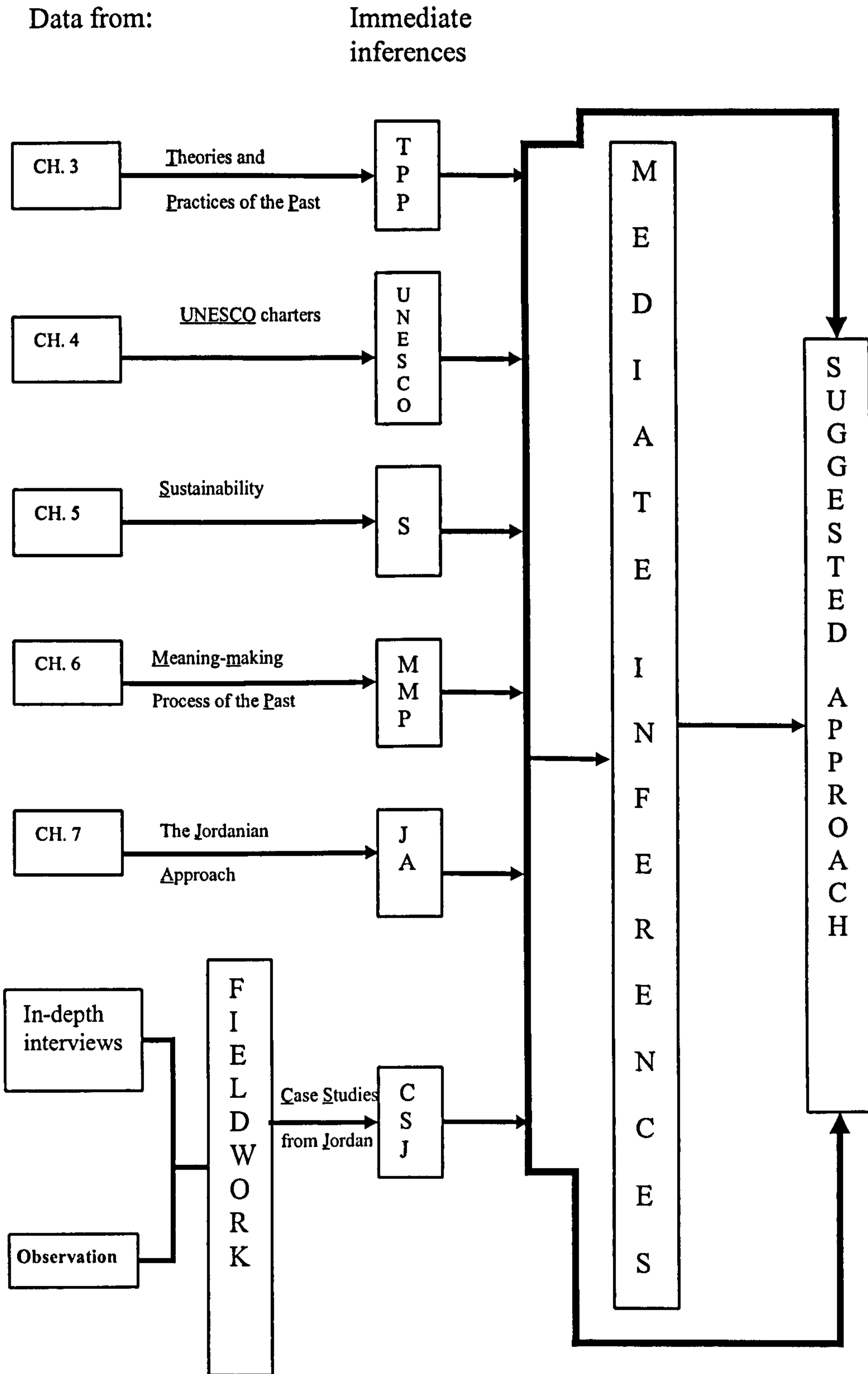


Figure 2.1 Generation of immediate inferences, mediate inferences and the suggested approach

2.3 The search for meaning: being with people

The above discussion investigates qualitative research methods and their role in addressing issues relevant to this study. The following discussion explores the methods that are used in qualitative research to establish interactive communication with people. Observation and in-depth interviewing are explored as tools that provide access to people, their contexts and experiences, and ultimately the process through which they construct meanings for the environment around them. The following accounts also explore the applications of these methods in the field in Jordan, and the process through which representative areas and sites were selected to conduct the qualitative research.

2.3.1 Interviews as active interaction with people

Understanding the context within which people formulate and develop their perceptions of archaeological sites is crucial for this study. Interviewing people regarding archaeological sites within their context is expected to provide access not only to the meaning-making process of archaeological sites, but also to people's identity (i.e who they think they are and what they represent). Kleinman *et al.* (1994: 43) describe the type of knowledge that interviewing provides as follows:

Interviewing enables us to study *identities and meanings* that cut across, lie outside, or transcend settings...Interviews enable the researcher to *learn how members of a social category maintain, transform, or challenge identity*...Interviews can *access respondents' self-reflexivity*. In the private conversation of the *in-depth interview*, researchers can *learn how people use particular experiences*, relationships, and identities to construct the self as an integrated unit (emphasis added).

Thus, gaining an insight into the meaning-making process of archaeological sites is hardly a straightforward process as it implies active interaction with people to explore their experiences. The active interaction is considered as one of the main strengths of qualitative interviewing (Miller & Glassner 2004: 130), as it allows for accounts provided by respondents of their experiences to be more specific and contextualised. The shift of accounts from being general understandings, into providing alternative stories and different narratives has been identified as a shift from *cultural stories* into *collective ones* (Richardson 1990: 25). On the one hand, a cultural story is about the information that is told "from the point of view of the ruling interests and the normative order", and therefore it highlights the "general understanding of the stock

of meanings and their relationships to each other” (Richardson 1990: 24). On the other hand, a collective story “gives voice to those who are silenced and marginalised in the cultural narratives”, and thereby provides an insight into *lay people’s experience in the social world* (Richardson 1990: 24-25; emphasis added). Thus, qualitative research can empower the marginalised by giving them voices, and highlighting their accounts as an alternative for the dominant ones.

This insight into *silenced voices* is important. It reflects the recent calls for including marginalised thoughts and practices into studies concerned with material of the past (e.g. Smith 2006; Hall 2005; Jones 2006, 2005; Kreps 2003; Ucko 1995, 1994a, 1994b; Bond & Gilliam 1994; Karp & Lavine 1991; Hodder 1991a, 1989). Empowering the marginalised and giving voice to those who are silenced, as demonstrated in chapter 5, is at the heart of establishing sustainable approaches. In this sense, a qualitative approach brings marginalised people’s accounts into the foreground and therefore contributes to their empowerment. The following explores in detail the in-depth interview and its efficiency in exploring the questions of this thesis.

2.3.2 In-depth interviews: Empowering the marginalised

Gaining an access to meanings that people construct is achievable, according to Minichiello *et al.* (1990: 100), through in-depth interviewing. In-depth interviewing is an active interaction with people that allows an insight into the language they use to express their experiences and knowledge of, feelings and attitudes to, their contexts. In this sense, in-depth interviewing is an ideal way to approach local communities in Jordan and the meanings they construct for archaeological sites.

While Gorman and Clayton (2005: 127) see the in-depth interview as being an unstructured sort of conversation, Minichiello *et al.* (1990: 91, 92) perceive it as being semi-structured, or focused, located between an interrogation process represented in structured interviews and the total flexibility of everyday conversation. Nevertheless, in-depth interviewing, as Taylor and Bogdan (1987: 77) explain, constitutes “repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and respondents directed toward understanding respondents’ perspective on their lives, experiences, or situations as

expressed in their own words". These encounters deliver authentic accounts of people's experiences only if the imbalance of power between researchers and respondents is overcome (Silverman 2001: 90). This is extremely important in Jordan where the pervasiveness of the 'top-down' approach always puts scholars in a powerful position compared to that of local communities.

However, the open and easy communication with people that in-depth interviewing provides might result in researchers influencing respondents' accounts by sharing their points of view with them. According to Silverman (2001: 87) this bias can be avoided by communicating "safe" views with respondents which can be described as general and unspecific. This proved to be important during the fieldwork of this study: in many occasions during the fieldwork, the researcher was asked about her opinion of the agencies working at archaeological sites, and some respondents demanded a clear answer in order to know the researcher's alliances, and whether or not it was safe for them to share with her their criticism of the Government and the agencies working in archaeological sites. Many respondents feared that sharing certain points of view with the researcher might jeopardize their liberty and result in them being detained. As Silverman (2001: 87) states above, communicating general and unspecific points of view with respondents prevents researchers from influencing their accounts. Thus, the researcher responded to the questions about her points of view by focusing on the facts that what matters is their views, that this is an academic research which the Government is not involved in, and that their accounts would be represented in her thesis anonymously, and no body would be allowed an access to their details: the real names and addresses.

In-depth interview questions are inductive. They take "an inherently processual orientation" in exploring context in order to arrive at meanings (Maxwell 1996: 59). In this process of exploration, questions are designed to investigate themes. Therefore, questions can be descriptive, interpretive, or theory questions (Maxwell 1996: 59). While descriptive questions attempt to find out about experiences in time and place (things, events, knowledge, and attitudes), theoretical questions look for the reasons behind these experiences and the way they can be explained, and interpretive questions look for the meanings (conceptual constructions such as feelings, thoughts and intentions) that people construct for their experiences in time and place (Maxwell

1996: 59-60). In brief, in-depth interviewing requests people “to describe themselves and their social world...to find out what behaviors have changed, how they view things, and what their expectations are for the future” (Patton 1990: 190, 191), using their own words. In this study, the in-depth interviews were designed as normal, everyday conversations, to allow people to express their experiences freely. However, the researcher controlled these conversations by anchoring them to the research interest. This “controlled conversation” is considered by Minichiello *et al.* (1990: 93) as an ‘ideal’ approach to people’s experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes.

In-depth interview questions for this study were originally designed following the “standardised open-ended model” in which “the exact wording and sequence of questions are determined in advance” (Patton 1990: 289). Using this model, the researcher found it difficult to maintain a reasonable flexibility and naturalness during the interview whilst being able to collect data systematically. Therefore, the type of questions shifted in light of the pilot survey interviews (discussed in section 2.3.5), to using an “interview guide approach ... [in which] topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, in out-line form” (Patton 1990: 288). Following this model of questions allowed more flexibility in wording and communication with local communities than the standardised open-ended model. The interview guide to the themes covered in the in-depth interviewing with the local communities in Jordan of the three selected places (see section 2.3.3) is presented in Appendix 1.

The above discussion explored the process in which the researcher decided on the type of approach and interaction with local communities in Jordan. The following sections explore the process by which the archaeological sites were selected. They provide insights into literature concerned with examining archaeological sites, as well as the research experience accumulated during the fieldwork of this study.

2.3.3 Identification of the representative places

Derry *et al.* (1977a: 15) identified two kinds of survey to inspect archaeological sites and historic buildings of any given region: a complete, “systematic survey”, and a “windshield” or “reconnaissance” survey. On the one hand, the systematic survey is a close study of the area being surveyed in order to gain sufficient information to

determine the significance of all the historic resources in the area (Derry *et al.* 1977a: 16). On the other hand, the windshield survey is a general inspection of the area “to identify obvious or well known historic resources, to check the current condition of resources identified by earlier studies ... [that] often provides the basis for a more comprehensive historic resource survey at a later stage in planning” (Derry *et al.* 1977a: 15). In this type of survey, the researcher inspects the region by being there, walking around, and observing the region. In this study, the reconnaissance survey technique was adopted to select the archaeological sites to be examined in the study from a list prepared by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) of the archaeological sites within the capital of Jordan, Amman.

The list of Amman’s archaeological sites mentioned above includes 107 different areas with archaeological sites dated to various periods: from pre-historic, Neolithic sites up to the early 20th century Ottoman period. Appendix 2 is a table that shows the different chronological periods of time that shaped the history of Jordan, explored in chapter 7. Some areas identified within the list include more than one archaeological site. For example, the Citadel area includes several sites: the Roman temple, the Umayyad palace, the Byzantine chapel, the museum (built in 1920s as a British administration centre and headquarters) and the multi-period fortification of the Citadel. All of these are listed under one name, the Citadel, or *al-Kal’a* to use the Arabic term.

Amman has been undergoing rapid development since it was established as the capital of Jordan in 1921. In particular, the city underwent enormous development and construction projects in the 1970s and 1980s. Along with the other main cities of Jordan, Amman lost much of its archaeological heritage under the pressure of developmental projects (Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 70). Being the capital, Amman has been chosen for this study as an example to investigate meaning-making processes of archaeological sites by local communities. In the future, further studies could be designed to examine other regions of Jordan and to compare how different regional contexts may result in different perceptions of, and attitudes towards, archaeological sites.

As explained in chapter 1, the researcher is interested in archaeological sites that exist within urban contexts. The main criteria for selecting the representative sites were: a) closeness to the modern built environment; b) regularity and variety of professional and/or academic work that was taking place; and, c) visibility of archaeological sites that allows for potential interaction with them by local communities. Each criterion was given a scale from 1 to 3. While scale 1 expresses minimum satisfaction of a given area for a certain criterion, scale 3 represents a maximum satisfaction of that criterion. Using the above criteria, the list of sites to be included in the windshield survey was shortened from 107 to 12. Most of the excluded areas failed to satisfy the second criterion as there were no professional activities carried out at them. Furthermore, areas with archaeological sites that are more than 1 km away from the nearest house were also excluded.

The 12 selected sites were visited within 6 days by the researcher and the Inspector of Antiquities in Amman, Mr Adeb Abu-Shmeis. Appendix 3 contains English translations from the Arabic list of the twelve selected areas, their names, the type of archaeological site in these areas, the periods of time these sites are dated to, and the scale of satisfaction of the selection criteria. The appendix also shows photos for these sites taken by the researcher during the windshield survey explained above.

The windshield survey of the twelve areas took the form of driving around, with the Inspector of Antiquities, in Amman. His presence was essential in order to identify the archaeological sites within the selected places because of his knowledge of the location of the sites. It was almost impossible for the researcher to conduct the visits to these twelve areas without an expert's help, especially since many of these sites are 'hidden' amongst houses and hard to distinguish. The expert's help was also made necessary by a lack of signs to direct visitors to archaeological sites within urban contexts. The researcher and the Inspector were accompanied, in most of their visits, by members from the local community in each area. As they were curious about the researcher's nature of interest in their places, these individuals volunteered for this without being asked. Their company allowed the researcher to have an insight into the local communities' thoughts about each of the visited sites. It also provided a glimpse into stories and myths related to archaeological sites in general, and the visited sites in particular. People's memories, cultural and aesthetic values, thoughts, expressions,

and ways of life, and the impact this had on their perception of archaeological sites, were recognised even during this very first stage of the fieldwork. Derry *et al.* (1977b: 18) describes the knowledge the local communities can provide to research as follows:

much of a community's or neighborhood's history may not be on record anywhere, but may be richly represented in the *memories* of its people, and its *cultural and aesthetic values* may be best represented in their *thoughts, expressions, and ways of life*. For this reason, it is often important to include an *oral historical or ethnographic* component in the survey ... oral history focuses on straightforward recordation of their recollections, while ethnography is more concerned with contemporary cultural values, perceptions, and ways of life ... It is often useful to drive or walk through the survey area with knowledgeable residents of the community to obtain their comments on specific properties or areas (Derry *et al.* 1977b: 18; emphasis added).

The windshield survey provided, therefore, an introduction to, not only the sites and the general contexts of those sites, but also the local communities and their relationship with the archaeological sites. It allowed for an insight into the culture the researcher was going to be involved with, and in, for a time. The 'windshield' survey introduced the researcher as a scholar who is interested in people and their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes to, archaeological sites, rather than in the sites themselves.

2.3.4 Further selection of the places

Because of time restrictions on the fieldwork, and in order to reduce the data to be collected from the sites to a manageable size, it was necessary to reduce the number of places to be included in the study. The second selection process was based on the scale of satisfaction for the selection criteria. Areas with lower scores were excluded. This allowed the number of areas to be reduced from twelve to six. These six areas are: Tell Hesban, Yajuz, Tell al-'Umayri, Khreibt al-Suq, the Citadel of Amman (*al Kal'a*) and Ain Ghazal. The selected sites were revisited on the 12th and 13th of June 2004 by the researcher, her research supervisor and the Inspector of Antiquities in Amman. Once again, members of the community, local to each site, also attended these visits voluntarily. The aim of this further investigation was to have another opinion of the sites selected, and their concordance with the criteria of selection. The six areas were put into three categories according to the type of professional and/or

academic involvement in each site. While there were national agencies operating in Yajuz and Khreibt al-Suq, international agencies were operating in Tell Hesban and Tell al-'Umayri. In the Citadel (*al-Kal'a*), however, both national and international agencies were involved in the levels of interventions conducted. Table 2.1 shows these sites and the type of agency or agencies involved in them.

Table 2.1 *The selected case studies and the type of agencies involved in them*

Type of Agency Involved	National	International	National and international
Selected Case Studies	Yajuz	Tell al-'Umayri	Ain Ghazal
	Khreibt al-Suq	Tell Hesban	The Citadel (<i>al-Kal'a</i>)

As a result of time constraints and the depth of the interviews that were to be conducted in every area, the number of places was finally shortened and one area was chosen from every type. The areas chosen were those that include sites closer to high density residential areas than the excluded others. The selected areas were: Khreibt al-Suq, Tell Hesban and the Citadel of Amman (*al-Kal'a*). The description of the contexts of these areas and the archaeological sites in them is provided in chapter 8.

2.3.5 Observation: Collecting data and approaching people

After selecting the representative sites, the next step was to observe these sites and their contexts. Observation is a “social interaction between the researcher and informants in the *milieu* of the latter, during which data are systematically and unobtrusively collected” (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 15). This interaction is a means of gaining insights into meanings that people create and develop out of the context they live in. The insight into how people in the three selected areas interact with archaeological sites was obtained by observing them, and conducting in-depth interviews with them. Observation resulted in descriptions of the contexts in which archaeological sites exist, as well as people living close to archaeological sites (their nature of interaction with the sites and the agencies involved in them, whether or not they visited these sites, what they do during these visits, and if they talk to the members of the agencies involved). The account resulting from the observation also included the researcher’s actions, feelings and hypotheses about the people and

contexts observed. As explained in the following sections, observation continued throughout the fieldwork. It enhanced the researcher's understanding of the accounts delivered through in-depth interviews, as it provided insights into contexts in which these accounts emerged and developed. It also contributed to 'snowballing' of the respondents as explained later in this chapter.

One of the major limitations of observation is that it is a selective process that is governed by the observer's culture and areas of interest. As Patton (1990: 200) states, "our culture tells us what to see; our early childhood socialisation instructs us in how to look at the world; and our value systems tell us how to interpret what passes before our eyes". However, the importance of observation in this study is derived from the fact that "material traces of behavior give an important and different insight from that provided by any number of questionnaires" (Hodder 2003: 158). Patton (1990: 203-205) lists six ways in which observation can contribute to qualitative research which can be summarised as follows:

1. provides understanding of the *context*, which is necessary to gain a holistic perspective;
2. allows the researcher to be open, *discovery-oriented and inductive in approach*, therefore the researcher can formulate his or her own *conceptualisation rather than relying on others' views*;
3. allows seeing things that might escape conscious awareness among participants;
4. allows noticing things participants might be unwilling to talk about;
5. moves beyond the selective perceptions of the others generated from interviewing certain people; and,
6. provides an opportunity for *direct experience* and reflection and introspection which are important parts of the fieldwork.

In this study, observation provided access to contexts and cultural knowledge of the respondents and their diverse experiences set within those contexts. Furthermore, it helped the researcher to build her own perception rather than rely on the conventional and prevailing ones. This is especially important in the Jordanian context where the conventional perception of local communities is that they are part of the problem archaeological sites suffer from. Observation allowed the researcher to be open to

different points of view. It provided her with time to reflect on her research within the context and among the people who are the subject of her exploration.

Observation helped to introduce the researcher to her potential respondents. It also initiated what Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 83) call “snowballing” technique. ‘Snowballing’ is a process in which the researcher is introduced by some respondents to other members of the local community. The initial contacts in this study were made through the researcher being introduced to certain individuals by the Inspector of Antiquities in Amman. These contacts knew the local community well and were acquainted with local social traditions and protocols, which helped to introduce the researcher to the local communities. In male-dominated contexts, such as those in which the research took place, it would have been difficult for the researcher, being a female, to approach the local males without being introduced by a respected member of the local community. These males in turn introduced the researcher to their families and other respondents living close to the archaeological sites in question. This “snowballing” approach relies on cultivating a close relationship with respected people, defined as key respondents (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 41), such as the *mukhtar* (unofficial mayor) in Khreibt al-Suq, who introduced the researcher to the rest of the local community. Other contacts were made by the researcher during the observation stage. These contacts were those who visited the sites repeatedly, and showed special interest in the researcher’s presence at the site, and her research topic. Many of these contacts used to live adjacent to the sites in questions. Further discussion of ‘ideal’ respondents and how they can be identified is in section 2.3.6 below.

During observation, researchers should hold back, however, from developing close relationships with individuals who are considered as ‘respectable’ people, as these people might be unpopular themselves (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 42). Developing close relationships with ‘respectable’ people, who are not necessary popular among the majority of the local communities, might lead other members of the community to consider the researcher as an ally to certain people and certain points of view. Such considerations might lead to segregating the researcher from other members of the community. In this study the researcher’s awareness of Taylor and Bogdan’s observation prevented her from being identified with certain ‘respectable’ people, who proved to be unpopular among the local communities of the three places

investigated. For example, the researcher was advised by professionals involved in Tell Hesban to contact certain member of the local community. The recommended individual was assumed to have genuine interest in archaeological sites, and would contribute to the research. It did not take long for the researcher to recognise that this person was not popular among the local community of Hesban. Moreover, his interest in the site seemed to be contingent on the presence of the agency at the site. This individual had been reported by the local community to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) for causing damage to the site (Abu Hdeib 2004: n.p.). However, this individual's account about Tell Hesban was interesting and therefore presented in section 8.3.3.1 of this thesis.

Observation introduces researchers to the language, accent and terms used in the observed contexts. In this study, it was extremely important to know how people refer to archaeological sites, and the names they used to identify them (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 51). Archibald (2004: 16) highlights the importance of the names that people give to objects, and observes that the process of naming an object bestows a character on it. Naming things brings them into 'existence' and, thus, facilitates interaction with them. For example, naming archaeological sites gives them a "creative force" that changes them from ruins into places of memories and stories (Archibald 2004: 16). Therefore, in this study, it was extremely important to know how local communities address archaeological sites within their contexts. Because "inadequate competence in the language is a code consideration that limits the fieldworker's ability to collect data in all speech situations" (Briggs 1986: 44), it is important while conducting interviews to use the same terms the local community uses to refer to the sites. This is not only helpful in establishing rapport with locals, but also in having a clearer insight into the context in which the meaning of the site develops. Thus, developing an adequate competence in the language used to describe archaeological sites was one of the issues that the observation process helped to recognise.

Obviously, the language used to conduct the interviews was Arabic, the language spoken in Jordan. In the preliminary design of the interviews, the main term used to describe archaeological sites was, of course, archaeological site, or *maoke' atharee*, as the Arabic translation indicates. However, in the field, the researcher changed the terms to match those which were popular among the local communities. For example,

in Hesban, the local community used the term Tell Hesban, to refer to the archaeological site in question. Moreover, the term *Kherbeh*, which means ruins, was used to indicate the neglected and remote archaeological sites in and around Hesban. The term *athar*, which means archaeology, was used to refer to archaeological sites in general, and the term *antique* (the same pronunciation in English) was used to describe the portable objects, even those made from stone, such as columns' capitals and drums. Surprisingly, the term used in the first draft of questions, *maoke' atharee*, which is familiar among scholars and professionals, was hardly used by the local communities in the three selected areas.

The popular terms were the key words that enabled the researcher to communicate with the people on the basis of their own understanding of the archaeological sites within their contexts. This is referred to by Briggs (1986: 62) as “acquiring social-cultural and sociolinguistic competence”. This competence enabled a better interaction with local communities. It provided insights into the contexts of the selected areas. Furthermore, this competence was essential for establishing a rapport between the researcher and her respondents.

2.3.6 Choosing the interview respondents

Deciding on respondents to be interviewed in qualitative research rarely takes place in advance of fieldwork (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 19). Instead, they are defined on an ongoing basis as the study progresses. The ‘snowballing’ and the observation process in this study played a decisive role in defining the respondents. However, as Johnson (1990: 30) clarifies, “selection [of respondents] is not *ad hoc* or opportunistic; rather, it is guided by an ethnographer’s theoretically and experimentally informed judgments”. ‘Ideal’ respondents, according to Tremblay (quoted in Johnson 1990: 29-30) can be identified on the basis of five criteria:

The first of these [criteria] was ‘role in the community’... [that is] the formal position an informant holds that would expose him or her to pertinent information. A second, and related, criterion was the knowledge informants possessed as a result of their perspective role. The remaining three criteria were less a function of formal roles or associated knowledge and more a matter of the innate abilities of informants, including such things as willingness to communicate or cooperate, communicating abilities, and impartiality (Johnson 1990: 29-30).

The 'ideal' respondents were met during the observation stage of the fieldwork. For example, the communicating abilities of the *mukhtar* mentioned above, introduced the researcher to the families living adjacent to the sites in Khreibt al-Suq. He helped the researcher to 'snowball' her respondents. This role was played by an ordinary individual in Hesban. Because of this individual's interest in the subject of the research, he organised a general meeting in his house for which the researcher and other members of the local community were invited to talk about archaeology in Hesban.

Deciding on the ideal number of respondents in qualitative research was hard. Every respondent carried experience and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes to, the sites in question that were different from the other respondents' accounts. The main concern was to cover both genders and different age groups in adults over 18 years of age as equally as possible. The plan was to start with a pilot survey, interviewing one female and one male with respect to each selected areas. These respondents were living in houses adjacent to the archaeological sites in question. These interviews helped to examine the nature of reaction to each issue the questions explored, and to investigate the possibilities of making further improvements on the terms used in questions, and the way the questions were asked. In addition to the improvements made after the observation stage, those made in light of the pilot survey interviews resulted in more dynamic interaction with the respondents.

For example, it was during the first pilot survey interview that the researcher recognised the deficiency in the "standardised open-ended model" of questions, discussed in section 2.3.2, and the necessity to replace it with an "interview guide approach" as a more dynamic model of questioning. Additionally, in the second pilot survey interview conducted in Khreibt al-Suq, when one respondent was asked about his feelings to foreign agencies working on the site, the answer was irrelevant to the agency's work. The way the question was asked (what do you think of the agencies working in the site?) triggered the respondent to discuss political issues related to current political circumstances in Iraq and Palestine. Therefore, the form of the question was changed and in the other four pilot survey interviews the respondents were asked to talk about the work conducted in the sites and those who conducted this work. The respondents were, thus, left to decide if the nationality of the agencies was

important or not. Although the political issues were inevitable in almost all the interviews of the fieldwork even after changing the format of the question, people's responses after changing the format of the question indicated the experience they had with the agencies, rather than being derived from the surrounding political and cultural contexts of the region.

The pilot survey interviews were included in the data collected from the fieldwork and analysed in chapters 8 and 9. They not only allowed the researcher to improve the way questions were asked, but also provided an estimation of the time needed to conduct in-depth interviews. The time of each of the six pilot survey interviews varied from 1 hour to 1 ½ hours approximately. While most of the interviews conducted later during the fieldwork took approximately 2 to 3 hours, in some cases, the interviews were interrupted by certain circumstances of the respondents (i.e. return of a husband from work, feeding the children, receiving unexpected visitors), and therefore some of these interviews lasted for more than 3 hours while others were completed the following day.

The time for interviews was governed by respondents' free time rather than the researcher's desire to make the fieldwork easier by tackling the selected places in sequence. In many cases, the researcher had to organise with the potential respondents in advance in order to fix a time for the in-depth interview. In other cases, the respondents were ready to be interviewed immediately. On many occasions, the researcher had to travel to another city to meet 'important' respondents who were recommended by others because of their special experience of the archaeological sites in question. Although this proved to be inconvenient as the researcher had to spend time and money travelling between the three sites, it allowed her to start juxtaposing and comparing the different accounts of the different archaeological sites during early stages of the fieldwork.

The next step, after improving the questions in light of the observation notes and the pilot survey results, was to establish a layer of respondents to cover the two genders and the various age groups almost equally. Depending on the 'snowballing' technique explained in section 2.5.3 above, and the notes about local communities made during observation stage, the researcher kept communicating with people in the three places

and arranging interviews with them. In Hesban and the Citadel, eleven male and nine females were interviewed in each area, while nine males and nine females were interviewed in Khreibt al-Suq. Figure 2.2 demonstrates the process in which the respondents were selected and the methods that contributed to this selection.

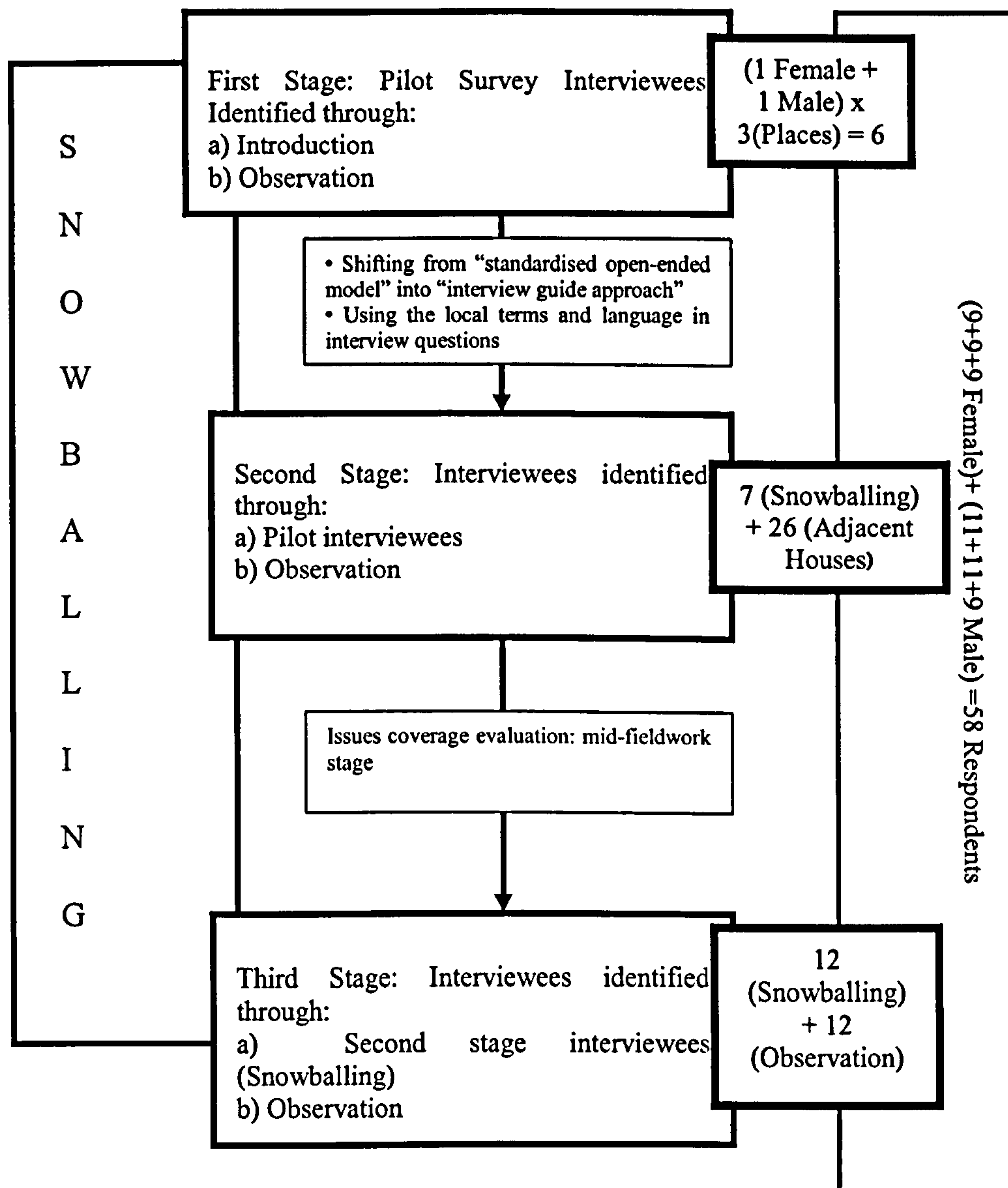


Figure 2.2 The process through which the respondents were selected and the methods that contributed to their selection

While some respondents accepted the use of recording equipment, others refused. In the interest of protecting respondents, the researcher has kept all the interview tapes, but English transcriptions of all the interviews are provided as part of the data analysis CD attached at the end of this thesis. The real names of the respondents were kept until the final stage of writing up, and were then replaced by fictitious names. Keeping the real names during the analysis of the interviews helped the researcher to remember the individuals and the contexts in which the interviews took place. This was essential for maintaining affinity with the respondents and their contexts, even after the fieldwork terminated and during the time the data was being analysed. Appendix 4 shows the unreal names of the respondents in the three areas, their gender and age groups. Replacing the genuine names with numbers or symbols was not an option for the researcher as it reduces the individuals to numbers and symbols; something that is not commensurate with her aim to represent the respondents' experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards the archaeological sites in question.

As the aim of the fieldwork was to collect data to address the aims and objectives, much of data collected focused on individuals' accounts and what they felt and did in archaeological sites within the three selected areas. Because of the uniqueness of each account, it was hard to decide when to stop interviewing. However, triangulating these accounts by "*continual juxtaposition and comparison of data*" Zuboff (1988: 425) helped the researcher to realise that the issues and themes the fieldwork was designed to explore were covered by the respondents' accounts and that some accounts were, in many aspects, a reflection of other accounts. This was an indication that the interviewing was approaching its end.

The fieldwork lasted from 1st June 2004 until 14th September 2004. During this time, not only the meaning-making process of archaeological sites was explored, but also local communities, together with the researcher, were empowered. The local communities were empowered as they started to feel that their accounts of archaeological sites mattered. The researcher was empowered as her belief in a 'bottom-up' approach to archaeological sites was enhanced through her interaction with local contexts and communities.

2.4 Subjectivity and its strength in the interpretive approach

The interpretive approach followed in this study has been described by Silverman (2001: 94) as having a “romantic impulse”, as it might neglect the way the experience is shaped by the context and focus, instead, on the “subjective experience” of the respondents (Silverman 2001: 90). Although interviewing can be seen as a method that explores respondents’ perceptions outside their contexts, interactive interviewing is a tool that allows a *collaborative approach* to the problem through exploring respondents’ experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 96). Therefore the bias in the interpretive approach can be mitigated through interacting with people on the basis of their contexts. Individuals cannot be separated from their own context as it shapes part of their identity and therefore influences their experience, knowledge, feelings and attitudes. Schwartz and Jacobs (1979: 7-8) emphasise the inextricable relationship between context and individual, and the influence of this relationship on the meaning-making process. In their account: “social meanings (which direct human behavior) do not inhere in activities, institutions, or social objects themselves. Rather, *meanings* are conferred upon social events by *interacting individuals*, who must first interpret what is going on from the *social context* in which these events occur” (Schwartz & Jacobs 1979: 7-8; emphasis added).

A potential bias in the interpretive approach is that it can allow the researcher’s identity and background to influence the research (Maxwell 1996: 27). It brings subjectivity into research. However, Glesne and Peshkin (1992: 104) argue that subjectivity can be something positive that enriches research. They see that subjectivity can be employed to enhance topics explored:

the subjectivity that originally I had taken as an affliction, something to bear because it could not be foregone, could, to the contrary, be taken as “virtuous.” My subjectivity is *the* bias for the story that I am able to tell. *It is a strength on which I build. It makes me who I am as a person and as a researcher, equipping me with the perspectives and insights that shape all that I do as a researcher, from the selection of topic clear through to the emphases I make in my writing.* Seen as virtuous, *subjectivity is something to capitalize on* rather than to exorcise (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 104; emphasis added).

By identifying subjectivity as part of the research, it can be considered as a variable in the research and can be used to serve the topic explored. Maxwell (1996: 29) suggests

employing subjectivity to serve research by preparing ‘memos’. These ‘memos’ can supply insights into the research problems as they contain the expectations, beliefs and assumptions the researcher experiences or develops throughout the fieldwork. Furthermore, ‘memos’ urge researchers to consider what they do not usually notice or make less of than could be made. Therefore, ‘memos’ can help researchers obtain a degree of awareness that prevents them from being overwhelmed by their own experience.

Many ‘memos’ were prepared during the observation stage of this research, as well as the in-depth interviews. They reflected the comments the researcher found important to record by the end of every interview. Such comments reflect the general impression about each interview, as well as specific notes about the nature of the accounts delivered and its relationship to the contemporary and historic context of the sites. They were also used to record gestures, silence between words and facial expressions of the respondents, which, according to Gorman and Clayton (2005: 6), can provide further information besides the oral accounts. All such observation were triangulated with the transcripts of the interviews to provide, as Maxwell (1996: 76) notes, “a more complete and accurate account”. These ‘memos’ can be found within the transcripts of the interviews, put between brackets, and also at the end of every interview transcript. The transcripts are included in a CD attached at the end of the thesis.

2.5 Triangulation in the fieldwork

Triangulation is the integration of multiple-methods and/or sources employed while investigating a single issue in order to overcome the shortcomings of applying a single method, and to reach a holistic understanding of the issue under investigation (Denzin 1978: 28; Flick 2002: 265). Denzin (1978: 28) explains the importance of triangulation in qualitative research as follows:

no *single* method will ever meet the requirements of interaction theory. While participant observation permits the careful recording of situations and selves, it does not offer direct data on the wider spheres of influence acting on those observed. Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed. This is termed *triangulation* (Denzin 1978: 28; original emphasis).

According to Denzin (1978: 301, 302) data can be collected using “within-method triangulation” and/or “between-method” or “across-method” triangulation. While

“within-method triangulation” depends on using a single method to examine the data, “between-method” or “across-method” triangulation is described as “much more satisfactory”, as it depends on using different methods to examine the data. In across-method, one method is used as the main tool for collecting data, accompanied by another method as an “additional dimension” (Denzin 1978: 302). In this study, the main method is in-depth interviewing, and the accompanied one is observation; however, it is important to note that observation was more than an additional dimension in this study. Instead, it was essential for introducing the researcher to the local communities of the three selected areas, and, fundamental for initiating the ‘snowballing’ process of the respondents. Furthermore, it helped the researcher to develop an acquaintance with local terms and language related to archaeological sites.

Thus, in this study, a “cross-method” triangulation is used when applying observation together with in-depth interviews to investigate local communities’ contexts and perceptions. The data delivered by these two methods are triangulated with the immediate inferences (explained in section 2.3 above) accumulated from the data collected throughout the chapters. The whole triangulation is applied to formulate a suggested approach for a sustainable approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. Triangulating the respondents’ accounts with other data links the context of Jordan to other different cultural contexts. It empowers the individuals’ accounts by anchoring them to the related literature. Such a power, as Foucault (1977b: 194) states, “produces, it produces reality” that is influenced by ordinary people’s accounts, rather than powerful institutions ones. Thus, in-depth interviewing, in the first place, empowers respondents as it brings their accounts into the foreground. This empowerment is enhanced through coupling these accounts with other related data derived from different contexts. The issue of empowerment and its role in establishing a sustainable approach is discussed in chapter 5.

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the ‘living’ meaning of archaeological sites in Jordan, the researcher found it important to interview also the professionals involved in archaeological sites in the three selected areas. As with many respondents from the local communities, some of these professionals recommended others to be interviewed, not only because of their involvement in the sites in question, but also because of their interest in the subject of the study.

Appendix 5 shows the names of the professionals interviewed, their careers and the archaeological sites they were involved in. These interviews were designed as focused in-depth interview to investigate how, if at all, these professionals approached local communities during their work. In focused in-depth interview “the content ... is focused on the issues that are central to the research question, but the type of questioning and discussion allow[s] for ... flexibility [and] provides a more valid explication of the informant’s perception of reality” (Minichiello *et al.* 1990: 92). The questions of the interviews with the professionals involved in the three places are shown in Appendix 6. Although the questions are constructed to answer the research question, the final form is influenced by local communities’ contexts. For example, using the word ‘meaning’ in questioning local communities implies exploring philosophical issues, something that might have excluded the local communities and prevented them from active interaction. Therefore, questions of the study were formed to encourage people to interact, through using uncomplicated words that are directly derived from those the researcher heard while conducting her observation.

2.6 Analysing in-depth interviews using NVivo

Because of the nature of the data collected during the fieldwork and its density and length, it was important to find a system that could help to manage and explore the data. Recently, developments in qualitative research have resulted in computer software that can help the researcher manage the data efficiently. The computer programmes concerned with analysing qualitative data vary. However, they are all based on coding the data according to themes or codes using the node option in the software (Bryman 2002: 416-417). According to Bryman (2002: 423) nodes are items that can be created to represent any issues discussed in the data. Nodes can be held in a tree structure, and are therefore called tree nodes, or can represent something that is independent from the tree structure, and are therefore identified as free nodes.

The computer software used to help the researcher manage the data in this study was NVivo, as recommended on the Faculty Training Programme. The NVivo analysis of the interviews is enclosed in a CD attached at the end of the thesis. The analysis depended on creating tree and free nodes to represent issues explored in the interviews. These issues are mainly concerned with the respondents’ experiences and

knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the archaeological sites in question. The nodes also explore the respondents' experience and attitudes towards the agencies involved in the sites and the levels of intervention conducted in these sites. Therefore, the principal nodes represented local communities' knowledge, experience, feelings and attitudes. Each one of these principal nodes has its 'sibling' nodes that helped the researcher to explore in depth, the nature of people's experiences in the archaeological sites in question.

2.7 Summary

This research is inductive in nature. It uses the data collected and triangulated to develop an approach. The approach suggested is concerned with establishing a community-based, context-oriented approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. Some parts of this approach are derived from local communities and contexts in Jordan, the other parts are derived from relative information about material of the past. Data collected from both parts are analysed to generate immediate inferences, which are incorporated to generate the suggested approach. The generation of immediate inferences from data starts in the next chapter.

This chapter has drawn on qualitative methodology to construct a framework for the study. This framework is based on recognising people and their contexts as fundamental factors in meaning-making processes, and understanding that access to these processes is only available through active interaction with people and their contexts. This interaction allows access to experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. The qualitative methods used to learn about the meaning-making process of archaeological sites in this study are observation and in-depth interviewing. These methods focus on local communities and their accounts regarding archaeological sites within their contexts. They not only provide data but also empower people as they bring their accounts into the foreground. As the data provided throughout these methods are derived from local communities and contexts, they constitute an essential part of the community-based, context-oriented approach. The following chapters explore the data necessary for establishing this approach.

Chapter 3: Theories and Practices Concerned with Material of the Past: The Power of Context

What is missing in the consciousness of heritage management practitioners generally: an understanding of the values underlying the Western management ethos and an openness to alternatives. If, in the postmodern world there can be alternative histories why can't there be alternative heritages and alternative models of heritage management? (Byrne 1991: 273).

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the different modern approaches to material of the past that have developed in the West. These approaches dominate the way material of the past is perceived and approached in many other contexts in the world. Despite their differences from the West, practices concerned with material of the past in these contexts, such as Jordan, “are based on conditions prevailing in the West, where almost all the manuals on the subject are written and published” (de Cuéllar 1995: 193). The Western influence began, in most of these contexts, during Western colonialism. It was enhanced by post-colonial governments, which embraced the ‘top-down’ approach towards almost every aspect of life, and formed an extension of foreign colonialism in national disguise (Chatterjee 1993a: 15; Fanon 1963: 119-165). Investigating the Western influence on the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past in post-colonial contexts sets the conventional approaches used in Jordan within their broader internationally dominant cultural contexts, and provides a general background for the evolution and development of theories and practices concerned with material culture that dominate the conventional approaches to material of the past.

With the above in mind, the chapter focuses on theories and practices concerned with material of the past in both Britain and the United States of America (USA). The reason for focusing on these two contexts is the cultural, social and economic influences these two contexts have on other contexts, including Jordan. Local scholars, from all over the world, embrace the theories and practices that develop in these contexts, and apply them, with hardly any critical engagement, in their own contexts. Jordan has developed a close relationship with the West since it was established in 1921. The British mandate in Jordan, from 1921 until 1946, left its

mark on almost all essential aspects of life, including the approach to the past. The Antiquities Law that is applied in Jordan was formulated during that period. Furthermore, the United States of America is responsible, financially as well as administratively, for initiating the Cultural Heritage Management Programme, among other projects concerned with material of the past in Jordan (Greene 1999: 51; Costello & Palumbo 1995: 548; Daher 1995: 35; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 69-70). These projects are subject to shift in the USA policies and strategies concerned with the past. The identification with the West that Jordan strives to accomplish consolidates the application of foreign theories and practices in Jordan. Thus, it is essential to investigate these theories and practices as part of exploring the approach to material of the past in Jordan.

3.2 Approaches to material of the past: Historical background

This section suggests that approaches to material of the past in ancient cultures (i.e. cultures of Mesopotamia: a term invented by the Western scholars in the 19th century to refer to modern Iraq, eastern Syria and southern Turkey, ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome) were directly influenced by the local contexts of these cultures. In these cultures, the conservation of material of the past constituted part of individuals' daily practices (Jokilehto 1999, 1988: 267; Marijnissen 1996: 277; Philippot 1996: 268). Different people had different approaches to their past that stemmed from their local cultures and contexts. For example, ancient Egyptians paid special attention to the conservation of their temples and tombs as much of their culture was based on religion and celebrating life after death (Jokilehto 1999: 5; Killebrew & Lehmann 1999: 4). Thus, in response to their culture, ancient Egyptians valued their temples and tombs over other constructions, such as domestic buildings, streets and markets.

However, the Classical cultures of Greece and Rome conserved their civic buildings such as theatres, public baths, streets, and hippodromes, as part of public daily life, which was highly celebrated in these cultures. Special attention was paid to the intrinsic values of architectural design: the material, the proportions and the aesthetic dimension (Infranco 1998: 6; Keck 1996: 281-282), in response to Classical ideas that valued the tangible over the spiritual. The following two sections explore the foundation of Western perceptions and approaches to material of the past through

investigating two Classical scholars: the architect Vitruvius (30 BC - 40 AD) and the historian Pliny the Elder (23 AD - 79 AD). The works of these two scholars demonstrate a special interest in material of the past and local perceptions and approaches to it.

3.2.1 Pliny at work: An early example of Western perceptions of material culture in other contexts

Perhaps one of the very first reflections on local people's attitudes towards material of the past registered by a foreign scholar is Pliny's account of Egypt in the 1st century AD. Pliny mentioned in his book *Natural History* (1963) that the preservation of an ancient granite monument at Aswan was "aided by the people ... who have shown remarkable respect for an achievement that they detest" (Pliny 1963, XXXVI: 69). Pliny's evaluation of the ancient monument, and his assumptions about the reasons that made it valuable among the people of Aswan, were derived from his Classical culture. This culture highly appreciated aesthetic values in materials, and thus, Pliny in his account about this monument did not make any remarks about the function of that monument – whether it was a palace, a temple or a tomb. Instead, he chose to highlight the material of granite that captured his attention. Thus, Pliny's observation was highly influenced by his culture.

Furthermore, the general context in which the protection of this ancient monument took place was also neglected in Pliny's account. The meaning of that monument was more likely to have derived from the context and culture that characterised daily life in Egypt during that time. People might have respected the monument and therefore protected it; or they might have been compelled by those who were in power to respect what they detested. If that monument were a temple, lay people, inspired by their own culture and contexts, would have protected it perhaps despite its physical attributes of material and design. To conclude, the monument was preserved probably because it meant something to the people of Aswan. Local people protected this monument on the basis of their culture and contexts. Pliny interpreted this protection according to his own culture and context that may have been, almost certainly was, very different from those of the Egyptians about whom he wrote.

This provides one early example of how one Western scholar's points of view were framed by his own context. It also sheds light on other contexts and cultures that scholars operate within – in this case the local context in the ancient culture of Egypt. Pliny's situation, almost two thousand years ago, is very similar to that of the contemporary Western and Western-trained scholars operating in other contexts. They identify, evaluate, and approach the material of the past from their own Western contexts' points of view, which they claim to be objective and scientific. The pervasiveness of this approach prevented scholars from recognising the local approaches to material of the past (Kreps 2003: x). However, recent studies show increasing 'liberation' from conventional Western approaches (e.g. Jones 2006; Smith 2006; Kreps 2003; Start 1999: 52-59; Karp & Lavine 1991) as local contexts, communities and cultures are gradually brought to the foreground.

3.2.2 The Classical past as cultural heritage

Recognising material of the past as cultural heritage is very much contingent on the sense of attachment and belonging to that past. The Roman architect Vitruvius (30 BC - 40 AD) regarded the architectural heritage of Rome as a reflection of his nation's achievements in all levels, and thus a heritage that expressed this culture. In Vitruvius' (1931, I: 5) words: "with respect to the future, you have such regard to public and private buildings, that they will correspond to the grandeur of our history, and will be a memorial to future ages". In this sense, the material culture of Rome reflected the glory of the past and established a link between the past, the present and the future.

Vitruvius' sense of pride and attachment to the material of the past in Rome is evident in his acknowledgment of Roman cultural heritage as a source of his own achievement in architecture (Vitruvius 1995, II: 77). This attachment is influenced by the sense of belonging to the people and the culture that produced the past. This sense of attachment to the past is also evident in Pliny's work, where attachment is derived from a sense of ownership of the past and the message of power and dominance this past conveyed. Pliny (1963, XXXVI: 79, 81) stated that: "this is indeed the moment for us to pass on to the wonders of *our own city*, to review the resources derived from the experience of 800 years, and to show that here too, *in our buildings* we have vanquished the world" (emphasis added). Therefore, the senses of belonging,

attachment, ownership and pride activated material of the past and facilitated its being interwoven with the contemporary contexts of Vitruvius and Pliny.

3.2.3 The Classical past in a new context

The approach to Classical material of the past, discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, changed after Christianity was introduced to the Classical cultures. After the fourth century AD the Classical past was largely targeted for demolition as it conflicted with the new religion. Interestingly, many Classical temples were altered and reused for new purposes to serve Christianity (Fletcher 1982: 259). However, common practice was to use Classical buildings as quarries in order to save material and time, and accelerate new Christian projects in art and architecture (Infranco 1998: 7; Cleere 1989b: 6). At the same time, there were attempts to revive the Classical cultures as a source of inspiration and reference for the new culture and way of life (Fitch 1982: 13). This can be seen in Roman codes and laws that were formulated after the Empire tolerated and gradually embraced Christianity from 313 AD. The *Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitution* documented the Law of Rome in the time between 313 AD and 438 AD. The Code, edited and translated by Clyde Pharr in 1952, demonstrated different measures to protect the Classical material of the past. For example, penalties against those who stole or vandalised monuments or tombs were declared (Theodosianus 1952: 239). Furthermore, officers were designated to inspect monuments regularly and to report the necessary levels of interventions needed to preserve the Classical material of the past (Theodosianus 1952: 242). This Law demonstrates recognition of the importance of the past and its material even in contexts where culture was going through fundamental changes.

Interest in the Classical past and its material increased during the Renaissance period (1450-1600). This period was influenced by strong feelings of attachment and belonging to the Classical past. The sense of being 'rooted' in Classical cultures evoked the enthusiastic adoption of Classical architecture across Europe: studies that focused on the documentation of Classical architecture dominated scholars' approaches towards the past. Consequently, Renaissance architecture in Europe, especially in Italy, was directly inspired by the Classical architecture (Marijnis 1996: 277). According to Cleere (1989b: 7) the Renaissance approach to the Classical

past is the “basic philosophical tenet [that] is now widely accepted in many countries of the world, and it underlies much modern heritage management”. Thus, material of the past in these countries is conserved according to art historical ideas of beauty and authenticity that are explained below.

The Renaissance scholars, in particular architects and art historians, such as Alberti (1404-1472) and Filarete (1400-1469/70), demonstrated strong attachment to the Classical material of the past that was evident in their perception of it as having a life cycle: a birth, a life and a death (Jokilehto 1999: 27). This perception was reflected in practices concerned with conserving material of the past during the Renaissance period, and accordingly, every care was made to preserve this ‘life’ by treating the causes of its deterioration. Time in these practices was perceived as a whole, with no past, no present and no future: just one complete entity of time and one integral life of the monument that had to be preserved. According to the art history principles that prevailed during the Renaissance period, intrinsic values of material culture, in particular aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity, were considered the basic source of significance in material of the past (Mason 2002: 19).

Therefore, practices concerned with material of the past during the Renaissance period were inspired by, and based on, a sense of cultural as well as emotional attachment to that past. However, these practices have been interpreted by modern scholars (e.g. Vaccaro 1996a: 203) as an attempt to eliminate signs of the past and to present the material of the past as new. This argument suggests that suppression of the signs of the passage of time, which Renaissance architects and art historians practiced to preserve the ‘life’ of monuments, resulted in a sharp distinction between the present and the past among modern scholars. This approach was consolidated over time, and contributed to archaeological theories and practices that developed in the West, in which a sharp line was drawn between the past and the present.

3.3 Modern approaches to material of the past

The modern perception of material of the past was influenced by art historical canonical ideas of aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity. Application of the notion of authenticity in the perception of archaeological sites, developed by the German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his book *History of Ancient*

Art (1764), was fundamentally inspired by ideas of originality and age. Accordingly, practices concerned with material of the past were designed to conserve the original state of the 'non-renewable' material of the past. From this viewpoint, the historical legitimacy of material culture is derived directly from authenticity, and therefore, historical and architectural documentation was prioritised above any level of intervention in material of the past (Killebrew & Lehmann 1999: 4; Jokilehto 1994: 3, 10; Fitch 1982: 14). Such perceptions became the universal ethics of conservation in the West and many other contexts of the world, as will be explained in chapter 4.

Inspired by the principles of the art history approach that were based on aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity, archaeologists in Europe started to develop the concept of significance of material of the past with special interest in intrinsic values. This emphasis on intrinsic values left little room for the influence of contexts, cultures and human perception (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 712). In light of this approach, different people in different contexts perceive certain material of the past exactly in the same way, as their perception is derived from the same intrinsic values of material of the past (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 712). According to this approach, archaeological sites in different contexts were perceived and evaluated in the same way. This perception of significance as being dependent on the intrinsic values underlies the notion of universality and generality of conventional approaches to material of the past developed in the 20th century (see chapter 4).

A remarkable development in the notion of significance is demonstrated in the interest in assigned values. Instead of relying solely on intrinsic values, scholars started to believe that the significance of material of the past lies "in the mind of the observer" (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 712). The implications of this development are discussed in chapter 6 as part of investigating the meaning-making processes of material of the past. Another shift was also evident in the recognition of the influence of people's historic and contemporary contexts in generating meanings for material of the past (e.g. Hodder 1989: 250 ff). The following sections examine these different changes in perceptions of, and approach towards, material of the past, and emphasise the importance of context in initiating and enhancing these changes.

3.3.1 Revisiting the Classical past: Establishing archaeology as a science

The period between 1750 and 1880 in Europe is marked as “the second renaissance of Greek scholarship” (Daniel 1981: 15), as Classical material of the past was revisited, and expeditions were carried out to ‘collect’ Classical antiquities in Europe. The antiquarian image of the past was sustained when the élite’s obsession with acquiring antiquities and touring included not only the Classical World, but also to Egypt and Mesopotamia. Tourism and antiquities were increasingly associated with the élite: the rich, the powerful and the ‘civilised’ in the West. Also, monuments were acknowledged as national heritage in Europe, and organisations concerned with national heritage protection began to be established in England in the beginning of the 18th century (Fielden 1995: 5; Cleere 1989: 54; Dobby 1978: 61). However, as early as 1572, a group of scholars in London had established a society to protect ancient monuments in England (Daniel 1981: 46).

Europe has witnessed accelerated development in science and technology as well as philosophy and history from the 18th century. This dynamic context had a fundamental influence on the way material of the past was perceived and approached (Jokilehto 1999: 47-65). For example, on a practical level, archaeological excavations and levels of interventions in material of the past (mainly archaeological monuments and sites), grew more systematic and scientific (Jokilehto 1999: 53; Daniel 1981: 15-24). On a cognitive level, significant shifts in the perception of the time of the past took place, which influenced the way material of the past was approached. The following discussion investigates these shifts.

The past in the West was perceived, under the influence of the Biblical framework of time, as being limited to a few thousand years: the year 4004 BC marked the emergence of human beings on earth (Greene 2002: 5). It was not until 1841 that the French customs inspector Jacques Boucher de Perthes, who practiced archaeology as a hobby, found evidence that suggested human existence on earth extended into a far remoter past than Biblical studies had suggested. De Perthes’ evidence was based on flint tools found near fossilised animal bones. The interpretation for this state was that the tools were made by humans who were hunting the now fossilised animals (Greene 2002: 27; Renfrew & Bahn 1996: 24; Daniel 1981: 52). Accordingly, the time span of

human existence on earth was suddenly expanded far beyond the Biblical frame. Scholars started to speculate about the age of humanity and the possibility of having a prehistory of human kind. The new time span of the human existence on earth was organised into three ages: Stone, Bronze and Iron (the Three Age System), which was introduced into archaeology by the Danish scholar C.J. Thompson (Greene 2002: 21-23; Renfrew & Bahn 1996: 25; Daniel 1981: 58-59). This new perception of time among scholars allowed for a more flexible approach to the past that was reflected in the archaeological theories and practices discussed below.

3.3.2 The culture-history approach vs. the evolutionary approach: Defining the 'self' through material of the past

As soon as the remote past of human kind was realised, the fascination with its prehistory started. From the middle of the 19th century, archaeological work focused on describing the changes that took place in prehistoric Europe and to anchor the current peoples of Europe to their presumed prehistoric ancestors. One of the earliest adherents of this approach was the German prehistorian and philologist Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). The main theme of Kossinna's studies was to identify the different ethnic groups of prehistoric Europe using the material culture of the past – specifically portable artefacts such as pottery shards. Every group of artefacts that shared similar characteristics and were consistently found together was identified as an archaeological culture that represented a certain people. Kossinna linked these archaeological cultures with the people who lived in Europe during prehistory. Any changes in artefacts were attributed to differences in people's intrinsic characteristics and ethnicity (Greene 2002: 239-240; Trigger 1989: 163-165; Daniel 1981: 151). Thus different artefacts indicated different people. Using this archaeological-anthropological approach, Kossinna distinguished the different ethnic groups of Europe according to the characteristics of the artefacts. This method of organising artefacts into groups that reflect different cultures and different people is known as the culture-history approach, and it relied intensively on describing cultures and establishing chronologies on the basis of material of the past (Greene 2002: 23; Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 30). In this sense, the culture-history approach differentiated people of the past from each other on the basis of their ethnicity, an idea that was to resonate later with Nazi ideology and its emphasis on German racial purity and

cultural superiority over others (Trigger 1989: 163-165). Using Kossinna's approach to the past to enhance the Nazi ideology is perhaps the most prominent case of political and national use of archaeology in modern history.

The culture-history approach to archaeology took another trajectory in Britain. In contrast to Germany, scholars in Britain had accepted the fact that their land had been invaded by other nations since early times. Thus, changes in artefacts were interpreted on the basis of migration and diffusion with other people rather than on a racial basis (Greene 2002: 239-240; Trigger 1989: 163-165). Among the scholars who contributed to this shift in the culture-history approach was the British (Australian born) archaeologist Vere Gordon Childe (1892-1957). Childe (1954: 29) acknowledged the interaction with the 'cradle of civilisation'; the ancient cultures that were established in Mesopotamia and the Near East, as the main source of cultural development in prehistoric Europe. Childe (1965: 56) also enhanced the perception of cultural changes by employing the notions of society, economics and politics to justify cultural changes and developments in prehistoric Europe. Anchoring the ancient cultures in Europe to those in the Near East was the subject of many studies in the beginning of the 20th century. For example, Grafton Smith Elliot (1871-1937) wrote a series of books in the first half of the 20th century to prove that it was through the interaction with the ancient culture in Egypt that Europe was able to establish its own civilisation (Daniel 1981: 149).

The concepts of diffusion and migration, and their role in establishing cultures, contradicted the concept of cultural evolution. Cultural evolution is derived from the theory of organic evolution and natural selection that was developed by the English naturalist Charles Darwin during the middle of the 19th century. Darwin's theory found resonance among archaeologists who were inspired by the theory of species evolution to establish typologies for material culture of the past, mainly pottery (Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 2; Daniel 1981: 113). The application of the evolutionary approach to material of the past was also influenced by the 18th century European Enlightenment and its view of development as being intrinsic to the nature of human beings, leading to gradual and linear progress in all aspects of life (Greene 2002: 31; Trigger 1984: 365).

On the basis of evolutionary theory, the notion of culture was identified in anthropological and archaeological studies on the basis of material development. Anthropologists such as Edward Tylor (1832-1917) in Britain, and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) in the USA, argued that human societies went through three stages of cultural development: savagery, barbarism and civilisation (Trigger 1989: 100). Darwin's evolutionary theory was brought into archaeology by Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913), a wealthy banker, politician and antiquary, through his book *Prehistoric Times* (1865). In Lubbock's argument, the evolution of material culture in Europe implied biological and cultural superiority over nations in other parts of the world who maintained their prehistoric primitivism (Trigger 1989: 115-116). Lubbock's observation of the 'self' as being superior to the 'other' found deep resonance in the growing industrial society of Britain in the period between 1865 and 1913: British society was witnessing economic and political power that made Lubbock's image of the 'self' and the 'other' popular among lay people in Britain (Carman 1993: 43). In this context of economic prosperity, by the 1870s interest in Britain's past as part of the national identity was established among lay people as well as scholars (Hudson 1981: 53). Accordingly, by the end of the 19th century in Britain, the past was integrated within the 'sense of individual' as well as national identity.

Equipped with this notion of European superiority, Britain communicated with other contexts in the world through modern colonialism which began after the First World War. Trigger (1981: 142) observes the influence that the evolutionary approach had on shaping the concept of colonialism as follows: "the study of evolution was ... often seen as providing proof of the inexorable tendency for European culture to advance on its own initiative and for cultures elsewhere either to develop more slowly or to remain static. Cultural evolution therefore had the potential to become a doctrine of European pre-dominance".

Using material of the past to sustain the sense of belonging to a certain people or identity is identified by Trigger (1984: 356) as nationalist archaeology. Archaeology as a national heritage was first recognised in Britain in the Ancient Monument Protection Act. Unsurprisingly, the Act was initiated by John Lubbock and signed in 1882. By this Act, archaeology was managed under the authority of the state to be conserved as a national heritage (Cleere 1989: 54). The Act was signed in a context

that was characterised by science and industrial development. In order to justify archaeology in such a context, it had to be acknowledged, together with the practices associated with it, specifically conservation, as a 'pure', objective science. This status of archaeology was sustained by the appointment of General Augustus Pitt Rivers as the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Britain (Hodder 1993: 12). Pitt Rivers' interest in systematic excavation and specialised reports (Daniel 1982: 77) reflected the scientific context that underpinned archaeology during the second half of the 19th century.

In this scientifically influenced context, very little concern, if at all, was paid to the human dimension in studies concerned with material of the past. This may explain why the Ancient Monument Protection Act did not include historic buildings that were in use. Inclusion of such buildings in the Act implied direct interaction with their residents. It was not until the issue of the Town and Planning Act in 1932 that buildings, which were still in use, were allowed to be designated as national heritage as well (Cleere 1989: 55). Thus, in Britain by 1932, buildings of the past, whether they were in use or not, were acknowledged as national heritage. This inclusion of the recent past is a result of developments in the Acts that reflected shifts in different contexts of life in Britain.

3.3.3 Restoration vs. conservation: Function vs. romanticism

Theoretical approaches to material of the past in the West, such as the culture-history and the evolutionary approaches, were accompanied by developments in practical approaches, especially with regard to historic buildings and archaeological sites. These practices varied according to the prevailing philosophies. For example, in England during the 19th century, John Ruskin, an architect and theorist, developed his approach to historic buildings and archaeological monuments in a context dominated by a high appreciation of the picturesque and ruins (Jokilehto 1999: 156). Ruskin, in his books *Seven lamps in architecture* (1849) and *The Bible of Amiens* (1908) followed a romantic approach to the past that valued a minimum level of intervention in conservation. His work argued that any intervention in historical buildings and archaeological monuments should be minimised in order to avoid jeopardising "the soul of the building" (Ruskin 1996: 322-323). Accordingly, restoration in this context

was viewed as an unfavourable practice that often left historical buildings and archaeological monuments at an “arbitrary point” that belonged neither to the past nor to the present (Mason & Shacklock 1995: 14; Philippot 1972: 368). This perception of restoration resulted in Ruskin’s establishment of the Anti-restoration School in 1852 (Mason & Shacklock 1995: 9). Following the notion of authenticity discussed above, the School recommended a minimum level of intervention using materials and techniques that complemented the original ones in order to conserve the authenticity of historic buildings and archaeological monuments (Brandi 1996a: 231, 232, 1996b: 341; Mason & Shacklock 1995: 14; Jokilehto 1988: 273; Philippot 1972: 376). The influence of Ruskin’s anti-restoration approach is evident in some of the UNESCO documents concerned with cultural heritage that are discussed in chapter 4.

The anti-restoration approach was diametrically opposed to the approach developed by the French architect Viollet le Duc. In 1840 le Duc called for an intervention in historic building that aimed “neither to maintain it, nor to repair it, nor to rebuild it; it means to re-establish it in a *finished state*, which may in fact never have *actually existed at any time*” (le Duc 1996: 314; emphasis added). This approach is known as the Restoration Movement. Although such a level of intervention caused fundamental changes in historical buildings and archaeological remains (Daifuku 1968: 24), it helped to protect many buildings and monuments that would have been demolished if they had not been restored (Vaccaro 1996b: 312).

The restoration approach gradually developed in the particular social and political context of the 18th century France. In this context, the new republican government in France, which came into authority after the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789, selected certain historic buildings to be conserved and/or converted into public museums. For example, the Louvre palace, emptied from its noble residents, was reused as a museum. The past, therefore, began to be identified as public property and national heritage. The main motive for this approach was to legitimise the new republic and to identify it in opposition to the previous monarchical regime (Smith 2006: 18; Howard 2003: 33, 41).

Inspired by the French Revolution, and its principles of social equity; public and governmental interest in the past and its material increased. As early as 1834,

scholarly and governmental efforts were made to raise public awareness of the importance of material of the past in many parts of Europe (Erder 1986: 130). Archaeology in this context was no longer a practice that was only associated with the élite; instead material of the past was identified as public property. It is possible to suggest that this context influenced le Duc's approach to historic buildings as something that could be recreated to serve people. Although restoration, as le Duc identified it, jeopardised authenticity in historic buildings, it anchored these buildings to contemporary life by altering them to serve certain functions.

The contradiction between the restoration and the anti-restoration approaches reflected different philosophies and contexts. While le Duc understood that as long as historical buildings still existed they had to be functional and to look integral, Ruskin argued that these buildings "are not ours" and they must be left to get old and deteriorate as all things in life do (Ruskin 1996: 323). While le Duc maintained a functional approach that valued integrity and the present-day value, Ruskin applied the romantic thought that valued the picturesque and ruins over function and integrity.

By the end of the 19th century, most governments in Europe increasingly considered material of the past as a source of national pride (Killebrew & Lehmann 1999: 4; Infranco 1998: 9-10). The past was established as public property, and Antiquities Acts, as seen in Britain above, were formulated to protect heritage. This national interest in the past was believed to rectify the gap between past and present (Philippot 1972: 367). However, because of the dominance of art history canons on practical approaches to material of the past, only historic buildings with specific characteristics were selected to be protected. This selectivity implied excluding 'unimportant' pasts and acknowledging others as being national heritage.

3.4 Approaches to material of the past in the New World

The absence of Classical remains in the New World encouraged the USA to 'create' its own 'heritage' after its independence from Great Britain in 1776. While most of Europe boasted the Classical past as its heritage and associated it with its national identity, the USA developed a growing interest in the natural resources and historic events that were closely associated with the European invasion of the New World as a

national heritage (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 707-708). Heritage protection movements started in the USA as a public effort to preserve places and commemorate events closely related to American history. The campaign carried out by Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, to protect the house of George Washington in 1858, is one of the first examples of modern and organised cultural heritage protection in North America (McGimsey III & Davis 1984: 116; King *et al.* 1977: 13).

The first governmental act relevant to heritage protection was issued in 1906. This Federal Antiquities Act identified the Government as the only agent responsible for the protection of cultural and natural resources in the USA. A more active public control over, and involvement in, cultural and natural resources was developed when the National Park Service was established in 1916 (McGimsey III & Davis 1984: 118). However, public involvement in cultural heritage was not recognised until the late 1970s, when, capitalising on his experience in the National Park Service, Tilden (1977) developed the concept of interpretation of cultural heritage as a process based on active engagement with the material of the past by the public. In his book *Interpreting Our Heritage* that was first issued in 1957, Tilden (1977: 8) defines interpretation as “*an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information*” (original emphasis). Archaeology, in this sense, goes beyond the point of scientific information towards a realisation of the spiritual meanings and the “soul of things” (Tilden 1977: 3).

Although this concept of interpretation evolved and developed in a context that was highly influenced by the New Archaeology (discussed in section 3.4.3 below) where very little concern, if at all, was paid to the human dimension, it was crystallised in the interpretive archaeology that developed as a reaction against the New Archaeology (interpretive archaeology is discussed in section 3.5 below). The following sections investigate the contexts in which the different approaches to material of the past in the USA evolved and developed.

3.4.1 Marginalising indigenous people

The confrontation between the early American archaeologists and the present and past cultures of the indigenous people of America began in the first half of the 19th century. Investigations of the archaeological mounds in Mississippi and Ohio adopted the culture-history approach to describe cultural changes among indigenous Americans (King *et al.* 1977: 12), as theories of migration and diffusion were adopted to answer questions to who built the ancient advanced cultures in North America. According to the culture-history approach, the advanced cultures in North America were developed by people who came from outside the continent such as the Vikings, the Irish and the Israelites (Trigger & Glover 1981: 136; Trigger 1981: 148, 49; King *et al.* 1977: 12). Therefore, Western scholars saw that it was 'outsiders' rather than indigenous Americans who established the ancient advanced cultures in North America.

This explanation resonated with the European invasion of the continent (King *et al.* 1977: 12). It justified the invasion as something that had occurred before, and that brought culture and prosperity to people and the land of America. The indigenous people, through this explanation, were viewed as being passive receivers of other cultures, and also as being responsible for the destruction of these cultures (Trigger 1984: 360-362). A very similar approach to the indigenous people and ancient cultures that existed in the colonies was conducted by the Europeans. Archaeology in the colonies is examined in section 3.6 of this chapter.

3.4.2 Emphasising the environment

The culture-history approach depended on artefacts of the past to explain changes and developments in ancient cultures in the USA. The environment was not thought relevant to these explanations as it was considered to be merely operating as a passive background in which changes occurred (Hodder 1982a: 4). However, the approach to material of the past was directly influenced by changes in all contexts of life after the Second World War. In a context of growing economic recovery and scientific advancement that distinguished the aftermath of the Second World War in the USA, changes and development in ancient cultures began to be explained on the basis of technology and environment rather than changes in artefacts types (Trigger 1989: 293,

294). This approach allowed scholars to recognise the wider context of material of the past as well as the dynamic interaction between people of the past and the environment. This interaction was employed to describe changes in ancient cultures.

Accordingly, the human factor of the past was brought into the foreground. Exploring technologies as well as organisations, which people of the past believed to develop in order to establish their cultures, were an inextricable part of the new approach to material of the past that developed after the Second World War. Archaeology in this sense was established as a multidisciplinary subject. The pioneering scholars of this approach were Julian Steward (1902-1972) in the USA and Grahame Clark (1907-1995) in Britain (Greene 2002: 184; Renfrew & Bahn 1996: 35). Clark (1983) in his book *The Identity of Man* expands his interest in the environment to investigate development in humanity as a result of difference and diversity in the environment. Clark's concept of diversity as being essentially important for life was drawn on by a totally different approach to archaeology: the postprocessual archaeology (e.g. Hodder 1984b: 67) that is explained in section 3.5 of this chapter.

Instead of identifying culture in terms of archaeological artefacts, the environmental approach to archaeology recognised culture as an adaptive mechanism to the surrounding environment. Culture, in this sense, was emphasised as a process and as a system and subsystems (e.g. White 1975). Equipped with science and inspired by the intellectual movements of modernity in the 1960s, the new approach to archaeology was called the New Archaeology or processual archaeology (Greene 2002: 258; King *et al.* 1977: 27). Using systematic analysis and a hypothetic deductive approach to investigate material of the past (King *et al.* 1977: 27), the New Archaeology aimed at formulating hypotheses, and constructing models about the past and its material (Renfrew & Bahn 1996: 37; Greene 2002: 183).

The New Archaeology was epitomised and encapsulated in the writings of Lewis Binford, for example, *Archaeology as Anthropology* (1962) and *New Perspectives in Archaeology* (1968). Binford's (1962: 224) arguments considered the culture-history approach as 'naïve' because of its lack of reliance on science, and therefore called for more serious theories to explain material of the past. His main suggestion was to establish "a systematic framework of reference" (Binford 1962: 217) that would

enable archaeological data to produce a 'reliable', objective and general answer to the issues raised by the past and its material (Binford 1965: 218-219). To achieve reliability in archaeology, Binford (1983: 194) formulated a theory called the Middle Range Theory to look for regularities in the socio-cultural contexts of the past. Ethnographic and historical observations were to be continuously tested in order to "get answers to questions such as 'What does it mean?' and 'What was it like?'" (Binford 1983: 194). This systematic and scientific archaeology was assumed to "situate human individuals and societies within the material world" (Binford 1983: 4). Within this perception, only scientific and objective archaeology could be used to explain human development and cultures. Any other alternatives were rejected for being unreliable and subjective.

While Binford understood material of the past as being a result of interaction between people and their environment, the British archaeologist David Clarke (1968: 659) perceived it as an independent entity that carried information about its context. In Clarke's (1968: 659) words: "material and non-material culture ... represent the information carried within sociocultural systems, partly replacing instinctive behaviour in man". This perception of material culture marginalised the process of interaction between people and the environment, and the role of this interaction in initiating and developing culture.

As well as marginalising the process of interaction between people and the environment, the New Archaeology was described as being "biased towards economic and materialist explanations for culture change" (King *et al.* 1977: 27), with hardly any interest in the cognitive aspects of life in the past. It was initially designed to use archaeological information to test hypotheses and "to establish *universal generalizations* about human behavior that would be of particular value in modern society" (Trigger 1984: 366; emphasis added). This emphasis on generalising issues concerned with material of the past and establishing a universal approach to archaeology was identified by Trigger (1984: 367-368) as imperialist archaeology. However, despite its tendency to generalisation, the New Archaeology widened the scope of archaeology from classification and categorisation of artefacts into a more inclusive context that dealt with environmental and technical issues (Adovasio & Carlisle 1988: 75).

While the above investigates the scientific context in which the New Archaeology developed, the following section examines the social and political contexts that resulted in the development of Cultural Resources Management (CRM) as an approach to identify, evaluate and conserve archaeological sites, which is now widely applied in other contexts in the world. At present, the practical application of CRM usually includes: a statement of significance: an identification and evaluation of the different assigned and intrinsic values of the cultural resources in question, and a conservation plan. The latter usually comprises a plan of action that is based on the evaluation of the physical state of the cultural resources in question, and that specifies the levels of intervention needed. Other plans, for example, visitor management, interpretation, and education may also be prepared. As will be explored in chapter 7, significance statement and conservation plans are inextricably linked to political and economic agendas of governments. In order to allow communities a full part in the management of sites this usual practical application needs to be modified.

3.4.3 The general context of the New Archaeology

The context in which the New Archaeology emerged was characterised by prosperity in almost all material aspects of life among the white people of the USA (King *et al.* 1977: 22-23). Archaeology was directly affected by urban expansion. Thus, archaeologists were compelled, under the heavy pressure of construction projects, to practice so-called salvage excavations. In these excavations, the sites where urban development was to take place were excavated by archaeologists, and the findings were removed into another place to be protected (Renfrew & Bahn 1996: 37; King *et al.* 1977: 23). This context of rapid urban expansion and development resulted in an explicit concern with the “cultural environments, both built and natural” (Lipe 1984: 1; see also Murtagh 1988: 62), and debates developed not only among archaeologists but also in the Government and among lay people of the USA about the environment and material of the past. In this context, archaeologists were so fully occupied with salvage excavation that very little attention was paid to preservation or any other issues concerned with material of the past. However, New Archaeologists refused to participate in salvage excavation and focused on ‘pure’ research, without practical engagement with the jeopardised archaeological record (King *et al.* 1977: 24, 28).

In this context of growing interest in the natural and built environment in the USA, relevant governmental legislations and policies were developed (Smith 1994: 302; Adovasio & Carlisle 1988: 75). The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 resulted in establishing the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). As it was drafted by architects and art historians, the art history canons dominated the Act. This artistic and architectural outlook persisted despite the passing, in 1980, of an amended Act (McGimsey III & Davis 1984: 120). Thus, the concept of value and significance of material culture was deeply influenced by the notions of monumentality, authenticity and aestheticism, which, in their turn, influenced the decision of what was identifiable as cultural heritage. In this regard, cultural heritage sites were identified as being beautiful, monumental and authentic. Considerable shifts in the concept of significance from being based on monumentality, authenticity and aestheticism, to more dynamic and inclusive perceptions of what makes cultural heritage significant, are demonstrated in two of the UNESCO documents concerned with material of the past: the Burra Charter and the Nara Document, which are discussed in section 4.8 and 4.9 of chapter 4.

Despite the interest in monumentality, authenticity and aestheticism that is demonstrated in the 1966 Act, an explicit concern about the environment was demonstrated in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. The Act suggested an environmental approach in perceiving material of the past (Adovasio & Carlisle 1988: 75), which took into account the influence of development projects on cultural aspects of social life. It called for the formulation of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which was concerned with the impact of urban expansion and development projects on the social and built environment (King *et al.* 1977: 8). As a mechanism for the assessment of the impact of the development projects on the environment, the EIS suggested conducting archaeological surveys before the launch of any urban development project.

However, because of the lack of concern regarding archaeological sites among those in charge of the urban development projects, the EIS did not succeed, and there was a need for formulating an act to ensure archaeological survey took place before implementation of any development projects (King *et al.* 1977: 34). Consequently, the

Executive Order 11593 was introduced with a particular focus on the preparation of inventories of archaeological and historic sites, and the suggestion of suitable protection policies for these sites (Murtagh 1988: 167-177; McGimsey III & Davis 1984: 119; King *et al.* 1977: 37). The influence of the Executive Order 11593 on practices concerned with material of the past in the USA is evident in the evolution and development of the Cultural Resources Management programme that is discussed in section 3.4.5 of this chapter.

The interest in data that can be obtained from material of the past was demonstrated in the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act (AHPA) issued in 1974. The Act enabled the agencies involved in development projects to have access to archaeological material and to recover data from it (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 709). Data, rather than the physical remains, were the main focus of this Act (King *et al.* 1977: 48). Therefore, in agreement with the New Archaeology, the above Act consolidated the notion of archaeology as an objective science where subjective aspects are marginalised. Gradually, through the Acts and policies, archaeology was increasingly recognised as public property that needed management. The notion of management was incorporated into archaeology, and the concept of Cultural Resources Management (CRM) evolved.

3.4.4 The social context of the New Archaeology

Equally important to the scientific context and legislations that influenced the approach to material of the past was the social context. In 1950s and 1960s, the notion of public welfare started to shape a valid legal base for legislation in the USA (McGimsey III & Davis 1984: 119-120; Tainter & Lucas 1983: 711; King *et al.* 1977: 28). Instead of defining cultural heritage on the basis of its relevance to historic events and people, new values of cultural heritage were recognised. The role that local communities and the environment play in creation and enhancement of values of cultural heritage was acknowledged. Therefore, anything that added to a community's character, and the visual quality of a neighbourhood, was increasingly recognised and valued (King *et al.* 1977: 34). The different classifications of values of cultural heritage are examined in chapter 6, section 6.3.2.

Beside this interest in the living environment, the socio-political context of the 1960s was influenced by the human rights movements. These movements not only influenced the way indigenous people perceived themselves and their cultural heritage, but also challenged the conventional perception of monumentality and authenticity. Marginalised peoples, such as African-Americans and indigenous Americans, were increasingly fighting for their rights. This context of struggle evoked their sense of identity and the importance of their past.

The Civil Rights Movement in the USA was launched to secure the social equality of African Americans and other suppressed groups (Weyeneth 1995: 2). At the same time and for the same reasons, the Aboriginal Land Right Movement was established in Australia (Smith 1993: 57, 58). Although these movements might seem restricted to certain group of people, such as Black Americans, they influenced many marginalised and suppressed groups in the United States as well as Australia (Weyeneth 1995: 2). In these dynamic social and political contexts of the West, the past was increasingly recognised as a source of pride and identity among the marginalised. Governments started to pay attention to marginalised people and the material culture that represents them (e.g. Anyon & Ferguson 1995: 913; Weyeneth 1995: 4-5; further discussion of social inclusion policies in projects concerned with material of the past is in chapter 5, section 5.6.2). However, by the time these movements took place, the generalisation and utilitarian approach to material of the past of the New Archaeology had marginalised the ancient cultures of North America, as they were considered as irrelevant to the present and future of the USA. This was unacceptable to the indigenous people who sought in the past their cultural identity and their right for better chances in life.

3.4.5 From the New Archaeology to Cultural Resources Management

Under the influence of the New Archaeology, material of the past was perceived as a resource. The word 'resource' reflected a passive image (Hodder 1993: 13), and a utilitarian approach in which material of the past was perceived "as a resource to be quantified, assessed and exploited" (Emerick 2003: 237). Influenced by the New Archaeology's generalised and utilitarian approach, scholars (e.g. de la Torre & Mac Lean 1997: 8; Sullivan 1997: 16; Lipe 1984: 1ff) defined and evaluated material of

the past as a resource that has a potential to be used and consumed. This perception resulted in the definition and evaluation of material of the past on the basis of scholars' understanding and interpretation, and the marginalisation of lay people's approach towards, and involvement with, this material.

Archaeology, in the context of the New Archaeology approach, was perceived as a universal science such as maths and medicine, with an authority and power that is confined to those who have access to this science: mainly archaeologists (Smith 1993: 64-65). Any other approach to material of the past was rejected. For example the ways in which local communities and indigenous people perceived and approached material of the past were considered, in the New Archaeology terms, as being non-scientific, and therefore not worthy of attention (Smith 1993: 64-65). A member of the local community in North America observed that archaeologists approached the past in his village with one concern in mind: to develop a common approach to intervene in all archaeological sites and the artefacts found in them (Anawak 1996: 650). Anawak (1996: 650) remarked that archaeologists rarely paid any attention to local communities' perceptions of these sites.

Therefore, in the New Archaeology, material of the past is perceived as a scientific property that needs to be managed. The debates among archaeologists and governmental agencies over heritage preservation and salvage excavations resulted in developing processes and strategies that aimed to monitor archaeological sites. Different terms were used to describe these processes. "Sometimes [they are] referred to as archaeological resources, and often identified by the term 'archaeological heritage management' (or 'cultural resources management', or simply 'heritage management')" (Smith 1993: 55). As explained above, this scientific approach did not acknowledge local perceptions and knowledge of the past and its material. Consequently, "there developed two heritage management titles (with slight variations) that represented two ways of perceiving the past: *Cultural Resources Management and Cultural Heritage Management, the latter coined to reflect the belief that heritage included the tangible and intangible*" (Emerick 2003: 237; emphasis added).

CRM is initially a process of identification, evaluation, and intervention to preserve material of the past (Smith 1994: 302, 1993: 56; Cleere 1984b: 126). Although the context in which CRM was initiated was governed by the New Archaeology theory with its scientific approach, the development of CRM was influenced by a specific emphasis on archaeology as a public resource. Kudson (1986: 397) captured the evolution and development of CRM as follows:

it is NEPA and other resource planning and management laws, regulations, and programs that are the major impetus behind 'CRM archaeology' (Lipe 1978: 143) and the concept of the *public nature of all resources* that underlies them ... Today and into the future, America's natural, social, and cultural resources are explicitly recognized as *part of the public wealth and their treatment is a matter of public issue* (emphasis added).

CRM is based on establishing conceptual and practical frameworks to identify, evaluate and intervene with, material of the past that is acknowledged as a cultural resource. However, as CRM became increasingly identified as a practical field, "little intellectual space ... for conceiving of heritage as a process which is influenced by, and which in turn influences, archaeological theory and practice" (Smith 1993: 59) was allowed. Gradually, heritage became separated from archaeological theories and practices, and the historical perspective of heritage was increasingly dismantled in favour of tourism (further investigation of heritage and its association with tourism is discussed in chapter 6).

Despite the adverse effects of the generalised and utilitarian approach to material of the past, the New Archaeology is believed to have had a major positive influence that is derived from the scientific authority it bestowed on archaeology since the 1960s (Smith 1994: 303). This power of science helped to institutionalise the concept of CRM, to interweave practical approaches to material of the past with governmental legislations and policies (Smith 1993: 58), and to engage archaeology in cultural and political debates (Smith 1994: 69). Most importantly, the dynamic social and political contexts in which CRM evolved is believed to have expanded the perception of material of the past:

[from] the traditional European model of heritage as a centralized bureaucratic activity whose values pivot on the old, the monumental, connoisseurship, style, and national values ... [into] a newer model ... that acknowledges that heritage is multi-vocal, contested, and difficult.

The latter model incorporates cultural diversity, and works with communities, emphasizes places rather than monuments, and has more in common with environmental conservation than the conservation of works of art (Clark 2000: 38).

This dramatic development in the perception of heritage that Clark describes above can also be seen as a reaction against the ‘rigidity’ of the New Archaeology, and the establishment of a new approach to material of the past. The following section investigates this new approach that is based on rejecting the objectivity and generality in the New Archaeology. Instead, it initiates a more inclusive approach that is based on accepting the diversity of interpretations that material of the past can provide. The motive behind establishing new insights into archaeology to replace the New Archaeology is explained by Ucko (1989c: xi) as follows:

to regard archaeology as somehow constituting the only legitimate ‘scientific’ approach to the past needed re-examination and possibly even rejection. A narrow parochial approach to the past which simply assumes that a linear chronology based on a ‘verifiable’ set of ‘meaningful’ ‘absolute’ dates is the only way to tackle the recording of, and the only way to comprehend the past, completely ignores the complexity of many literate and of many non-literate ‘civilizations’ and cultures.

3.5 Mitigating the New Archaeology: Liberating material of the past

Equipped with the notion that “Archaeology is inappropriate for a rigid positivism” (Hodder 1984b: 67), some archaeologists (e.g. Hodder 1991a, b, c, 1989, 1984a, b; Ucko 1989c; Trigger 1978) reacted against the scientific approach that the New Archaeology offered to the past. The New Archaeology has been under criticism since the late 1970s because of its focus on the “materialist position” (Hodder 1989: 253; Trigger 1978: 12) and purely scientific and experimental approach (Hodder 1984b: 67) that aimed to formulate hypotheses and to generalise their results. Binford’s Middle Range Theory mentioned above, that was designed to produce general archaeological information, was criticised for reducing material culture to “mundane statements about the material constraints of human action” (Hodder 1984b: 67). Arguments about the meanings and the diversity of interpretations, rather than the scientific, testable nature of material of the past, were initiated.

The lack of interest in the intangible aspects of the past, evident in the New Archaeology approach, led to the separation of the functional utility of material

culture from cognitive aspects of life (Hodder 1984b: 67, 1982b: 3-4). The absence of the human dimension and cognitive aspect was also responsible for “denying the significance of culturally specific experiences ... [and therefore] devaluing local cultures” (Trigger 1997: 277). Accordingly, in reaction to the New Archaeology, culture was reintroduced, not in terms of ethnic groups, as in the culture-history approach, or in terms of systems and sub-systems, as in the New Archaeology; instead, culture, in its tangible and intangible aspects, was identified in “social terms” and was approached through people’s perceptions and knowledge (Hodder 1982a: 5). In this sense, material culture was approached as being “highly chunked and contextualized” (Hodder 2003: 172). Thus, culture of the past was viewed as being inextricably linked to the contexts in which it evolved, as well as to the people who established this culture.

Thus, the new approach to archaeology brought context and the human dimension into the foreground. It relied on incorporating a wide range of philosophical approaches into the discipline of archaeology. These approaches, such as neo-Marxism, post-structuralism, post-positivism, hermeneutics or the interpretational approach, and critical theory, are considered as currents of thought that echo postmodernity (Greene 2002: 253; Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 42; Renfrew 1994: 3). They are mainly concerned with exploring meanings, symbols and cognitive aspects of life. The new approach that employs these currents of thought in studies concerned with material of the past is called the postprocessual archaeology or interpretive archaeology. On the one hand, as the first name indicates, the postprocessual archaeology is a reaction against the functional and processual approach of the New Archaeology; and on the other hand, it is an embrace of the postmodernity and the diverse currents of thoughts it offers (Greene 2002: 253; Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 42; Renfrew 1994: 3). Despite the different arguments that the postprocessual archaeology raises, the general aim of this approach is to incorporate symbolic and cognitive aspects of life in the past and the present into archaeological studies in order to produce more diverse and inclusive interpretations of material of the past.

One of the earliest and most influential proponents of the postprocessual archaeology, Ian Hodder, focused on studying the relationship between cultural changes and human behaviour. Hodder (1989: 250ff) argued that material culture is an active element that

is only approachable through its contemporary contexts as well as the environment in which it was created and used. In the postprocessual approach, “*the meaning of material culture often depends on the context of use rather than solely on the context of production or on the ‘author’ [producer]*” (Hodder 1986: 154; emphasis added). As it acknowledges the contemporary context in which material of the past is ‘used’ and approached, this definition brings contemporary contexts to the foreground of archaeological studies. Because of the importance of context in understanding meanings of material culture, Hodder (1982a) developed the ideals of contextual archaeology. In contextual archaeology, the emphasis “is placed on the particular way that general symbolic and structural principles are assembled into coherent sets and integrated into social and ecological strategies” (Hodder 1982a: 217). In this sense, material culture is inseparable from its different contexts as well as human behaviour and thought.

The postprocessual approach is also characterised by stressing the past as being multiple, diverse and contingent (Hodder 1991b: 16, 1989: 262). Therefore, arguments developed in the postprocessual archaeology are believed to “[release] the past into public debates” (Hodder 1991b: 15) by transferring “archaeological knowledge into a more democratic structure” (Hodder 1991b: 9). Furthermore, by encouraging “self-reflexivity and dialogue” in archaeological discourse (Hodder 1991b: 16), the postprocessual archaeology brings the individual, whether prehistoric or modern, into archaeological research (Renfrew 2001: 126). It offers an opportunity to explore the past in a way that can contribute to contemporary issues and debate. Indeed, the dynamism and inclusiveness that postprocessual archaeology provides, offers a more sophisticated theory in archaeology (Trigger 1989: 380).

The current of thought that led towards the postprocessual archaeology was directly influenced by studies conducted in marginalised communities. In demonstrating material culture as symbols that play an active role in society, Hodder (1982a) relied on case studies from deprived, colonial and post-colonial contexts: in particular Kenya, Zambia and the Sudan. Such contexts demonstrate the need for an archaeology that is broader than the New Archaeology, and that is able to be integrated into social science (e.g. Hodder 1982a: 229). The role of marginalised

communities in provoking the need for approaches that are community-based is investigated in chapter 5.

By the time the limitations of the New Archaeology were recognised and the postprocessual archaeology developed, the intangible aspect of culture had been recognised by the United Nations for Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as well as scholars. UNESCO (1982) identified culture as “the whole complex of distinctive *spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features* that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (emphasis added). This definition of culture recognises the tangible and the intangible in material of the past. In this account, culture is more humane and relevant to lay people and ordinary aspects of life, both in the past and the present, than monuments and distinguished achievements.

In its turn, the postprocessual archaeology came under criticism for several reasons. The arbitrary relationship between material culture and symbolic meanings made it easy to consider any interpretation as being valid. In addition, the relativist outlook into material culture offered a reason for refusing the postprocessual approach (Renfrew 1994: 3-4). Mixing archaeology with fiction as ‘anything goes’ in interpretation made archaeology far from being objective and, therefore, scarcely acceptable among New Archaeologists (Renfrew 2001: 123; Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 43, 46). Furthermore, Smith (1993: 69, 70) observes that as the postprocessual approach views archaeology as a self-referential discipline, it declines to identify the institutional power of archaeology, and consequently it fails to establish a relationship with cultural and political bodies, and therefore to have an active role in daily life.

Despite these criticisms, the postprocessual archaeology offers an approach that ‘humanises’ material of the past as it brings the human factor into the foreground. It accepts the diverse interpretations and the different meanings that can be derived from material culture. Therefore, it makes archaeology a more dynamic and inclusive field. The recognition of diversity that postprocessual archaeology is based on encouraged New Archaeologists to recognise the cognitive aspects of the past in their studies. In these studies, material culture is integrated with social, economic and cognitive

processes of culture in order to provide better interpretations (Renfrew 2001: 123, 124; Renfrew & Bahn 2000: 43, 46). The new approach is identified as cognitive-processual archaeology (Renfrew 1994: 3), as it combines the processual tradition of the New Archaeology with the cognitive and the symbolic aspects of culture that the postprocessual approach provides. However, Renfrew (1994: 3) believes that the cognitive-processual approach is a 'new phase' of development in the New Archaeology that takes into consideration the cognitive aspects of culture that early stages of the New Archaeology tended to marginalise.

3.6 Archaeology in the colonies

While the above discusses the development of archaeological theories and practices in the West, the following sections examine how these theories and practices were reflected in approaches to material of the past in Western colonies. The diverse approaches to the past were defined by Trigger (1984: 360-366) as three different types of archaeology: the "nationalist", the "imperialist" and the "colonialist". On the one hand, nationalist and imperialist archaeologies are explained above as ideologies that successively reflect the culture-history and the New Archaeology approaches to the past. Colonialist archaeology, on the other hand, is perceived as being "developed either in countries whose native population was wholly replaced or overwhelmed by European settlement or in ones where Europeans remained politically and economically dominant for a considerable period of time" (Trigger 1984: 360). In this sense, colonialist archaeology is rooted in an unequal encounter of powers that gives the coloniser an unconditional access to colonised pasts and cultures. In contrast to the coloniser, the colonised are perceived as being unable to engage intellectually with the past and its remains. The archaeological theories and practices, as the above accounts demonstrate, marginalised indigenous populations and their pasts in North America and Australia. The indigenous local communities were believed to have little or no emotional or cognitive connection with material of the past.

Despite the different terms that are used to describe the diverse approaches to archaeology, all these approaches are recognised as being closely interconnected (Jones 1997: 5). More importantly, they share "the same essentialist ideological

foundations ... the same notions of superiority and the same strategies of exclusion” (Hamilakis 1996: 977). In this sense, archaeology became a colonial tool that was used to express power, to convey political, cultural and social messages that emphasised the passiveness and ignorance of the colonised and the superiority of the coloniser. In this sense, Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* (1991: 163-164) identifies the approach to material of the past as a colonial tool that offers control over the land and the people of the colonies. In this approach, specific times and contexts of the past in the colonies were selected, highlighted and represented, through countless detailed and illustrated reports and books (Anderson 1991: 181-183). However, the recent past that is relevant to the colonised contemporary cultures and daily life was intentionally neglected and marginalised (Fitch 1982: 17-18) in order to deprive the colonised from their roots in the past.

Using material of the past to express power and superiority has been known since the ancient civilisations. For example, in the civilisations of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Rome, features of many predecessors were eliminated from relief sculptures and replaced by the features of new rulers (Jokilehto 1999: 5; Fletcher 1982: 53). The ancient cultures of Egypt and Iraq were used by some post-colonial governments in these two countries to enhance the sense of national identity (see Bernhardsson 2005; Hassan 1998). For example, in the religiously and ethnically charged context of Iraq, Saddam Hussein saw in the ancient past, rather than the recent Islamic one, a ‘safe’ element to be associated with as a ruler (Bernhardsson 2005: 215-216). Therefore, he established himself as the heir to the kings of ancient civilisations in Iraq (Cruickshank & Vincent 2003: 67), rather than the famous Islamic caliphs who lived in Baghdad during the 7th and 8th century AD. Furthermore, in modern history, the Classical heritage in modern Greece gave its people the power to claim their existence as part of the modern Western world, and to use this power to demand its political and economic support during the First World War (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 119-120). However, some Greeks, in 1924, reacted against governmental decisions that implied using the Classical past for commercial purposes through ‘marketing’ it on an international level (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 120). The Classical past of Greece was considered, by these lay people, as being too sacred to be marketed as a commodity. It was part of their national and cultural identity.

The past was also efficiently used to serve political and national purposes in colonial contexts. For example, archaeology has been used to legitimatise the existence of the State of Israel since 1948. The archaeological site of Masada was used as a tool to activate the Biblical past to provide a “meaningful parable for the modern, besieged State of Israel” (Silberman 1989: 88). Similarly, the archaeological site of Great Zimbabwe was interpreted by 19th century colonisers and travellers as a result of ancient invasion from abroad, such as Phoenician, Arab traders and early civilisations of the Near East (Fontein 2006: 4-8; Ndoro 1994: 617, 619; Trigger 1984: 362). Despite archaeological evidence that proved otherwise, such claims were put into action by rebuilding the main entrance of the ancient site of Great Zimbabwe in 1911 as an open gate: a design that reflected Sabaeen architecture in Yemen, and therefore sustained the colonisers’ claims of previous foreign existence in the country. It was not until independence was gained in 1980 that archaeological evidence was recognised and the gate was rebuilt with a lintel (Matenga 1996: 825; Ndoro 1994: 620), in what is claimed to be a more typical Shona architectural style (Ndoro 1994: 620). This change in the definition and evaluation of the archaeological site of Great Zimbabwe entitled it to be recognised as a national cultural heritage. These practices emphasise the power that resides within archaeological sites, and the use or abuse of this power by colonial authorities.

3.6.1 Establishing the ‘self’ in the West: Inventing the ‘other’ in the Near East

As explained above (section 3.3.2), the modern Western World sought its roots in the ancient civilisations of the Near East, particularly in Iraq and Egypt. The ancient cultures and their material of the past were approached not as being relevant to the contemporary Islamic-Arab culture that has existed in the region since the 7th century AD, but as being the basis of modern European culture (Wengrow 2006: 189, 194; Bahrani 1998: 166). This approach segregated the ancient past of the Near East from contemporary people and culture at that time. The segregation is evident in many forms: for example the invention of the Latin name Mesopotamia and using it to describe the region and the ancient civilisations that existed mainly in Iraq (Bahrani 1998: 165) represented an explicit rejection of contemporary culture, people and place of Iraq. Ironically, the name Mesopotamia is used among local scholars even now as the ‘scientific’ name of the region without raising any questions about it. Similarly,

Egyptology was established with the French invasion of Egypt in 1798 as a science that examined the ancient past of Egypt, with a noticeable marginalisation of the Islamic culture in Egypt (Reid 2002: 131). A visual demonstration of this link that the West established between the ancient civilisations of the Near East and its modern civilisation is illustrated by a relief sculpture that has been in place over the main entrance of the *Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago* since 1931 (figure 3.1). The relief sculpture depicts the transition of civilisation, represented through a hieroglyphic inscription, from an ancient Egyptian, directly to a man of Western features (Larsen 1989: 229-230). The absence of representation of the current civilisation in the Near East from the sculpture is a clear example of the marginalisation of the present people and their culture.



Figure 3.1 The relief sculpture over the entrance of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (adopted from Larsen 1989: 230)

This alienation of colonised people from the past that existed in their land is demonstrated in countless accounts presented by Western scholars and travellers about the Near East. For example, in 1851, in a prize-winning poem of 'Nineveh' (an Assyrian city in Iraq), the English poet Alfred William Hunt (quoted in Wengrow 2006: 192) described the Arab who lived in Iraq as follows:

The Arab knows not, though round him rise
The sepulchres of earth's first monarchies

Similarly, the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli legitimised the modern colonisation of Libya after the First World War by emphasising its Classical Roman past. Moreover, Pascoli found in the Roman existence in Libya a suitable context to emphasise the superiority of the coloniser in the past and the present, and the inferiority of local people. Pascoli words read as follows: “we were there already, we left signs that not even the Berbers, the Bedouins and the Turks could erase” (quoted in Mattingly 1996: 50).

Besides literature, archaeological accounts that Western scholars prepared as part of their expeditions are also rich in the explicit and implicit marginalisation and alienation of local people from the past and its material. For example, Glueck in his book *The River Jordan* (1968: 202) observed great similarity between the inhabitants of Jordan and Biblical characters. However, these people, as Glueck emphasised, were completely ignorant of the Bible’s stories. It is only *through him* that they were able to gain an insight into the Bible. In reading this account, one cannot help to wonder why the Muslim Arabs – Glueck’s subjects in this case – who are believed to be acquainted with the Bible’s characters, mainly through their full awareness of the Quran, the holy book of Islam, showed Glueck very little knowledge of it. Was it a lack of communication between Glueck and the people of Jordan that led him to such a conclusion, or was there a message of Western superiority and Arab inferiority that Glueck wanted to convey through his account? Such questions are not raised among local scholars mainly because the accounts that Glueck provided are taken for granted.

The same notion of superiority is evident in an account presented by the prominent English archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976). Admiring the Classical remains of Balbeck in Lebanon, Wheeler stated that Balbeck is “one of the very great monuments of European architecture ... [but] (for Wheeler’s disappointment) beyond the hills of Anti-Lebanon which rise above it to east begins the sand of Asia and an essentially alien mind” (quoted in Seeden 1994: 102). Not only was Balbeck perceived as being directly connected to the modern Western civilisation, but the local people, the Arabs, were perceived as being alien from the past that existed in and on their land.

Furthermore, the lack of interest in archaeology among local communities in the Arab world was attributed mainly to religious reasons. For example, Trigger (1995: 267) saw that the Arabs failed to develop an interest in material of the past because of its association with *jahilia*: the pre-Islamic life. Such conclusions were fed with accounts delivered by Western travellers in the region during the 18th and 19th centuries (e.g. Conder 1889: 279; Merrill 1881: 273-275; Oliphant 1880: 266-267), who explained the destruction of ancient sculptures found in Classical archaeological sites on the basis of Islam's opposition to sculpture. This point of view is hardly questioned, yet important works (e.g. Hodjat 1995; Cam 2003) were conducted to explore how, if at all, archaeology is rooted in people's cultures and beliefs in Islamic communities. The lack of interest in exploring the Islamic views on archaeology and its material allows for the hard-line interpretations of Islam to dominate the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past, and in some cases to destroy cultural heritage that is closely relevant to Islam (Howden 2005: 1-2).

Besides ignorance, great emphasis was placed on people's concern with treasure hunting as the basis of their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past. This image of local people as being only interested in the financial profit that the past and its material might provide was demonstrated in accounts delivered by the travellers and scholars alike. For example, in a mid 19th century guide book to Egypt, the entrepreneur Karl Baedeker observed that "the Egyptians, it must be remembered, occupy a much lower grade in the scale of civilisation than most of the western nations, and cupidity is one of their chief failings" (Baedeker 1895: xxii; quoted in Reid 2002: 72). Similarly, Glueck (1940: 36) in his book *The Other Side of Jordan* saw that the only way to control local workers' cupidity and to prevent them from "carrying off" the archaeological findings was by offering them money for every artefact they handled.

Under the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire in the Arab world, material of the past was managed as part of the Ministry of Education (Shaw 2003: 24, 85). This position of archaeology implied an important status for the past and its material as they were considered an important part of the educational process, and therefore, the nation's future. However, the Ottoman Law gave the sultans (the Ottoman kings) ultimate power over the past by identifying the state as the owner of antiquities in 1884 (Shaw

2003: 110-111). This power resulted in using material of the past as gifts to reinforce the Ottoman Empire relationship with the European monarchies. For example, the 8th century Islamic palace of Al-Mushatta in Jordan was given to the German Emperor in 1903, and is still exhibited in the Pergamon museum in Berlin to the present day (Shaw 2003: 121-122,129). The practice of extracting material of the past – even that material of the past is normally perceived as ‘immovable’ – from its physical context and transferring it abroad increased during European colonialism. The issue hardly raised any concern even among the most serious and dedicated Western archaeologists at that time. For example Gertrude Bell described in her diary how she used to decide on the artefacts that were to be kept in Iraq and those that were to be transferred to museums abroad by ‘spinning a coin’ (Bernhardsson 2005: 144). Material of the past in the Near East was considered placeless as it could be transferred to any place in the West without raising any debate.

However, assigning archaeology as part of the Ministry of Education in the Ottoman Empire was an uncomfortable situation for the European coloniser. For example, under the British hegemony of Egypt, the Service of Antiquities was designated as part of the Ministry of Public Works (Reid 2002: 135, 175), following the British model. Similarly, in Iraq, the British colonial power showed great interest in, and put great effort into, assigning the Department of Antiquities under the Ministry of Public Works rather than the Ministry of Education, as it was during the Ottoman hegemony (Bernhardsson 2005: 126-127). The interpretation for this could be that Britain wanted to manage archaeology in the colonies the way it was managed in Britain, that is, as part of the Ministry of Public Works (Stone, 11th April 2007, *pers. comm.*). However, another interpretation could be that the British coloniser wanted to avoid the national resentment that resided among the educated people, and therefore, contrary to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Works provided a neutral and convenient context for Western scholars to operate within, where minimum engagement was made with local culture. It seemed that once this context was disturbed by the independence movements and national resentment, colonial archaeologists were hardly able to function in the colonies. For example, after Iraq gained partial independence in 1932, and the Department of Antiquities was once again managed as part of the Ministry of Education, British archaeologists responded by refraining from sending any archaeological expeditions to Iraq at that time, under

the pretext of lack of funding (Bernhardsson 2005: 186). Therefore, it was important for colonial archaeologists to avoid any engagement with local culture in order to be able to operate on the past of the colonies without incurring any resentment.

As demonstrated in Glueck's account, discussed above, local communities' involvement in archaeological practices during colonisation was restricted to their being guides or workers in excavations and surveys conducted by Western scholars. The unequal encounter between the powerful West and the poor and local communities in the colonies can be seen in a photo that was taken by Gertrude Bell, a prominent British female traveller, politician, and the Director of Antiquities in Iraq until 1926. The photo (figure 3.2), illustrates a Western archaeologist and a local worker in an excavation site in Iraq.



Figure 3.2 A Western archaeologist and a local worker in Iraq in 1911 (adopted from <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/>, Album q, photo no. 218)

To conclude, Western scholars identified themselves with the ancient past that existed in the Near East and against contemporary people and their 'living' cultures and pasts. On the one hand there existed educated Westerners who showed great interest in exploring the past, and on the other hand, there existed the 'other', the local people who were completely ignorant of the significance of the past. Colonial archaeology not only separated the past from its local context, but also identified it with the West in a process that contributed to the Western sense of 'self' as being civilised and superior.

3.6.2 Biblical archaeology: Introducing archaeology to colonial contexts in the Near East

Besides interest in the ancient civilisations of the Near East, Western scholars established Biblical archaeology, a discipline in which they identified the material of the past, such as archaeological sites and artefacts, with people, places and events that were mentioned in the Bible (Bernhardsson 2005: 37,155; Shaw 2003: 60-63; Silberman 1989: 231; Masry 1982: 223). Biblical archaeology was mainly a Western reaction against Darwin's theory of evolution and its anti-religious orientation, and Western archaeologists saw in Biblical archaeology a moral mission to respond to challenges raised in the theory of evolution against the Bible (Shaw 2003: 59-60).

Western institutes and 'schools', with a special interest in identifying a link between the Old Testament and the archaeological sites in the region of the Near East, were created. For example "the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was established in London in 1865 with a special interest in investigating the archaeology, geography, geology and natural history of Palestine" (Masry 1982: 223; see also Shaw 2003: 60). The British School for Oriental Research (BASOR), the American School for Oriental Research (ASOR), the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, and the French Dominican Ecole Biblique, were established in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt, with special interest in Biblical archaeology as early as the late 19th century (Silberman 1998: 175, 181).

It was rightly observed by a local scholar from the Arab world that “[Biblical archaeology] plagued the archaeology of the Near East for many years and to some extent is *still with us*” (Masry 1982: 223; emphasis added). In the post-colonial contexts of the Arab world, the influence of Biblical archaeology is evident in the general approach to material of the past that is based on “cataloguing, classifying, collecting and recording [the artefacts], at the expense of interpretation and theory-building” (Insoll 1999: 4). Very little effort is made among local scholars to incorporate other sciences with archaeology. The result is a rigid approach to the past that does not capture people’s interest (Walmsley 2004: 327), largely perhaps because it merely focuses on the buried past and neglects the ‘living’ past.

Recently, interest in Biblical archaeology has begun to decline among Western scholars operating in the region. Silberman (1998: 176) states that ASOR is no longer focusing on ‘pure’ Biblical purposes. Instead “excavations, surveys and detailed studies of ancient technology, agriculture and environment were only occasionally used to illustrate or elucidate specific passages in the biblical text” (Silberman 1998: 176). In the latter part of the 20th century, the interest of the Western archaeological institutes in the Near East started to take another trajectory that reflects the recent developments in archaeological theories and practices: for example, the influence the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR) in Jordan had on establishing the Cultural Resources Management Programme (Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 71) can also be seen as a result of this shift in interest in material of the past (further discussion of the Cultural Resources Management Programme in Jordan is in chapter 7).

To conclude, archaeology as a discipline commenced in the Arab world as a practice conducted by foreigners and colonisers. This practice focused on divorcing the past from its local context and relating it to the West, thus alienating local people from the past, and establishing it as a science that is relevant to the coloniser. Archaeology was introduced to the Arab-Islamic context during a culturally, politically, and socially difficult time as the Ottoman Empire, which had dominated the region since the 16th century, was in its weakest stages when Western scholars and travellers started to operate. In this deprived context, adverse assumptions and interpretations concerned with local people’s knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the past and its material were consolidated in many accounts delivered by Western travellers and scholars. “These

assumptions and co-ordinates of power”, as Hall (2005: 26) emphasises, “are inhabited as natural-given, timeless, true and inevitable” in the post-colonial contexts of the Arab world, and are not questioned by local scholars. The following section explores local scholars’ perceptions of, and approaches to, material of the past in post-colonial contexts.

3.6.3 Archaeology in post-colonial contexts

Cleere (1989: 7) believes that “ex-colonial powers often left their newly independent ex-colonies a legacy of excellent heritage management legislation”. However, this legacy is taken for granted as it is “practiced throughout the world with almost no discussion of how ... [it] came about” (Byrne 1991: 270). As Hall (2005: 26) observes, embracing colonial legacies and representations produces heritage that is “always inflected by the power and authority of those who have colonized the past, whose versions of history matter”. In relation to post-colonial contexts, Byrne (1991: 271-272) raises fundamental questions about the adequacy of applying approaches to material of the past, which resulted from changes and developments in Western contexts – mainly the Enlightenment influence on the mentality of people and their approach to the different subjects, in other contexts that did not experience such changes and developments. This chapter demonstrates that perceptions of, and approaches to, material of the past in the West, evolved and developed in accordance with scientific, political, and social contexts. Therefore, in post-colonial contexts, “heritage practitioners should exercise the utmost caution about the uncritical adoption of recipes from elsewhere, no matter how enticing they may seem, or how appealing the recipe book. In particular, the scale of the proposed measure or policy should be matched with the situation in which it is being applied” (Sullivan 1993: 18). Matching the proposed measures with the situation implies recognising contemporary contexts and cultures and incorporating them with theories and practices concerned with material of the past. Such recognition of the context is not part of the Western legacy that Cleere (1989: 7) positively defined as a source of excellent approaches to material of the past in post-colonial contexts.

Influenced by the increasing recognition of context that the postprocessual archaeology established, Western scholars are increasingly realising that “it is no

longer possible to make the comfortable assumption that non-Western peoples live in a timeless present, that their cultures are inherently unchanging or that such people have willingly assimilated to Western ideas and practices” (Layton 1989a: 8). While Western scholars started to communicate with local people regarding their perceptions of the past and its material on the basis of their culture (e.g. Fontein 2006; Jones 2006; Kreps 2003), local scholars continued to “work within the same parameters and according to the same interpretive models” (Bahrani 1998: 161) established during colonialism. The absolute belief among local scholars that the approach to material of the past is universal, scientific and objective, with no room for alternatives, prevents them from “[explaining] how or if heritage conservation is rooted in national culture [of post-colonial contexts]” (Byrne 1991: 273-274).

In post-colonial contexts that are striving to be identified with the West, local cultures, contexts and people are increasingly marginalised as ‘top-down’ approaches to almost all aspects of life persist (Addison 2004: 246; further discussion of post-colonial contexts is in chapters 4, 5 & 7). In such contexts, most local scholars find it easy to blame local communities for being responsible for, or content with, the destruction of archaeological sites. For example, Henson (1989: 115) emphasises that the “lack of appreciation of the values of cultural resources and general lack of awareness of pertinent legal provisions” is the main cause of destruction and looting of archaeological sites in the Philippines. In addition, Myles (1989: 122) finds it easy to state that “the idea of conservation [in Nigeria] is new, and not many people appreciate the need for it”. While local scholars observe local communities as a hindrance to the universal and scientific approach to material of the past, Western scholars, such as Byrne (1991: 273), observe that people in the developing world “do have an appreciation of their past but they are finding it difficult to develop appropriate mechanisms to implement it, beset, as they are, by outside insistence on the Western model”. Similar appreciation of local communities’ appreciation of the past is recorded by Seeden (1987) during her extensive work in Lebanon. Although Seeden (1987: 5) observes that “the majority of Lebanese, though ignorant about their past, have understood that remnant bits and pieces of a broken up history have market value”, she acknowledges somewhere else that “most Lebanese would defend Baalbek against serious and clandestine destruction” (Seeden 1994: 105), and that one can

capitalise on this empowering sense of pride to protect smaller and less aesthetically impressive sites in Lebanon (Seeden 1994: 105).

The need for the past in post-colonial and deprived contexts has been explained by Norton (1989: 144) as being far more important in deprived contexts as it gives its hungry and disadvantaged people something to be proud of. According to Norton (1989: 145), the past enables those who are deprived of the basic requirements of life to be able to say to those who live in welfare in the West: “look at us! While you were running around naked and painted blue, we were making these lovely bronzes, [and] building great pyramids” (Norton 1989: 144-145). Although this account might represent the past as an empowering material for deprived people, a close investigation reveals that it introduces material of the past as passive assets that hardly have any contribution to contemporary life. As well as reducing material of the past to passive assets, it is still strongly identified with the West despite the termination of colonialism. For example, Ndoro (1994: 620, 621) recognises that the archaeological site of Great Zimbabwe is managed almost the same way it was before the independence:

the local indigenous personnel were only involved peripherally. Most of the research was carried out in England ... the presentation ... did not significantly change with independence. Racial biases persist in the way the monument has been presented. It has been assumed that those who visit are of foreign or have a European connection; the site, unique and mysterious, can only appeal to a curious foreign visitor (Ndoro 1994: 620, 621).

Thus, further exclusion and alienation of local communities and their contexts is practiced in post-colonial contexts by local scholars rather than colonial archaeologists. This alienation is intensified when practices concerned with material of the past are reduced to technical and economic issues, rather than social and political ones, to produce simple and shallow explanations for these practices. For example, in discussing the colonial reconstruction of Great Zimbabwe as an open gate (discussed in section 3.6 above), Matenga (1996: 825) suggests, an extremely positive reading of the situation, that this option was a technical solution to avoid the unpractical solution of using lintels to cover the huge span of the gate. This example emphasises the perception of archaeological interventions, by some scholars, as a science of construction. Such perception deprives approaches to material of the past of

their political and social implications. It also demonstrates the lack of critical engagement with theories and practices concerned with material of the past among local scholars in post-colonial contexts.

3.7 Summary and immediate inferences


This chapter has explored the evolution and development of theories and practices concerned with the past in the West as part of social and political contexts in which they evolved and developed. These contexts transfer material of the past from abstract archaeological sites and artefacts to a process through which the 'self' and the 'other' can be defined. For example, applications of the culture-history approach by Western scholars were harnessed to identify the 'self' as civilised and the 'other' as passive. Such approach to material of the past resonated with the Western colonisation of many parts of the world. It resulted in segregating local communities from the ancient past, which was anchored, in the case of the Near East, to the modern Western cultures. The marginalisation and alienation of local contexts and communities that was established during the colonial period was fostered by local scholars operating in post-colonial contexts.

Approaching material of the past as abstract, general and universal sites and artefacts was initiated through the New Archaeology approach in the 1960s and 1970s. One can theorise that this approach resonated with the new form of colonisation that is based on Western cultural hegemony over the diverse cultures of the world. The principles of the New Archaeology of generalisation and universality was sustained through the UNESCO charters and conventions concerned with material of the past. These charters, and the major shifts they experienced, are the subject of the next chapter.

The data explored in this chapter is used to construct immediate inferences (see chapter 2) in order to help the researcher to construct a suggested model for approaches to material of the past in Jordan. These inferences are given the symbol TPP that indicates the underlined letters Theories and Practices of Material of the Past – the title of this chapter. The data used to construct immediate inferences and the immediate inferences TPP generated in this chapter, are used in chapter 10 together

with other immediate inferences from the coming chapters to help the researcher to construct her suggested approach. The TPP inferences are presented in table 3.1 as follows:

Table 3.1 *Generation of immediate inferences TPP from the data explored in chapter 3*

Serial no.	Description of Data	<div style="text-align: center;"> Generation  </div> Immediate Inferences TPP
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different civilisations had different approaches to their past that stemmed from their local cultures and contexts. For example, ancient Egyptians paid special attention to conserve their temples and tombs as their culture was based on religion and celebrating life after death. • Practices concerned with material of the past during the Renaissance period were inspired by, and based on, the sense of cultural as well as emotional attachment to that past. However, these practices were interpreted by some scholars (e.g. Vaccaro 1996a: 203) as an attempt to eliminate the signs of the past and to present the material of the past as new. This resentment of the signs of the passage of time that Renaissance architects and art-historians emphasised resulted in a sharp distinction between the present and the past among modern scholars. This resentment consolidated over time, and contributed to archaeological theories and practices that developed in the West, where a sharp line was drawn between the past and the present. 	<p>Since early civilisations, people's attitudes towards material of the past have been highly influenced by changes in their contexts, cultures, beliefs and practices. The influence of contexts and the human dimension was obscured by the 'objective' approach that Western scholars have created and adopted, since the Renaissance period, to understand and approach the past.</p>
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Europe has witnessed accelerated development in science and technology as well as philosophy and history since the 18th century. This dynamic context had fundamental influence on the way material of the past was perceived and approached (Jokilehto 1999: 47-65). For example, on the practical level, archaeological excavations and levels of interventions in material of the past, mainly archaeological monuments and sites, grew more systematic and scientific (Daniel 1981: 15-24; Jokilehto 1999: 53). On the cognitive level, significant shifts in the perception of the time of the past took place, which influenced the way material of the past was approached. • The modern Western World sought its roots in the ancient civilisations of the Near East, particularly in Iraq and Egypt. The approach segregated the ancient past of the Near East from contemporary people and culture at that time. The segregation is evident in many forms: for example inventing the Latin name Mesopotamia and using it to describe the region and the ancient civilisations that existed mainly in Iraq (Bahrani 1998: 165) represents an explicit rejection of contemporary culture, people and place of Iraq. 	<p>Western approaches to the past are heavily influenced by Western social, political, economic and cultural contexts. However, these approaches are rarely criticised, and applied indiscriminately in many contexts, especially post-colonial ones. This uncritical approach is facilitated by two factors. Firstly, technical practices concerned with material of the past are applied without acknowledgement of their conceptual frameworks. Secondly, most governments and institutional bodies in post-colonial contexts strive to identify themselves with the West in almost all aspects of life.</p>

	<p>Ironically, the name Mesopotamia is used among local scholars until now as the 'scientific' name of the region without raising any questions about it.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is believed that "ex-colonial powers often left their newly independent ex-colonies a legacy of excellent heritage management legislation" (Cleere 1989: 7). This legacy is taken-for-granted as it is "practiced throughout the world with almost no discussion of how ... [it] came about" (Byrne 1991: 270). As Hall (2005: 26) observes, embracing colonial legacies and representations produces heritage that is "always inflected by the power and authority of those who have colonized the past, whose versions of history matter". • The absolute belief among local scholars that the approach to material of the past is a universal, scientific and objective approach that rarely accepts alternatives, makes them put very little efforts to "explain how or if heritage conservation is rooted in national culture [of post-colonial contexts]" (Byrne 1991: 273-274). 	
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In demonstrating material culture as symbols that play active role in society, Hodder (1982a) relies on case studies from deprived, colonial and post-colonial contexts: particularly Kenya, Zambia and Sudan. Such contexts demonstrate the need for an archaeology that is broader than the New Archaeology, and that is able to integrate into social science (Hodder 1982a: 229). 	<p>'Objective', 'scientific' and 'rigid' approaches to the past shifted towards more dynamic ones when local communities and contexts were recognised and appreciated by Western scholars operating in post-colonial countries.</p>
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beside the interest in the living environment, the socio-political context of the 1960s was heavily influenced with human rights movements. These movements not only influenced the way people perceived their 'Selves' and their cultural heritage, but also challenged the conventional perception of monumentality and authenticity. Marginalised people, such as African-American and indigenous American were increasingly fighting for their rights. This context of struggle evoked their sense of identity and the importance of their past. • The Civil Rights Movement in the USA was launched to secure the social equality of the African Americans and other suppressed groups (Weyeneth 1995: 2). By the same time and for the same reasons, the Aboriginal Land Right Movement was established in Australia (Smith 1993: 57, 58). In these dynamic social and political contexts of the West the past was increasingly recognised as a source of pride and identity among the marginalised. 	<p>In contexts where issues such as identity and local rights were stimulated and disputed, the significance of the past shifted from domination by inherent values (e.g. aesthetic values and authenticity) towards interest in assigned ones (e.g. religious, social and cultural values).</p>
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The interest in the Classical past and its material increased during the Renaissance period (1450-1600). This period was influenced by strong feelings of attachment and belonging to the Classical past. The sense of being 'rooted' in Classical cultures during evoked the enthusiastic adoption of the Classical architecture. Therefore, studies that focused on documenting the Classical architectural remains dominated scholars' attitude towards the past, and Classical architectural vocabularies and designs were an inspiration of the Renaissance architecture in Europe, especially in Italy (Marijinissen 1996: 277). • Using material of the past as an arena to express 	<p>Spiritual and cultural attachment to the classical past guaranteed its continuity in modern Western culture. Greek and Roman classical remains generated power that tended to unify the West.</p>

	<p>power and superiority is known since the ancient civilisations. For example, in the ancient civilisations of Rome, Egypt and Mesopotamia, features of many forebears were eliminated from relief sculptures and replaced by the features of new rulers (Jokilehto 1999: 5; Fletcher 1982: 53). In modern history, the Classical heritage in modern Greece gave its people the power to claim their existence as part of the modern Western world, and to use this power to demand for its political and economic support during the First World War (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 119-120).</p>	
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the different terms that are used to describe the diverse approaches to archaeology, they are recognised as being closely interconnected (Jones 1997: 5). More importantly, they share “the same essentialist ideological foundations . . . the same notions of superiority and the same strategies of exclusion” (Hamilakis 1996: 977). In this sense, archaeology became a colonial tool that was used to express power, to convey political, cultural and social messages that emphasises the passiveness and ignorance of the colonised and the superiority of the coloniser. In this sense, Anderson in his book <i>Imagined Communities</i> (1991: 163-164) identifies the approach to material of the past as a colonial tool that offers control over the land and the people of the colonies. • The modern Western World sought its roots in the ancient civilisations of the Near East, particularly in Iraq and Egypt. The ancient cultures and their material of the past were approached not as being relevant to the contemporary Islamic-Arab culture that have existed in the region since the 7th century AD, but as being the base of the European modern culture (Wengrow 2006: 189,194; Bahrani 1998: 166). This approach segregated the ancient past of the Near East from contemporary people and culture at that time. <p>Ndoro (1994: 620, 621) recognises that the archaeological site of Great Zimbabwe is managed almost the same way it was before the independence. His account reads as follows: “the local indigenous personnel were only involved peripherally. Most of the research was carried out in England ... the presentation ... did not significantly change with independence. Racial biases persist in the way the monument has been presented. It has been assumed that those who visit are of foreign or have a European connection; the site, unique and mysterious, can only appeal to a curious foreign visitor” (Ndoro 1994: 620, 621).</p>	<p>The consequences of Western approaches to the material of the past in the colonies alienate local communities of the colonies from the past and its material. Colonised people were denied any relationship with that past. In post-colonial contexts, approaches to the past hardly differ from those developed during colonialism, with their emphasis on monumentality, authenticity and technical issues of conservation.</p>
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hodder (1989: 250ff) believes that material culture is an <i>active</i> element that is only approachable through its contemporary contexts as well as the environment in which it was created and used. In the Postprocessual approach, “<i>the meaning</i> of material culture often depends on the <i>context of use</i> rather than solely on the context of production or on the ‘author’ [producer]” (Hodder 1986: 154; emphasis added). This definition brings contemporary contexts to the foreground of archaeological studies. • The current of thought that led into developing the postprocessual archaeology was directly influenced by 	<p>It is among marginalised and suppressed communities that Western scholars started to realise the importance of context and the human factor in approaching the past. In these approaches, exploring the past as part of contemporary life is inextricably linked to bringing the individual, whether ancient or modern, into the foreground. Thus, it is in marginalised contexts that</p>

	<p>studies conducted in marginalised communities. In demonstrating material culture as symbols that play active role in society, Hodder (1982a) relies on case studies from deprived, colonial and post-colonial contexts: particularly Kenya, Zambia and Sudan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influenced by the increasing recognition of context that the postprocessual archaeology established, Western scholars are increasingly realising that “it is no longer possible to make the comfortable assumption that non-Western peoples live in a timeless present, that their cultures are inherently unchanging or that such people have willingly assimilated to Western ideas and practices” (Layton 1989a: 8). 	<p>archaeologists developed an anthropological approach to the past.</p>
<p>8</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The absolute belief among local scholars that the approach to material of the past is a universal, scientific and objective approach that rarely accepts alternatives, makes them put very little efforts to “explain how or if heritage conservation is rooted in national culture [of post-colonial contexts]” (Byrne 1991: 273-274). • CRM is based on establishing conceptual and practical framework to identify, evaluate and intervene with material of the past that are basically acknowledged as cultural resources. Accordingly, CRM is compatible with the Executive Order 11593 examined above that is concerned with conserving archaeological sites. However, CRM generated a gap between archaeology and heritage or cultural resources, as heritage management, or Cultural Resources Management is increasingly identified as a practical field that is concerned with levels of interventions in archaeological sites rather than a complete discipline. Accordingly, CRM is established as a ‘top-down’ approach as “little intellectual space . . . for conceiving of heritage as a process which is influenced by, and which in turn influences, archaeological theory and practice” (Smith 1993: 59). Gradually, heritage became separated from archaeological theories and practices, and the historical perspective of heritage increasingly dismantled for the favour of tourism. 	<p>The dominance of Western approaches to the past prevented scholars, Western and local alike, from recognising alternative approaches to the past that are derived from local contexts and cultures. The conventional Western approach to the past implied ‘top-down’ policies and strategies in identifying, evaluating and intervening with archaeological sites that persisted in approaches to the past in many contexts in the world.</p>
<p>9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The absence of Classical remains in the New World encouraged the USA of America to ‘create’ its own ‘heritage’ since its independence from Great Britain in 1776. While most of Europe boasted the Classical past as its heritage and associated it to its national identity, the USA of America developed a growing interest in the natural resources and historic events that were closely associated with the European invasion of the New World, as a national heritage (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 707-708). • According to the culture-history approach, the advanced cultures in North America were developed by people who came from outside the continent such as the Vikings, the Irish and the Israelites (Trigger and Glover 1981: 136; Trigger 1981: 148, 49; King <i>et al.</i> 1977: 12). Therefore, Western scholars saw that it was ‘outsiders’ rather than indigenous Americans who established the prehistoric advanced cultures in North America. 	<p>The decision to isolate the remote past from the recent one usually serves governments and the elite. It highlights the recent past that is relevant to those in power, while “[leaving] the study of archaeology where it so often is – outside public consciousness – or [disenfranchising] the more distant past from any living reality or contemporary relevance” (Ucko 1994: 238). In Europe, the Classical past was identified as an essential part of modern Western cultural heritage. However, the absence of a Classical past in North America encouraged people and government in the USA to look at the recent past, mainly events, sites and buildings that</p>

		<p>marked modern life after independence from Britain in 1776 AD, to construct its cultural heritage. The ancient past in the USA was identified as being irrelevant to the modern state and its modern residents who mostly came from Europe. While the recent past was sensitively approached as cultural heritage, the ancient one was mainly considered as archaeology, and 'rigidly' interpreted on the basis of 'pure' scientific approach. The marginalised past began to acquire consideration under the umbrella of the postprocessual approach.</p>
<p>10</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While Western scholars started to communicate local people regarding their perceptions of the past and its material on the basis of their culture (e.g. Kreps 2003; Jones 2006; Fontein 2006), local scholars continued to "work within the same parameters and according to the same interpretive models" (Bahrani 1998: 161) established during colonialism. • In post-colonial contexts that are striving to be identified with the West (Addison's 2004: 246), local cultures, contexts and people are increasingly marginalised as 'top-down' approaches to almost all aspects of life persist. 	<p>Although Western approaches shifted from marginalising local communities towards embracing their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past; in post-colonial contexts that are heavily dominated by 'top-down' strategies and policies, appreciation of local perceptions is hard to establish.</p>

The immediate inferences explored in the above table demonstrate the different shifts in theories and practices concerned with material of the past. These theories and practices were anchored to the different social, political and cultural contexts in the West. The approaches to material of the past were introduced to colonial contexts as part of the colonial process. The conventional approaches prevailed in these contexts and were sustained by the top-down system that dominates almost all aspects of life in post-colonial contexts. The next chapter explores how the Western conventional approaches to material of the past were sustained by the UNESCO documents: charters and conventions, which are concerned with material of the past.

Chapter 4: UNESCO Documents: The Universal and the Marginalised

The language of the UNESCO conventions reinforces Western notions of *value* and *rights*, while the *ownership* and *maintenance* of the past is suffused with the concepts surrounding *property*. A close reading of the language of heritage, specifically the UNESCO conventions embody older paradigms of cultural history and traditional art historical value-systems instead of the more recent alignment of archaeology with social anthropology and the social sciences (Meskell 2002: 568; original emphasis).

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the shifts and changes in the theories and practices concerned with material of the past in Western contexts. It then investigated how archaeology as a discipline was introduced to other contexts through colonialism. This chapter investigates in more detail some of the issues introduced in the previous chapter: mainly the marginalisation of local contexts and communities in the Western approaches to material of the past, through exploring the relevant charters and conventions adopted by UNESCO. It therefore provides further investigation of these issues through exploring how local contexts and communities are approached in these documents. The universality and validity of these documents in contexts other than the West has already been analysed and examined in a few studies (e.g. Bowdler 1998; Byrne 1991; Wei & Aass 1989). The following discussion, informed by these previous analyses, provides a critical engagement with the most prominent charters and the principles established by them. Together with the discussion in chapter 3, this chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the contemporary range of approaches to material of the past, and thus offers an inclusive and dynamic understanding of these approaches in the Jordanian context that are discussed in chapter 7.

4.2 The need for universal documents

Archaeological monuments and historic buildings all over the world came under extreme threats with the advent of the 20th century as the World Wars, together with global urban expansion, put cultural heritage in danger of demolition (de la Torre & Mac Lean 1997: 5). Besides examples of deliberate destruction, archaeological monuments and historic buildings faced inadequate levels of interventions as they

were urgently reused during and after wars. The difficult situations during and after wars and armed conflicts frequently compelled the reuse of historic buildings to serve as accommodation for those affected by the wars (Mason & Shacklock 1995: 17, 19); as a result, many archaeological monuments and historic buildings were consolidated using reinforced concrete, and consequently suffered from irreversible alterations, and sometimes damage, in both structure and form (Mason & Shacklock 1995: 21).

The need for protection of historic monuments during wars was recognised before the World Wars of the 20th century. Boylan (2002: 43ff) reviews different examples, from the Crusades Wars (during the time between 11th and 13th centuries AD centuries) up until the present time, of political interest in protecting movable and immovable material of the past during armed conflicts. The following discussion focuses on how material of the past was viewed in wars' declarations and laws. For example, the Russian Government formulated a draft of laws and customs of war that were adopted with a few alterations at an international conference in Brussels in 1874. The *International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War* (Brussels Declaration) recognised historic monuments as “private property” in order to prevent them from being targeted by conflicted powers. According to Article 7 of this Declaration, any damage of historic monuments was subject to legal questioning. The Article reads as follows:

The property of municipalities, that of institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences even when State property, shall be treated as *private property*. All seizure or destruction of, or willful damage to, institutions of this character, historic monuments, works of art and science should be made the *subject of legal proceedings* by the competent authorities (Brussels Declaration 1874: Article 7; emphasis added).

The importance of protecting historic monuments during wars was re-emphasised at the *Fourth Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land* (Hague IV) in 1907, which built on the Brussels Declaration discussed above. The Hague Conference emphasised that “in sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected” (Hague IV 1907: Article 27). It is worth noting that archaeological monuments and historic buildings gained this political importance

exactly at the time the culture-history approach (discussed in chapter 3) used archaeology as a tool to identify the 'self' and the 'other'. In this sense, archaeological monuments and historic buildings were internationally recognised because of their importance in creating and sustaining identities.

The 1907 Hague Convention was tested, and frequently ignored, by the advent of the First World War in 1914, as many historic monuments were targeted by the warring nations (Jokilehto 1999: 283-284). The urgent need for addressing the different threats to historic buildings resulted in different specialised documents and bodies that were directly influenced by shifts and developments in Western approaches to material of the past. These charters and bodies are considered as universal and applicable to all other contexts in the world.

4.2.1 International efforts to protect monuments: UNESCO and its affiliated bodies

In 1919, after the First World War, the League of Nations was established to facilitate international cooperation among the different countries of the world. In 1926 the International Museums Office was established, under the patronage of the League of Nations, to organise museums' efforts in protecting cultural heritage (Jokilehto 1999: 284). In October 1945, after the Second World War was over, the League of Nations was transformed into the United Nations (UN) and, slightly, later in 1945, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was created. UNESCO became responsible for organising the UN international efforts in the diverse fields related to education, science and culture. Historic monuments continued to capture the international attention that had been established in the Declarations of the 1874 and 1907 conferences mentioned above. Specialised organisations were constituted and began to operate under the umbrella of UNESCO (Jokilehto 1999: 284). One of these organisations was the International Council of Museums (ICOM), which, in 1946, continued the remit and duties of the earlier International Museums Office.

The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) was established as an international non-governmental

organisation during the 9th UNESCO conference in Delhi in 1956. The mission of ICCROM was to provide training and research opportunities concerned with historic monuments on an international level (Jokillehto 1999: 287, 288). Research concerned with material of the past that ICCROM carried out informed the work of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). ICOMOS was established in the light of the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which was held in Venice in 1964. It was created in response to the need for international and cross-cultural cooperation to rescue historic monuments all over the world (Biörnstad 1989: 70). As an international organisation, ICOMOS includes specialised international committees concerned with exchanging information and experience among professionals in different parts of the world regarding issues concerned with archaeological heritage management. One of the first international committees is the International Committee for Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) (Biörnstad 1989: 70). Beside the international committees, ICOMOS includes over 110 national committees that represent different countries in different parts of the world (ICOMOS 2007: www). The above mentioned organisations evolved and developed within contexts that were scientifically and politically dominated by the West. Therefore, they reflected Western theories and practices concerned with material of the past in general, and to archaeological sites and historic buildings in particular.

Issues concerned with the physical aspects of the historic monuments were the subject of many international conferences that were conducted under the patronage of UNESCO, and the affiliated specialised organisations mentioned above. The recommendations of these conferences formed charters such as the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* 1931 (Athens Charter), the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* 1964 (Venice Charter). These charters played a vital role in sustaining and disseminating the Western theories and practices concerned with material of the past which were identified in these charters as cultural heritage. The charters have been adopted and applied to almost all the different cultural contexts in the world (Taylor 2004: 419).

4.3 *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments: The general context*

Although the Athens Charter was adopted in 1931, it is still considered a corner-stone in conservation practices, and it is still taught as guidelines that should be followed in restoring monuments. It is also considered a reference for the Venice Charter that was adopted in 1964, and discussed below. Therefore, it is important to review the Athens Charter critically, especially in post-colonial contexts where such charters are almost completely taken for granted. A critical approach might result in doubting the universality of these charters and conventions that are defined as universal. Such an approach to these charters can be employed to encourage developing local or national charters that address the issues with more consideration for the context.

The international basis for the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings was established in the Athens Charter. The Charter was adopted in the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments held in Athens in 1931 under the patronage of the International Museums Office. As it was organised by architects, the attendance was mainly European architects (Jokilehto 1999: 284). Therefore, the Congress was heavily influenced by the adverse impacts of the First World War and its aftermath on monuments and historic buildings in Europe.

4.3.1 The 'other' in the Athens Charter

The *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments*, first adopted in 1931, started by emphasising the importance of establishing “international organisations for restoration on operational and advisory levels” to protect historic monuments (ICOMOS 1994a : Resolution 1). This implied creating a centralist authority with exclusive power, or at least influence, to protect monuments and their surroundings.

Article 2 of the Charter recognised that the creation of such a universal power over monuments implied counteracting the local communities of monuments in question. In order to mitigate this encounter the Charter recognised the local communities' rights to maintain their private ownership over their lands (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 2). The Article reads that “[the charter] unanimously approved the general tendency

which, in this connection, recognizes a certain right of the community in regard to private ownership” (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 2). Local communities were presumed to be an obstacle for the intervention measures that the Charter adopted. In order for “the least possible opposition [to] be encountered”, Article 2 suggested that “[intervention measures] should be in keeping with local circumstances and with the trend of public opinion” (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 2).

Urban planning policies formulated for reconstruction projects after the First World War showed great concern for the historic fabric of the damaged cities. For example, urban designers and architects paid great interest to the historic built environment of Paris when new plans were prepared to rebuild the city. Erder (1986: 143-145) recorded that many construction laws and legislations were formulated in order to ensure correlation and harmony between materials, proportions and colours of the new buildings, and those of the surrounding historic environment. The environment context of historic monuments was brought into the arguments of the Athens Congress through the Belgian Architect Victor Horta. In his paper at the Congress: *The Environment of Monuments and General Principles*, Horta brought to the attention of the architects and technicians meeting in Athens the importance of any monuments’ surrounding environment. The paper noted that the interest in historic monuments should exceed the physical fabric into the surrounding physical context, i.e. the adjacent buildings and roads. The whole environment of historic monuments, according to Horta, must convey one message of consistency (Erder 1986: 150).

The Athens Charter’s response to this early recognition of the general context of monuments was to “[suppress]... all forms of publicity, of the erection of unsightly telegraph poles and the exclusion of all noisy factories and even of tall shafts in the neighborhood of artistic and historic monuments” (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 3). As the Article restricted its interest to emphasising monuments over their surrounding contexts, the human factor of the context in which historic monuments existed was not recognised.

The Athens Charter reflected Western contexts as well as perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past. A close examination of Article 3 showed that it exclusively described a Western built environment with signs of material

development and urban expansion that was launched after the First World War in Europe. The urban planning laws and legislations that were formulated after the First World War in some European cities were reflected in the following part of Article 3:

in the construction of buildings, the character and external aspect of the cities in which they are to be erected should be respected, especially in the neighbourhood of ancient monuments, where the surroundings should be given special consideration. Even certain groupings and certain particularly picturesque perspective treatment should be preserved (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 3).

Further evidence of bias to the West is evident in the Charter's recommendation that it was: "highly desirable that *qualified institutions and associations* should ... be given an opportunity of manifesting their interest in the protection of works of art *in which civilization has been expressed to the highest degree* and which would seem to be threatened with destruction" (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 7a; emphasis added). By the time the Charter was issued, many parts of the world, including almost all the Arab countries and Jordan among them, were colonised by the West, and the qualified institutions that operated in these contexts were those of the colonisers: in particular, Britain, France and Italy. Therefore, the "works of art in which civilization has been expressed to the highest degree" that the Charter protected, were of those pertaining to the coloniser's perceptions and policies explained in chapter 3. The following example demonstrates the colonial approach to material of the past in the colonies, and therefore reinforces the notion that the Charter was formulated with only Western contexts in mind.

Drawing on the writings of the Italian poet, Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912), during the Italian colonial power in Libya (1911-1951), explained in section 3.6.1 in chapter 3, only the remains of the Classical Roman culture in Libya, are worth of protection (see Mattingly 1996: 50). Pascoli not only refused to recognise the civilisations which existed in Libya during the Italian colonisation in the early 20th century, he also pictured them as enemies of the Roman culture that existed in North Africa during the time of the ancient Roman Empire. As explained in the previous chapter, a very similar approach towards the indigenous people in North America was adopted by Western archaeologists. Applying the Athens Charter in such colonised contexts only intensified the marginalisation of local culture that the colonial powers had already established.

Other evidence of the Charter's bias towards the West is evident in Article 7b. The Article reads that "educators should urge children and young people to abstain from disfiguring monuments of every description and that they should teach them to take a greater and more general interest in the protection of these concrete testimonies of all ages of civilization" (ICOMOS 1994a: Article 7b). Capitalising on education to establish public awareness of the importance of monuments to prevent their destruction by people was irrelevant to unstable countries, such as colonised ones, where practices concerned with material of the past are based on suppressing indigenous cultures and praising those related to the coloniser.

Furthermore, the focus on monumentality and aesthetic value in historic buildings is evident in almost all articles of the Charter. They came as a reflection of the art historical principles of conservation that were established in the West and discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, the Charter focused on the modern Western contexts and offered methods to deal with historic monuments in these contexts. Because of this bias to the West, the Charter failed to address other contexts, even those which were directly connected to Western countries through colonialism.

4.4 The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter): Inclusive perceptions and limited practices

Adopted at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments held in Venice in 1964, the Venice Charter built on the Athens Charter's recommendations, and widened the range of arguments developing in response to the growing and varied issues relating to material of the past since the Athens Charter had been adopted in 1931. The Charter is based on the assumption that "people are becoming more and more conscious of the *unity* of human values and regard ancient monuments as a *common heritage*" (ICOMOS 1964: Preamble; emphasis added). The definition of monuments as "common heritage" initiated and emphasised the universal approach to material of the past. Although the Venice Charter was established by architects and technicians and few if any archaeologists were involved, the generality and universality that the Charter suggested reflected the principles of universality and generality that the New Archaeology approach to material of the past emphasised (as explored in chapter 3).

Besides universality, the second notion on which the Charter was based on is authenticity. As explained in the previous chapter, the notion of authenticity was based on acknowledging the original material and design as the main source of significance in material of the past. The following arguments concentrate on these two notions, the universality of heritage and the meaning of authenticity, and the way they are used in this Charter.

Although the Charter accepted that the principles of preservation should resonate with the cultural framework of the countries where they were to be applied, it emphasised that “the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis” (ICOMOS 1964: Preamble). As the text unfolds, the principles themselves appear to be biased toward the Western context. With the vast majority of those who drafted the Charter being Europeans, the Charter reflected the tendency to *generalise*, in a diplomatic way, the European views of, and attitudes towards, material of the past (Silva 1983: 40; Erder 1977: 25).

The Charter, in its first Article, broadened the definition of historic monuments to go beyond “the single architectural work” (ICOMOS 1964: Article 1) into “the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event”. Thus, monuments are “not only ... great works of art but also ... more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time” (ICOMOS 1964: Article 1). In this sense, the Venice Charter broadened the notion of monumentality, from being restricted to a single architectural work with specific aesthetic values, to being concerned with ordinary historic places and archaeological sites.

Despite the dynamic concept of monumentality the Charter introduced in its first Article, the rest of the Charter reflected practices that could change monuments to “‘frozen illustrations’ of particular moments in the history of the nation” (Jokilehto 1988: 268). Great concern with physical aspects and intrinsic qualities, as defined in Western thought, of the original material was evident in many articles. For example, Article 5 of the Charter reads:

The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by *making use of them for some socially useful purpose*. Such use is therefore desirable but *it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building*. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted (ICOMOS 1964: Article 5; emphasis added).

Interest in the physical aspects of monuments resulted in considering restoration as an advanced technical process that only experts were capable of conducting. At the heart of this process is the interest in authentic material and design. Article 9 explained that the aim of this “highly specialised operation ... [is] to preserve and reveal the *aesthetic and historic value of the monument* [on the basis of respecting] *original material and authentic documents*” (ICOMOS 1964: Article 9; emphasis added). Following the art-history approach to material of the past, Article 9 reasserted almost exactly what the Athens Charter had already established: valuing the importance of the aesthetic and historic value of the monuments over contemporary contexts. As “any extra work ... must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp”, the Article continued segregating the past from the present to preserve the authenticity of the monument. It therefore reflected a very limited approach to material of the past based on isolating monuments from their contexts and separating the past from the present. As explained in chapter 3, this segregation hindered cultural continuity in the contexts where it was practiced.

Cultural continuity in some contexts is generated from the continuous contribution of different generations to the built environment. In such cases, very little interest is paid to the original material and design: what matters is the continuous contribution of local communities. An example of how cultural significance is rarely connected to the original material or authentic design in some cultures comes from China. Wei and Aass (1989: 3-8) demonstrate how the conservation traditions of the Confucian Temple Complex at Qufu contradict the recommendations of the Venice Charter. The temple was originally constructed in 478 BC and has undergone irregular additions and contributions since at least the 1st century AD. Such additions are understood by local communities to be part of the heritage itself. These additions guarantee the spiritual continuity of the Temple among its people, and understandably, the priority of any intervention is to preserve the function rather than the physical remains. This approach is demonstrated when an ancient monument in China was partially knocked

down by an earthquake. The approach the local community adopted was to demolish the ancient temple completely and to rebuild a new one (Price 2000: 214), as the main concern was to keep the function alive: the material was of secondary importance.

The Venice Charter could not be applicable in such contexts as the original design and material were not valued in the Chinese culture as they would have been in the Western one. From this point of view, Wei and Aass (1989: 8) conclude that the “Venice Charter should not be looked upon as a universal document, applicable across the human experience, but rather as one which was written to address Western experience only”.

4.5 *The World Heritage Convention (WHC) 1972*

Interest in nature as heritage has its origin in the National Park Service that was established in the United States in 1916 (see chapter 3). Defining nature as part of heritage was internationally acknowledged when the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, generally known as the *World Heritage Convention (WHC)*, was adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris in 1972. For the purposes of this thesis, only articles that tackle cultural heritage will be examined.

The Convention capitalised on the dynamic and inclusive definition of monument that the Venice Charter provided in its preamble (discussed above) to develop its definition of cultural heritage. However, the Convention was based on a strong assumption that the cultural heritage of any people was equally important for all the peoples of the world (UNESCO 1972: 1). This assumption justifies the continuous emphasis on cultural heritage as being universal, which is evident in the definition of cultural heritage as follows:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of *outstanding universal value* from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the

landscape, are of *outstanding universal value* from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of *outstanding universal value* from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO 1972; Article 1)

The meaning of ‘outstanding universal value’ was left deliberately vague and was only explained in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* issued for the first time in 1992. These guidelines identify the criteria of what can be inscribed as a World Heritage Site (WHS). Further amendments to the *Operational Guidelines* were made in 1997 and six criteria of significance were enlisted to identify the meaning of ‘outstanding universal value’ in cultural heritage. These criteria state that a WHS:

- i.[represents] *a masterpiece* of human creative genius; or
- ii.[exhibits] an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; or
- iii.[bears] *a unique* or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or has disappeared; or
- iv.[being] an *outstanding example* of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble, or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; or
- v.[being] an *outstanding example* of a *traditional human settlement* or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- vi.[being] directly or tangibly associated with events or *living traditions*, with ideas or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of *outstanding universal significance* (a criterion applied only in exceptional circumstances, and together with other criteria) (UNESCO 2005; emphasis added)

The ‘outstanding universal value’, as most of the criteria emphasise, is derived from the notions of ‘outstandingness’ and monumentality, which can be anchored to the art historical approach to material of the past (discussed in chapter 3). They reflect a Eurocentric approach that lacks interest in the intangible aspects of cultures (Blake 2001: 8-9, 72). This way of approaching material of the past started to capture scholars’ attention and criticism (e.g. Cleere 2006, 2001: 25, 2000: 101; Musitelli 2002: 327; Blake 2001: 12, 13; de Cuéllar 1995: 178), especially after the evolution of

the postprocessual approach with its dynamic and inclusive approach to cultural heritage.

For example, Musitelli (2002: 329) recognises that the WHC “[emphasises] the artificial distinction between natural and cultural goods, material remains and spiritual values, history and authenticity”. Besides, the notion of monumentality and universality that the Convention emphasises “gives way to standardization. Because of the need for a uniform mode of production and consumption, the ‘ready to wear’ heritage tends to impose new rules: the same techniques of restoration, the same labeling, the same lighting, and the same promotional brochures from one end of the planet to the other” (Musitelli 2002: 331). The use of the term ‘property’ to refer to cultural heritage in the Convention sustains the production and consumption notions that turn cultural heritage to commodities that appeal to the international ‘taste’, and that Musitelli (2002) criticises above. Therefore, embracing the WHC implies compromising the uniqueness of cultural heritage and neutralising cultural diversities in the world in order to deliver a World Heritage Site that is up to universal standards. In essence, the WHC ‘freezes’ cultural heritage and segregates it from its local contexts and people.

In order to create the unified image of WHS that Musitelli (2002) criticises, traditional ways of life, as well as local skills of conservation for the inscribed sites, were sacrificed in favour of expensive, highly specialised techniques. Even life styles of Western local communities, with World Heritage Sites on their lands, were perceived to be threatened by management plans prepared for the designated sites. For example, farmers and other interest groups in Hadrian’s Wall, a WHS in Britain, felt “insulted and let down” by the management plan suggested by English Heritage to preserve and ‘develop’ the Wall as a WHS and as a tourist destination (BBC 1995: n.p.). Therefore, the WHC alienates, or at least is perceived to alienate, local communities from their inscribed places. What if a culture that happened to exist in a World Heritage Site has chosen to develop to a point that is contradictory to the principles that UNESCO set for them? This question is to be addressed through examples that are explained in section 4.5.3 of this chapter.

By the time it was becoming evident that the bias towards monumentality and ‘outstandingness’ had resulted in the exclusion of many human achievements from being World Heritage Sites. Most of the listed World Heritage Sites are located in the developed world, particularly in Europe, as the criteria reflect the Eurocentric approach to cultural heritage (Cleere 2006: 67, 2001: 26; Musitelli 2002: 329; de Cuéllar 1995: 178). Besides the “non-representative character of the World Heritage List”, Cleere (2006: 72) acknowledges that the Convention excludes indigenous people and their understandings of, and approaches to, the places that are identified as World Heritage Sites.

Furthermore, the concept of significance on which the Convention is based is questioned. Tainter and Lucas (1983: 710) criticise the fact that the notion of significance was derived mainly from Western philosophical traditions, as well as the art historical approach, as intrinsic qualities are acknowledged as the main source of value and significance in the Convention. In this approach, understanding of qualities is taken as being objective and unchangeable from person to person and from time to time. Therefore, the Convention implies that “cultural properties are seen as possessing or lacking an inherent, immutable quality, significance, that gives rise to our understanding of their importance” (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 712). Accordingly, the significance of cultural heritage is unchangeable regardless of the people, the time and the place, a theory that suits the universal approach to cultural heritage that the convention is based on. This perception of significance tends not to allow local communities, contexts, perceptions and approaches to have any influence on the way cultural heritage is approached under the umbrella of the WHC.

To conclude, the approach to cultural heritage that the WHC provides is based on Western perceptions of, and approaches to, material of the past. The emphasis on monumentality and universality combines the principles of the art historical approach and the New Archaeology examined in the previous chapter. In this sense, the WHC is a reflection of the theories and practices concerned with material of the past in the West. The WHC consolidates the marginalisation of local perceptions, a Western practice that was already established in the European colonies and the Western approaches to indigenous people living in some parts of the Western world, such as the indigenous people of Australia and the United States of America.

4.5.1 Expanding the WHC: Mitigating the bias

The non-representative character of the World Heritage List is believed to have been mitigated to a degree through the UNESCO recognition of cultural landscapes as having the potential to be nominated as World Heritage Sites in 1992 (Cleere 2000: 101-103). The criteria for recognising this form of heritage are issued in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 2005, Annex 3: 83, 84) that reads as follows:

6. Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" ... They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

7. They should be selected on the basis both of their outstanding universal value and of their representativity in terms of a clearly defined geo-cultural region and also for their capacity to illustrate the essential and distinct cultural elements of such regions.

8. The term "cultural landscape" embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.

9. Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity.

However, it is rightly feared that such recognition of a landscape as having potential to be a World Heritage Site might result in devastating consequences in the 'Developing World', especially in places where local communities lead a life in which the inscribed 'property' plays an essential role in daily life (Cleere 2006: 6, 2000: 103). Cleere (2000: 104) states that "the influence of Western values on Third World countries in their economic and social development is often disastrous for the cultural heritage". While Cleere emphasises the diverse influence of the WHC on cultural heritage in the context of the 'Developing World', Musitelli (2002: 331)

rightly fears that the universality that is bestowed on heritage by UNESCO and its documents: charters and conventions leaves many of these places “emptied of their populations and turned into museums for the sole enjoyment of lucky visitors”. Nonetheless, the inscription of a place as a World Heritage Site usually stimulates national pride in that place (Cleere 2000: 104). However, despite the benefits of the universal recognition, its adverse sequences on cultural heritage as well as local communities cannot be ignored.

4.5.2 Intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO conventions

UNESCO established *The Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore Programme* in 1989 in order to address the intangible cultural heritage that the WHC ignored. The recommendations of the programme acknowledged the terms folklore, traditional and popular cultures as having the same meaning, and it adopted the term folklore to address issues of identification and protection of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 1989). Despite the arguments that surrounded these recommendations, especially those concerned with the appropriateness of the word ‘folklore’ and its meaning (e.g. Blake 2001: 7), further programmes in UNESCO championed these recommendations in their approach to intangible cultural heritage.

For example, the *Living Human Treasures* programme was established in 1993, and was followed by the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage* programme in 1998 (Blake 2001: 83). The terms used in these programmes to describe intangible heritage demonstrate a shift in perceptions of cultural heritage from the conventional into more dynamic and inclusive ones. For example replacing the word ‘folklore’ with the words ‘living’, ‘oral’ and ‘intangible’ indicated a more dynamic approach that acknowledges the intangible aspects of cultural heritage as vibrant and living entities of contemporary contexts.

However, when the first list of *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* was announced in 2001 (Blake 2001: 92), it reflected the notion of universality and ‘outstandingness’ that UNESCO adopted in its approach to the tangible dimension of cultural heritage in the WHC. Applying the notion of the universality of intangible cultural heritage is seen as “a further appropriation or

‘colonization’” (Blake 2001: 12-13) of cultural heritage in post-colonial contexts. Blake (2001: 13) warns that “it is extremely important that UNESCO does not risk appearing to espouse such an [universal] approach to ... heritage” (Blake 2001: 13) in post-colonial contexts and among indigenous people.

In response to such warnings, the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which was established in 2003 and adopted by UNESCO’s general conference in April 2006, took a more inclusive and dynamic approach to the intangible aspect of cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage is identified in this Convention as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO 2003a: Article 2.1). Thus, cultural heritage is recognised as something dynamic that is “constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history” (UNESCO 2003a: Article 2.1), as well as a source of “identity and continuity [that contributes to] promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity” (UNESCO 2003a: Article 2.1). Such a perception of cultural heritage promises a dynamic and inclusive approach to material of the past. Further discussion of how cultural diversity, cultural knowledge, identity and development are approached in UNESCO documents is in chapter 5.

However, in Article 13a of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, the intangible cultural heritage is approached as something separated from daily life, and can only be prompted through governmental strategies and policies. This Article states that a general policy should be adopted to “[promote] the function of the intangible cultural heritage in society”. The need to promote something is necessarily only when that thing is unfamiliar or strange to the context in which it exists. Therefore, the idea of promotion contradicts the rhetoric the Convention established in the beginning, in Article 2.1, in which intangible cultural heritage is acknowledged as a source of identity and continuity. The discrepancy between rhetoric and practice is also evident in Article 15. Local communities’ approaches to protecting intangible cultural heritage were tackled in one of the shortest articles of the Convention that reads as follows: “within the framework of its

safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, *where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage*, and to involve them actively in its management” (Article 15; emphasis added).

The Article emphasises a ‘top-down’ process in which the State has the upper hand over those who create the intangible heritage. This approach could turn the intangible heritage into a lifeless fabrication that is manipulated to serve governmental strategies and policies. For example, in Jordan, the word ‘folklore’ is used by the government to identify the traditional music, songs and even dressing style that are associated with Bedu and villagers. In this sense, folklore, or the intangible heritage in Jordan, is manipulated in order to be marketed for tourism. In this process of manipulation, fragments of the recent past are neutralised and introduced as something that one can enjoy every now and then, rather than as being essential to cultural continuity and identity (Maffi 2002: 210). The ‘top-down’ approach to material of the past, together with the notion of universality, contributes to local communities’ alienation from the tangible as well as the intangible past. In this sense, cultural heritage belongs to those in power, and hardly any authority is given to those who practice and interact with the past as part of their daily lives. The following examples demonstrate the local communities’ marginalisation and alienation in their own contexts, where places have been inscribed as cultural heritage and World Heritage Sites.

4.5.3 What is wrong with heritage universality?

An example of how local practices are jeopardised by the notion of cultural heritage universality is evident in Australia. In the World Heritage Site of Kimberley, in the North West of Australia, the indigenous local community has been keeping the rock paintings created by their ancestors through repainting them periodically since ancient times. This act has been carried out for generations as part of the local community approach to conserve their cultural heritage (Bowdler 1988: 518-520). Using the claim that these paintings are “part of the cultural heritage of *all mankind*” (Bowdler 1988: 520; emphasis added), one of the Australian settler descendants complained about the local community’s practice of repainting as being a destruction of that heritage. The complaint was directed to the government authorities. In light of the claim, the local community’s practice of conservation was suspected as destructive

and an investigation was conducted regarding this practice. After detailed inquiries the government concluded that there was no clear evidence of the claimed destruction and the local community's practice of repainting was explained as a "traditional manner" (Bowdler 1988: 521) that does not affect the WHS of Kimberley. Despite this acknowledgment of the local community's approach to conserving the rock paintings in Kimberley, the incident presented Western perceptions of cultural heritage against that of the local indigenous people. In Bowdler's (1988: 521-522) words:

defining something as belonging to that transcendent category [all mankind] is a means of *excluding anyone who might have a particular interest in it*. In this case, there seem to be two aspects agitating the complainants and the heritocrats: on the one hand, the aesthetic value, and on the other the research value of the sites involved. The Aboriginal value of the sites does not seem to have concerned them (emphasis added).

Another example comes from the WHS of Petra in Jordan. The Nabataean caves of Petra that are dated before the 3rd century AD (see chapter 7) have been inhabited by the Bedu (sometimes referred to as Bedouin) since at least, according to historical and ethnographic data, the early nineteenth century (Russel 1985: 20). "The Bedoul [one of the Bedou's families] of Petra", remarked Russel (1985: 17), "obviously considered themselves distinct from other populations in southern Jordan by claiming descent from the ancient inhabitants of the site who had first carved the tombs and caves at Petra". Therefore, the Bedul claimed a strong attachment to Petra and saw their life in it as being a cultural continuity of the Nabataeans.

In 1968 a programme was launched to create Petra National Park. Unsurprisingly, and as the name National Park conveys, the programme was established and funded by an American body: the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The programme was to be advised by the National Park Service of the United States of America. One of the first recommendations of the plan was to relocate the Bedul away from the site (Russel 1985: 30), a practice that is inspired by the culture-history approach to indigenous people as being irrelevant to the past that exists in their land, as well as the New Archaeology approach to material of the past as something irrelevant to contemporary contexts (see chapter 3).

Consequently, the Jordanian government built a new housing project for the Bedul in the village of Umm Siehoun to the north of the ancient city of Petra, and relocation of the Bedul began in 1985 (Shoup 1985: 288), the year in which Petra was inscribed as a World Heritage Site. In 1994 the Government explained that the Bedul must be moved again, as Umm Siehoun was to be converted into a tourist village (*Jordan Times*: October 29, 1994: 3; quoted in Simms & Koorring 1996: 23). Relocating the Bedul for a second time within 10 years was a serious matter that obviously required consultation with the Bedul themselves; however, only one invited member of the Bedul, in the meeting in which the second relocation decision was taken (Simms & Koorring 1996: 23). The following account describes the purpose of the decision and the context in which it took place:

the aims seem to be altruistic - to create for the Bedul what some think would be a better life - but representation of the Bedul at these meetings was limited to one invited individual who was not even present for much of the workshop. Nor are any Bedul listed as participants in the document produced by UNESCO, despite the fact that there are some Bedul who are successful businessmen and respected community members (Simms & Koorring 1996: 23).

Such a dangerous decision affected directly the Bedu life style and therefore their cultural identity. As a result of these relocations the Bedul experienced, their life style has shifted from being almost entirely dependent on animal keeping into being reliant on new jobs mainly associated with the tourism industry (Cole 2003: 254). This shift implies changes in self-perception among the Bedul. While some Bedul still see themselves as Bedu, although not 'real' ones, others see that their new location "will soon look like any village in Jordan or Europe" (Wotten n.d.; quoted in Cole 2003: 254). Thus their cultural identity as Bedu, which is directly derived from their life style will be lost forever. The Bedul 'perform' fragments of the Bedu life style, such as Bedu singing and dancing only for tourism purposes, while in reality they have experienced serious changes in cultural identity as a result of their displacement from the caves of the Nabataeans of Petra. This 'performance' is evident in the following example.

In November 2005, UNESCO announced 43 oral and intangible heritage masterpieces of humanity in its *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* list. 'The cultural space of Bedu in Petra and Wadi Rum' was among the masterpieces that

have been announced. At the national level, this news was presented in the official newspaper by showing a picture of folklore group dancing on a stage. The picture was entitled: “Bedu singing is a human heritage that should be preserved” (Awwad 2005: 2). The official newspaper mentioned that this announcement would guarantee financial support for preserving the universal heritage in the region (Awwad 2005: 2).

The reasons behind choosing the Bedu of Wadi Rum and Petra, rather than any other Bedu of Jordan, are worth questioning. The designation of Petra as a World Heritage Site in 1985 maybe relevant to the reason behind selecting the Bedu of Wadi Rum and Petra and excluding other Bedu in Jordan. This suggestion implies a new bias in UNESCO’s approach to material of the past: once a site is inscribed as World Heritage, other tangible and intangible heritage resources associated with it are more likely to be recognised than other resources elsewhere. Questioning UNESCO’s criteria for selection can be an opportunity to raise enquiries about how the cultural space of the Bedu has been affected since Petra was recognised internationally.

Investigating such issues can provide an opportunity to debate the ‘taken-for-granted’ approach to material of the past in Jordan. It could provide a chance for questioning the influence that the universal approach has on cultural diversity and continuity in Jordan. Such questions are raised by Ucko (1989b: xiii) as follows:

The concept of the *world* heritage, now embodied in a set of international conventions and recommendations, has not received adequate public discussion; its impact has yet to be fully appreciated outside a restricted tourist and developmental context. For those whose traditions involve the correct performance of rituals at sacred localities to ensure their continuation, the assumption of rights by ‘the world’ will be seen as shocking and will be accompanied by little, if any, understanding of such developments or of the supposedly related concepts of ‘serene joy and pleasure of the national and international public’ (original emphasis).

The validity of local communities’ perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past, is increasingly recognised among Western scholars, mainly through the principles of the postprocessual approach that are examined in chapter 3. The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) is the first organisation to address this issue on both academic and practical levels. The WAC is discussed in section 7 of this chapter.

4.6 ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990)

As part of ICOMOS, the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management formulated a charter concerned with the protection and management of archaeological sites in 1990. The *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* continues the Athens and Venice Charters' tradition of emphasising the professional and scientific characteristics of the material of the past and the practices connected with their protection and management. While the Charter acknowledges the practices set by the Venice Charter in approaching the physical material of heritage, it states that the "other elements of the archaeological heritage [which] constitute part of the living traditions of indigenous peoples ... [and] the participation of local cultural groups" (ICOMOS 1990) should be acknowledged as being essential for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage.

Therefore, heritage in this Charter is not a whole: the Charter identifies two types of heritage; on the one hand, there is the archaeological heritage that is mainly composed of architectural structures, and therefore needs to be protected in accordance with the Venice Charter. On the other hand, there is the archaeological heritage that forms part of the living traditions of the local communities. The participation of local communities is considered to be crucial for heritage management process of the second type (ICOMOS 1990). The way the Charter approaches local communities in the sites where archaeology is part of a living tradition is seen in two articles: Article 2 and 6 of the Charter. In Article 2, the importance of local participation in the heritage management process is identified as "part of policies for the protection of the archaeological heritage"; therefore, "[local] participation must be based upon access to the knowledge necessary for decision-making. The provision of information to the general public is therefore an important element in integrated protection" (ICOMOS 1990; emphasis added). The "knowledge necessary for decision-making" that the Article mentions is the local knowledge, experiences, perceptions and feelings. However, the following statement in the Article that "the provision of information to the general public is therefore an important element in integrated protection", demonstrates that this knowledge is derived from providing local communities with information in a 'top-down' approach that flows from the professionals to the general

public. The nature of relationship between professionals and local communities the Charter specifies is explained in Article 6:

Local commitment and participation should be actively sought and encouraged as a *means of promoting the maintenance of the archaeological heritage*. This principle is especially important when dealing with the heritage of indigenous peoples or local cultural groups. In some cases it may be appropriate to entrust responsibility for the protection and management of sites and monuments to indigenous peoples (ICOMOS 1990: Article 6; emphasis added).

According to this Article, the inclusion of the local community in heritage management is viewed as a mechanism to avoid counteracting public opinion, which was also seen in the Athens Charter as a possible outcome of official intervening with material of the past. Instead of embracing local communities' knowledge and skills to transform practices concerned with heritage such as conservation and management to a more dynamic level, interacting with local communities on the basis of Article 6 is suggested to prevent a confrontation with local communities and aboriginal people. As the arguments regarding sustainability will show later in chapter 5, this inclusion is not active and cannot result in sustainable management of cultural heritage.

Interestingly, the Charter provides a definition for archaeological knowledge. Although emphasising the scientific aspect of this knowledge is perfectly legitimate and necessary, the absence of local knowledge in this definition is striking; especially since local communities' perceptions of cultural heritage have been increasingly recognised since the mid 1980s. The definition of archaeological knowledge reads as follows:

Archaeological knowledge is based principally on the *scientific investigation of the archaeological heritage*. Such investigation embraces the whole range of methods from non-destructive techniques through sampling to total excavation (ICOMOS 1990: Article 2; emphasis added).

Unsurprisingly, after this scientific approach to archaeology, the Charter continues to emphasise the universality of heritage and the practices concerned with it immediately in the following Article which reads as follows:

Legislation should be based on the concept of the archaeological heritage as the *heritage of all humanity* and of groups of peoples, and not restricted to any individual person or nation (ICOMOS 1990: Article 3; emphasis added).

Although the Charter, in its 7th Article, recognises the importance of the “multifaceted approaches to an understanding of the past” (ICOMOS 1990: Article 7), by ignoring local knowledge and emphasising the universality of heritage, the multifaceted approach to understand the past can hardly be achieved. Interestingly, the Charter sees heritage management as “a process of continuous dynamic development” (ICOMOS 1990: Article 6). However, in the absence of acknowledgment of the local, and through emphasising the ‘top-down’ approach to interaction with local communities, the continuous and dynamic process of management the Charter postulates can hardly be sustained. Further discussion about the importance of dynamic interaction with local communities in initiating dynamic processes and sustainable approaches is in chapter 5. Active interaction with local communities regarding the material of the past is at the heart of WAC discussed in the following section.

4.7 The World Archaeological Congress (WAC)

The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation that has one of its aims the transformation of archaeology from a ‘pure’ science discipline to an interactive one by initiating and developing critical archaeological perspectives on contemporary social and political issues (WAC 2005: www). The WAC was established as an organisation in 1986 after the organisers of the 11th International Congress of the International Union of Pre- and Proto- Historic Sciences (IUPPS), to be held in Southampton, UK, implemented the UN's total academic and cultural boycott of South Africa. Support for the conference was withdrawn by the International Executive of the IUPPS but the conference continued and was held as the World Archaeological Congress (Stone 2006: 53; Gero 1999: www). The congress was held in Southampton, England and discussed archaeology, among specialists and non-specialists, as a discipline that is relevant to everyday life (Ucko 1989: xiii).

By the time WAC was established, archaeology was conceived as a reflection of the “present-day world order [in which] indigenous people ... feel little affinity for the goals and methods of archaeology” (Gero 1999). WAC believes that the problem is not the lack of people’s interest in material of the past; instead, it is the “lack of awareness [among professionals] of other peoples’ cares and concerns” (Ucko 1989a:

xvii). Equipped with this idea, WAC focuses on empowering marginalised people and recognising their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, cultural heritage. Therefore, archaeology, under the umbrella of WAC, becomes not only about people of the past and their material, but also about the involvement of contemporary people with that past.

Driven by the aim of getting people to interact with professionals about the past on the basis of their own perceptions, rather than universal ones, WAC has held a major international congress nearly every four years, in addition to a number of inter-congress meetings since its establishment (Gero 1999, Stone 2006: 62). By providing travel supports to non-Western and indigenous people to attend the congresses and inter-congress meetings, WAC brings local knowledge and experience into archaeological research (WAC 2005: n.p). Papers discussed in these conferences are published in a series called *One World Archaeology*. In this sense, WAC has directed archaeology in general, and practices concerned with material of the past in particular, into a new direction where local communities' knowledge and experiences of material of the past are considered and valued.

Different from the "generalized, rationalized, scientized" (Gero 1999: n.p.) approach to archaeology that resulted in producing limited interpretations of the past, WAC appreciates the *diversity* that people can bring into archaeology and cultural heritage studies (Gero 1999: n.p.). Archaeology before WAC is described as being the "exclusive province of white European upper-class men ... [who produced] exclusionary, hierarchical and scientized knowledge that marginalizes the multivocal archaeology from the peripheries" (Gero 1999: n.p.). WAC intended to make archaeology more inclusive and dynamic. Stone (2006: 63) expresses this mission of WAC as follows: "as archaeologists we have a responsibility to *engage with the wider ramifications and opportunities of our discipline*. WAC has been the one international organisation to identify and accept that responsibility" (emphasis added). As demonstrated in chapter 3, archaeology is not only concerned with investigating how people lived in the past, but also how and why social and cultural changes in that past took place. Involvement in social and cultural changes is suggested in order to develop interest in contemporary societies and cultures (Ucko 1994b: xiii, xiv), with a view to providing insights into the past. Therefore, communication between local

communities and professionals becomes essential in archaeological as well as cultural studies.

The approach WAC developed to material of the past as part of contemporary people's context and culture is relevant to the postprocessual approach to archaeology. In the light of such dynamic approaches, discourses in power and identity started to form an essential part of heritage studies. Broadening the scope of archaeology to include debates in contemporary social and political contexts such as marginalisation and social exclusion, ownership and identity, is demonstrated in recent arguments in heritage management (e.g. Fontien 2006; Jones 2006, 2005; Smith 2006; Hall 2005; Kreps 2003; Bond & Gilliam 1994; Karp & Lavine 1991). In 1989, the WAC congress in South Dakota adopted the *Vermillion Accord on Human Remains* (WAC 2005: www). The Accord takes the form of six principles that deal with issues related to archaeological interest in human remains that are of particular concern to some local communities. Although the principles acknowledge scholars' right to investigate human remains whenever such value is demonstrated to exist, they emphasise the spiritual value these remains have for some local communities and indigenous people (WAC 2005: www). Accordingly, scholars have to approach these remains not only as a source of scientific data, but as something that is closely relevant to some people's lives.

The *Vermillion Accord* was followed by a suggestion for establishing an ethical code that clarifies the WAC's obligations towards indigenous peoples. The code was agreed in the WAC's meeting on 6th of September 1990. It comes as a demonstration of the WAC's responsibilities towards indigenous people and their contemporary as well as ancient cultures. The members of the WAC are compelled by this code not only to acknowledge indigenous people's right to their cultural heritage, but also to establish their interpretations and management plans on the basis of active interaction with them (WAC 1990: 13).

4.8 *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter)*

The Burra Charter is a response to contexts where the concept of conservation goes far beyond the acts of material preservation on which conventional Western approaches concentrate their efforts. In 1979, and 15 years after the formulation of the Venice Charter, Australia ICOMOS established one of the first charters that is based on a specific context rather than the universal one. The following investigates how Australia ICOMOS addresses the issue of cultural diversity and significance, and how these principles influenced formulating other national charters such as the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* in 2002.

Australia ICOMOS adopted a set of guidance for *The Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage Places* in 1979 that was called the Burra Charter. In the preamble to this Charter, the Venice Charter along with other resolutions and international efforts were acknowledged as cornerstones for the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2004: www). The Charter was revised in 1981, 1988, and 1999, but Australia ICOMOS considered the first two drafts of the Charter as archival and only authorised the last revision of 1999 as the active one (Australia ICOMOS 2004: www). An illustrated Burra Charter was issued in 2004 that demonstrated the 1999 edition through pictures. The 1999 edition is characterised by its recognition of the less tangible aspects of heritage and the urgent need to include people in the decision-making process regarding heritage management (Australia ICOMOS 2004: www).

As with the previous charters, the Burra Charter maintains great concern with the physical 'fabric' of cultural heritage, but unlike the Venice Charter, it explores the concept of place and its meaning. Therefore, it introduces the concept of cultural significance in a different way to the art historical perception that was adopted in the previous charters. The Charter considers the different levels of intervention in cultural heritage as methods of presenting and clarifying the cultural significance of place. The Charter capitalises on the notion that:

places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences ... places of cultural significance reflect the diversity of our communities, telling us about

who we are and the past that has formed us ... they are irreplaceable and precious (Australia ICOMOS 1979: www)

The notion of place, as the Burra Charter introduces it, includes both the tangible and the intangible aspects of place (Article 1.1). In this sense, the cultural significance is immediately derived from both tangible as well as intangible characteristics. This implies that the fabric of place is valued in the same way that memories and stories about place are valued (Article 1.2). Therefore, the Charter brings the spiritual and intangible dimension into the foreground, on an equal footing together with the tangible dimensions of cultural heritage. This is evident in Article 12, where the Charter identifies the social value of cultural heritage as “the qualities for which a place has become a focus of *spiritual*, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group” (Australia ICOMOS 1979: Article 12; emphasis added).

This acknowledgment of the intangible resulted in the recognition of local contexts and cultural knowledge concerned with conservation and management of the material of the past. In Article 4.2, the Charter values traditional approaches to material of the past over modern ones: “traditional techniques and materials [rather than highly specialised operation as Venice Charter, Article 9, indicates above] are preferred for the conservation of significant fabric. In some circumstances modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits may be appropriate” (Australia ICOMOS 1979: Article 4.2). Therefore, participation of local communities is essential for providing better perceptions of, and approaches to, cultural heritage place. In this regard, the Charter emphasises that:

groups and individuals with associations with a place as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in understanding the cultural significance of the place (Australia ICOMOS 1979: Article 26.3).

Accordingly, the Burra Charter represents a significant shift in the perception of cultural heritage: its meaning and its significance, as well as the approach to that heritage. Cultural heritage is no longer the ‘historic monuments’ that Athens and Venice Charters were concerned about. Rather it is conceived in a more dynamic and complex way as its intangible aspects are brought into the foreground together with local contexts, perceptions, knowledge and approaches.

Considering the intangible together with *the local* in the Burra Charter is a result of its being based on a specific context rather than a universal or Western one. As it addresses 'living' places with 'living' traditions in Australia, it develops a "meaningful management" approach (Taylor 2004: 431) and responsible approaches to material of the past that respect local contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences.

4.8.1 Local people and intangible cultural heritage: Capitalising on the Burra Charter

Many national charters have been formulated in the light of the Burra Charter. Among many, Canada ICOMOS issued the *Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment* in 1983, New Zealand ICOMOS formulated a *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* in 1992, and the *Indonesian Charter for Heritage Conservation* in 2003 (ICOMOS 2007: www). One of the most recent national principles that were developed on the basis of the Burra charter is the 2002 *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (China Principles). The following discussion investigates these principles because of their emphasis on local and cultural difference and diversity.

The drafting of the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (China Principles) is an acknowledgement of the need to establish conservation and management guidelines that address the specificity and uniqueness of Chinese culture. Arguments about cultural difference and its influence on heritage practices, such as the issue Wei and Aass (1989) discussed above (section 4.4), might have a direct influence on initiating such culturally specialised principles in cultural heritage conservation. The Principles also acknowledges the experience of the West, as it was a result of co-operation with the Australian Heritage Commission, the Getty Conservation Institute and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in China (Taylor 2004: 428).

The Principles acknowledge that the concept of authenticity in China is not restricted to original material: "historical records should not be judged solely on the basis of

present criteria of authenticity, nor should current understanding alone be used to distinguish between what is genuine and what is false” (China Principles 2000: Article 6.2.1.ii). This Article allows for other perceptions of authenticity, rather than the conventional one derived from the art historical approach, to be valued. As Wei and Aass (1989: 6,8) explain twelve years before the China Principles were established, the core of interest in traditional approaches to heritage conservation in China is not the physical fabric of that heritage; rather, it is the spiritual purpose that heritage serves within its contemporary cultural and social context. This understanding of authenticity allows for a dynamic perception of, and approach to, material of the past. It brings the intangible aspects of heritage to the foreground through acknowledging something other than the physical fabric of cultural heritage as a source of significance. This interest in the intangible implies establishing communication with the local: the community, the context, knowledge and experience. These issues, raised as early as 1981 in the first draft of the Burra Charter, were taken to a further level of acknowledgment and implementation in *The Nara Document on Authenticity*.

4.9 *The Nara Document on Authenticity*: Recognising local contexts

The Nara Document on Authenticity resulted from an ICOMOS conference held in Japan in 1994. The Conference presented a strong and unprecedented challenge to conventional perceptions of, and approaches to, cultural heritage. It urged scholars and professionals from contexts other than the West to recognise their own cultural contexts, and to apply them in approaches to cultural heritage. Thus, it emphasised approaches to cultural heritage as a process of interaction, cooperation and dialogue between professionals and local communities. In this approach, cultural heritage practices shifted from the dominant, single approach into one that acknowledged local contexts and cultures in which heritage practices are to be implemented. In this sense, the Document “reflects the fact that international preservation doctrine has moved from a *eurocentric* approach to a post-modern position characterized by recognition of *cultural relativism*” (Larsen 1995: xiii; emphasis added).

Authenticity and cultural diversity are the main issues that the Nara Document discusses. In this Document, authenticity is determined on the basis of local contexts

and their reflection on heritage practices (Taylor 2004: 430; Jokilehto 1994: 17, 19) as “preservation experts are forced to clarify the use of the concept of authenticity within *their own countries and cultural spheres*” (Larsen 1995: xiii; emphasis added). Therefore, the document is more than articles and principles to be applied. Rather, it provides “analytical processes [and] tools” for practical approaches to heritage management and conservation that are based on the needs and nature of local contexts (Taylor 2004: 430). Being sensitive to local contexts, the Document balances and questions the frequent emphasis on universality of heritage in other conventions and charters. It embraces cultural diversity as “an essential aspect of human development” (ICOMOS 1994b: provision 5).

However, the document finds it essential to acknowledge the rhetoric that UNESCO established in its previous charters that “[the] cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all”, and strangely places universality as a fundamental principle for perceiving cultural heritage (ICOMOS 1994b: provision 8). Emphasising diversity and universality at the same time can be a controversial issue in which universality has the upper hand, especially in developing countries where governments strive to identify with the West.

The dynamic meaning of authenticity that the Document provides is illustrated, according to provision 9 of the Document, through the exploration of attributed values, rather than intrinsic ones (ICOMOS 1994b: provision 9). Examining the values that people attribute to cultural heritage allows for diverse meanings of cultural heritage to be recognised. It also empowers people as it acknowledges their perceptions and experiences as part of the process in which cultural heritage is approached. The diversity and flexibility offered by this approach demonstrate that “the search for authenticity is universal, but recognizing ... the ways and means to preserve the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent” (Larsen 1995: xiii; emphasis added). Thus, the Document empowers local communities and their perceptions and knowledge of, and attitudes and approaches towards, cultural heritage. It encourages local scholars to engage with their local communities, contexts and cultures to provide approaches to cultural heritage that are based on the local rather than the universal.

Very relevant to the Nara Document approach is Walter Benjamin's (1992: 215) definition of authenticity as "the *essence* of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced" (emphasis added). Authenticity as an essence is implied in Benjamin's conception of an 'aura', too. The 'aura' is what constitutes the identity of an object and its authority within the social and physical contexts in which it exists (Benjamin 1992: 215). Neglecting the 'aura' of things would probably lead, according to Benjamin (1992: 215) to "liquidation of the traditional value" and, consequently, corruption of the meanings of things. Neglecting the aura of cultural heritage, or cultural heritage place, is made easy through emphasising universality and marginalising the local.

Adopting Benjamin's conception of authenticity and 'aura' in cultural heritage studies, Layton and Thomas (2001) provide an identification of authenticity that capitalises on the importance of context that Benjamin emphasises in his definition of the 'aura'. According to Layton and Thomas (2001: 18), authenticity is the way people use things in order to establish *a form of life*. Therefore, cultural heritage is authentic only if it is incorporated within contemporary contexts in a way that helps people in their daily lives. This meaning of authenticity and its role in establishing a form of life is very relevant to sustainability (discussed in chapter 5).

One can understand the aura of place and its relationship with authenticity as introduced by Benjamin above through the example of District Six Museum in Cape Town in South Africa. The 19th century houses of District Six were destroyed in the 1970s and its 'coloured' community was relocated as District Six was declared as a 'whites only' domestic area. Although the place was physically demolished, however, it existed in the memory of those who lived there (Hall 2001: 298-299). Driven by the desire to preserve what is left of District Six (people's memories of the place) the District Six Museum Foundation was established in 1989. The memories of that place were 'collected': things that represented daily life in District Six were collected and presented in the museum. These things evoked personal memories more than being mere documentation of the past. The demolished place was marked out and a map of the demolished area was reconstructed (Hall 2001: 301, 309). Accordingly, the people of District Six retrieved their place through the map and the collected items. What

was retrieved and represented in the museum is physically different from the original, and hardly conveys the Western perception of authenticity. However, the new place was authentic and real enough for the local community of District Six to construct *a new form for their previous life* in District Six. As expressed in provision 11 of the Nara Document:

It is thus not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity within fixed criteria [e.g. Western criteria]. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the *cultural contexts to which they belong* (emphasis added).

4.10 ICOMOS Ename Charter for the interpretation of cultural heritage sites

The Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites is still in development; however its principles are based on the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) and the Burra Charter (1999). It defines the basic principles of interpretation in the light of “authenticity, intellectual integrity, *social responsibility*, and respect for *cultural significance and context*” (ICOMOS 2004: 1; emphasis added), as introduced by the Nara Document and Burra Charter. It was initially designed to address the way in which the significance of cultural heritage is communicated among lay people. Therefore, it responds to the increase of interest, since the postprocessual approach was established, in the way people interact with their own cultural heritage, and the contribution of this interaction to the interpretation process.

Meanings of cultural heritage, according to the Ename Charter, are approachable only through considering tangible and intangible values, natural and cultural aspects, as well as the different contexts of cultural heritage (ICOMOS 2004: 3). Because of this inclusive approach to meaning, the Charter pays attention to social context, as it requires that technical and professional standards of interpretation should be appropriate for the social context in which it is practiced (ICOMOS 2004: 4). The Charter highlights cultural traditions as a source of information that is crucial for the interpretation process. It considers local communities’ involvement in interpretation programmes as one of the main principles on which interpretation should be based (ICOMOS 2004: principle 2). Therefore it acknowledges local communities, and their contexts, experiences and knowledge as valid sources of meanings that can be integrated with the management process of cultural heritage.

The Charter sees that developing “a sense of personal connection” to a cultural heritage place can be obtained only through emphasising the different meanings of that place (ICOMOS 2004: principle 3.6). But to what extent are the different meanings in a certain site to be represented? How much does this inclusiveness of meanings serve local communities who live close to a site and consider it as their own? Does this inclusiveness serve a site in the long term, or does it only enhance the ‘objectivity’ approach to material of the past? These are some of the contradictions that come to the foreground when all meanings and significance are considered.

An example of these contradictions is manifested in the account delivered by the local community of Hesban regarding their cultural heritage. As will be seen in chapters 8 and 9, almost every respondent in Hesban mentioned the historical existence of a Jewish community during the Iron Age in Tell Hesban. This archaeological and historic fact is well established among the professionals as well as the locals. However, the local community found it hard, given the political and cultural conflict with the state of Israel, to accept this fact being included on the interpretation signs of the site. They also rejected the use of Hebrew language to write some of the interpretation sign. According to Umm Kasem, a female respondent in Hesban:

we are not denying the facts, but if you write this on the signs, the brown signs – you must have seen them in the Tell – you shall see the reaction ... It will be horrible, and it will be really good if it is restricted to destroying the signs as happened many years ago. You cannot blame the people. Can you? after all that happen there [referring to the occupation of Palestine and establishment of the state of Israel]. Can you see Palestine on any map! ... As if it has never been there! ... I do not want to say more (interview with Umm Kasem/ Hesban 12 July 2004).

This account emphasises the influence of contemporary political and social contexts on perceiving and approaching material of the past. Such accounts urge the professionals to interact with local communities regarding cultural heritage that exists within their place on the basis of contemporary contexts. Ignoring these contexts might result, as in Hesban’s case, in adverse consequences which might extend to include material of the past itself. Ironically, such consequences demonstrate that local communities perceive cultural heritage as something inseparable from their contemporary contexts.

4.11 Issues to be addressed by UNESCO documents

Despite celebrating cultural diversity and local contexts in the Ename Charter, UNESCO finds it necessary, even in this Charter, to emphasise the importance of international cooperation in approaching cultural heritage. One cannot help wondering if it is possible to establish genuine cooperation in contexts where the dominant Western legislations “often lack much, or any, regard for the complexities of the views of the past held by the very peoples who inhabit the countries or areas concerned” (Ucko 1989b: xv). In these countries, governmental as well as non-governmental organisations are mainly guided by scholars and professionals who have a principal loyalty to Western legislations that prevents them from recognising other local approaches to cultural heritage. As Kreps (2003: x) observes, regarding approaches to material of the past in museums in developing contexts: “because of the pervasiveness of the western museum model most of us have difficulty imagining museums or museological behaviour in any other forms”. Establishing cooperation in contexts where Western legislations dominate other approaches to cultural heritage, and where local scholars lack critical engagement with the dominant legislations, is a rhetoric that is very unlikely to be applied.

In the World Commission on Culture and Development, discussed in chapter 5, de Cuéllar (1995: 193) states, regarding the ‘developing world’ approaches to cultural heritage, that: “in many countries the knowledge base for the elaboration of a global conservation policy remains slight. Prescriptions are based on conditions prevailing in the West, where almost all the manuals on the subject are written and published”. Similarly, Byrne (1991: 274) rightly explains that one of the reasons that local scholars put little effort into exploring local approaches to material of the past is the absolute belief that heritage management is a universal process, and that its principles are unquestionably applicable in the rest of the world.

Contrary to de Cuéllar (1995) and Byrne (1991), Henry Cleere (1989b: 7) believes that cultural heritage management in post-colonial contexts is in a less than satisfactory condition because archaeologists in these countries “could not be spared to spend periods in developed countries to study their methods” (Cleere 1989b: 15). Such opinion of a prominent scholar reflects a deep belief in Western approaches as

universal, and therefore applicable in the rest of the world. Therefore, if local scholars and professionals trained in the West are to “inspire their fellow citizens to join with them in defence of their heritage”, as (Cleere 2000: 105) recommends, the result will be a collective embracement of Western conventional approaches to cultural heritage and a complete loss of local approaches to material of the past. Rather than inspiring their fellow citizens to protect cultural heritage, professionals need to work with these citizens in an interactive process to defend and evaluate material of the past within their contexts. Figure 4.1 illustrates the relationship between the conventional Western approach to material of the past, the UNESCO documents concerned with cultural heritage, and the practices concerned with material of the past in contexts other than the West, especially post-colonial contexts.

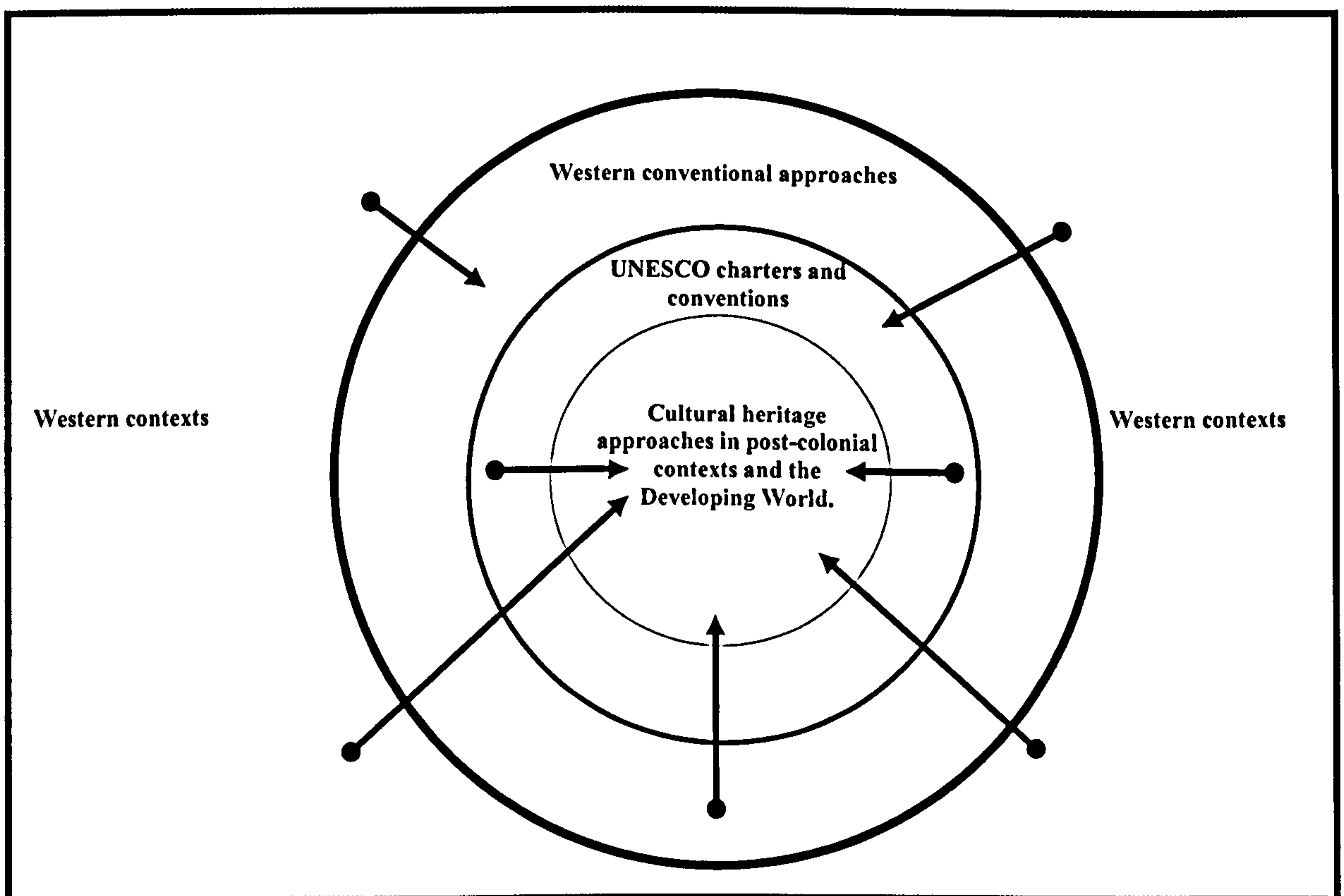


Figure 4.1 The sequential influence of Western contexts, Western conventional approaches, and UNESCO charters concerned with cultural heritage, on practices concerned with material of the past in post-colonial contexts.

Despite the growing literature that criticises the hegemony of Western perceptions of, and approaches to, cultural heritage approaches in the rest of the world (e.g. Kreps 2003; Clavir 2002; Byrne 1991; Karp & Lavine 1991; Wei & Aass 1989; Bowdler

1988), the universal charters address this issue only by acknowledging the diverse perceptions of cultural heritage in various regions and cultures (e.g. ICOMOS 2004: principle 7.6).

Understandably, most of these charters do not address specific contexts, as each context has to develop its own principles in the light of the charters' principles. However, the hegemony of Western approaches to cultural heritage over local ones is an urgent issue, and as it is increasingly recognised among Western scholars, and addressing it in an international charter resonates not only with these studies and the postprocessual approach to archaeology that is increasingly recognised, but also with the recent rhetoric in the 1994 Nara Document and the 1999/ 2004 Burra Charter that is based on acknowledging cultural diversity and local approaches to cultural heritage. Questioning the hegemony of the Western approaches to cultural heritage practices through a universal charter encourages local scholars and professionals operating in contexts other than the West to engage critically with these approaches.

As well as addressing the Western hegemony on the approaches to material of the past, UNESCO charters and conventions in the future should recognise that educated opinions regarding approaches to cultural heritage are increasingly jeopardised by “the big money that passes from state to state in the context of global politics” (Addison 2004: 245). As will be explained about the approach to material of the past in the Jordanian context in chapter 7, relevant policies shift in accordance with political and economic purposes of the Government as well as those foreign agencies providing technical and financial support to projects concerned with archaeological sites and monuments.

The rhetoric about local communities in UNESCO conventions is described as an attempt at “interpolating ‘locals’ and their heritage into predetermined schemes of global world heritage” (Meskell 2002: 569). In order to provide efficient engagement with local approaches rather than interposing them on unquestionable, universal schemes, UNESCO should address the process through which local perceptions of cultural heritage evolved and developed. One of these processes is the way archaeology as a discipline was introduced by the West to many contexts of the world during colonialism. Understanding this process can help local scholars to understand

the influence of contexts on generating theories and approaches to material of the past. It can encourage local scholars to examine both local contexts and Western ones and to realise the differences between them. It can inspire local scholars to critically engage with the values underlying Western approaches to material of the past, and therefore make them open to alternatives to dominant approaches that stem from local contexts.

4.12 Summary and immediate inferences

Cultural heritage, in the context of international legislations, is under pressure of “depersonalization and compartmentalization” (Ucko 1989b: xiii). Establishing universal principles for cultural heritage management is increasingly acknowledged to be problematic as it prevents local perceptions of cultural heritage from being recognised. Marginalising the local and highlighting the universal is a tradition the West started in its approach to material of the past in the colonies as well as the indigenous cultures in the West. Such marginalisation not only excludes local communities, contexts, experiences and knowledge, but also prevents cultural diversity from being recognised and acknowledged by local and Western organisations alike.

Furthermore, a universal approach to material of the past prevents local scholars from critical engagement with the principles of this approach. The international conferences, documents and charters must be aware of the power they ascribe to the concepts they embrace, and the power these concepts develop in post-colonial contexts which strive to identify themselves with the West. The relationship between the West and the UNESCO documents concerned with material of the past is summarised by Meskell (2002: 568) as follows:

Global world heritage could be perceived by some as an extension of the colonial project, traveling to, knowing and mapping territories outside one’s own national boundaries. The language of the UNESCO conventions reinforces Western notions of *value* and *rights*, while the *ownership* and *maintenance* of the past is suffused with the concepts surrounding *property*. A close reading of the language of heritage, specifically the UNESCO conventions, embody older paradigms of cultural history and traditional art historical value-systems instead of the more recent alignment of archaeology with social anthropology and the social sciences (original emphasis).

This chapter has identified three issues that UNESCO should address in its future documents: the Western hegemony over approaches to cultural heritage; the adverse influence of global political and economic shifts on cultural heritage; and the influence of colonialism on local perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past. The data explored in this chapter is used to construct the immediate inferences ‘UNESCO’ (see chapter 2; section 2.2.2). These immediate inferences are used in chapter 10, along with other immediate inferences, to create the suggested approach to material of the past in Jordan. The data and the immediate inferences ‘UNESCO’ that are generated from them are presented in table 4.1 as follows:

Table 4.1 *Generation of the immediate inferences UNESCO from the data explored in chapter 4*

Serial no.	Description of Data	Generation → Immediate Inferences ‘UNESCO’
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The concept of the world heritage, now embodied in a set of international conventions and recommendations, has not received adequate public discussion; its impact has yet to be fully appreciated outside a restricted tourist and developmental context” (Ucko 1989b: xiii; original emphasis). • Despite celebrating cultural diversity and local contexts in the Ename Charter, UNESCO finds it necessary, even in this Charter, to emphasise the importance of international cooperation in approaching cultural heritage. One cannot help to wonder if it is possible to establish genuine cooperation in contexts where the dominant Western legislations “often lack much, or any, regard for the complexities of the views of the past held by the very peoples inhabit the countries or areas concerned” (Ucko 1989b: xv). In these countries, governmental as well as non-governmental organisations are mainly guided by scholars and professionals who have almost an ultimate loyalty to Western legislations that prevents them from recognising other local approaches to cultural heritage. As Kreps (2003: x) observers regarding approaches to material of the past in museums in developing contexts: “because of the pervasiveness of the western museum model most of us have difficulty imagining museums or museological behaviour in any other forms”. Establishing cooperation in contexts where Western legislations dominate other approaches to cultural heritage, and where local scholars lack critical engagement with the dominant legislations, is a rhetoric that is very unlikely to be applied. • In the World Commission on Culture and Development, discussed in chapter 5, de Cuéllar (1995: 193) states regarding the ‘Developing World’ approaches to cultural heritage that: “in many countries the knowledge base for the elaboration of a global conservation policy remains slight. Prescriptions are based on conditions prevailing in the West, where almost all the manuals on the subject are written and 	<p>The uncritical adoption of Western approaches to the past in post-colonial contexts has been enhanced and legitimised by UNESCO’s charters and institutions.</p>

	<p>published". Similarly, Byrne (1991: 274) rightly explains that one of the reasons that local scholars put little effort into exploring local approaches to material of the past is the absolute belief that heritage management is a universal process, and that its principles are unquestionably applicable in the rest of the world.</p>	
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By the time the Athens Charter was issued, many parts of the world, including almost all the Arab countries and Jordan among them, were colonised by the West, and the qualified institutions that operated in these contexts were those of the coloniser: Britain, France and Italy. Therefore, the "works of art in which civilization has been expressed to the highest degree" that the Charter protected, were of those pertaining to the coloniser's perceptions and policies explained in chapter 3. Applying the Athens Charter in such colonised contexts would only intensify the marginalisation of local culture the colonial powers had already established. • The approach to cultural heritage that the WHC provides is based on the Western perception of the material of the past. The emphasis on monumentality and universality combines the principles of the art historical approach and the New Archaeology examined in the previous chapter. In this sense, the WHC is a reflection of the theories and practices concerned with material of the past in the West. • Applying the notion of the universality of intangible cultural heritage is seen as "a further appropriation or 'colonization'" of cultural heritage in post-colonial contexts (Blake 2001: 12-13). Blake (2001: 13) warns that "it is extremely important that UNESCO does not risk appearing to espouse such an [universal] approach to ... heritage" (Blake 2001: 13) in post-colonial contexts and among indigenous people in the West. 	<p>Many of UNESCO's charters and conventions concerned with the material of the past represent a new form of Western colonisation in post-colonial contexts. The notion of universality and generality, which UNESCO charters and conventions have indicated, contribute to the empowerment and legitimisation of Western influence over the past in the rest of the world.</p>
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The rhetoric about local communities in UNESCO conventions is described as an attempt to "interpolating 'locals' and their heritage into predetermined schemes of global world heritage" (Meskell 2002: 569). • In order to provide efficient engagement with local approaches rather than interposing them on unquestionable, universal schemes, UNESCO should address the process through which local perceptions of cultural heritage evolved and developed. One of these processes is the way archaeology as a discipline was introduced by the West to many contexts of the world during colonialism. Understanding this process can help local scholars to understand the influence of contexts on generating theories and approaches to material of the past. It can encourage local scholars to examine both local contexts and Western ones and to realise the differences between them. It can inspire local scholars to critically engage with the values underlying the Western approaches to material of the past, and therefore makes them open to alternatives to dominant approaches that stem from local contexts. • The 'top-down' approach to material of the past, together with the notion of universality, contributes to local communities' alienation from the tangible as well 	<p>The universal and general approach to the material of the past adopted by most of the countries resulted in marginalising local practices and, in some cases, trivialising them. Marginalising local approaches to the past in the context where they are developed and applied, implies marginalising the culture that produced the approach, and the people of that culture.</p>

	<p>as the intangible past. In this sense, cultural heritage belongs to those in power, and hardly any authority is given to those who practice the past as part of their daily life. The following examples demonstrate the local communities' marginalisation and alienation in their own contexts where places have been inscribed as cultural heritage and WHS.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Defining something as belonging to that transcendent category [all mankind] is a means of <i>excluding anyone who might have a particular interest in it</i>. In this case, there seem to be two aspects agitating the complainants and the heritocrats: on the one hand, the aesthetic value, and on the other the research value of the sites involved. The Aboriginal value of the sites does not seem to have concerned them” (Bowdler’s 1988: 521-522; emphasis added). 	
--	--	--

The immediate inferences in the above table demonstrate the bias in the UNESCO documents to the Western conceptual framework and different contexts. Generality and universality that the UNESCO documents emphasise sustained the lack of interest in local contexts, cultures, knowledge and people. This marginalisation of the human factor resulted in approaches to material of the past that are unsustainable. Sustainability as a process that acknowledges local contexts and cultures is examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Sustainability: Community, Context, Culture and Development

People turn to culture as a means of self-definition and mobilization and assert their local cultural values. For the poorest among them, their own values are often the only thing that they can assert. Traditional values, it is claimed, bring identity, continuity and meaning to their lives (de Cuéllar 1995: 28).

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis, the notion of sustainability is introduced in response to one of the research questions: how can a community-led approach to material of the past be established? The chapter aims to explore the way local cultures, contexts and knowledge are incorporated within projects that aim to initiate sustainable development. This is particularly important for addressing the fourth aim of this thesis: “to formulate a suggested model for a sustainable approach to material of the past in Jordan”. Arguments that focus on empowering local communities, contexts, cultures and knowledge are of particular interest for this chapter. Such arguments evolved and developed in discourses that challenge the conventional approach to development. Engagement with these arguments proceeds in this chapter to investigate models in which material of the past is approached on the basis of its local communities, contexts, cultures and knowledge.

5.2 Development: A general context

New paradigm shifts in all aspects of life started when industrialisation and capitalism boomed in Europe in the mid 19th century. Despite prosperity brought by industrialisation, many negative economic and social consequences were recorded (Schech & Haggis 2000: 15). The notion of development was initiated as a response to the negative effects that industrialisation and capitalism had on people’s quality of life. Development was first perceived as “a single, uniform, linear path” (de Cuéllar 1995: 7) that tended “to construct the positive alternative to the disorder and underdevelopment of capitalism” (Cowen & Shenton 1996: 57). In constructing this alternative development, theories and practices focused on enabling social development on the basis of economic growth and material prosperity. Very little concern, if at all, was paid to the intangible aspects of life (Becker *et al.* 1999: 1).

Arguments about development in what is called the 'developing world' were initiated after the Second World War, when colonised countries gained their independence from the European colonial powers. In post-colonial contexts of the 'developing world', development, modernisation and Westernisation are interconnected processes that operate against, and act upon, traditional contexts, cultures and ways of life. The tension between traditional contexts and cultures on the one hand, and the West on the other hand, is encapsulated as follows:

In modernization studies, traditional culture is something modernization acts upon, usually by rupturing, breaking, and even destroying cultural traditions of Third World societies: their ways of speaking, celebrating, their beliefs, techniques, art forms, and values. *The process of modernization is thus placed in opposition to culture...*because both the impulse to civilized and scientific and technological know-how emerged from the West, modernization, development, and westernization are perceived to be interconnected processes (Schech & Haggis 2000: 37; emphasis added)

Development strategies that evolved and developed in the West were uncritically accepted in post-colonial contexts. Very little time and effort were devoted to reflect on the validity of the adopted strategies in the 'hosted' contexts (Schech & Haggis 2000: 7). Traditional cultures were viewed as being in contrast with modernisation and development. In order to become developed and modern, traditional cultures have to be sacrificed in favour of the dominant Western one. Maybury-Lewis (1994: X) observes that the communities in the 'developing world' are forced to give up their cultures, and replace them with 'rootlessness', loss of faith and lack of communication among its members. In the midst of rapid and material development, people in the 'developing world' were merely viewed as tools that could help to speed up the process of development. Edwards (1989: 123) argues that instead of addressing people's problems, development strategies created a situation that segregated people from their contexts that were undergoing material development. This approach devalued local contexts, cultures and knowledge, and ignored the importance of people's active participation in development processes. Thus, despite independence, post-colonial contexts were still engaged in an unequal encounter with the West. In such encounters, local contexts were suppressed and marginalised in favour of material westernisation and modernisation.

Consequently, development processes in post-colonial contexts alienated local communities from their own contexts that underwent fundamental material changes. The adverse consequences of this 'narrow' approach to development are demonstrated in the sacrifice of material of the past for the sake of modern interventions. For example, the built heritage in many developing countries was demolished and replaced with modern buildings (Steinberg 1996: 464). The lack of interest in material of the past and its role in shaping modern cultural identity in post-colonial contexts was described as follows:

an overzealous belief in modernist paradigms in architecture and city building [that] has led to the demolition of entire sections of pre-colonial cities ... in such cases nationhood has not been brought nearer to the heritage as a source of identity; instead, *the gap between identity and the valorization of the past has widened*. Often uncontrolled private initiative has been responsible for the gouging out of large sections of the historic residential urban fabric and its conversion to large scale commercial land use (de Cuéllar 1995: 183; emphasis added)

Demolishing the built heritage in these contexts started during the colonisation period, and can be considered as part of the colonisation process (further argument about approaches to the past as a colonial tool is in chapter 3). DeGeorge (1995: 70-71) argues that the destruction of the old city of Damascus, for example, started during the French mandate in Syria in the early 1920s. New and modern planning schemes were imposed on the traditional urban composition of the ancient city, leaving only scattered fragments of its built heritage. This process of destruction continued in Damascus after independence in an attempt to create a 'functional plan' for the city. Seeden (2000: 180) records the same level of destruction of the built heritage in Beirut in the 21st century. Another, slightly different, example comes from Jordan. Instead of historic buildings, many archaeological sites were destroyed in the 1980s as Jordan experienced urban expansion and construction development in its major cities (Daher 2005: 290, 2000a: 18; Greene 1999: 52; Costello & Palumbo 1995: 547; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 70, 78-79). Palumbo *et al.* (1993: 79) record that among many examples of destruction, remains of a Roman castle were demolished during the main road construction in Jerash in the 1980s. In general, development in post-colonial contexts implied making room for the 'new' through destroying the 'old'. This neglect of the past led to great loss of material culture in the name of development. Musitelli (2002: 332) explains the sacrifice of material culture in the 'developing world' as

follows: “in their frantic race to modernize, [the developing countries] are tempted to neglect the vernacular heritage as archaic and, from Lebanon to China, to open up the old quarters to the bulldozers without a second thought”. However, as the example of Jordan demonstrates, not only the vernacular heritage but also the ancient one was sacrificed.

The relationship between the past, cultural identity and the notion of development, was addressed in UNESCO’s (1986) *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*. In the first Article of this declaration, cultural identity is identified as the “most effective means of demonstrating presence in the world” (UNESCO 1986: Article 1). Moreover, cultural identity is considered as a tool that ‘liberates’ post-colonial contexts from the dominant cultures (UNESCO 1986: Article 2). The contribution of the past and its material to the construction of modern cultural identity is emphasised in Article 3 of the Declaration which reads: “cultural identity is a treasure that vitalizes mankind’s possibilities of self-fulfilment by moving every people and every group to seek nurture in its past”. The relationship between different contemporary cultures was established, in this declaration, on the basis of dialogue and active interaction rather than hegemony and westernisation. Without this dialogue, cultures will be isolated, and eventually die (UNESCO 1986: Article 4). Therefore, the Declaration calls for “cultural policies that will protect, stimulate and enrich each people’s identity and cultural heritage, and establish absolute respect for and appreciation of cultural minorities and the other cultures of the world” (UNESCO 1989: Article 8).

Cultural policies with specific interest in identity and heritage have been increasingly formulated in the West since the Mexico City Declaration was issued in 1986 (Davis 1999: 29). In light of such cultural policies, material of the past was rethought in the West. Rethinking material of the past and its role in contemporary contexts was reflected in the interpretative approach to the past (discussed in chapter 3), the studies that evolved and developed under the umbrella of WAC (discussed in chapter 4), and the concepts of ecomuseums and ‘outreach’ (discussed in section 5.6.2 below). However, in the post-colonial context of the Arab world, culture and cultural identity were rarely incorporated into studies concerned with material of the past. An example

of this scarcity of interest in the role of the past in contemporary contexts was demonstrated at the second World Cultural Forum (WCF) in 2005.

The 2005 WCF is “a global platform or convening where representatives from the civil society, government and private sector interact to address critical issues in the field of culture and development” (World Culture Forum 2005: n.p.). The first WCF was held in Brazil in 2004, and the second one was held in Jordan in 2005. The second WCF was sponsored, among many institutions, by UNESCO and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) in Jordan. Investigation of the papers presented in the second WCF in Jordan demonstrates that in the session of *Valuation and Promotion of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, there were three papers represented by participants from the USA, Italy and China. Nevertheless, there was no participation from any Arab countries. Although this session might seem the most relevant to the subject of the past and its role in contemporary contexts, other sessions such as *Sustaining Creative Energies for Socio-Cultural Development* also lacked any participation from the Arab world. Papers that investigate the role of the past in the present such as *Documentation and Transmission of Indigenous Knowledge and Know How*, by Claudio Cimino from Italy, and *Engaging Difference through Arts and Culture Initiatives* by Marcy Newman from the United States of America, were, obviously, presented by Western scholars. Neither the MoTA or any related departments or institutions in Jordan submit any papers in these areas. The lack of participation from local scholars in the Arab world demonstrates their lack of interest in, or understanding of, the past and its role in the present. The fact that the WCF was held in an Arab country intensifies this lack of interest in the past on academic as well as official levels.

5.2.1 Recognising the intangible: “We want bread and roses too”

This section investigates how the intangible was increasingly brought to the foreground in practices concerned with development at the international level. By the mid 1970s, the lack of interest in the intangible aspects of human needs in conventional development approaches was recognised. The problems of poverty and material deprivation that development policies had promised to tackle were far from being solved (Schech & Haggis 2000: 11-12). However, Breslin (1994: 53) records

that in industrial society as early as 1912, lay people were aware of the lack of interest in the intangible aspect of their life. This awareness is demonstrated in a strike that working girls in Massachusetts led to demonstrate against their material and immaterial conditions. The slogan these girls embraced was: “we want bread and roses too”. The slogan indicates that even for economically struggling individuals, immaterial needs, expressed as roses in the strike’s slogan, are as important as material ones. Despite this early recognition of the importance of the intangible side of life in the development process, it was ignored in the first definition of sustainable development provided by the United Nations in 1987. The United Nations’ *World Commission on Environment and Development* defined sustainable development as that which “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland 1987: 24). These needs were identified on the basis of material requirements of life as it was agreed that “sustainable development can only be pursued if *population size and growth are in harmony with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem*” (Brundtland 1987: 25; emphasis added). Emphasising harmony between supply and demand as the only requirement for sustainable development left very little room for critical engagement with intangible needs in life. Little concern, if any, was paid by the Commission to the human factor and the roles that individuals and local communities can play in initiating sustainable development.

The Commission was revisited in the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Summit resulted in the publication *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*. The debate in this summit was mainly marked by criticising the notion of development as being restricted to economic growth. Principle 11 of the Declaration identified the effective legislations in development as those that reflect the context in which they are applied, especially in the developing countries. Interest in the importance of local contexts, cultures and knowledge in initiating sustainable development was recognised in Principle 22 of the Declaration. The Declaration also acknowledged cultural identity as an element that should be sustained during the development process:

Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have *a vital role* in environmental management and development because of their *knowledge and traditional practices*. States should recognize and duly support their *identity, culture and interests* and

enable their *effective participation* in the achievement of sustainable development (Rio Declaration: Principle 22; emphasis added).

The role of the individual was emphasised even more in the United Nation's *World Commission on Culture and Development* in 1995. The Commission declared that the diverse efforts that were put into development projects in the past frequently failed simply because “the importance of the *human factor* – a complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lie at the very heart of culture – *had been underestimated*” (de Cuéllar 1995: 7; emphasis added). Gradually, it became obvious that economic prosperity alone cannot satisfy individuals' well-being. From 1995, intangible aspects of culture as a creative power were increasingly used in the arguments about sustainable development. In this argument:

it is *culture* that defines how people relate to nature and their physical environment, to the earth and to the cosmos, and *through which we express our attitudes to and beliefs* in other forms of life, both animal and plant. It is in this sense that *all forms of development, including human development, ultimately are determined by cultural factors* (de Cuéllar 1995: 24; emphasis added).

The importance of culture in initiating sustainable development was emphasised in UNESCO's *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* that was held in 1998 in Stockholm. In this conference, culture was recognised as “one of the key components of endogenous and sustainable development” (UNESCO 1998: 14); therefore, governments were encouraged to incorporate culture in their policies of development. Capitalising on the creative role of culture that was established by UNESCO's 1995 Report explored above, the 1998 Stockholm Conference actually tried to apply and put into practice the dynamism and creativity that culture can provide to development projects. Culture, from this perspective, becomes a creative process which contributes diversity to development. Applying this idea of culture as a creative force in development projects ‘liberates’ them from the conventional, economic-based approach, and contributes diversity and dynamism to development processes. It encourages scholars to interact with local communities in the search for cultural knowledge, diversity and creativity.

5.3 ‘Liberating’ development

As arguments about development tended to include local communities, contexts and cultures, the meaning of sustainability shifted from “the long-term ability of a system

to reproduce” (Campbell 1996: 304) – a definition which is commonly used by developers and economists – into a more dynamic and multilayered notion. As the notion of development was influenced by postmodern discourses and epistemologies, such as postcolonialism and feminism, it became more pertinent to people’s contemporary contexts, cultures and every day life (Braidotti 1999: 80). Harvey (1990: 203) describes postmodernity as being based on challenging singularity and objectivity in favour of diversity and dynamism.

Although postmodernity is criticised as being “an era experiencing a new depthlessness and a consequent weakening of historicity representing an inability to unify past, present and future ... leaving a rubble of distinct and unrelated signifiers” (Jameson 1984: 79), it also ‘liberates’ the approach to development. This liberation is based on introducing a dynamic way of thinking that enables scholars to revisit traditional theories and practices that are usually marginalised in order to create an alternative approach to the dominant ones. In this sense, postmodernity provides critical and in-depth engagement with contexts (Braidotti 1999: 80); therefore, it establishes a background for genuine changes in the internal consistency of the subjects.

In the context of postmodernity, scholars employed the notion of discourse, as developed by the French sociologist Michael Foucault (1977b, 1972), to re-approach taken-for-granted circumstances. Examining development as a discourse allows for a critical investigation of the context in which development is taking place. Foucault (1972: 120-121) developed the notion of discourse to refer to systems of representation, which produce particular meanings and knowledge about the subject they represent. These meanings reflect the time and the place in which representation develops. Therefore, meanings reflect systems of power that created them. The notion of discourse was applied to develop many theories such as postcolonial theory. Edward Said (2003) in his book *Orientalism* builds on Foucault’s notion of discourse to investigate how the West constructed an image of itself through representing the ‘other’. In Said’s (2003: 96) analysis, the West represented the ‘other’ as being the opposite of itself. This representation resulted in systems of meanings and knowledge that still govern the relationship between the West and the rest of the world. In contexts where representation is an issue that goes through a crisis, where diverse

views are neglected, unified vision is imposed, and some pasts are misrepresented or unrepresented. Applying the notion of discourse supports those who are suppressed by bringing the power that creates this misrepresentation into the foreground and questioning it (Braidotti 1999: 87).

In museums, the urgent need to “save fragments of ‘heritage’ and to make a statement about *local identity*” (Davis 1999: 45) triggered the desire among marginalised communities to challenge the conventional way of presenting material culture in museums. Thus, new ideas such as the ‘new’ museum and ecomuseum (see section 5.6.2 below) emerged to make statements about the local, and to ‘rebel’ against the conventional. Accordingly, suppressed contexts can be the most suitable ones for initiating a ‘bottom-up’, context-oriented and community-led approach. However, Rigg (1997: 36) notes that communities’ visions are subject to manipulation and suppression, and in many cases, there is an urgent need to investigate beyond the obvious problem in order to explore the true needs of these communities. Rigg’s (1997: 36) warning reads as follows: “to assume that there is one “natural” indigenous vision which can somehow be accessed to shed light on the reality of local places ... Even local visions are unrepresentative, are subject to manipulation, have been created and moulded by powerful interest groups, and are subject to constant change”. One of the methods that provides insights into local communities’ genuine perceptions, as demonstrated in chapter 2, is in-depth interviewing.

Understanding the notion of development implies investigating not only the rhetoric but also the system of knowledge and power in which the rhetoric is established. Escobar (1995) employs the notion of discourse to critically examine development processes in the ‘developing world’. In light of Escobar’s (1995: 44) study, the ‘developing world’ was introduced to development “not as a cultural process (culture was a residual variable, to disappear with the advance of modernization) but instead as a system of more or less *universally applicable technical interventions* intended to deliver some ‘badly needed’ goods to a ‘target’ population” (emphasis added). Accordingly, development in this context operates through institutions which consolidate certain knowledge and establish it as taken-for-granted, while at the same time marginalising local communities, contexts and knowledge (Escobar 1995: 47). Development in this sense alienates local communities from their culture to treat them

as 'resources' for the development process (Escobar 1995: 149). Therefore, the discourse of development, as seen by Escobar, has invented the 'developing world' and introduced it, from a Western point of view, as being poor, undeveloped and a 'Third World'. The process of development in the contexts of the 'developing world', its theories and practices, as well as its outcomes, is captured as follows:

Instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression ... [development] is about how the 'Third World' has been produced by the discourses and practices of development since their inception in the early post-World War II period (Escobar 1995: 4).

Similarly, Schech and Haggis (2000: 57-58, 66-69) employ postcolonial theory, among other theories, as an analytical tool to investigate development in post-colonial contexts. In their study, they suggest that colonialism created a certain cultural context in which the colonised were seen as primitive, aggressive and disorganised, while everything colonial was idealised and presented as peaceful and philanthropic. This context was crucial to the way the 'Third World' understood, represented and managed itself in the recent years (Said 2003: 325). With its local cultures perceived as being passive and retarded, most of the countries in the 'developing world' doubted their capacity to develop and progress without fundamental help from the West (Schech & Haggis 2000: 68-69; Emovon 1990: 11).

Development in these contexts is seen as being something that always come from outside. Poverty and marginalisation left these contexts "completely unprepared to resist whatever inroads foreign powers as well as their multinationals and world bank bodies maybe making into various areas of their social fabric" (Andah 1995: 155). As Chatterjee (1993b: 6) argues in his analysis of post-colonial contexts, the world, in these contexts, is divided into two separated domains: the material and the spiritual. While "the material is the domain of the 'outside', of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology, a domain where the West had proved its superiority and the East had succumbed", the spiritual is the 'inside' where the features of cultural identity reside (Chatterjee 1993b: 6). This sharp distinction between development as something good that comes from outside, and local contexts, cultures and knowledge as something 'rigid', usually results in suppressing the 'inner' domain in favour of the

‘outside’ one. Therefore, the local in post-colonial contexts is marginalised, suppressed and misapprehended, in favour of the West, its ideas and approaches.

Such a critical approach to development highlights the margins rather than the norms as it investigates what exists behind the rhetoric of development. This implies bringing lay people, their knowledge and practices, into the foreground. Furthermore, it infuses new points of view that come from local contexts into development. Bringing the local to the foreground activates local communities’ culture and incorporates it with the policies and practices concerned with development.

5.3.1 ‘Liberating’ sustainability

The role of experts is to help local communities to address their problems in a collaborative, local approach. Many scholars (e.g. Schech & Haggis 2000: xi; Hall & McArthur 1998: 59; Maybury-Lewis 1994: xiii) observe that starting any project by consulting the local community involved in that project is an efficient process. Not only does it save time and conflict between the diverse stakeholders of the project, but also provides creative ideas and perspectives that are directly derived from local communities, contexts and knowledge. However, decision makers usually share a “culture of resistance to embracing community consultation” (Hall & McArthur 1998: 76), as it is viewed as a waste of time and effort. According to this ‘culture of resistance’, local communities are considered as lacking understanding of the depth of issues about which they are consulted. Moreover, it is assumed that consulting local communities will create opposition to the decision makers, and therefore delay the projects about which local communities are being consulted (Hall & McArthur 1998: 76). Accordingly, local knowledge that communities can contribute to the development process is suppressed in favour of a purely scientific approach that guarantees less time and effort than consulting local knowledge, experiences, feelings and attitudes.

Activating cultures and bringing local knowledge into a discipline, any discipline, is hardly appreciated by conventional approaches. Such approaches rely on objective knowledge and skills of specialists, while very little attention, if at all, is paid to local communities, contexts and knowledge. Recently, boundaries between local

communities and science have been broken as local knowledge is incorporated into the process in which people's problems are defined, and solutions are suggested. This approach is defined as Post-Normal Science (PNS) (Funtowicz & Ravetz 2003: 1). Inspired by ecological economics, PNS is based on initiating an approach to face the challenges presented by sustainable development, mainly those concerned with communicating with local communities and establishing solutions that are based on this communication (Funtowicz & Ravetz 2003: 1-2). Contrary to applied sciences, PNS suggests an *inclusive dialogue* that allows local communities' knowledge to be "utilized, harmonized, enhanced and validated" in scientific research (Funtowicz & Ravetz 2003: 3). The dynamic interaction with local communities from the very first stages of the research allows for problems to be identified and solutions to be suggested on the basis of a participatory and process-oriented approach (Funtowicz & Ravetz 2003: 7).

This participatory approach provides the development process with diverse points of view that come from dynamic interaction with local communities. Such diversity results in providing a thorough understanding of the problems investigated. In this sense, PNS empowers local communities as it puts them in charge of identifying and approaching their problems. Accordingly, sustainable development in the context of PNS is not established as an end; rather, it is a process that is based on investigating the relationship between local communities and their resources. Under the umbrella of PNS, cooperation between different levels of knowledge, specialised knowledge as well as local knowledge, can be established. Incorporating local knowledge together with experts' knowledge allows the process of development to be more *dynamic, diverse and inclusive*. This approach challenges the 'top-down' approaches that marginalise local communities, contexts and knowledge and emphasise experts' knowledge and skills as the only way to initiate sustainability.

5.4 Capital that puts local communities first!

Using the notion of capital in social studies was discussed in Becker's (1964) human capital that was followed by Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1997) cultural, social and symbolic capital, and Côté's (1996) identity capital. Bourdieu (1997: 46) introduced capital to social sciences as:

accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world ... it makes the games of society – not least the economic game something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle (Bourdieu 1997: 46).

The notion of capital, as described above, is dynamic (note the words used in the above quote: ‘enable’, ‘energy’, ‘living labour’, ‘force’). Capital in these studies is used to indicate the capacity of local communities to create individual as well as collective positive changes. It is based on bringing individuals together in order to create a changing energy and a diverting force. This approach moves beyond solely the economic purposes to more humanistic and social ones. The “activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing the resource in people” was recognised by Becker (1964: 1) as human capital. Human capital was recognised in economic studies as well as cultural ones. It refers to the important role of the individual’s skills, knowledge and education, among others, in initiating positive change and establishing cultural, social and economic capital (e.g. Jeannotte 2003a: 37; Throsby 2001: 3; Costanza & Daley 1992: 38; Becker 1964). Rowlands (1994: 141) observes that these “interests in notions of agency and the individual suggest a late but necessary move towards the interactionist perspective”. If the individual is not recognised, then it is hard to establish an interaction with him or her.

A clear connection between human capital as explained above, and cultural capital, is demonstrated in Bourdieu’s explanation of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1984: 243-244), cultural capital is organised in three forms; the ‘embodied’ state, the ‘objectified’ state and the ‘institutionalised’ state. On the one hand, the embodied state represents the intangible and inner domain of the individual, such as thoughts and feelings, and the objectified state represents the tangible domain, which, in most cases, expresses the embodied state in tangible forms such as books, paintings and buildings. On the other hand, the institutionalised state is the public recognition of the embodied and the objectified cultural capital. This recognition can take many forms, such as academic credential, awards and prizes.

Despite this distinction between the different forms of capital, Bourdieu (1984: 224) recognises that “most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment”. This remark puts cultural capital in two major forms; the tangible and the intangible. The tangible and the intangible cultural capital were overtly expressed in Throsby’s (2002: 103, 2001: 46, 1999: 6-7) studies of culture and economy. Throsby (1999: 6-7) identifies cultural capital as:

the stock asset that contributes cultural value ... The asset may exist in *tangible* or *intangible* form. The stock of *tangible cultural capital* assets exists in buildings, structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance (commonly called “cultural heritage”) ... *Intangible cultural capital*, on the other hand, comprises the set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people (Throsby 1999: 6-7; original emphasis).

This definition of cultural capital not only overtly expresses the tangible and the intangible aspects of culture, but also relates directly, especially the intangible one, to what Bourdieu (1997: 51) defines as social capital. It acknowledges the capacity of beliefs and values to help individuals communicate and work together to create change and initiate development. Social capital was introduced as the “*membership* in a group – which provides each of its members with backing of the *collectively-owned capital*, and a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit” (Bourdieu 1997: 51; emphasis added). In this sense, social capital represents social cohesion – the things that bring individuals together on mental as well as practical levels, such as memberships and associations.

Therefore, social capital is a result of human as well as cultural capital. What individuals acquire of knowledge and skills, together with their values and beliefs, qualify them to be members of a certain group, and to develop connections with specific people and places. While certain skills lead an individual to be a member of a certain association, being in that association leads the individual to acquire certain knowledge, skills and status. Therefore human, social and cultural capital are inextricably related to each other. In this regard, Jeannotte (2003a: 39) emphasises that although a certain capital can be apprehended as a result of another, all types of capital are connected in a reciprocal relationship that enhances each of them.

Cultural capital and human capital have been viewed by Côté (1996: 424) as precursors for another sort of capital; identity capital. Identity capital is based on establishing “*a stable sense of self* which is bolstered by ... social and technical skills in a variety of areas; effective behavioural repertoires; psychological development to more advanced levels; and associations in key social and occupational networks” (Côté 1996: 425; emphasis added). Identity capital differs from human capital as it relates to the self and the emotional side of life rather than the skills and the practical side of it. It also relates to the intangible aspects of life rather than the tangible ones. It focuses on reinventing the self and empowering its ‘assets’ in order to enable the individual to maintain the human, cultural and social capital it acquires, and to capitalise on them in order to pursue further development.

The diverse notions of capital introduced above have been used in recent economic studies to initiate a view of sustainable development (e.g. Jeannotte 2003a, b; Pretty & Ward 2001; Berkes 1998). Although human and identity capital are not mentioned in some of these studies, the frequent emphasis on issues such as social cohesion, empowerment and self-development is closely relevant to the ideas developed in the arguments about human, identity, cultural and social capital discussed above.

Similarly, in studies concerned with material of the past, the notion of capital was used to investigate the impact of material culture and institutions concerned with it such as museums and galleries. These studies were particularly interested in the way material culture develops meanings among local communities (e.g. Newman 2005: 228-237; Newman & McLean 2004b). Cultural capital is used in these studies as a tool to investigate the social role of museums. Social inclusion and exclusion are used as precursors that indicate the social role of museums and art galleries. For example, O’Neil (2006: 38) and Mason (2004: 65) examine how museums contribute to social inclusion as well as exclusion. Along the same lines, Newman and McLean (2004a: 170, 1998: 146-153) perceive museums and galleries as places that have the potential to enhance social capital and target social exclusion. Elsewhere, Newman and McLean (2006: 59) explore cultural capital of the individual and its influence on his or her quality of experience in museums. The notion of capital, in these studies, was developed with special interest in the individual. By recognising the individual as the core element of change, capital anchors the whole notion of development to the

individual. Without empowering the individual it is almost impossible to initiate sustainable development.

In this regard, Andah (1995: 156, 1990: 4) emphasises the importance of understanding the self as a prerequisite for establishing sustainable development in practices concerned with material of the past. It is crucial in approaching the past to turn to “the local selves; the local environments – historical and present – in both spiritual and material terms and in meditative and practical terms” (Andah 1990: 4). In another account, Andah (1990: 3) suggests that the past can be a source of regeneration, and that the only way for development “is to merge with our past, and to emerge from the past into an enlarged future”. In light of Andah’s arguments mentioned above, the importance of merging in, and emerging from, the past intensifies in post-colonial contexts. In such contexts, the past, even an oppressive one, can empower local communities and urge them to pursue a better life.

The arguments in this section focus on anchoring development to the individual. The types of capital explored above, despite their diversity, are about the energy that individuals generate and accumulate to initiate changes that stem from their own contexts. This energy is demonstrated in Hesban, one of the case studies this research explores, as section 9.2.4 explores how the local community of Hesban put this energy in practice and established the Friends of Archaeology of Hesban. The following arguments take the interest in the individual to a further level by examining how empowering the individual can lead to empowering communities.

5.5 Sustainability and the local

The following four sections investigate how the different forms of capital, discussed above, are used to initiate sustainable development in post-colonial contexts. The way these capital are transformed from theories to constructive energy that initiates community-led and context-oriented approaches is explored. Influences that such approaches have on introducing sustainability as social and context-oriented processes are examined. Furthermore, the ways in which local communities and contexts are empowered, and local knowledge is employed in development approaches, are explored in the following sections.

5.5.1 Activating local cultures: Empowering local communities

Culture implies energy. It can initiate a ‘changing power’. Kleymeyer (1994b: 32) introduces the concept of cultural energy to development studies as the power that “not only provides the collective force necessary to begin and sustain group action ... [it] is a primary basis for human motivation, cohesion, and persistence”. Cultural energy in this sense is a prerequisite for motivation which, in its turn, is a basis for empowering the individual and creating human and identity capital. It is also essential for enhancing social cohesion and initiating interaction between individuals. As explained in chapter 1, this interaction is crucial for initiating and developing culture itself.

Kleymeyer (1994b: 32) points out that one of the basic functions of cultural energy is that it “enables culture to renew itself”. In this sense, culture responds to challenges by renewing itself: reproduction is a fundamental feature of sustainability (Campbell 1996: 304). Berke and Conroy (2000: 23) developed, in light of literature on sustainability and its features, a cultural and community-oriented definition of sustainability. It reads that sustainability is “a *dynamic process* in which *communities anticipate* and accommodate the needs of current and future generations in ways that *reproduce and balance* local, social, economic, and ecological systems” (Berke & Conroy 2000: 23; emphasis added). This definition of sustainability puts people in charge of their own problems, and empowers them to initiate solutions. It introduces sustainability as a social process that reflects local communities’ contemporary contexts. This social orientation in defining sustainable development introduces “the social quality of the material basis” (Ascelard 1999: 41) into the arguments of sustainability. In this respect, the main concern is not the conservation of heritage resources; rather it is the mechanism through which local communities operate to achieve sustainability. Thus, sustainable development becomes “an intentional, *self-guided process* of transformation and management” (Sachs 1999: 28). This context-oriented definition of sustainability is closely relevant to social capital as it acknowledges the importance of having *collective goals* among local communities in order to encourage their *active participation*. Therefore, social capital is a basic requirement for establishing sustainable development.

Sustainability and social science are increasingly considered as being interrelated. Becker *et al.* (1999: 4, 5) examined the influence of this interrelation on the notion of sustainability. Because social science is concerned with the human factor, applying it to arguments concerned with sustainable development results in mitigating the conventional connection that is established between development and economic growth (Becker *et al.* 1999: 5). Instead of focusing on economic growth as the main concern of development, attention is paid to local communities, their contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences. This shift in focus allows for introducing 'cultural deprivation', as analogous to material deprivation, to sustainable development arguments. Cultural deprivation – that is, alienation from cultural roots, lack of autonomy, and spoiled identity – have damaging effects similar to those resulting in material deprivation, not only on individuals, but also on the whole development process (Kleymeyer 1994 b: 17). Therefore, viewing sustainability from a social point of view allows local contexts, cultures and knowledge, as well as issues associated with them, such as social inclusion and exclusion, and local community empowerment, to be brought to the foreground.

Consequently, social aspects of life are increasingly recognised in sustainable development arguments as some of the fundamental factors in initiating sustainable development. One of these aspects is social equity. In the economic sense, social equity is based on securing future generations' rights to having access to the diverse resources that are currently available for local communities (e.g. Throsby 2001: 55; Berke & Conroy 2000: 22, 23; Campbell 1999: 297ff). However, social sciences emphasise that, while a society exists without economy, it cannot exist without its cultural and natural resources (Becker *et al.* 1999: 5). Thus, the utilitarian approach to resources, in light of social science, is subordinated to social and environment factors rather than economic ones. This perception of these resources, not as a basis for economy but as fundamental assets of human well-being, fosters the shift in development from the conventional economic-based approach towards a human-oriented one.

Resources, in social science perspectives, are far from being mere commodities that deliver material prosperity. Instead, local communities and their resources are

perceived as being directly connected in a *reciprocal relationship* that is governed by local contexts, cultures, and contemporary ways of life. Therefore, the resources are, in this perspective, incorporated in local communities' culture; their knowledge, beliefs and attitudes. Many of the above arguments have been built to justify the necessity for including culture in sustainable development. However, Kazen (1982; in Kleymeyer 1994a: 10) emphasises that including culture in development should be the norm:

culture is an holistic concept: *economic aspects are one element of that whole*. Instead of having to justify the *inclusion* of cultural consideration in the development process, it would seem more likely that the more conservative 'developmentalists' should be forced to justify their isolation of economic factors and their disproportionate concentration on these to the exclusion of other relevant factors (emphasis added).

Here, it is culture rather than economy that lies at the heart of sustainable development. As analogous to sustainability studies in natural resources, research that aims at establishing a sustainable approach to the past subordinates the claimed economic benefits. Instead, it emphasises the necessity for exploring the relationship between material of the past and local communities as a prerequisite for the process of sustainability. As the following discussion will demonstrate, this implies a democratic approach to material of the past; an approach that values the relationship between local communities and material of the past over the objective and scientific investigation of material culture.

5.5.2 Empowering the individual

The approach to the past in the West changed dramatically in the last century. The shift from the 'top-down' to the 'bottom-up' approaches to material of the past is ascribed to fundamental changes in Western contexts. Hall (2005: 27-28) identifies two main conceptual shifts in Britain that influenced these changes and that were reinforced by the growing "de-centering of the West and western-oriented or Eurocentric grand-narratives" (Hall 2005: 28). The first shift is demonstrated in "the democratisation process [in which] the lives, artefacts, houses, work-places, tools, customs and oral memories of ordinary everyday British folk have slowly taken their subordinate place alongside the hegemonic presence of the great and the good". The second shift is "the critique of the Enlightenment ideal of dispassionate universal

knowledge, which drove and inspired so much of Heritage activity in the past” (Hall 2005: 27-28). The result of such dramatic shifts in thinking is demonstrated in many Western scholars’ works, such as Kreps (2003), Jones (2005, 2006) and Smith (2006). Such studies focus on local communities’ perceptions of the past in local and marginalised communities, both in the West and post-colonial contexts. In these studies, it is the individuals’ perceptions of the past, and the local meaning-making process of its material, that matters.

Recent models that encompass heritage, museum and gallery work are inspired by and built on the basis of community participation. For example, Corsane *et al.* (2005: 23-27) and Corsane (2005: 2-5) introduce a model for heritage management that is based on the assumption that heritage, museums and galleries are tools that provide learning, inspiration and entertainment for their visitors (Corsane *et al.* 2005: 23; Corsane 2005: 2). In this model, the diverse activities involved in heritage practices contribute to the meaning-making processes of material culture and heritage sites (Corsane *et al.* 2005: 23; Corsane 2005: 2, 4). These processes renew themselves through continuous communication between the different stakeholders involved; professionals as well as lay people. The dynamism of the meaning-making process implies inventing new aims and objectives, and reinventing the old ones. The whole process of interaction between material of the past, local communities and professionals involved is seen as a dynamic process with “feedback loops”. The continuous feedback enhances the dynamism of the meaning-making process of material culture (Corsane 2005: 2). In this model, the way material of the past is interpreted and represented is in continuous reproduction. However, one can argue that the real output is the power that such models can give to local communities.

By addressing the relationship between local communities and their resources – either natural or cultural – a new *political context* is introduced to the process of meaning-making of these resources. This political context implies establishing *negotiation* with people as main stakeholders in sustainable development (Becker *et al.* 1999: 5). Therefore, as people become more engaged in the process through which material of the past is defined, evaluated and approached practically, sustainability develops as a ‘bottom-up’ strategy. Effective participation requires putting local knowledge into action, and incorporating it within development strategies. Hall and McArthur (1998:

58) define local communities' participation in practices concerned with material of the past as being effective only "when heritage managers shift the involvement focus from the sharing of information to the sharing of decision-making". This efficient involvement gives local communities a genuine power that Start (1999: 55) acknowledges as being vital for any management plan:

Whilst the processing of planning application is a necessary and vital element in the nation's current strategy for cultural resources management, it is not the whole story. We have a primary and crucial responsibility to recognize and meet the needs of the community. If we do not inspire and foster enthusiasm, care and pride in the nation's heritage, we will ultimately lose public support for our activities and for the preservation and conservation of the material remains of our past.

The participatory approach is also identified as being 'actor-oriented' and is recognised in many studies in economic development (e.g. Kleymeyer 1994c: 199-204; Western 1994; Wright 1994: 526; Rahman 1993) as "a powerful tool to mobilize community involvement around social and environmental issues" (Campbell 1996: 305). Mobilising community involvement in development projects implies operating on the symbolic dimension of local communities' lives (e.g. their thoughts, values and feelings). The symbolic dimension is acknowledged as a system of power that regulates the mechanism through which things are perceived and valued. Becker *et al.* (1999: 9) explain the importance of the symbolic dimension in development projects as being "a crucial step towards *actor-oriented approaches*, because it allows analysis of those factors that simultaneously affect the *perception and valuation* of the environment and govern everyday behaviour" (emphasis added).

Exploring symbolic dimensions of life allow insights into the factors that influence the meaning-making process of things. Incorporating symbolic dimensions within development approaches allows local communities to be consulted on the basis of their own contexts, cultures and knowledge, rather than professionals' perceptions and theories. This kind of interaction is acknowledged as a fundamental basis for sustainable communities (Jeannotte 2003a: 48). In this sense, actor-oriented approaches are basically achieved through "dual, interactive strategies" (Campbell 1996: 305), in which local communities are consulted on the basis of their culture; the meanings and the values they hold; and the knowledge and experience they can offer to enhance development projects.

5.5.3 Grassroots development

Encouraging development on the basis of local communities' culture is an approach towards grassroots development. This approach is inspired by Western scholars' experience in 'developing' contexts as well as in marginalised contexts in the industrialised world. Kley Meyer (1994a: 4) identifies grassroots development as:

a *process* in which disadvantaged people *organize themselves* to overcome the obstacles to their social and economic well-being. The strategies they employ include conducting *self-help* development projects, pressuring public and private institutions for resources, and *representing the group's common interests* before governmental agencies and the body politic (emphasis added).

Therefore, grassroots development generates from local communities' contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences. It requires local communities to establish cohesion among themselves by getting organised in networks that aim at addressing their problems. In this sense, grassroots development requires social capital. As explained earlier, social capital, as with all other types of capital, depends on individuals' behaviour and attitudes; therefore grassroots development is anchored to the individual and his or her capacity to initiate a genuine change. Self-help, or self-reliance, is the mechanism through which the individual capitalises on his or her own culture and makes it contribute to the desired change. Rahman (1993) in his study of development in the 'developing world', identifies self-reliance as "a state of mind that regards one's *own mental and material resources* as the primary stock to draw on in the pursuit of one's objectives, and finds *emotional fulfillment* not only in achieving the objectives as such but also in the very fact of having achieved them primarily by using one's *own resources*" (emphasis added). The emotional fulfillment is seen as a process that generates "collective creative activity for collective achievements" (Rahman 1993: 18). Failing to achieve self-reliance can result in alienating individuals from development projects (Rahman 1993: 29). It can also create tension between local communities and the bodies responsible for these projects. Therefore, grassroots development directly introduces the individual and his or her identity to the argument of sustainable development. It channels individuals' power that is demonstrated in human, cultural, social and identity capital, to initiate a development that is community-led, context-oriented and culture-led.

Grassroots development projects were conducted in some parts of the 'developing world' in the 1960s and 1970s as a reaction against material-oriented development. Schech and Haggis (2000: 40-45) introduce examples that adopted 'bottom-up' approaches to economic development in post-colonial contexts. In these examples, local communities maintained their culture while achieving material development. Unfortunately, these projects were eventually suppressed by the 'top-down' approaches that appear still to dominate all aspects of life in post-colonial contexts. However, the successful implementation of the 'bottom-up' approaches demonstrates that grassroots development can be successfully applied in these suppressed contexts.

5.5.4 An interpretive approach to sustainable development

As a result of introducing the human factor to the discourse of sustainability, the interpretive approach becomes closely relevant to development projects (Becker *et al.* 1999: 9-10). The contributions of the interpretive approach to sustainability can be clarified in light of Hodder's (1991b: 15, 16) explanation of the levels at which the interpretive approach (explored in chapter 3) operates. It can be used in the same way that postcolonial theory is harnessed to provide critical engagement with conventional approaches and to enrich sustainable development arguments.

The lack of recognition of the 'other' and his or her views about development can lead to relapses. As Kleymeyer (1994b: 27) recognises, efforts to produce a mono-cultural society have often resulted in inflaming conflict between cultures, increasing the sense of alienation and impoverishing the traditional cultures involved in the development process. However, insight into other cultures can be gained if the possibility of having alternatives in the development process is introduced. Interpretative approach allows for such a possibility to take place. It offers an alternative for the homogenised Western model in which the continual emphasis is on a mono-cultural and global vision of things (Hodder 1991b: 15). This alternative is derived from the diversity of narratives that local contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences provide. Therefore applying the interpretive approach to the notion of sustainability enhances diversity, inclusion and specificity. In this sense, the interpretive approach mitigates the dominant perceptions and practices through empowering the ordinary, the suppressed and the marginalised.

The interpretive approach is concerned with the way people make sense of their world rather than creating “distant, abstract science or theory” (Hodder: 1991b: 15; also see chapter 3). In this approach, great attention is paid to understanding the ‘other’. This understanding implies exploring the intangible aspects of life through an interactive process that forces specialists to engage with local communities and their contexts, cultures, memories, stories, knowledge, experiences and feelings. It allows professionals to build their knowledge, following Foucault’s argument of human science (1970: 364) as a “quasi-transcendental unveiling” of life, rather than composing pure science and objective theories. The “self-reflexivity and dialogue” (Hodder 1991b: 16) on which the interpretive approach is based, allows for an active interaction between scientific disciplines and local knowledge. Thus, it enhances the participatory approach on which the social model of sustainability is based, and fosters the PNS contribution to the notion of sustainability discussed above. By acknowledging the local, the interpretive approach ‘liberates’ sustainable development from the dominant notion of materiality, and makes it applicable in social sciences.

5.6 Sustainability in practices concerned with material of the past

Integrating the approaches to material of the past into processes concerned with sustainable development is the main interest of this section. Such integration was pointed out in UNESCO’s report on cultural diversity. The report states that: “each society needs to assess the nature and precariousness of its heritage resources in its own terms and determine contemporary uses it wishes to make of them, not in a spirit of nostalgia but in the spirit of development” (de Cuéllar 1995: 176). In this sense, identification and evaluation of material culture is directly related to local communities’ perceptions that are, in their turn, derived from contemporary contexts, cultures, knowledge and experiences. In order to initiate a community-led and context-oriented approach, projects dealing with managing material of the past should be integrated with contemporary contexts and daily life (Lerner & Hoffman 2000: 232; McManamon & Hatton 2000: 12, 13; Seeden 2000: 177, 184). The following sections explore how community-led and context-oriented approaches to material of the past evolve and develop.

5.6.1 Cultural sustainability and the local

The “ability to retain cultural identity and to allow change to be guided in ways consistent with the cultural values of a people” is what Berkes (1998) refers to as the meaning of *cultural sustainability*. Berkes’ (1998: 26) definition of cultural sustainability attempts to achieve a balance between changes implied in development on the one hand and local contexts, cultures and knowledge within which development is taking place on the other. Similarly, Sachs (1999: 32) identifies cultural sustainability as being closely associated with change and flexibility. She sees that cultural sustainability is “*change within continuity* (balance between respect for tradition and innovation) and capacity for autonomous design of a ‘national project’: self-reliance, *endogeneity* (as opposed to servile copying of alien models) and self-confidence combined with an opening up to the world” (Sachs 1999: 32; emphasis added). By emphasising dynamism together with stability and ‘rootness’, the definitions of cultural sustainability are directly associated with the notion of grassroots development and the vital role the individual plays in it.

Cultures empower local communities through the knowledge they provide. This cultural knowledge is identified as “the ways in which ordinary people categorize and understand things and events, including human actions and mental experiences” (Edwards 1997: 250). Cultural knowledge is therefore a process rather than pre-given knowledge; it allows for local contexts to be expressed. Furthermore, cultural knowledge provides “personal security and group pride” (Breslin 1994: 56). As seen in the arguments developed above, personal security, group pride, collective confidence, self-respect and a strong sense of self, are at the heart of initiating social capital (e.g. Kley Meyer 1994a: 5). Therefore, cultural knowledge empowers local communities through bringing their contexts to the foreground. Scholars, as chapter 2 explains, can gain insights into cultural knowledge through in-depth interaction with local communities.

Cultural knowledge enhances cultural diversity as it brings different thoughts to the foreground. A recent recognition of cultural diversity has been made by UNESCO in the 2002 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. The Declaration was issued to acknowledge cultural diversity as “one of the roots of development, understood not

simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence” (UNESCO 2001: Article 3). Cultural diversity was realised as a source of innovation and creativity. It operates against cultural hegemony and thus allows for including and recognising points of view that are usually suppressed and marginalised.

Sustainability as a creative process that is influenced by cultural diversity was raised in strategies adopted to develop social inclusion, cohesion and interaction between different cultures of the world, as well as different cultures within one country (e.g. Jeannotte 2003a, b; Hackney Cultural Strategy 2001). Creativity that is derived from cultural diversity is considered an essential component of human, social and cultural, as well as economic, development (Jeannotte 2003a: 37). Similarly, Hall and McArthur (1998: 59) consider local communities’ involvement in practices concerned with material of the past as a means for initiating creativity and dynamism in managing archaeological sites. Therefore, cultural sustainability implies examining the process of cultural knowledge by actively interacting with local communities, and harnessing their knowledge to initiate creative approaches to material of the past. Such approaches are community-led and context-oriented as they capitalise on cultural knowledge.

5.6.2 Sustainable approaches to material of the past

The ideas explored above such as social inclusion, active participation, empowerment, diversity, democratic and the ‘bottom-up’ approach are increasingly embraced in approaches to material of the past. With culture being a referential point in practices concerned with material of the past, sustainable development is achievable (Kreps 2003: 116). In her investigation of museums in developing contexts, Kreps (2003) explores how the notions of culture, museums and development can be interconnected to empower local communities. Kreps (2003: 118) explains that culture-based approach empowers people’s sense of identity, which, as seen above, is an essential element for people’s well-being and development. The ecomuseum ideal is an example of an approach to material of the past that embraces these issues. It was initiated to change the traditional museum from an institution where material culture is ‘imprisoned’ away from its original context, into a more inclusive and dynamic

place (Bellaigue-Scalbert 1985: 194). The aim of the following discussion is not to explore the diverse research on ecomuseum and its development. Rather, it is to investigate how the ideas of diversity, inclusion and 'bottom-up', democratic approaches, are implemented in practice related to material of the past, and mainly archaeological sites.

The conventional approach to material culture and archaeological sites was challenged by the need for flexible approaches that take local communities and their contemporary contexts into consideration. Traditional museums can be described as institutions that alienate the material they contain, whether natural or cultural, from their original spatial and temporal contexts (Bellaigue-Scalbert 1985: 194). Adopting a holistic approach to environment that encompasses the cultural and the natural, as well as the tangible and the intangible, influenced the way a museum is perceived and approached (Davis 1996: 123-124; Corsane & Holleman 1993: 121-122). Initially, the notion of the ecomuseum was directly influenced by the idea of the 'integrated museum' that relies on establishing a community-led museum, that was generated in the General Assemblies of ICOM in 1968 (Davis 1999: 52). The ecomuseum concept marked the democratisation of heritage as the emphasis shifted from the monumental to the ordinary (Davis 2004: 94-95). For Davis (1999: 75) the best ecomuseum model is that in which local communities embrace the idea of a museum as part of its environment. Corsane *et al.* (2005: 21-22) develop the notion of 'inreach' to express dynamic interaction in which local communities' points of view are not only communicated but also integrated in "museum actions and heritage management" (Corsane *et al.* 2005: 23).

Introducing the ideals of the ecomuseum required Davis (1999: 3-41) to investigate the relationship between culture, community, identity, place – both as natural and cultural – and the museum. Davis (1999: 18) emphasised the importance of the meanings created by local communities for their places in establishing cultural identity as well as the sense of continuity within time and place. The arguments about the ecomuseum concept led to an exploration of geographically and economically marginalised places, where attachment between local communities and place is observed as being stronger than in any other context (Davis 1999: 19-20). This attachment is based on communicating with place, rather than consuming it as a

background for daily activities (Davis 1999: 20). This sensitive sense of attachment to the environment is realised as being fundamental for establishing sustainability (Archibald 2004: 103).

Through a holistic approach to museums, where material of the past and environment interweave with the tangible and intangible aspects of local communities' lives, Davis (1999: 4-5) identifies ecomuseums as "museums of time as well as museums of space ... [that] serve to conserve and interpret all the elements of the environment ... in order to establish the thread of continuity with the past and a sense of belonging". Ecomuseums put local communities in charge of their material culture and natural heritage. In this sense, an ecomuseum is "a museum that *demands action by the community* to conserve its own material culture and natural heritage" (Davis 1999: 45; emphasis added). Communication between professionals and local communities in such a community-led approach is based on local communities' experiences and knowledge of, and beliefs and attitudes towards, their places, natural as well as cultural.

A very similar approach to the past was developed in the postprocessual or interpretive archaeology arguments that were discussed in chapter 3. In Hodder's (1991b: 13) words: "in many ways, the calls for an interpretive archaeology mirror contemporary concerns for heritage and the environment". The following quote encapsulates the essence of interpretive archaeology and at the same time, and shows its resemblance with the ecomuseum ideals explained above:

The past is not a resource that can simply be quantified, tabulated or otherwise manipulated at arm's length within our theoretical frameworks. Rather than that terrible term "cultural-resource management," what is needed is a *qualitative archaeology*, sensitive to *context and meaning*, open not to *multivocality* for its own sake but to *dialogue* that leads to change. Many people do not want a past defined as a scientific resource by us but *a past that is a story to be interpreted*. In these ways the public debates about the contemporary role of archaeology and the dissemination of archaeological knowledge run parallel to the call for an *interpretive archaeology* (Hodder 1991b: 14; emphasis added).

As well as demonstrating the importance of qualitative and in-depth engagement with local communities regarding material of the past on the basis of their contexts and knowledge, the above critical engagement with conventional approaches led to

question the terms used to describe these approaches. In embracing the notions of dialogue and diversity in approaches to material of the past, Hodder (1991b: 14) rejects the terms 'resources' and 'management'. Similarly, Potter (1994: 65-66) argues that management is not concerned with the notions of culture or heritage. Instead, it is concerned with "the set of techniques we use to learn about the past, the application of those techniques to particular sets of circumstances, the use of knowledge created by the application of those techniques, and in certain circumstances, contemporary land use". These two points of view demonstrate the importance of critical engagement in initiating fundamental changes in what is taken-for-granted, such as approaches to the past and terms used to describe these approaches.

What is remarkable about the recent approaches to heritage is that they put local communities and contemporary contexts first. Furthermore, they give local communities the power to be in charge of the past and its material, and therefore initiate the process of sustainability. Indeed, "That heritage can be sustained only by a living community becomes an accepted tenet. To sustain a legacy of stones, those who dwell among them also need stewardship" (Lowenthal 1998: 21). This stewardship can exceed the technical meaning of the word into the right to be part of the way the material of the past is identified, evaluated and approached. Case studies discussed in chapter 4, such as District Six Museum, demonstrate this fundamental participation of local communities in identifying and interpreting a demolished past, and therefore symbolically claiming it back.

English Heritage, in its study: *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future* (1997) employed the notion of sustainability to conventional management of material culture. The study is influenced by other studies such as *English Nature and the Countryside Commission: Conservation Issues in Strategic Plans* (1993), *Conservation Issues in Local Plans* (1996), and *Ideas towards Local Agenda 21* (1996). These studies focus on the environment as well as local communities' involvement in practices concerned with natural environment as well as material culture (English Heritage 1997: 4; Fairclough 1997: 39). One of the most important principles that English Heritage sets out in light of these studies is the importance of approaching the environment as a whole rather than dividing it into

natural and cultural, monumental and ordinary places (English Heritage 1997: 2, 3). Such ideals, as seen above, are closely relevant to the ecomuseum approach to material of the past as being inseparable from its broader contexts and natural environment, as a whole. Because “the features which shape local environments and create the distinctive culture and meaning of a particular area are all too easily overlooked in our concentration on the nationally special sites” (English Heritage 1997: 3), English Heritage focuses on the context, the local communities and their culture. It embraces the diverse meanings and approaches to cultural heritage and acknowledges lay people as well as experts’ perceptions of cultural heritage (English Heritage 1997: 5; see also English Heritage 2000). However, despite this shift in the perception of value and significance of cultural heritage in English Heritage, “some still consider discussion of value and significance a distraction from ‘the monument’ and the technical and practical needs of a structure, which addresses the requirement that an institution should be seen to be ‘doing something’” (Emerick 2003: 226). Therefore, even in Western contexts, a bottom-up approach to archaeological sites remains a minority view. The importance of this comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to cultural heritage is summarised as follows:

Perhaps the most important message ... is the need to put the historic environment and its conservation into *a broadly-based context*. Everyone in this country lives within an historic environment, which forms the backdrop to daily life and allows us all to maintain an understanding of our origins, and to *develop an active sense of place and cultural identity* based on the material remains of the past. It hardly matters whether we call these material remains architecture or archaeology, landscape or townscape — the raw material is always part of the historic environment (Fairclough 1997: 39; emphasis added).

Adopting a holistic perception of heritage, embracing the ordinary as well as the monumental, actively communicating with people and believing that heritage contributes to their contemporary contexts, identity, sense of place, and therefore existence, are key concepts in a sustainable approach to cultural heritage. This requires rethinking the meaning of cultural heritage and the practices applied to it. Musitelli (2002: 334) expresses this need as follows:

The growing popularity of heritage requires a rigorous redefinition of the duality “protection/ presentation.” Heritage must not become a *decorative explanation* of policies of territorial management missing elements of identity, nor be lost in a magma of indiscriminate developmentalism. It can constitute the connecting thread of a new understanding of the territory and of sustainable management of its

context, based on a *dynamic equilibrium between human activity and the preservation of the natural and built environment* (emphasis added).

However, the growing popularity of heritage resulted not only in abusing it as “decorative explanation of policies” but also in recognising and representing it as a tourism commodity. In this sense, “local communities and their resources ... [are] systematically dismantled to be appropriated as newly created settings and artifacts for a new class of tourists and global elite” Abdelhalim (1998: 11). In order to counter this force of appropriation, mainly in developing as well as post-colonial contexts, a radical approach is required. Besides the holistic and participatory approach discussed above, there is a need for ‘inner’ force to initiate sustainable development. This ‘inner’ force is identified as opposition against the empowered stakeholders of heritage. It can be initiated through sub-cultures that operate through “a serious and educated opposition, at the scale of the individual and society” (Daher 2000a: 28). Educated opposition makes local communities realise alternative approaches to dominant ones in development. Through this opposition, local communities are able to formulate their own conceptions of development to resist the economic and cultural control imposed by those who ‘invest’ in material of the past. Such context is crucial for initiating a community-led and context-oriented approach to material of the past. In the context of this resilience, cultural heritage in general is seen as “a source of inspiration for future generations and as a means for resisting globalization and commodification of the built and social environments” (Daher 2000a: 29). Such an approach counteracts the dominant tourism-oriented, monument-based and aesthetic-led approaches that are rarely challenged in post-colonial contexts, such as Jordan. The conventional approach to material of the past in Jordan is explored in chapter 7.

5.7 Summary and immediate inferences

The notion of sustainability shifted from an economic-based approach towards a community-based one when intangible aspects of life were brought into the foreground. This insight into the intangible allowed for gradual integration of local contexts, cultures and knowledge in sustainable development projects. This integration is inextricably related to fundamental social and political shifts in Western contexts towards democratic approaches in diverse aspects of life. The ‘bottom-up’ approach resulted in critical engagement with issues concerned with cultural identity

and social inclusion and exclusion. Therefore, the notion of sustainability was heavily influenced by these shifts, and was developed as a social process that implies active communication with the local and the ordinary, rather than the blind embrace of the professional and the dominant.

This notion of sustainability was harnessed in approaches to material of the past that mainly evolved in marginalised contexts. Such approaches were mainly developed by Western scholars who had the capacity to engage critically with the dominant approaches. This critical engagement enabled Western scholars to develop community-based and context-oriented approaches to material of the past in marginalised contexts in the West as well as developing and post-colonial contexts. However, the dominance of the ‘top-down’ approaches to all aspects of life in post-colonial contexts prevented local scholars in these contexts from initiating critical engagement with conventional approaches. The pervasiveness of negative ideas, such as considering the local as something that operates against development, prevented local scholars from communicating with local communities, contexts, cultures and knowledge. Therefore, this lack of belief in local cultures prevented community-based and context-oriented approaches from developing in these contexts.

The data explored in this chapter is used to construct the immediate inferences S (see chapter 2; section 2.2.2). These immediate inferences are used in chapter 10, along with other immediate inferences generated from the data explored in other chapters, to create the suggested approach to material of the past in Jordan. The data and the immediate inferences S that are generated from them are presented in table 5.1 as follows:

Table 5.1 *Generation of immediate inferences S from the data explored in chapter 5*

Serial no.	Description of Data	Generation → Immediate Inferences S
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of interest in the intangible aspects of human needs that conventional development approaches resulted in proved their inefficiency by the mid-1970s. The problems of poverty and material deprivation that development policies promised to tackle were far from being solved (Schech & Haggis 2000: 11-12). • Breslin (1994: 53) records that in industrial society as early as 1912, lay people were aware of the lack of interest in the intangible aspect of their life. This awareness is demonstrated in a strike that working girls 	Dramatic shift in the meaning of sustainability from being economy-based (i.e. mainly concerned with the balance between supplies and demands) towards being more inclusive and human-based (i.e. mainly concerned with cultural aspects of life), occurred when the intangible aspects of human needs

	<p>in Massachusetts led to demonstrate against their material and immaterial conditions. The slogan these girls embraced was: “we want bread and roses too”. The slogan indicates that even for economically struggling local communities, immaterial needs, which were expressed as roses in the strike’s slogan, are as important as material ones.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More power was given to people in the United Nation’s <i>World Commission on Culture and Development</i> in 1995. The Commission declared that the diverse efforts that were put into development projects in the past came to failure simply because “the importance of the <i>human factor</i> – complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lie at the very heart of culture – <i>had been underestimated</i>” (de Cuéllar 1995: 7; emphasis added). Gradually, it became obvious that economic prosperity alone can hardly satisfy people’s well-being. From that point, intangible aspects of culture as a creative power were increasingly used in the arguments about sustainable development. 	<p>in deprived contexts were recognised.</p>
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In light of Escobar’s (1995: 44) study, the ‘developing world’ was introduced to development “not as a cultural process (culture was a residual variable, to disappear with the advance of modernization) but instead as a system of more or less <i>universally applicable technical interventions</i> intended to deliver some ‘badly needed’ goods to a ‘target’ population” (emphasis added). Accordingly, development in this context operates through institutions which consolidate certain knowledge and establish it as taken-for-granted, while at the same time marginalise local communities, contexts and knowledge (Escobar 1995: 47). • Development as inspired by ‘top-down’ approaches alienates people from their culture to treat them as ‘resources’ for the development process (Escobar 1995: 149). Therefore, the discourse of development as being restricted to economic prosperity has invented the ‘developing world’ and introduced it, from a Western point of view, as being poor, undeveloped and a ‘Third World’. • Schech and Haggis (2000: 57-58, 66-69) employ postcolonial theory, among other theories, as an analytical tool to investigate development in post-colonial contexts. In their study, they suggest that colonialism created a certain cultural context in which the colonised was seen as primitive, aggressive and disorganised, while everything colonial was idealised and presented as peaceful and philanthropist. This context was crucial to the way the ‘Third World’ understood, represented and managed itself in the modern time (Said 2003: 325). With its local cultures perceived as being passive and retarded, most of the countries in the ‘developing world’ doubted their capacity to develop and progress without technical help from the West (Schech & Haggis 2000: 68-69; Emovon 1990: 11). 	<p>‘Top-down’ approaches confine the concept of sustainability to technical issues. The meaning of sustainability in the ‘top-down’ approach concerned with material of the past is restricted to maintaining archaeological sites in conditions that facilitate exploiting them as touristic and/or scientific venues. This implies focusing on interventions that are concerned with the physical appearance of archaeological sites.</p>
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postmodernity provides critical and in-depth engagement with contexts (Braidotti 1999: 80), therefore, it establishes a background for genuine 	<p>In-depth communication with local communities empowers them. It enhances the feeling that</p>

	<p>changes in the internal consistency of the subjects. Employing postmodernity in approaches concerned with material of the past implies in-depth and active communication with local communities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the methods that provide insights into local communities' genuine perceptions, as demonstrated is in-depth interview. In the private conservation of the <i>in-depth interview</i>, researchers can <i>learn how people use particular experiences</i>, relationships, and identities to construct the self as an integrated unit (Kleinman <i>et al.</i> (1994: 43; emphasis added). • The "self-reflexivity and dialogue" (Hodder 1991b: 16) the interpretive approach is based on, allows for an active interaction between scientific disciplines and local knowledge. Thus, it enhances the participatory approach that the social model of sustainability is based on. 	<p>they, as individuals as well as a community, count. While conventional approaches to any problem view communication with local communities as a waste of time and effort, the recent approaches that aim at initiating sustainability recognise local communities' experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes as essential factors in defining problems and suggesting solutions. These factors provide an insight into local communities' contemporary and historic contexts. They are accessible only through interactive communication between local communities and scholars.</p>
<p>4</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultures empower local communities through the knowledge they provide. This cultural knowledge is identified as "the ways in which ordinary local communities categorize and understand things and events, including human actions and mental experiences" (Edwards 1997: 250). • Cultural knowledge is a process rather than pre-given knowledge; it allows for local contexts to be expressed. Furthermore, cultural knowledge provides "personal security and group pride" (Breslin 1994: 56). Personal security, group pride, collective confidence, self-respect and a strong sense of self, are at the heart of initiating social capital (e.g. Kleymeyer 1994a: 5). • Cultural knowledge enhances cultural diversity as it brings different thoughts to the foreground. A recent recognition of cultural diversity has been made by UNESCO in the <i>Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity</i> in 2001. 	<p>Cultural knowledge is a process through which local communities understand, define and redefine the world around them. Although this process is highly influenced by changes in contexts, it provides local communities with personal security and group pride. In this sense, cultural knowledge empowers local communities, and therefore provides potential for a 'bottom-up' approach.</p>
<p>5</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture was recognised as "one of the key components of endogenous and sustainable development" (UNESCO 1998: 14), therefore, governments were encouraged to incorporate culture in their policies of development. • Culture becomes a creativity process which contributes diversity to development. Applying this idea of culture as a creative force in development projects 'liberates' them from the conventional, economic-based approach, and contributes diversity and dynamism to development processes. It encourages scholars to interact with local communities in search for cultural knowledge, diversity and creativity. • As arguments about development tended to include local communities, contexts and cultures, the meaning of sustainability shifted from "the long-term ability of a system to reproduce" (Campbell 1996: 304) – a definition which is commonly used by developers and economists – into a more dynamic and multilayered notion. • Edwards (1989: 123) argues that instead of addressing local communities' problems, development strategies created a situation that segregated local communities 	<p>Sustainable approaches develop on the basis of local communities' contexts. They reflect local cultures and tackle local issues. Approaches that are pre-designed and imposed on these contexts rarely generate a positive and continuous impact on local communities' life.</p>

	<p>from their contexts that were undergoing material development. This approach devalued local contexts, cultures and knowledge, and ignored the importance of local communities' active participation in development processes.</p>	
<p>6</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The conventional approach to material culture and archaeological sites was challenged by the need for flexible approaches that take local communities and their contemporary contexts into consideration. • Initially, the notion of ecomuseum was directly influenced by the idea of the 'integrated museum' that relies on establishing a community-led museum ... The ecomuseum marked the democratisation of heritage as the emphasis shifted from the monumental to the 'ordinary' (Davis 2004: 94-95). The best ecomuseum model is that in which local communities embrace the idea of a museum as part of its environment. • Corsane <i>et al.</i> (2005: 21-22) develop the notion of 'inreach' to express dynamic interaction in which local communities' points of view are not only communicated but also integrated in "museum actions and heritage management" (Corsane <i>et al.</i> 2005: 23). • Introducing the ideals of the ecomuseum required Davis (1999: 3-41) to investigate the relationship between culture, community, identity, place – both as natural and cultural – and museum. In this investigation, Davis (1999: 18) emphasises the importance of the meanings created by local communities for their places in establishing cultural identity as well as sense of continuity within time and place. • The arguments in ecomuseum led to explore geographically and economically marginalised places, where connection between local communities and place is observed as being stronger than in any other contexts. This connection is based on communicating with the place, rather than consuming it as a background for daily activities (Davis 1999: 20). This sensitive sense of attachment to the environment is realised as being fundamental for establishing sustainability (Archibald 2004: 103). 	<p>It is in small places and marginalised communities that local communities show most interest in the past as part of their contexts, culture and way of life. This interest stimulates local communities to address critical issues in the field of culture and development when consulted about material of the past in their contexts.</p>
<p>7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The interpretive approach is concerned with the way people make sense of their world rather than creating "distant, abstract science or theory" (Hodder: 1991b: 15; also see chapter 3). In this approach, great attention is paid to understanding the 'other'. This understanding implies exploring the intangible aspects of life through an interactive process that forces specialists to engage with local communities and their contexts, cultures, memories, stories, knowledge, experiences and feelings. • It allows professionals to build their knowledge, following Foucault's argument of human science (1970: 364) as a "quasi-transcendental unveiling" of life, rather than composing pure science and objective theories. By acknowledging the local, the interpretive approach 'liberates' sustainable development from the dominant notion of materiality, and makes it applicable in social sciences. • The shift from the 'top-down' to the 'bottom-up' approach to material of the past is ascribed to "the democratisation process [in which] the lives, artefacts, 	<p>Memories and stories are processes through which cultures are reproduced, and local communities are empowered. As reproduction and empowerment are at the heart of sustainability, consulting memories and stories is fundamental to establish sustainable approaches to the past.</p>

	houses, work-places, tools, customs and oral memories of ordinary everyday British folk have slowly taken their subordinate place alongside the hegemonic presence of the great and the good”.	
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The urgent need to “save fragments of ‘heritage’ and to make a statement about <i>local identity</i>” (Davis 1999: 45) triggered the desire among marginalised communities to challenge the conventional way of presenting material culture in museums. Thus, new ideas such as the ‘new’ museum and ecomuseum, merged to make statements about the local, and to ‘rebel’ against the conventional. Accordingly, suppressed contexts can be the most suitable ones for initiating a ‘bottom-up’, context-oriented and community-led approach. • The growing popularity of heritage resulted not only in abusing it as “decorative explanation of policies” but also in representing it as a tourism commodity. In this sense, “local communities and their resources ... [are] systematically dismantled to be appropriated as newly created settings and artifacts for a new class of tourists and global elite” Abdelhalim (1998: 11). In order to counter this force of appropriation, mainly in developing as well as post-colonial contexts, a radical approach is required. • Beside the holistic and participatory approach discussed above, there is a need for ‘inner’ force to initiate sustainable development. This ‘inner’ force is identified as opposition against the empowered stakeholders of heritage. It can be initiated through sub-cultures that operate through “a serious and educated opposition, at the scale of the individual and society” (Daher 2000a: 28). • Educated opposition makes local communities realise alternative approaches to dominant ones in development. Through this opposition, local communities are able to formulate their own conceptions of development to resist the economic and cultural control imposed by those who ‘invest’ in material of the past. Such context is crucial for initiating a community-led and context-oriented approach to material of the past. In the context of this resilience, cultural heritage in general is seen as “a source of inspiration for future generations and as a means for resisting globalization and commodification of the built and social environments” (Daher 2000a: 29). 	A sense of attachment to a place empowers local communities. It enables them to be engaged critically with any external interventions in these places. It also delivers action against any attempts to exploit these places. Therefore, a sense of attachment to places with temporal depth generates self-empowerment.
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In post-colonial contexts of the ‘developing world’, development, modernisation and westernisation are interconnected processes that operate against, and act upon, the traditional contexts, cultures and ways of life. • In modernization studies, traditional culture is something modernization acts upon, usually by rupturing, breaking, and even destroying cultural traditions of Third World societies: their ways of speaking, celebrating, their beliefs, techniques, art forms, and values. <i>The process of modernization is thus placed in opposition to culture...</i> because both the impulse to civilized and scientific and technological know-how emerged from the West, modernization, development, and westernization are perceived to be 	While Western approaches to the past among Western scholars were able to shift towards more inclusive and democratic approaches, the Western approaches that were adopted during colonialism and persisted in post-colonial contexts hardly changed. On the contrary, they were fostered by the ‘top-down’ structures of the post-colonial governments themselves. The persistence of ‘top-down’ approaches in post-colonial

<p>interconnected processes (Schech & Haggis 2000: 37; emphasis added).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development strategies that evolved and developed in the West were uncritically accepted in post-colonial contexts. Very little time and effort were devoted to reflect on the validity of the adopted strategies in the 'hosted' contexts (Schech & Haggis 2000: 7). • Traditional cultures were viewed as being in contrast with modernisation and development. In order to become developed and modern, traditional cultures have to be sacrificed in favour of the dominant Western one. Maybury-Lewis (1994: X) observes that the communities in the 'developing world' are forced to give up their cultures, and replace them with the 'rootlessness', loss of faith and lack of communication among its members. In the midst of rapid and material development, local communities in the 'developing world' were merely viewed as tools that can help to speed up the process of development. • Development processes in post-colonial contexts alienated local communities from their own contexts that underwent fundamental material changes. The adverse consequences of this 'narrow' approach to development are demonstrated in the sacrifice of material of the past for the sake of modern interventions. For example, the built heritage in many developing countries was demolished and replaced with modern buildings (Steinberg 1996: 464). • An overzealous belief in modernist paradigms in architecture and city building [that] has led to the demolition of entire sections of pre-colonial cities...in such cases nationhood has not been brought nearer to the heritage as a source of identity; instead, <i>the gap between identity and the valorization of the past has widened</i>. Often uncontrolled private initiative has been responsible for the gouging out of large sections of the historic residential urban fabric and its conversion to large scale commercial land use (de Cuéllar 1995: 183; emphasis added). • In their frantic race to modernize, [the developing countries] are tempted to neglect the vernacular heritage as archaic and, from Lebanon to China, to open up the old quarters to the bulldozers without a second thought (Musitelli (2002: 332). 	<p>contexts prevents local scholars from shifting towards more democratic and inclusive approaches.</p>
---	---

The immediate inferences reviewed in the above table demonstrate development in the concept of sustainability. They anchor it to the human factor and therefore bring notions such as cultural knowledge, social inclusion and local contexts and cultures to the foreground. Consequently, sustainability as a social process initiates an active engagement with people's memories and stories. Memories and stories, and their role in shaping the meaning-making process of material of the past are explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: The Meaning-Making Process of the Past and its Material

Social constructions of the past are crucial elements in the process of domination, subjugation, resistance and collusion. Representing the past and the way of life of populations is an expression and a source of power. These representations may frame relationships of social inequality, and can be intimately related to structures of power and wealth. They contain ideological and hegemonic prosperities that represent historical and sectional interests. In no way simple, they express a high degree of social and poetic complexity (Bond & Gilliam 1994: 1).

It is through understanding the meaning and nature of what people tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and /or fake, that heritage studies can engage with academic debates beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies (Harvey 2001: 320).

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 explored theories and practices concerned with material of the past in the West. They examined the influence of Western approaches on the way material of the past was officially perceived, evaluated and identified as cultural heritage in other parts of the world. Chapter 5 examined how conventional perceptions and practices related to material of the past in the West are increasingly influenced by shifts toward democracy in almost all aspects of life. Consequently, Western scholars started to appreciate local contexts, knowledge and practices, as essential elements in establishing sustainable approaches to material of the past. This chapter takes the interest in the local, examined in the previous chapter, to a further level by exploring the mechanisms through which local communities perceive material of the past, and identify it, if at all, as cultural heritage. As the conventional approaches use socio-cultural and economic values in order to identify and evaluate material of the past, this chapter engages with material of the past as places with temporal depth rather than sites with sets of values. In this engagement, contemporary contexts and local knowledge are brought into the foreground through related memories and stories. Thus, the meaning-making process of time and place of the past is explored in this chapter on the basis of local communities' perceptions and experiences.

6.2 The role of culture, context, continuity and subjectivity in establishing meanings

Philosophical exploration of meaning is usually conducted by the discipline of structuralism. Structuralism stems from the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. It explores how language accumulates meanings, and how these meanings are understood. The approach, known also as semiotics or semiology, expanded beyond linguistics into many other disciplines, such as cultural studies. The structural approach to anthropology for example, was initiated by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. It resulted in studies (e.g. Foster 1990a, b; White 1975) that explore culture as a set of symbols that govern individuals' communication and development. Similarly, Jencks and Baird (1969) used Saussure's model of structuralism to understand the mechanism through which architecture develops meanings in certain contexts. It has also been employed in cultural heritage studies (e.g. Hall 1997: 30-41; Pearce 1994: 19-29) to understand how meanings of archaeological artefacts evolve, develop and change through time and place.

The structural approach is based on identifying the mechanism through which things are related to each other (e.g words to objects in linguistics, and meanings to things in cultural studies). In cultural heritage, for example, one can identify meanings as the signified or the intangible, and material of the past as the signifier or the tangible. The relationship between the signifier and the signified produces signs and/or symbols. While a sign stands for a whole of which it is a part, a symbol has inherent values that separate it from the thing symbolised (Botscharow 1990: 64-65; Saussure 1974: 111). For example, a given sign of the Zodiac only stands for that sign, while the symbol X can stand for an algebraic symbol as well as its being a letter in different Western languages.

Despite the interesting perspectives that the structural approach offers to meaning, this chapter is not concerned with the philosophical issues concerned with meaning. Instead of perceiving the meaning-making process as being restricted to the relationship between the signifier and the signified, this chapter investigates meaning as “organised structures of understanding and emotional attachments, by which grown people interpret and assimilate their environment” (Marris 1986: 4). Meaning in this

sense allows for individuals' experiences, thoughts, feelings and attitudes to be approached as an inextricable part of the mechanism through which material of the past is perceived, identified and evaluated as cultural heritage.

Meanings developed for artefacts and things are increasingly explored in cultural studies. In these studies, culture is perceived, according to Raymond Williams' (1988: 90) definition explored in chapter 1, section 1.3.2, as a way of life that represents certain meanings and values. For example, du Gay *et al.* (1997: 3-4) use the 'circuit of culture' shown in figure 6.1 below to explore the meaning-making process of cultural artefacts. In this circuit, meanings are constructed through a dynamic process that involves five key concepts: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. These concepts are inextricably linked in a dynamic and interchangeable relationship that enables artefacts to acquire meanings, and therefore be part of a cultural industry.

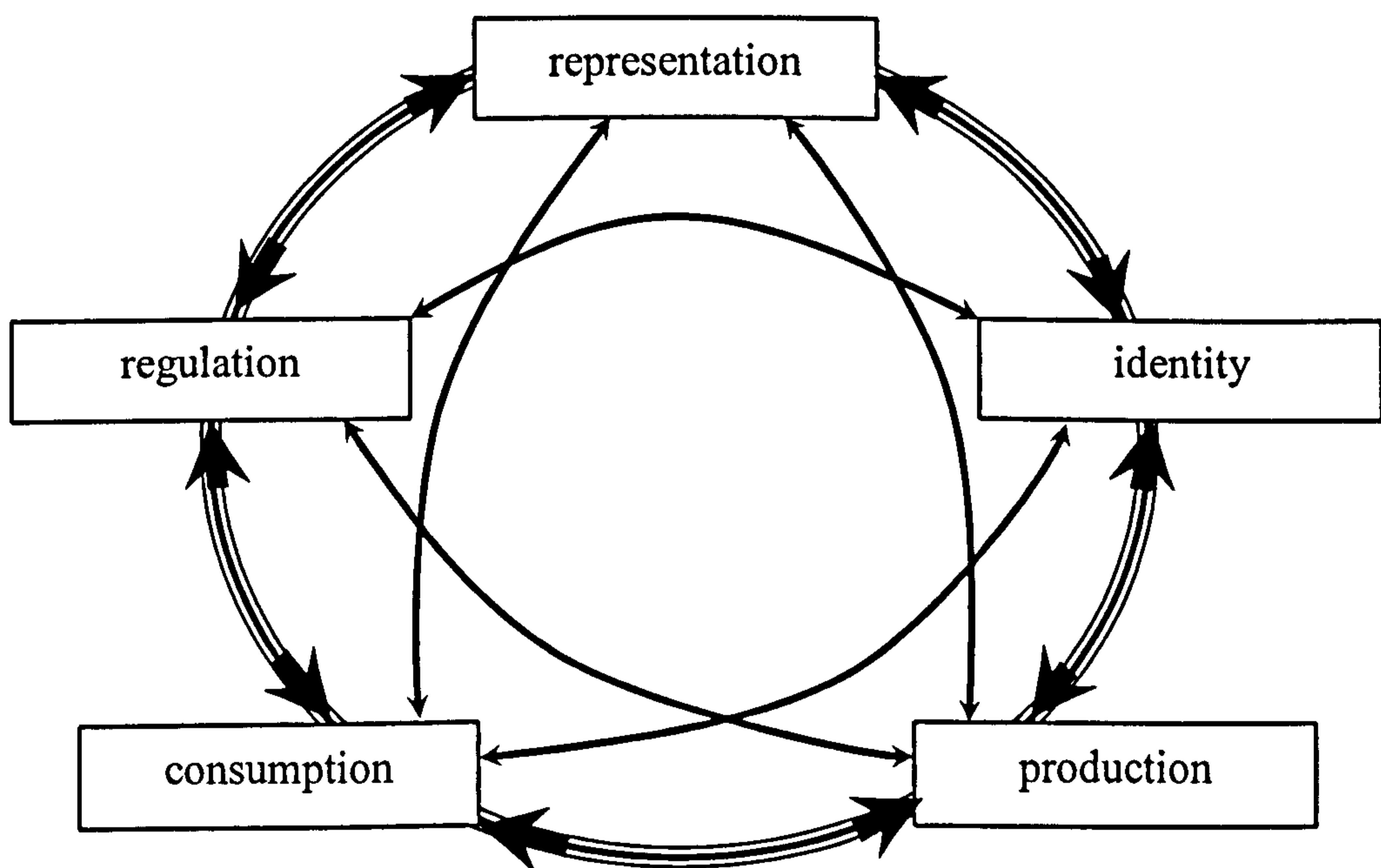


Figure 6.1 The circuit of culture (adopted from du Gay *et al.* 1997: 1)

Despite the usefulness of the 'circuit of culture' as an analytical tool, it focuses on artefacts as commodities to be consumed. This chapter goes beyond the 'circuit of culture' by exploring attachment to material of the past not as commodities to be consumed, but rather as part of an individual's place and contemporary contexts. It

draws on different aspects of production and consumption, such as stories and memories, in order to locate material of the past within its contemporary contexts, and to clarify the mechanism through which material of the past accumulates meanings among lay people.

The definition of meaning as a “structure of understanding and emotional attachments” (Marris 1986: 4) highlights individuals’ interactive communication with things as a fundamental prerequisite for the meaning-making process of these things. This structure of understanding and attachments can be probed using Raymond Williams’ (1977: 132-134) arguments about the ‘structure of feelings’. In an attempt to understand how individuals make sense of the world around them, Williams (1977: 132) identifies the ‘structure of feelings’ as:

characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone ... with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension ... a social experience still in process, often indeed not yet recognized as social but taken to be private, idiosyncratic, and even isolating, but which in analysis (though rarely otherwise) has its emergent, connecting, and dominant characteristics (Williams 1977: 132; emphasis added).

Accordingly, creating actively lived and felt meanings is contingent on active interaction between individuals. Following Williams’ (1977: 132) ‘structure of feelings’, one can suggest that in order for any meaning to be constituted, a dynamic interaction between individuals and their surrounding contexts should take place. This interaction is governed by certain elements – to be described in this thesis as cultural elements, as they stem from one’s culture (e.g. knowledge, beliefs, feelings and behaviour) – as well as the different contexts and cultures within which this interaction takes place. As the meaning-making process is influenced by individuals’ perceptions (to be explored in this section below) as well as contexts, they do not necessarily resemble realities, but rather reflect individuals’ understandings of these realities (Coser 1992: 26).

Interaction between individuals and their contexts, and the role of this interaction in constructing meanings for material culture is increasingly recognised when defining cultural heritage. For example, Dicks (2000: 74-75) observes that material of the past hardly has a meaning in and of itself. Rather, meanings are generated through continuous encounters between individuals and their environment. In response to this

interaction, meanings keep changing and developing through time and place, as well as from one individual to another. Hall (1997: 61) concludes in his study of meaning that: “it is us – in society, within human culture – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change from one culture or period to another”. In this sense, cultural heritage is identified 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. This is evident in chapters 8 and 9, when meanings of the archaeological sites in question (see chapter 2, section 2.3.4) are examined on the basis of their local communities’ accounts regarding them.

The interactive process of perception is fundamentally influenced, among many factors, by individuals’ cultures, thoughts, knowledge, experiences, memories and feelings (Jencks 1969: 20). Postprocessual archaeology (e.g. Hodder 1984b: 67) places great emphasis on the importance of perception in interpreting material of the past. In Hall’s (1997: 3) words: “it is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we give them a meaning”. Accordingly, the meaning-making process is governed by the subjective aspects of life such as thoughts, beliefs, knowledge and feelings. This subjectivity is increasingly recognised in studies concerning the past. For example, Loewenberg (1996: 3-4) argues for adopting psychoanalysis in historic studies in order to recognise and utilise the patterns of feelings, attitudes and behaviours that shape history. This argument is derived from the fact that “history is not the collective memory of mankind; rather, it is the reformation and reinterpretation of that memory by each historian according to his time, social circumstance, method, and subjective past” (Loewenberg 1996: 8). Similarly, scholars interested in material of the past (e.g. Low 2002: 31-34, 47; Mason 2002: 7; Layton 1989b: 16) recognise ethnographic and anthropological methods as being an adequate means to “understand the complexity of social relations and cultural dynamics” (Low 2001: 31) that influence the values and meanings of material of the past. Such approaches are claimed to provide a dynamic alternative to the conventional, uni-disciplinary evaluation of cultural heritage (Mason 2002: 7; Low 2002: 31). The conventional evaluation is discussed in section 6.3.2 below.

The main purpose for any conservation activity is to maintain continuity of the past into the future (e.g. Marris 1986: 12). In this sense, continuity is an organising element that “represents for an individual his identity; for a society its cultures; and for mankind, perhaps, the half-hidden outline of a universal philosophy” (Marris’ 1986: 12). Meanings of things are contingent on their continuity in life, and in many cases, meanings of life are derived from continuity of certain people, things and conditions (Hallam & Hockey 2001). This sense of continuity is inextricably linked to a sense of identity as it “[conveys] the ideas of timeless values and unbroken lineages that underpin identity” (Graham *et al.* 2000: 41; see also Lyons & Papadopoulos 2002: 8; Lowenthal 1985: 62). Thus, continuity is an active element that provides stability to life by anchoring it to the past, and therefore contributes to individual as well as collective identities. The physical continuity of the past into the present is “the basis for creating ... a contact with the past that is direct and real” (Lipe 1984: 4). Thus, continuity provides direct contact and dynamic interaction, which are essential prerequisite for meaning construction.

Therefore, meanings are governed by contemporary contexts, cultures and people themselves. These factors are interrelated in a dynamic relationship as each of them influences the other. They act upon material of the past to deliver meanings. Far from being a reflection of the socio-cultural and economic values that scholars developed to understand material of the past, or from being a reflection of the ‘real’ meanings of that past, contemporary meanings developed by local contexts and communities anchor material of the past to the present. This anchoring is crucial for transforming material of the past into cultural heritage. This process of transformation came into the foreground as a result of shifts in the way material of the past was perceived and approached. The following sections explore the shifts in conventional perceptions in the light of the archaeological approaches discussed in chapter 3.

6.3 The silence of meanings in conventional approaches to material of the past: The exclusion of contexts and the marginalisation of the human factor

As discussed in section 6.2 above, meaning-making process is directly influenced by several elements such as culture, context, continuity, subjectivity and active interaction between individuals and their surroundings. These elements are ignored in

the conventional approaches to material of the past (i.e. the culture-history approach and the New Archaeology approach).

Although material culture was introduced politically by the culture-history approach in a way that captured people's attention during the first half of the 20th century (see chapter 3, and section 6.4.1 in this chapter), the New Archaeology approach hardly maintained any connection between the past and the present. Both of these approaches focused on certain periods of the distant past with exclusive reliance on dates to apprehend that past (Ucko 1994: xi, 1989a: xi; Layton 1989a: 3-4). This rigidity was fostered by the absence of the human aspects that reside in material of the past: how contemporary people anchor, if at all, their contemporary contexts and cultures to those of the past (Shanks & Tilley 1992: 246).

The New Archaeology developed a functionalist approach to material culture: using material culture to serve scientific goals in formulating, proving and refuting theories about the past (Adovasio & Carlisle 1988: 75; Binford 1987: 394, 402). In this sense, material of the past was a merely passive source of information that is used scientifically to develop objective, neutral and general theories. The human factor and its role in the contexts of the past were barely recognised, but in those cases where they were, people of the past were perceived as being powerless and completely governed by changes in the environment (Hodder 1986: 6, 7). Their thoughts and beliefs were considered, if at all, as having nothing to do with the changes and development in material culture of the past. Therefore, archaeology in this sense consisted of "mundane statements about the material constraints of human action" (Hodder 1984b: 67), which ignored contexts and cultures.

Meanings usually develop within social and cultural contexts. Such contexts provide diverse insights into different explanations. However, because of the scientific approach to the past that the New Archaeology conducted, contexts were ignored and the human factor was marginalised. Therefore, meanings delivered by material of the past, under the umbrella of the New Archaeology, were limited and restricted (Shanks & Tilley 1992: 65; Layton 1989a: 5). Furthermore, contexts express specific conditions and certain people rather than general ones. Although "the diversity of human cultures represents but variations on a common theme, a common experience

and a common fate” (Hassan 2006: 225), when things are presented as being general and universal, as in the New Archaeology, little effort is made for critical engagement (Ucko 1989a: x-xi). With its emphasis on generality and universality, the New Archaeology deprives material culture of its diversity and therefore facilitates viewing it as a rigid system that is only approachable by scientists. Meanings of material culture in this sense are a mere product of external influences, mainly environmental changes, on individuals’ lives.

Neglecting contexts imply marginalising ideological bases, which constitute the essence of meanings (Rowlands 1994: 129). In this sense, narratives, legends and myths that local communities construct and develop about the past, and that constitute an important part of their attachment to the past, are dismissed as irrelevant and ‘unscientific’ (Solli 1996: 212, 222). While this scientific disguise of archaeology fostered the image of archaeologists as experts in intellectual discipline, it contributed to their isolation from contemporary issues and daily life (Smith 1993: 64-65; Hodder 1991a: 11, 1984a: 28; Ucko 1989a: xiv). This rigid approach to material of the past is captured by Hodder (1984a: 28) as follows:

the dilemma apparent for archaeologists is that there is a widespread desire for science and objective tests, a fear of speculation and the subjective, and yet we want to say something about the past ... the dilemma only occurs if archaeology is seen as a science. The ‘problem’ is of the archaeologists’ own making. If archaeology is seen properly as a cultural and social product the ‘problem’ dissolves. The data of the past are observed and have meaning within a present social and cultural context.

Ucko (1989a: xi) supports the above arguments by emphasising that if archaeology is to be compatible with individuals’ lives, then its theories and practices have to be revised and replaced with more reflexive ones. Dynamic meanings of material culture are created only when archaeology is placed within the domain of contemporary contexts and daily life. Contrary to the culture-history and the New Archaeology approaches, the postprocessual archaeology acknowledges material culture as part of individuals’ contexts, and therefore, as being laden with meanings. The anthropological approach that is adopted by the postprocessual archaeology allows for diverse interpretations of material culture to be considered. In this perspective, meanings of material culture are subject to the dynamic interactions between

individuals and their contexts. As the postprocessual approach implies “transforming the relations of production of archaeological knowledge into more *democratic* structures” (Hodder 1991 b: 9; emphasis added), insights into local communities’ knowledge and experiences of, and feelings and attitudes towards, material of the past are increasingly brought into the foreground. Although “archaeological thinking now commands an impressive and increasingly sophisticated array of interpretative frameworks ... the investigation of the socio-political dimensions of archaeological thinking and practice is much less developed”, as archaeologists continue to lead a neutral, de-politicised, and de-contextualised approaches to the past and its material (Hamilakis 2003: 104). Indeed, as Harvey (2001: 320) states “it is through understanding the meaning and nature of what individuals tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and /or fake, that heritage studies can engage with academic debates beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies”.

Thus, acknowledging individuals’ perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past in the postprocessual approach, liberates it from the limited meanings and uses that science endues it with, and transforms it into something relevant to contemporary contexts and local cultures: cultural heritage. Furthermore, it ‘humanises’ material of the past through bringing the human factor as well as the subjective aspects of life into perspective.

6.3.1 Passive evaluation and the need for the anthropological approach

In practices concerned with material of the past, meanings generally stem from values defined by scholars. Evaluation is relatively problematic because of the diverse nature of values that can be ascribed to material of the past, as well as the overlap and interaction between some of these values (Mason 2002: 5; de la Torre & Mac Lean 1997: 7; Sullivan 1997: 19). Furthermore, values change over time, and differ between individuals and contexts. In origin, the evaluation process of material of the past is based on art historical ideals such as authenticity and beauty that were in turn deeply influenced by Classical ideals (chapter 3). These values were universally adopted, and as demonstrated in chapter 4, “aesthetic and stylistic conventions

become points of [Western] domination and also of resistance” (Bond & Gilliam 1994: 17).

The need for the anthropological approach can be first observed when art historians, during the 1960s and 1970s, recognised “the essence of the work of art” in their conservation works (Brandi 1996b: 342). This acknowledgment of the intangible aspects: the ‘essence’, provided potential for a more inclusive and dynamic approach to material of the past (Mason 2002: 19) than the one provided by conventional approaches that rely on observing and treating the tangible aspects of the work of art. The recognition of the intangible was consolidated when the significance of material of the past was defined as being “in the mind of the observer” (Tainter & Lucas 1983: 712) rather than the material of the past itself. In this sense, material of the past is subject to change and development through time, and according to difference in contexts and people. Shift in interest from inherent values to assigned ones brings the human factor into the foreground. It allows individuals’ perceptions of what they considered as cultural heritage to be appreciated on a scholarly level. In this context interest in the past was diverted from the monumental into the ordinary and from singular sites into places and landscape. The diversity of the past started to be recognised. The need for a “more social conception of context to get at the values that go beyond the site itself but that affect the site – for example, cultural change ... the dynamics of civil society, the politics of nationalism and ethnic conflict, and so on” (Mason 2002: 19), enhanced the possibility of applying the anthropological approach to understand archaeological sites.

Mason (2002: 9) summarises the typology of these values in table 6.1, which shows intrinsic values and assigned ones. As demonstrated in chapter 3, intrinsic value is directly derived from the physical aspects of material culture (material, colour, design etc.). The notions of monumentality, authenticity and beauty, discussed in chapter 3, are directly derived from intrinsic values. The arrangement of these values demonstrates the change in priority over time. For example, while age (or authenticity) was the most influential factor in determining the value of material of the past at the beginning of the 20th century, it was cultural value that English Heritage valued most highly in its 1997 leaflet about sustainability (discussed in chapter 5). The table reads as follows:

Table 6.1 Summary of cultural heritage value typologies
(Adopted from Mason 2002: 9; with alterations)

Reigl (1902)	Lipe (1984)	English Heritage (1997)
Age	Economic	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Educational and Academic
Commemorative	Associative-symbolic	Economic
Use	Informational	Resource
Newness		Recreational
		Aesthetic

Despite this ‘rigid’ classification of the values of cultural heritage, a more flexible definition is introduced in which cultural heritage is recognised as “the place in which they live ... [and thus] value it for the quality of life it can afford them” (English Heritage 2000: 4). The values Mason mentioned in table 6.1 are organised in two main typologies: economic values and socio-cultural values (Mason 2002: 11-13). On the one hand, economic values of material culture are mainly associated with market value that is directly derived from the tourism industry (Carver 2003: 25; Mason 2002: 13). Accordingly, material of the past is evaluated in response to the canon of supply and demand in order to satisfy the market of tourism. This approach to evaluation weighs cultural heritage in certain geographic and cultural contexts against those in completely different ones (Carman 2002: 188); thus, it separates material of the past from its local contexts. This comparison, enhanced by the perception of cultural heritage as a commodity, facilitates compromising local contexts and cultures in order to satisfy universal standards of the tourism market (see chapter 4, section 4.4; also, further discussion of this point in reference to the Jordanian context is in chapter 7).

On the other hand, socio-cultural values are “attached to an object, building, or place because it holds meaning for individuals or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry, or association with a significant person or event or (otherwise) contributes to processes of cultural affiliation” (Mason 2002: 11). These values include: historical value, spiritual/religious value, aesthetic value, social value, and cultural/symbolic

value (Mason 2002: 11-12; de la Torre & Mac Lean 1997: 8; Sullivan 1997: 16). These values are increasingly recognised as being best identified on the basis of an anthropological approach (Low 2002: 31; Mason 2002: 7). In her definition of socio-cultural values on the basis of the anthropological approach, Mason (2002: 12) recognises a close relevance between the social value of cultural heritage and the notions of place attachment and social capital. According to this definition, “place attachment refers to the social cohesion, community identity, or other feelings of affiliation that social groups (whether very small and local, or national in scale) derive from the specific heritage and environment characteristics of their ‘home’ territory” (Mason 2002: 12). In this sense, the anthropological approach to evaluation of cultural heritage broadens its horizon as it provides insights into issues such as social cohesion and sense of place, that are closely relevant to the concept of sustainability (see discussions about social capital and place attachment in chapter 5). Consequently, the anthropological approach provides potential for a sustainable approach to material of the past.

As well as the sense of attachment to archaeological sites as place, the anthropological approach also recognises the sense of control that local communities have over cultural heritage as part of their place. The conventional evaluation of, for example, archaeological sites, usually results in putting these sites under governmental ‘custody’: usually through fencing them (Ucko 1989a: xiv), an act which is heavily criticised by many members of the local communities interviewed in this study (see chapter 8, e.g. section 8.6). As seen in chapters 3 and 4, this custody usually results in interpreting these sites as serving limited and exclusive political purposes and/or exploiting it as tourist commodity. As these sites originally constitute an inextricable part of local communities’ contexts, such a practice alienates local communities from their place by transforming it into ‘cultural heritage’. One can argue that it is only when archaeological sites are identified and evaluated using the conventional values mentioned above, and physically separated from its surrounding context by a barrier that they arbitrarily referred to them as ‘cultural heritage’, at least for governmental bodies. However, local communities consider these sites their cultural heritage only when they anchor them to their own present contexts and cultures.

Isolating an archaeological site from its contexts using a fence is usually the first procedure professionals conduct for giving that site an official status as 'cultural heritage'. This practice is legitimised on the basis of protecting such sites from vandalism (Ucko 1989a: xv). As well as isolating archaeological sites from local contexts, the inhabitants of the region of such a site are, in many cases, forced to leave their homes and move to other places, giving way to professionals to do their 'job' in a 'convenient' context. Therefore, turning archaeological sites into 'cultural heritage' usually implies separating them from their local communities, and as seen in the cases explored in chapter 4, dislocating local communities and depriving them from their own place and way of life. Such practices are also evident in many cases in Jordan as the following chapter demonstrates. Valuing the 'scientific' work of archaeologists over the way of life that local communities lead is an arrogant approach that denies local communities their places while it sustains scholarly and governmental authority over these places. This lack of concern about local communities when it comes to archaeological practices does not only threaten local contexts, cultures and way of life, but also constitutes a real danger for archaeology itself, its development and its future in contemporary contexts (Stone 1989: 203; Ucko 1989a: xvii).

McManamon and Hatton (2000: 10) state that it is only when local communities regard material of the past as their own they show serious intention for its protection. The sense of control over place, as will be explained in section 6.5.4 of this chapter, does not imply an understanding of archaeological sites as a personal property; rather, it is about the emotional, mental and physical attachment that local communities develop to archaeological sites within their places. The anthropological approach to material of the past acknowledges this sense of control. In fact, as will be seen below, it is considered as a mechanism that enhances the meaning-making process of material of the past.

To summarise, practical approaches to material of the past were originally designed without considering local communities' perceptions of, or attitudes towards, material of that past. The main focus was on material of the past itself and the scientific work that archaeologists were entitled to do relying on this material. However, the anthropological approach brings local communities' ways of life to the foreground. It values local communities' contexts and way of life over professional practices and

scientific theories. The following section investigates how the recognition of the human factor helps to approach meanings of the past in a more dynamic and inclusive way.

6.4 Active engagement with the past: The recognition of the human factor

As explained above, it is through recognising the human factor in the past and the present that contexts came to the foreground in research concerned with material of the past. Establishing relevance between the past and the present enables local communities to be emotionally, mentally and physically attached to material of the past. This attachment takes many forms, some of which are based on consumption of the past as part of the entertainment industry. Others are generated from active mental and physical engagement with the past and its material as part of local contexts and daily life. The following arguments investigate the different kind of attachment that local communities develop towards material of the past.

6.4.1 Nostalgia vs. folklore

Nostalgia, according to Calthorpe (1993: 23), “seeks the security of past forms without the inherent principles [of that past]”. In this sense, nostalgia is based on “an imagined past, economy and cultural insecurity and a growing demand for the consumption of entertainment” (Osborne 2001: 23). Engagement with the past on the basis of nostalgia made the past “the stuff of heritage” (Osborne 2001: 23). Elsewhere, Osborne (2006: www) observes that “the combination of the need for new economic initiatives, nostalgia for an imagined past, and a growing demand for the consumption of entertainment has made the engagement with the past the stuff of economics”. Thus, according to Osborne (2001: 23, 2006: www), in approaching material of the past on the basis of nostalgia, the stuff of heritage *is* the stuff of economics.

In general, engagement with the past on the basis of nostalgia implies selecting specific fragments of that past and presenting it in a way that is appealing to tourists. Shanks and Tilley (1992: 240) explain that capitalising on nostalgia leads to the manipulation of material of the past in different industries, and the production a “mythical past”. While specific fragments of the past are selected to be exploited, the

rest of the past is subjugated to “organised forgetting” to use Bélanger’s (2002: 74) words. According to Bélanger’s exploration of an urban renovation project in Montreal:

the past that is being marketed and sold is selectively embellished, involving a re-construction of chosen historical fragments and ... an ‘organized forgetting’ of other fragments. On such occasions, traditions, heritage, and the past become ‘things’ that enterprise and government often exploit: they have become products ... These products can be very popular. For instance some public museums have shown that new levels of profitability are possible by representing the past in more spectacular ways – e.g. through ‘Disneyfied’ modes of presentation using digital technologies – and by capitalizing on nostalgia (Bélanger 2002: 74).

As well as being the stuff of economics, material of the past has always been, as the arguments in chapter 3 demonstrate, the stuff of politics. This meaning of the past developed as governments capitalised on local communities’ emotional bonding with certain places and times of the past in order to establish new identities and manipulate others. In many cases, these emotions were used to deliver a unified place and past to serve political ends (Jones & Grave-Brown 1996: 12, 19; Jones 1996: 62; also see chapter 7: section 7.3.1). One of the main reasons that the culture-history approach persisted in Europe for almost one century, is that, despite its adverse applications, it pertained to local communities’ contexts, cultures and modes of thinking (Jones 1997: 5).

The reality of the image of the past constructed by nostalgia is questionable, as it is perceived to be complete, romantic and ideal, and a source of peace and security (Lowenthal 2005: 84; Lowenthal 1985: 62). Developing a bond to an imaginary past results in a superficial attachment that lacks mental engagement. This attachment is an inactive process, and therefore, prevents material of the past from developing meanings beyond the romanticism and idealism that nostalgia tends to construct for the past.

As well as nostalgia, Calthorpe (1993: 23) identifies another sort of attachment to the past: traditional attachment. Traditional attachment is a dynamic mental and physical engagement with the past and its material that develops through time and place. It is based on local communities’ experiences of time and place of the past, as well as what

individuals of local communities tell each other about that past: their memories and stories. In these communications individuals tend to render the exceptional and the unusual in history into comprehensible forms of stories (Bruner 1990: 47). local communities in this process of engagement interweave the past with their local contexts and daily life, and create what is usually referred to as folklore.

A comprehensive insight into the word 'folklore' is provided by Raymond Williams (1988: 136) who observes that the word 'folklore' was originally developed from two words; 'folk' and 'lore'. 'Folk' is used informally, since the 17th century, to refer to local communities as being seen from inside and by an insider rather than from outside or by an outsider. For the word 'lore', meanings ranged from teaching and education to learning and scholarship. However, since the 18th century, the word 'lore' became more associated with traditions. Consequently, the word 'folklore' was adopted to express the retrospective senses in the words folk and lore. Therefore, folklore is the traditional activities of the public: their local stories, memories, and knowledge as well as everyday practices, as perceived and practiced by the local communities themselves. Samuel (1994: 11) expresses this deep engagement with the past as follows: "lore is not so much passed on or transmitted as made up and amplified, until there is not a stone without a story attaching to it". Thus, folklore is a mental engagement with the past on the basis of contemporary contexts that is usually expressed through memories and stories.

To summarise, local communities develop an engagement with the past that can be genuine or superficial. While superficial engagement is based on nostalgic feelings and the consumption of the past as something complete and romantic, genuine engagement is about active interaction with the past and interweaving it with contemporary contexts and daily life. Memory and story are among the mechanisms through which local communities become attached to their pasts. They have been identified as mechanisms through which oral history evolves and develops (Vansina 1985: 21, 25-27). The following sections investigate the mechanism through which memory and story operate on the past and create meanings for its time and place.

6.4.2 Memory

Memory anchors local communities to time and place. Differing from conventional perceptions of memory as passive assets of the individual, Hallam and Hockey (2001: 3) view memory as a dynamic process. In this process, individuals as well as communities are placed within specific times and places. As memory places contexts and assets of these contexts – such as material of the past – in relation to local communities, it constitutes an essential part of the process in which individual as well as collective identities develop. local communities remember and forget through a complicated and dynamic process. Therefore, memory is at the heart of shaping and reshaping local communities; their identities, values and beliefs (Archibald 2004: 20; Kavanagh 2000: 27). In Archibald's (2004: 20) words: "memory is a dynamic process of using the past to define and redefine who we are, what we believe, what we like and dislike, and the values we hold dear".

Memory regulates the past. It operates on history by distilling it into selected and specific images. Distilling the past through the process of memory is important for the meaning-making process as without memories the past will be too crowded for it to make any sense or to have any meaning for people (Lowenthal 1985: 204-205). However, these images are far from being a mere reflection of the 'real' events of the past. Instead, they are highly imbued with individual and collective perceptions (Lowenthal 1985: 210, 1998: 204). As Maurice Halbwachs (1992: 47) observes, memory is dynamic, as it is in a continuous change and reproduction. For example, memory of a certain incident differs from one person to another and from one group to another. Even for the same person or group, a memory can alter from time to time according to the changes in local communities' identities, contexts and cultures. Similarly, Samuel (1994: x) states that "memory is historically conditioned...it is progressively altered from generation to generation. It bears the impress of experience, in however mediated a way ... like history, memory is inherently revisionist and never more chameleon than when it appears to stay the same". Therefore, the regulation of the past through the dynamic process of memory is essential for initiating the meaning-making process, as it activates the past and makes it contribute to the present.

Lowenthal (1985: 187) acknowledges memory, together with history and relics, as one of the modes for accessing the past. Although memory is perceived to be insignificant in comparison to history, history in fact derives its material from memory (Lowenthal 1985: 213). Therefore, memory and history are interwoven with each other. They are both expressed through the remains of the past which, in their turn, can confirm, deny, symbolise and illuminate history and memory (Lowenthal 1985: xxiii). In this sense, material of the past stimulates memories. These memories are put into stories, which make material culture meaningful (Archibald 2004: 78-79; Lowenthal 1985: 249). In Griswold's (1994: 11) words: "[material culture is] a social meaningful expression that is audible, or visible, or tangible, or can be articulated. A cultural object, moreover, tells a story and that story might be sung, told, set in stone, enacted or painted on the body". Thus, memory and story interweave with each other to create meanings for material of the past.

Memory 'humanises' the past. Samuel (1994: x) observes that in order to capture a memory one has to rely on "the idea of history as an *organic form of knowledge* ... [that encompasses] not only the chronological past of the documentary record but also the timeless one of 'tradition'" (emphasis added). This organic form of knowledge, in contrast to the official one, is inextricably related to local memories and stories. While history validates the official and collective account of the past, memory celebrates the personal level of that past (Lowenthal 1985: 213). However, as Wither (1995: 340; quoted in Graham *et al.* 2000: 35) observes, there is no one collective memory, but instead diverse popular and local ones. In this sense, memory provides diversity as it focuses on the individual and allows for various versions of the past to be brought into the foreground. Despite the differences between history and public memory on one hand, and local and popular memory on the other, "the important task is not to debate abstractly what history or memory is – a hopeless goal if phrased in essentialist terms – but how it works or how it is produced ... history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives" rather than general ones (Bélanger 2002: 79). The way specific narratives are generated from memories and incorporated into material of the past through the meaning-making process is at the heart of the following arguments.

Memory, in its individual form, and history, in its collective form, are closely related. Individuals tend to establish their personal memories as part of relevant collective memories. Personal memory expands to include collective memory, and perhaps create history, but not the other way around. Accordingly, personal memory can be seen as the core of history, inseparable from heritage, and the source of meaning for both: history and heritage. In this regard, Lowenthal (1985: 197) explains that:

We treasure these connections with the wider past. Gratified that our memories are our own, we also seek to link our personal past with collective memory and public history. People vividly recall their own thoughts and actions at moments of public crisis because they jump at the chance to connect themselves with meaningful cosmos (Lowenthal 1985: 197).

While memory anchors people to the past, it also relates them to the future. Meacham and Leiman (1982: 327-328) observe that the insights that memory provides into the future are rarely investigated. They, therefore direct their research of memory to investigate how memory can be used to influence the future (Meacham & Leiman 1982: 327-336). They distinguish between “retrospective remembering”: the recollection of the past events, and “prospective remembering”: the recruitment of implications from the past to serve future plans (1982: 327). Memory as having a role to play in shaping the future has also been emphasised by Hallam and Hockey (2001: 2). As demonstrated in chapter 5, continuity into the future is at the heart of sustainability: therefore, memory can be harnessed to initiate a sustainable approach to material of the past by emphasising the role it can play in influencing the future.

6.4.3 Memory and place

Memory is believed to enrich meanings generated for place. In this regard, Halbwachs (1992: 201) demonstrates how stories generated from religious memories transform ordinary places into sacred ones that are imbued with stories. While these stories are rarely trusted by scholars in their objective interpretation of history, lay people embrace them, as well as the places they are about, as an intimate part of their culture (Archibald 2004: 13; Solli 1996: 122). Stories provide a context that enables people to project their identities, and therefore to identify themselves with places and stories related to the past. In Archibald’s (2004: 20) words: “places become sacred to humans when the humans imbue the places with stories – stories that attach the grand cycle of

life, the continuity of time through sequences of generations, and life's transforming events to particular places on this earth".

Establishing connection with a place through memories and stories is essential for constructing meanings for that place. Memories and stories play an essential role in providing a sense of stability and identity to place as well as to people. The connection between local communities and place has been recognised by many scholars. For example, Relph (1976: 43) argues that "there is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places ... This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security, a point of departure from which we orient ourselves in the world". Similarly, Hayden (1995: 9) expresses a strong relationship between identity, memory and place. In Hayden's account:

identity is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ethnic communities ... Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbors, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes (Hayden 1995: 9).

In order to "address the great mass of pre-existing sentiment which underpins sea-changes in public attitudes and revolutions in public taste", and to explore place as "storehouses for ... social memories" (Samuel 1994: 307), marginalised memories should be explored. In Bélanger (2002: 88) words: "memory becomes heuristic area only when our analytical framework allows it to be expressed in its multiple forms, in its non-completion and in its contradictions". The following section investigates marginalised memories as opposed to memories of the powerful and those in charge. It highlights the local and the ordinary instead of the monumental and the exceptional. As emphasised in the previous chapters, the suppressed and the marginalised are at the heart of this thesis.

6.4.4 Counter-memory

In humanism, central memory is dominated by memories of the powerful, while other memories are subjugated and marginalised (Braidotti 1999: 91). Foucault (1977a:

160) refers to these memories as 'counter-memories'. According to Foucault (1980: 81, 82), there are two types of subjugated knowledge: "historical contents that have been buried and disguised . . . [and] a whole set of knowledge that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated". According to Foucault (1980: 83) marginalised knowledge is approachable through local memories. Similarly, Bond and Gilliam (1994: 8) define the subjugated forms of knowledge as: a "cluster of knowledge buried and disguised within *dominant regimes of formally systematized thought*. The formal properties of this form *obscure the struggle* and conflict that led to the incorporation of other clusters and the domination of one, producing a particular configuration and imposition" (emphasis added). Following the same line of argument, Lyons and Papadopoulos (2002: 11) emphasise that while history provides an insight into powerful accounts of memories, as it is written by the 'winners', archaeology offers an understanding of lay people, and therefore gives voices to those who are marginalised. Using the past as a tool to support suppressed identities is a growing phenomena in cultural heritage studies (Jones 2006: 105; Anyon *et al.* 2000: 12; Bond & Gilliam 1994: 3-4), which was established in the light of the postprocessual approach to the past.

Public memory is disregarded mainly because it is a source of debate and critical engagement with marginalised communities and knowledge (Giroux 2004: 68). In this sense, public memory provides a connection with the hidden, forgotten, or even wilfully ignored history, local communities, contexts and places. Because of this power implied in public memory, it comes as no surprise that it has been ignored by governments as well as scholars, especially in contexts where democracy is a mere rhetoric rather than active practice, such as in post-colonial contexts.

As they imply power, counter-memories are active. Their energy is demonstrated in their tendency to abandon the general through exclusive themes of history, memory, identity and truth, and reconstruct them in a different shape to serve new, more inclusive purposes (Foucault 1977a: 160). Therefore counter-memories tend to produce a democratic structure of history that includes the marginalised. Similar to marginalised memories is cultural memory: "a complex mix of narrative, displacement, shred testimony, popular culture, rumour, fantasy, and collective desire" (Sturken 1999: 234). Thus, cultural memory is, like counter-memory, more

about the marginalised and suppressed rather than the formal and dominant. Empowering these memories implies liberating the local energy residing within them.

In order to explore marginalised memories, scholars have to engage critically with history. Ironically, such critical engagement has been noted as being practiced by marginalised communities themselves. For example, Solli (1996: 225) observes that “lay man and woman seem to be more able to embrace the complexity paradigm than the scientifically trained archaeologists”. Similarly, Hodder (1991b: 14) mentions that “subordinate groups may wish to explore, perhaps archaeologically, the meaning that their monuments have for them” (Hodder 1991b: 14). However, contrary to local scholars, local communities are not concerned with fitting their heritage “into universal schemes of Western academic institution” (Solli 1996: 225). Their main concern is to continue practicing their heritage in the light of their contemporary contexts and cultures. Their critical engagement is derived from this concern. The lack of interest in Western academic approaches liberates local communities and therefore enhances their capacity to engage critically with the past and the practices concerned with it.

As local scholars lack critical engagement with approaches to material of the past, they are “steeped in a *Western tradition of archaeology* with its own Western conceptualization of the past” (Ucko 1989b: xv; emphasis added). This Western conventional approach to material of the past “often [lacks] much, or any, regard for the *complexities of the views* of the past held by the very people who inhabit the countries or areas concerned” (Ucko 1989b: xv; emphasis added). Therefore, it enhances the ‘top-down’ approach to the material of the past (Thomas 1995: 354) especially in post-colonial contexts where governments strive to identify themselves with the West, despite their people’s resentment.

A relationship can be identified between the exaggerated interest in monumental sites and the marginalisation of local communities. Local communities’ interaction with the material of the past is encouraged by a sense of familiarity with that past. Familiarity is stimulated by contemporary local communities’ conviction that places of the past were constructed and inhabited by people similar to them. Marginalising this fact by exaggerated interest in monumentality alienates lay people from the past (Archibald

2004: 10). Relics of the past do not have to be grand and unique to be valuable for local communities. Despite the importance of monumental sites celebrated everywhere in the world, they are not the usual places where narratives are generated and identities are normally constructed (Archibald 2004: 50, 51; Lynch 1972: 40). Furthermore, conserving material of the past, which does not have aesthetic features or historical importance, might be ridiculed from professionals' points of view; however, such material is important for sustaining cultural continuity, which is essential in constructing individual as well as collective identity (Marris 1986: 150). Emphasis on monumentality celebrates official memories and history (Lowenthal 1985: 244), and enhances marginalisation of local memories. Usually, in heritage practices, it is history, the memory of the powerful, which is preferred over local memories. Therefore, approaching material of the past on the basis of local memories and stories can mitigate the bias generated from emphasising the monumental and the historical accounts (Vansina 1985: 32).

6.4.5 Story

Story is a powerful means to control people (Geertz 1985: 15). The power of story is derived from its ability to provide meanings to selected fragments of the past through establishing coherence between these fragments. This coherence is achievable "only by continual invention and revision" of stories (Lowenthal 1998: 143). Therefore, in order to activate story as a meaning-making tool, it has to be dynamic and changeable. The role of story in the meaning-making process of material of the past is demonstrated in Andah's (1995: 154-188) cultural study of Africa. Andah (1995: 154) observes that people "perceive and actually wrap up all truth and meaning (historically and otherwise), in their *cultural story forms*" (original emphasis). Thus, cultural stories, like cultural memories discussed above, provide insights into local contexts and the meanings that local communities develop for their contexts. Nonetheless, because of the dominance of the 'top-down' approach in post-colonial contexts, these stories are rarely considered in perceiving and approaching the past.

Stories, like memories, contribute to identity construction. That stories are a source of identity as well as power, especially in marginalised contexts, is evident in Andah's (1995: 156) statement: "when a people lose touch with their story they lose their

identity and they lose the power which gives life, (i.e. the moorings by which they stay connected to an authentic vision of their own relevance)". Thus, stories anchor people to their past, foster local identity and enhance local power. The inextricable link between story, memory and identity is also evident in Hall's (2005: 25) definition of heritage as:

one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities by 'storying' the various random incidents and contingent turning points of their lives into a single, coherent narrative, so nations construct identities by selectively binding their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding 'national story'.

Stories activate history as well as memory. The power that narratives have in putting events into acceptable sequence, and therefore constructing meanings and achieving dramatic influence on local communities, brings history and memory to life. In this sense, stories 'humanise' the past by changing it into something recognisable that is a story (Hodder 1991a: 12). Stories express the intangible aspects in material of the past (e.g. feelings and thoughts) and thus transfer it into subjects that local communities can interact with. Without stories, material of the past remains silent, and in most cases, meaningless (Archibald 2004: 78-79). The importance of story in activating history and transforming it into something contemporary local communities can identify themselves with, is captured by a recent Israeli education minister as follows:

The force of 4,000 years of history is great if it is alive in our hearts, but if it is merely written in books, then it has no value. If we want to be heirs of the people of Israel, then we must instill those 4,000 years into the heart of every person (Ben Zion Dinur; quoted in Lowenthal 1998: 142).

Infusing the past into people's hearts is achievable only if that past is relevant to people's cultures, daily life and contemporary issues. The dynamic tension between physical remains of the past and stories and memories related to that past is crucial for placing the past as a whole in contemporary contexts (Tindall 1980: 116). This dynamic tension is fostered by material of the past being "in continual flux, altering, ageing, renewing, and always interacting with the present" (Lowenthal 1985: 248). Therefore, 'freezing' material of the past through practices that tend to conserve a certain state and time of that past alienates it from contemporary contexts. Practices concerned with material of the past should be dynamic enough to acknowledge the different stories that material of the past can convey.

Flexibility of material of the past enables local communities to validate it in contemporary contexts (Shanks & Tilley 1992: 66-67). This flexibility allows complex and detailed stories to be created and interwoven with material of the past to transform them into something that local communities can identify themselves with: in essence, cultural heritage. In this regard, Vansina (1985: 144-146) explains that story can be altered, and its meanings expanded, in order to provide more relevance to contemporary contexts. This alteration and expansion of story can be articulated to provide implicit meanings: meanings that, in some suppressed and marginalised contexts, cannot be expressed overtly. Using stories about archaeological sites to reflect on contemporary contexts, and to engage critically with current political situations, is evident in the accounts provided by local communities in Jordan explored in chapters 8 and 9 of this thesis.

As emphasised throughout this chapter, memory and story are interrelated. They both interact with time and place of the past as a source of their material. They also turn to culture and contemporary contexts to maintain coherence and credibility for their material. They bring the human factor to the foreground, and interweave it with the meaning-making process of time and place of the past. As well as being part of the process in which meanings evolve and develop, memory and story are also part of the meanings that local communities develop for time and place of the past. Therefore, memory and story are not only tools in the meaning-making process, but also meanings that stand for themselves. Furthermore, they enhance other meanings such as belongings, familiarity and physical and emotional attachment that local communities develop for material of the past.

To summarise, the above sections explore the different factors that enable the meaning-making process to take place. They focus on the human factor and its nature of interaction with time and place of the past. They explore memories and stories as processes that enable the time and the place of the past to acquire meanings that are directly derived from contemporary contexts, local communities' cultures as well as individual and collective identities. The interaction between these factors is represented in the circuit of meaning shown in figure 6.2 below. The name, as well as the representation of the process of interaction between the different factors, is

directly inspired by the circuit of culture developed by du Gay *et al.* (1997) and discussed in section 6.2 above.

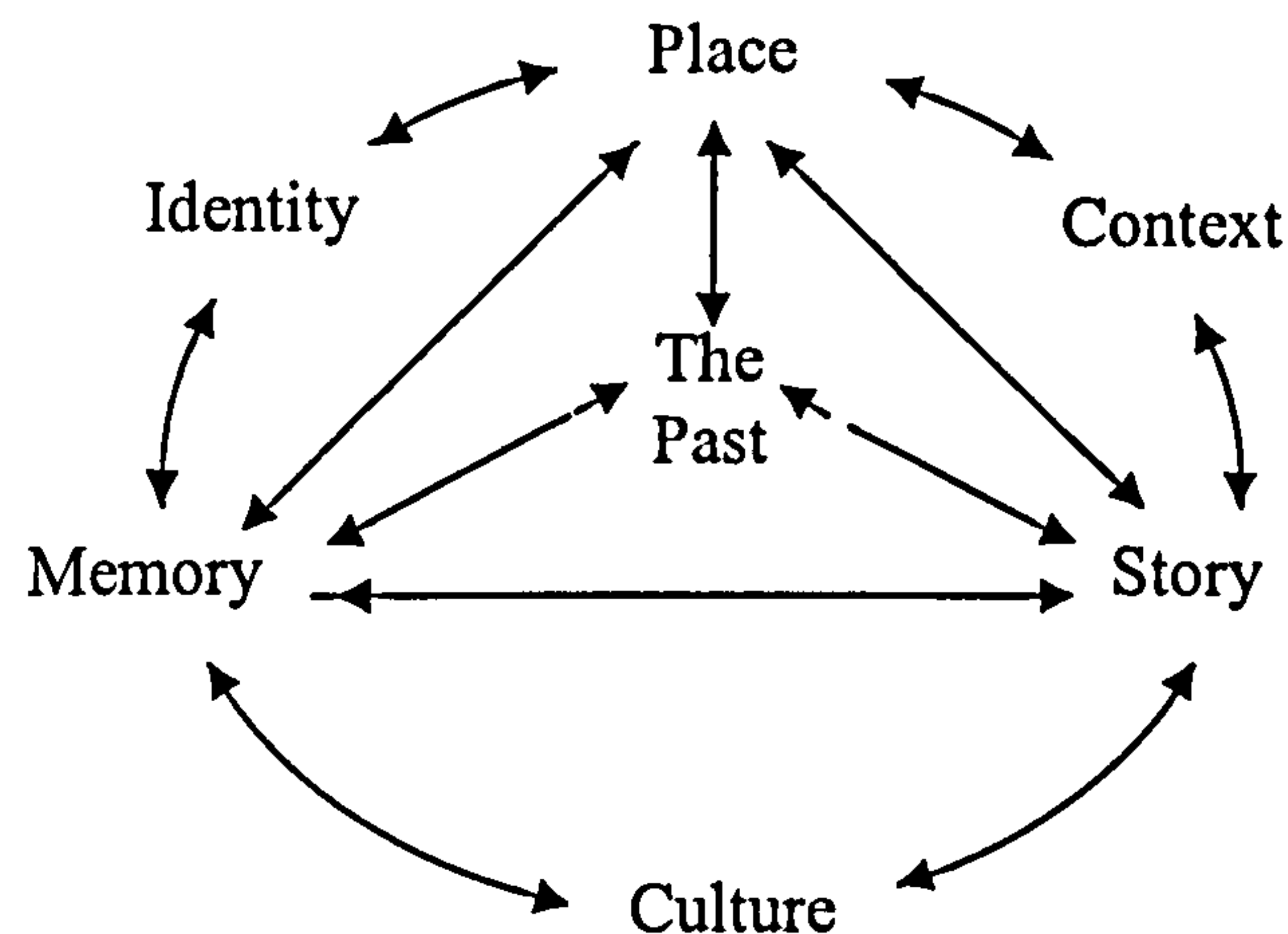


Figure 6.2 The circuit of meaning

6.5 The meaning-making process of the past; the time and the place

The above discussions define memory and story as essential tools in constructing meanings for time and place of the past. It establishes a relationship between memory, story, places and times of the past and contemporary contexts, cultures and identities. The following discussions investigate the way the circuit of meaning, defined above, can be used to perceive the mechanism through which local communities actively engage in a meaning-making process of places with temporal depth.

6.5.1 The depth of time: Intensity, continuity, stability and identity

Lowenthal (1985: 52) defines four modes that help people to make sense of the past: antiquity, termination, continuity and sequence. The four modes were analysed to explain how the past is celebrated as something that can stand for its own, as well as a living entity that can contribute to daily life and contemporary contexts. In this analysis, the modes of antiquity and termination present the past as something romantic and complete (Lowenthal 1985: 52-54, 62), whereas the modes of continuity and sequence represent the past as a living and dynamic entity that leads to the present (Lowenthal 1985: 61-62). In this sense, while certain aspects of the past indicate stability and stillness, other aspects imply dynamism and action. These different

qualities of stability and continuity that the past provides are essential for developing identities (Graham *et al.* 2000: 40; Lowenthal 1985: 61-62).

Identity and the past are inextricably linked. For example, Hewison (1987) in his book: *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, observes that “the past is the foundation of individual and collective identity”. Furthermore, in post-colonial contexts, “interpretations of the past are an important feature of the political struggles for ... individual and collective identities and their claims to power and economic resources” (Ucko 1995: 10). Similarly, Rowlands (1994: 130) associates the significance of cultural heritage with its ability to contribute to the sense of identity on personal as well as collective levels. In addition, Braidotti (1999: 83) understands identity as *a process* that evolves and develops within “dynamic spatio-temporal coordinates” (Braidotti 1999: 88). Therefore, temporal depth of place enhances modern identities by anchoring them to the past. The positive influence the past can have on constructing modern identity was the reason behind the colonisation of the past, and the use of archaeology as a colonial tool, which is discussed in chapter 3.

The past intensifies the present. By adding temporal depth, the past magnifies the time and the place of the present, and enhances their meanings and values (Lowenthal 1985: 48-49). In Layton’s (1989b: 3) words: “social life takes place through time ... were social life actually lived within an instantaneous slice out of time, then it would be without content or meaning” (Layton 1989b: 3). The depth of time allows for viewing things as processes rather than products, which in turn brings variety and creativity into the foreground in approaching the material of the past. Time not only creates meanings, but also changes them: “only time transforms negative or dissonant heritage into the romantic monuments and theme parks of collective nostalgia” (Meskell 2002: 571). In this sense, both time and place interact together in order to produce and reproduce meanings for material of the past.

Meanings intensify when their sources are directly jeopardised contexts. Globalisation, westernisation, centralised ideologies and development projects are some of the dangers that local sources of meanings face (Hodder 1991b: 14-15; also see chapter 5). Meanings also intensify when presented in socially and politically charged contexts (Rowlands 1994: 131-132) where social exclusion (discussed in

chapter 5, section 5.4) is an issue. Such circumstances activate local communities' interest in time and place of the past. Examples of the use of the past in such contexts are demonstrated in chapters 3, 4 and 5 (e.g. colonial archaeology in chapter 3, section 3.6.1, District Six Museum in chapter 4, section 4.9 and ecomuseum in chapter 5, section 5.6.2). Local communities in such cases develop meanings for place of the past that are directly inspired by their historical and contemporary contexts: the past and the present. This intense relationship between local communities and place is expressed as follows:

Places are ... incorporated into the intentional structures of all human consciousness and experience ... Human intention should not be understood simply in terms of deliberately chosen direction or purpose, but as a relationship of being between man and the world that gives meaning. Thus the objects and features of the world are experienced in their meaning and they cannot be separated from those meanings, for these are conferred by the very consciousness that we have of the objects (Relph 1976: 42).

The above arguments explore how the time of the past acquires meaning among local communities. Continuity and stability that local communities derive from the past enhance their sense of identity. Depth of time allows for viewing things as processes rather than products. The notion of process enhances diversity and inclusion in perceptions and approaches. The depth of time is demonstrated in places which are incorporated into local communities' contexts and daily life. The following section examines these places and the process of interaction between them and their local communities.

6.5.2 Places with temporal depth: Towards an inclusive approach to cultural heritage

The notion of place is increasingly recognised in cultural heritage studies that view cultural heritage as part of wider geographic and environmental contexts (e.g. Fontein 2006; Smith 2006; Graham *et al.* 2000; Davis 1999). However, the idea of place was originally investigated in social and psychology studies. The approach to place in these studies is derived from investigating our sense of identity: "who we are [which is closely relevant to] where we are" (Dixon & Durrheim 2000: 27). In these disciplines, place is not recognised as a fixed background for social life; instead place

and social life are connected within a reciprocal relationship as each of them shapes and reshapes the other (Dixon & Durrheim 2000: 27; Krupat 1983: 343). Because place in these studies is investigated as part of the 'self' rather than as mere 'property', more attention was paid to the relationships between local communities and place, and consequently, new meanings of place started to emerge (Krupat 1983: 343).

Scholars perceive the identity of place differently. While Lynch (1960: 6) associates the identity of place with its uniqueness and individuality (notions that are derived from the intrinsic values of place, and which are similar to those used in conventional approaches to archaeological sites) Narin (1965: 78) considers that the identity of place lies in the eye, mind and experience of the beholders: therefore there are as many identities for one place as there are people. The relationship between the identity of place and the identity of the person (meaning-maker) who is experiencing that place was thoroughly examined by Relph (1976).

According to Relph (1976: 45), "it is not just the identity *of* a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has *with* that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or as an outsider" (Relph 1976: 45; original emphasis). In this sense, meanings of place not only reside in their physical features, or in the activities that take place in them; rather, meanings are derived from the process of interaction between individual and place and the nature of this interaction. In Relph's (1976: 47) words: "the meanings of places may be rooted in the physical setting and objects and activities, but they are not a property of them – rather they are a property of human intentions and experiences". Drawing on people's intentions and experiences, Relph (1976: 51-55) differentiates between the following types of 'meaning-makers' of place:

1. "Existential outsider". The meaning-making process in this case is based on a feeling of alienation from the place and its people (Relph 1976: 51). The experience of the existential outsider is marked by the lack of communication or passive communication with the place and its people.
2. "Objective outsider". Scholars and academics deliberately adopt an 'objective' engagement with place for academic purposes. They are attempting not to be engaged

emotionally or physically with place, its physical features or the activities that take place in it (Relph 1976: 51).

3. “Incidental outsider”. For incidental outsiders the place is a little more than background for events as they just pass by it. In this sense place is just a station on the way and an address. As the place is visited with limited intentions, very little experience, if at all, occurs (Relph 1976: 52).

4. “Vicarious insider”. Being emotionally involved with a place through a picture, a story, a poem, a film, or any other media, makes the person a vicarious insider (Relph 1976: 52,53). In this case the experience of place is not real, and the identity of place that is constituted through this experience is superficial. Relph (1976: 61) identifies media-identity of place thus: “it can be changed and manipulated like some trivial disguise so long as it maintains some minimum level of credibility. It is also pervasive, for it enters into and undermines individual experiences and the symbolic properties of the identities of places”. The identity that historic places gain by being experienced through marketing programmes makes the meaning-maker a vicarious insider. It also develops a media-identity for place. Places for outsiders are perceived without the living experience, and therefore they are seen as location and background for activities. In some cases place identity is perceived as “a lost and now unattainable involvement” (Relph 1976: 62). Many small cultural heritage sites, with very little facilities provided even for the local communities that live in them, can be seen by the outsiders as being unattainable, and hostile, while for some insiders they are considered ‘home’.

5. “Behavioural insider”. The experience of place is limited to the physical qualities of a place (Relph 1976: 53); its material, space, colours, textures, to mention a few. Most of the visitors of cultural heritage sites are behavioural insiders. The identity of the place relies on the physical features only. Neither the cultural context, nor the experience of the individual plays a role in the meaning-making process of the place.

6. “Empathetic insider”. Making a deliberate effort to perceive a place is the main trait of the empathetic insider. In Relph’s (1976: 54-55) words:

To be inside a place empathetically is to understand that place as rich in meaning, and hence to identify with it, for these meanings are not only linked to the experience and symbols of those whose place it is, but also stem from one’s own experience. Thus the identity of places experienced through empathetic insideness is much deeper and richer than that known only through behavioural insideness. Identity is not just an address or set of appearances, but a complete personality with

which the insider is intimately associated. Such identity of place does not present itself automatically, but must be sought by training ourselves to see and understand places in themselves (Relph 1976: 54-55).

In this case the person allows for the experience he or she has to constitute the meaning of the place. Therefore the identity of place developed by an empathetic insider is more comprehensive than those developed by other insiders and outsiders mentioned above.

7. “Existential insider”. Establishing a profound bond with a place to an extent that “someone ... is part of that place and it is part of him” (Relph 1979: 55) is what existential insideness is about. The concept of place in this case is based on belonging to a place and being identified with it. In Relph’s (1979: 55) words: “existential insideness is part of knowing implicitly that *this* place is where you belong – in all other places we are existential outsiders no matter how open we are to their symbols and significances” (original emphasis).

This approach to the meaning-making of place brings the human factor to the foreground. Instead of drawing on the intrinsic or assigned values of place, Relph (1976: 51-55) explores the nature of experience that people have in place. Therefore, identities of place differ according to who perceives them and how. For example, an empathetic or existential insider would not only describe a place as being beautiful, dangerous, safe or ugly, but also as part of the context and the ‘self’ (Relph 1976: 49). Thus, the identity of place as it is shaped by an insider influences the identity of people who experience that place as insiders, and who perceive the place as inextricable part of their ‘self’ – as individuals as well as a community – and their contexts. The relationship between place and people extends beyond emotional attachment into active mental and emotional engagement (Proshansky *et al.* 1983: 60-62). This engagement results in a mental construction of place that is governed by individuals’ contexts and cultures as well as their experiences within place. Such experiences are influenced by collective activities, rather than individual practices (Dixon & Durrheim 2000: 32). The following section examines place-identity: the contribution of place to identity, through exploring it as emotional and mental engagement between place and people.

6.5.3 Place-identity and the identity of place

Place-identity was crystallised by Krupat (1983: 343) through his question: “is there such a thing as place-self-esteem, and if so, how might it be related to overall self-esteem in different people?” In response to this question, Korpela (1989) investigates the influence of place on regulating the ‘self’. Korpela (1989: 241-256) demonstrates the importance of place in enhancing self-regulation (e.g. contemplation, relaxation and freedom of expression), which is essential for constructing self-esteem and identity. Self-regulation is identified as being based on the use of place to create and recreate one’s self and identity (Korpela 1989: 244). Through an examination of “the basic principles of the functioning of the self” which have been defined by psychologists and sociologists, Korpela (1989: 241-243) explains the reasons for, and the mechanisms of, attachment to place. Accordingly, the factors that contribute to meaning-making process of place are identified. These factors are evident in the definition of place-identity as being based on “physical settings and parts of the physical environment, in or with which an individual – consciously or unconsciously – regulates his experience of maintaining his sense of self. Thus, place-identity ... has its own internal logic and coherence as a result of active self-regulation” (Korpela 1989: 245).

The internal logic that Korpela (1989: 245) defines above is strongly related to the human intentions and experiences recognised by Relph (1976: 47) as fundamental sources of meanings of place. It is through intentional interaction with place, and the consequences of this interaction, that place develops meanings, and consequently contributes to the construction of the identities of the individuals. The internal logic is what makes a place “an environmental means of producing coherence, because it makes it possible to contemplate, that is, to organize one’s thoughts and feelings to create coherence in one’s personal narrative” (Korpela 1989: 249). Accordingly, local communities develop meanings for place that are derived from their familiarity and unity with, and belonging and attachment to, that place. Such meanings enhance the self-esteem as well as the identity of the individual, and therefore contribute to self-regulation. The process of self-regulation contributes to place-identity. Moreover, it is one of the mechanisms through which local communities develop meanings for place.

Similar influences on identity are demonstrated in Lowenthal's (1985: 40) investigation of the past and its contribution to contemporary life. According to this investigation, the past validates the present: meanings and values of the present intensify when it is identified with events that occurred in the past (Lowenthal 1985: 40). Furthermore, the past reaffirms the present, as the repetition that the past implies generates guidance that enables people to anticipate the future (Lowenthal 1985: 46). The qualities of reaffirmation and validation that the past contributes to the present resemble the influence of self-regulation on people. Therefore, time and place of the past interweave to contribute to identity. It is through this very process of identity construction that people develop meanings for time and place of the past.

6.5.4 Anchoring the 'self' to a place: Genuine belonging

As explained above, time and place of the past directly influence the construction of identity. This influence of the past is only possible when local communities experience attachment to that past. This attachment is achievable through certain mechanisms that are based on the individual's capacity to: experience a sense of control over a place; 'humanise' a place; and anchor a place to private as well as public memories (Korpela 1989: 241). People capitalise on their sense of attachment to place in order to develop further meanings that are based on regulating their relationship with place.

The sense of belonging to a place is not only a main aspect of place-identity, but also a prerequisite for it (Korpela 1989: 246). It is directly influenced by, and sustained through, the sense of control. It activates an individual's feelings to place, and as explained in section 3.2 above, influences conservation practices concerned with place. Beside the sense of control over place, the sense of belonging is strongly relevant to autobiographic attachment that is identified by Rowles (1983: 302) as a process of cognitive interaction and mental construction of place, as well as emotional attachment to it. Autobiographic attachment is governed with the individual's memories. Although place might change dramatically, people maintain affinity with place that is directly derived from one's own memories rather than the contemporary state of that place (Rowles 1983: 303-306). This kind of attachment is highly charged with emotions and imaginations of the individual concerned with a place that shape

the place's identity. Relph (1976: 48) defines terms like 'spirit of place', 'sense of place', and 'genius of place' that are used to express the intangible dimension as much as the uniqueness and mystery that can enclose a place, and that are derived from people's emotional and mental attachment to place.

The physical attachment is strongly governed by the immediate interaction between the individual and the physical environment of the place. It is identified as the 'body awareness' of surrounding environment. This awareness develops by time, and through regular daily routine within a place (Rowles 1983: 302). The notion of 'body awareness' resembles the notions of familiarity, recognition and guidance that Lowenthal (1985: 48-49) emphasises in his exploration of the past. The physical features and settings of the place, together with activities and functions carried out in it, are acknowledged by Relph (1976: 47-49, 61) as a source of identity of place. Physical attachment to a place is enhanced by the social activities practiced in that place. Local communities enhance their own sense of identity by knowing and meeting each other (Rowles 1983: 303), an opportunity that is offered by place. This social integration within place adds to identity of place, as well as individual and collective identities. Smith (2006: 249-250) observes, in her investigation of local communities' relationship with archaeological sites, that using these sites as places to meet or even see people is highly appreciated among the local communities examined.

Having a sense of control – but not necessary ownership – over a place is enhanced by the feeling of having a sort of privacy in that place. In this sense, place becomes a personal arena where one can express his or her self freely and "discharge energy and emotions" through practicing physical action, such as screaming or running (Korpela 1989: 249, 254). This experience of control over a place interweaves it with the individual's life. It is enhanced through the individual's desire to appropriate a place to suit his or her identity, and to give it particular characteristics that serve the individual's self-orientation (Korpela 1989: 244). Therefore, having a sense of control over a place is essential for developing an attachment to it. Simultaneously, it contributes to the meaning-making process of that place.

The second mechanism through which people become attached to a place, and in the same time, construct meanings for it, is the 'humanisation' of place. The

'humanisation' of place is a process through which an individual interpret a place as a sympathetic environment for engaging with and understanding his or her emotions: it helps to enhance self-esteem regulation and coherence (Korpela 1989: 251). The process of 'humanising' a place is similar to that of 'humanising' the past, an idea which is relevant to the anthropological approach and its increasing use in perceiving and approaching the material of the past.

For example, while investigating cultural heritage in a village in Scotland, Jones (2006: 116) records some of the metaphors used by the local community of that village to describe the cultural heritage in question. Metaphors such as 'born', 'growing', 'breathing', having a 'soul', 'living' and 'dying', having 'charisma' and 'feelings' are in the essence of the local community's experience of that cultural heritage (Jones 2006: 115-116). Such metaphors do 'humanise' material of the past, and indicate the sort of attachment that people develop to that past. Furthermore, 'humanising' the past using these metaphors and symbols help the local community of the Scottish village to reflect on incidents and events of dislocation and alienation that shape their own identities as well as the identity of place, and that are still evident in people's memories and narratives (Jones 2006: 117).

Therefore, attachment to place provides people with an opportunity to reflect on their own past, and to reflect on the elements that shape their identities such as memories, stories and place. Such meanings and uses are evident in the Jordanian local communities' account regarding archaeological sites that exist within their contexts, which are explored in chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis.

Through the anchoring of memories to place, the events that memory records gain depth: continuity, coherence and validity (Korpela 1989: 251). As explained above, memory is one of the mechanisms of the meaning-making process that enriches place with events and accumulated experiences. Furthermore, memory enhances the temporal depth of place, and thus magnifies its meanings. In Lowenthal's (1985: 59) words: "it is accretion, in particular, that generates the past's enrichment". This enrichment is magnified when memories transform place into somewhere familiar: something relevant to contemporary contexts and daily life.

To summarise, place-identity and the identity of place are two processes that interrelate. They result in meanings that influence individual as well as collective identities. Meanings of the past as time are very similar to those developed for the past as place. Table 6.2 shows these meanings as identified by the studies and scholars explored above; all the meanings are derived from the process of interaction that people experience with time and place of the past.

Table 6.2 *Meanings of time and place of the past*

Lowenthal (meanings of the past)	Korpela (meanings of place)	Rowles (meanings of place)
Familiarity and recognition;	Familiarity;	Physical attachment;
Reaffirmation and validation;	Coherence and unity;	Social attachment;
Individual and group identity;	Belongingness and attachment.	Autobiographic attachment.
Guidance;		
Enrichment;		
Escape.		

6.6 Summary and immediate inferences


This chapter has engaged with material of the past as places with temporal depth rather than as sets of inherent and assigned values. In this engagement, cultures, contemporary contexts and local knowledge are brought into the foreground. They are expressed through memories and stories that engage with material of the past, yet reflect contemporary contexts and daily life. In this sense, memories and stories constitute an inextricable part of the meaning-making process of both time and place of the past. They are shaped and reshaped in response to people's interaction with material of the past as part of their historical, as well as contemporary, contexts and cultures. This interaction results in meanings that reflect people's cultures, contexts and identities.

Meanings change in relation to meaning-makers' cultures, contexts and identities; however, the processes through which meanings come into existence anchor people to their past, and transform material into something familiar and relevant to their

contemporary contexts: in essence, cultural heritage. The arbitrary description of material of the past as cultural heritage, by governmental and institutional bodies, is derived, among many things, from exclusive reliance on conventional and general evaluations. These taken-for-granted values contribute to the lack of interest in adopting other approaches for the evaluation of material of the past. Informed by the postprocessual archaeology, many studies are increasingly recognising the anthropological approach as an effective tool for the evaluation of ‘cultural heritage’. This chapter argues that it is through such an approach that material of the past can be identified as cultural heritage or otherwise. It is through this approach that scholars can explore how people make sense of the past and interweave its place with their contemporary contexts, and therefore consider material of the past as cultural heritage.

With this chapter, the first part of the thesis reaches its end. The data collected throughout this part of the thesis are used to generate immediate inferences. Inferences from each chapter are presented in tables that follow that chapter. The immediate inferences for this chapter are presented in table 6.3 below. The next part of the thesis explores Jordan: the meaning and use of its material of the past. The immediate inferences from the second part of the thesis will be integrated with those from the first part in chapter 10 in order to help the researcher to suggest a sustainable approach towards archaeological sites Jordan.

Table 6.3 *Generation of the immediate inferences MMP from the data explored in chapter 6*

Serial no.	Description of Data	Generation  Immediate Inferences MMP
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In order for any meaning to be constituted, a dynamic interaction between people and their surrounding contexts should take place. This interaction is governed by certain elements – to be described in this thesis as cultural elements, as they stem from one’s culture (e.g. knowledge, beliefs, feelings and behaviour) – as well as the different contexts and cultures within which this interaction takes place. As the meaning-making process is influenced by people’s perceptions as well as contexts, they do not necessary resemble realities, but rather reflect people’s understandings of these realities (Coser 1992: 26). • Material of the past hardly has a meaning in and of itself. Rather, meanings are generated through continuous encounters between people and their environment. In response to this 	Meanings are generated only through interaction between people and things. This process of interaction is highly influenced by surrounding contexts, as well as memories and stories that influence people and their relationship with things. It is only through exploring this interaction that scholars can gain an insight into the meaning-making process of things. Exploring people’s experiences requires interacting with them.

	<p>interaction, meanings keep changing and developing through time and place, as well as from one person to another (Dicks 2000: 74-75) observes that.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “It is us – in society, within human culture – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change from one culture or period to another” (Hall 1997: 61) • Cultural heritage is identified 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 people’s experiences and perceptions. • Instead of perceiving meaning-making process as being restricted to the relationship between the signifier and the signified, meaning of material culture is viewed as “organised structures of understanding and emotional attachments, by which grown people interpret and assimilate their environment” (Marris 1986: 4). Meaning in this sense allows for people’s experiences, thoughts, feelings and attitudes to be approached as an inextricable part of the mechanism through which material of the past is perceived, identified and evaluated as cultural heritage. 	
<p>2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In order to capture a memory one has to rely on “the idea of history as an <i>organic form of knowledge</i>... [that encompasses] not only the chronological past of the documentary record but also the timeless one of ‘tradition’” (Samuel 1994: x). This organic form of knowledge, in contrast to the official one, is inextricably related to local memories and stories. While history validates the official and collective account of the past, memory celebrates the personal and human level of that past (Lowenthal 1985: 213). • Shift in interest from inherent values into assigned ones brings the human factor into foreground. It allows people’s perception of what they considered as cultural heritage to be appreciated. In this context interest in the past diverted from the monumental into the ordinary and from singular sites into places and landscape. The diversity of the past started to be recognised. • Stories activate history as well as memory. The power that narratives have in putting events into acceptable sequence, and therefore constructing meanings and achieving dramatic influence on people, brings history and memory to life. In this sense, Stories ‘humanise’ the past by changing it into something recognisable that is a story (Hodder 1991a: 12). • Stories express the intangible aspects in material of the past (e.g. feelings and thoughts) and thus transfer it into subjects that people can interact with. Without stories, material of the 	<p>Human-based approach to the past implies focusing on dynamic subjects such as memories and stories. Memories and stories ‘humanise’ the past. They anchor its material to place. They operate as processes that reflect the way individuals as well as communities define themselves.</p>

	past remains silent, and in most cases, meaningless (Archibald 2004: 78-79)	
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memory anchors individuals to time and place. Different from conventional perceptions of memory as passive assets of the individual, Hallam and Hockey (2001: 3) view memory as a dynamic process. In this process, individuals as well as communities are placed within specific times and places. As memory places contexts and assets of these contexts – such as material of the past – in relation to individuals, it constitutes an essential part of the process in which individual as well as collective identities develop. • Individuals “perceive and actually wrap up all truth and meaning (historically and otherwise), in their <i>cultural story forms</i>” (Andah 1995: 154). Thus, cultural stories, like cultural memories discussed above, provide insights into local contexts and the meanings that local communities develop for their contexts. 	Memories and stories are an essential part of the process through which people identify themselves and the world around them. Furthermore, they offer an introduction into cultural knowledge, which is a reflection of people’s perceptions of their contexts. In this sense, memories and stories change archaeological sites into places that are experienced actively as part of daily life.
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglecting contexts imply marginalising ideological bases, which constitute the essence of meanings (Rowlands 1994: 129). In this sense, narratives, legends and myths that individuals construct and develop about the past, and that constitute an important part of their attachment to the past, are dismissed as irrelevant and ‘unscientific’ (Solli 1996: 212, 222). While this scientific disguise of archaeology fostered the image of archaeologists as experts in intellectual discipline, it contributed to their isolation from contemporary issues and daily life (Smith 1993: 64-65; Hodder 1984a: 28; 1991a: 11; Ucko 1989a: xiv). • The definition of socio-cultural values on the basis of the anthropological approach implies close relevance between the social value of cultural heritage and the notions of place attachment and social capital. According to this definition, “place attachment refers to the social cohesion, community identity, or other feelings of affiliation that social groups (whether very small and local, or national in scale) derive from the specific heritage and environment characteristics of their ‘home’ territory” (Mason 2002: 12). • The anthropological approach to evaluation of cultural heritage broadens its horizon as it provides insights into issues such as social cohesion and sense of place, that are closely relevant to the concept of sustainability. Consequently, the anthropological approach provides potential for a sustainable approach to material of the past. 	Individual and/or collective attachment to a place is a result of different elements such as memories, stories, place identity, identity of place, sense of continuity as well as local and cultural knowledge. These elements constitute and foster attachment to a place through their contribution to meaning-making process of place. The lack of individual and/or collective attachment reflects, in many senses, lack of meanings of that place for its local community.
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuity is an organising element that “represents for an individual his identity; for a society its cultures; and for mankind, perhaps, the half-hidden outline of a universal 	At the heart of people’s attachment to material of the past, is their capacity to develop a sense of continuity through the

<p>philosophy” (Marris’ 1986: 12).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meanings of things are contingent with their continuity in life. The purpose of intervention in the physical remains of the past is to maintain the physical continuity of these remains. • Conserving material of the past, which does not have aesthetic features or historical importance, might be ridiculed from professionals’ points of view; however, such material is important for sustaining cultural continuity, which is essential in constructing individual as well as collective identity (Marris 1986: 150). • Approaching material of the past on the basis of local memories and stories can mitigate the bias generated from emphasising the monumental and the historical accounts (Vansina 1985: 32). • The physical continuity of the past into the present is “the basis for creating ... a contact with the past that is direct and real” (Lipe 1984: 4). 	<p>time and the place of that past. In this sense, archaeological sites are places with temporal depth which physical evidence reflects. These places are socially constructed on the basis of contemporary issues. The social construction of archaeological sites suggests the quality of attachment that people develop to the past and its places.</p>
--	--

The immediate inferences explored in this table anchor meanings to the contexts in which they are generated. Memories and stories constitute influential part of these contexts as they are shaped and reshaped by people’s cultural, social and political conditions among many others. Therefore, meanings which people construct for material of the past are inextricably linked to their memories and stories. These meanings are approachable only through an active interaction with people that allows for exploring the mechanism through which they create meanings.

This chapter marks the end of the first part of this thesis. The first part established the conceptual framework of the thesis. It anchored the approaches to material of the past to relevant theories, and explored the role of different contexts in formulating these theories and practices. In chapter 5, sustainability was explored, not as an ultimate result of these practices, but as a social process in which local knowledge, cultures and contexts are brought to the foreground. As a result, memories and stories were explored as part of the mechanism through which people approach material of the past, and constitute meanings for them. The second part of this thesis capitalises on the different concepts explored above in order to investigate the approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan, and to formulate an alternative approach that is community-based, culture-led and context-oriented.

**PART II: THE MEANING-MAKING
PROCESS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SITES IN JORDAN: EMPOWERING
THE MARGINALISED**

Chapter 7: The Jordanian Approaches to Material of the Past: Inventing the 'National' and Marginalising the Past

[The use of material culture in Jordan] reflects a centralist ideology, designed to strengthen national unity and to impose a unique and unified vision of the past. This nationalist and centralist biography of the nation is clearly designed by the state and filtered through a Hashemites filter (Maffi 2002: 215).

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the different approaches to material of the past in Jordan. In order to achieve this, it is extremely important to examine how Jordan, as it is known in the present day, came into existence. Without going into too much historic detail, the following sections will show the diversity of the past and people in Jordan. The chapter then investigates how Jordan, as a modern state, came into existence, and how its material of the past is employed to serve the new country. The chapter introduces the current local and foreign bodies interested in material of the past in Jordan, and reflects on the relevant laws with special emphasis on archaeological sites. Because material culture is engineered to serve limited political purposes in Jordan, local communities are overwhelmed by the 'top-down' and centralist approach. The chapter draws on the lack of cultural continuity, local participation and genuine development in approaches to the past in Jordan to argue that these approaches lack sustainability and need to be replaced with more community-based and context-oriented ones.

7.2 The Jordanian context

Because approaches to the past stem from the contexts in which they are generated and applied (see immediate inferences 1 & 2 TPP; table 3.1, pg. 88-89), it is essential for studies concerned with material of the past to explore these contexts, and their influence on contemporary approaches to the past. People's perceptions of the depth and richness of time and place intensify when these are perceived to be endangered (see immediate inference 6 S; table 5.1, pg. 168). In modern Jordan, perceptions and practices concerned with material of the past represent Jordan's 'cultural heritage' as a tourist commodity rather than as part of local communities' contemporary contexts and ways of life. The adverse influence these perceptions and practices have on the past in Jordan can only be appreciated if the depth and richness of time and place in Jordan are explored. Therefore, it is important in exploring the approaches to material

of the past in Jordan to demonstrate the depth and richness of its time and place. The following three sections explore the different contexts that shape the depth and richness of time and place in Jordan.

7.2.1 The geographic and cultural setting

The political entity of Jordan, as it is presented in the map in figure 7.1 did not come into existence until 1921. Before that, Jordan was part of what historians and archaeologists called the Fertile Crescent (the modern countries of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Western parts of Iran, Turkey and Egypt). The name Fertile Crescent was inspired by the rivers (the Nile, the River Jordan, Tigris and the Euphrates) that have fed the region since ancient times. Jordan is also part of *Bilad al Sham*, or what is known among Western scholars as the Levant (the modern countries of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and in some cases Iraq) (Daher 2007: 3; Held 2006: 318). The term, *Bilad al Sham*, is not commonly used in academic or governmental discourses; however, some studies concerned with material of the past (e.g. Daher 2004, 2007: 3) use the term to site Jordan within its broader cultural context in the Arab World.

It is important to note that until 1921, Jordan was an inextricable part of the surrounding geographic, political, social and cultural contexts. Currently, Jordan is part of what is known universally as the Middle East; a term used by Western scholars to indicate West Asia and Egypt after the Second World War (Eickelman 1998: 1-2). The different periods, and the main events that shaped the history of Jordan are shown in Appendix 2. The following section explores the history of Jordan, and the influence this history has had on the diversity and richness of its material culture.

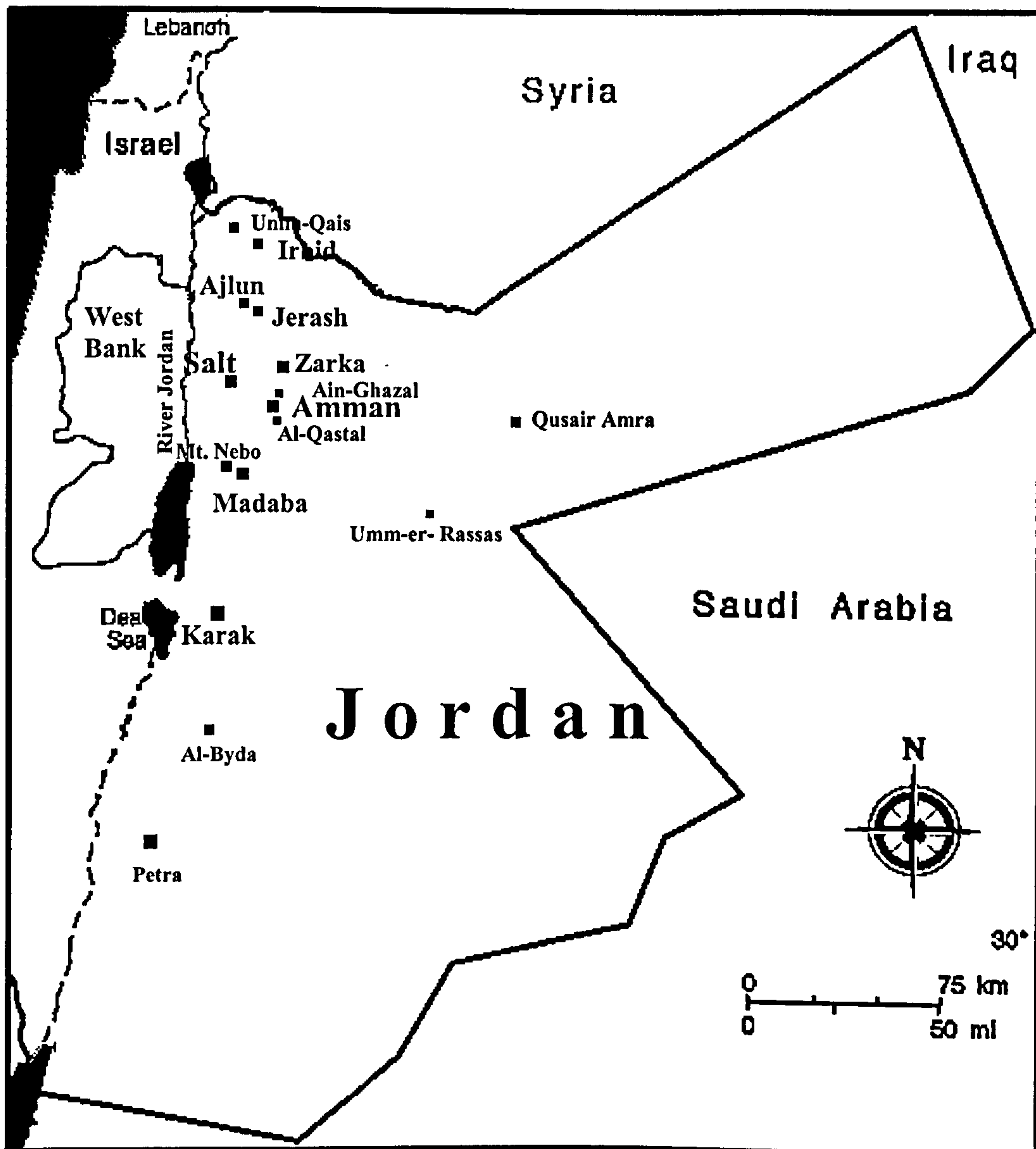


Figure 7.1 Map of Jordan and the places that are mentioned in the text of this thesis

7.2.2 Jordan: The depth of time and place

Early human settlement in ancient Jordan is dated back to Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods (some archaeologists date the Palaeolithic occupation in Jordan to 450,000 years before the present (BP) (Olszewski 2001: 33; Lewis 1991: 5)). Al-Bayda, for example, is an archaeological site in the southern part of Jordan that is considered one of the earliest settlements in human history, is dated to 12,000 BP (Olszewski 2001: 58; Rollefson 2001: 71). Another example of the early human settlement in Jordan is Ain-Ghazal, a Neolithic village close to the city centre of Amman that has been dated to 8000 BP (Rollefson 2001: 77). Historically, Jordan was part of the land of Canaan, so-called after Semitic nomads who settled in the region in

the 2nd millennium BC It has been invaded by different groups of people throughout time (e.g. Hittites, Egyptians, Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mamluks and Ottomans) who left rich material evidence of their diverse cultures (Herr & Najjar 2001: 323ff; McQuitty 2001: 561ff; Strange 2001: 291ff; Lewis 1991: 5-16).

Because of its central location in the region, Jordan was influenced by the conflicting powers in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia (the region of modern Iraq, eastern Syria and southern Turkey as it is known among Western scholars). However, Jordan witnessed the development of tribal kingdoms in the period between 15th and 13th century BC. These kingdoms; Edom, Moab and Ammon, are mentioned in the Old Testament and are well known among Biblical archaeologists (also see chapter 3, section 3.6.2). Archaeological evidence such as copper mines, olive and wine presses, and defence towers, suggest that these kingdoms flourished in a politically turbulent area. They also capitalised on the central location of Jordan, which allowed them to use the commercial routes established between Egypt, the Mediterranean cities, and the Arab Peninsula to sustain their existence (Strange 2001: 294; Lewis 1991: 6). These kingdoms continued to exist until the Persian invasion of the region in the 6th century BC (Bienkowski 2001: 347).

Jordan came under the dominance of Greek culture between the beginning of the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD. The Greeks established Hellenistic culture in the region, which was a mixture of Classical and Eastern cultural features, and left their mark on urban and architectural design of cities across the region. A famous example of an ancient Greek city in Jordan is Gadara (currently known as Umm-Qais) in the northern part of Jordan (Bienkowski 2001: 361). During that time, the Arab Nabataeans established their kingdom, relying fundamentally on trade. Their capital, Petra, was located in the southern part of Jordan and flourished as a commercial city until the third century AD (Schmid 2001: 367-368; Lewis 1991: 10). Petra, as explained in chapter 4, was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1985.

The Roman Empire occupied Jordan as part of *Bilad al Sham* in the 1st century BC (Held 2006: 325; Freeman 2001: 427). The strong Roman presence in the region is well demonstrated through Roman cities and architectural remains that exist all over

Jordan. An examples of these cities is Gerasa (currently knows as Jerash) in the northern part of Jordan. Despite the fact that Jerash has been subject to several strong earthquakes, the architectural remains still maintain the original features of a Roman city (Freeman 2001: 448-449). Life during the Roman period was based on trade, agriculture, and agricultural industries. The olive and wine presses dated to the Roman period in Jordan stand as evidence of a flourishing life during that time (Freeman 2001: 448-454; Lewis 1991: 9-10).

The Byzantine period in Jordan is an extension of the Roman existence in the region after its conversion into Christianity in the 4th century AD. The Byzantine Empire ruled in Jordan until the 6th century AD through the Ghassanids, a Christian Arab tribe, who were responsible for defending the region against the Sassanian Empire in the East, as well as other Arab tribes in the region (Watson 2001: 464-466; Lewis 1991: 10). This period is demonstrated through a rich Christian heritage (mainly churches and chapels) that are found all over Jordan as part of rural and urban settlements in the region (Watson 2001: 467-468). One of these settlements is the village of Umm-er-Rassas, a town dated back to the Roman period, and well known for its Byzantine churches and outstanding mosaic floors. Umm er Rassas was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 2004 (UNESCO 2006).

Jordan was first introduced to Islam through the Arab Muslims who defeated the Roman Empire on the Yarmouk River in 636 AD, and spread Islam across *Bilad al Sham*. Jordan is believed to have been a vital route as Islam spread out of the Arab peninsula where it was first established early in the 7th century AD (Watson 2001: 466; Whitcomb 2001: 503; Binous *et al.* 2000: 15). The first Islamic dynasty, the Umayyad, who ruled the Islamic World in the period between 661 and 750 AD, had a strong political and social presence in Jordan. This presence is demonstrated in the many recreational palaces the Umayyads built in the, mainly desert, eastern part of Jordan. One of these palaces is Qusair Amra, which was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1985 (Al-Asad 2000: 120-123). Besides these recreational palaces, the recently restored Umayyad headquarters at the Citadel of Amman reveals the presence of a significant administrative role for the city during that time (Whitcomb 2001: 507; Zayadine *et al.* 2000: 61-63). Furthermore, the large Umayyad mosque,

discovered recently in Jerash (Welmesly & Damgaard 2005: 364), is another indication of the political and social importance of Jordan during the Umayyad reign.

The history of Jordan after the end of the Umayyad reign in 750 AD is believed to have gone through a period of devolution and cultural discontinuity and is believed to be mainly occupied by nomadic tribes with very few, if at all, urban centres (Held 2006: 330; Whitcomb 2001: 506; Lewis 1991: 12). During the time between 11th and 13th centuries AD, Jordan was a battlefield between the Crusaders (European Christians) and the Muslims in their war over the 'holy land' (mainly the ancient city of Jerusalem). During the Crusades Wars, military castles were built all over Jordan to defend the Christian Kingdom in Jerusalem against the Muslims (Walmsley 2001: 529-533). Ajlun castle in the northern part and Karak castle in the southern part of Jordan are examples of the military character of that period (Pringles 2001: 686). Many of these castles were built by Muslims as well, who also reused the Crusaders' castles whenever they captured them (Pringles 2001: 680-681).

After the Crusades Wars, Jordan was under the rule of the Ayyubid dynasty and then the Mamluks until the latter were defeated by the Ottomans in 1516 (McQuitty 2001: 561). During the Ottoman period, Jordan is believed to have been "largely forgotten by the outside world for more than 300 years until European travelers 'rediscovered' it in the nineteenth century" (Lewis 1991: 13). The towns and cities of Jordan during that time are also believed to have been simple "local markets and administrative centers rather than centers of high culture" (Peetet 1991: 92), as were the nearby long-established cities in Damascus, Cairo and Beirut. However, McQuitty (2001: 568) ascribes these beliefs to a lack of scholars' ability to distinguish Ottoman material culture. Contrary to the general belief about the decline of cultural life during the Ottoman period, McQuitty (2001: 587) believes that cultural life in Jordan continued, but not with the same strength that it witnessed during the previous periods. His account reads as follows:

Perhaps more than most periods, our impression of Ottoman settlement within Jordan suffers from pre-conception. The Ottoman centuries are characterized as a time of decline and devastation ... [as] by the seventeenth century central Ottoman control had waned and ... villages and agriculture life retreated to the security of the mountain or were totally abandoned in favour of nomadism and pastoral life or flight to the cities of Syria and Palestine ... But this historical narrative based

on the perceived influence of external power (or rather lack of influence) is not the whole story. The more enduring factor is that the overwhelming rural population of Jordan continued to practice its mainly subsistence economy with elements of pastoralism and agriculture. Life carried on in the countryside not the towns. Tribalism, and not the Ottoman State, was the major force in the land until the late nineteenth century. *By no means was life a rural idyll but Jordan did not simply grind to a halt in the sixteenth century only to be revived in the nineteenth century* (emphasis added).

Evidence that cultural life continued in Jordan during the Ottoman period is demonstrated in the urban and architectural remains dated to that period. For example, the Hajj forts (forts that were built by the Ottoman Empire from the 14th century to serve pilgrims travelling to and from Mecca) were one of the main architectural achievements in Jordan during the Ottoman period. Petersen (2001: 685) counts nine of these forts that stretched from north to south, and that continued to be used until the early 20th century, when they fell into ruins (Petersen 2001: 685-686). Beside the Hajj forts, mosques, schools, administrative buildings, and villages are increasingly being dated to the Ottoman period. Some of them are still in use, such as the school in Karak (McQuitty 2001: 569), and some of them were used until recently, such as the Ottoman part of the Umm-Qais village, that was continuously inhabited until 1976 (Daher 1999: 37; further details about the evacuation of the Ottoman village of Umm-Qais is in the following sections).

The Arab revolted against the Ottoman Empire, and their revolution started at Mecca in Saudi Arabia in 1917. The Arab Revolt was led by members of the Hashemite family who are believed to descend from the same family as Mohammad: the prophet of Islam (Anderson 2005: 3). Prince Abdullah, one of the Revolt's leaders, was assigned by Britain as the prince of the Arab Emirate of Transjordan. The Prince administrated Palestine and Transjordan under the British mandate until the 25th of May 1946. At this time, Transjordan became an independent kingdom under the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which also included the West Bank (the land to the West of the River Jordan) (Held 2006: 332; Metz 1991: xxi). Despite the fact that the West Bank was occupied by Israel in 1967, it was still considered as part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan until 1988, when king Hussein of Jordan declared official disengagement with the West Bank (Massad 2003: 25). The new state of Jordan was established in a political context that was heavily charged with a history of

wars and treaties; Anderson, in his book *Imagined Communities*, describes the process through which modern states in post-colonial contexts came into existence: “triangulation by triangulation, war by war, treaty by treaty, the alignment of map and power proceeded” (Anderson 1991: 173).

Jordan, as described above, was geographically, culturally, politically, and socially interwoven within *Bilad al-Sham*. However, after the First World War, the region went through fundamental political changes that influenced, and still influence, all aspects of life in Jordan and the region. After the First World War, the United Kingdom was awarded the mandate of Palestine and Jordan by the League of Nations. The United Kingdom created the Arab Emirate of Transjordan (Transjordan is a term used to describe the land to the East of the River Jordan) in 1921, in order to placate the anger amongst the public which was triggered by the Balfour Declaration in 1917. The Declaration, made by the United Kingdom, promised the land of Palestine to the Jewish people; an act which had dramatic social and political influences, not only on the modern history of Jordan and Palestine, but also on the rest of the Arab World until the present time (Held 2006: 337; Peetet 1991: 17).

To conclude, Jordan went through diverse historical periods as part of the wider geographic and cultural context of *Bilad al-Sham*. This diverse history shaped the depth and richness of its time and place. Although some of these periods thrived more than others, each of them constituted an inextricable part of Jordan’s history. While the above section demonstrates the diversity of time and the richness of material culture in Jordan, the following section explores the diversity of people and the nature of life in contemporary Jordan.

7.2.3 The contemporary context

During the 16th century, and under the governance of the Ottoman Empire, people of Jordan developed different geographical and political orientations. People of the West Bank were oriented to the cities of the Mediterranean coast; people of the northern parts associated themselves with Syria; whereas people in the southern parts were loyal to the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula (Lewis 1991: 3). As well as the original Arab population, the Ottoman Empire encouraged Muslims from the Caucasus

Mountains in North Europe to settle in Jordan and to counterbalance the Bedouins. Conder (1892: 355), a European traveller who visited the region in the 19th century, noted that the Bedouins' life style was gradually disappearing by the time of his visit. The new arrivals, known as Circassians, mainly occupied Amman in the 1880s, and despite their small number, have continued to play an important role in many aspects in Jordan until the present day (Held 2006: 331; Massad 2003: 60,218; Hooglund 1991: 197). The population of Jordan increased from a few hundred thousand during the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921, to more than five million in recent years. More than 70% of this population live in the main urban centres of Jordan; Amman, Irbid, Zarka and Karak (World Resource Institute 2007: n.p.).

When the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was established in 1946, the small population consisted mainly of peasants, nomads and semi-nomads, in addition to the minorities of Circassians and other Arab merchants, mainly from Syria and Palestine who settled in the cities of Salt and Amman. The political events in Palestine (the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the occupation of the West Bank in 1967) forced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to immigrate to Jordan. This immigration resulted in dramatic population growth and major construction expansion which lasted until the 1980s (Held 2006: 330-333). By the late 1980s, Palestinians in Jordan had formed an economic, cultural and social power that deeply influenced the life of the new Kingdom (Pettet 1991: 76, 90). In light of these developments, the context of Jordan grew more dynamic, diverse, and in many aspects, unstable.

Jordan has increasingly become a kingdom of refugees. Receiving many waves of immigrants who, mainly for political reasons, fled the countries adjacent to Jordan (Palestine in 1948 and 1967, Kuwait in 1991, Iraq in 2003), the Government, understandably, finds it extremely important to establish collective identity among the diverse peoples of Jordan. However, this thesis focuses on the events that shaped Jordan as a political entity in the early stages of its establishment, and that directly influenced the conceptual approach to material of the past in Jordan.

This context of Jordan is charged with a sense of uprooting. This sense is shared among almost all people of Jordan, not only among those who migrated from Palestine, but also among the Bedouins, who identified themselves as 'true'

Jordanians (not immigrants), and who, willingly or otherwise, gave up their traditional life style (Pettet 1991: 90). The shared political and economic problems among the people of Jordan, and their emigration from villages to towns and cities in search for jobs and education, sustained the feeling of uprooting. Petet (1991: 65, 77) sees that the only source of cohesion among the diverse people of Jordan stems from the Arab-Islamic cultural tradition; the Islamic religion (98% of the population are Muslims), the Arabic language, and the cultural habits and values which are shared among Muslims and Christians of Jordan alike. Following the same line of argument, Gubser (1983: 47) provides a utopian description of the general context of Jordan as follows:

Jordanian culture, like that of many developing countries, is an evolving mixture of the old and the new as well as of East and West. The result is a workable whole that gives Jordanians the opportunity to live and express themselves in a variety of modes. This culture is distinctly part of larger Arab culture, drawing richness from it as well as donating traditional and, increasingly, modern contributions to it.

However, efforts to produce a mono-cultural community in contexts where diverse people live often resulted in inflaming conflict between people and increasing the sense of uprooting and alienation among them (Kleymeyer 1994b: 27). In the Jordanian context, Massad (2003) provides an interpretation of the turbulent context of Jordan different from that provided by Gubser (1983: 47) above. Massad (2003: 250-251) argues that the sense of fragmentation shared among people resulted in different affiliations and loyalties rather than harmony; therefore, the social, cultural and political situation in Jordan and Palestine had adverse impacts on people's sense of identity, which left the country on the verge of civil war (Massad 2003: 240). In this interpretation, the turbulent contexts in Jordan played a decisive role in shaping people's lives and influencing their perceptions of themselves as well as the world around them.

Despite the inextricable relationship between Jordan and its surrounding contexts, most local and Western scholars do not find it problematic to explore Jordan as an independent political entity despite the short time of its existence as such. This divorce has been fostered by the lack of critical engagement with the Hashemite ideology in Jordan. The following section explores how the depth and richness of time and place in Jordan, described above, were marginalised in the process of 'creating'

the Jordanian identity. This identity is represented as being inextricably linked to the Hashemite existence in, and control over, Jordan.

7.3 Creating the Jordanian national identity: Excluding the past

Critical engagements with the past and its role in contemporary Jordan are rare. However, recent studies (e.g. Al-Mahadin 2007; Anderson 2005; Addison 2004; Massad 2003; Maffi 2002) that have mainly been developed and published in the West, and mostly by Western scholars, have initiated a critical approach to the history of Jordan. Such an approach provides analytical insights to the way material of the past is 'used' on an official level in Jordan. This critical engagement challenges the conventional approach to the past that is adopted and developed by the Government, and that emphasises a linear and unified narrative of Jordan. The following analysis uses these arguments to provide an insight into the way material culture in Jordan is represented and approached by the Government (the Government in Jordan is appointed by the King and therefore tends to reflect the Hashemite ideology and practices).

7.3.1 The disruption of time and place

Time and place play an influential role in shaping and reshaping people's identity (Gray 2002: 40; Hayden 1995: 41-43). Indeed, "symbolic orderings of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who or what we are in society" (Harvey 1990: 214). The Government of Jordan established its relationship with the past by emphasising the Arab Revolt and the Hashemite role in it. This is evident in Government's rhetoric where Jordan is viewed as being under the 'occupation' of the Ottomans until it was 'liberated' by the Hashemites (Al-Mahadin 2007: 318; Anderson 2005: 3; Massad 2003: 164; Maffi 2002: 215). This narrative implies that Jordan existed as an independent political entity before it was 'occupied' by the Ottomans, and it is in light of the 'liberation' that the Hashemites led, with help from Britain, that Jordan gained its independence from the Ottomans.

The constant and strong emphasis on the Arab Revolt and its struggle against the 'colonising' Ottomans is fundamental for providing legitimacy for the Hashemite existence in, and governance of, Jordan. Emphasising a strong link with the Arab

Revolt on the one hand, and the prophet of Islam, on the other hand, guaranteed the Hashemite family support and acceptance from Muslims and Arabs, and ultimately legitimised their political existence in Jordan (Al-Mahadin 2007: 313; Maffi 2002: 15). In order to avoid contradiction between the message of the Arab Revolt (i.e. protecting the land of the Arabs for the unity of the Arabs), and the establishment of their independent kingdom from the rest of the Arab World, the Hashemite family represented Jordan as an extension of the Arab existence in the region against the Ottoman one (Anderson 2005: 3). Therefore, time and place was 'inflected' to serve the Hashemite time in, and dominance over, Jordan.

Harvey (1990: 216) recognises the mechanism through which time and place are manipulated to create new meanings in post-colonial contexts as follows: "modernization entails, after all, the perpetual disruption of temporal and spatial rhythms, and modernism takes as one of its missions the production of new meanings for space and time in a world of ephemerality and fragmentation". In the process of creating national identity for Jordan, the Hashemite regime emphasised the time and the place that are closely linked to the Hashemite existence in Jordan. They established a *collective memory* among the diverse people who lived in Jordan in order to create a sense of unity among them. This memory is shaped by the time, events and places directly related to the Arab Revolt and its Hashemite leaders in Jordan.

Therefore, history was employed to write the Jordanian national narrative in a linear and unified way that connects the land and the people to the Hashemite in Jordan, a period that only started in 1921. This connection was presented for the people as the only means to survive the present and to establish the future. Therefore, Jordan was turned "into a significant geographic space filled with locations and structures that recall the Hashemites history" (Maffi 2002: 215), to the extent that one can wonder: "is Jordan the Hashemite family and is the Hashemite family Jordan?" (Anderson 2005: 205). In this sense, what is national is what is relevant to the Hashemite time, which is continuously emphasised as the present and the future of Jordan. This demonstrates the temporality and fragmentation upon which contemporary Jordan is based.

However, the Hashemite time in Jordan is, of course, just a fraction of Jordan's past, which can be traced back to prehistoric times (as section 2 of this chapter demonstrates). As it focuses only on a fragment of time (after the year 1921) in creating a Jordanian identity, the Hashemite approach *excludes* almost all the past, and prevents it from playing any role in identifying the current Jordan and its identity. It ignores cultural continuity in time and place. Instead, it provides a narrative that relates the diverse people of Jordan to one memory, story and time that are inextricably linked to the Hashemite existence in Jordan. Massad (2003: 25) captures the mechanism through which the national identity of Jordan has been 'fabricated' as follows:

Nationalism's obsession with temporality (confused with historicity) is related more to establishing a collective memory for itself and its subjects than to inscribing itself in history (which is of secondary import). The importance of this collective memory is crucial to the project of interpellating people as identical. To conjure up identity among people is to suppose it not to be self-evident; it is to counter an apparent *difference*, which nationalism does by "revealing" identity as the organizing principle of "the people" who until recently had thought of themselves unconnected, non-identical – in short, different (Massad 2003: 25; original emphasis).

In light of the above argument, the modern national identity in Jordan is established by 'fabricating' a sense of unity among its diverse people. In this fabrication, the time and place are organised to create a linear history that is directly connected to the Hashemites. This organisation implies marginalising places, times, memories and stories while highlighting specific others. The selection process – what to marginalise and what to highlight – is governed by the degree of relevance to the Hashemites.

7.3.2 The loss of the past: The Law Giveth and the Law Taketh Away

The above discussion demonstrates that the Hashemite existence in, and control over, Jordan was justified on the basis of their 'liberation' of the land from the 'colonising' Ottomans. Therefore, it is essential for the Hashemite regime to marginalise the past that is related to the Ottoman existence in Jordan, an act that is evident in the Laws and practical approaches to material of the past that are discussed in the following sections.

a) The Department of Antiquities of Jordan: The search for the 'wow' factor

In 1924, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) was established under the supervision of the British Mandate as an independent entity (Costello & Palumbo 1995: 547), and in 1967, the DAJ was designated as part of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA). The implication of considering the DAJ as part of the MoTA rather than the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Culture is evident in the tourism-oriented approach to material of the past the Government asserts.

Besides the DAJ and the departments of archaeology and architecture in the Jordanian universities, material of the past in Jordan is of great interest for foreign agencies. This interest started with Biblical archaeology project in the region, as demonstrated in chapter 3. Since the early 20th century, many foreign academic agencies, such as the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR), the French Institute of Archaeology of the Near East (IFABO), the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) and the German Archaeological Institute in Jordan (DAI) have conducted excavations and conservation projects in archaeological sites all over Jordan. Their work is monitored by the DAJ through 'delegates' who supply regular reports that mainly describe the nature of this work and its results (Antiquities Law 1988: Article 3).

Having the ultimate authority for "identifying, recording, evaluating, and managing the Kingdom's archaeological sites" (Costello & Palumbo 1995: 548), the DAJ started its work, since its establishment under the British mandate, with special interest in monumental sites such as Petra, Jerash and Karak (Costello & Palumbo 1995: 547; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 70). The emphasis on the 'wow' factor in ancient sites, represented by monumentality and aesthetic value, was in most cases at the expense of other values of that past. Not only was the recent past neglected, but also the contemporary local communities were dislocated and marginalised. A prominent example of this 'blind' interest in the ancient, mainly Classical, past, is demonstrated in the Government's decision to demolish the lively Ottoman village of Umm-Qais in 1967, in order to facilitate the archaeological excavation of the Greek, Roman and Byzantine archaeological sites in the village (Daher 1999: 37). Although this decision was reversed under pressure from local and international architects and anthropologists interested in the village, the inhabitants were forced eventually to

evacuate their village in order to 'facilitate' the professionals' work in the archaeological part of Umm-Qais in 1976 (Daher 1999: 38).

This case demonstrates the perception of archaeology as a 'scientific' field that is divorced from contemporary social and cultural contexts. This perception is directly influenced by the New Archaeology approach (discussed in chapter 3), in which archaeology is viewed as an 'objective' science that is irrelevant to contemporary life. Furthermore, the interest in Classical cultures and their monumental and aesthetically valuable remains, demonstrates the influence of the art historical value-system in perceiving and evaluating material of the past (discussed in chapter 3). The approaches to material of the past in Umm-Qais emphasise the lack of interest in cultural continuity in the village, as Classical archaeology was valued over the inhabitants' way of life because of its monumentality, aesthetic value and ultimately, its capacity to attract tourists.

Umm-Qais is hardly a unique example of sacrificing people's way of life for the purpose of conservation projects. Similar villages in Jordan were conserved and reused as a means for capital accumulation since the 1980s, such as Kan Zaman village near Amman, and Taebet Zaman village near Petra (see Al-Asad 2001: n.p.; Daher 2000b: 110; Jamhawi 2000: 223-230). The promises of 'development' these projects offer to the local communities of the places under 'development' are demonstrated in mundane jobs with very little revenue. In return for these jobs, people gave up their way of life, left their homes, and moved to new housing projects that neglected their style of life (Daher 1999: 37-39). The lack of genuine development that conservation projects offer to local communities adds to their sense of alienation from such projects and the 'new' heritage that conservation projects produced. This neglect of local communities' life style is observed by some of the informants of this study in their accounts that are explored in chapters 8 and 9.

b) The Antiquities Law: The disruption of time and place

The Antiquities Law in Jordan was first established in 1924 under the British Mandate for both Jordan and Palestine, and amended several times, the last in 1988

(Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2007: n.p.). Throughout these amendments, the Law continued to identify material of the past as follows:

Any object, whether movable or immovable, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated, or otherwise produced or modified by humankind, earlier than the year AD 1700, including caves, sculpture, coins, pottery, manuscripts and all sorts of artifact that indicate the rise and development of sciences, arts, manufacturing, religions and traditions relating to previous cultures, or any part added thereto, reconstructed or restored at a later date;

Any object, movable or immovable, as defined in the previous subsection referring to a date subsequent to the year AD 1700, which the minister may declare to be antique by order of the Official Gazette; Human, plant and animal remains going back to a date earlier than 600 A.D (Law of Antiquities 1988: Article 5).

The year 1700 AD was changed in 2003 to 1750 AD in response to a new law discussed below. The time between 1750 and the 'present', which is marked by the Hashemite existence in Jordan in 1921, was not protected, until 2003, by any law. In accordance with archaeological research that kept emphasising Jordan as a culturally empty land for 300 years until it was 'discovered' by Western explorers in the 19th century (see section 7.2.2 above), most archaeologists find it easy to accept the definition of antiquities the Law provided. While archaeologists showed no critical engagement with the Law, and therefore accepted its articles as the ideal way to identify and approach material of the past in Jordan, other scholars, mainly architects, reacted differently. They focused on the material the Law failed to identify and protect (the material dated after 1700 AD), with special interest in the domestic buildings and villages dating to the early 20th century. As a result, studies in which architectural heritage of the recent past was identified, documented, and sometimes analysed, emerged (e.g. Mahadin & Fathi 1992; Faqih 1991; Refa'i and Kan'an 1987). These studies represented pure documentation of the architectural heritage without any critical engagement with the Law that failed to protect them as part of Jordan's past.

Recently, scholars started to reflect on the reasons behind excluding the recent past from the Antiquities Law. While Al-Mahadin (2007: 318) provides an explanation that is based on political engagement with the Jordanian context, Daher (2000a: 27) builds his explanation on the way archaeology was introduced by Western scholars to the region in the 19th century. On the one hand, Al-Mahadin (2007: 318) observes that

“celebrating the Ottomans in the form of heritage conservation would by default cast doubts not only on the history of Jordan as a nation that pre-dates the creation of the political entity of the nation-state but also, most importantly, on the rule of the Hashemites and the legitimacy of their sovereignty”. According to this explanation, the recent past was excluded from the Law because of its relevance to the Ottoman existence in Jordan, a matter which if investigated would result in questioning fundamental issues related to the current political situation in Jordan. On the other hand, the more diplomatic explanation that is provided by Daher (2000a: 27) reads as follows:

Western explorers affected the way local communities viewed and valued their heritage, since they were restricting the definition of heritage to ancient antiquities devoid of its current dynamics and significance and neglecting the significance of the less archaic traditions. The vernacular or folk tradition of these societies, and even the historic centers that dated to the recent past, went almost unnoticed by early European reports (Fitch 1982[:17-18]). The institutional organizations that dealt with antiquities and heritage conservation in some countries like Jordan and Syria grew out of this position of heritage chauvinism and lack of awareness to the significance of the cultural heritage.

However, Western explorers' accounts are more likely to influence local scholars, who are trained in the West, and usually well acquainted with the explorers' accounts, rather than the local communities' attitudes towards material of the past. This influence not only reflects on scholars' approaches to material of the past which tend to focus on the ancient past, but also on their perception of contemporary local communities and their attitudes to this material. Local scholars, influenced by Western travellers' accounts, tend to view local communities as a problem that faces archaeological sites (also see chapter 3, section 3.6.1).

There is a striking resemblance between the Hashemite approach to the recent past and that of the European coloniser in South Africa. Wright and Mazel (1991: 64-65) observe that in representing the history of South Africa, the museums focus on the European existence and achievements in the country until the 1920s, and the time after that was completely ignored. Wright and Mazel's (1991: 65) interpretation of this exclusion is based on the premise that exploring the period after 1920s would imply encountering living memories which might contradict the official narrative of the recent past. Therefore, “the simplest and most effective strategy” in avoiding this

encounter is, according to Wright and Mazel (1991: 65) “to disregard the recent past altogether on the grounds that it is not ‘history’”. The very same decision was taken by the Jordanian Government when it formulated the Antiquities Law.

The lack of critical engagement with the Antiquities Law in Jordan resulted in very little pressure, if at all, on the Government to change the Law to include material of the past dated after 1750 AD. However, in the midst of the development of the tourism industry in Jordan, this ‘excluded’ past proved to be economically viable as many conservation projects represented it as being a valuable commodity for tourists (Addison 2004: 231-232; Maffi 2002: 208). The obvious action for the Government was to issue a new law that protects the material of the past which the Antiquities Law excluded.

Representing Jordan as being different from the surrounding political and cultural contexts, and only linked to the Hashemite, was explicitly evident in the official speeches after the political and military consequences that the events of 9/11 carried to the region (Al-Mahadin 2007: 322). In light of this representation, the important personalities, events, characteristics and values that Jordan should preserve are those of the Hashemites, and there is hardly any competition from any other people and times. The political time was right, and it was safe, after 82 years (from 1921 to 2003) of reinforcing of the Hashemite control over Jordan, and fostering *what and who is important* for Jordan as land and people, to issue a law that protect the ‘excluded’ past. Consequently, in 2003, *the Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law, or Heritage Law*, was issued. The Law identifies heritage as follows:

[The Heritage Site]: any location or building that is of importance either with regards to the structural technique, or its relation to a *historically important personality, or its relationship to important national or religious events*, and was constructed after the year 1750;

[The Heritage Building]: Constructions and architectural structures with historical, cultural and architectural characteristics *that are of specific importance*;

The Urban Location: Architectural areas, public spaces and neighbourhoods, and the landscape that represent *the values on which the culture of the residents was built* (Heritage Law 2003: Article 3).

Despite the importance of this Law in protecting material of the past that the Antiquities Law had failed to cover, it re-asserts the separation between the recent

past and the ancient one that Antiquities Law had already established. It acknowledges the recent past as heritage and therefore emphasises the ancient one, or more specifically, the past that is dated before 1750 AD, as antiquities; something that the Jordanian approach to the past emphasises as being scientific and irrelevant to contemporary life.

In light of these two laws, material of the past in Jordan is divided into two parts: the antiquity part or archacology part, and the heritage one. On the one hand, archaeology is considered by the DAJ as a 'pure' science that is irrelevant to local communities (Ha'bosh, 14th July 2004, *pers. comm.*), practiced through passive involvement with archacological sites on the basis of their monumentality and aesthetic value. On the other hand, heritage is restricted to the recent past, and practices concerned with it are engineered to "[conjure] up images of elegant structures or urban compositions that have been saved from dilapidation and made to look pretty in posters, tourist brochures, and coffee table books" (Al-Asad 2001: n.p.). For the Government, both the recent past and the ancient one are viewed as a raw material for tourism, and definitely out of people's consciousness. Maffi (2002: 210) summarises the Government's approach to the past as part of "centralised planning and design [policy that] ...reflect the official positions of the Jordanian Government within the context of official interpretation".

7.3.3 Heritage practices: Further empowerment and further marginalisation

Urban and architectural heritage designated by the Law in Jordan is mainly employed as a touristic commodity. Levels of intervention in architectural heritage are characterised by conservation projects of villages and houses, and reusing them as means for capital accumulation; mainly hotels and restaurants. These projects went under scrutiny when their socio-cultural and economic impacts on local communities started to be evaluated and criticised (e.g. Daher 2000b: 105ff, 1999: 34ff; Jamhawi 2000: 2219-247). Daher (1999: 35) describes these projects as "a means for social differentiation and the production of new social identity for the upper-middle class". In this sense, the conserved heritage is transformed into venues, such as expensive restaurants and coffee shops, which are affordable only to tourists and limited numbers of the local community. Such projects constitute an intrusion into the

past and the ancient one that Antiquities Law had already established. It acknowledges the recent past as heritage and therefore emphasises the ancient one, or more specifically, the past that is dated before 1750 AD, as antiquities; something that the Jordanian approach to the past emphasises as being scientific and irrelevant to contemporary life.

In light of these two laws, material of the past in Jordan is divided into two parts: the antiquity part or archaeology part, and the heritage one. On the one hand, archaeology is considered by the DAJ as a 'pure' science that is irrelevant to local communities (Ha'bosh, 14th July 2004, *pers. comm.*), practiced through passive involvement with archaeological sites on the basis of their monumentality and aesthetic value. On the other hand, heritage is restricted to the recent past, and practices concerned with it are engineered to "[conjure] up images of elegant structures or urban compositions that have been saved from dilapidation and made to look pretty in posters, tourist brochures, and coffee table books" (Al-Asad 2001: n.p.). For the Government, both the recent past and the ancient one are viewed as a raw material for tourism, and definitely out of people's consciousness. Maffi (2002: 210) summarises the Government's approach to the past as part of "centralised planning and design [policy that] ...reflect the official positions of the Jordanian Government within the context of official interpretation".

7.3.3 Heritage practices: Further empowerment and further marginalisation

Urban and architectural heritage designated by the Law in Jordan is mainly employed as a touristic commodity. Levels of intervention in architectural heritage are characterised by conservation projects of villages and houses, and reusing them as means for capital accumulation; mainly hotels and restaurants. These projects went under scrutiny when their socio-cultural and economic impacts on local communities started to be evaluated and criticised (e.g. Daher 2000b: 105ff, 1999: 34ff; Jamhawi 2000: 2219-247). Daher (1999: 35) describes these projects as "a means for social differentiation and the production of new social identity for the upper-middle class". In this sense, the conserved heritage is transformed into venues, such as expensive restaurants and coffee shops, which are affordable only to tourists and limited numbers of the local community. Such projects constitute an intrusion into the

neighbourhood in which heritage exists. Conservation and rehabilitation projects reproduce 'heritage' as something alien from its original social and cultural contexts. Therefore, they exclude local communities in order to create a context that is 'consumable' by tourists. The lack of interest in cultural continuity, local participation and genuine development of local communities is evident in the case of Umm-Qais discussed above.

According to the Director of Management and Investment of Tourist and Heritage Sites in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Mrs Mirvat Ha'obsh, the Ministry encourages establishing a participatory approach in its development projects that are implemented at archaeological and heritage sites. However, the participatory approach in the account that Ha'obsh (14th July 2004, *pers. comm.*) delivers is based on local communities benefiting from these projects, rather than including them in the decision-making process. Although the project Ha'obsh explains below is still (in 2007) in its preparatory stages, the ideas the project implies hardly reflect genuine participation of the local community:

We have a development project in the city centre of [modern] Jerash [figure 7.2]; rehabilitation of the market and the area around it, and the plaza in the eastern part. There we have Roman ruins, I was thinking that we can make a plaza around it but we have to let the people know that although this plaza will contain Roman archaeological area, they will be able to use it ... So we were thinking of the activities that can take place in this plaza in order to combine the Roman part with the architectural heritage of Jerash, as we are having the old mosque of Jerash there as well ... we are asking for funding from the American embassy in order to implement the project. We started thinking of putting a screen in this plaza to show movies as people do not have the money to go to cinema. As you know, it is not easy to start showing movies from the beginning, they [the local community] will reject you, so we might start with children like showing cartoon movies ... and some education movies, something about restoration or conservation, and about Jerash ... so you start with the children and the children will bring their families [to use the plaza] ... People should feel that they get benefit from the project. I expect after maybe five years you will see big change in the centre of Jerash. Even the shops will be changing into tourist shops that sell antiquities, and if the community is going collaborate, then I think it will change a lot. There will be movies, festivals and different activities (Ha'obsh, 14th July 2004, *pers. comm.*)



Figure 7.2 The city centre of Jerash (the researcher 2004)

Foreign funding applications for development projects such as the one in Jerash described above require projects to include local communities. However, responding to such applications rarely results in a genuine inclusion of local communities. The project described above implies a cultural mission to ‘modernising’ local communities through introducing them to “movies and festivals and different activities”. However, it ignores the cultural context of the city of Jerash and its conservative nature. It also introduces a ‘narrow’ perception of the participatory approach in which local communities are part of the ‘final product’ of the project, rather than being part of the different stages of the projects.

Furthermore, changing the shops of Jerash market into tourist ones is hardly a realistic decision. Such a change will disturb the rhythm of life in the city centre of Jerash as the market includes grocery shops that people rely on to supply their fundamental daily needs. In addition, a market was built especially for tourists in the ancient part of the city, which is, as figure 7.3 shows, very close to the city centre of Jerash, where the new project is to be implemented. Converting the market of Jerash into more tourist shops, will not only create unhealthy competition with the nearby tourist shops originally designed as such, but will also disturb local communities’ lives in favour of rehabilitation projects that ignore their cultural and social contexts.

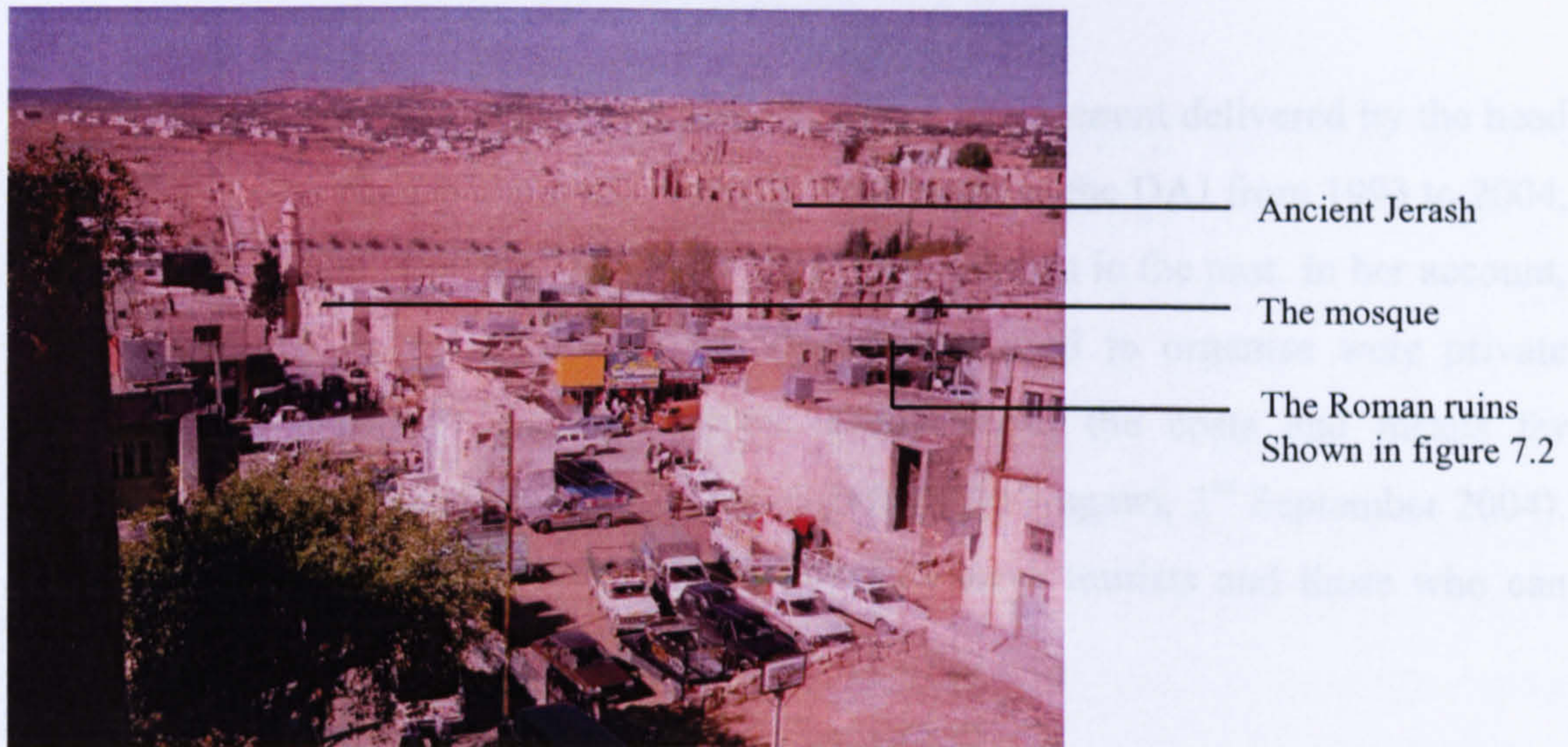


Figure 7.3 The ancient Jerash and the modern Jerash (the researcher 2004)

The different accounts presented above show that Jordan has hardly developed a participatory approach to material of the past. Even when a participatory approach to the past is adopted, it seldom means genuine participation, where people can influence the decision-making process. Instead, participation is seen as incorporating local communities within the outcome of development projects, without any consideration of their cultural and social contexts.

Conservation projects of urban and architectural heritage in Jordan are increasingly identified with the powerful. The élite and rich families recognise these projects as an arena in which to identify themselves as the protectors of heritage, culture and arts (Daher 2007: 299-303). This interest is demonstrated in the conservation of historic buildings that belong to these families; and their representing them as part of the national history of Jordan; or their conversion into museums or galleries in order to emphasise the social, cultural, political and economic power of these families (Daher 2007: 300). Although Daher (2007: 303) sees that this involvement provides an opportunity for a more inclusive approach to the past in which local memories and stories are valued, the élite families represent economically and politically powerful individuals, who are closely connected with the Government, and whose memories and stories are in line with the official ones. Therefore, their memories and stories are exclusive rather than inclusive, and most of the time inextricably related to the official ones. In this way, urban and architectural heritage is used to empower those who are already powerful.

In line with the *élite* families' interest in the past is the account delivered by the head of the Public and Cultural Communication Department in the DAJ from 1993 to 2004, Mrs Aida Nagawi, regarding the interest of private schools in the past. In her account, the major attendees of exhibitions the Department used to organise were private schools which, contrary to public ones, could afford the costs and means for transportation from schools to the DAJ (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). In this sense, heritage in Jordan is reproduced to serve tourists and those who can 'afford' it: mainly *élite* and rich families.

Such approaches to urban and architectural heritage in Jordan are unsustainable. They are mainly conducted by passive professionals who distance themselves from the context of that heritage and apply their specialised knowledge and skills to produce a 'pleasant' heritage that is appealing to the *élite* and tourists alike. In such an approach, material of the past is considered by powerful investors as a means for capital accumulation, or by the *élite* and rich families as tangible representation of their social and cultural status in the community. Therefore, practices concerned with urban and architectural heritage focuses on technical and financial dimensions of heritage. Issues such as cultural continuity, genuine development and active participation of local communities in approaches to material of the past are hardly considered. Furthermore, approaching urban and architectural heritage as separate entities rather than as part of local communities' place results in ignoring the sense of belonging that people develop to this heritage as part of their place over time.

The issues that cause the lack of sustainability in approaches to material culture that is identified by the Law as urban and architectural heritage are increasingly recognised among local and international scholars in Jordan (e.g. Daher 2007, 2000a, b, 1999, 1995; Anderson 2005; Hazbun 2002; Maffi 2002; Jamhawi 2000). Meanwhile, scholars concerned with archaeological sites seem to maintain a 'rigid' approach, not only to material of the past but also to contemporary local communities and contexts of that past. The following arguments explore the approach to the ancient past in Jordan, which is identified by the Law as antiquities and archaeological sites, and the problems regarding sustainability that these approaches imply.

7.4 Cultural Resources Management Programme

The DAJ leads a monument-oriented and aesthetic-based perception of, and approaches to, material culture. Therefore, material of the past that does not satisfy this perception is easily sacrificed. This sacrifice reached its culmination during the unprecedented construction development that Jordan witnessed in the 1980s (Daher 2005: 290; Daher 2000a: 18; Greene 1999: 52; Costello & Palumbo 1995: 547; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 70, 78-79). As a reaction against this destruction, the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR) joined the DAJ in a request for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to fund a Cultural Resources Management (CRM) Programme in Jordan. This programme was reported as the first of its kind in the region (Greene 1999: 51; Costello & Palumbo 1995: 548; Daher 1995: 35; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 69-70), and was expected to provide protection for all material of the past of the widest possible range in Jordan.

CRM, as discussed in chapter 3, section 3.4.5 is based on three fundamental steps in approaching material of the past: identification, evaluation and intervention. At the heart of CRM should also be cooperation between different governmental bodies dealing with material of the past, either directly or indirectly, in order to unify and harmonise their efforts. In light of this mission of CRM, several agreements that acknowledge overlapping interests and responsibilities between the DAJ and other governmental bodies were signed (Costello & Palumbo 1995: 548). For example, the agreement signed between the DAJ and the Ministry of Public Works after the CRM programme was established in 1986 emphasised the importance of cooperation between the two bodies in identifying material of the past, especially in areas where construction and development projects were underway (Daher 1995: 35; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 72).

Endowed by the Antiquities Law, the CRM programme focused on archaeological sites dated before 1700 AD. In order to provide an inventory of the enormous number of these sites in Jordan, the CRM programme established the Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (JADIS). JADIS is an electronic inventory of archaeological sites in Jordan. It includes essential information about archaeological sites at certain places, their locations, historic periods, the state of the physical

remains, the nature of the work needed to protect the sites, and the main publications about these sites (Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2007: n.p.).

Although JADIS includes data about archaeological sites dated before 1700 AD, according to the scholars acquainted with this system (e.g. Greene 1999: 53; Costello & Palumbo 1995: 548; Daher 1995: 36; Palumbo *et al.* 1993: 73-74), it can be easily updated and extended to include material of the past dated after 1700 AD Appendix 7 represents the data provided by JADIS for some of the archaeological sites visited during the fieldwork of this study (more details about the selection of these sites is in chapter 2).

Working along side the CRM programme is the National Environmental Strategy (NES) in Jordan. This strategy was launched in 1989 with its main interest in identifying and implementing measures for protecting both the cultural and natural environment in Jordan (McEachern 1991: xiii). Public awareness of cultural environment (i.e. places with historic depth and national importance) was raised as a crucial element for protecting the environment in Jordan (McEachern 1991: xii). According to the NES the cultural environment is the “architectural units, building complexes and urban forms like streets, alleys and plazas that are not included in the Antiquities Law and that have religious, architectural, or social significance and that altogether form the architectural heritage of Jordan”, and that is of *outstanding national importance* (McEachern 1991: 205) . The influence the NES had on formulating the *Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law* (Heritage Law), which was issued in 2003 (12 years after the NES was launched) is evident in the definition it provides for the cultural environment. Furthermore, the NES emphasis on *outstanding national importance* as the main criterion of cultural environment reflects direct influence from the West, and specifically the World Heritage Convention discussed in chapter 4, section 4.5, and its approach to material culture on the basis of *outstanding values*. Also, as it emphasises the *national importance*, the NES indicates a bias towards the Hashemite time in Jordan which is believed to mark the beginning of the national time and place.

Nevertheless, the NES provided an insight into the past that is neglected by the Antiquities Law. The long time (between 1991 and 2003) that was taken to formulate

the *Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law* in the light of the NES, reflects the general policy in the Government where documents are “[set] on the shelves in ministerial offices next to other strategies that preceded [them]” (Daher 2000a: 19; see also Costello & Palumbo 1995: 542-543). However, the NES definition of cultural environment found its way to government strategies through the *Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law*. The NES perception of cultural environment was activated by the economic value this material of the past provides through tourism. Thus, issuing laws and strategies concerned with material of the past in Jordan is timed by political as well as economic circumstances.

7.4.1 The retreat of CRM: The dominance of a tourism-oriented approach

Initiated by foreign funding and agencies, the CRM programme was subject to shifts in foreign agencies’ understandings of, and approaches to, material of the past in Jordan. When the CRM programme was established in 1986, it was a reaction against the destruction of archaeological sites by development projects. Therefore, it focused on identifying, evaluating and protecting the widest possible range of archaeological sites. In 1989, the focus was shifted from protecting archaeological sites, into selecting specific ones on the basis of their potentials as tourist destinations (Green 1999: 54). This shift in the USAID approach to material of the past in Jordan found resonance with the Government. However, the shift demonstrates the Western hegemony over the past even in the post-colonial context, and the lack of national and local involvement in approaching material of the past.

In other words, the conventional Cultural Resources Management was practiced in Jordan from 1986 to 1989, to be replaced by a selective approach that was monument-led and tourism-oriented. An official representative of the Jordanian Government justifies this shift as follows: “[so] what we’re doing, we’re doing like sometimes shopkeepers [do], *looking for things which can generate cash*, like encouraging tourism, you know. There is ready money there” (quoted in Hazbun 2002: 335; emphasis added). In light of this explanation, material of the past in Jordan is hardly viewed, at least on the official level, as cultural heritage (or, as the name of the CRM programme indicates, a cultural resource). Instead, it is viewed as an economic resource that is highly consumable by tourists. In this sense, practices concerned with

material of the past are concerned with its physical sustainability in order to maintain the 'cash generation' the Government emphasises.

7.4.2 Compromising culture: The fabrication of safe place

Tourism in Jordan, among other aspects of life, is Western-oriented. The Jordanian Government's attempt to be identified with the West is considered as unprecedented. In Addison's (2004: 246) words: "as countries worldwide scramble to identify themselves with American interests, the Hashemite regime in particular has worked overtime to configure itself as a secular, Western-identified state" (see also Al-Mahadin 2007: 313). In this sense, tourism in Jordan is engineered to "make Western tourists feel at ease" (Maffi 2002: 220). Every effort is made to "distance the state from things Islamic and from the particular fragrance of danger they seem to carry [in order to create] a landscape as free as possible of any hint of threat or discomfort" (Addison 2004: 245-246). Addison (2004) explores this 'fabricated' landscape by studying the tourist signs on the main highways in Jordan:

On these main arteries there are eighty-four brown tourist signs: twenty-seven direct the traveller to nine specifically Christian historical and pilgrimage sites; nine point to two Islamic historical sites. In the immediate vicinity of these same roads (less than twenty kilometres from the main road), however, there are three monumental early Islamic sites (Qasr 'Amman, Qasr al-Mushatta, Qasr al-Qastal), several more historically important and visually interesting sites (e.g. Umm al-Walid), and thirteen Islamic holy sites that are unsigned. There is also some indication that Islamic sites which were once signed are no longer to be so (Addison 2004: 235).

Addison's (2004) study demonstrates Jordan's attempts to compromise its Islamic and Arab character in order to provide a peaceful landscape for Western tourists, especially since Islam is continuously associated with terrorism in Western media. Anderson (2004: 238) adds to her observation that "not a single sign for any of the thirty-eight Muslim holy sites is visible on the highways [investigated]". Even for the World Heritage Site (WHS) of the Umayyad palace of Qusair Amra, the signs are oddly placed, misleading, and hardly of any help for those who are not familiar with the road to this World Heritage Site (Addison 2004: 234-235). Similarly, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, in its official web page in 2007, shows the religious map of Jordan with not one single Islamic site. All the sites marked on the map are of those of Biblical places (see <http://www.mota.gov.jo/maps>; accessed in 12 March 2007)

In line with the Umm-Qais case study examined above, which demonstrates the DAJ perception of archaeology as an objective science that is irrelevant to local communities' contemporary life, and as a place that is only accessible to professionals, Addison (2004: 236) provides another case which demonstrates the aesthetic-led approach to the past that the DAJ adopts. This case investigates the archaeological site of al-Qastal palace (an Umayyad palace, dated to the 8th century AD). The ruins of this palace are located on the highway that connects the international airport to Amman. The minaret of the Palace's mosque was identified as one of the earliest examples of minarets in the world. According to Addison (2004: 236), the DAJ took two weeks to appoint a security guard for the site; nonetheless, the guard was rarely on duty, and the minaret was subject to vandalism, and finally collapsed in the summer of 1998. However, when a mosaic floor was discovered in the site, a guard was immediately appointed, and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities managed to buy the site from the land owner within a short time (Addison 2004: 236). The Al-Qastal case demonstrates that the Government values the aesthetic aspects of archaeological sites over any other ones, mainly because of its positive impact on tourism. The consequences of this narrow approach to archaeology jeopardises the cultural continuity of these sites, and in the case of Al-Qastal, resulted in losing remarkable Islamic evidence. Indeed, as Daher (2000b: 108-109) concludes in his examination of the approach to cultural heritage in Jordan, the fashionable heritage tourism exploitation of archaeological and historic sites resulted in provoking feelings of alienation and disassociation between cultural heritage and local communities in Jordan.

Compromising the Islamic and Arab character of Jordan is also evident in the language used in tourist signs. For example, Mount Nebo in Madaba is a site that is sacred for both Muslims and Christians alike. It was known as *Siyagha*, as well as *Maqam Nabi Musa* (the holy place of prophet Moses) among the local community of Jordan for a long time. However, both of the Arabic names have been replaced by an English one; *Mount Nebo*. This name, together with its Arabic translation: *Jabal Nebo*, is used in tourist signs. Only one old and misplaced sign stands as evidence that the old Islamic name: *Maqam Nabi Musa*, was in use until recently (Addison 2004: 239). This accurate observation indicates that not only the landscape is fabricated to

provide a peaceful environment for Western tourists, but also the names of archaeological sites are rewritten to foster this fabrication.

Further exploration of the compromise in Islamic and Arab identity for tourism purposes is provided by Al-Mahadin and Burns' (2007: 137 ff) study: *the Portrayal of the Arab World in Tourism Advertising*. This study demonstrates "the reduction of the number of directly Arab or Middle Eastern cues in advertising discourse" Al-Mahadin & Burns 2007: 139) by examining the official tourism web pages for Arab ministries of tourism. For example, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities in Jordan, in its official web page in 2003, shows only one photo, among its twenty seven, of a clearly defined Jordanian (Al-Mahadin & Burns 2007: 139). In 2007, the photo noted by Al-Mahadin and Burns (2007: 139), and shown in figure 7.4, still represents the only cue to Jordanian character in the Ministry's advertisement (see <http://www.mota.gov.jo>; accessed 12 March 2007).

This photo is of a woman dressed in a traditional costume, and posing in an archaeological site. One can draw on Al-Mahadin and Burns' (2007: 139) note to suggest that such a photo is 'fabricated' to convey a peaceful and romantic image that contradicts the stereotypical one of the region as being violent, insecure and full of terrorists. Furthermore, drawing on Edward Said's (2003) exploration of the East's image as represented by Western literature and paintings since the 18th century (in essence, Orientalism), one can also establish a resemblance between this photo and the Orientalist paintings. These paintings depicted, among many aspects of life in the Arab World, women, and presented them as exotic and suppressed subjects: harem. Such paintings influenced the European mind and encouraged their visits to the Arab World in the 18th and 19th century. One of these paintings is shown in figure 7.5. The pose as well as the background (romantic architecture featuring an arch) in both images (figures 7.4 & 7.5) invite the viewer to an unchallenging and pleasant experience in the context of their settings. Therefore, the way Jordan presents itself for Western tourists is very similar to the way Western scholars used to present the Orient during the 18th and 19th centuries. Consequently, "the modern Orient...participates in its own Orientalizing" (Said 2003: 325).



Figure 7.4 Jordan as represented in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities brochures; source: (<http://www.tourism.jo/Home/index.htm> accessed 5th March 2007).



Figure 7.5 An orientalist's painting for an Arab woman dated to 1860 ; source: (alloilpaint.com/orientalist/pl.htm accessed 7th March 2007).

The above suggests that Governmental practical approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan are designed to provide a physically and mentally 'peaceful' experience for Western tourists. The approach also capitalises on selected sites that are appealing to tourists in order to "generate cash". Striving to be identified with the West through such approaches, Jordan compromises its Islamic and Arabic identity. Understandably, this compromise is engineered to identify Jordan in contrast to the stereotypical image of terrorism and aggression the West associates with Islamic and Arab contexts.

7.5 Interaction with local communities: The pervasiveness of the 'top-down' approach

The above sections demonstrate the lack of interest in including local communities in practices concerned with material of the past in archaeological sites as well as those identified as urban and architectural heritage. This section investigates how local communities in Jordan are addressed in the Antiquities Law as well as the Department of Antiquities' rhetoric.

The Antiquities Law of Jordan states that the Government is the sole owner of archaeological sites (Antiquities Law 1988, Article 5: a). According to the Law “the ownership of the land [where archaeological sites exist] does not vest its owner with the right to ownership of the antiquities ... or disposing with it, and does not entitle him to excavate for antiquities therein” (Antiquities Law 1988, Article 5: d). Even if the Government decided against buying the land, where archaeological sites exist, as Article 8: a of the Law suggests, the owner of the land is forbidden from intervening with archaeological sites in his or her land in any shape. Therefore, archaeological sites belong to the Government, and people have no authority over them, even if they exist within their land, and even if the DAJ has no intention to buy that land.

Furthermore, the owner of the land is not allowed to build anything on that land unless it is 5 to 25 meters away from the archaeological sites within that land (Antiquities Law 1988, Article 13). Those who failed to report archaeological sites or object they find in their lands are punished by imprisonment for two months to two years, and a penalty of 30 to 200 Jordanian Dinars (Antiquities Law 1988, Article 27) (Jordanian Dinar is approximately 1, 35 Sterling Pound). The average real wage in Jordan was estimated at 237 Jordanian Dinars by the end of 2003 (Center for Strategic Studies 2005: 6).

Given this situation, the DAJ chooses to approach local communities through a ‘top-down’ and centralist ideology. For the purpose of communicating with other governmental and non-governmental bodies both in Jordan and abroad, the DAJ established the Cultural and Public Communications Department in 1988 (Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2004: n.p). The Department consists of four sections: the Public Relations Section, the Cultural Relations Section, the Awareness Section and the Media Section. Among these sections, it is the Awareness Section that is concerned with ‘spreading’ awareness of the importance of archaeological sites among local communities of Jordan. The idea of ‘spreading’ awareness implies a ‘top-down’ and centralist ideology through which professionals are in charge and local communities are passive receivers of professional knowledge. This section has 12 specific duties identified (as translated by the researcher from an unpublished report prepared by the DAJ in Arabic in 2004) as follows:

1. organising lectures about archaeological sites for different sectors such as schools, universities, teachers, and different organisations;
2. organising an annual exhibition about archaeological sites that the DAJ excavated in the past as well as those it is still excavating;
3. cooperating with the Ministry of Education to organise cleaning archaeological sites during national events as a sign of the DAJ contribution to the local community;
4. publishing articles in the national newspapers that emphasises the richness of archaeological sites in Jordan;
5. liaising with the national television to produce programmes about archaeological sites that attract different types of people, especially the young;
6. organising meetings for the staff of the DAJ in which the members can talk about their participations in conferences and workshops;
7. organising meetings with the tour-guides in order to provide them with information about archaeological sites;
8. organising visits to archaeological sites for Governmental and non-Governmental bodies;
9. cooperating with the local communities living close to archaeological sites and including them in the activities conducted in these sites;
10. organising with other sections in the DAJ in order to provide help for scholars interested in archaeological sites;
11. encouraging the DAJ staff to present scientific lectures by providing the place and adequate equipments for these lectures;
12. preparing a photo archive for archaeological sites (Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2004: n.p).

Although one expects that the Awareness Section duties focus on local communities, eleven out of the twelve duties focus on the Section's role in organising the relationships between the DAJ and other Governmental bodies, as well as within the DAJ itself. For example, duty no. 4 is expected to be one of the duties of the Public Relation Section. Only one duty of the Awareness Section: duty no. 9, addresses (albeit briefly) the relationship between the DAJ and the local communities living near archaeological sites. As explained by the Inspector of the DAJ in Amman, this duty aligns with the Government's approach to provide work for the local community within their living areas (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 9th June 2004). Nevertheless,

the duties of the four different sections of the Public and Cultural Communication Department, presented in Appendix 8, are very similar to each other to an extent that raises questions about the reason for establishing four different sections within the Cultural and Public Communications Department. These questions become more urgent when it is recognised that the whole Department is currently run only by one member of staff.

Nagawi (3rd September 2004, *pers. comm.*), speaking of her administration of the Cultural and Public Communications Department in the time between 1993 and 2000, emphasises that the Department was based on a “real desire of its six members [during the period from 1993 to 2000] to work with people and give them information” (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). According to Nagawi, the Department operated by selecting certain topics that were interesting for school students, such as agriculture in Jordan in the ancient past, and preparing material about these topics to be displayed in exhibitions within the DAJ. The Department then sent invitations for schools to attend these exhibitions. It was through these exhibitions that the staff of the Department “seized the opportunity to talk to the students about the importance of protecting archaeological sites from vandalism” (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). However, after 2000, the Department went through fundamental changes in its staff as a result of changes in the administration of the DAJ. These changes resulted in reducing the number of the staff from six to one, and therefore prevented it from pursuing its previous approach in communicating students and ‘spreading’ awareness. Nagawi (3rd September 2004, *pers. comm.*) describes the changes in the Department as follows:

The Department’s staff was reduced from six members into one, only one member of staff [who also work as the Inspector of the DAJ in Madaba]. We (the previous members) were not specialists, but we were able through cooperation between us to develop simple ideas and to create exhibitions for school students ... But with one member of staff for the whole department, it is impossible to achieve any progress ... The number [of the staff] was reduced as there is no awareness in the DAJ itself of the importance of this department (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004).

This incident fosters the assumption that interaction with local communities is a result of personal willingness of the DAJ staff rather than being a clear policy or established practice. The staff worked in this department in addition to their regular work in the

archive of the DAJ. The Department focused on school students because the staff believed in the efficiency of educating children (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). Adeb Abu-Shmeis, the Inspector of the DAJ in Amman, draws on his experience with local communities living close to archaeological sites to emphasise that successful interaction with local communities is based on the professional's choice and willingness to understand local communities' perceptions of archaeology, and to communicate them on the basis of these perceptions (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 9th June 2004). However, he emphasises that this approach is rare among professionals who, in most cases, see the 'top-down' approach as the only way to 'spread' awareness of the importance of archaeology among local communities (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 9th June 2004). Thus, active interaction with local communities in Jordan appears to be a personal choice for the professionals rather than being an established policy based on relevant ideologies and appropriate strategies. Such choice is overwhelmed by the dominance of the 'top-down' approach in the Government's policies, and is rarely adopted by scholars.

7.6 Summary and immediate inferences

This chapter explains the reasons behind the official representation of the past as being irrelevant to contemporary contexts and local communities in Jordan. Identifying Jordan with the Hashemite marginalises the time and place of the past. However, material of the past is increasingly recognised as being fundamental for the tourism industry. Thus, the approach to material of the past in Jordan is designed to attract tourists and generate cash. It is characterised as being monument-led and tourism-oriented. This approach is coupled with the Government's strong attempts to be identified with the West. The result is that Jordan is gradually compromising its culture; mainly its Islamic and Arab identity, in order to represent itself as a peaceful landscape for Western tourists to explore and enjoy. Besides compromising its identity, Jordan is jeopardising its cultural continuity in time and place. The blind emphasis on monumentality and aesthetic value in practices concerned with material of the past in Jordan sustains the loss of cultural continuity in archaeological sites.

The rhetoric of sustainable development principles such as the participatory approach and social inclusion discussed in chapter 5 are finding their way into projects

concerned with archaeological and heritage sites through foreign funding bodies. Because of the dominance of the 'top-down' approach to local communities, the Government seldom has the urge to develop ideologies and strategies to capitalise on local communities' perceptions of, and attitudes to, material of the past. Therefore, the participatory approach and social inclusion principles are imposed through a 'top-down' approach, in which the Government is responding to the funding bodies. Therefore, these principles are perceived in a way that reflects the dominant 'top-down' ideology in Jordan. Consequently, their application rarely results in genuine participation or real development of local communities.

The data explored in this chapter is used to generate the immediate inferences JA (Jordanian Approaches), which are represented in table 7.1 below. These immediate inferences are triangulated in chapter 10 with other immediate inferences generated throughout the chapters of this thesis to create a suggested approach to material of the past in Jordan.

Table 7.1 *Generation of the immediate inferences JA from the data explored in chapter 7*

Serial no.	Description of Data	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Generation </div> Immediate Inferences JA
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hashemite time in Jordan is just a fraction of Jordan's past, which can be traced back to prehistoric times (as section 2 of this chapter demonstrates). As it focuses only on a fragment of time (after the year 1921) in creating the Jordanian identity, the Hashemite approach excludes almost all the past, and prevents it from playing any role in identifying the current Jordan and its identity. • The Hashemite regime ignores cultural continuity in time and place. Instead, it provides a narrative that relates the diverse people of Jordan to one memory, story and time that are inextricably linked to the Hashemite existence in Jordan. • The interest in Classical cultures and their monumental and aesthetically valuable remains demonstrates the influence of art history canons in perceiving and evaluating material of the past (discussed in chapter 3). The approaches to material of the past in Umm-Qais emphasise the lack of interest in cultural continuity in the village, as Classical archaeology was valued over the inhabitants' way of life because of its monumentality, aesthetic value and ultimately, its capacity to attract tourists. • The promises of development culture resources management projects offer to the local communities of the places under 'development' are demonstrated in mundane jobs with very little revenue. In return for these promises, people gave up their way of life 	The conventional approach to the past in Jordan neglects the cultural continuity of the past that Jordan has through time and place. The approach is based on the assumption that Jordan does not have a cultural attachment to the past before 1750 AD., and instead focuses on modern Jordan as an entity that was created recently. It therefore assumes that the only time that matters in shaping the present and future of Jordan is that of the Hashemite, which started in Jordan only in 1921.

	<p>and evacuated their homes to new housing projects that neglect people's style of life (Daher 1999: 37-39). The lack of genuine development that conservation projects offer to local communities adds to people's sense of alienation from such projects and the 'new' heritage that conservation projects produced.</p>	
<p>2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1924, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) was established under the supervision of the British Mandate as an independent entity (Costello & Palumbo 1995: 547). Since 1967, the DAJ was designated as part of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) until the present time. The implication of considering the DAJ as part of the Ministry of Tourism rather than the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Culture is evident in the tourism-oriented approach to material of the past the Government asserts, and that is explained in the following sections. • The Government represented Jordanian values as being inextricably linked to the Hashemite (Al-Mahadin 2007: 322; Anderson 2005: 205; Maffi 2002: 215). Representing Jordan as being different from the surrounding political and cultural contexts, and only linked to the Hashemite, was explicitly evident in the official speeches after the political and military consequences that the events of 9/11 carried to the region (Al-Mahadin 2007: 322). In light of this representation, the important personalities, events, characteristics and values that Jordan should preserve are those of the Hashemite, and there is hardly any competition from any other people and times. The political time was right, and it was safe, after 82 years (from 1921 to 2003) of reinforcing of the Hashemite control over Jordan, and fostering <i>what and who is important</i> for Jordan as land and people, to issue a law that protect the 'excluded' past. Consequently, in 2003, <i>the Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law</i> was issued. • Despite the importance of this Law in protecting material of the past that Antiquities Law failed to cover, it fosters the separation between the recent past and the ancient one that Antiquities Law has already established. It acknowledges the recent past as heritage and therefore emphasises the ancient one, or more specifically, the past that is dated before 1750 AD as antiquities; something that the Jordanian approach to the past emphasises as being scientific and irrelevant to contemporary life. 	<p>The nature of interest in the past in Jordan enhances the lack of intellectual engagement with it. The separation between what is considered as heritage and what is identified as archaeology in Jordan appears to be circumstantial. The Heritage Law was issued in 2003 to cover a drawback in Antiquities Law that was designed to protect the material of the past dated before 1700 AD The Antiquities Law identified the year 1700 AD as the year when archaeology ends. Consequently, the Heritage Law was designed to protect the material of the past dated after 1750 AD It adds 50 years to the time span of archaeology. However, the existence of these two Laws resulted in emphasising the recent past as cultural heritage, while the ancient past was dismissed as being relevant only to archaeologists and tourists. Having the Department of Antiquity in Jordan (DAJ) under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism, instead of the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Education, is further evidence of the exclusion of archaeology from contemporary life in Jordan.</p>
<p>3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical engagements with the past and its role in contemporary Jordan are rare. However, recent studies that have mainly been developed and published in the West, and mostly by Western scholars, initiated a critical approach to the history of Jordan. Such an approach provides analytical insights to the way material of the past is 'used' on the official level in Jordan. This critical engagement challenges the conventional approach to the past that is adopted and developed by the Government, and that emphasises a linear and unified narrative of 	<p>The lack of critical approach to the past in Jordan is due to the following factors. Firstly, in the post-colonial context of Jordan, where the Government and institutions strive to be identified with the West and compromising its identity in this process of identification, very little effort, if at all, is made to question any shifts in Western policies in</p>

	<p>Jordan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While archaeologists showed no critical engagement with the Antiquities Law, and therefore accepted its articles as the ideal way to identify and approach material of the past in Jordan, other scholars, mainly architects, reacted differently. They focused on the material the Law failed to identify and protect (the material dated after 1700 AD), with special interest in the domestic buildings and villages dating to the early 20th century. As a result, studies in which architectural heritage of the recent past was identified, documented, and sometimes analysed, emerged without any critical engagement with the Law that failed to protect them as part of Jordan's past. • Tourism in Jordan, among other aspects of life, is Western-oriented. The Jordanian Government's attempt to be identified with the West is considered as unprecedented. In Addison's (2004: 246) words: "as countries worldwide scramble to identify themselves with American interests, the Hashemite regime in particular has worked overtime to configure itself as a secular, Western-identified state" (see also Al-Mahadin 2007: 313). In this sense, tourism in Jordan is engineered to "make Western tourists feel at ease" (Maffi 2002: 220). Every effort is made to "distance the state from things Islamic and from the particular fragrance of danger they seem to carry [in order to create] a landscape as free as possible of any hint of threat or discomfort" (Addison 2004: 245-246). • Initiated by foreign funding and agencies, the CRM programme was subject to shifts in foreign agencies' understandings of, and approach to, material of the past in Jordan. When the CRM programme was established in 1986, it was a reaction against the destruction of archaeological sites by development projects. • In 1989, CRM focus was shifted from protecting archaeological sites, into selecting specific ones on the basis of their potentials as tourist destinations (Green 1999: 54). • The shift in the USAID approach to material of the past in Jordan found resonance among the Government. However, the shift demonstrates the Western hegemony over the past even in the post-colonial context, and the lack of national and local involvement in approaching material of the past. 	<p>Jordan. The second factor that prevents local scholars from communicating with people is the dominance of the 'top-down' approach. In this approach, local communities are seen as one of the problems that archaeological sites face, and as an obstacle that needs to be tackled, rather than a main stakeholder in the process of approaching archaeological sites.</p>
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Antiquities Law alienated local contexts and communities from their place: "the ownership of the land [where archaeological sites exist] does not vest its owner with the right to ownership of the antiquities ... or disposing with it, and does not entitle him to excavate for antiquities therein" (<i>The Antiquities Law</i> 1988, Article 5: d). • If the Government decided against buying the land, where archaeological sites exist, as Article 8: a of the Law suggests, the owner of the land is still forbidden from intervening with archaeological sites in his or her land in any shape. Therefore, 	<p>In the post-colonial context of Jordan, the 'top-down' approach to the past is the norm. Very little interest, if at all, is paid to local contexts and local perceptions of archaeological sites. Western agencies, supported by Western-oriented local scholars, and the Jordanian Government that strives to be identified with the West, are responsible for applying Western approaches to the material of the</p>

<p>archaeological sites belong to the Government, and people have no authority over them, even if they exist within their land, and even if the DAJ has no intention to buy that land.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The owner of the land is not allowed to build anything in that land unless it is 5 to 25 meters away from the archaeological sites within that land (<i>The Antiquities Law 1988</i>, Article 13). • Those who failed to report archaeological sites or findings that exist within their land are punished by imprisonment for 2 months to 2 years, and a penalty of 30 Jordanian Dinars to 200 Jordanian Dinars (Jordanian Dinar is approximately 1, 35 Sterling Pound) (<i>The Antiquities Law 1988</i>, Article 27). • The DAJ chooses to approach local communities through a 'top-down' and centralist ideology. For the purpose of communicating other governmental and non-governmental bodies both in Jordan and abroad, the DAJ established the Public and Cultural Communication Department in 1988 (Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2004: n.p). The Awareness Section is concerned with 'spreading' the awareness of the importance of archaeological sites among local communities of Jordan. The idea of 'spreading' awareness implies a 'top-down' and centralist ideology through which professionals are in charge and local communities are passive receivers of professional knowledge. • The aims and policies of Cultural Resources Management Programme are subject to changes in the foreign policies in Jordan. Thus, local communities, culture and context of Jordan have very little influence, if at all, on the approach to the physical remains of the past in their contexts. • The Inspector of the DAJ in Amman, emphasises that successful interaction with local communities is based on the professional's choice and willingness to understand local communities' perceptions of archaeology, and to communicate them on the basis of these perceptions (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 9th June 2004). However, he emphasises that this approach is rare among professionals who, in most of the cases, see the 'top-down' approach as the only way to 'spread' awareness of the importance of archaeology among local communities (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 9th June 2004.). Thus, active interaction with local communities in Jordan is a personal option for the professionals rather than being a solid policy based on relevant ideologies and appropriate strategies. Such option is overwhelmed by the dominance of the 'top-down' approach in the Government's policies, and is hardly adopted by scholars operating in archaeological sites. • The lack of critical engagement with the Antiquities Law in Jordan resulted in very little pressure, if at all, on the Government to change the Law to include material of the past dated after 1750 AD. However, in the midst of tourism industry development in Jordan, this 'excluded' past proved to be economically viable as many conservation 	<p>past in Jordan without critical engagement.</p>
--	--

	<p>projects represented it as being a valuable commodity for the tourists (Addison 2004: 231-232; Maffi 2002: 208).</p>	
<p>5</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In order to avoid contradiction between the message of the Arab Revolt (i.e. protecting the land of the Arabs for the unity of the Arabs), and the establishment of their independent kingdom from the rest of the Arab World, the Hashemite family represented Jordan as an extension of the Arab existence in the region against the Ottoman one (Anderson 2005: 3). Therefore, time and place was 'inflected' to serve the Hashemite time in, and dominance over, Jordan. • Recently, scholars started to reflect on the reasons behind excluding the recent past from the Antiquities Law. According to Al-Mahadin (2007: 318), the recent past was excluded from the Law because of its relevance to the Ottoman existence in Jordan, a matter which if investigated would result in questioning fundamental issues related to the current political situation in Jordan. • Conservation projects of urban and architectural heritage in Jordan are increasingly identified with the powerful. Élite and rich families recognise these projects as an arena to identify themselves as the protectors of heritage, culture and arts (Daher 2007: 299-303). This interest is demonstrated in conserving historic buildings that belong to these families, and representing them as part of the national history of Jordan, or converting them into museums or galleries in order to emphasise the social, cultural, political and economic power of these families (Daher 2007: 300). Although Daher (2007: 303) sees that this involvement provides an opportunity for a more inclusive approach to the past in which local memories and stories are valued, the fact that the élite families represent economically and politically powerful people, who are closely connected with the Government, and whose memories and stories are in line with the official ones. Their memories and stories are exclusive rather than inclusive, and most of the time inextricably related to the official ones. Thus, urban and architectural heritage is used to empower those who are already powerful. • The major attendance of exhibitions the Department used to organise was from private schools who, contrary to public ones, afforded the costs and means for transportation from schools to the DAJ (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). Therefore, heritage in Jordan is reproduced to serve tourists and those who can 'afford' it; mainly élite and rich families. 	<p>Dividing the material of the past in Jordan into archaeology and cultural heritage might not be an arbitrary decision as it appears. Identifying the recent past as cultural heritage is believed to serve the newly established state of Jordan. However, it ignores the roots that Jordan has in time and place, and only focuses on the modern state of Jordan, which is an outcome of the 20th century colonialism of the Arab World. In practice, the Government's interest in monumental archaeological sites is restricted to economic and touristic purposes, while interest in other sites that lack monumentality and aesthetic values is abstract and general.</p>

The immediate inferences viewed in the above table demonstrate how conventional approaches to material of the past in Jordan marginalise local perceptions of the past. Struggling to be identified with the West, the current approaches to archaeological

sites in Jordan compromises local culture and identity. This situation is perpetuated by the local scholars' lack of critical engagement with the taken-for-granted approaches, and their belief that archaeology is a 'pure' science that is irrelevant to people. In this context of Jordan, local communities are perceived as one of the problems that archaeological sites face. Consequently, their knowledge and perceptions of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites, are not only neglected, but also viewed as being irrelevant to the way material of the past should be approached. The following chapters examine what local scholars – archaeologists and cultural resources managers – perceive as being irrelevant, that is local communities' knowledge and perceptions of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites in Jordan.

Chapter 8: The Meaning-Making Process 1: the Local Communities, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq

Deeper understanding of the historically contingent and embedded nature of heritage allows us to go beyond treating heritage simply as a set of problems to be solved, and enables us to engage with debates about the production of identity, power and authority throughout society (Harvey 2001: 319).

There is ... a whole body of metaphorical and symbolic meaning which surrounds the monument in local discourse, concerning its place within the community. In this way it facilitates the negotiation of identities and the expression of boundaries. However, it should not be assumed that it simply allows fixed, pre-existing categories to be mapped on to it. On the contrary, the categories of 'local' and 'incomer', and through them the boundaries of community as a whole, are fluid and continuously subject to negotiation (Jones 2006:104).

8.1 Introduction

In chapter 6, meaning was investigated as structures of understanding and attachments through which individuals as well as local communities interpret the time and the place of the past. It was suggested that values and meanings that individuals ascribe to the past derive their importance from being a reflection of their contexts. What is meaningful in one context might be meaningless in another. Throughout the process in which meanings are ascribed to archaeological sites, the remains of the past are transformed into entities that reflect local communities' contexts. Archaeological sites in this process are transformed from being mere material of the past into being cultural heritage: something relevant to local communities' contemporary contexts and cultures. The credibility of cultural heritage is derived from its being a 'reflection' of local communities' contexts. It is through this 'reflection' that people are able to identify themselves with the past.

This chapter draws on the data examined, and the immediate inferences constructed in the previous chapters, to examine how people in Jordan develop meanings for archaeological sites. It investigates the meaning-making of archaeological sites in three case studies that have been chosen for this purpose (see chapter 2; section 2.3.4): Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. Each case study is examined on the basis of its own context and cultural settings. The chapter focuses on the processes through which different meanings for the archaeological sites in question are developed in

response to people's contexts, experiences, memories and stories. The accounts delivered by the local communities in this regard are responses to the following main question and its probe questions:

What can you tell me about this *athar* (archaeological sites)?

How long have you been living close to the *athar*?

What do you know about it?

What do you like/dislike about it?

Do you go there, why, how often, with whom, what do you do there?

Do you talk among each other about the site? what do you say?

Do you think this site is part of your culture and heritage?

The interviews have been analysed by using the computer software of NVivo (see chapter 2, section 2.6). The NVivo analysis of the interviews is included in a CD attached at the end of this thesis. Information about accessing NVivo nodes (tree nodes that are referred to in this study as nodes, and free nodes, which are referred to as free nodes) is in Appendix 9.

8.2 Hesban: General background

In 1968, an American archaeological team from Andrews University started its 'expedition' to the archaeological hill of Hesban (Tell Hesban). The word 'expedition', despite its colonial indication, associated as it is with the travels conducted by Western scholars to the Arab region in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, is still used by the Andrews University to describe its work in Hesban (<http://www.madabaplains.org/hesban/expeditions/index.html>; accessed on May 12th 2006). Hesban was first excavated as part of Andrew's Biblical project in the region of Jordan and Palestine. Thus, Tell Hesban was approached with the possibility that it could be the Biblical city of Heshbon (Walker & LaBianca 2003: 443-444; LaBianca 1990:15). It was not until 1998 that the interest of the Andrews University team in Hesban was expanded to include other periods on the Tell, especially the Islamic period (Walker & LaBianca 2003: 443-444). Since 1968, the Andrews University team spends one season of almost two months every three years excavating Tell Hesban. The team's work includes, beside excavation, other levels of intervention such as consolidation and restoration of the physical remains in the Tell (interview

with LaBianca, 6th June 2004). As with all the foreign archaeological expeditions in Jordan, the work of the Andrews University team is conducted under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan (DAJ). Figure 8.1 shows a general view of the upper part of Tell Hesban.



Figure 8.1 The upper part of Tell Hesban (the researcher 2004).

Since the first ‘expedition’ in 1968, the Andrews University team have been supported by workers from the local community of Hesban (LaBianca 1990: 24). The job of the local workers includes helping the team in excavation work: cleaning the Tell and removing soil from the excavated areas. The key figures of Hesban such as the heads of the main families as well as the mayor have been in continuous communication with the Directors of the excavation in Tell Hesban since the first expeditions (interview with LaBianca, 6th June 2004).

The Director of the ‘expedition’, since 1996, Øystein LaBianca, has developed an anthropological interest that aims to explore the past and the present as part of a long-term life cycle in Hesban (interview with LaBianca, 6th June 2004). This resulted in developing interest in the contemporary local community of Hesban and their way of life as part of the expedition’s mission in Tell Hesban. As the interviews in this research conducted with respondents from the local community of Hesban demonstrate, the academic and social interest of the Andrews University team is highly appreciated by the local community, and consciously weighed against the lack of interest the Department of Antiquities in Jordan is considered to have in the local community of Hesban. The relationship between local communities and the agencies

responsible for the levels of intervention conducted in archaeological sites is discussed in the following chapter.

8.3 The meaning-making process of archaeological sites in Hesban: Towards initiating cultural heritage

The following sections explore the mechanism through which members interviewed from the local community of Hesban construct meanings for the Tell. Although the questions in the interview were designed to examine the local communities' knowledge, experiences, feelings and attitudes towards the Tell, almost all the respondents (9 females and 11 males) found it important to talk about other archaeological sites in Hesban as well as in other parts in Jordan in their accounts in order to describe their knowledge about the Tell.

As noted in chapter 4, Calthorpe (1993: 23) identifies the traditional attachment to the past and its material as a dynamic mental and physical engagement that develops through time and place. In this chapter, the researcher identifies two types of traditional attachment: spiritual attachment and material attachment. Although these two types are hardly separated from each other (as spiritual attachment leads to material attachment and the other way around), they differ in the reasons that initiate the attachment. While some people initiate spiritual attachment with a certain archaeological site, other people develop material attachment to the very same site. Differentiating between the two types is essential to understanding how different people develop attachment to the same material of the past.

8.3.1 Attachment to the past

The attachment that people develop to material of the past is directly influenced by their contemporary contexts and cultures (see immediate inference 1 MMP; table 6.3, pg. 218). In developing attachment to the past, people tend to approach it both as time as well as place (see immediate inference 5 MMP; table 6.3, pg. 220-221). This attachment is derived from the individual as well as the collective experiences of the local community within the place of the past. It is evident in many ways such as: 'humanising' the past by ascribing human attributes to it and/or emphasising the

human existence in the time and the place of the past (see immediate inference 2 MMP; table 6.3, pg. 219); reflecting on the past: the time and the place, as being about people rather than monuments, buildings and artefacts; and approaching the past as part of people's contemporary contexts as well as memories and stories (see immediate inference 3 MMP & 4 MMP; table 6.3, pg. 219-220). The following sections discuss these signs of attachment in the respondents' accounts as part of the meaning-making process of cultural heritage in Hesban. They also explore new types of attachment that result from the accounts in which the respondents answer the main question: 'what can you tell me about the Tell?'

a) Contextualising time

In response to the first question of the interview: 'what can you tell me about the Tell?' many respondents provide accounts that express their perceptions of the passage of time. These perceptions are expressed by people's reflections on old age and death which are the natural result of the passage of time for living beings. In these perceptions, old age and death 'purify' their subjects, whether people or things, and give them credibility and validity.

Therefore, the passage of time is perceived to add value to things. This is evident in a statement by Wafa, a 50-year-old female, that: "*zaman* [time] changes *turab* [soil] into *tebr* [gold]". This perception of the passage of time provides emotional and mental attachment to the past in which a close correspondence is established between archaeology and death. For example, *athar* (archaeological site) is "as calm as a corpse" (Rasheed: 53-year-old male), "as silent as a graveyard" (Amira: 27-year-old female), and "as majestic as death" (Abu-Habis: 60-year-old male). Furthermore, Abu-Subh, a 70-year-old male, saw that the remains of the past provided a source of living for those who work in it. He explained that "the excavation [in Tell Hesban] is about dead people paying those who are alive their wages; if it were not for those who built the past, none of you would have a job, it is like dead people paying those who are alive their wages" (see node: perception/ the past). In this sense, people tend to develop perceptions of the passage of time that are derived from their social and cultural perceptions of life and death.

Speculation on the passage of time by many respondents delivers political implications that unfold as the interviews progress. The passage of time allows events to accumulate, and people to develop 'roots' in time and place. The sense of continuity provides legitimacy, and thus contributes to people's sense of identity: who they are and where they come from. The notions of continuity and identity that are derived from the past are contextualised by the local community of Hesban to deliver accounts that are charged heavily with political implications. These implications are directly derived from the contemporary social and political contexts as well as the informants' experiences. For example, Wafa's account discussed the sense of continuity and identity delivered by the past and its material states as follows:

People who lived in Hesban varied in the times and places they occupied, they lived in the Tell, in the plains, their remains are everywhere here ... Some of these *ummam* [nations] are gone forever, but we, the Arabs and the Muslims, are still here. This makes us say this is our heritage and our place ... This is the difference between those who have genuine culture, a culture that has developed slowly and gradually, and those who ... [impose their existence on others]. I am talking about Hesban [in the past] and also about us now, about Palestine and Iraq and the occupation everywhere. Looking at the Tell makes me think this way.

Similarly, Abu-Ahmad, a 66-year-old male, stated that:

I know that there were Jewish people and others living in the Tell, but to be honest with you ... I would like to know more about the Arabs and the Muslims who lived in Hesban. This gives us feelings of having roots here, it makes me want to talk about it to my children and grandchildren and to walk with them up in the Tell ... I won't be telling my children that the Jewish lived here while we see them killing our people in Palestine and Iraq.

This account demonstrates the mechanism through which people anchor the past to their contemporary contexts and heated political issues, especially the war in Palestine and Iraq. Further political implications that are derived from people's reflections on the Tell unfold in the following accounts.

b) 'Humanising' place

The local community of Hesban develops an attachment to the archaeological sites within their geographic context by thinking and talking about them in reference to the people who used to live there in the past. In this sense, archaeological sites become

places with people rather than mere physical remains. This is evident in Said's, a 27-year-old male, account of Tell Hesban when he stated that:

instead of seeing stones and ruins, we see people's houses and lives, the remains of these lives I mean, unlike you and those who work in *athar*, lay people like us see things differently. They see them in ways that make them meaningful ... so we see people's lives rather the years and the period they lived in, and how old the ruins are. We think about what they ate and where they planted their corps, and their religion, and what they did when someone died or was born or got married.

Beside this active image of archaeology the respondents draw on to establish their attachment to the past, there existed a passive one in which the respondents failed to establish an attachment to the past and its material. In this sense, archaeology is perceived only as *Kharabat* (ruins). Mustafa (aged 35) and Abdullah (aged 20) are two males whose accounts of the Tell in specific and archaeology in general were derived from their belief that the past is passive and irrelevant to contemporary contexts and daily life, and therefore, no matter how glorious the remains of the past, they were considered as *Kharabat* (ruins). In this regard, Abdullah stated:

The Tell, or Petra or Jerash, or even the Pyramids [in Egypt], they are all *Kharabat*. You care about them because you study them, the tourists care about them because they have money and they want to see something different, but us, we see them as *Kharabat*. Why do we say *Kharabat*? because they have no function for us ... I go up the Tell not because of the *Kharabat* but because of the place, because the weather is nice there on summer evenings, but these *Kharabat* mean nothing to me.

Furthermore, the past is considered an arena for foreigners to deploy their control over the past and the present of the Arab world. Mustafa's account in this regard stated: "exactly like politics or economy, they [the foreigners] bring their soldiers here, they invest here, and they dig the *Kharabat* too [in reference to the excavation in Tell Hesban], it is as simple as this" (see tree node: perception/ foreigners/ colonialism). It is worth noting that among the twenty respondents in Hesban, it is only two respondents, Mustafa and Abdullah; who used the word *kharabat* (ruins) to refer to archaeological sites. Nonetheless, Mustafa's account demonstrated an active engagement with the Tell as he anchored the levels of intervention conducted in it to a broader political context. Further exploration of the relationship between local communities and the agencies involved in conducting the levels of intervention in archaeological sites is explored in chapter 9.

Interestingly, the stories that both Mustafa and Abdullah recalled about archaeological sites were, contrary to the other stories represented below, mythical. In these stories, the past and its material were closely associated with demons, supernatural and superhuman powers, whereas stories told by the other respondents in Hesban tended to be more 'human' as they represent ordinary people with ordinary lives. The influence that story has on the meaning-making process of archaeological places in Hesban is explored below.

Thus, 'humanising' the place of the past is about emphasising lay people's lives in the past rather than the physical remains. These lives are explored on two levels: the spiritual and the material. The following two sections investigate the emotional and physical attachment that the local community of Hesban expresses in its accounts about the Tell as well as the other archaeological sites in Hesban.

c) Spiritual attachment

The spiritual attachment examined in this section is concerned with the special interest the respondents developed in the diverse religions practiced by the people of Hesban in the past, and the way they used religion to anchor themselves to the material of the past. The respondents tend to identify cultures in correspondence with religion; culture equals religion (e.g. see node: knowledge/ people of the past). Responding to the question: "what can you tell me about the Tell?", Umm-Kasem, a 47-year-old female, stated that "in Hesban many different *hadarat* [cultures] have existed ... we have the pagans, the Jewish, the Christians and the Muslims, people like us today, believers and non-believers". In this account, religion, because of its importance in the respondents' lives, transforms the past and its material into a familiar substance to which people can relate. Anas, a 30-year-old male, expressed how religion familiarised the past as follows:

the Tell might have no religious value like Madaba [famous for its value for the Christians], but being able to say, for example, this stone is dated to the Islamic or Christian or even Jewish time and goes back to the days of the prophet *Dahoud* [David], this, of course, makes the building or the *athar* or whatever you want to call it, real and closer to people, it makes it easy to understand. This is definitely more useful than saying this building is dated to the Iron Age or any other complex names [historic periods' names] you might use.

In this sense, religion allows a spiritual continuity of the past into the present. It provides familiarity with the past that can substitute the technical terms that are used to describe the different times of the past such as Palaeolithic, Neolithic or Chalcolithic. In another account, Nawwar, a 57-year-old female, saw current life in Hesban as an extension of the Islamic existence in the Tell. She used the physical remains of the past to sustain her claim as follows: “the arch you see up there [an arch that is dated to the Mamluk period in Hesban; see figure 8.1 above] has been built by Muslims, Muslims like us ... it gives us idea about who we were ... very different from who we are now ... maybe one day we will be able to build again”. Nawwar’s account used the arch as a tool to reflect on a glorious past, to lament a deteriorated present, and to hope for a better future. Despite the cultural continuity that Nawwar sensed in the presence of that arch, the account emphasised the discrepancy between a glorious past and a difficult present both conveyed by one past. The sense of continuity and the different implications of this sense are all triggered by Nawwar’s attachment to the religion that the arch represented.

d) Material attachment

Material attachment in this section is the attachment that the respondents develop through their continuous search for evidence of human intelligence in the material of the past. The material attachment is not based on direct benefit from the past. Instead, it results in mental as well as emotional attachment that can transform archaeological sites into something relevant to contemporary contexts and daily life. The technology used in the past is highly admired among the local community of Hesban. Questions were frequently raised during the interviews about the different techniques used in the past to manage problems. Understandably, one of the techniques the respondents pay special interest to is water management. The ancient wells and water tunnels that people discovered during construction works are mentioned in several interviews (see node: knowledge/ techniques of the past). The interest in water management techniques derives from the current water shortage from which Jordan suffers. In this regard, Abu-Habis weighed the development of water management in the past against the lack of it in the contemporary context of Jordan. He observed that:

while the people of the past were able to deal with the problem of water, and I do not think they had any problem with water, we

[contemporary people] fail to do that despite the modern techniques this age provided ... all the rain water is wasted every season and once winter is over, even if it rained for 6 months, the Government cut off the water and the problem begins again. If you look at the tunnels, and the wells and the pools they [the ancient people] built, you will see that people managed their lives well although they did not have the technology we have today ... they developed their own techniques and used them. We developed nothing and we keep facing the same problem every year.

In this example, interest in the past, and engagement with it, is enhanced by people's current issues and problems. Engagement with the past on the basis of people's contemporary issues initiates a comparison between people's mentalities in the past and the present. This comparison develops a sort of attachment that, in many cases, provokes people to learn about the past and from it.

Another example of material attachment to the past in Hesban is the accounts represented regarding Hesban's caves. These caves are believed to provide an access into ancestors' cultures and mentalities as they used them in the recent past. These caves, shown in figure 8.2, are described by many respondents as being their ancestors' homes. The reason for mentioning these caves in the respondents' accounts, although the questions were designed to explore the Tell, is that these caves provide the local community with a past that is vibrant and closely connected to their contemporary contexts and daily life. Furthermore, in contexts such as Hesban, where there is constant reference to who is related to whom, and who comes from which family, this attachment allows the caves to be interwoven with the local community's culture. Belonging to the caves implies belonging to certain families who lived for a long time in Hesban, and thus acquiring certain social status.

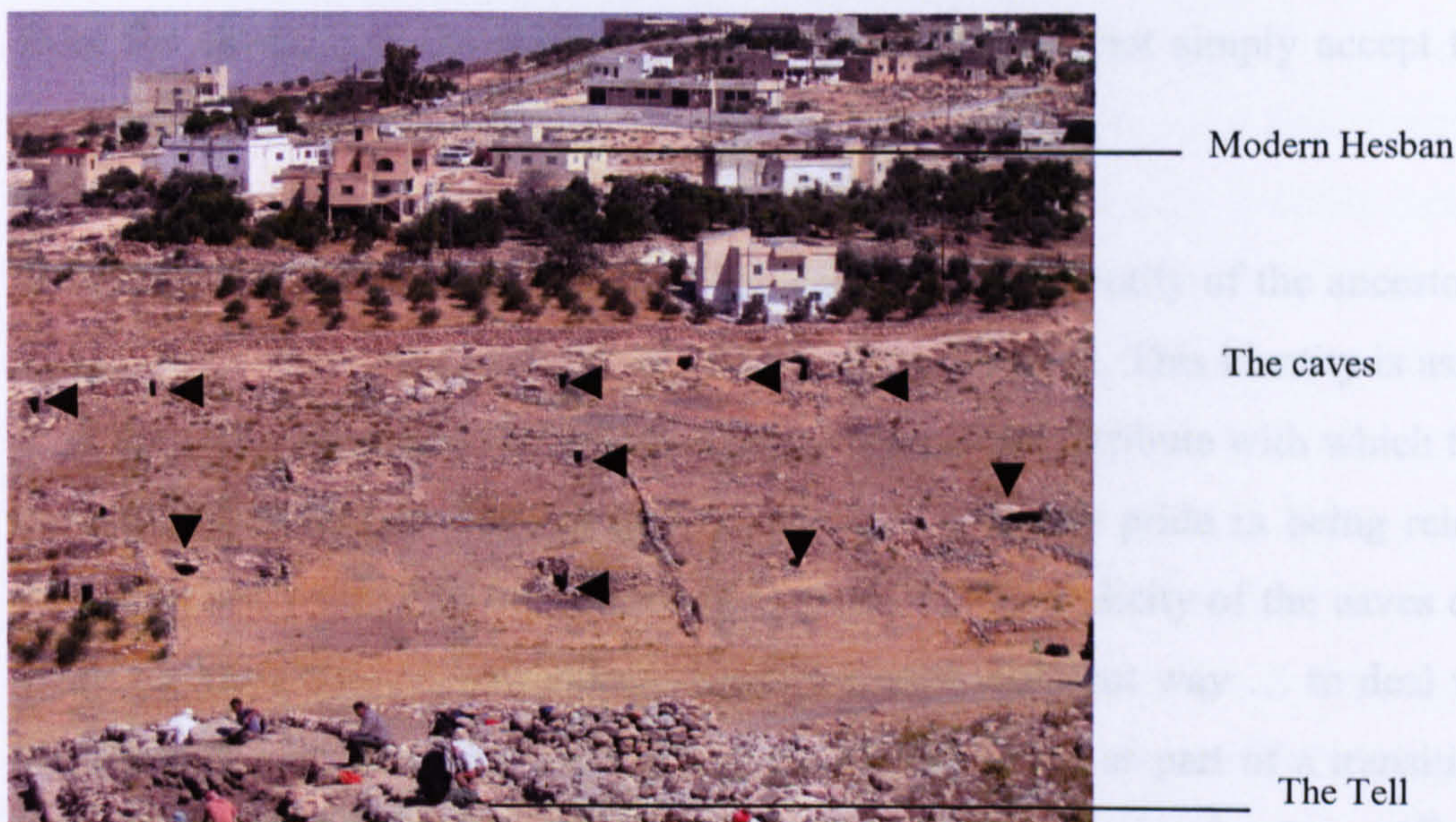


Figure 8.2 The caves of Hesban (the researcher 2004)

The caves are located on the opposite hill to the North West of Tell Hesban. The archaeological evidence shows that they were inhabited during the Ottoman period (LaBianca 1990: 75). However, the local community of Hesban shows particular interest in the recent occupations of these caves by families who settled in Hesban during the 19th century; the *Ajarmeh*, the *Edwan* and *Bani Sakhr* (LaBianca 1990: 75, 80-83). The caves, as evidence of this existence, provide a source of legitimacy for the current existence of these families in Hesban. The account presented by the respondents show the caves as being a reflection of their ancestors' life. This life is based on utilising available resources – in this case the soft lime rocks and the natural caves – to generate living spaces (see node: attachment/traditional attachment/ancestors).

For Rasheed, the caves not only reflected a way of life in which “people were half nomadic and half sedentary”, but also represented “a reaction against the lack of building materials at that time”. By emphasising that “people now can use similar ideas to react against the increase in the prices of building materials”, Rasheed changed the caves into as a source of ideas that could be applicable in the present time to approach modern challenges. In this sense, the past empowers people by initiating approaches to the future. The energy residing in material of the past and its capacity to influence the future is evident in Said's account that read: “if anything is to be learned

from the caves, it is the necessity to do something and not simply accept the hard circumstances”.

This mental engagement with the caves represents the identity of the ancestors in an image that is pertaining to the local community of Hesban. This identity is associated with the capacity to adapt to difficult circumstances, an attribute with which the local community of Hesban likes to be identified. Abu-Subh's pride in being relevant to these caves is evident in the following account: “the simplicity of the caves does not mean backwardness; it means that this is the most efficient way ... to deal with the obstacles of that time”. Living in caves is acknowledged as part of a transitional act between the nomadic life style and the sedentary one in the late 19th century (LaBianca 1990: 75-83).

The emotional and mental attachment the respondents develop with material of the past can hardly be described as nostalgic. Many respondents (e.g. see node: attachment/ traditional attachment) acknowledge that the past is far from being complete and romantic; instead, it is, as the present, full of conflicts and wars. Places with temporal depth are not always places for escaping the present; instead, as the accounts above represent, they can evoke many heated issues and conflicts. One of the main issues the Tell in specific provoked among the respondents is the cultural diversity of the past. The following section explores how the respondents approach this issue, and how this approach contributes to the meaning-making process of the Tell.

8.3.2 The concept of diversity and the meaning-making process of archaeological sites

The acknowledgment of diversity is implied in the respondents' emphasis on the diversity of the religions practiced in Tell Hesban in the past. However, an explicit acknowledgment of the cultural diversity is evident in the recognition of the different archaeological layers in the Tell. From a scientific point of view, these layers represent the different peoples and cultures that inhabited Hesban in the past. Each layer is differentiated from the other through many qualities, such as difference in archaeological remains and the colour of soil. Surprisingly, understanding difference

in soil's colour as an indication of change in historical period and cultures is information that was widely spread among the respondents and was mentioned by eleven respondents in Hesban (see node: knowledge/ difference in soil's colour). For example, Abu-Habis observed that "if you go to the Tell and look carefully where the Americans ... dig, you will see three, four layers of different colours of soil: as those who know say, each layer indicates different people, Jewish, Christians, Muslims, God knows who else, they all lived up there". This diversity was acknowledged by Abu-Ahmad and Said as the 'real' heritage of Hesban: Abu-Ahmad noted "Hesban lacks aesthetically impressive archaeology, such as in Petra or Jerash, but if you listen to LaBianca talking about the Tell, you will understand that these layers [the different cultures and peoples] are the most important thing in the Tell". The meaning that can be derived from the diversity of people who inhabited the Tell in the past was expressed by Musa, a 68-year-old male, as follows:

Hesban is not as beautiful as Jerash, but you know what makes it important for the Americans that they spend time and money here; it is because of the people who lived here in the past. Many different people lived here, Muslim, Jewish, Arab, they built different cultures, and these cultures can be seen in the different layers in the Tell ... That is why Hesban is important: because of the different people who lived together (see node: knowledge/ people of the past).

The respondents understood the diversity of people and the interaction between them in the past as a sign of development. Some respondents (see node: perception/ the past in the Quran) in their account of the diversity of people in Hesban in the past, deploy a specific verse in the Quran that is believed to refer to people's diversity. As the verse acknowledges people's diversity, it sees that the importance of interaction between people is derived from the fact that people are different, and the interaction between different people results in enriching people's lives. This verse has also been used by UNESCO on its website on cultural diversity to emphasise the importance of interaction among cultures (UNESCO 2003b). The verse reads:

O you men! surely We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the most honourable of you with Allah is the one among you most careful (of his duty); surely Allah is Knowing, Aware (Chamber: 13).

This example reflects people's interest in using their own religion – in this case Islam – to approach the past and provide interpretations for it. Such engagement initiates a

spiritual attachment with the archaeological sites that marks their transformation into cultural heritage.

8.3.3 'Expanding' the context using memory and story

It was clear from the very first interviews that the respondents tended to talk about the past in Hesban as part of wider cultural and geographic contexts. For example, Khitam, a 22-year-old female, in her reflection on the Tell, stated that: "who we are and where we come from is a long story that goes beyond the Tell and even beyond Jordan itself". Expanding the context of Hesban to include other places reinforced the sense of continuity in time and place. This expansion is evident in people's memories and stories that are anchored to Hesban yet expanded to include other places. The following account explores different examples in which wider context is used to enhance people's memories and stories, and thus transform archaeological sites into cultural heritage.

a) Stories of Hesban

Story is explored in chapter 4 as an essential element in the meaning-making process of place. It tells facts as well as myths about people and places of the past. It interweaves the past with the present, and represents places as being inseparable from contemporary as well as ancient contexts. Stories about the archaeological sites in Hesban expand these sites to include wider contexts, thus interweaving Hesban with its geographic and cultural settings. In these stories, the material world and the symbolic one are combined together to create credible stories as well as incredible ones. Credibility is enhanced through establishing connections between Tell Hesban and other places that are geographically and culturally attached to Hesban, such as Jerusalem and Madaba. This connection anchors the time and place of the story to wider contexts that are closely relevant to contemporary people and their daily lives.

In these accounts, two types of stories can be identified: the mythical and those inspired by real life. As mentioned above, Mustafa and Abdullah recalled mythical stories about the Tell, or what they called *Kharabat* (ruins). In their stories, the Tell is inhabited, and probably built, by demons. According to Mustafa:

These demons, you can feel them if you visit the ruins at night. I have never seen them, but I am sure they are there. It is up to you to believe this or not, but I am an educated person, and many of my friends and family are, and we believe in them ... that is why the people stopped living in here and decided to move to the opposite hill, because they cannot live with demons ... I think if you are really interested in Hesban, I have to tell you this, you might not like it, but if you write about it, some one might say: yes, I felt that too when I visited the ruins near my house. Many people here will not tell you this because they are afraid you might consider them backward, but I don't care (see node: attachment/ story/ mythical).

Besides the story of the demons that both Mustafa and Abdullah recalled, more 'humanistic' stories were provided by eight other respondents (see node: attachment/ story/ 'humanistic'). The following investigates two stories delivered by Umm-Ehsan, Hajeh-Falha and Abed respectively. The reason for choosing these specific stories is that while the stories provided by Umm-Ehsan and Hajeh-Falha represented a typical sort of story that is told about archaeological sites in Jordan, the other story delivered by Abed was exceptional in interweaving the Biblical history with Tell Hesban.

The story told by Umm-Ehsan, a 70-year-old female, represented children's stories that are generally told by parents and grandparents. Such stories have been manipulated to include places with which local children are familiar. Familiarising the place was evident in Umm-Ehsan's following account:

I tell them [her grandchildren] about the king who lived in the Tell, and the farms he owned, just where we now have this olive orchard ... this king was oppressive, but he had a very beautiful daughter who was kind and wanted to help the poor people who lived in these plains here, but her father locked her in a cave in the Tell ... the earth shook, and the stone that covered the cave moved, and the palace of the king up on the Tell was destroyed. The princess fled to Jerusalem and she arrived at night; the king of Jerusalem found her and knew who she was, and he married her and made her his Queen.

It is important to note the way the place is approached in this story. Phrases highlighted in Umm-Ehsan's account such as "just where we now have this olive orchard", "the poor people who lived in these plains here", "in a cave in the Tell", "the palace of the king up the Tell" and "The princess fled to Jerusalem" reference the story to contemporary life. In this sense, not any orchard can serve the story but "this orchard", the one that belongs to Umm-Ehsan. In addition, it is "the poor people who lived in these plains *here*", and not the poor people in general, whom the princess

wanted to help. Furthermore, the princess fled not to any place, but to Jerusalem, the city that can be seen from the Western part of the Tell. This use of the place validates the story among its audience. It also emphasises the human factor of the physical remains of the past.

A relatively similar story is told by Hajeh-Falha, a 75-year-old female, who lived in Palestine before fleeing it to Jordan in 1948. In her account, Hajeh-Falha talked about Madaba, Jerusalem and Hesban, and her story, being for children, was loaded with migration, dislocation and alienation of people in the past. Hajeh-Falha stated:

I talk about the poor and the suppressed who lived here in Hesban in the past. The governors were cruel, they used to take everything and left people with nothing. They invade the land after the harvest, and take the crops. People started to leave Hesban for Jerusalem, and some left for Jericho, to work as fishermen. I talk about the brave boy who walked from Hesban to Madaba to Jerusalem by himself, Hassan we call him, and who came back to save his old parents who refused to leave Hesban. This is what I talk about to the children, and sometimes young men and women join the children, my sons and their wives. Yes, this is what I talk about. Stories like this.

Besides anchoring Hesban to other places in Jordan and Palestine such as Madaba, Jericho and Jerusalem, Hajeh-Falha's account reflected experiences of dislocation and alienation. Such feelings had their roots in her own experience as an immigrant. Thus, she used her imagination to construct a story of Hesban and its people in the past that resembled her own modern one.

A different story is told by Abed about a cave located in the western side of the Tell. According to the story, Solomon, the Jewish prophet and king, was buried, together with his wife, the Queen of Sheba, in that cave. Abed engaged with the architectural features in the cave in order to give credibility to his story. For example, according to the story, the four columns that stand within the cave, and that are shown in figure 8.3, were believed to support the sarcophagi of the King and his wife. Also, the lime plaster that covers the ceiling was believed to have been added after the sarcophagi were placed above the columns in order to hide them forever.

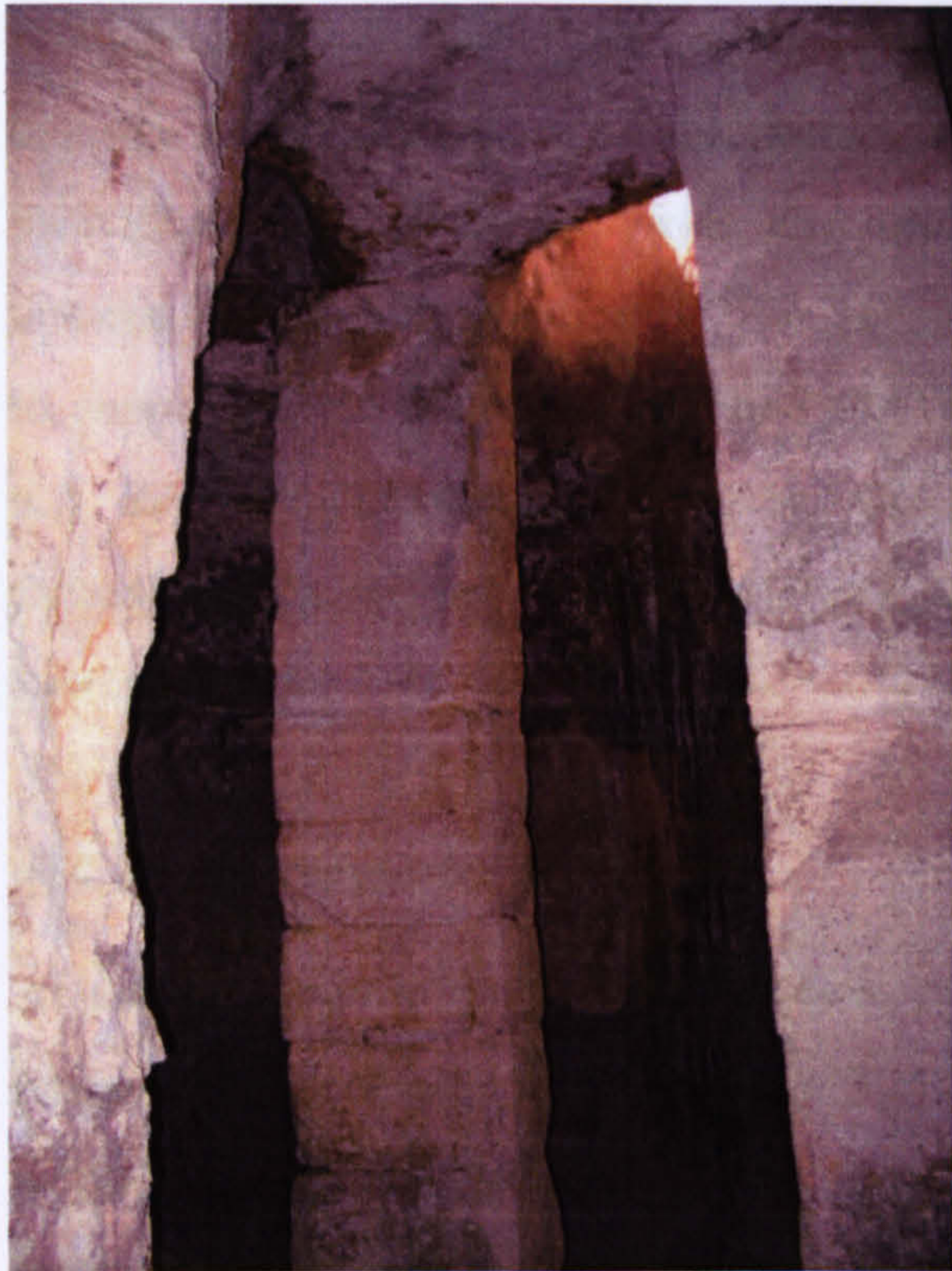


Figure 8.3 The columns inside the cave that are described in Abed's story (the researcher 2004).

This story, despite its excitement, is extremely unpopular among the rest of the local community in Hesban. Every respondent was aware of Abed telling this story to every 'outsider' visiting Hesban. However implicit and explicit remarks were made against the story and the narrator himself by seventeen out of the twenty respondents (e.g. see node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ negative). In order to understand the reason for the rejection of Abed's story, it is important to notice that the story is based on the assumption that one of the most important Jewish prophets and kings is buried in Hesban. It is only by recognising the current political and social context of the region in which the relationship between the Jewish and the Arabs are shaped and reshaped by the occupation of Palestine, and the adverse consequences of this occupation on the Arab and Islamic world, that one can understand the reason behind the unpopularity of this story among the local community of Hesban. In the light of the political context of the region, such a story initiates scepticism about the narrator and his motives for telling such a story despite his knowledge of the local community's resentment of it.

Therefore, the past in Hesban is a flexible material that can be shaped into different stories that reflect an interaction between the physical remains, the current social and

political contexts, as well as individual and collective memories. In some contexts, collective memories are separable from the individual's. However, in contexts where individual and collective stories and memories are inextricably interwoven with contemporary political and social life, as with the story told by Abed above, they have to commensurate with the individual and collective memories and stories: if they do not, they are resented and rejected. The following account explores the process through which memory is used to construct meanings for the time and place of the past in Hesban.

b) Cultural memories of Hesban

As demonstrated in the previous section, story allows the past to be part of the local communities' contemporary contexts. Stories develop through mental and emotional interaction between people and the time and the place of the past. Without this interaction, the physical remains of the past are reduced, as Su'ad, a 40-year-old female, explained, into "stones and *Kharabat* ... something that is only meaningful for the foreigners [referring to the Andrews University team]". This interaction is consolidated by the memories these places evoke. For example, the fact that Tell Hesban oversees Jerusalem is a crucial factor in many people's perception of the Tell as almost every respondent mentions that Palestine can be seen from the Tell. The following statement has been repeated in different forms: "If you look at the West from the top of the Tell when the sky is really clear ... you can easily see Jerusalem and maybe the Dome of the Rock glaring in front of your eyes" (interview with Naseem, 30th August 2004). Many residents of Hesban who fled their homes in Palestine in 1948 and 1967, find in the Tell a place to 'communicate' with their lost land (e.g. see node: attachment/ memory/ anchoring places to each other/ Palestine). For example, Abdullah mentions that "the Tell used to be my grandfather's favourite place. We used to make jokes about his repeated visits to it ... my mother told us that he used to go there to look at Palestine and remember his good life there ... The Tell reminds him of his youth in Palestine". The Tell, in many accounts, is presented as a place for reminiscence. Memories evoked by being in the Tell reference it to a wider geographic and cultural context.

Memories about the discovery of the archaeological importance of Tell Hesban and Andrews University's early expeditions to it are repetitively recalled by young and old male respondents alike. Many respondents recall the year 1968 when the excavation started in Tell Hesban, and the name of the American archaeologist – Siegfried Horn – who “spotted the Tell from Palestine, from Jericho or Jerusalem ... where he was digging ... He used to wear *hatta wa 'ekal* [traditional head dress for Arab men]” (Abu-Subh; see node: attachment/ memory/ early excavations). Further reflection on the discovery of Tell Hesban is presented by Naseem, a 48-year-old male, who stated:

We now see Palestine from the Tell, but the first time the Tell was recognised by the foreigners it was when the American archaeologist Siegfried Horn was working in the West Bank, he was working in Jericho I think, and saw the Tell from there and decided to come and excavate it. That was in 1968 ... This story was and still is told by the old men in Hesban. We heard it from them and we read about Hesban in the books that LaBianca wrote.

Memories and stories about Hesban interweave the individual experience with the collective one to produce narratives. These narratives bestow meanings upon the physical remains of the past and turn them into times and places that the local community can identify itself with. In this sense, the physical remains of the past are transformed from archaeological sites into cultural heritage: something anchored to contemporary issues.

8.4 The Citadel: General background

The Citadel Mountain or *Jabal al Qal'a* is one of the seven mountains that make up the city of Amman, and rises 840 metres above sea level (Zayadine *et al.* 2000: 60). To the south of the Citadel Mountain is the city centre of Amman that is shown in figure 8.4. The city centre is marked by the Umayyad congregational mosque that was originally built in the 8th century AD. It was rebuilt as al-Husaini mosque during the British mandate in 1923 (Zayadine *et al.* 2000: 72-73). Adjacent to al-Husaini mosque is a Roman amphitheatre which is dated to the 1st century BC, and 5 kilometres to the East of the Roman amphitheatre is the Neolithic site of Ain Ghazal. Therefore, the Citadel is part of a dynamic contemporary context that is also steeped in the past.

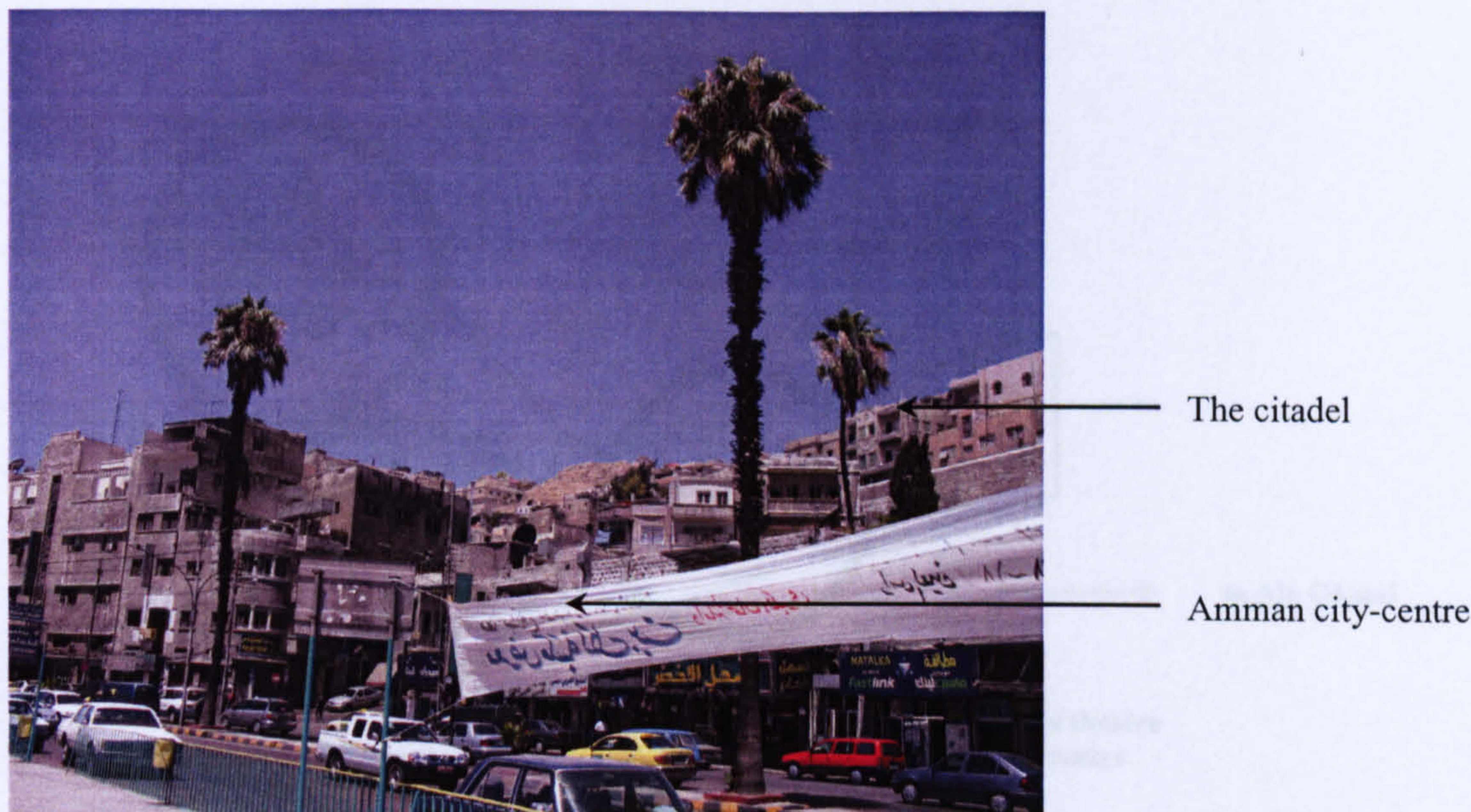


Figure 8.4 The Citadel from Amman city centre, looking north (the researcher 2006).

Many foreign scholars and travellers (e.g. Glueck 1940; Conder 1882) have visited the Citadel and have provided descriptions of its architectural remains since the 19th century. It is believed that the Citadel was continuously occupied since the Early Bronze period (Zayadine *et al.* 2000: 672-73). The Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (JADIS) shows that archaeological excavations in the Citadel started in 1930s. However, it was in the 1990s that major restoration work was conducted, mainly by foreign agencies.

For the purposes of this thesis, the Citadel is divided into three zones. Each zone represents an area where a certain agency is conducting archaeological work. The first two zones are referred to as the Upper Citadel as they exist on the top of the hill, while the third one is the Lower Citadel that lies in the South East slope of the Citadel Mountain. Figure 8.5 shows a map of the Citadel and the three zones identified. The following accounts briefly introduce the physical remains of each zone and the levels of intervention conducted in them.

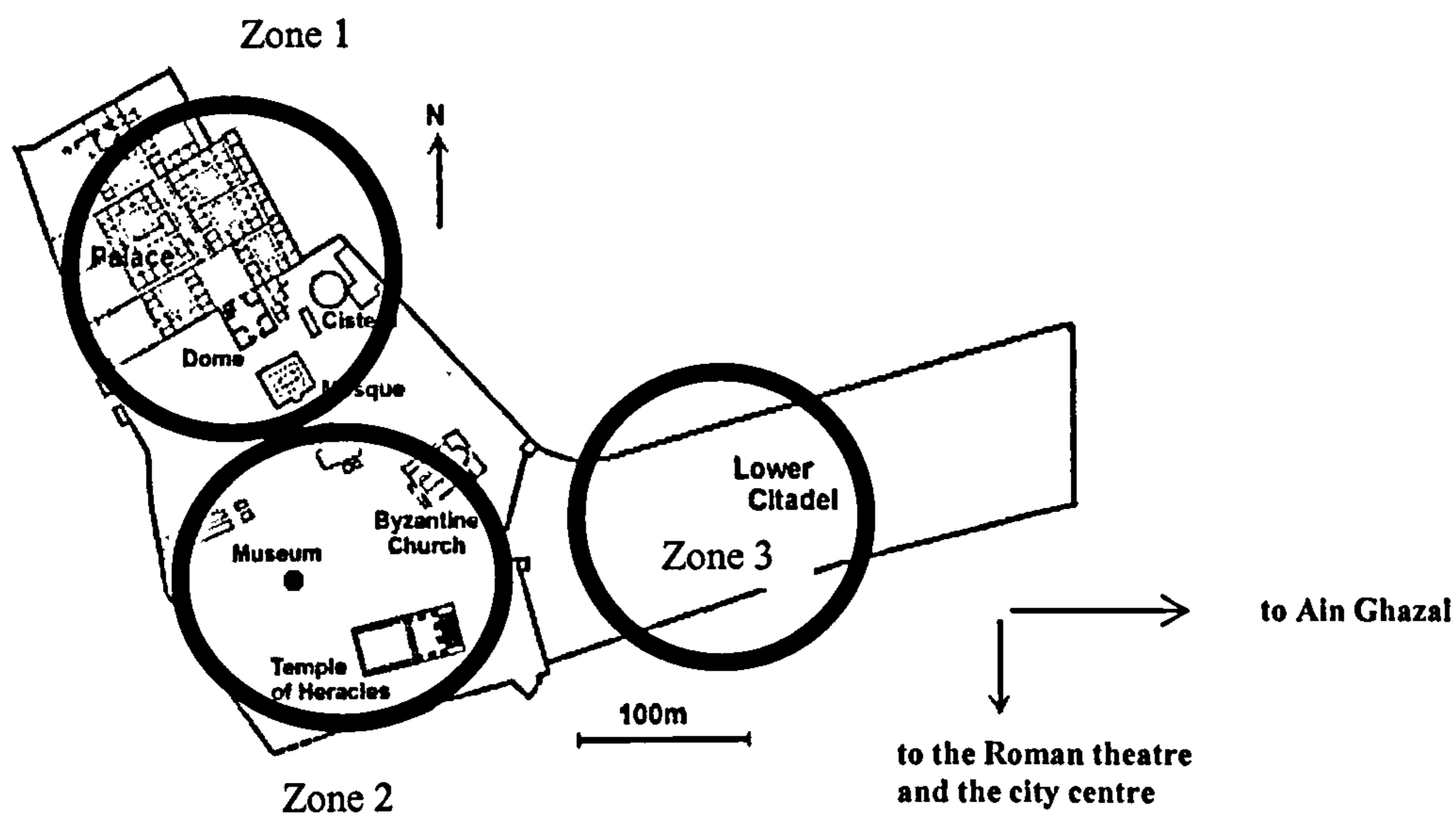


Figure 8.5 The different zones in the Citadel; source: <http://www.art-and-archaeology.com/jordan/amman/citadel.html> with alteration.

8.4.1 Zone 1

The first zone represents the Umayyad architectural remains that are dated to the 7th century AD: the throne hall, the palace, the mosque and the cistern. The Spanish Archaeological Mission in Jordan started excavating the Umayyad area in 1993, and in 1998, the *Excavation and Restoration of the Umayyad Monuments of the Citadel of Amman* project started with financial and technical support from the Spanish government (Ministry of Planning 1998: 1-2). Although the project involves different levels of intervention in all the Umayyad architectural remains in the Citadel, it is the restoration work at the throne hall that captures the attention of the local community. The throne hall is usually called the Palace by the local community, and therefore, the following account will refer to it as such. The technical intervention at the Palace consisted mainly of restoring the walls and constructing a wooden dome with an external cover of lead sheets to replace the masonry one. Figure 8.6 shows an external view of the throne hall, and figure 8.7 shows the dome from inside the Palace.



Figure 8.6 The reconstructed throne hall in the Umayyad area (the researcher 2004)

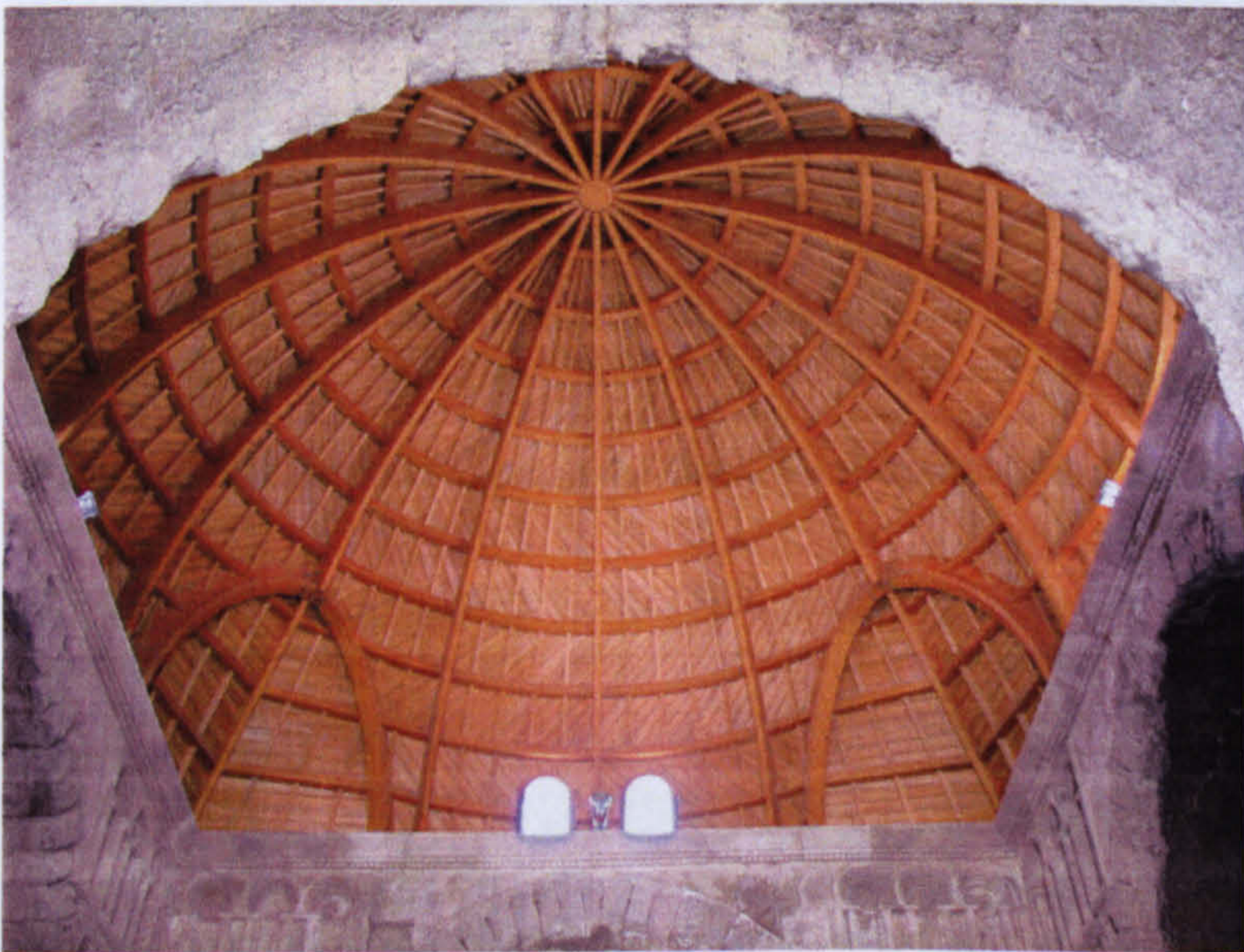


Figure 8.7 The interior of the reconstructed dome in the throne hall (the researcher 2004).

8.4.2 Zone 2

The second zone includes a Byzantine church that is dated to the 5th century AD and the Roman temple of Hercules that is dated to the 1st century BC. The excavation and conservation work in this zone is carried out by the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR). In 1993, ACOR completed the restoration work in the Temple by reconstructing three columns in the East and North elevations of the Temple (Kanellopoulos 1994: 17) that are shown in Figure 8.8. The Temple is part of

Philadelphia: the Roman name of the city of Amman. While many features of this city were lost during the urban expansion in the city centre in 1980s (Palumbo *et al.* 1993:78-79), the Roman amphitheatre and the Nymphaeum (a Roman water feature) in the city centre still exist. A photograph (figure 8.9) of a Roman bridge that existed in the centre of Amman, and that was demolished during recent development was provided by Abdel-Rahman, one of the respondents in the Citadel. Abdel-Rahman noted that the bridge was known as *Jesr al-Khalaeleh* (al-Khalaeleh Bridge), after one of the families that has lived in Amman since the beginning of the 20th century.



Figure 8.8 The Roman temple at the Citadel, looking east (the researcher 2004)

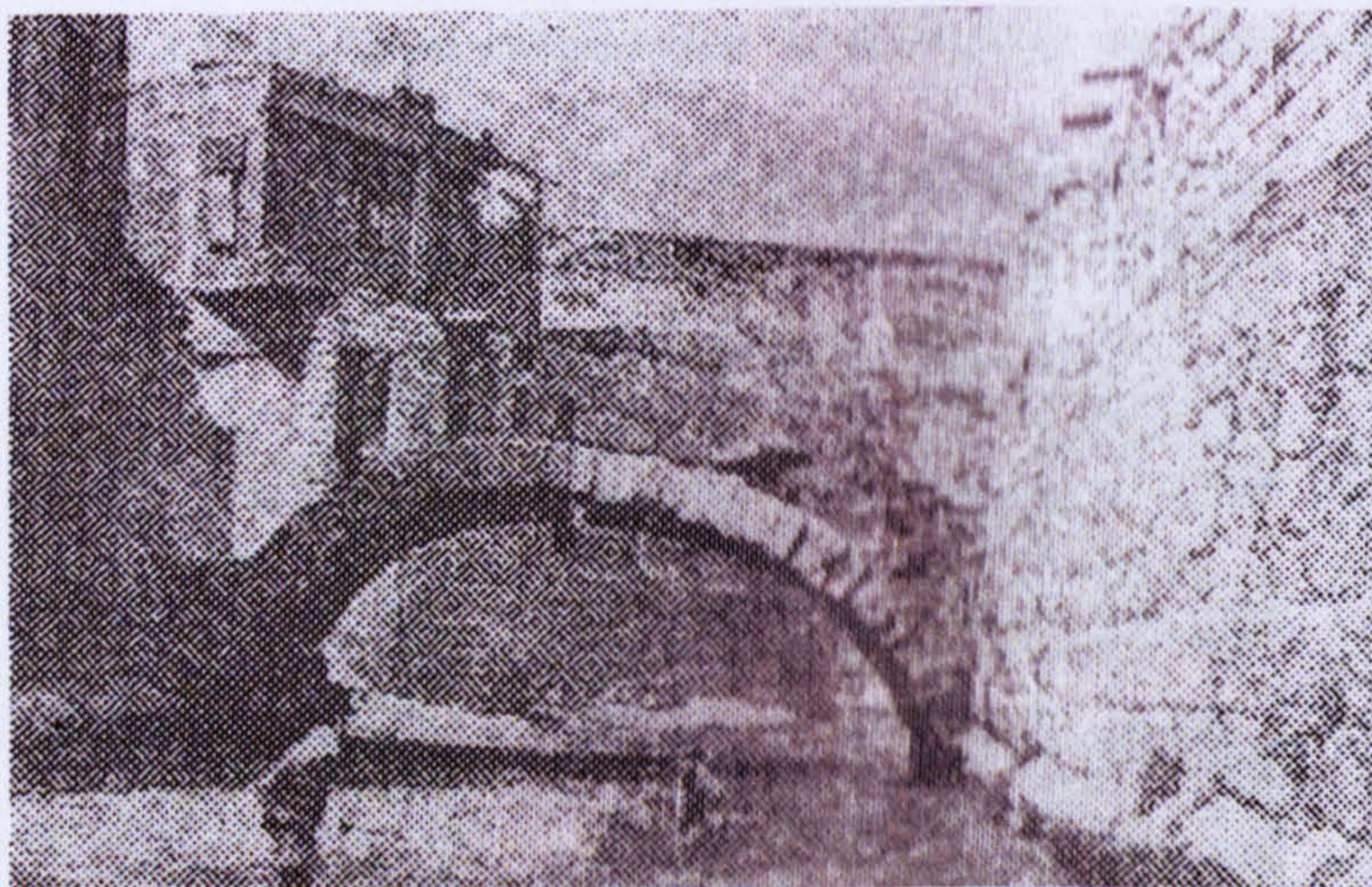


Figure 8.9 The photograph of the Roman bridge in the city centre of Amman in 1935 (provided by Abdel-Rahman; a respondent from the Citadel 2004)

8.4.3 Zone 3

The third zone represents the south east slope of the Citadel Mountain. The work in this area is carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) and consists mainly of excavation, documentation and consolidation of the archaeological sites in that area (interview with Abu-Hdeib, 17th August 2004). These sites are identified as domestic structures that are dated to the Byzantine and Umayyad periods (interview with Abu-Hdeib, 17th August 2004). The modern houses of the Citadel, where most of the respondents live, are adjacent to these sites. Figure 8.10 shows the Lower Citadel: the ancient site and the modern houses of the Citadel, together with some Roman sites in zone 2, while figure 8.11 shows the archaeological site within the Lower Citadel.

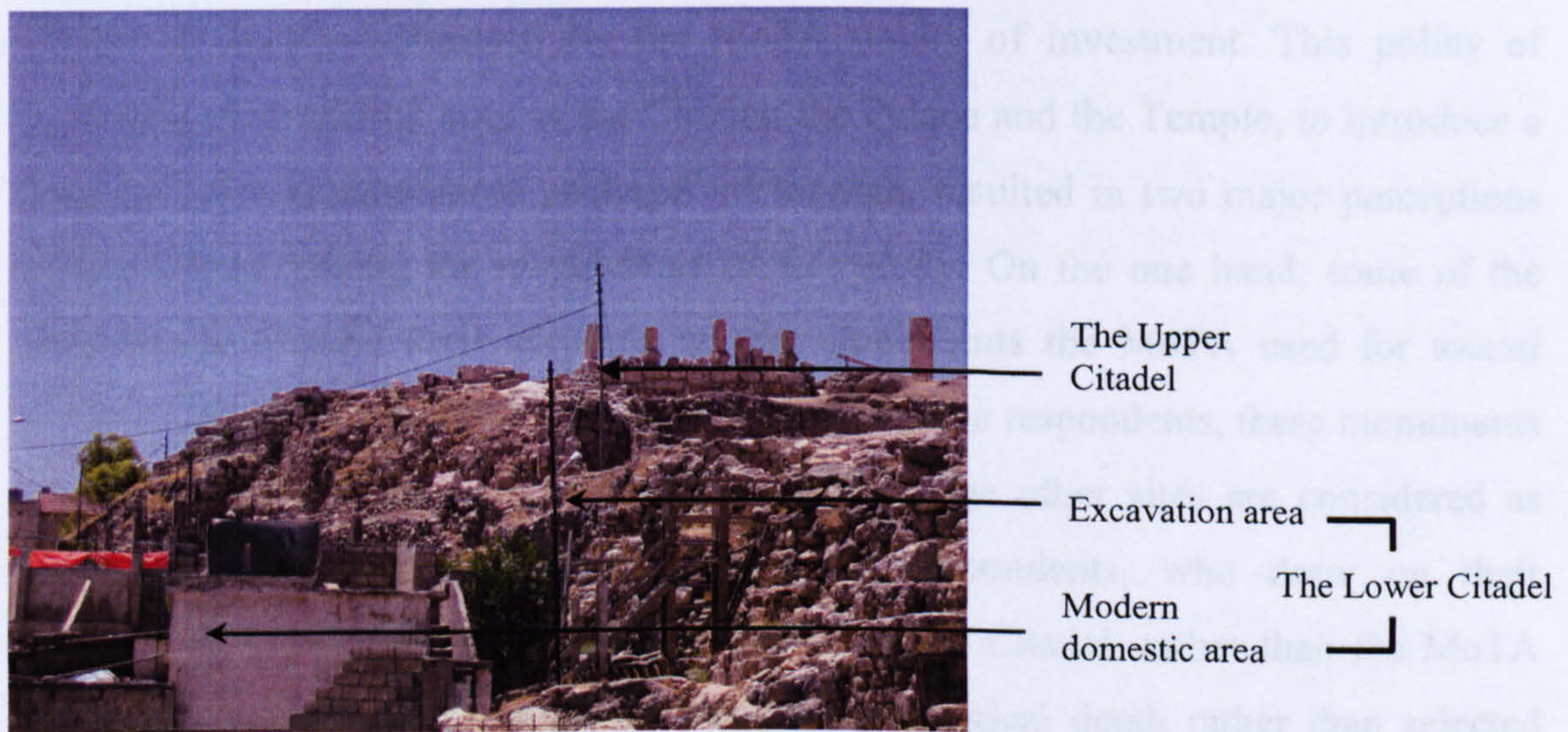


Figure 8.10 The Upper and the Lower Citadel, looking west (the researcher 2004)



Figure 8.11 The archaeological sites in the Lower Citadel (the researcher 2004).

8.5 Meaning and use of the archaeological sites in the Citadel

As part of its policy to encourage tourism in Jordan, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) tends to invest in archaeological sites to increase the Government revenue from tourism by “[introducing] new events and more sophisticated entertainment package” (Jordan National Tourism Strategy 2004: n.p). Following this strategy, the Temple and the Palace of the Upper Citadel are made available for hire as festive events such as private and public parties and musical events.

The meaning-making process of archaeological sites by the local community of the Citadel is deeply influenced by the MoTA policy of investment. This policy of managing monumental sites in the Citadel: the Palace and the Temple, to introduce a “sophisticated entertainment package” of tourism, resulted in two major perceptions of the Citadel among the respondents of this study. On the one hand, some of the respondents focused their accounts on the monuments the MoTA used for tourist purposes: the Palace and the Temple. For most of these respondents, these monuments are the only important sites in the Citadel, while the other sites are considered as *kharabat* (ruins). On the other hand, other respondents, who draw on their experiences, memories and stories to understand the Citadel, rather than the MoTA use of it, consider the Citadel as a place with historical depth rather than selected monuments managed as festival venues. These respondents tend to expand the geographic and cultural context of the Citadel to include other sites close to the Citadel such as the Roman theatre and Ain-Ghazal. The following sections explore the different processes through which the meanings of the Citadel are shaped by the local community’s contemporary contexts as well as experience.

8.5.1 Culture, arts and archaeology in the Citadel

The way the words ‘culture’ and ‘arts’ were applied to archaeological sites in the Citadel by the respondents is interesting as it provides an insight into the meaning-making process of archaeological sites and the transformation of them into cultural heritage. On the one hand, the word *hadarah* in Arabic is the literate meaning of culture. It is mainly used to indicate the tangible aspects of life as well as a certain group of people or period of time, such as the Roman culture, the ancient Egyptian

culture and the Arab culture. The synonym of the word *hadarah* is *thakafah*, a word that is generally used to refer to education and general knowledge. It is also used to indicate culture in its intangible forms, such as behaviour, thoughts, attitudes and beliefs.

On the other hand, the word *funoon* in Arabic is used to indicate arts: mostly performing arts. The two words, *thakafah* and *funoon*, are closely associated with each other to describe festive events conducted in archaeological sites. For example, the first annual festival developed in Jordan that started in 1981 in the Roman city of Jerash (<http://www.jerashfestival.com.jo/about.htm> accessed on July 13th 2007), is referred to as *Mahrajan Jerash ll Thakafah wal Funoon: Jerash Festival for Culture and Arts*. This perception of culture and art ties in with the MoTA policy of tourism explained above. Association between the concepts of culture and arts, and the notion of cultural heritage, is demonstrated in the following views expressed by the local community of the Citadel. For example, Reem, a 24-year-old female, emphasised the correspondence between arts and culture on the one hand and monumental sites on the other:

al-hadarah [culture] is about *thakafah* [knowledge] and *funoon* [arts] ... the songs and plays we watch on T.V; the festivals we have in Jerash ... when they say *thakafah wa funoon* [culture and arts] I think of people singing and dancing in, for example, Jerash or in the Temple here ... They want to change the athar into cultural hertiage through these projects.

Similarly, Rania, a 19-year-old female, perceived the Palace and the Temple as the only places in the Citadel that are worth visiting. She stated that “if there is anything cultural in here then it would be the Temple ... and the Palace”. For Rania, the importance of these two monuments was derived from “the fame of the artists ... and the important people, sometimes people from the ruling family ... attend the parties in the Palace”. Although Rania had not attended any of these events, her account was dominated by one event that took place in the Palace:

The most exciting thing I remember is that once I saw workers from the Marriott hotel, you know, a very élite place, preparing for a party in the Palace ... here in the backyard [of the Palace]. There were vans with the Marriott name written all over them. They put tables with candles in the backyard, candles, flowers, table cloths ... They kicked us out because it was private. But the things were so beautiful, they even brought big cars with ovens to prepare food in here near the pool [the Umayyad cistern]. There was a piano, a big black one. Can you

imagine that? a piano in here ... I wish they'd let us stay (see node: perception/ levels of intervention).

The type of events that are conducted in the Palace came under scrutiny in 2004. As stated above, the restoration project of the Umayyad area was sponsored, both financially and technically, by the Spanish government. This sponsorship gave the Spanish Embassy the authority to demand for the termination of this sort of investment in the Palace. An angry reaction against this use of the Palace followed the Spanish Ambassador's unannounced visit to the Citadel on 1st January 2004. The visit came after the use of the Umayyad area for a New Year party. The graffiti on the actual monument and the rubbish and mess left from this party were still visible when the Ambassador visited the Citadel (Interview with Arce, 1st August 2004). As figure 8.12 shows, heavy equipment for the sound system used in the party was installed on the restored stairs that lead from the Palace front courtyard into the mosque. Furthermore, heavy vehicles were driven inside the site to carry the different equipment used in the event, and tents were built using the archaeological elements for support, as figure 8.13 demonstrates.



Figure 8.12 The Umayyad area after the New Year's party (the researcher 2004).



Figure 8.13 A heavy vehicle in the Citadel (the researcher 2004).

The Director of the Spanish project in the Citadel, Ignacio Arce, comments on this use of the Citadel by stating that “[the Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities] were not aware of the kind of parties they had hired the place for” (interview with Arce, 1st August 2004). In the light of an agreement between the Spanish Embassy and MoTA, the Umayyad area is not to be used for such purposes after that event (interview with Nagawi, 3rd September 2004). However, as the researcher’s observation of the Citadel and the communication with its local community demonstrate, some festive events are still conducted in the Umayyad area. For example, Ahmad, a 22-year-old male, commented on the continuous use of the Palace for festive events by saying that:

there was a rumour that no parties are to take place in here, you know, where the new dome is. There were complaints that the people left the site full of rubbish after the New Year party, and some said the young people there were taking drugs ... we could not sleep that night of course ... but almost every night, all the summer, there is a party there ... lots of Mercedes cars ... come to the Citadel, and park here and there, inside and outside [the archaeological region of the Citadel], the street become full of Mercedes cars, the latest model, and they have parties ... They have never stopped having parties, but the music you hear now is different, something like you hear in old Western movies ... before that, it was all ... [Arabic songs].

The music to which Ahmad referred came from Classical music events, of which the researcher heard about during her observation of the Citadel. This event took place in the evening, after the archaeological area was closed to the public. The party was private as there was no public advertisement about the event in the newspapers or at

the main entrance of the Citadel, either before or after the event. One can conclude that the new events that are allowed to take place in the Palace, after the intervention of the Spanish Ambassador, are restricted to those of a 'high culture' nature, such as opera concerts and Classical music events. Therefore, the use of the Umayyad area became restricted to specific type of events that are believed to have a less adverse impact on the archaeological site, and reflect the cultural context of the Citadel. This shift in the type of events implies excluding some people and including others. This is well represented in Ahmad's emphasis on modern Mercedes cars, which are considered in Jordan as a measure of wealth and power.

Under the influence of the festive activities, a mythical image of the Citadel in the past was constructed. In this image, the Upper Citadel is considered as a place originally built for the rich and the powerful, while the Lower Citadel is perceived as the place where the poor lived and worked. For example, Umm-Ali, a 50-year-old female, in her account of the Temple, stated that: "This is a temple as I understand, I believe it is, but what did they do in the temple? They probably sang and danced, you know, people in here indulged themselves, [while] people down in the Theatre and around it worked hard as slaves". Similarly, Ahmad observed that:

There are signs [interpretive signs] with lots of writings, but this, to be honest, does not matter, what matters is what we hear and see in the Citadel ... In summer, it is all about singing and dancing, you know, rich people like to party here, but for us, what matters is who is going to sing here, and if we can hear the songs from our homes clearly enough.

In this account, the interpretation signs are insignificant in influencing the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites. Instead, it is the way these sites are used that shapes their meanings. Consequently, the meanings of the Lower Citadel are defined as the opposite to those defined for the Upper Citadel.

Although these activities have a direct influence on people's perception of the Citadel, only two out of the nineteenth respondents had attended one of the events held in the Temple. The reason for this, as the Director of the Jordanian National Museum, Aida Nagawi, stated, is the high prices of these events. Nagawi (3rd September 2004, *pers. comm.*) observes that "20 or even 15 Dinar [Jordanian currency] is a lot of money for most of us to pay for a party ticket". However, apart from Ahmad and Rania

mentioned above, the sense of alienation from these events was hardly mentioned by any of the rest of the respondents. This could be due to the fact that these activities are considered, in the first place, as being inadequate in the light of the social and political context of the region. For example, many respondents (e.g. node: perception/ node: perception/ levels of intervention/ levels of intervention & local context/ negative impact) express their anger at the way these parties are conducted. In this regard, Mariam, a 68-year-old female, highlighted the contrast between the activities conducted in the Upper Citadel and the contemporary social and political context of the region. She stated that “it is a shame that the government changed our heritage into dancing stages, especially in such a difficult time. People are being killed in Palestine and Iraq all the time ... and here we are, singing and dancing and pretending that we are safe”. Such feelings of anger and rejection found correspondence with the Government when it cancelled the annual *Jerash Festivals for Cultures and Arts* for the year 2006. The cancellation was justified as being a response to the war in Lebanon in 2006 (Awwad 2006:1).

Other respondents remark that the events are a source of disturbance and that they are imposed on the local community of the Citadel. For example, Wedad, a 43-year-old female, emphasised the social context of the Citadel which was disregarded by the organisers of the festive events in the Upper Citadel. Such marginalisation of the local community initiated alienation of people from the archaeological sites as evident in the following account:

Those who organises the parties forget that there are people living in the area. It is not only the *athar* and stones. They must look beyond that and see that there are houses and families and people and students living in the Citadel too, it is not like Jerash, void of people. But they don't care; all that matters is that here is another *athar*, use it to bring money for the Government (see node: perception/ government/ lack of interest in local context).

However, a different account is delivered by those who attended the festive events in the Temple: Asma and Abu-Saleem. For example, Asma, a 35-year-old female, observed that “*athar* adds to the prestige of the party ... *athar* bestows charm to the presence of [the singer]”. Thus, for her, the archaeological site is reduced to a background for the event. Following the same vein, Abu-Saleem, a 42-year-old male, considered that the Citadel is very similar to any other archaeological site that is used

to hold festivals, either in Jordan or anywhere else: “here is like Jerash and like Ba’albak [another festival that is conducted in the ancient city of Ba’albak in Lebanon] ... they are all places of summer festivals”. Capitalising on these accounts, one can conclude that the current use of the Citadel neutralises the temporal depth of these sites. It reduces them to a dramatic background of ruins for organised events and festivals, and thus alienates them from the contemporary contexts and the daily life of the Citadel in specific and Jordan in general. As it considers the past as romantic, this type of engagement of Asma and Abu-Saleem tied up with the nostalgic engagement discussed in chapter 6 earlier. The following section investigates the traditional type of engagement the respondents of the Citadel demonstrate in their accounts.

8.5.2 The Lower Citadel vs. the Upper Citadel

Apparently, the archaeological sites of the Lower Citadel have less aesthetic value than those of the Upper Citadel. Among those whose perception of the archaeological sites is totally influenced by the festive events and the aesthetic value, the Lower Citadel triggers almost no interest. Salma, a 22-year-old female, commented on this area as follows:

these *athar* [archaeological sites] look wrong ... I mean ugly ... if the Government ... makes it look like the *athar* over there [in the Upper Citadel], it will give it a better image, you can say a cultural image that one can be proud of in front of the foreigners. These ruins are, I don’t know, I don’t think the Government will keep them, they might bury them and make a car park or a garden to serve the *athar* there [the Upper Citadel] (see node: perception/ levels of intervention & politics/ Upper Citadel vs. Lower Citadel).

For Salma, the architectural remains of the Lower Citadel represented the ‘uncultured’ side of Jordan in comparison to the Upper Citadel. It is only through dramatic intervention similar to those conducted in the Upper Citadel that the ‘uncultured’ place of the Lower Citadel can be transformed into a ‘cultured’ one. However, Salma doubted that the Government would intervene in this part of the Citadel as it lacked beauty and monumentality, or “the charm of archaeology” to use Asma’s words, that can be found in the Upper Citadel. These accounts reflected the art historical approach in perception and evaluation of cultural heritage. This line of argument that Salma established, and that focused on monumentality and beauty in archaeological sites as fundamental elements in producing cultural heritage, was

shared among other respondents. For example, Umm-Ali concluded her account by stating that:

what the Government did ... 'fixing' the *kharabat* [ruins] I mean, is something cultural. I think this is culture ... they make it beautiful and they make the tourists come to it and they make it, as they say, *turath* [heritage]. It is hard to do the same in these *kharabat* [referring to the Lower Citadel] ... it is ordinary and simple. No tourists will go there ever.

In the above accounts, aesthetic value plays a decisive role in determining what can be defined as cultural heritage and what can be defined as *kharabat* (ruins). The aesthetic value is considered as a prerequisite for tourist attraction. Thus, the meaning the archaeological sites constitute is assigned with art historical values such as monumentality and aestheticism. Archaeological sites in this account are divorced from their social context, and represented as meaningful only if they are 'capable' of attracting tourists.

Different accounts of archaeology influenced by the contemporary contexts of Jordan as well as the Arab region are delivered by other respondents. The political situation in Iraq and Palestine, and its adverse social and economic consequences on Jordan appear to influence many of the Citadel respondents' perceptions of archaeological sites. Besides Mariam and Wedad's accounts presented above, Mohamed, a 23-year-old male, responded to the first question of the interview: "what can you tell me about the *athar* in the Citadel?" by stating that: "the *athar* means the remains of something that are meant to remind people of the past, like the Citadel and also like Iraq, what Iraq looks like today, ruined and destroyed, this is what I can tell you about *athar* in general".

This perception of *athar* was also demonstrated in Wajeeh's, a 35-year-old male, remark that: "[the Americans] are changing Iraq into *athar*, in few years they might rebuild it the way they built the *athar* here [pointing at the Temple that was partially reconstructed by the ACOR]; they make *athar*, and then they rebuild it again, interesting game, they have fun in our past and our present and we have no future". This perception of archaeological sites is highly and directly influenced by the contemporary political context. In this sense, archaeology is 'made' and 'unmade' by

the foreign powers operating in the region on the past as well as the present. It is closely associated with destruction that is in turn associated with foreign hegemony.

Despite this negative perception of archaeology, Wajeesh, beside his point of view explored above, provided another account that almost contradicted the one explored earlier. The later account was influenced by his experience as a worker in Ain-Ghazal in the 1980s when a team of archaeologists, directed by the American archaeologists Gary Rolefson, excavated the Neolithic site of Ain Ghazal. Wajeesh observed that “Ain-Ghazal is the first village in the world, as Gary used to say”. After fifteen years, Wajeesh recalled some technical terms used by the American excavation team, whose foreign names Wajeesh remembered; and, contrary to his earlier account about the foreigners, he spoke with great respect about some of the American excavation team in Ain-Ghazal. Interestingly, Wajeesh’s account demonstrated a great interest in details of the ancient people’s life in Ain-Ghazal. As in Hesban, Wajeesh’s attachment to the past is sustained by emphasising the human factor of the past:

the [ancient] people of Ain-Ghazal chose this place to live in because of the *ain* [water spring] that used to run across Amman until recently, now every thing is gone, the ain and the Ghazal [dear] ... If you meet Gary he will tell you how clever these people were. They plastered and decorated their houses. We are talking about people who lived thousands of years ago. They were very cultured people although we think the opposite because they lived in a time hard for us to imagine how old it is. If you meet Gary he will tell you that these people used to fish in the *ain* and to raise chickens and sheep thousands of years ago, tens of thousands of years ago maybe. You should meet Gary he will tell you.

Wajeesh expressed similar admiration of the architectural remains in the Lower Citadel, particularly the doorjamb stones. Surprisingly, when Wajeesh discussed the residential area in Ain-Ghazal and the Citadel, his account involved mental engagement with the people of the past and the techniques they used to manage their lives. However, when his arguments included the Upper Citadel, his perception of archaeology was negative and based on the foreign hegemony of the material of the past. Similar engagement with the Lower Citadel is discussed in the following section, which explores the human factor of the past: the way it is perceived and used by the respondents to establish attachment to the archaeological sites.

8.5.3 The human factor and the meaning-making process of the Citadel

The human factor of the past, that is the way ancient people lived in what are now archaeological sites, and the implications of this life on the contemporary people, is evident in many accounts. For example, Abdel-Rahman, a 40-year-old male, explained that the importance of the archaeological sites in the Citadel lay “in the lives lived in them, in the people and their daily routine”. In this account, the ordinary lives of lay people are the essential components of any culture. He explained that:

if you just study the temple up there, or the Theatre, Amman will be just a foreign city, something that non Arabs built in our land. You need to look further than that, you need to see the people who lived here ... imagine them. How ordinary people lived in the past and the present. [Addressing the researcher] Do not be another person who comes to study the columns [referring to the Temple] and the dome [referring to the Palace] ... There are other important things that one like you should study ... I am glad there are people interested in what we, the lay people want to say about *athar* (see node: perception/ local context and archaeology).

For Abdel-Rahman, the sense of attachment of the local community of the Citadel to the archaeological sites within their geographic context dwindled as they faced the glory of the restored Temple and the hegemony of the new dome of the Palace. Focusing on these places in separate of the adjacent ordinary sites emphasised the past as monumental and marginalised the ordinary people of the past. This observation was made explicit in Abu-Hashim’s, a 75-year-old male, account regarding the levels of intervention conducted in the Citadel:

For the Government, it is business, just like building a hotel or a restaurant. People don’t appreciate things just because they are beautiful, tourists do. That is why the Government built the *athar* here. People appreciate things that can inspire them and that tell a story about people like them, but this is not important for the Government, they want tourists to come and spend money in the hotels in Amman, so they build something that make them stay. Those who already live here are not important, it does not matter what they think of the *athar*, or what they want the Government to do in them.

Interestingly, Abu-Hashim distinguished between tourist’s interest and the local community’s interest in the past. In his account, while tourists appreciate specific values in an archaeological site, the local community experiences the same site as part of their contemporary context and daily life. Similarly, Mohamed observed that the purpose of restoration projects on the Citadel, and more specifically at the Roman

temple, is to convey a message that has a political implication to the public. In Mohamed's account:

There always have been, and there always will be, élites who govern 'you', in the past, in the present, and as long as these columns stand ... The Government uses the Citadel as opium ... it encourages people to indulge themselves in trivial matters, you know, singing, dancing ... and to leave the important things, the things that really matter, for its people [people who are in power] (see node: perception/ levels of intervention & politics).

As Mohamed and Abu-Hashim deployed the monumental sites in the Citadel to express their points of view about the Government, as well as issues of power and hegemony, Mefleh, a 50-year-old male, diverted attention from the Temple and the Palace into the Lower Citadel. He provided an insight into archaeology that is based on empowering the lay people, both in the past and the present:

It is the mob who forms the base of any power, the base of the Temple and the Palace in this Citadel. And it is up to that base to keep what is built above it or to destroy it. As in any revolution, when the base moved, everything that stood over it collapsed. I am sure you know about the French Revolution ... People who lived here were the base, they were the important part, but look at them now. I mean where they lived [the Lower Citadel]. Contrary to what is going on up there [pointing at the Temple], it is left without any [restoration] work ... Who can complain about that? No one, no one! But this is, in my opinion, what the genuine *turath* [heritage] is about ... It is about the base. But because in has never been about the base because nobody cares about people, then it is always about the opposite of the base ... and to make it related to the base, they change it into [places for] festivals and tourists.

This interesting interpretation of the Lower Citadel reflects discourses of power and hegemony in reference to the current use of archaeological sites in the Citadel. Similarly, Mariam saw that although lay people contributed to the construction of the monuments in the Upper Citadel, only the remains of the powerful represented by the Upper Citadel are preserved by the Government:

many things are wrong, but sometimes you find indications of huge corruption in small [trivial] things ... why any money should be put in building the history while the country is full of poor, very poor people ... why all this money is put up there [pointing at the Upper Citadel] and nothing in here [the Lower Citadel], although any one with the smallest mind will know that before you protect the top you have to protect the base, why?

This perception of the Lower Citadel and the Upper one ties up with Mefleh's argument discussed above about the "genuine heritage" as being interrelated to lay people of the past and the present. The correspondence in the two accounts is important as it proves that not only educated people such as Mefleh are capable of critical engagement with the past and its use by the Government, but also people with less education such as Mariam who left school when she was fifteen. The capacity of the people to express implicitly the current political situation and the hegemony of the Government using archaeological sites turned these sites to meaning-laden places. Such use of the archaeological sites enriches the meaning-making process of these sites by interweaving them with their contemporary contexts.

8.5.4 Cultural memories and the meaning-making process of the Citadel

A different account of meanings was provided by the respondents who had experienced the Citadel during the first half of the 20th century, or those who are closely related to people who lived during that period and still retain memories and stories of their parents and grandparents about the Citadel and its surrounding geographic contexts during that time. Unlike the accounts developed in the light of the activities held in the Temple and the Palace, these accounts reflect people's experiences, memories and stories of Amman during a critical social and political period of time. The following discussion clarifies these experiences by capitalising on the social and political circumstances in Jordan during the first half of the 20th century.

a) Culture and place in the Roman theatre

As in Hesban, many respondents drew on other sites that are adjacent to the Citadel to clarify their accounts about the archaeological sites in the Citadel. The Roman amphitheatre, which is commonly called the Roman theatre, will be referred to as such in the following account. For example, Ayoub, a 55-year-old male, expressed the interconnection between the Citadel and the Roman theatre as follows: "For every mountain there is a valley ... if you want to talk about the Citadel, you have to talk about the valley too, you cannot separate them from each other, you might be able to, but most people in here see them as one thing, the Citadel, the Theatre, they are together".

Some of the respondents' accounts about the Roman theatre are derived from their experience as members of the Circassian community in Amman (e.g. node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ place for the Circassian). For example, Abu-Nart, a 68-year-old male, was born in one the Roman theatre's rooms in 1936. Being born in the Theatre is not a unique incident among the first generations of the Circassian community in Amman. The Roman theatre is part of a more public memory that reflects their immigration from Russia and their settlement in Jordan as it was used by these immigrants as the first station for their settlement in Amman. Figure 8.14 shows the Theatre as it is seen from the Lower Citadel.

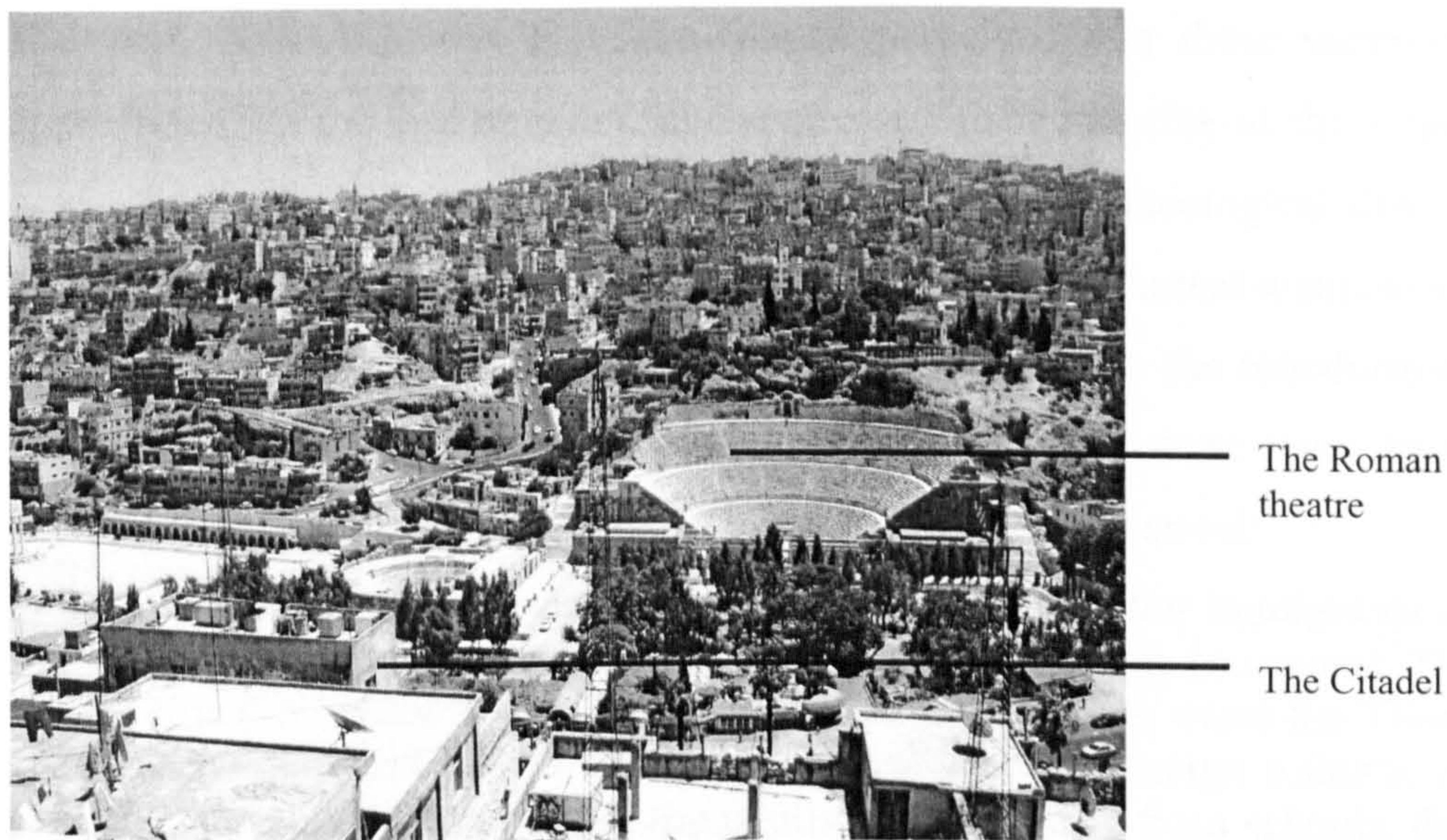


Figure 8.14 The Roman theatre as it is seen from Abu-Nart's house in the Lower Citadel (the researcher 2004)

For Abu-Nart, this experience of immigration and settlement in the Theatre captures the essence of his culture and therefore transforms the Theatre into his own cultural heritage. Abu-Nart, a 68-year-old male, reflected on this experience as follows: “we [the Circassians] carried our culture, our religion, and fled Russia where we were oppressed, we settled first in here [Amman and the Theatre] and established our culture in Jordan and as part of Jordan, this is our *turath* [heritage] ... the Theatre has special place in our hearts not because it is the Theatre you see, but because it is part of our *turath*”. Culture, in this account, exists out of place, and therefore it enabled the Circassians who came from outside the Arab world to be accepted in other places as ‘insiders’ rather than immigrants. According to Abu-Nart, this meaning of culture as

being independent from place, enabled “people from all over the Arab world, from Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and even from Europe like us [the Circassian] ... to get together in Amman as one nation by that time. The history repeats itself, with what is going on in Iraq, as you see, many Iraqi people live in Amman, and if you stand in the Theatre you will hear all the Arab dialects”. However, although the ‘placelessness’ of culture enabled the Circassians to be accepted in Amman, it was necessary for this group of people to anchor their culture to a place – the Roman theatre – which is, as the above account demonstrates, transformed through people’s memories and stories from archaeological site into cultural heritage.

However, both Abu-Nart and Abu-Ghaleb perceived that these meanings are not appreciated by the Government, and expressed their surprise at the interest of the researcher in their accounts about the Citadel and the archaeological sites in it. Abu-Nart explained that these accounts are “not what the Government wants to show to the tourists, they want to show them museums [in reference to the transformation of the Theatre’s rooms into museums] and *athar*. They don’t want them to see *turath* [heritage]”. Similarly, Abu-Ghaleb, a 63-year-old male, observed:

The rooms where many Circassians, and maybe other immigrants and travellers, used to live are now used to exhibit things [museum]. They [the Government] don’t want to remember that time when the Theatre was alive and full of real people, now you see foreign tourists, and more than the tourists are the pupils who run away from schools, there are lots of old schools around, and the people who have nothing to do in their lives ... In our days the Theatre was full of real life, people selling and buying and running for their living, not a handful of tourists and young and old people who come here to waste their time.

The above account weighs the recent past against the present of the Roman theatre. According to this account, the archaeological site in the recent past was full of genuine life in which people interacted with each other as part of their daily lives. The Roman theatre in this sense is an arena where life happened. This life was ignored in the recent intervention in the Roman theatre which, according to Abu-Nart’s account above, focused on *athar* (archaeology) rather than *turath* (heritage). Heritage, in this sense, is about the interaction between archaeological sites and people, and the life generated from this interaction.

The ultimate attachment, as explained in chapter 5, is expressed through the ‘humanisation’ process of place. In this case, giving the Roman theatre a specific name instead of the general one is evidence of strong attachment between the local community of Amman and the archaeological site of the Roman theatre. The following explores this name as part of the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in the Citadel.

b) *Darajat fer'on*: Transforming the Roman theatre from the general into the ‘specific’

As demonstrated in chapter 5, names enhance meanings, and naming places is part of attributing meanings to them. While exploring cultural heritage in the Citadel, many respondents (e.g. node: attachment/ naming archaeology/ *darajat feoun*) refer to the Roman theatre as *Darajat Fer'on*, which means in English the Pharaoh steps. When they were asked if they believe that the Theatre was built by a Pharaoh, all of these respondents acknowledged the fact that it was built by the Romans. For example, Abu-Hashim observed that “the Pharaoh built pyramids and not theatres, the Romans did, they were obsessed with acting, like us nowadays, spending hours watching TV”. However, the reason for the name was explained on the basis of the concepts of power and dominance the Theatre is believed to reflect. Awwad, a 70-year-old male, explained:

The Theatre was well-known as *Darajat Fer'on* [the Pharaoh Steps], but not any more, people now call it *al-mudarraaj al-romani* [the Roman theatre]. We heard it from our parents and grandparents. But we know the *room* [the Roman as mentioned in the Quran] were here too. *Fer'on* [the Pharaoh] had his cities and theatres built in Egypt and maybe Palestine, but not in here. We call it *daraj* [steps] because it looks like *daraj*, and we ascribe it to *Fer'on* because we know *Fer'on* ... we know him very well ... he is mentioned everywhere in the Quran, and he was oppressive and if he built *daraj* [steps] they would be like these you see in the city centre [in reference to the Roman theatre].

Ascribing the Theatre to a Pharaoh is influenced by people’s acquaintance with the name that is generated from the repetitive mentioning of a Pharaoh as a powerful and oppressive characters in the Quran (e.g. node: attachment/ naming archaeology/ *darajat feoun*). Naming an archaeological site in this way is part of a process through which archaeology is accommodated in people’s culture. It familiarises the past by

allowing people's culture to have an influence on the meaning-making process of that past. Thus, the name transfers the Theatre from a general archaeological site that belongs to an ancient culture into something that represents people's thoughts and ideas, and that is directly influenced by their culture.

This important implication of the name is threatened as the name itself is remembered only by a very few elderly people. It is also absent from the interpretation signs of the Theatre. The Inspector of Archaeology in Amman, Abu-Shmeis, emphasises that such accounts of archaeology have no impact on cultural heritage practices in Jordan. The reason for this marginalisation is that people's interaction with archaeology is presumed to contradict the scientific nature of archaeology that is marks the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, archaeology in Jordan (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 30th June 2004).

c) Local history and the meaning-making process of the Citadel

In many accounts, archaeological sites were referred to as arenas for collective activities that serve social and political contexts of the people. Sometimes, as in the Roman theatre during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the places acted as the public *suq* (market) where people exchanged their goods (see node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ positive). In other times, they were the place where demonstrators got together to express their protest against the British mandate in the first half of the 20th century. Recalling the social and political contexts that shaped and reshaped the different meanings of the Citadel is evident in the following accounts. For example, the British military headquarters in the Citadel, in the building which is currently used as the National Museum of Jordan, is part of the political context of the Citadel that is inextricably linked to some of the contemporary meanings of the Citadel (e.g. node: attachment/ archaeology & political events). In this sense, the Citadel, by including the British headquarters, was an arena for the lay people to express their rejection of the coloniser.

Abu-Nart recalled: "whenever I go to the Citadel nowadays, I remember people getting together at some friend's house and listening to the radio, to Berlin's station I guess, I was ten, eleven years old ... listen in full secrecy ... and I remember the

demonstrations the old people used to arrange, people from the different places used to come to the Citadel for these demonstrations”. Abu-Nart’s vague childhood memories were fed by stories told to him by his father and elderly relatives. Despite the end of British colonialism, such incidents are still crucial for the constitution of meanings for the archaeological sites in the Citadel for elderly people. In this sense, Awwad stated that “the Citadel, despite the new things that were added to it [the partial reconstruction of the Temple, and the reconstruction of the dome of the Palace], is still about protestation against the coloniser”. Similarly, Abu-Hashim recalled:

the Citadel ... before they built it, and when the English were here, the young men, the elderly and the children, all the males used to gather in the Citadel and march down to the Theatre whenever something happened in Palestine or Cairo or Syria. People used to listen to the radio, and if something important happened, in a few minutes they would be out walking to the Citadel and the soldiers faced them.

As well as being a place to express anger and protestation, these places were also arenas for national and private celebrations (see node: attachment/ memory/ archaeology & social life). Ayoub, for example, remembered that “in the 50s and 60s, the celebrations of *eid el-fetr* and *eid-el-adha* [the two main feasts in Islam] used to start in al-Husaini mosque with the feast prayers and expand into the Theatre which used to be decorated for these occasions ... and if the weather was good, people used to have picnics, and go out with their families up to the Citadel, it used to be very green in spring, and people used to sit on stones, you don’t see them anymore”.

Another place in the Citadel that is essential in the meaning-making process of the Citadel is a ‘sacred’ cave called *kahf al-fakeer* (the poor cave), where a saint is believed to be buried. People, particularly women, used to visit this cave to ask for the blessings of the saint (see node: attachment/ memory/ archaeology & social life/ women and *kahf al fakeer*). Despite its fame among the elderly respondents, the cave disappeared among the increasing number of houses in the Citadel Mountain, and the last visit by Umm-Maher, a 75-year-old female, to that cave was at least twenty years ago, according to her account. Mefleh asserted that:

Although I did not believe that this cave is as important as some women claim, I think leaving it to disappear among the new houses is another example of what is important and what is not when it comes to the past. My mother went to that cave, and maybe all the old women

and mothers of the Citadel did, but it is not part of the Citadel anymore, because the Citadel is about the big buildings now [in reference to the Temple and the Palace in the Upper Citadel], the rest is not important, many of the people you will meet will tell you about things that are not important [for the Government].

The 'top-down' approach to material of the past prevented the scholarly and Governmental bodies in Jordan from recognising the meanings that people constituted for the Citadel through their individual and collective experiences of it as a place of their own. Due to this approach, the meanings and uses of the Citadel, and the processes through which archaeological sites are transformed into something relevant to the contemporary contexts and cultures are marginalised. The younger generation is oblivious of these meanings. For example, Rania, Salma and Mohamed, in their accounts about the Citadel did not refer to any collective memories that attach them to the Citadel. Archaeology, in this sense, was not anchored to collective memories or a recent past. Instead, it was subject to personal opinions and individual engagement.

In summary, there is great discrepancy between the different meanings of archaeological sites developed among the local community of the Citadel. This discrepancy is mainly attributed to the change in people's way of life. The way the Temple and the Palace are 'used' by the Government is also responsible for this discrepancy. While some respondents are able to develop meanings for archaeological sites derived from their experience and culture, others are completely influenced by the contemporary 'uses' of the Temple and the Palace as festive venues.

8.6 Khreibt al-Suq: General introduction

Khreibt al-Suq is a town located 20 km to the south west of Amman city centre. Harding (1967: 73) in his book *Antiquities of Jordan* mentions Khreibt al-Suq as a Roman village. Beside many architectural remains, there are three prominent archaeological sites: a Byzantine chapel and two Roman mausoleums mark the ancient past of Khreibt al-Suq. The three sites are within 300 to 500 metres of each other, and therefore the respondents were asked about the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq in general rather than a specific site of these three.

The Byzantine chapel is surrounded by residential buildings and can be reached only through a narrow, unpaved street that runs between the houses. The Department of Antiquities is the agency responsible for the excavation and restoration conducted in the Byzantine chapel, and the regular inspection of the two mausoleums (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 30th June 2004). Figure 8.15 shows a photograph taken of the Chapel from one of the adjacent houses.



Figure 8.15 The Byzantine chapel in Khreibt al-Suq as seen from a nearby house (the researcher 2004).

One of the Roman mausoleums in Khreibt al-Suq exists almost 200 metres to the north east of the Byzantine chapel. It is known on social and official levels as Qasr Erdainy (the Palace of Erdainy: a family name in Jordan), and although the name acknowledges the site as a palace, the site is registered in JADIS as a mausoleum. Also, the excavation report about the site (Suleiman 1998: n.p) identifies it as a Roman mausoleum. Figure 8.16 shows Qasr Erdainy and its interpretation sign, which, in contrast to the JADIS and the excavation reports, acknowledges the site as a Roman palace.



Figure 8.16 Qasr Erdainy at Khreibt al-Suq (the researcher 2004)

Surprisingly, the name was acknowledged by some respondents (e.g. node: attachment/ naming archaeology/ Qasr Erdainy) as being misleading, mainly because of the *tawabeet* (sarcophagi) that exist in the site, and that indicate the burial service aspects of it. However, because the publicity of the name, it is used in the researcher's communication with the respondents of Khreibt al-Suq.

The other mausoleum is situated about 300 metres to the south east of the Byzantine chapel, on the main road that runs to the east of Khreibt al-Suq. As figure 14 shows, the mausoleum is surrounded by small stores as well as residential apartments. It is separated from the highway by a wire fence. The upper part of the mausoleum is in a ruined state; however, the lower part which is carved in lime stone and identified with a protruding stone gate, as the figure 8.17 shows, is still in good condition.



Figure 8.17 A Roman mausoleum in Khreibt al-Suq (the researcher 2004).

The mausoleum has no sign to indicate its function or name. However, it is generally referred to, by the respondents, as *al-dareeh* (mausoleum) or *Kabr* (tomb) (e.g. node: attachment/ naming archaeology). For example, Aroob, a 19-year-old female, in her response to the question: “what can you tell me about the *athar* in Khreibt al-Suq?” referred to this site by saying: “the *dareeh* [tomb] by the main road where you can easily be run over by a lorry if you think of having a closer look at it”. Similarly, Seraj, a 22-year-old male, referred to this site as “the garbage bin of the road ... in a windy day, the wired fence will be full of plastic bags that stick to it ... It is a *kabr* [grave], and therefore it should be respected, even if it is old, but the Government do not care, they say tourists will not stop by to see it, why bother, just put this fence and forget about it”. For Umayya, 72-year-old female, the site “looks as if it landed on the earth from another country, when you see it you gasp, the shops and of course, did you see, the main road, this *dareeh* or whatever you call it, will not survive, I tell you, every year you see it getting damaged more” (see node: perception/ local context & archaeology).

Nowadays, Khreibt al-Suq is inscribed by the Jordanian Ministry of Public Works and Housing as a residential area of groups C and D. In contrast to residential areas of groups A and B, residential buildings in these groups are constructed from concrete. They are expected to have small commercial and industrial shops such as garages and small stores. The building material and public services, such as street lighting in areas

C and D are less adequate than those in areas A and B (Ministry of Public Works and Housing Law 1993: 57). This urban condition and the general context of Khreibt al-Suq is worth mentioning as it appears to have a direct influence on the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites among the respondents in Khreibt al-Suq.

8.7 The meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq

The following sections explore the processes through which meanings are constructed for Khreibt al-Suq. These processes are directly influenced by the urban conditions of Khreibt al-Suq, the way the Government approaches the archaeological sites and the individual and collective memories and stories of the local community. The meanings differ according to the respondent's perceptions of the above influences as well as their own experiences. As the interviews unfold, the perception of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq as places with temporal depth that shape part of the contemporary context is weighed against the perception of them as 'properties' of the Government, and sites of interest for foreign tourists and local scholars alone.

8.7.1 The 'developed', the 'developing' and the meaning of the archaeological sites

The issue of material development is fundamental in the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq. The relatively poor urban conditions of Khreibt al-Suq influence the respondents' perceptions of the archaeological sites and their attachment to them. Twelve out of the eighteen respondents, strongly moved by the poor conditions of Khreibt al-Suq, identify culture with modernisation and material development. This perception of culture is reflected in the three archaeological sites identified above.

For example, Basem, a 35-year-old male, in his response to the question: "what can you tell me about the *athar* in Khreibt al-Suq?" chose another archaeological site in Amman, a place called Umm al-Summaq, in order to reflect on the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq in a "comprehensive way", to use his words. Contrary to Khreibt al-Suq, Umm al-Summaq is categorised as a residential area of groups A and B, where houses are built from stone with spaces of a minimum of 8 metres between buildings, and with sophisticated public services compared to that of Khreibt al-Suq.

Despite the difference between the two contexts of Khreibt al-Suq and Umm al-Summaq, they both have an archaeological heritage that exists among the houses of each context. Basem accompanied the researcher to visit Umm al-Summaq, and the archaeological site in it, which is shown in figure 8.18. By comparing figures 8.17 and 8.18, one can easily notice the difference between Khreibt al-Suq and Umm al-Summaq.

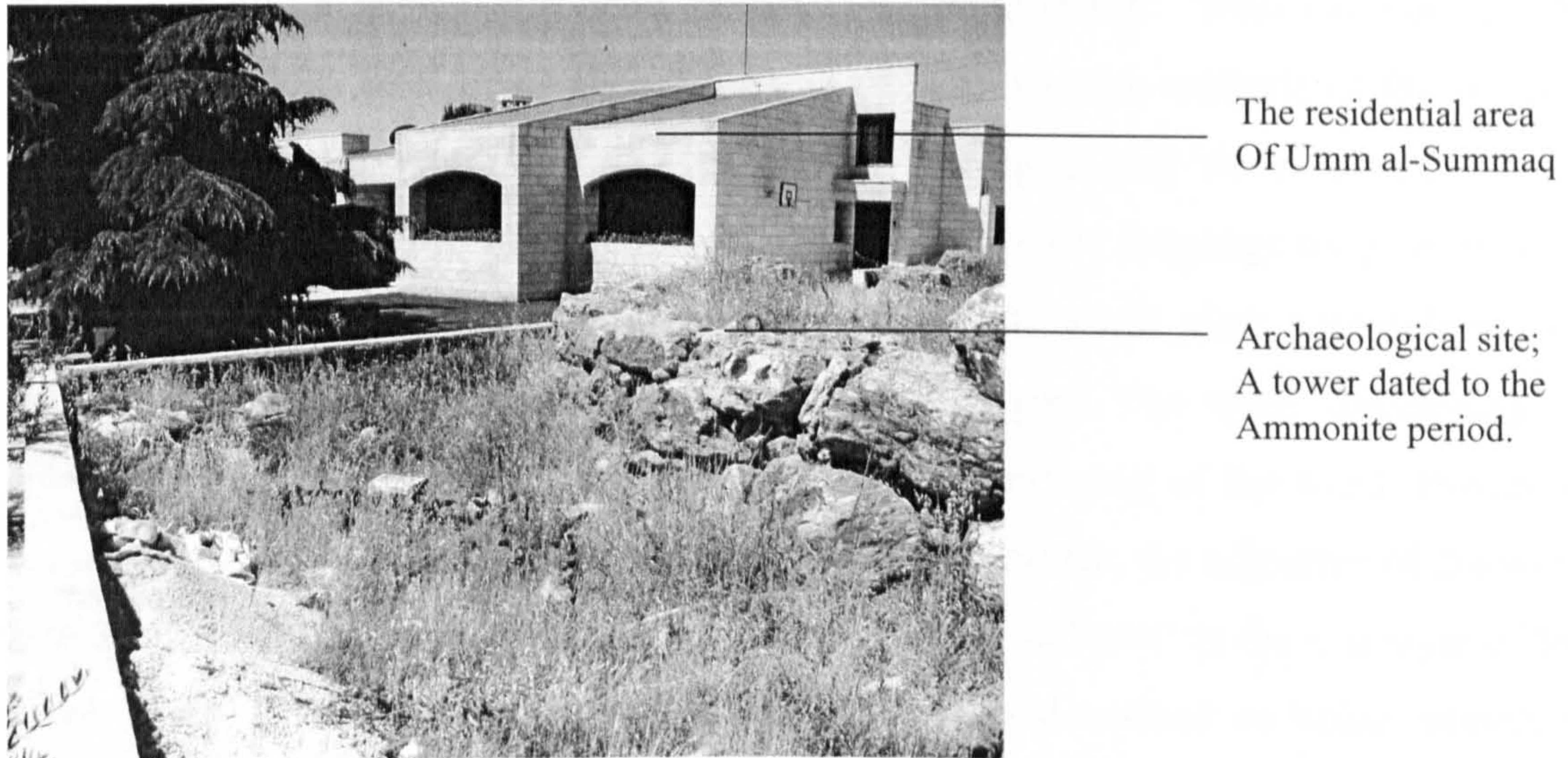


Figure 8.18 The Archaeological site in Umm al-Summaq (the researcher 2004).

According to Basem, it is in a context like Umm al-Summaq that “one can be proud of the *athar* [because] people in ... [Umm al-Summaq] can say that this *Kharabt* [ruins] are heritage, and if you talk to them they will be able to talk about culture and heritage as much as you want. This is a rich area ... a cultural area, where houses are modern and streets are clean”. Thus, according to Basem, culture is inextricably linked to wealth, and this ‘high’ culture enables people to identify archaeology as cultural heritage.

However, Basem acknowledged that the archaeological site in Umm al-Summaq “is not as beautiful or even as important as those in Khreibt al-Suq ... It is only a pile of stones, and it is full of rubbish despite the wealth of the people who live close to it”. Nonetheless, he emphasised that the archaeological site in Umm al-Summaq “is ‘cultural’, it looks ‘cultural’ ... because of the houses that exist around it, modern and cultural, very different from Khreibt al-Suq”. In this regard, it is the *context*, its degree of material wealth, which transforms archaeology into cultural heritage. While people

living in modern areas can claim archaeological sites as cultural heritage because of the 'cultured' context in which they live, those who live in deprived or economically marginalised contexts do not have the power for such a claim.

This influence of context on the perception of archaeology is demonstrated in other accounts besides Basem's (e.g. node: perception/ local context & archaeology/ negative). For example, rather than comparing Khreibt al-Suq with modern areas in Amman, Amer, a 30-year-old male, responds to the question: "what can you tell me about archaeology in Khreibt al-Suq?" by providing his own analysis of the concept of development. For Amer, the way the words 'developed' and 'developing', or more specifically, their Arabic translation, are used in the Arabic language by governments and institutes influenced the way people in the Arab world view themselves, and therefore their contexts including the material of the past. The word 'developing' is translated into Arabic as *namee*, which is the literal meaning of the word. However, the Arabic translation of the word 'developed' is *mutahader*, the adjective of the word *hadarah*, which means culture. In this sense the word 'cultural' is the synonym of the word 'developed'. Thus, according to Amer, what is described as being *namee*, is implicitly considered as being the opposite of *mutahader*: the 'developed' is implicitly considered as being 'uncultured'. Amer used this analysis to reflect on the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq as follows:

Khreibt al-Suq is obviously a 'developing' area, an 'uncultured' and retarded ... Now, regarding this place [the Byzantine chapel], well, it might have been part of a cultural world in the past ... but now, they are in another world, in a 'developing' one, they are out of their normal time and culture ... If these *athar* existed in America, people would think of it differently, they would consider it as part of their culture because they have one, these people consider anything they like as their culture. But in here we are judged as being *namee* [developing] ... and struggling to secure the basic needs of life. The past and the *athar* are not an issue to us, they are in the *mutahader* [developed] world.

The respondent in this case presents the above analysis of the words 'developed' and 'developing' to emphasise the importance of the archaeological sites in enhancing people's sense of identity that is already established on the basis of material development. This is evident in his statement that "If these *athar* existed in America, people would think of it differently, they would consider it as part of their culture because they have one". However, the respondent's awareness of the importance of

archaeology in establishing people's identity is evident in the following statement: "the developed world uses the past to educate itself, the developing one uses it to entertain the developed one" (see node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ negative).

A similar account of the meaning of archaeology was produced by a 35-year-old female, Jamila. Jamila observed that economic development plays a decisive role in creating culture. In her account, developing a perception of the past, and attachment to its time and place, is a luxury that cannot be afforded by developing communities: "culture is something you can see in modern places, in Europe ... out of here ... here we have no culture ... here we have only *athar* [archaeology], *athar* without culture is like a body without soul". In this regard, contemporary culture gives 'soul' to archaeological sites and makes them valid for their contemporary contexts and local communities. The absence of culture, which is in this account closely related to material development, leaves archaeology as a dead 'body'. The absence of material development results in the local community's lack of power to engage with the past. In Jamila's words:

people do not have this luxury to think about the past, the *athar* ... don't expect people here to think of the *athar* as you or as the foreign tourists who come every now and then do ... people are worried about securing food, going to university, educating their children ... the basic needs ... Thinking of these ruins is *taraf* [luxury] that have no place in Khreibt al-Suq. We have them [referring to the archaeological sites], but we don't think of them. I bet people in Jerash and Madaba do the same. I'm sure, if it were not for the tourists, no one will care about them. You should go to Jerash or Petra and talk to the tourists. Here, I am not sure you will benefit ... Only tourists can talk to you about *athar* and give you the information you want.

A resemblance between the perception of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq and that of the Upper Citadel as being important only for tourism purposes is evident in the account delivered by a 55-year-old male, Edrees. Edrees saw that culture can be ascribed to archaeological sites only when they are restored and used for festive events. In this sense, archaeological sites are significant only "for those who work in *athar* ... like you [addressing the researcher], and those who have money to be tourists and to go to festivals, and of course for the foreigners". As with the argument delivered by Jamila above, Edrees observed a strong relationship between archaeology, tourists and scholars that he denied the local community. This denial is

based on the belief that archaeology is a material luxury that is only affordable for the rich, and a mental luxury that is affordable for scholars. Alienation between archaeological sites and the local community is emphasised by many respondents (e.g. node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ negative).

For example, Abu-Hilal, a 72-year-old respondent expressed his perception of archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq as follows: “for us they are *Kharabat* but for them [the foreigners and the scholars] they are heritage. The Government keeps them clean to give a good impression for the foreigners, and to tell them that: we keep your heritage”. For him, archaeology is the foreigners’ heritage, and the Government’s concern of this heritage is derived from its striving to be identified with the West.

In the above accounts, the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq are identified as cultural heritage, not for the local community of Khreibt al-Suq, but for the scholars, the foreigners and the tourists. Such a perception of archaeological sites is derived from the assumption that Khreibt al-Suq is not a cultural place because of its poor urban context. Therefore, the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq are considered by the local community as *kharabat* (ruins); however, at the same time, they are perceived as cultural heritage for those who have better conditions than Khreibt al-Suq. The sense of alienation the above respondents established on the basis of their perception of culture as being derived from material development continues in the following sections, yet, this time, the sense of alienation is derived from the way the archaeological sites are approached by the Government.

8.7.2 The sense of ownership and the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites

A new account of alienation from the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq that is derived from the rare visits that some tourists pay to the Byzantine chapel is evident in seven of the respondents’ accounts (e.g. node: attachment/ alienation/ foreign visits). For example, Saleh, a 67-year-old male, observed that “sometimes, all of a sudden, we see a German or English or American person or two among our houses [referring to the Byzantine chapel]. They come in their own cars, by themselves, no tour guide or one for the Government or anything, all by themselves. They come, take

photos and go, as if there aren't any human beings here, as if we don't exist". Although Omar, a 48-year-old male, spoke of the foreign visitors in the same way that Saleh did, he emphasised that:

sometimes, some of these foreigners speak Arabic, and try to communicate with the children and the men who might be standing on their balconies and looking at them, I remember a German man called Conrad who spoke Arabic very well and was so kind that my father invited him to dinner, he showed us photos he took for *athar* in Jordan. He kept coming back for five years and every time he brought people with him. Another one was a girl, an American maybe, and she knew little Arabic but she kept talking to people. They are like us, some of them are kind and others are mean, you feel you are the stranger and not him, because of the way he looks at you and ignores you.

This account indicates a sense of ownership over the Byzantine chapel, which is derived from living in the same place where the archaeological site of the chapel exists. The sense of ownership of the Chapel is jeopardised by the unpredictable visits from the 'outsiders': the foreign tourists. However, when these foreigners communicate with the local community, their status as outsiders change and they become accepted in the local community.

While the foreign tourists are considered as 'outsiders', the members of the Department of Antiquities excavation team were considered as 'insiders' in many of the respondents' accounts. For example, Umm-Waddah, a 70-year-old female, explained this acceptance of the team as follows: "we know who they are and what they are doing. They talk to us, there are two girls, very polite girls ... working with them, and we talk to them, they talk to us, they are from us, three of the young men working with them... are from here, from Khreibt al-Suq, we know when they are working and when they finish the work, things are clear with them". Similarly, Samar, a 29-year-old female, stated: "when I saw the girls working in there, I was happy, sometimes we send them cold water to drink, I felt that I have to know what they are doing, I don't know, I just felt the place is important when I saw the girls working in there" (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication).

The accounts reviewed above represent the basis on which the local community of Khreibt al-Suq identifies the 'insider' and the 'outsider'. Communication is crucial in establishing trust between the local community and the scholars. In addition, the fact

that the Department of Antiquities excavation team included female members influenced, not only the perception of the archaeological sites as being important (see Samar's account above), but also the acceptance of the team among the female respondents.

8.7.3 Khreibt al-Suq and the search for lost glory

Besides the alienation that many respondents established between the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq and themselves, there exists a different account that considers these sites as an inseparable part of their contemporary contexts. In these accounts, people tend to see beyond the urban context of Khreibt al-Suq as interest is developed in the archaeological sites as part of Khreibt al-Suq place. In such accounts, the human factor of the past is brought into the foreground, and the respondents were able to interweave the archaeological sites with their contemporary contexts.

Reference to the name Khreibt al-Suq and its relation to the archaeological sites, was mentioned by seven out of the eighteen respondents (e.g. node: attachment/ naming archaeology/ *suq al dahab*). For examples, Omar explored the human factor of the archaeological sites in question through examining the implications of the name: Khreibt al-Suq. He explained that the word *Suq*, which means market, is a sign of an economic prosperity the place had in the past. Omar mentioned that another name for Khreibt al-Suq is Khreibt al-Dahab, and that the word *dahab* which means gold is reflected in many stories the elderly people tell about Khreibt al-Suq. Omar concluded that:

people who lived in here were powerful and rich, very different from us, all my mother's stories that used to tell us when we were children are about rich people and kings and knights who lived in here. Their *kharabat* [ruins], used to be *aswaq* [markets], from there the name Khreibt al-Suq was generated. We share the same place with those who lived in the past, but not the same circumstances ... if you live here, close to their places, you feel the power of these people, and it affects you. Of course it does. You feel attached to something stable. It becomes part of your daily life. You see it everyday, and pass by it every time when you come and go. But life is so tough in here that people only care about the urgent needs, we think of the past as something dead because we are occupied with the difficulty we face in the present, we are always worried about tomorrow. We would think of it [the past] as something powerful only when we have a secure present and future.

Two levels of attachment can be discerned in this account. On a personal level, Omar acknowledged the past as a source of power and inspiration. It influences the sense of self as it enhances the feeling of being “attached to something stable”. The influence Omar experienced is derived from his sense of attachment to the people who lived in these archaeological sites in the past. However, this perception changes when Omar considered the ‘developing’ context of Khreibt al-Suq, which is discussed in section 8.7.1 above. Therefore, on 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.

Another account that reflects on the name Khreibt al-Suq is presented by Seraj. Interestingly, Seraj remarked that the name Khreibt al-Dahab was familiar among his grandparents who passed away recently, and that the name reflected people’s hope and expectations of a better life. According to Seraj, the name was embarrassing when it was compared to its present circumstances; therefore, the word *Dahab* was replaced with the word *Suq*. In his account, the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq gave people a false image of the past, and a false hope in the present. Seraj stated:

These ruins have always been like this, lifeless and abandoned, but people gave them this name [Khreibt al-Suq] to give themselves hope that things will get better one day, because they were good in the past, they never did, and they never will be. You see around you *Adreha* [mausoleums] and people think they were palaces. Well, they weren’t, they were ... *koboor* [tombs], no one lived here, but you know how naïve people can be, they even name that *dareeh* [Qasr Erdeney] a palace ... don’t listen to them, they are desperate and look for lost glory that never existed in the first place.

8.7.4 The self-empowerment and the meaning-making process of archaeological sites

The accounts discussed in the above section indicate that people invented the name and ascribed it to the archaeological sites in order to create positive meanings for these sites. However, the account delivered by Fadia, a 47-year-old female, indicated that this power is generated from the physical remains themselves rather than the name. She stated that “looking at these places makes you think that things were good here once, and this gives you hope that they might improve now or anytime [in the future] ... they [the people] had good life, that is why they built for themselves great

tombs, if they had good life and death, why couldn't we?". In contrast to thirteen out of the eighteen respondents in Khreibt al-Suq, Fadia referred to archaeological sites as places rather than *kharabat* (ruins) that have power to positively influence the local community of Khreibt al-Suq. Her point of view is shared among four other respondents (see node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ empowerment). For example, Lama, a 39-year-old female, reflected on life in the past and its influence on contemporary life as follows:

people lived in here from the ancient time and ... in the past and the present, the market is the core of people's life. Just like today, I am sure they had shops and houses above them ... in here as in many places in Amman, we still have the ground floor of our buildings to be used as shops ... the beautiful *athar* we have is because people had successful business ... maybe one day Khreibt al-Suq will return as it was in the past, successful and beautiful.

A different sense of attachment to the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq is noticed in Abu-Mohamed's, a 70-year-old male, account of the past. Living adjacent to the Byzantine chapel, Abu-Mohamed found in his living near an archaeological site a source of continuity to his life in Palestine before he immigrated to Jordan in 1948. In Nablus, a Palestinian city where Abu-Mohamed used to live, "there were lots of *kharabt* [ruins] and palaces and arches and vaults and sculptors and [ancient] coins near our old house". His memories continued to flourish because of the way his house in Khreibt al-Suq was built. Inside his house, a Roman arch that existed originally on the land he bought, was restored and reused as part of the house. Figure 8.19 shows the arch in one of the rooms at Abu-Mohamed's house, and the following account explained the story of the arch:

When we settled here, we found ourselves again near *athar* ... This arch was here before the house was built. It is the best thing in the house, it is like those you can find in the caves all over Khreibt al-Suq... God knows how old this arch is, but as they say about all other *athar*, it must have been built by the *Room* [the Arabic translation of the word Roman]. *Gholebat al Room* [(the Romans have been defeated) in reference to a Quranic verse that mentions the defeat of the Romans by the Persians in the 7th century AD]. The builders told me, if we were going to knock it down it would take us days, one of them said, it can stand for another thousand years, we decided to leave it and build the house around it.



Figure 8.19 The Roman arch inside Abu-Mohamed's house (the researcher 2004).

The above accounts explore different sorts of attachment to archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq. The attachment is based on mental and emotional involvement with the historic and contemporary contexts of Khreibt al-Suq as well as the archaeological sites in question. The diverse meanings are directly derived from the diverse experiences the respondents had as well as the diverse perceptions of the historic and contemporary contexts of Khreibt al-Suq.

8.8 Summary and immediate inferences

This chapter explores the accounts delivered by the respondents in the three case studies that are identified in chapter 2 of this thesis. The accounts are delivered in response to questions regarding the archaeological sites within the geographic contexts of Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. The questions were designed to explore the local communities' perceptions and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the archaeological sites in question. The accounts were analysed using the computer software of Nvivo, and are included in a CD attached at the end of this thesis.

The analysed accounts of the respondents are presented in this chapter in a way that investigates the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in three case studies. Each case study is examined on the basis of its own contexts as well as the set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and values which serve to identify the local

community of each case study. The chapter focuses on the processes through which different meanings for the archaeological sites in question are developed in response to these contexts and the intangible cultural capital of each local community.

Through exploring these processes, different, and sometimes contradicting, meanings emerge for the same archaeological site in the same context. Although each respondent seems to have a unique account that is derived from his or her own experience, it is possible to identify the accounts of certain individuals as being relatively related, and in many examples, the personal account can be identified with a collective memory and experience.

Perceptions as well as sense of attachment and belonging to the archaeological sites in questions are deeply influenced by the levels of intervention that have been and are conducted at each site. In the Citadel, where these levels of intervention are prominent, the local community manipulates the archaeological sites and the levels of intervention involved in them, to reflect issues of power and hegemony. In Hesban, the issue of dislocation that some members of the local community with Palestinian origins experienced has been brought into the foreground in the accounts concerned with the Tell. In Khreibt al-Suq, the issue of development has been identified as central to the respondents' perceptions of themselves, their context as well as the archaeological sites. The following chapter investigates how the local communities of these three case studies see the future of the archaeological sites in question.

The immediate inferences derived from the data explored in this chapter are given the symbol CSJ and presented in table 8.1, together with the data used to generate them. These immediate inferences are triangulated with other immediate inferences generated throughout the thesis in chapter 10 in order to create a suggested approach to material of the past that is community-based, context-related and culture-oriented.

Table 8.1 Generation of the immediate inferences CSJ from the data explored in chapter 8

Serial no.	Description of Data	Generation → Immediate Inferences CSJ
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In contexts such as Hesban, where there is a constant reference to who is related to whom, and who comes from which family, the attachment to material of the past allows it to be interwoven with the local community's culture. For example, belonging to the caves implies belonging to certain families who lived for a long time 	Most of the respondents in the three places investigated consider archaeological sites as their cultural heritage only when they are able to interweave them with their contemporary contexts and

	<p>in Hesban, and thus acquiring certain social status.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memories and stories about Hesban interweave the individual experience with the collective one to produce narratives. These narratives bestow meanings upon the physical remains of the past and turn them into times and places that the contemporary local community can identify themselves with. In this sense, the physical remains of the past are transformed from archaeological sites into cultural heritage: something anchored to contemporary issues. • people's interest in using their own religion – in this case the Islam – to approach the past and provide interpretations for it generates spiritual attachment with the archaeological sites that marks their transformation into cultural heritage. • However, according to some respondents in the Citadel, the aesthetic value plays decisive role in determining what can be defined as cultural heritage and what can be defined as <i>kharabat</i> (ruins). The aesthetic value is considered as a prerequisite for tourist attraction. Thus, the meaning the archaeological sites constitute is assigned with art historic values such as monumentality and aestheticism. Archaeological sites in this account are divorced from their social context, and represented as meaningful only if they are 'capable' of attracting tourists. • Speculation on the passage of time by many respondents deliver political implications that unfold as interviews progress. The passage of time allows things to accumulate, and people to develop 'roots' in time and place. The sense of continuity provides legitimacy, and thus contributes to people's sense of identity: who they are and where they come from. 	<p>daily lives. Contrary to the sharp distinction that the Jordanian government have established between archaeology and heritage, local communities perceive the past as a whole. They draw on incidents from historic and contemporary contexts to explain their perceptions of, and feelings towards, archaeological sites.</p>
<p>2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Throughout the process in which meanings are ascribed to archaeological sites, the remains of the past are transformed into entities that reflect people's contexts. Archaeological sites in this process are transformed from being mere material of the past into being cultural heritage: something relevant to people's contemporary contexts and cultures. The credibility of cultural heritage is derived from its being a 'reflection' of people's context. It is through this 'reflection' that people are able to identify themselves with the past. • Expanding the context of Hesban to include other places reinforces the sense of continuity in time and place. This expansion is evident in people's memories and stories that are anchored to Hesban yet expanded to include other places. • It is only by recognising the current political and social context of the region in which the relationship between the Jewish and the Arabs are shaped and reshaped by the occupation of Palestine, and the devastated consequences of this occupation on the Arab and Islamic world, that one can understand the reason behind the unpopularity of certain stories among the local community of Hesban. • In many accounts, the archaeological sites are presented as arena for collective activities that serve social and political contexts of the people. Sometimes, 	<p>Approaching local communities regarding archaeological sites within their contexts needs to be preceded by an investigation of local communities' contexts. This investigation enables scholars to communicate with people and understand their accounts about archaeological sites. The accounts themselves can provide further information about people's contexts, and in many cases, urge scholars to make further investigations about the contexts and their influence on the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.</p>

	<p>as in the Roman theatre during the 19th and early 20th century, it is the public <i>suq</i> [market] where people exchanged their goods (see node: perception/ local community & archaeology/ positive). In other times, it is the place where demonstrators get together to express their protest against the British mandate in the first half of the 20th century.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As the interviews unfold, the perception of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq as places with temporal depth that shape part of the contemporary context is weighed against the perception of them as 'properties' of the Government, and sites of interest for foreign tourists and local scholars alone. 	
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The past in Hesban is a flexible material that can be shaped into different stories that reflect an interaction between the physical remains, the current social and political contexts, as well as individual and collective memories. In some contexts, collective memories are separable from the individual's. However, in contexts where individual and collective stories and memories are inextricably interwoven with contemporary political and social life, as the story told by Abed above demonstrates, they have to commensurate with the individual and collective memories and stories: if they do not, they are resented and rejected. • Stories about the archaeological sites in Hesban expand these sites to include wider contexts, thus interweave Hesban with its geographic and cultural settings. In these stories, the material world and the symbolic one are combined together to create credible stories as well as incredible ones. Credibility is enhanced through establishing connection between Tell Hesban and other places that are geographically and culturally attached to Hesban such as Jerusalem and Madaba. This connection anchors the time and the place of the story to wider contexts that are closely relevant to contemporary people and their daily life. • Mohamed observed that the purpose of restoration projects in the Citadel, and more specifically in the Roman temple, is to convey a message that has a political implication to the public that: "There always have been, and there always will be, élites who govern 'you', in the past, in the present, and as long as these columns stand ... The Government uses the Citadel as opium ... it encourages people to indulge themselves in trivial matters, you know, singing, dancing ... and to leave the important things, the things that really matters, for its people [people who are in power]" 	<p>Memories and stories offer 'life' to archaeological sites. People draw on their individual as well as collective memories and stories to share their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. These memories and stories offer local communities an opportunity to express their social and political opinions in an implicit way. This implicitness is important in contexts where explicit expression of such opinions could result in people's freedom being jeopardised.</p>
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The notions of continuity and identity that are derived from the past are contextualised by the local community of Hesban to deliver accounts that are charged heavily with political implications. These implications are directly derived from the contemporary social and political contexts as well as the informants' experiences. For example, Wafa's account regarding the sense of continuity and identity delivered by the past and its material states: "People who lived in Hesban varied in the times and places they occupied, they lived in the 	<p>Local communities, in their construction of meanings of archaeological sites, tend to provide accounts that are based on critical engagement with the past. They tend to construct meanings for these sites on the basis of debated issues that are relevant to their daily lives. Political and economic issues are the most</p>

	<p>Tell, in the plains, their remains are everywhere here ... Some of these <i>ummam</i> [nations] are gone forever, but we, the Arabs and the Muslims, still here. This makes us say this is our heritage and our place ... This is the difference between those who have genuine culture, a culture that has developed slowly and gradually, and those who ... [impose their existence on others]. I am talking about Hesban [in the past] and also about us now, about Palestine and Iraq and the occupation everywhere. The scene of the Tell provokes this on me”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mariam, a 68-year-old female, highlighted the contrast between the activities conducted in the Upper Citadel and the contemporary social and political context of the region. She stated that “it is a shame to change our heritage into dancing stages, especially in such a difficult time. People are being killed in Palestine and Iraq all the time ... and here we are, singing and dancing and pretending that we are safe”. Such feelings of anger and rejection find correspondence by the Government as it cancelled the annual <i>Jerash Festivals for Cultures and Arts</i> for the year 2006. The cancellation was justified as being a response to the war on Lebanon in 2006 (Awwad 2006:1). • The political situation in Iraq and Palestine, and its adverse social and economic consequences on Jordan appear to influence many of the Citadel respondents’ perceptions of archaeological sites. Mohamed responded to the first question of the interview: “what can you tell me about the <i>athar</i> in the Citadel?” by stating that: “the <i>athar</i> means the remains of something that are meant to remind people of the past, like the Citadel and also like Iraq, what Iraq looks like today, ruined and destroyed, this is what I can tell you about <i>athar</i> in general”. 	<p>prominent, and accounts related to these issues tend to criticise the Government and its institutions.</p>
<p>5</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An example of the material attachment to the past is Hesban is the accounts represented regarding Hesban’s caves. These caves are believed to provide an access to ancestors’ cultures and mentalities as they used them in the recent past. The reason for mentioning these caves in the respondents account, although the questions were designed to explore the Tell, is that these caves provide the local community with a past that is vibrant and closely connected to their contemporary contexts and daily life. • Questions are frequently raised during the interviews about the different techniques used in the past to establish life. Understandably, one of the techniques the respondents pay special interest in is water management. The interest in water management techniques is derived from the lack of water problem that Jordan suffers from. • The ‘top-down’ approach to material of the past prevented the scholarly and governmental bodies in Jordan from recognising the meanings that people constituted for the Citadel through their individual and collective experiences of it as a place of their own. Due to this approach, the meanings and uses of the Citadel, and the processes through which archaeological sites are transformed into something relevant to the contemporary contexts and cultures are marginalised. • “The arch you see up there [an arch that is dated to the 	<p>Local communities approach the time as a whole. The ancient past is inextricably related to the present as long as it can be incorporated within people’s lives. The lack of engagement with local communities prevents such points of view from being considered in the current approach to the past.</p>

	<p>Mamluk period in Hesban; see figure 8.1 above] has been built by Muslims, Muslims like us ... it give us idea about who we were ... very different from who we are now ... maybe one day we will be able to build again" (interview with Nawwar/ Hesban, 15th July 2004)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Looking at these places makes you think that things were good here once, and this gives you hope that they might improve now or anytime [in the future] ... they [the people] had good life that is why they built for themselves great tombs, if they had good life and death, why couldn't we?" (interview with Fadia/ Khreibt al-Suq, 3 August 2004). 	
--	--	--

The immediate inferences viewed in this table demonstrate how the local communities of Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq interact with the archaeological sites within their environment. This interaction is deeply influenced by people's memories and stories, which in their turn, are anchored to both contemporary and historical contexts of the local communities and the sites in question. The next chapter continues investigating the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in these three places by exploring another level of interaction with these sites. It explores how local communities' perception of, and attitudes towards, the agencies involved in the sites in question, influence the meaning-making process of these sites.

Chapter 9: The Meaning-Making Process 2: the Local Communities, the Scholars and the Levels of intervention in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq

9.1 Introduction

The previous chapter investigated the meaning-making process of archaeological sites on the basis of local communities' experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the archaeological sites in the three case studies of Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq. This chapter takes the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in these three places to a further level as it examines local communities' experiences of, and attitudes towards, the levels of intervention conducted in these sites and the agencies responsible for the levels of intervention. The accounts delivered by the local communities in this regard are responses to the following main question and its probe questions:

How do you feel about the work conducted in the site?

Who works at the site? What do they do? What do you think of that?

How do they deal with the local community?

Do you think this work can contribute something to the local community? If yes, then how?

How do you see the site in the future, say 20 year's time from now?

As noted in chapter 2, the questions are designed to have the least impact on the respondents' accounts; therefore, terms such as development, sustainability, the nature of communication with the agencies involved as well as the nationality of these agencies, were not mentioned in the questions in the first place. Instead, issues of development, sustainability, the nature of interaction between the agencies and the local community, and their relevance to the respondents' accounts, were left to be introduced by the respondents themselves. Surprisingly, in all the cases, no further questions, apart from those mentioned above, were needed to be asked in order to explore the influence of the levels of intervention, and the agencies involved in implementing them, on the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in question. The following sections explore this level of the meaning-making process in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq respectively.

9.2 Hesban: The local community and the Americans

In response to the questions mentioned above, many respondents weigh their relationship with the foreign agency involved in Tell Hesban since 1968 (i.e. the Andrews University team) against that with the Government (i.e. the Department of Antiquities of Jordan: DAJ), to provide detailed and justified answers. The accounts regarding the influence that the Andrews University team and its work have on the contemporary context as well as the future of Hesban implied reflection on issues of development and sustainability. Such issues are explored in the following sections.

9.2.1 The nature of interaction between the Americans and the local community of Hesban

The respondents' capacity to identify agencies working at the archaeological site within their contexts indicates the nature of the relationship between the local community and these agencies. In Hesban, all the respondents were able to identify who excavates the Tell, when and for how long. In their accounts, the respondents refer to the Andrews University team as the Americans in reference to the team's nationality, and thus, the term Americans will be used in this chapter to refer to the Andrews University team in Hesban.

Hesban, according to the respondents, is approached by the Americans as a whole. In this approach, the Americans interact with Hesban both as people and as a place. Furthermore, the time in Hesban is viewed as an interaction between the past and the present. The time and effort invested by the Americans in communication with the local community of Hesban are highly appreciated by the respondents (see node: perception/ foreigners/ positive). For example, Naseem, a 48-year-old male, observed the holistic approach the Americans practice in Hesban as follows:

The Americans don't only think about the Tell but also the other places around it that might be closer to people's lives, for example the caves and the Ottoman palace up there [pointing at the hill to the West of Tell Hesban] This is what the Americans do: they talk about everything in Hesban to everyone, they talk about the past and the future at the same time. People like that. You can't talk about ancient past and stones only and expect people to show you sympathy and understanding. You have to find a way to mix things, and the Americans are good at this.

The Americans' approach to the local community, place and time of Hesban as a whole resonates with the local community's perceptions of the different times and places of the archaeological sites in Hesban, which was explored in chapter 8. The approach indicates the American's mental involvement with Hesban to understand its time, place and people of the past as well as the present. This resulted in the establishment of trust among the local community of Hesban towards the Andrews University team. In chapter 6, Relph (1976: 54-55) identifies those who put efforts into understanding a place as "empathetic insiders". Thus, the Americans in Hesban, as will be demonstrated in the following accounts, are considered by most of the respondents (i.e. fifteen out of the twenty respondents) as empathetic insiders.

The interaction that the Americans initiated in their approach to the local community of Hesban is not restricted to those who are directly engaged in a professional relationship with the team, such as the local workers or the mayor of Hesban. According to Naseem, "the Americans go to the streets ... and talk to people, the young and the old. Their work is not restricted to digging and paper work and drawings. Once they are here, they live in Hesban if we can say so. If we can provide an accommodation for them they will sleep in here as well". Abu-Ahmad, a 66-year-old male, explained this interest in establishing active interaction with local communities as being derived from the Americans' recognition of the importance of the individual:

The team that works in the Tell knows the value of the individual ... if they want the Tell to be protected, they have to share with people what they are doing in it and to let them feel that they are here to help them and work with them ... The Americans know that people of Hesban are united, and therefore, if they reached out to some of us and convince us that they want our help and that our cooperation with them is important, they win all the people of Hesban, men and women, young and old.

This account demonstrates that the Americans capitalise on social cohesion in order to enhance their communication with the local community of Hesban. Similarly, Amira sees that the Americans capitalise on people's feelings in their approach to the past. In her account: "the Americans don't have to do this, I mean speaking to people, and sharing what they want to do with them, but as you can feel from people's talk, it touches people and makes them feel important for the work in the Tell". Dematerialising the Tell and representing it as a story that is easy to engage with is

part of this approach for initiating active interaction with the local community regarding the past. The Tell is seen as a story of development that extends from the past to the present. This perception of the Tell is emphasised in the account delivered by the Director of the excavation in Hesban, Øystein LaBianca, which is reflected in many of the respondents accounts. For example, Musa, a 68-year-old male, stated:

I heard LaBianca telling you about the small stories of Hesban the other day ... I have a picture ... [that] shows the story of Hesban and how people in here changed their lives ... LaBianca had it in his book about Hesban and my brother, who studies in the university saw it and made a copy of it and we have it in our house ... When LaBianca speaks about Hesban as stories, we, young and old, feel the past in the Tell as something close to us and something we can easily talk about, we imagine the people's life in there and see how similar it might have been to ours.

9.2.2 Cultural difference and active communication

Cultural differences force the Americans to put additional efforts into their communication with the local community of Hesban. The efforts of LaBianca to know Hesban's people and families are highly appreciated among all the respondents, despite their different attitudes towards the Americans' work in Hesban. These efforts are considered as an essential factor in the establishment of a good relationship between the local community and the Americans in Hesban. A female respondent, Su'ad, a 40-year-old female, who has never met LaBianca, stated that "my brother told me that he [LaBianca] knows the *hamail's* [main families in Hesban] names and their history and that he speaks Arabic". Su'ad's knowledge about the Americans is derived from her brother's experience with them; however, she sees that the cultural difference between the local community and the Americans, as well as the United States' political involvement in the region, forces them to invest enormous effort into being considered as insiders. She theorised that:

the Americans know how to do their job. They know if they want to know the past in here, they have to get to know the people, and they try to become one of us, in order to do their job in the Tell as well as to protect themselves by making friends in here, especially with what the Americans do in Iraq.

Cultural difference between the Americans and the local community of Hesban, as viewed by ten out of the twenty respondents, generates interest and enriches communication between the two parties. It leads into active interaction in which

mutual efforts are made to enhance the quality of communication between the different groups. Kamel, a 22-year-old male, captured the cultural difference and its role in initiating interaction between the local community and the team as follows: “if you have people [working in the Tell] from the same country ... it is going to be different; they will not be interested in each others’ culture as they have the same culture ... the same language, no [active] communication will develop”. While most respondents see that the communication between the local community and the Americans is a result of mutual effort, Wafa, a 50-year-old female, recognised that in this process of communication the Americans have the upper hand. According to Wafa, as the Americans apply their scientific methods in exploring the past, the local community can only watch and admire “the foreigners and their knowledge and sophistication”. She added: “you know how we are, we like foreigners, and when they start talking to us and maybe show some respect, they win our hearts and minds easily ... my grandmother kept repeating, until she died, the story of the foreigner [female] who borrowed one of her dresses to take a photo wearing it ... thirty or more years ago”.

Despite this positive representation of the Americans in the accounts delivered above, some respondents regarded the Americans as complete strangers and the nationality of the team proved to be a crucial issue for them (node: perception/ foreigners/ negative). For example, although Nawwar, a 57-year-old female, acknowledged the efforts invested by the Americans in Hesban, she emphasised that “whatever we say about how well they treat us, we still cannot help thinking of Iraq when we see them and hear their language, especially in this time”. Nawwar establishes in her account a strong relevance between the excavation team and the war in Iraq, which prevents her from considering the team as an insider.

Many respondents are aware that the archaeological excavation in the Tell is part of the educational programme in Andrews University. In this sense, even the “friendly” communication with the local community is perceived as part of this academic approach. In Abdullah’s, a 20-year-old male, words: “the interest of the Americans is not the people but the *kharabt* [ruins] and the *athar* [archaeological sites], they only talk to people and be friendly because they want them to help protect the Tell when they are gone. It is like employing guards without paying them ... they will keep

coming here and educate their students about things in Hesban that only matter to them”.

Similarly, Wafa, sees that the team’s work in the Tell is a reflection of the United States’ political power and cultural and military hegemony over the region. She understood that excavating the Tell is a national responsibility of the Jordanian scholars and institutions. However, because the Americans “are powerful and have the upper hand in the Tell, in the Government, everywhere, they can do whatever they want in the Tell, and people will still feel happy”. She concluded: “we get used to their doing what we should be doing ourselves”. In this sense, the Americans’ work in the Tell is seen as encouragement of the local scholars’ dependency on foreigners, and a counteraction of self-empowerment.

Therefore, while some respondents perceive the active interaction between the local community and the Americans as being inspired by the cultural difference between the two, others perceive this interaction as a further reflection of the American hegemony over the region. The former perception is based on the way the team approach the local community, while the latter one is influenced by the political context of the region.

9.2.3 Equality in Hesban: “They treat us as the owners of the Tell, and we treat them as people of our own”

Equality is a term that was used by seven out of the twenty respondents (see node: perception/ foreigners/ positive/ equality) to describe the relationship between the local community and the Americans. The Americans’ concern in establishing a strong relationship with the local community is understood as a reflection of their acknowledgement of the local ownership of the archaeological sites in Hesban. In this regard, Said, a 27-year-old male, saw that “the Americans appreciate us as the people of the Tell, that is why we both [the local community and the Americans] are happy about their being here”. Similarly, Abu-Subh observed, “they treat us as the owners of this place, and we treat them as people of our own”.

This acknowledgment of ownership empowers people as it establishes a sense of equality with the foreigners, who are usually in power, among the local community. Rasheed, a 53-year-old male, recognised that “the most important thing in what is going on in the Tell is that we all feel equal, you know, the workers, the students [the Andrews University team], the [local] people”. Similarly, Hashim reflected on the excavation as follows: “no one looks at you as being inferior. I visited the excavation and saw that they all have their tea together, in the same tent, and talk to each other as equals, the students, the professors, the workers, every one”. He concluded: “the excavation is more like a cultural interaction between the Arabs and the Americans”. This cultural interaction and its influence on people’s perceptions as well as actions are investigated in section 9.2.4 of this chapter.

This sense of equality among the local community in their relationship with the Americans is also evident in the account of a 22-year-old female respondent: Khitam. Despite the fact that Khitam never contacted the excavation team, her account is based on what she had heard about local workers’ experience in the Tell. She observed that “[speaking] Arabic and [treating] the workers well, and [explaining] what they do to them is important. This tells you that the Americans, as guests, make effort to communicate with them [the local workers], and it makes them feel that they count, and they are not only mundane workers who are there to take money”. As explained in chapter 5, making people feel that they count is at the heart of cultural empowerment and ultimately, generating a sustainable approach.

Empowering people through emphasising their ownership and responsibility of the Tell is evident in the ceremony that marked the culmination of the 2004 excavation season in Hesban. The ceremony took place in the Tell. The Andrews University team chose to honour some members of the local community in Hesban by giving them awards: Bags with Hesban’s name written on it in both Arabic and English. Figure 9.1 shows one of ‘Hesban’s bags’ displayed to the researcher by a member of the local community who was awarded these bags.



Figure 9.1 Hesban's bag shown by a member of the local community who was awarded a bag (the researcher).

The bags were awarded to different stakeholders in Hesban: the representative of the DAJ; the Municipality; the workers and the different generations in Hesban. LaBianca, who awarded the bags to these stakeholders, stated that:

I gave an award to a father of three daughters, I said, here in this village you have great responsibility to take your children here and show them the history and also to show them how to behave properly in a site. Not to jump on the walls but rather to walk respectfully on pathways and to study the ruins without making any damage to the ruins. I gave an award, bag, to a little girl, I said to her you are full of energy and I am so glad that you have come to the site, and I said as a young child I hope you will enjoy not just to walk here but to learn about the history from being here, it is an open door classroom ... I gave one [an award] to an old man ... he is a representative of the grandparents of this village, and I said as a grandfather you are to talk about the history of this excavation, he worked here when he was a young boy, and he has learned a lot about what archaeology is about, so he is a stakeholder in a sense of being a grandfather (interview with LaBianca, 6th June 2004).

Such recognition of the different individuals of Hesban – those who are directly involved in the excavation, and those who are not – was crucial for the Americans to have made by the time they were to leave the Tell for a three-year absence. It consolidated the relationship the Americans were building during their work in the Tell with the local community, and sustained the sense of ownership of the Tell among the local community that is vital for preservation of the Tell, especially during the absence of the Andrews University team from Hesban. The empowerment this

recognition provided for the local community is evident in the respondents' accounts as well as actions that are explored in the following sections.

9.2.4 Local empowerment and grassroots development: The Friends of Archaeology of Hesban

As explored in chapter 5, active interaction with local communities generates cultural energy that empowers people and drives them to act. The empowerment of the local community of Hesban that is generated from the active interaction between them and the Americans regarding the time and place of Hesban is evident in two incidents. The first incident is the organisation of a local, collective meeting, by members of the local community who were awarded 'bags of Hesban', to discuss the Tell after the Americans left, and to which the researcher was invited because of her interest in archaeology in Hesban. The second incident is the establishment of the Friends of Archaeology of Hesban, a local society that has its roots in conversation between the Americans and the local community of Hesban.

Collective meetings are common in the Jordanian communities to discuss crucial issues that are directly related to people's lives and that need collective discussion and decision. Holding such a meeting to discuss the Tell of Hesban can be understood as an indication that the past and its material are some of these crucial issues for the local community of Hesban. It reflects that the local community is capable of communicating seriously about archaeological sites, even in the absence of 'outside' steering powers such as the DAJ or the Andrews University team. However, it is important to realise the influence of the Americans' attitude towards the local community of Hesban in initiating this action, especially since the meeting was organised by members who were honoured by the Americans as main stakeholders of the Tell.

The meeting was held at one of Hesban's houses where 15 male members of the local community gathered to discuss what the people of Hesban can do to preserve the Tell (figure 9.2). The meeting focused on the fact that apart from the excavation seasons that take place every three years, there is hardly anything done to preserve the Tell by anyone else at any other time. Although the meeting was held to discuss the future of

the Tell, it was important for those who attended the meeting to anchor the future to the past; therefore, memories dominated the discussion. In this sense, memories of the early excavations, and the good relationship that has been established between the Americans and the local community of Hesban since 1968, were considered as part of the story of Hesban. Thus, the story of Hesban extends to include not only the physical remains of the ancient past and its people, but also the recent past that is demonstrated in the different excavation seasons since 1968. This interrelation between the past and the present was crucial for the discussion about the future of the archaeological sites in Hesban.



Figure 9.2 The local community meeting at Hesban (the researcher).

The establishment of a society that is concerned with the physical remains of the past in Hesban was discussed in the meeting. The idea was originally initiated as a result of communication between the Andrews University team, the DAJ, the Municipality of Hesban and the local workers in the Tell. It is a result of interactive communication between these different stakeholders. Establishing a society that is concerned with the Tell in Hesban has been included as one of the recommendations that the deputy of the DAJ to Hesban's excavation, Sabah Abu-Hdeib, made in her report of the 2004 excavation season in Hesban (Abu-Hdeib 2004: n.p.). The recommendation was shortly followed by a meeting between members of the local community of Hesban, attended by Abu-Hdeib, to establish the structure of this Society. The minutes of this meeting, dated 6th July 2004, named the Society as the 'Friends of Archaeology of Hesban'. It explains that the membership in this society is available to all the

members of the local community of Hesban who are willing to participate. It states that the Society will directly interact with the DAJ to achieve its aims:

- to protect the Tell;
- to prepare the Tell to receive tourists;
- to cooperate with the related agencies to put Hesban on the tourism map of Jordan.

The minutes state that the strategies to be followed to achieve these goals are:

- establishing a programme to increase the awareness of archaeology in Hesban;
- protecting the Tell;
- cleaning the Tell.

Despite the stereotypical aims and strategies of the Friends of Archaeology of Hesban, the idea of the Society acknowledges the involvement of the local community as a prerequisite for any action towards the past. The Society is the first of its kind in Jordan as Abu-Hdeib (2004: n.p), in her recommendation for establishing this Society, indicated. Such a society represents a 'bottom-up' approach that can inspire other local communities in Jordan to act regarding their past.

9.3 The Americans vs. the Government

In identifying their relationship with the American team, many respondents emphasise their resentment of the Government's approach to the physical remains of the past in Hesban. The word 'Government', in most of the accounts, is used to represent the Department of Antiquities (DAJ). Weighing the Government's approach to the past and the people of Hesban against that of the Americans is evident in many accounts. While Su'ad acknowledged communication with the local community as part of the archaeologists' work, she was convinced that this would hardly be the case if Jordanian archaeologists were in charge of the Tell. She added that "if people from the Government work in the Tell, they, I am sure, will not do the same, you will not find the people speaking about the Tell as they are now, [instead] they will be complaining about the Government and the way they treat the people and the place".

Following the same vein of argument, Khitam captured the comparison between the Americans and the Government's intervention in Hesban as follows: "I don't think the Government has the mood or the capacity to treat Hesban or its people like that". This

lack of interest, in Khitam's perception, is due to the "general *thakafah* [culture] among our governments [governments in the Arab world] that praises whatever is modern and rejects the old ... if the old is to be valid, it has to be changed into something new ... something good enough for the tourists".

Although the DAJ is identified as being "part of the Government which is only concerned with implementing a blind law, regardless of the circumstances" (interview with Said, 13th June 2004), the local community considers the deputy of the DAJ in Tell Hesban, Mrs Sabah Abu-Hdeib, as one of the American team rather than a Government employee. According to Abu-Ahmad "the people from the Government are easy to communicate with as long as they work with, or shall I say under the supervision of the Americans. Once they start to act on their own things change". This judgement of the DAJ is based on its rejection of the local community as the owners of the archaeological sites in Hesban. This rejection is demonstrated in the incident described in the following section.

9.3.1 The gate of Hesban: Silencing the empowered and sacrificing the past

The most prominent incident that represents the Government's attitude towards the past in Hesban is cited in fifteen out of the twenty accounts of the local community (see node: perception/ government/ lack of interest in local context). The incident is concerned with the destruction of an ancient column by the Government on the pretext of implementation of the Antiquities Law. The column was used by the local community in the construction of a gate to Hesban on the main road. The Gate was built, as Basem Al-Tarawneh, the Mayor of Hesban, clarified, "to attract those who pass by and to encourage them to enter Hesban" (interview with Al-Tarawneh, 15th July 2004). The story of the column's destruction is described by Abu-Habis, a 60-year-old male, as follows:

When we built the Gate of Hesban, we wanted something to represent us, as they say, to represent our past and present. There was a column discovered by one of my cousins when he was digging the foundations of his house ... We cleaned it with a smooth brush, like the one they [the American team] used in their work, it was, what can I say, very beautiful, made of marble, very white, a thousand times more beautiful than those you see in Jerash. Its height was 3 metres or more, in one piece ... We carried the column carefully, all the young men of Hesban shared in that. The next day, after the Gate was built, maybe after two

or three days, I don't remember, people from the Government saw the column, and after one hour the column was knocked down, it was broken into thousand pieces, they [the Government workers] thought: how can we [the local community] interfere with something that does not belong to us?

This incident proves for the local community that the Government not only claims full ownership of the past, but also practices this ownership despite the devastating consequences on what the Law is formulated to protect; the physical remains of the past. Comments on this incident by the DAJ were restricted to the statement that “such use of archaeology is considered against the current law” (interview with Abu-Hdeib, 17th August 2004). This incident emphasised that “the Government believes that people have no right to use the remains of the past even if it was to build a gate for Hesban that everyone will see it. They are telling us: do not think the past is a game you can participate in, it is up to us to decide what to do with it” (interview with Abu-Ahmad, 2nd July 2004). This practice left the Gate, shown in figure 9.3, incomplete. In Rasheed's words: “the Gate expresses something about the heritage and culture and all the things you [the researcher] are interested in, but the absence of that column that we put in our hands here makes it feel that the ancient past, our roots, is gone”.

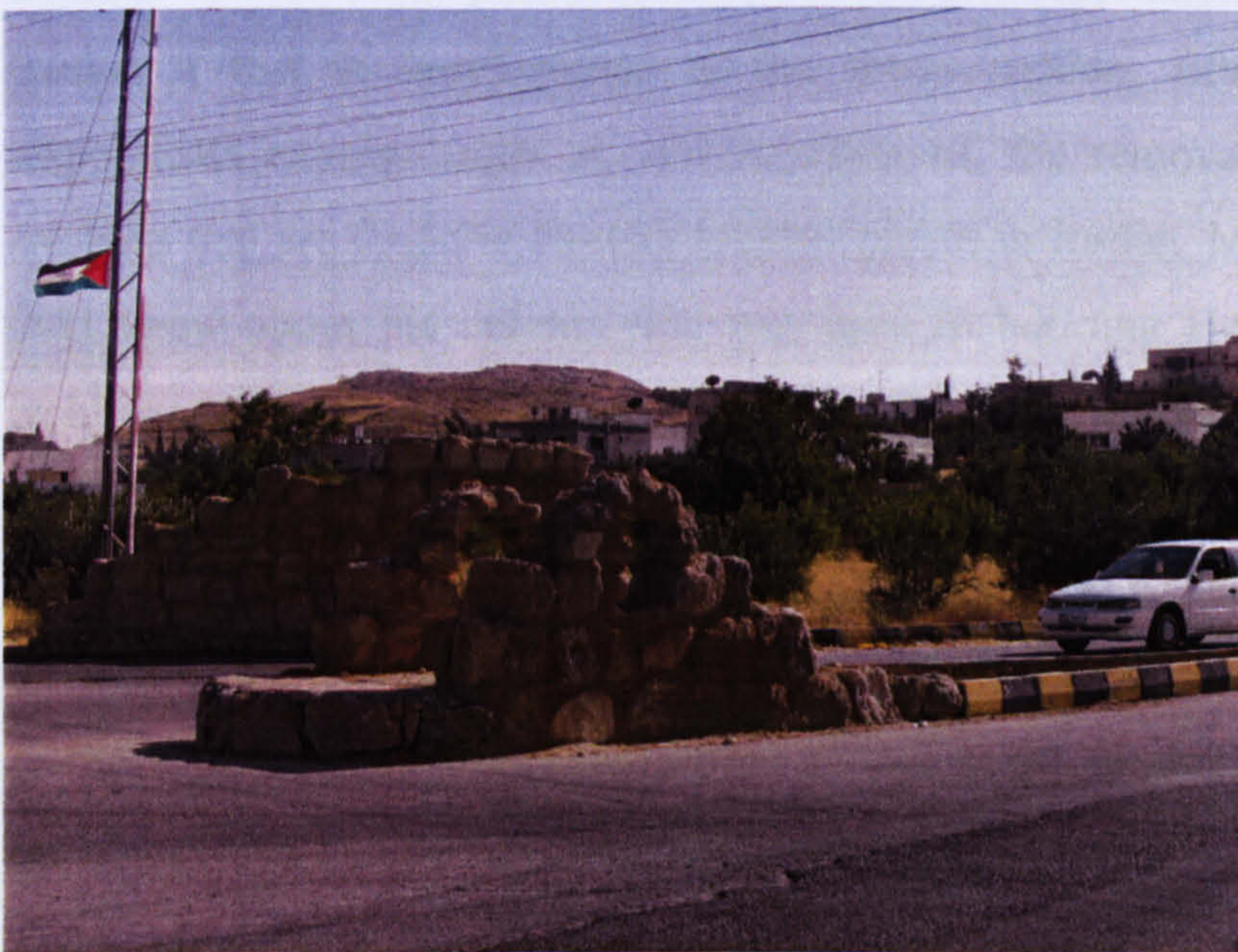


Figure 9.3 Hesban's Gate with Tell Hesban on the horizon (the researcher 2004).

The attachment that fifteen respondents show to this column, and the importance they ascribe to it, is very similar to the feelings that Jones (2006) describes about a

prehistoric cross-slab stone in the village of Hilton of Cadboll in Scotland. Jones (2006: 103) shows how the stone is perceived among the local community not only “as a living thing, but *as a living member of the community*” (original emphasis). Furthermore, “[the stone-slab] provides a mechanism for expressing the relation between people and place” (Jones 2006: 105). The people of Hilton of Cadboll argued against the decision to attribute the ownership of the stone to the National Museum of Scotland, which had owned the upper part of the stone since 1921. Contrary to the local community of Hesban, the Scottish villagers were able to claim the ownership of the cross-slab, and to maintain its ownership (Jones 2006: 99-101). The political power that enabled the people of Hilton of Cadboll to keep the stone is not available to the local community in Hesban. The lack of this power not only prevented the people of Hesban from keeping the column, but also led to its destruction, paradoxically, by those who have this power over the past, and who have a responsibility to protect it: the Government.

9.3.2 “When anything beautiful is discovered here they just move it there, what is the meaning of it if it is to go there?”

Besides the loss of the past in an unsympathetic interpretation of the Law intended to protect it that is demonstrated in the above section, fifteen out of the twenty respondents express anger at, and rejection of, the removal of the archaeological artefacts that are found in Hesban to other places in Jordan. Musa observed that if the DAJ knew about the column that was used in building Hesban’s Gate earlier, “it would have removed it to a museum in Madaba or somewhere else, and it would have been lost among other things found elsewhere in Jordan”. Similarly, Amira, a 27-year-old female, stated that “when anything beautiful is discovered here, they just move it there [in reference to the nearby city of Madaba], what is the meaning of it if it is to go there, the first thing we should work on it is to get the things discovered in Hesban back” (see free node: The museum of Hesban).

The local community of Hesban do not see any sense in transferring the archaeological artefacts discovered in Hesban to other cities, especially since the places the artefacts are moved into are considered as being easy to provide in Hesban, as they are scarcely considered by the respondents as museums. The idea of

converting an Ottoman building that exists on the hill to the west of Tell Hesban (figure 9.4) into a museum was suggested by eight out of the twenty respondents (see free node: The museum of Hesban). For example, Hashim observed “it is not difficult to keep what is discovered in Hesban, in Hesban. If they put them in real museums in Madaba, we will say that is fair enough because we don’t have a museum here, but they are put in ordinary buildings and stores and cupboards, we can provide this in Hesban”.



Figure 9.4 The Ottoman house in Hesban (the researcher 2004).

Although the Antiquities Law states that “Any person who is in possession of any antique objects shall submit to the department” (Antiquities Law 1988: article 7), the absence of a museum in Hesban encourages people to keep the artefacts they find instead of handing them to the Government. Anas, a 30-year-old male, stated that “people trust each other, everyone knows about these objects, but no one tells the Government because they know if the Government lays a finger on them they will be gone, probably put in a store room and left to decay and dust”. A collective agreement not to hand these artefacts to the Government is evident in the respondents’ accounts. Although this implies that one of the members, mainly the one who found the artefact, is entitled to keep it in his house, this is considered as a more satisfactory solution than handing it to the Government, and ‘losing’ it to another place. Said stated that “none of these people [the owners of the artefacts] have sold or even prevented anyone from seeing the artefacts he got, people know each other well ... they cannot

betray the other's trust of them". Similarly, Abu-Habis emphasised that "selling these findings is like selling one's land, you know it is a big shame to sell you land, at least it is still so among many people in Hesban" (see free node: the statue of Hesban).

As the researcher was trusted not to tell about the owners of the artefacts, she was allowed to meet some of them and to see the artefacts they had. Figure 9.5 shows one of these artefacts, which is, according to its 'owner', a bronze statue of an Arab king who ruled Hesban before the birth of the Christ. The statue is 8 cm tall and weighs about 250 grams, and had been discovered while the owner was digging the foundations of his house in the 1980s.



Figure 9.5 A statue that is kept by a member of the local community of Hesban (the researcher 2004)

Besides the lack of authority the Government gives to the local community of Hesban over their past, the respondents observe that the Government's interest in archaeology in Hesban is not genuine. It flourishes only during the short time of the Americans' excavation in Tell Hesban. However, during the long period of the Americans' absence from the Tell, the local community of Hesban observes that the DAJ interest in the Tell is restricted to short inspection visits. For example, Abdullah explained:

the Americans will not be here for two or three years, and during that time no one from the Government speaks to us about archaeology or the Tell or heritage or anything. Only when the Americans are here things begin to move and you begin to see people with red signed cars [Government cars] visiting the Tell and speaking English to the Americans, they even attended the party the Americans made in the Tell the other night [in reference to the ceremony mentioned in section 2.3] I think they should not have come, but you know the Americans play on all levels, they make friends with the people and the Governments, they do not care about anything but to make their work run smoothly.

Similarly, Anas perceived local scholars' interest in the Tell is derived from their interest in the Americans rather than the archaeological site. His perception is based on his observation that it was during the last days of the excavation that "people from Jordanian universities ... began to visit the Tell ... They just think the Americans are there! It is a good time to visit Hesban. That is of course not to see Hesban but to see the Americans their friends. The Tell is here all the time, why just visit now?"

Despite this anger with the Government, some respondents (note: perception/government/ positive) prefer it if the DAJ and the academic institutions in Jordan have a more influential role in the Tell. For example, as Abu-Habis, a 60-year-old male, acknowledged that local scholars "might not treat us as the Americans do ... but the work will be quicker. The Americans work for a month every three years, but our universities will be able to work every day if they want ... the Americans work slowly, they use brushes and sponges ... I am sure the Government will work more quickly". A similar view was put forward by Mustafa, a 35-year-old male, who saw that "the work can last in here forever, and I believe they want it to ... they have their own plan, but I don't think part of that plan is to, let's say, finish digging and open it for tourists ... and make people benefit from tourism".

9.4 The perception of the future in Hesban: Potential for sustainable approach

The following sections explore the accounts delivered in response to the question about the contribution of the work in the Tell to the local community of Hesban. Sections 2.1 to 2.4 explore the nature of relationship between the Americans and the local community, and the diverse impacts of this relationship on the local community's perceptions of the agencies concerned with archaeology in Hesban. The

following sections examine the potential of sustainability as well as the lack of it in the practices concerned with archaeological sites in Hesban.

9.4.1 The role of active interaction in initiating development

Active interaction with local communities is identified in chapter 5 as being fundamental for the establishment of a sustainable approach. In section 2.1 of this chapter, many accounts demonstrate that the Americans engage actively with the local community of Hesban through their excavation in the Tell. This section explores the respondents' perceptions of the influence the archaeological work in Hesban has on the local community's present and future.

Many respondents emphasised that the active engagement resulted in confirmation of the validity of the past in the present and the future. This is evident in the accounts that establish a close relationship between active communication and development (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication & development). For example, Abu-Habis saw that:

Our relationship with the Tell started before 1968 and before the Americans came. We respect the past. What the Americans did is that they respected our appreciation of the past, and this allowed our respect for the past to develop over time. We always look for links between the past and the future; that is why we hold on our traditions. We believe this is what makes development happen and continue to happen, to tie yourself to roots, strong roots, will allow you to flourish, just like a tree ... we always say those who have no old things have no new ones. The Americans make us realise that this is not just a saying the poor Arabs used to say, but also something that they teach in their universities, the best universities in the world, to their children. It makes us believe more in our heritage and the past.

Besides, Abu-Subh, a 70-year-old male, considered that the real contribution of the Americans' work in the Tell is the active interaction with the local community regarding the past. In his account, "improvement begins when we are being spoken to and included in what is done in the Tell. They are in touch with our young men even when they are not working here, through the computer [in reference to e-mail]". While communication is essential to initiate a feeling of inclusion among the local community, Hashim sees that the real contribution is the empowerment of the local community that enables them to act:

The real development is when we begin to work for our past. As you saw the other day, we all got together at Abu-Habis' house to talk about the Tell [in reference to the meeting explained in section 2.4 of this chapter]. We feel that the *athar* [archaeological sites] is our business too, not only for the Government or the Americans. We discussed many ideas, not only reminisce about the Tell and the past.

Reminiscing about the past is seen by Abu-Ahmad as a process in which people “think about the future using what happened in the past to see what will happen if the Americans stop working and what will happen if they keep working”. Capitalising on memories to stimulate thinking about the future sustains the assumption discussed in chapter 6 about the role of memories in the initiation of a sustainable approach. It also implies that the lack of memories can adversely influence the establishment of sustainable development.

9.4.2 Self-empowerment and its influence on shaping the future of archaeology

While many respondents considered that active interaction with the local community in Hesban encouraged positive attitudes towards the past and its material, others (i.e. node: perception/ local context & archaeology) considered these attitudes as being directly influenced by people's own culture. According to Nawwar, this culture provides a self-empowerment factor that is generated from “the desire of the young and old people to protect what they cherish most, their past and roots”. In explaining the cultural interest in the past, Nawwar drew on classical Arabic poetry and its use of ruins:

our desire to think of the past is as old as our language, I am sure you know that since the Arabs started saying poetry, their poems started by mentioning the past; the *atlal* [the ruins] ... you see, we the Arabs have natural interest and respect for the past long before they [the Americans] knew how to study it. No one cares about this, and we just keep saying we learnt from them this and that ... This natural attraction to old things is what will make the old things in Hesban still exists in the future ... maybe the Americans' work in Hesban is the thing that makes me think of how the poetry in the past focused on the ruins, so yes, I cannot deny they [the Americans] have a good influence on the way we think of the past.

Besides the “natural attraction to old things”, other respondents focused on the young generation and their relationship with the Americans to deliver their accounts about the future of archaeology in Hesban. This is evident in Abu-Habis' account that: “our children grew to respect the past and to be proud of it and they are developing strong

relationships with the Americans to protect it ... it is the Americans who seem to do something about our past. They have their own reasons ... but the important thing is that they talk to us and want to help us to develop Hesban and its archaeology". Similarly, Umm-Ehsan, a 70-year-old female, stated that "in ten or twenty years' time, maybe the Tell will not change much, but people will know more, we have three or four young men who study archaeology in the university, and in time, maybe they will be the ones who excavate the Tell instead of the Americans".

Reflection on the future of archaeology in Hesban resulted in questioning the mission of the Americans in the Tell. For example, Wafa saw that the nature of the work in the Tell hardly aims at developing Hesban; instead, she considered it as an educational project with political aims:

The Americans want to prove that we [the Arabs] and the Jewish lived together in the past, and if this happened in the past it could happen in the future. I see that it is all about politics, in different disguises, I mean if they want to educate their students why don't they come every year, why don't they try somewhere else ... I think they want to keep coming to Hesban forever, maybe this is why they work very slowly, I am not convinced that it is about the past and the Tell, I am sure it has something to do with the future and what they [the Americans] like to see happening in Jordan and Iraq and Palestine. We know that one does not have to be a soldier to have political aims. You see, that is why all people's hopes of developing the archaeology in Hesban and making Hesban known all over the world and encouraging tourism and all that talk about money are dreams of the simple people of Hesban. The Americans want something else, as I told you! (interview with Wafa, 4th August 2004).

A perception of development as not being based on modernity is influenced by the fact that Hesban lacks the infrastructure of tourism, such as hotels and restaurants, which are provided in the nearby cities, as well as the monumentality and aesthetic value that can be seen in tourist destinations in Jordan. Thus, the local community of Hesban cannot picture its future as being based on tourism; instead, Umm-Kasem, a 47-year-old female, saw that Hesban is a cultural place that is only valued by its people and those who appreciate culture. In her account: "as there are places which are tourism, there are others which are different as they are more about culture and the events and the people, like Hesban. When the tourists come here, do they spend money and benefit the people? ... Hesban is different and ... special, and it is not easy

for the tourists to appreciate". This uniqueness of Hesban is seen as the material of inspiration for local development rather than tourism.

Capitalising on the cultures of the past, "the events and the people" as Umm-Kasem stated above, to initiate development in the present is evident in many accounts that explore the meaning of the past in Hesban (e.g. node: perception/ the past/ development in the past). For example, Said captured his perception of the influence the past has on people's lives in Hesban as follows: "these places [archaeological sites] tell stories of development in all aspects of life; development in every thing: in building techniques and culture, and agriculture and water management". Capitalising on this development to create a modern one that influences people's contemporary lives can hardly be achieved, according to Said, by "changing the Tell into a place for picnics or for tourists to come and spend ten minutes looking around". Instead, the genuine development for Said could take place by "[using] the past to contribute something to people's lives, like solving the water problem depending on what the people of the past did". Further investigation of this mental engagement with the past was presented in chapter 8.

The levels of intervention in the Tell that were implemented during the 2004 season, mainly the construction of pedestrian paths and stairs, are considered as influential elements in the development of the Tell. This development implies, in addition to the physical improvement of the archaeological remains, an enhancement of the local community's attachment to the Tell. This enhancement is generated from the easier and more efficient experience of the Tell that the levels of intervention provide. For example, Ahlam, a 23-year-old female, observed that the recent intervention in the Tell not only represent signs of positive change, but also contribute to further inclusion and attachment to the past in Hesban:

I think what they are doing there is great. It does not seem to be costing much. They built new stairs and paths ... My grandmother is an old woman but now my brothers can take her up the hill ... Many children fly their kites up there now ... yes people use the Tell ... I think this is great development that people can use the Tell and enjoy it. I think in the future people from outside Hesban will visit the Tell as well ... maybe we will start have real tourism in Hesban.

To conclude, dematerialising the Tell by focusing on “the small stories of development of Hesban”, and decentralising the authority of the professionals by enhancing the feeling of ownership of the local community over the Tell, empowers the local community of Hesban. Cultural energy is generated and put into practice as the local community of Hesban begins to act to protect the material of the past. This moment of action is part of the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in Hesban in which these sites are transferred into cultural heritage: something that people want to keep as part of their contemporary and future contexts and life. The following sections explore these moments of action, or the lack of them, in accounts delivered in regard to the archaeological sites in the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq.

9.5 The Citadel: The local community, the scholars and the levels of intervention

As in Hesban, many respondents choose to weigh their understanding of the foreign agencies’ approach to the physical remains of the past against that of the Government. While some respondents see that the current approach to the Citadel left it ‘lost’, and without memory, others perceive the technical intervention in the Upper Citadel as “a giant step towards modernity and development in Jordan” (interview with Rania, 19-year-old female, 12th August 2004). The following sections examine how the local community perceives its relationship with the agencies responsible for the physical remains of the past in the Citadel. It explores the respondents’ perception of the impact the levels of intervention have on people’s lives in the Citadel.

9.5.1 The local community and the agencies involved: The lack of interaction

As explained in the previous chapter, the work in the Upper Citadel was conducted by the Spanish Archaeological Mission in Jordan and the American Center for Oriental Research; and the work in the Lower Citadel is conducted still by the Department of Antiquities (DAJ). In response to the question about who works in the Citadel, only two out of the twenty respondents, Ayoub and Abdel-Rahman, were able to identify the three different agencies involved in the levels of intervention in the Citadel (see free node: s/he identified the agencies). Although these two respondents have never worked with any of these agencies, their knowledge of the agencies is derived, as Ayoub, a 55-year-old male, stated, from “observing what is going on, who comes and goes, and talking with the guards ... and the office-box officer, they know much more

than you think". However, not one of all the respondents was approached by any of the different agencies. According to Awwad, "no one spoke to us or any one we know about the Citadel or the work in it, or what they are going to do in the future or anything, all of the sudden we saw them building the dome [in reference to the palace] and the columns [in reference to the Temple] were erected, how and why we don't know".

The respondents generally identify the agencies that are responsible for the different works in the Citadel as "the foreigners" and "the Government". While twelve of the respondents identify the foreigners as "the Americans", five saw that the nationality of the foreigners is hardly of any importance as for them all foreigners are the same. For example, Ahmad, a 22-year-old male, believed that "the American, the British and the Israelis, they are the same; they work here because they believe anything good we have in this land is theirs, they do not care about us". (see node: perceptions/ foreigners). However, Ignacio Arce, the Director of the Spanish Archaeological Mission to Jordan, sees that:

The project [restoration of the Citadel] is part of a broader project which aims to develop the city. The point was to make the citadel a "must see site" in Amman so that tourists will stay one day more in Amman. This would mean much more earnings. Before the project, the citadel was completely isolated. After the project, the citadel created public space even for local people, they come and fly kites in the afternoon. The next stage is to interpret the site, not only for the visitors [tourists] but also for the local people. We are preparing the interpretation signs in Arabic, English and Spanish to let everyone be involved with the site, and this is important, particularly for the local community, because unless you get the local people involved, you will never get sustainability.

A close relationship between foreigners' work in the Citadel and colonialism as well as the current political conditions in Iraq and Palestine was established by five respondents (e.g. node: perception/ foreigners/ colonialism). For example, Ummel-Noor, a 63-year-old female, stated that "the Americans and the English and the British work up there, who else!" She continued her account by noting that "they [the foreigners] have been here since the 1940s, they always come back", in reference to the British colonialism of Jordan. Similarly, Umm-Maher, 75-year-old female, observed that "they are here and in Iraq and in Saudi Arabia and everywhere ... Once they are soldiers, once they are scientists, once they are diggers". In this sense, the

foreign scholars are seen as having the same mission as the foreign soldiers in the region. Moreover, these respondents were fully aware that while the DAJ is responsible for the archaeological work in the Lower Citadel, the foreigners were responsible for “building the Palace and the Temple, they are responsible for the things that matter for the Government, the places the Government do not care about [in reference to the Lower Citadel] are given to the Jordanians [in reference to the DAJ] to work in” (interview with Ahmad, 22nd August 2004).

The lack of the local community’s capacity to identify the agencies working in the Citadel reflects, to some extent, the absence of communication between them and these agencies. According to the respondents, this lack – absence – of communication is due to the belief among these agencies that people do not care about the past. In this regard, Awwad observed that “the Government considers us ignorant, and that the past and the archaeology are the foreigners’ business and no one can interfere. I am not only speaking about those who work in the Citadel, but about every one who works in the Government and with the Government”. However, it is believed that if there is going to be any contact with the people regarding the past to take a place, it will be restricted to those who can afford to attend the festive events conducted in the Citadel. In this regard Ayoub stated: “I am sure they contact people, but which people? We know the answer. They won’t go to Abu-Steif [a shop owner in the Citadel] and ask him about the Citadel and what he thinks. Only you do that because you are a student. Once you finish [your study] you will forget about the people”.

Another account that reflects the alienation of the local community from the work conducted in the Citadel was noted by Wedad, a 43-year-old female: “what matters for the foreigners and the Government and people like you [in reference to researchers] is the stones and the past and the heritage and all we talked about in the beginning, what matters for our Government is the parties and the money, and between these two, we [the people of the Citadel] are forgotten, they don’t talk to us, and this is not surprising”.

9.5.2 Trials for interaction

Despite the general feeling of alienation from the agencies working in the Citadel, as well as their work, some respondents found it important to report their endeavours to communicate with the local workers in the Citadel. For example, Abdel-Rahman, a 40-year-old male, recalled that “once in the 90s I saw a man in his fifties or sixties, wearing *hatta* [traditional Jordanian men’s head dress], one of us. He was a mason, working on stones, carving them ... He said he was working with the foreigners and that they gave him good money for his work ... we had a talk about what they do and the quarries they got the stones from”. Abdel-Rahman’s remark regarding the *hatta* demonstrates that initiating the communication was based on his feeling that the worker was part of his local community. While Abdel-Rahman found it easy to establish communication with local workers regarding the work conducted in the sites, Mefleh, a 50-year-old male, observed that the people who are in charge of the work in the Citadel do not stay in the sites:

we see workers, Jordanians, but we know they are not in charge, and there is a foreigner who pays them, or an officer from the archaeology [in reference to the DAJ] who tells them to keep working and not to talk to anyone ... We want someone educated and in charge to talk to us, knock on our doors, we who lived in here all our lives. These people prefer to stay in their offices and run things from behind their desks, those who are here are just like us, don’t know what is going on.

One of the local workers in the Lower Citadel, Mohamed, a 23-year-old male, recorded that he was approached by an old woman with her grandson who visited the Upper Citadel and, to Mohammad’s surprise, the Lower one, where very few visitors go. Mohamed mentioned that a conversation with the woman and her grandson took place in which the woman mentioned that in the 1940s, people who died from the Black Death were buried in the area where Mohamed and his colleagues used to excavate. Mohamed remembered the conversation well as “in the next morning [he] came to work to find a bunch of flowers” on a stone where he was working in the day of the conversation. He added, “we took a photo of the flowers with a mobile, we all were surprised, we started joking about ghosts, but I know it was her grandson [in reference to the old lady], we never saw them after that”. The information provided by the old woman influenced the way Mohamed perceived archaeology. He continued, “I believe what this woman said, and I became careful when I dig, because I might find human skeletons which should be respected”. This short conversation demonstrates

the importance of communication between people and professionals. Such communication can shed light on information that is hard to deduce from the physical remains alone. It is worth mentioning that the story of the Black Death and the burial of those who died from it in the Citadel in the 1940s was also mentioned by another respondent: Abu-Hashim. Abu-Hashim, a 75-year-old male, mentioned the story as part of his memories about the Citadel. From his point of view, the burial of the deceased in the southern part of the Citadel indicates that people thought of it by that time as a deserted place, especially since the Upper Citadel was used as a military base for the British force, and therefore, people avoided that area most of the time (see node: perception/communication with the agencies).

While fifteen out of the twenty respondents in the Citadel criticised the lack of communication with the professionals working in the Citadel and mainly blame the agencies for this alienation, only four respondents (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication/ “no need for communication”) see that there is no need for the professionals to contact the lay people regarding their work in the Citadel. In Abu-Saleem’s words: “what do people have to say about this? It is a business matter, and only specialists and experts can participate in it”. It is worth noting that these four respondents, as their accounts explored in chapter 8 demonstrate, deny any relationship between contemporary contexts and archaeology. Therefore, their contentment with the lack of interaction between the agencies and the local community of the Citadel is hardly surprising.

In response to the question about the influence of the levels of intervention on the local community’s life, Mariam, a 68-year-old female, explained that in order for a positive influence to take place, scholars involved in the Citadel should be “different to those who dig and build the Citadel now. We need different people for this. Those who work in here just build the stones and dig the soil. They do not talk to us and tell us what they do. At least they [referring to the DAJ] have to talk to the neighbours. As you can see, our houses are very close to where they work” (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication/ lack of communication).

9.6 The impact of the levels of intervention on the development of the local community

In the previous chapter, respondents comments demonstrated that the meanings of the archaeological sites that evolved and developed from the different contexts of the Citadel were ignored in the technical approach to these sites. As a result, many respondents felt that the recent intervention in the Upper Citadel ignored them as well as their contexts, and the levels of intervention are perceived as having a negative influence on the development of the place and the people of the Citadel (see node: perception/ levels of intervention/ levels of intervention & local context/ negative impact). In Abu-Ghaleb's, a 63-year-old male's, words "if the *athar* don't express our lives and what we did in them, why should we care about them?" Arguments raised in chapter 5 suggested that development that underestimates the role of the past as part of the self-definition process deprives people of an essential empowerment factor, and therefore is unsustainable development. Furthermore, replacement of old features of a city with new ones is identified as the normal approach to the past in post-colonial contexts. Surprisingly, Awwad, a 70-year-old male, provided the same argument in his account about the influence of the levels of intervention on people's lives in the Citadel:

what is going on here [levels of intervention in the Upper Citadel] have no relationship whatsoever with people's development, it does not acknowledge the history of the Citadel that elderly people know. Once someone wrote in *al-Rai* [the national newspaper] that Amman is a city without memory, the Government chooses to forget its past and focus on tourism ... this might encourage the tourists to visit, but if we forget about our past ... we have to start all over again. This is not development, it is destruction.

This criticism of the current approach to the archaeological sites in the Citadel is based on the respondents' feelings that the recent past played a decisive role in their self-definition process. While this past is neglected, the people who are attached to it feel marginalised. Their memories, stories, and sense of identity are neglected. Thus, they hardly see any positive influence of these levels of intervention on their daily lives.

9.6.1 Sustainable development and social inclusion and exclusion

The relationship between people and place is demonstrated as an essential requirement for sustainability. One of the accounts that implies meanings of sustainability is Abdel-Rahman's. He saw that "in order for the work in the Citadel to influence people's lives, and to make people of the Citadel preserve it for the future, it has to serve people and their environment in the first place, I mean to reflect what and who the people of the Citadel are, you know, their problems and their life". This account sees development as being a reflection of people's culture and expectations as well as problems and needs. In other words, development has to come from inside the local community in order to perpetuate, and – to use the words mentioned in the above account – "preserve it for the future".

Emphasising the impact of the contemporary culture on the place of the Citadel, both in the past and the present, is crucial for establishing a positive impact on the local community's life. In this regard, Ayoub saw that recreating the Citadel as a tourism venue scarcely contributes to the local community of the Citadel. In Ayoub's words: "the Government ... has to do something useful in here, something to tell the people that this place is for them and not only for the foreigners and the tourists ... to reflect people's culture, the Arab and Islamic culture. Look what they do, they just provide a place for the teenagers to wonder around and to escape real life". Similarly, Mefleh saw that:

Those who work in the Citadel, they just use new technology on old buildings, a wooden dome on ancient stones, cranes and expensive materials to build the columns there ... I heard they [the erection of the columns] cost 2 million J.D. All this money and they don't tell us what happened here and how it happened and why, and if we, I mean as Arabs and Muslims had anything to do with it, if we have any relationship with it (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication & sustainability).

Emphasising such a relationship between contemporary contexts and cultures on the one hand, and the past on the other hand, is perceived as an essential requirement for the establishment of sustainable development (see arguments in chapter 5, sections 5.2 & 5.5). Thus, associating levels of intervention in archaeological sites with development in contemporary contexts implies active interaction with these contexts, an activity that was ignored by the agencies involved in the Citadel.

Association of archaeological sites with contemporary contexts provides these sites with a future, and therefore initiates sustainability. While Ayoub emphasised that recreating the Citadel as a tourism venue hardly sustains the relationship between contemporary contexts and the past, Abu-Nart, a 68-year-old male, reflected on the Umayyad cistern in the Upper Citadel to express how archaeological sites can be used to foster the relationship between the contemporary contexts of the Citadel and the past:

If the Citadel is going to have a future, I mean a future that includes the people who live here, I expect to see something like the large pool [the cistern in the Upper Citadel] there, being used, right? ... It has been 'fixed' [restored], and this is good, but it is just for the tourists to look at, no plan to use it, and if there is one, no one tells us about it. It is huge, have you seen it ... you should know, we have a crisis of water in Jordan in summer and winter alike, that is why any one you speak to, man or woman, old or young, will talk about water, specially if you mention development. If they make this pool work, it might help, or at least we will feel that the Citadel is not only for the tourists to look at ... it will give people confidence in their past and maybe in the Government and the foreigners working in here.

In addition to suggestion of strategies that can interlink the past with the present, the above account weighs 'entertainment' value against 'use' value in the Citadel, an idea which is evident in another nine accounts (see node: perception/ government/ lack of interest in local context). These accounts are based on the assumption that although entertainment value is appealing to certain people, it is not adequate in a politically charged context that directly influences the social and economic aspects of lay people's lives in Jordan. In Mariam's words, "this is not what people need, this is not how the past can contribute to our lives ... the past is to learn from it, not to sing and dance in it", Mariam then recited the following verse from the Quran to sustain her above argument: "There have been examples that have passed away before you: travel through the earth, and see what was the end of those who rejected truth" (see node: perception/ the past in the Quran).

Development, based on preparing the Upper Citadel as a tourism venue alienates the Citadel from the rest of its social and political contexts. It creates a hostile environment in which the Government's tourism agenda is preferred over people's interests and quality of life. This hostile environment, according to Mefleh, "might not

be clear yet in the Citadel, but it will be in a short time”. Mefleh drew on tourism projects conducted in other heritage sites to prove the Government’s interest in tourism over people’s way of life, an issue that is discussed in chapter 6.

Mefleh showed great awareness of issues relevant to specific villages in Jordan where local communities were forced to leave their villages in order for the Government to convert them into hotels and restaurants that aim at attracting tourists. Mefleh argued that in Umm-Qais, a village in the north of Jordan, “people were kicked out of their old houses because of archaeology ... *beit* Al Roosan [Al Roosan house] was changed to a museum, and *beit* Malkawi [Malkawi house] was changed to a restaurant called Romareo or Romero, I don’t know”. The case of Umm-Qais was discussed in chapter 7. Mefleh continued that “Umm-Qais and other villages such as Tabet Zaman and Dana show you what the Government wants from the past ... such treatment of the past makes people hate tourism and the Government ... the money goes to those who are rich and to the Government, people just lose their places ... these things [levels of intervention] cannot contribute something good to people, but of course they generate money to the Government”.

9.6.2 Development in the Upper Citadel vs. development in the Lower Citadel

The respondents make it clear that “the Government wanted the foreigners to work in the Temple and the Palace because they wanted something that attracts the foreign tourists” (interview with Abu-Hashim, 12th August 2004). According to Abu-Hashim, the reason why the foreigners do not work in the Lower Citadel is that “they would put money and effort in places which the Government considers worthless [of the money and the efforts of the foreigners], they leave it to local workers ... and for the foreigners it will look as they [the Government] did their duty to heritage and archaeology and things related to the past”. Similar to Abu-Hashim, Awwad, Wajeeh and Wedad saw that the foreigners are hardly involved in the Lower Citadel as the Government considers it less important than the Upper Citadel, where money and effort are invested to create a tourists destination. It is worth noting that this distinction between the Lower and the Upper Citadel is raised by the respondents themselves without being triggered in the questions. Thus, the future of the Upper Citadel is perceived to be dramatically different from that of the Lower one. While the

Upper Citadel will continue to ‘develop’ in the direction of ‘tourism attraction’, the Lower Citadel will gradually disappear.

In response to the question about the influence of the levels of intervention in the Citadel on the local community, Wajeeh, a 35-year-old male, drew on the archaeological site of Ain Ghazal, and his experience as a worker there during the 1980s under the supervision of an American team. Wajeeh weighed the conditions of the physical remains of Ain Ghazal during the excavation seasons against the current one, and compares it to those of the Lower Citadel in order to demonstrate the future of the archaeological sites there. He encouraged the researcher to “find a way and talk to Gary and take from him photos for Ain Ghazal when he was working there, he took lots of photos before he left”. The purpose of this comparison is to see the future of the Lower Citadel through the current state of Ain Ghazal as Wajeeh claimed that the Lower Citadel now looks like Ain Ghazal in 1985 (figure 9.6), tidy and well preserved. However, in the future it will look like the current state of Ain Ghazal, damaged and ignored (figure 9.7):

the Government is interested in providing the market’s needs, I mean tourism and things like that, and it will keep working in the Temple and the Palace, and in here [the Lower Citadel], it will be like Ain Ghazal soon, as I told you, destroyed and ruined, you know why? Because this does not sell, it is not sparkling. In there [the Upper Citadel], it is like the foreign monuments we see in movies and brochures.



Figure 9.6 Ain Ghazal in 1985 by the time Wajeeh was working there (reproduced with kind permission from Gary Rolefson)



Figure 9.7 The same area shown in figure 6 after five years (reproduced with kind permission from Gary Rolefson)

Similar to Wajeeh's account, Wedad sees that the future of the Citadel will be contingent on the Government's strategy with respect to archaeological sites. As this strategy is focusing on recreating specific sites as tourist destinations, then the Upper Citadel will continue to develop while the Lower one will gradually deteriorate and maybe vanish:

How I see the Citadel in 20 years? If I am still alive in 20 years time! I don't know, what the Government sees as important now, might change in the future, they keep changing their minds about everything, don't they? ... The Government now cares about tourism. That is why they built things there. Now your question was how it affects us. I don't know, if any development in here will take place, it will be for the tourists, not for the people. Maybe they will build toilets, parking, and restaurants for them. But I cannot see how this can affect us, who live in the Citadel. It is like building a new project, say a department store, or even a hotel, who will benefit apart from the owners of the project? We try to believe that this is our heritage and should be used to strengthen us, but the Government do nothing to make it look like that (interview with Wedad, 24th June 2004; also see node: perception/ levels of intervention/ levels of intervention & politics).

Despite the resentment of what is perceived as a pragmatic approach to the past that capitalises on the entertainment value the Upper Citadel was restored to deliver, four respondents zealously believe in this approach as the only way into development. In these accounts, the respondents find it easy to dismiss the historic importance of the Lower Citadel and only see the monumentality and aesthetic aspects of the Upper one. In Salma's, a 22-year-old female's, perception: "nothing useful can happen here [the

Lower Citadel], as I told you in the beginning, there is nothing to develop in here ... in the future I believe any money should be invested up there and make the Citadel modern, but here, it will be gone, and in there [pointing at the Temple] should be more things for the tourists to look at and to use". Thus, for her, only the Upper Citadel has the potential for development and surviving into the future because of its intrinsic values. In this perception, development is closely associated with tourism as a sign of modernity (see node: perception/development as modernity).

For example, Abu-Saleem, a 42-year-old male, expected that "in 20 years time they [the foreigners] will continue developing the Citadel, and maybe build a hotel in it so tourists can stay and see all Amman from here and attend the festivals in summer ... the Government will do this as it generates money". Similarly, Asma, a 35-year-old female, established a close resemblance between the levels of intervention in the Upper Citadel and modernity features represented by the recently constructed international hotels in Amman, that were built in the late 1990s and the early 21st century:

the Government and the foreigners did a great great job in the Citadel. It is amazing. I left Amman to live in Dubai ... there was nothing you can be proud of in here, but now, and after beautiful buildings were built in Amman – can you see the big, rounded hotel, it is there [pointing to the West; figure 9.8] – I think the Government started to think of a place where the modern Amman can be seen, and they have chosen the Citadel for this. You can see all the mountains of Amman, specially the big new hotels from here ... even the *athar* has become different; they put lots of money to build it. It is beautiful now, especially in the night when you can see the columns with the beautiful laser lights. We can see it from any place in Amman (interview with Asma, 15th August 2004).

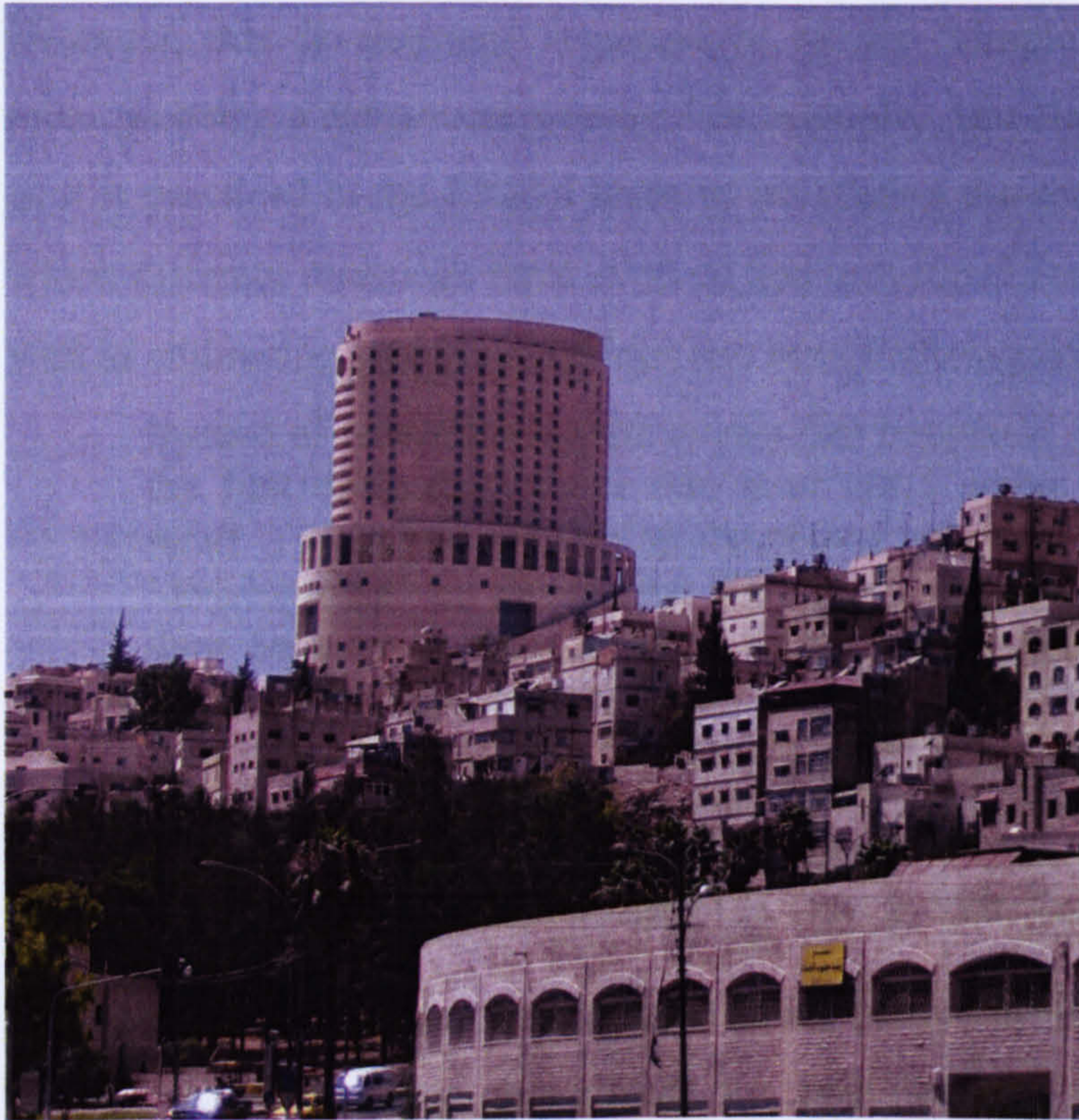


Figure 9.8 “The big, rounded hotel”, as it appears from Amman city centre; looking West (the researcher 2004).

Furthermore, the proponents of development as it happens in the Upper Citadel define themselves against the rest of the local community in the Citadel. For example, Rania emphasised that the levels of intervention in the Upper Citadel deliver things that are beyond the understanding of those who “strive to provide the necessities of life”. According to her, the lay people can hardly understand the “beauty” that the new levels of intervention enhanced in the Upper Citadel’s physical remains. As this beauty resembles development, lay people, according to Rania, are incapable of perceiving this dimension of development:

of course it [level of intervention] contributes to the development and beauty of Amman. People of the Citadel, I mean simple people in general, cannot understand that because it does not touch their lives, it does not give them money ... It [the Citadel] is beautiful now, not like before, just *kharabat* [ruins] ... This is development ... The beauty of Amman is something that indicates development. Lay people cannot think of things this way. I believe that anything is better than the ruins, they remind you of death and misery ... When they built the Citadel it is like they gave it life, especially with the parties and everything. This is development.

However, this development is perceived by the “simple people”, as Rania defined them, as being a dangerous process. For example, Abu-Hashim saw that development as it is practiced in the Citadel leads to trivialising the social and cultural contexts in which different meanings have evolved and developed for the archaeological sites, as well as embracing specific meanings and marginalising others:

Instead of remembering the events that happened in this place, what is the first thing that comes into your mind when you see the Citadel now? ... tourists! Something dangerous happens when you talk about ‘development’ in places like this, very dangerous! When they think they develop it, they actually change it into something trivial and meaningless and similar to any other place in the world, something people like tourists who just stay for little time here appreciate. I don’t believe this leads to any real contribution. It is like putting on make-up to look beautiful, well it looks false rather than beautiful (see node: perception/ government/ lack of interest in local context).

Contrary to the local community of Hesban, people in the Citadel did not develop a society in which they capitalised on their feelings and attitudes towards the archaeological sites. Their knowledge and experience of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites were not explored by the agencies concerned with the Citadel. The scholars of these agencies did not engage, in any way, with the local community of the Citadel, as the Americans in Hesban did. However, the accounts delivered by many of the respondents in the Citadel demonstrates a critical engagement with the physical remains of the past, the levels of intervention conducted in the archaeological sites within their contexts as well as the agencies involved in the Citadel.

9.7 Khreibt al-Suq: The local community, the DAJ and the foreign agencies

Despite the fact that there is hardly any foreign agency involved in Khreibt al-Suq, the respondents make a distinction between the foreigners’ and the Government’s approach to the past by drawing on other sites where foreign agencies are involved, to demonstrate their points of view about certain issues. The visits the researcher was encouraged to make to other sites, and the time and effort the respondents put into demonstrating their points of view by being in the sites they referred to, gives an indication of a critical engagement with the past in Khreibt al-Suq.

9.7.1 Communication with the Government

The respondents were able to identify the Department of Antiquities (DAJ) as the agency that is in charge of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq. Mostly, the DAJ is identified as being a powerless agency that is governed by the Government's policies and strategies (e.g. node: perception/ government/ negative). According to Abu-Hilal "we see who works in here, they are as powerless as we are, they can't change things, those who have power don't get their hands dirty and visits the dusty places of the *athar*". Similarly, Omar observed that the archaeological work in Khreibt al-Suq is a 'top-down' process, in which the professionals working in the sites implement a pre-prepared agenda that is mainly concerned with technical issues. In Omar words: "those who work in here are simple and ready to talk to people, but we know that they, as archaeologists, have a plan, prepared by those who are above them, they cannot change it".

According to Abu-Shmeis, the Director of the excavation in Khreibt al Suq, and also the Inspector of Antiquities in Amman, "archaeologists tend to neglect what people think about archaeology, but in general, they are faced with lack of interest in the past by people ... People's conditions are not easy, and it is not fair to expect them to respect a distant past" (interview with Abu-Shmeis, 30th June 2004). Thus, from a professional point of view, scholars in Jordan scarcely show real interest in people's knowledge and feelings regarding archaeological sites. The general impression among the scholars is that people's lack of interest in the past is directly influenced by their hard economic conditions.

However, the reason that allows the professionals to pay little interest and sensitivity to interacting with the local community is, according to many respondents, due to a general belief "that people here don't care about archaeological places and they are content to have this mess around them" (interview with Seraj, 20th July 2004). This belief is demonstrated in Umm-Waddah's, a 70-year-old female, experience with the excavation team at the Byzantine chapel near her house. Sadly, the only time Umm-Waddah was contacted by the excavation team was regarding the rubbish that is found in the archaeological site adjacent to her house. Umm-Waddah responded to the question about who works in the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq near her house

by angrily stating that “the Government work nearby, they knock on our door to say that we throw our rubbish in the place where they are going to work, and asked me not to do that anymore, as if I am a child. They talked to me to accuse me of this”. Umm-Waddah found great offence in this accusation. She insisted that the researcher should watch how “the wind carries the plastic bag and the papers and the dirt from the main street to [her] garden as well as to the *athar*”. Umm-Waddah was anxious to emphasise that she cared about the archaeological site as part of her own place rather than a mere site that only scholars care about.

Similarly, Umm-Ameen, a 53-year-old female, explained that the members of the DAJ who are involved in the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq “are educated, and think they know better. They just come for few hours and they think they know everything in here. They know many things, I am not denying this, but they make mistakes by thinking that we don’t know or care, or we have nothing to contribute to these places but damage and rubbish ... because they are so distant from us, although they are Arab, people won’t speak to them ... my husband or my boys, they have never spoke to them, although they work next door” (see node: perception/ local community & archaeology). However, other respondents see that the local community of Khreibt al-Suq have very little to offer to the professionals involved in the archaeological sites, and consequently, the professionals do not have to interact with the local community in any way.

For example, Basem, a 35-year-old male, saw that the local community of Khreibt al-Suq is conservative and therefore perceives its past as part of general Islamic history, and this perception prevents them from establishing a relationship with any other past. Besides, Basem understood the difficulty of anchoring the contemporary context of Khreibt al-Suq to the archaeological sites such as those in Khreibt al-Suq. In Basem’s account, “Those who work in Khreibt al-Suq do their work in complete silence, they know if they start to talk to people, they [i.e. the local community] will start telling them about the Islamic past and the prophet and Macca and wars ... this is what people hear and learn, so don’t expect them to understand anything about any other past”. Similarly, Edrees, a 55-year-old male, emphasised that “it is natural [for the professionals] not to talk to lay people about the past”. According to Edrees, the past belongs exclusively to specific people who are either rich or professionals in

archaeology. In his words, “archaeology and the past and heritage is for the rich, you care about it because you are a student, to get a certificate, other people, especially those who live in here and in similar places, what do you expect them to tell you? Why communicate with them and waste effort and time, talk to those who dig there”.

Besides those who simply blame the Government for the lack of communication with the people, and those who deny the necessity of this communication, are those who show great interest in communicating with the excavation team in the Byzantine chapel. For example, Fadia, a 47-year-old female, expressed her wish to communicate with the excavation team, a desire that is influenced by the fact that the excavation team includes two female archaeologists:

no one talked to us, they just started working all of the sudden, but there are two girls, sometimes I wish we can talk to them, you know, we are not used to having girls working like this. I like to talk to them and ask them what they do ... I am sure all the women in Khreibt al-Suq like that. Whenever we get together someone says something about these two girls ... they like that there are women working in archaeology, especially that they look like us, you know, not foreigners.

Many respondents acknowledge that the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq are the subject of their casual conversations. For example Seraj, a 22-year-old male, observed, “people talk about these places, not only those who are educated. We sit in summer evenings over the stones there and we talk about these places ... about the past in general, and sometimes about the idea of changing this place into a park”. These conversations are triggered by the occasional visits that some foreign tourists make to the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq. Umayya, a 72-year-old female, noted:

maybe they [the Government] talk to the men, I have to ask my husband and sons, but when tourists ... come to visit the church or the Qasr [in reference to the Byzantine chapel and Qasr Erdainy respectively], you find people talk about them for a while, and now because the Government work in here, whenever we get together we talk about it, and the new columns they built, and we complain about the lights, and the rubbish, there is no light in here, and we can do with benches to sit on if they don't want the children to climb the stones to sit on them.

Despite the belief that the Government does not care about interaction with local communities regarding their past, Umayya suspects that the Government contacts the

males regarding the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq. This is an indication that archaeology is perceived as something exclusive for men, an assumption that is contradicted by the fact that the excavation team includes two females, as Fadia remarked above. Similarly, Saleh, a 67-year-old male, stated “the Government doesn’t talk to us about them, but we talk to each other about the past and Khreibt al-Dahab and Khreibt al-Suq, you see the name is after all very connected to the *athar* [archaeology], *Khreibh* means, as you know, *athar*”.

9.7.2 The foreign agencies vs. the Government: The search for development

The occasional visits that foreign tourists make to Khreibt al-Suq are repeatedly mentioned in the respondents’ accounts. This interest is derived from the respondents’ belief that the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq need foreigners’ attention in order to be improved. In this regard, Saleh informed the researcher that “[her] visit with the foreigners [the researcher’s supervisors] made people think that the foreigners are going to work here”, and that their visit was the subject of many conversations among the local community of Khreibt al-Suq. Saleh explained the local community’s eagerness to have foreigners working in the archaeological sites of Khreibt al-Suq as follows: “I cannot tell you how much people were enthusiastic about that, if the foreigners work here the Government will start treating the place differently, and maybe we will have lights in here, or paved streets”. Despite the enthusiasm that Jawad, a 20-year-old male, shared with Saleh for foreign involvement in Khreibt al-Suq, he suspected that “they will be influenced by what the Government tells them about the people in here as being ... not interested in anything related to the past”.

Although the respondents are fully aware that the DAJ is the only agency involved in the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq, this does not prevent some respondents from weighing the Government’s approach to the past against that of the foreign agencies. Amer, a 30-year-old male, pointed to the archaeological site of Tell ‘Umari (figure 9.9) in response to the question about the contribution of the levels of intervention to the local community of Khreibt al-Suq. The researcher visited Tell ‘Umari with Amer and his two children. The Tell is about 20 km to the west of

Khreibt al-Suq, is only reachable by car, and is almost completely separated from the urban context nearby. Amer wanted the researcher to see this site because:

The foreigners work in it for a few months every two years or so, but they improve things here, they build things and add things, every year we come here after they finish and we see something new, there is no fence around it. You see I am sure there is no one visiting it, it is isolated and you have to know about it to come and see it, but in Khreibt al-Suq the athar is among us, and because the Government is responsible for it, and not the foreigners as in here, there is nothing built or improved.



Figure 9.9 The reconstruction work conducted at Tell 'Umari (the researcher 2004)

Amer referred to Tell 'Umari as “dead archaeology” comparing to the “live archaeology” of Khreibt al-Suq. The name “dead *athar*” is influenced by the isolated location of Tell 'Umari, while “live *athar*” is inspired by the active location within the urban fabric of Khreibt al-Suq. Amer concluded: “we have brought you here ... to let you see what the foreigners do for the dead archaeology and what the Government do for the live ones. If the foreigners work in Khreibt al-Suq, they will not say, people will destroy it, so we won't do anything. I think they will improve things as they did in here”.

9.7.3 Cultural empowerment and grassroots development

Surprisingly, four female respondents emphasise that it is the duty of the local community of Khreibt al-Suq to empower itself and contribute to the archaeological

sites rather than to blame the Government for the lack of interaction with the people regarding the archaeological sites (see node: perception/ agencies/ communication/ lack of communication/ blaming local community). Fadia, for example, presumed “they [members of the excavation in the Byzantine chapel] probably think of us as ignorant. But I believe it is not part of their work to talk to us, maybe we have to speak to them about these places”. Similarly, Lama, a 39-year-old female, theorised:

It is our place and we are the only people who can treat it as a place for living, the Government cares about the problems in them, who destroy them, the rubbish, all these problems. The Government cannot think of it differently. As you see, it is not a rich area, or even close to it, and people are occupied with other things more important for them. I think what you need to do is to make the people think of these places as they think of their houses and schools, you know things that really make a difference in life ... like schools.

Aroob, a 19-year-old female, suggested that if any communication with the local community about the past is to take place, it has to be done through “societies and organisations that care about development of people and their places and lives”. For example, incorporating the physical remains of the past within development projects is achievable through societies that are, in the first place, concerned with issues that are closely relevant to people’s daily needs, “such as child care or improving the income or other societies that are concerned with development of women”. Aroob theorised that:

somehow through these societies, the Government should find a way to talk to women about the past in Khreibt al-Suq and the *athar*, I think this might work, and women will respond, as they show interest in other projects that directly touch their lives, you know, child-care and income management and increasing, but this is needed to be done in a clever way to make them feel that this is an important issue, you know they are not all educated (see node: perception/ local context & archaeology).

9.8 The impact of the levels of intervention on the local community

The question about how the archaeological sites and the work conducted in them can contribute to Khreibt al-Suq triggered the issue of economic and material development among some of the respondents. Mostly, the accounts of these respondents was based on the lack of infrastructure for tourism in Khreibt al-Suq, and therefore, the lack of possibility for archaeological sites to contribute to the local community of Hesban. However, others see that not all archaeological places have to

deliver money, as some of them can have a different influence on people's lives that can be described as cultural. The following sections explore the different points of view regarding the contribution of the archaeological sites and the levels of intervention involved to the local community of Khreibt al-Suq.

9.8.1 Sustainable development and social inclusion and exclusion

Exploring the contributions of archaeological sites to the local community of Khreibt al-Suq triggered debates and issues of segregation and alienation of local communities from archaeological sites. The respondents drew on other sites to explain their perception of archaeological sites' contribution to their local communities (see node: perception/ development). The main assumption in these accounts is that archaeological sites can survive into the future (i.e. be sustainable) only if they are anchored to people's contexts and daily life. Anchoring these sites to local contexts and making them contribute to people's lives is a subject of reflection on the Government as well as the foreign agencies approach to archaeological sites in Jordan.

For example, Ghada, a 20-year-old female, saw that while archaeological places such as Petra can contribute to development through attracting tourists, Khreibt al-Suq can hardly have any influence on improving people's lives. She admitted that she hardly saw any positive influence of tourism on local people's lives in Petra, but her argument was based on the fact that Petra attracts tourists and "the money it generates makes the Government claim that Petra contributes to the development of the country". Weighing Khreibt al-Suq against Petra, Ghada concluded that "development is about having money and using it, maybe to build [restore] the place, maybe to build a restaurant in it, these places [in Khreibt al-Suq] cannot generate money ... even if they did one day, people would not see any change in their lives, just like the people of Petra".

The levels of intervention conducted by governmental agencies in archaeological sites implies, according to Aroob, a message that reads: "if there is no tourism there is no need for developing archaeological sites ... and as you see, in Khreibt al-Suq we don't have tourism, and thus, we don't need to care for the past. This tells us that the past is

not taken seriously in Jordan". Taking the past seriously, as Aroob saw it, implies treating the past with respect: that is not to minimise it into a commodity to satisfy tourism market. A similar view was put forward by Omar, a 48-year-old male:

I believe those who genuinely care about archaeology, would not care if there are people visiting it or not. It is for *ahl el balad* [the nation] regardless of tourists and what they like or dislike. But we follow the taste of the foreigners, we think of the past as a market, as commodity if you like, that we sell to whoever pays, we sold Petra, Jerash and God knows what we are selling next. Do you know that Israeli tourists think that Petra is part of Israel, the Government doesn't even care about that, as long as they come and pay the 20 Jordanian Dinar. [in reference to the admission fees for the archaeological site of Petra] ... That is why we will never develop, not in archaeology, not in everything else, we took the worst in the West, their love for money, but nothing else.

Furthermore, the Government's perception of the past, as Seraj perceived it, is based on segregating archaeological sites from their geographic and social context. Although the Government uses wired fences in the Citadel and Hesban to identify and protect the archaeological sites, it is only in Khreibt al-Suq that people seem to be offended by them. These wires send a message to the local community that highlights them as "barbaric and gold-diggers", to use Seraj's words. These fences represent the Government's approach to archaeological sites within urban contexts. In Seraj words, "the Government wants to keep people away from *athar*. And when people refuse to accept the fence and break it and enter the place, the Government considers them as barbaric and gold-diggers" (see node: perception/ government/ lack of interest in local context).

Saleh used the example of Jerash to clarify the role of archaeological sites in people's lives, as practiced by the Government. He observed the segregation between the archaeological area and the residential one in Jerash. This segregation is imposed through the highway that was built in the mid 1980s and that separates Jerash into two parts: the ancient part and the modern, domestic one. Saleh's commented: "look at what the Government did in Jerash. When you visit Jerash, I have been there last week on a school trip, just observe how they opened a high-way which leads you to the Roman city without passing into the real Jerash where simple people live and work". Because of the difficulty of achieving a similar segregation in Khreibt al-Suq, where archaeological sites interweave with the urban context, Saleh saw that the

Government “will never be interested in developing things in here”. Saleh ended his account by declaring: “The Government does not think that tourism and the simple life that most Jordanians live, can exist together, they do not want to show it for tourists, so they do whatever they can to keep us out of the tourists’ eyes”.

Another account that capitalises on the Government’s levels of intervention in archaeological sites other than Khreibt al-Suq in order to respond to the question raised about the contribution of archaeological sites and the levels of intervention conducted in them to local communities’ lives, is the account delivered by Omar regarding the Suwaifyyeh Chapel. The Chapel was discovered in Suwaifyyeh, a commercial and residential district in Amman, and was dated to the Byzantine period, has caught Omar’s attention as he worked in one of the stores there.

Omar emphasised many points regarding this site that for him would help the researcher understand how the Government approaches the physical remains of the past in Jordan. This example highly influenced the writing of chapter 7 in this thesis. The example provides some understanding of the very little attention that is paid to the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq that makes it extremely difficult for such sites to have an influence on the quality of people’s lives there. The respondent, Omar, met the researcher in Suwaifyyeh to help her understand his point of view: he remarked that the sign put by the Government to indicate the place says: “Suwaifyyeh mosaic” (figure 9.10). The sign, according to Omar, does not acknowledge the fact that the mosaic is only part of the Chapel that is dated to the 6th century A.D. Besides, as the sign is written in English, it sends a message that: “we [in reference to the Government] want only foreigners to come here, and want them to see the mosaic”, Omar continued “where can the influence on the local community come from?”. Besides, a visit to the ‘mosaic’ shows that the intervention level neglected the architectural features of the chapel and focused on the “wow factor” as Addison (2004: 235) puts it: the mosaic floor (figure 9.11).



Figure 9.10 The sign that indicates the Suwaifyyeh chapel (the researcher 2004)

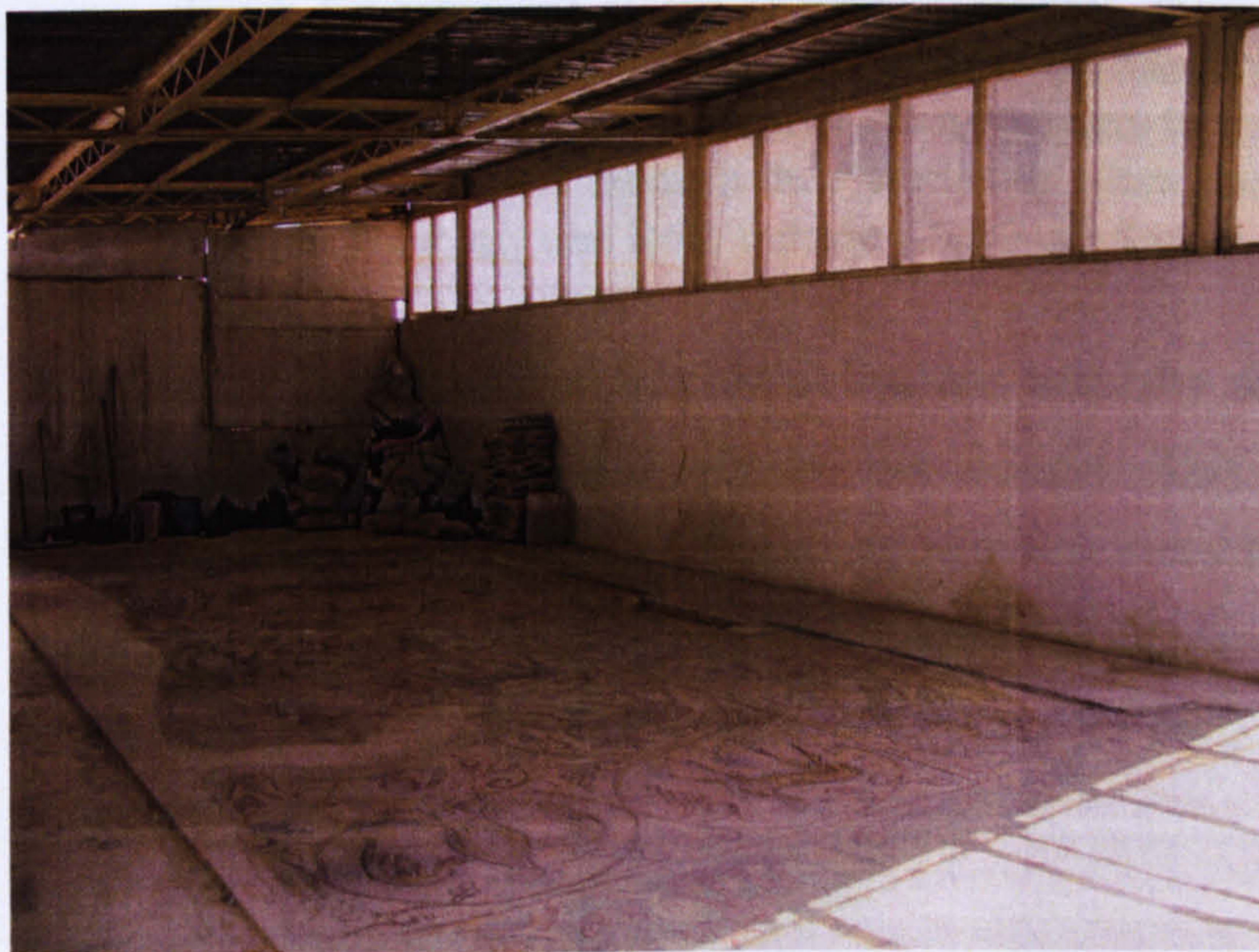


Figure 9.11 Inside the Suwaifyyeh chapel; the emphasis on the mosaic floor (the researcher 2004)

Interestingly, the level of intervention that implies reburying mosaic floors in Khreibt al-Suq was interpreted by some respondents as an action that increases alienation of the local community from the archaeological site. For example, Abu-Hilal built his account regarding the contribution of archaeological sites to the local community in Khreibt al-Suq on the following observation:

These places cannot contribute anything new. The Government doesn't want the people to see beautiful things. They hide the mosaic because they think people here don't need such a thing and that if they see it,

they will destroy it and look for gold underneath. This is how they think of us ... because they keep thinking of us this way they are not ready to do anything to the place. There is not even an asphalt road or a light column close to it.

In response to the question about the future of the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq, Samar, a 29-year-old female, saw that these sites are used by people for different purposes as they are “in everyday conversations, and in mothers’ stories about the bogey man and the good and the bad”. Thus, the lack of investment in using them for tourism purposes will hardly influence their existence in people’s memories and stories. Samar continued her account regarding her uses of the archaeological site nearby her house:

I always refer to the *Qasr* [in reference to Qasr Erdainy] when I am guiding someone to my house, it is impossible to tell someone where you live exactly in Khreibt al-Suq if it were not for the *Qasr* and the church [in reference to the Byzantine chapel], these things keep the places alive in our life. I am sure, even if the Government decides to destroy these places, or no matter what happens to them in the future, people will still use them in their stories or when they try to describe their place for any one from outside Khreibt al-Suq.

Thus, archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq are culturally sustained as they exist in people’s memories, stories and everyday conversation. This cultural sustainability is also evident in Abu-Mohammad’s account, which pictures the future of the sites as being protected by the general belief that “*elle malo kadeem malo jaded* [those who have no past have no future]” (see node: perception/ the past).

9.9 Summary and immediate inferences

This chapter has examined the respondents’ accounts in response to questions about the influence of the levels of intervention conducted at the archaeological sites in question on the local communities. These accounts complete those explored in chapter 8 regarding the respondents’ experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the archaeological sites themselves and contribute to the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in question. The meaning-making process of these archaeological sites does not only take place within the domain in which local communities interact with their contexts, but also within the domain in which local

communities interact, or otherwise, with the scholars involved in these sites, and the way they perceive the levels of intervention conducted at these sites.

This aspect of the meaning-making process that involves interaction, or lack of it, between local communities and scholars results in exploring issues that are relevant to sustainable development as it is explored in chapter 5. In this sense, most of the respondents' accounts explored above provided a critical engagement with the agencies in charge of the archaeological sites, and the levels of intervention conducted not only in the sites in question, but also in other sites. Furthermore, the sense of inclusion as well as exclusion from the processes in which the archaeological sites are perceived and approached by these agencies was evident in many accounts. Such accounts raise questions about the lack of public awareness in the importance of archaeology in Jordan that local scholars keep emphasising: is it a myth that is sustained by the lack of local scholars' awareness of the public perceptions of archaeology, or is it a pretext that reinforces their position as professionals and experts?

The immediate inferences derived from the data explored in this chapter are given the symbol CSJ and presented in table 9.1 below, together with the data used to generate them. These immediate inferences are triangulated with immediate inferences generated from the different chapters of this study, to create a suggested approach towards material of the past in Jordan, in chapter 10.

Table 9.1 Generation of the immediate inferences CSJ from the data explored in chapter 9

Serial no.	Description of Data	Generation → Immediate Inferences CSJ
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Americans' approach to people, place and time of Hesban as a whole resonates with the local community's perceptions of the different times and places of the archaeological sites in Hesban, which was explored in chapter 8. The approach indicates the American's mental involvement with Hesban to understand its time, place and people of the past as well as the present. This resulted in establishment of trust among the local community of Hesban of the Andrews University team. • Umm-Ameen explained that the members of the DAJ who are involved in the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq "are educated, and think they know better. They just come for few hours and they think they know everything in here. They know many things, I am not denying this, but they make mistakes 	<p>For local communities to share their cultural knowledge with scholars, scholars need to gain local communities' trust. This is crucial in contexts where local communities reflect on political and social issues to convey their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. Sharing these reflections with strangers is very unlikely in overtly or implicitly suppressed contexts. Thus, establishing active communication with local communities is contingent on their trust of</p>

	<p>by thinking that we don't know or care, or we have nothing to contribute to these places but damage and rubbish ... because they are so distant from us, although they are Arab, people won't speak to them ... my husband or my boys, they have never spoke to them, although they are our neighbours".</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the general feeling of alienation from the agencies working in the Citadel, as well as their work, some respondents found it important to report their endeavours to communicate with the local workers in the Citadel. For example, Abdel-Rahman recalled that "once in the 90s I saw a man in his fifties or sixties, wearing <i>hatta</i> [traditional Jordanian men's head cover], one from us. He was a mason, working on stones, curving them ... He said he was working with the foreigners and that they gave him good money for his work ... we had a talk about what they do and the quarries they got the stones from". Abdel-Rahman's remark regarding the <i>hatta</i> demonstrates that initiating the communication was based on his feeling that the worker is part of his local community. 	<p>scholars, and the confidentiality in the process of communication.</p>
<p>7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In response to the question about the influence of the levels of intervention in the Citadel on the local community, Wajeeh draws on the archaeological site of Ain Ghazal, and his experience as a worker there during the 1980s under the supervision of an American team. Wajeeh weighs the conditions of the physical remains of Ain Ghazal during the excavation seasons against the current one, and compares it to those of the Lower Citadel. • Although the respondents are fully aware that the DAJ is the only agency involved in the archaeological sites in Khreibt al-Suq, this hardly prevents some respondents from weighing the Government's approach to the past to that of the foreign agencies. Amer pointed to the archaeological site of Tell 'Umari (figure 9) in response to the question about the contribution of the levels of intervention to the local community of Khreibt al-Suq. The researcher visited Tell 'Umari with Amer and his two children. The Tell is about 20 KM to the west of Khreibt al-Suq. The Tell is only reachable by car and almost completely separated from the urban context nearby. Amer wanted the researcher to see this site because "The foreigners work in it for a few months every two years or so, but they improve things here, they build things and add things, every year we come here after they finish and we see something new, there is no fence around it. You see I am sure there is no one visiting it, it is isolated and you have to know about it to come and see it, but in Khreibt al-Suq the athar is among us, and because the Government is responsible for it, and not the foreigners as in here, there is nothing built or improved". 	<p>Foreign agencies and the nature of their interest in both archaeological sites in Jordan in general, and the sites in question in particular, were subject to local communities' critical engagement and analysis (both positive and negative).</p>
<p>8</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Omar remarked that the sign put by the Government to indicate the place says: "Suwaifyyeh mosaic" (figure 10). The sign, according to Omar, does not acknowledge the fact that the mosaic is only 	<p>Many respondents in the case studies investigated believe that the Government is interested only in archaeological sites that have</p>

	<p>part of the Chapel that is dated to the 6th century A.D. Besides, as the sign is written in English, it sends a message that: “we [in reference to the Government] want only foreigners to come here, and want them to see the mosaic”, Omar continued “where can the influence on the local community come from?”. Besides, a visit to the ‘mosaic’ shows that the intervention level neglected the architectural features of the chapel and focused on the “wow factor” as Addison (2004: 235) puts it: the mosaic floor (figure 11).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saleh used the example of Jerash to clarify the role of archaeological sites in people’s lives, as the Government identifies it. He observes the segregation between the archaeological area and the residential one in Jerash. This segregation is imposed through the highway that was built in mid of the 1980s and that separates Jerash into two parts: the ancient part and the modern, domestic one. Saleh ended his account by declaring: “The Government do not think that tourism and the simple life that most of the Jordanian live, can exist together, they do not want to show it for tourists, so they do whatever they can to keep us out of the tourists eyes”. • Mefleh showed great awareness of issues relevant to specific villages in Jordan where local communities were forced to leave their villages in order for the Government to convert them into hotels and restaurants that aim at attracting tourists. Mefleh argued that in Umm-Qais, a village in the north of Jordan, “people were kicked out of their old houses because of archaeology ... <i>beit Al Roosan</i> [Al Roosan house] was changed to museum, and <i>beit Malkawi</i> [Malkawi house] was changed to a restaurant called Romareo or Romero, I don’t know”. Umm-Qais case was explored in chapter 7. Mefleh continued that “Umm-Qais and other villages such as Tabet Zaman and Dana show you what the Government want from the past ... such treatment of the past makes people hate tourism and the Government ... the money goes to those who are rich and to the Government, people just lose their places ... these things [levels of intervention] cannot contribute something good to people, but of course they generate money to the Government”. 	<p>potential to attract tourists, and that the ordinary sites such as those exist within their contexts are hardly of any importance for the Government.</p>
<p>9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many accounts demonstrate the alienation of the local community of the Citadel from the agencies involved in the archaeological work: “what matters for the foreigners and the Government and people like you [in reference to researchers] is the stones and the past and the heritage and all we talked about in the beginning, what matters for our Government is the parties and the money, and between these two, we [the people of the Citadel] are forgotten, they don’t talk to us, and this is not surprising” (Wedad). • Mefleh observed that the people who are in charge of the work in the Citadel hardly stay in the sites: “we see workers, Jordanians, but we know they are not in charge, and there is a foreigner who pays them, or an officer from the archaeology [in 	<p>The respondents assume that their accounts regarding the archaeological sites do not matter for the Government and the scholars alike. This is also evident in the respondents’ astonishment of the researcher’s interest in their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. If it were not for in-depth interviews, local communities’ rich and diverse accounts about archaeological sites within their contexts would not be noticed. In-depth</p>

	<p>reference to the DAJ] who tells them to keep working and not to talk to anyone ... We want someone from the educated and who are in charge to talk to us, knock our doors, us who lived in here all our lives. These people prefer to stay in their offices and run things from behind their desks, those who are here are just like us, don't know what is going on".</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mariam explained that in order for a positive influence to take a place, scholars involved in the Citadel should be "different than those who dig and build the Citadel now. We need different people for this. Those who work in here just build the stones and dig the soil. They do not talk to us and tell us what they do. At least they [referring to the DAJ] have to talk to the neighbours. As you can see, iur houses are very close to where they work". 	<p>engagement with local communities is what the Government avoids by failing to acknowledge these sites as cultural heritage.</p>
<p>10</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective meetings are common in the Jordanian communities to discuss crucial issues that are directly related to people's lives and that needed collective discussion and decision. Holding such a meeting to discuss the Tell of Hesban can be understood as an indication that the past and its material is one of these crucial issues for the local community of Hesban. It reflects that the local community is capable to communicate seriously about archaeological sites, even in the absence of 'outside' steering powers such as the DAJ or the Andrews University team. However, it is important to realise the influence of the Americans' attitude towards the local community of Hesban in initiating this action, especially that the meeting was organised by members who were honoured by the Americans as main stakeholders of the Tell. • The acknowledgment of ownership empowers people as it establishes a sense of equality with the foreigners, who are usually in power, among the local community. Rasheed recognised that "the most important thing in what is going on in the Tell is that we all feel equal, you know, the workers, the students [the Andrews University team], the [local] people". • Empowering people through emphasising their ownership and responsibility of the Tell is evident in the ceremony that marked the culmination of the 2004 excavation season in Hesban. The ceremony took place in the Tell. Andrews University team chose to honour some members of the local community in Hesban by giving them awards: Bags with Hesban's name written on it in both Arabic and English. 	<p>Communicating with people regarding their past empowers them. This empowerment prepares local communities for collective actions regarding their past. People's empowerment introduces a new political context to archaeology. This empowerment is derived from the shift in the nature of interaction between scholars and local communities from a 'top-down' approach that aims at increasing their awareness of the importance of the past, to a 'bottom-up', interactive approach that acknowledges them as the 'enabler' of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.</p>

The immediate inferences explored in the above table examine how the meaning-making process of the archaeological sites in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq are influenced by the way local communities perceive the agencies involved in these sites. Together with the previous chapter, this chapter examines the different levels of

the meaning-making process of material of the past in Jordan. The following chapter capitalised on the immediate inferences generated from these chapters, together with the immediate inferences generated throughout the different chapters of the thesis, to formulate a suggested approach to archaeological sites that is community-based, culture-led and context-oriented.

Chapter 10: From Archaeological Sites to Cultural Heritage: Towards a Sustainable Approach

There is no reason why we should not make use of a battery of indicators supplemented by qualitative information. The more so that values, aspirations and life-styles belong to the realm of cultural diversity, which does not lend itself to statistical treatment (Sachs 1999: 29).

10.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to go beyond the conventional, ‘top-down’ approach to the identification, evaluation and intervention in archaeological sites in Jordan by suggesting a community-based, context-oriented and culture-led one. It draws on the literature discussed in chapters 3 to 7, and the accounts delivered by the local communities in Jordan discussed in chapters 8 and 9, to suggest that archaeological sites cannot exist outside their contemporary contexts. Instead, these sites constitute part of local communities’ historic and contemporary contexts. The capacity of local communities to interweave archaeological sites with daily life legitimates them as cultural heritage. In this sense, cultural heritage is a process through which archaeological sites are transformed into something meaningful to local communities. In short, this chapter “[makes] use of a battery of indicators supplemented by qualitative information” (Sachs 1999: 29) that are identified in this study as immediate inferences, to suggest an alternative approach to archaeological sites in Jordan.

This alternative approach draws on local communities’ experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes in order to understand the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. It challenges the presumption that archaeological sites exist outside local communities’ consciousness, and that local communities are part of the problem that archaeological sites face. Instead, it argues that archaeological sites acquire meanings through continuous interaction between local communities and these sites. These meanings are different from intrinsic values and assigned ones as they are derived from local communities’ contexts, culture and contemporary issues.

10.2 Generation of mediate inferences

As explained in chapter 2, this research is inductive in nature. It works from ‘bottom’ to ‘top’ in order to develop “theoretical categories, concepts, and propositions” (Fielding and Fielding 1986: 44). These concepts are used to criticise the conventional approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan, and to suggest an alternative one that is community-based and context-oriented. The literature examined throughout the chapters, and the data collected during the fieldwork of this study, are both used to generate immediate inferences. These inferences and the data that generated them are presented in tables at the end of each chapter. Every inference is given a symbol that refers to the chapter the reference is derived from, and a number that indicates its sequence in the table. The following table shows the symbols used to refer to the immediate inferences of each chapter.

Table 10.1 *The symbols of the immediate inferences in each chapter, their numbers and their tables' numbers*

Chapters	Immediate inferences' symbols
3: Theories and Practices Concerned with Material of the Past: The Power of Context	TPP
4: UNESCO Documents: The Universal and the Marginalised	UNESCO
5: Sustainability: Community, Context, Culture and Development	S
6: The Meaning-Making Process of the Past and its Material	MMP
7: The Jordanian Approaches to Material of the Past: Inventing the 'National' and Marginalising the Past	JA
8: The Meaning-Making Process 1: the Local Communities, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq	CSJ
9: The Meaning-Making Process 2: the Local Communities, the Scholars and the Levels of intervention in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq	CSJ

In this chapter, two or more of these immediate inferences are linked to generate mediate inferences. The inferences, both mediate and immediate, focus on post-colonial contexts and marginalised communities; therefore providing the substance for the formulation of the suggested approach to the identification, evaluation and intervention in the archaeological sites in Jordan. Figure 2.1, pg. 25 in the Methodology chapter represents this process of triangulation that aims to create the suggested approach. The following sections explore the process through which the inferences have been compiled to create the suggested approach. The immediate

inferences from the different chapters and the mediate inferences generated from them are presented in table 10.2 at the end of this chapter.

10.2.1 The role of context in generating sustainable approaches to material of the past

Five immediate inferences that examine the importance of context in generating theories and practices concerned with material of the past are identified throughout the chapters:

- Immediate inference 1 TPP, which indicates that since early civilisations, people's attitudes towards the material of the past have been highly influenced by changes in their contexts, cultures, beliefs and practices. The influence of contexts and the human dimension was obscured by the 'objective' approach that Western scholars have created and adopted, since the Renaissance period, to understanding and approaching the past.
- Immediate inference 2 TPP, which suggests that Western approaches to the past are heavily influenced by Western social, political, economic and cultural contexts. However, these approaches are rarely criticised, and are applied indiscriminately in many contexts, especially post-colonial ones. This uncritical approach is facilitated by two factors. First, technical practices concerned with the material of the past are applied without acknowledgement of their conceptual frameworks. Second, most governments and institutional bodies in post-colonial contexts strive to identify themselves with the West in almost all aspects of life.
- Immediate inference 1 UNESCO, which indicates that the uncritical adoption of Western approaches to the past in post-colonial contexts has been enhanced and legitimised by UNESCO's charters, conventions, and institutions.
- Immediate inference 5 S, which suggests that sustainable approaches generate from local communities' contexts. They reflect local cultures and tackle local issues. Approaches that are pre-designed and imposed on these contexts rarely generate a positive and continuous impact on local communities' life.
- Immediate inference 2 JA, which suggests that in the post-colonial context of Jordan, the 'top-down' approach to the past is the norm. Very little interest, if any, is paid to local contexts or local perceptions of archaeological sites.

Western agencies, supported by Western-oriented local scholars, and the Jordanian Government that strives to be identified with the West, are responsible for applying Western approaches to the material of the past in Jordan without critical engagement.

The mediate inference derived from the above immediate inferences is that sustainable approaches develop out of the contexts *in* which they are applied rather than being designed and imposed *on* these contexts. Contexts play an influential role in the meaning-making process of material of the past. However, this role is obscured by the dominance of Western perceptions and practices. In Western approaches, the notions of monumentality and authenticity overwhelm what is local and ordinary. The levels of intervention that develop in response to these notions are mainly concerned with conserving physical material, with very little interest in intangible aspects of the past. Imposing such approaches on contexts that value the intangible and the ordinary is fundamentally opposed to sustainability.

10.2.2 Sustainability: The dynamic relationship between context and the human factor

The way contexts operate on the past is suggested through people's experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, material of the past, which represent the human factor. The immediate inferences that examine the relationship between the human factor, contexts and sustainability are:

- Immediate inference 3 TPP, which suggests that 'objective', 'scientific' and 'rigid' approaches to the past shifted towards more dynamic ones when local communities and contexts were recognised and appreciated by Western scholars operating in post-colonial countries.
- Immediate inference 4 TPP, which suggests that in contexts where issues such as identity and local rights were stimulated and disputed, the significance of the past shifted from domination by inherent values (e.g. aesthetic values and authenticity) towards interest in assigned ones (e.g. religious, social and cultural values).
- Immediate inference 1 S, which indicates a dramatic shift in the meaning of sustainability from being economy-based (i.e. mainly concerned with the

balance between supplies and demands) towards being more inclusive and human-based (i.e. mainly concerned with cultural aspects of life), which occurred when the intangible aspects of human needs in deprived contexts were recognised.

- Immediate inference 2 MMP, which suggests that a human-based approach to the past implies focusing on dynamic subjects such as memories and stories. Memories and stories ‘humanise’ the past. They anchor its material to place. They operate as processes that reflect the way individuals as well as communities define themselves. The use of memories and stories in the meaning-making process of the past is explained in section 2.3 of this chapter.

The mediate inference derived from the above immediate inferences is that community-led, context-oriented and culture-based approaches to the material of the past are more likely to develop in contexts where issues such as identity and local rights are stimulated and debated. It is also in these contexts that the notion of sustainability develops into a more inclusive definition that is human-based and ‘bottom-up’. The intersection between the human factor, contexts and sustainability in studies concerned with the material of the past brings subjects such as the notion of places, memory and story into the foreground.

10.2.3 The role of memories and stories in establishing a sustainable approach to archaeological sites

The human factor and its influence on the meaning-making process of the past are suggested through the role that memories and stories play in this process. This research identifies four immediate inferences that examine the role of memories and stories in establishing a sustainable approach to archaeological sites. The immediate inferences are:

- Immediate inference 3 MMP, which shows that memories and stories are an essential part of the process through which people identify themselves and the world around them. Furthermore, they offer an introduction into cultural knowledge, which is a reflection of people’s perceptions of their contexts. In this sense, memories and stories change archaeological sites into places that are experienced actively as part of daily life.

- Immediate inference 4 MMP, which indicates that individual and/or collective attachment to a place is a result of different elements such as memories, stories, place identity, identity of place, and sense of continuity as well as local and cultural knowledge. These elements constitute and foster attachment to a place through their contribution to the meaning-making process of place. The lack of individual and/or collective attachment reflects, in many senses, a lack of meaning in a place for its local community.
- Immediate inference 7 S, which indicates that memories and stories are processes through which cultures are reproduced, and local communities are empowered. As reproduction and empowerment are at the heart of sustainability (see chapter 5; sections 5.1 and 5.2), consulting memories and stories is fundamental to the establishment of sustainable approaches to the past.
- Immediate inference 5 CSJ, which shows that memories and stories offer ‘life’ to archaeological sites. People draw on their individual as well as collective memories and stories to share their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. These memories and stories offer local communities an opportunity to express their social and political opinions in an implicit way. This implicitness is important in contexts where explicit expression of such opinions could result in people’s freedom being jeopardised (see chapter 8; section 5.3).

The mediate inference from these four sources of information is that memories and stories play an influential role in the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. In this process of meaning-making, archaeological sites are conceptualised as places that are part of people’s lives. Their meanings are produced and reproduced in accordance with context. Because the power of ‘reproduction’ resides within memories and stories, they are essential elements for initiating a sustainable approach to archaeological sites. Furthermore, memories and stories enhance the inherent and assigned values of archaeological sites; thus, they provide dynamism to the conventional processes of identification and evaluation. Besides, memories and stories offer an access to marginalised stories and counter-memories, and provide a platform for people to express their opinion safely, without suppression: they empower people.

Empowerment is also an element of sustainability; thus, consulting memories and stories in processes concerned with identification and evaluation of archaeological sites can initiate a sustainable approach to them.

10.2.4 The relationship between attachment and sustainability

The relationships that people develop with the material of the past on the basis of cultural attachment and sense of continuity imply potential for sustainability. The immediate inferences that examine sense of attachment to material of the past, and the influence it has on establishing sustainability, read as follows:

- Immediate inference 5 TPP, which suggests that spiritual and cultural attachment to the Classical past guaranteed its continuity in modern Western culture. Greek and Roman Classical remains generated power that tended to unify the West.
- Immediate inference 5 MMP, which suggests that at the heart of people's attachment to material of the past, is their capacity to develop a sense of continuity through the time and the place of that past. In this sense, archaeological sites are places with temporal depth which physical evidence reflects. These places are socially constructed on the basis of contemporary issues. The social construction of archaeological sites suggests the quality of attachment that people develop to the past and its places.
- Immediate inference 8 S, which suggests that a sense of attachment to places empowers people. It enables them to engage critically with any external intervention in these places. It also delivers action against any attempts to exploit these places. Therefore, a sense of attachment to places with temporal depth generates self-empowerment.
- Immediate inference 1 JA, which suggests that the conventional approach to the past in Jordan neglects the cultural continuity of the past that Jordan has through time and place. The approach is based on the assumption that Jordan does not have a cultural attachment to the past before 1750 AD, and instead focuses on modern Jordan as an entity that was created recently. It therefore assumes that the only time that matters in shaping the present and future of Jordan is that of the Hashemites, which started in Jordan only in 1921.

- Immediate inference 1 CSJ, which demonstrates that most of the respondents in the three places investigated consider archaeological sites as their cultural heritage only when they are able to interweave them with their lives. Contrary to the sharp distinction that the Jordanian Government has established between archaeology and heritage, local communities perceive the past as a whole. They draw on incidents from historic and contemporary contexts to explain their perceptions of, and feelings towards, archaeological sites.

The mediate inference from these five immediate inferences is that a sense of continuity with certain times and places generates attachment to them. Attachment to historic places empowers people. This empowerment is evident in the critical thinking that people develop about the agents involved in these places and the levels of intervention conducted in them. The critical approach to the projects conducted in places with temporal depth encourages collective actions that are designed to prevent these places from being exploited or controlled by 'outsiders'. Thus, critical engagement generates self-empowerment.

Self-empowerment is essential for establishing a 'bottom-up' approach. In studies concerned with material of the past, a 'bottom-up' approach is based on exploring local communities' own contexts and culture, and their influence on material of the past. In this process of exploration, archaeological sites are related to contemporary contexts and current issues. Anchoring archaeological sites to contemporary cultural, social, political and economic contexts generates their meanings. It is through this interweaving with contemporary contexts that archaeological sites maintain their continuity in people's lives. The way people relate archaeological sites to their contexts is only accessible through in-depth and active engagement with local communities.

10.2.5 The role of in-depth engagement in generating sustainability

Interactive communication with local communities about the material of the past provides an insight into their cultural knowledge. Capitalising on cultural knowledge to establish development is at the heart of sustainability. The relationship between

interactive communication and sustainability is represented in the following immediate inferences:

- Immediate inference 1 MMP, which suggests that meanings are generated only through interaction between people and things. This process of interaction is highly influenced by surrounding contexts, as well as memories and stories that influence people and their relationship with things. It is only through exploring this interaction that scholars can gain an insight into the meaning-making process of things. Exploring people's experiences requires interacting with them.
- Immediate inference 3 S, which indicates that in-depth communication with people empowers them. It enhances the feeling that they, as individuals as well as a community, count. While conventional approaches to development consider communication with people as a waste of time, effort and money, the recent approaches that aim at initiating sustainability recognise people's experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes as essential factors in defining problems and suggesting solutions. These factors provide an insight into people's contemporary and historic contexts. They are accessible only through interactive communication between people and scholars.
- Immediate inference 4 S, which suggests that cultural knowledge is a process through which people understand, define and redefine the world around them. Although this process is highly influenced by changes in contexts, it provides people with personal security and group pride. In this sense, cultural knowledge empowers people, and therefore provides potential for a 'bottom-up' approach (see chapter 5; section 6.1).
- Immediate inference 2 CSJ, which indicates that approaching local communities regarding archaeological sites within their contexts needs to be preceded by an investigation of local communities' contexts. This investigation enables scholars to communicate with people and understand their accounts about archaeological sites. The accounts themselves can provide further information about people's contexts, and in many cases, urge scholars to make further investigations about the contexts and their influence on the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.

- Immediate inference 6 CSJ, which indicates that for local communities to share their cultural knowledge with scholars, scholars need to gain local communities' trust. This is crucial in contexts where local communities reflect on political and social issues to convey their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. Sharing these reflections with strangers is very unlikely in overtly or implicitly suppressed contexts. Thus, establishing active communication with local communities is contingent on their trust of scholars, and confidentiality in the process of communication.

The mediate inference from these immediate inferences is that interactive communication initiates sustainability as it brings local contexts, knowledge and experiences to the foreground and employs them in identification, evaluation and intervention in people's places. People and places are inextricably linked, and investigating one of them leads to exploring the other. Therefore, interactive communication with people regarding their places can only be done on the basis of mutual trust and confidentiality. This process of active communication empowers people as it initiates a 'bottom-up' approach towards the past, in which scholars are influenced by local contexts rather than universal theories and practices.

10.2.6 The necessity for initiating a critical approach to the material of the past

The immediate inferences that suggest the necessity for critical engagement with theories and practices concerned with material of the past, and the role of such engagement in bringing contexts, local communities and cultural knowledge into the foreground are:

- Immediate inference 6 TPP, which indicates that the consequences of Western approaches to the material of the past in the colonies alienate local communities of the colonies from the past and its material. Colonised people were denied any relationship with that past. In post-colonial contexts, approaches to the past hardly differ from those developed during colonialism, with their emphasis on the ancient past, monumentality, authenticity and technical issues of conservation.

- Immediate inference 2 UNESCO, which indicates that many of UNESCO charters and conventions concerned with the material of the past represent a new form of Western colonisation in post-colonial contexts. The notion of universality and generality, which UNESCO charters and conventions have championed, contribute to the empowerment and legitimisation of Western influence over the past in the rest of the world.
- Immediate inference 9 S, which suggests that while Western approaches to the past among Western scholars were able to shift towards more inclusive and democratic approaches, the Western approaches that were adopted during colonialism and which persisted in post-colonial contexts hardly changed. On the contrary, they were fostered by the ‘top-down’ structures of the post-colonial governments themselves. The persistence of ‘top-down’ approaches in post-colonial contexts prevents local scholars from moving towards more democratic and inclusive approaches.
- Immediate inference 3 JA, which shows that the lack of critical approach to the past in Jordan is due to two factors. First, in the post-colonial context of Jordan, where the Government and institutions strive to be identified with the West and compromise its identity in this process, very little effort, if at all, is made to question any shifts in Western policies. Second, in this context, the ‘top-down’ approach dominates almost all policies and practices. In this approach ‘top-down’, local communities are seen as one of the problems that archaeological sites face, and as an obstacle that needs to be tackled, rather than as main stakeholders in the process of approaching archaeological sites.

The mediate inference from these immediate inferences is that critical engagement delivers sustainable approaches to the past. It brings issues such as local contexts, cultural knowledge, feelings and attitudes to the foreground. However, in post-colonial contexts, critical engagement is restricted by several factors: the dominance of Western approaches that is sustained by UNESCO charters and conventions; the colonial legacy that sustains the alienation of the local communities from their past; and lastly the persistence of ‘top-down’ approaches in post-colonial contexts that prevent governments and local scholars from considering local communities’ perceptions of, and approaches to the past. In this sense, liberation from the taken-for-

granted approaches and adoption of critical engagement are crucial for initiating a sustainable approach to material of the past.

10.2.7 The role of local communities in initiating a critical approach to the past

Marginalised communities constitute an ideal environment in which to develop critical engagement with conventional approaches. The immediate inferences that explore the role of local communities in establishing a critical approach to the past are:

- Immediate inference 7 TPP, which suggests that it is among marginalised and suppressed communities that Western scholars started to realise the importance of context and the human factor in approaching the past. In these approaches, exploring the past as part of contemporary life is inextricably linked to bringing the individual, whether ancient or modern, into the foreground. Thus, it is in marginalised contexts that archaeologists developed an anthropological approach to the past.
- Immediate inference 6 S, which indicates that it is in small places and marginalised communities that people show most interest in the past as part of their contexts, culture and way of life. This interest stimulates people to address critical issues in the field of culture and development when consulted about the material of the past in their contexts.
- Immediate inference 4 CSJ, which suggests that local communities, in their construction of meanings of archaeological sites, tend to provide accounts that are based on critical engagement with the past. They tend to construct meanings for these sites on the basis of debated issues that are relevant to their daily lives. Political and economic issues are the most prominent, and accounts related to these issues tend to criticise the Government and its institutions.
- Immediate inference 7 CSJ, which suggests that foreign agencies and the nature of their interest in both archaeological sites in Jordan in general, and the sites in question in particular, were subject to local communities' critical engagement and analysis (both positive and negative).

The mediate inference from these four immediate inferences is that the meaning-making process of archaeological sites that is conducted by local communities is

based on their critical engagement with the past (its material, people and events), as well as their engagement with local and foreign agencies involved in these archaeological sites. Critical engagement with the past is at the heart of local communities' approach to material of the past. This engagement is suggested in accounts that stem from local communities' contemporary and historic contexts. Most of these accounts indicate feelings of suppression and marginalisation. Marginalisation intensifies the past, and stimulates people to think and act critically towards practices concerned with places of the past. Local communities find in archaeological sites an arena in which to criticise the Government as well as local and foreign agencies involved in archaeology. In-depth engagement with local communities provides scholars with insights into people's critical engagement with the past and its material, and can encourage them to approach the past and the theories and practices concerned with it critically.

10.2.8 Marginalised communities and the 'top-down' approach to material of the past

Immediate inferences that investigate the relationship between marginalised communities and their influence on reversing 'top-down' approaches, and were developed throughout the chapters are:

- Immediate inference 8 TPP, which suggests that the dominance of Western approaches to the past prevented scholars, Western and local alike, from recognising alternative approaches to the past that are derived from local contexts and cultures. The conventional Western approach to the past implied 'top-down' policies and strategies in identifying, evaluating and intervening with archaeological sites that persisted in approaches to the past in many contexts in the world.
- Immediate inference 10 TPP, which indicates that although Western approaches shifted from marginalising local communities towards embracing their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past; in post-colonial contexts that are heavily dominated by 'top-down' strategies and policies, appreciation of local perceptions is hard to establish.
- Immediate inference 3 UNESCO, which suggests that the universal and general approach to the material of the past adopted by most countries resulted

in marginalising local practices and, in some cases, trivialising them. Marginalising local approaches to the past in the context where they are developed and applied, implies marginalising the culture that produced the approach, and the people of that culture.

- Immediate inference 2 S, which shows that ‘top-down’ approaches confine the concept of sustainability to technical issues. The meaning of sustainability in the ‘top-down’ approach concerned with the material of the past is restricted to maintaining archaeological sites in conditions that facilitate exploiting them as touristic and/or scientific venues. This implies focusing on intervention that are concerned with the physical appearance of archaeological sites.

The mediate inference from the above immediate inferences is that the dominance of the ‘top-down’ approach in post-colonial contexts prevents scholars, as well as Governments, from considering more recent democratic approaches to the past. As local communities in these contexts are constantly perceived as a problem that threatens material of the past, it is hard for post-colonial governments and local scholars to realise the attachment local communities develop with archaeological sites as places, and the meanings they constitute for them as part of their contemporary contexts, culture and issues.

The following discussion reflects on the Jordanian context and the approach to archaeological sites in that context. It examines the need for a critical approach to the past in the post-colonial context of Jordan. It also explains the role that local scholars in Jordan should play in order to replace the ‘top-down’, Western-oriented approach with an inclusive one that is community-based, context-oriented, and culture-led.

10.3 The Jordanian approach to the past: Archaeology vs. heritage

Separating the remote past from the recent one is a sensitive decision. In many cases, this decision implies defining part of the past as cultural heritage and dismissing the rest as something irrelevant to contemporary life, mainly referred to as archaeology. The following inferences examine how such a decision is made in the West. It then draws on the current approach to the past in Jordan to suggest that the decision to dismiss most of the past as irrelevant to contemporary life is far from being an

arbitrary one. On the contrary, it is designed to serve the modern state and monarchy in Jordan. However, in order to initiate an approach that is community-based, such a decision must be revised. The immediate inferences read as follows:

- Immediate inference 9 TPP, which suggests that the decision to isolate the remote past from the recent one usually serves the governments and the élite. Such a decision highlights the recent past that is relevant to those in power, while “[leaving] the study of archaeology where it so often is – outside public consciousness – or [disenfranchising] the more distant past from any living reality or contemporary relevance” (Ucko 1994: 238). In Europe, the Classical past was identified as an essential part of modern Western cultural heritage. However, the absence of a classical past in North America encouraged people and government in the USA to look at the recent past, mainly events, sites and buildings that marked modern life after independence from Britain in 1776 AD, to construct its cultural heritage. The ancient past in the USA was identified as being irrelevant to the modern state and its modern residents who mostly came from Europe. While the recent past was sensitively approached as cultural heritage, the ancient one was mainly considered as archaeology, and ‘rigidly’ interpreted on the basis of ‘pure’ scientific approach. The marginalised past began to gain consideration among scholars under the umbrella of the postprocessual approach.
- Immediate inference 4 JA, which suggests that the nature of interest in the past in Jordan enhances the lack of intellectual engagement with it. The separation between what is considered as heritage and what is identified as archaeology in Jordan appears to be circumstantial. The Heritage Law was issued in 2003 to cover an inadequacy in Antiquities Law that was designed to protect the material of the past dated before 1700 AD. The Antiquities Law identified the year 1700 AD as the year when archaeology ends. Consequently, the Heritage Law was designed to protect the material of the past dated after 1750 AD. It adds 50 years to the time span of archaeology. However, the existence of these two laws resulted in emphasising the recent past as cultural heritage, while the ancient past was dismissed as being relevant only to archaeologists and tourists. Having the Department of Antiquity in Jordan (DAJ) under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism, instead of the Ministry of Culture or the

Ministry of Education, is further evidence of the exclusion of archaeology from contemporary life in Jordan.

- Immediate interference 5 JA, which suggests that dividing the material of the past in Jordan into archaeology and cultural heritage might not be as arbitrary a decision as it appears. Identifying the recent past as cultural heritage is believed to serve the newly established state of Jordan. However, it ignores the roots that Jordan has in time and place, and only focuses on the modern state of Jordan, which is an outcome of the 20th century colonisation of the Arab World. Furthermore, it fosters narratives of élite and powerful families in Jordan. In practice, the government's interest in monumental archaeological sites is restricted to economic and touristic purposes, while interest in other sites that lack monumentality and aesthetic values is abstract and general.

The mediate inference from the above inferences is that the decision to isolate archaeological sites from contemporary life is highly charged with political implications. In Jordan, this decision ignores the fact that the vast majority of archaeological sites exist within busy urban contexts, and are surrounded by vivid daily life. The definition of archaeological sites on the basis of their being isolated entities that stand on their own prevented scholars from recognising the surrounding contexts of the archaeological sites. Very little interest, if at all, is paid to the context in which these sites exist. Archaeological sites in general are evaluated according to their inherent values, and sometimes, according to their assigned values that are derived from their association with ancient events and/or historic individuals. While monumental sites are approached on the basis of their importance in the tourism industry, non-monumental sites are mainly excavated, documented and in most cases, 'fenced' to be 'protected' from their surrounding contexts.

The sharp distinction between archaeological sites and heritage ones in Jordan is dangerous because it is hardly noticed by scholars and local communities. On the one hand, some scholars, mainly archaeologists, restrict their concern with archaeological sites to academic purposes. Other scholars, such as architects and art historians, are mainly interested in the technical issues of conservation, and the application of principles established in UNESCO charters and conventions. Not once has any debate been raised, in Parliament or among academics, about the possibility or necessity of

locating the Department of Antiquities as part of the Ministry of Culture, rather than the Ministry of Tourism. This indicates the lack of recognition of issues concerned with the material of the past on a governmental level.

On the other hand, as the immediate inference 8 CSJ suggests, many respondents in the case studies investigated believe that the Government is interested only in archaeological sites that have the potential to attract tourists, and that ordinary sites such as those that exist within local communities' contexts are hardly of any importance for the Government. Moreover, as the immediate inference 9 CSJ suggests, the respondents assume that their accounts regarding the archaeological sites do not matter for the Government or the scholars. This is also evident in the respondents' astonishment at the researcher's interest in their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. If it were not for in-depth interviews, local communities' rich and diverse accounts about archaeological sites within their contexts would go unnoticed. In-depth engagement with local communities is what the Government avoids by failing to acknowledge these sites as cultural heritage.

Despite the sharp distinction between the ancient past and the recent one on governmental and academic levels in Jordan, the immediate inference 5 CSJ suggests that local communities approach the past as a whole. The ancient past is inextricably related to the present as long as it can be incorporated within people's lives. For many respondents "history does repeat itself" (interview with Awwad/ the Citadel, 15th July 2004); "those who have no past have no future" (interview with Rsheed/ Hesban, 22nd August 2004); and "the past is like a creature, say a tree or even a man, you cannot cut it into pieces and make the people believe it is alive" (interview with Aroob/ Khreibt al-Suq, 16th July 2004). The lack of engagement with local communities prevents such points of view from being considered in the current approach to the past. As suggested in the mediate inference in section 10.2.7, the lack of engagement with local communities in post-colonial contexts enhances the lack of critical engagement with theories and practices concerned with the past.

To conclude, the approach to archaeological sites in Jordan is a complicated process in which local communities and their points of view regarding the past are

marginalised. The lack of critical engagement with conventional approaches or the Government laws concerned with the past prevents local scholars from dynamic interaction with local communities. In this ‘top-down’ approach, archaeological sites are either tourist destinations, or academic arena, or both. Local contexts, knowledge and experiences are viewed as being completely irrelevant to approaches to material of the past in Jordan.

10.4 “On the basis of their culture”: Reversing the ‘top-down’ approach to archaeological sites in Jordan

The mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.5 emphasises the importance of establishing in-depth and interactive engagement with local communities regarding archaeological sites within their contexts. This engagement is essential for exploring local communities’ cultural knowledge. Interactive communication enhances people’s confidence. It activates their cultural power and leads them to act. This power neutralises the ‘top-down’ approach and initiates a community-based, context-oriented and culture-led approach to archaeological sites.

The following arguments explore how such an approach can be established. It identifies the necessity of establishing a new perception of archaeological sites among scholars, as the first step towards this approach. This perception is based on the assumption that meanings for archaeological sites emerge out of interaction between people and these sites. In order for such a perception to be justified, scholars have to appreciate the qualitative approach to material of the past. Consequently, their perception would broaden, and their role would shift. These shifts in perception and role are discussed in the following sections.

10.4.1 Establishing a new perception of archaeological sites

In order for a community-based, context-oriented and culture-led approach to archaeological sites in Jordan to be established, scholars need to undergo dramatic changes in the way they perceive archaeological sites. The aim of these changes would be to generate a substantial shift in the internal constancy of the ‘top-down’ approach to the past in Jordan. Moving beyond the technical and economic purposes of conservation into more humanistic and social ones depends on recognising

archaeological sites as places rather than sites. Places and people are inextricably linked. Recognising the 'placeness' of archaeological sites implies recognising the contemporary contexts and people of these sites. Changes that are necessary to establish such a new perception are closely linked.

a) Rethinking the approach to archaeological sites

For archaeological sites to be recognised as places, scholars should shift from the conventional identification and evaluation of archaeological sites, which are based on what archaeological sites are, and what they were. Instead, scholars should appreciate, besides the intrinsic and assigned values of archaeological sites, the contemporary contexts and people of these sites. The aim is to shift the approach to the past from being directly related to archaeological sites, towards being about the context in which archaeological sites exist, the people who encounter these sites on a daily basis, and the process in which archaeological sites acquire meanings among local communities.

The mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.6 indicates that local contexts enable scholars to establish critical engagement with the past and the conventional approaches to it. The mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.7 indicates that local communities' reflections on archaeological sites within their context implies critical engagement, not only with the past, but also with the local and foreign agencies involved with material of the past. This engagement is highly influenced by the historic and contemporary contexts of local communities. In-depth communication allows scholars to gain an insight into the critical engagement that local communities develop with the past. It also encourages scholars themselves to initiate a critical approach to the past and conventional practices concerned with it.

This critical engagement is at the heart of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. Thus, in-depth communication with local communities not only encourages scholars to initiate a critical approach, but also to provide an insight into the meaning-making process of the past. Furthermore, the knowledge that local communities provide through in-depth communication neutralises the 'objective', 'scientific' and 'top-down' approaches to archaeological sites and facilitates initiating a sustainable approach.

As mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.5 indicates, exploring the meaning-making process compels scholars to examine the social, political and economic contexts of archaeological sites. This examination provides an understanding of the meanings local communities claim for archaeological sites. It accumulates knowledge through in-depth and interactive engagement with local communities, and ultimately results in understanding the process through which archaeological sites are transformed from mere material of the past into cultural heritage; something that expresses people's contexts and way of life.

b) Broadening the approach to archaeological sites

Broadening the approach to archaeological sites implies fundamental changes in scholars perceptions of these sites. Moving beyond technical issues into more inclusive and dynamic ones is at the heart of these changes. These changes are evident in understanding archaeological sites as places rather than sites, and shifting the focus from archaeological sites only, to their contexts and local communities. Furthermore, political and social issues that are evident in local communities' accounts about archaeological sites can contribute to these changes. These changes are explained as follows:

The immediate inference 3 CSJ suggests that historic and contemporary issues concerned with politics, social and economic life are at the heart of local communities' accounts about archaeological sites in Jordan. Close investigation is hardly needed to recognise the constant presence of issues such as development, colonialism, foreign hegemony, and the 'top-down' approach in these accounts. These issues are raised by the respondents themselves without being triggered by questions in this study's interviews. For scholars to see these issues as being relevant to the meaning-making process through which archaeological sites are transformed into cultural heritage, they should broaden their understanding of cultural heritage. The meaning of culture in cultural heritage should shift from the static meaning of culture to the anthropological one. That is, instead of viewing culture as being concerned with only tangible aspects, scholars should see culture as presenting people's way of life. The anthropological sense of culture facilitates exploring the human dimension of the past. The anthropological approach to culture encourages exploring cultural

knowledge, which is evident in local communities' accounts about archaeological sites (see mediate inferences in sections 10.2.5 and 10.2.6). Thus, it enhances the rethinking of the approach to archaeological sites discussed in the previous section.

Exploring cultural knowledge prepares scholars for engagement in debates about identity, power and authority, rather than the technical issues of conservation, and the 'rigid' approaches of management. Engagement with local communities in these issues empowers them. It activates the cultural energy or the 'inner' force that resides within communities. Activating this 'inner' force is necessary for post-colonial contexts to reverse the 'top-down' approaches and initiate sustainable ones.

Critical engagement with the conventional approaches to the past can be stimulated through recognising the colonial nature of archaeology. Archaeology, as it is practised in post-colonial contexts, is an extension of that which was established during colonialism. Despite independence, post-colonial contexts are still engaged in an unequal encounter with the West. Rethinking the conventional approaches to archaeological sites on the basis of this critical engagement encourages questioning the conventional approaches to the past. It stimulates scholars to examine their own contexts for local approaches that express people's culture and way of life. Consequently, this leads to in-depth and interactive engagement with local communities.

Widening the approach to the past is a mutual responsibility of both local communities and scholars. It liberates archaeological sites from arguments that are confined to technical issues and 'scientific' approaches into more inclusive and dynamic ones. In this liberation process, contemporary political and social issues become relevant to archaeological sites. This relevance is evident in local communities' accounts about these sites. These accounts, in their turn, are a reflection of contemporary as well as historic issues and debates. Thus, broadening the approach to the past anchors it to people's contexts, culture and contemporary issues.

In order for local communities to feel confident in sharing their personal perceptions with scholars, local scholars themselves should recognise the need for an approach that acknowledges local communities' perceptions of and attitudes towards

archaeological sites. The following section examines how the need for a local approach can be brought to the attention of scholars in Jordan.

c) Recognising the need for a local approach

The mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.1 emphasises the influence that context has on shaping Western theories and practices concerned with material of the past. Acknowledging the role of context in generating perceptions and approaches to the past is the first step in recognising the need for a local approach. As discussion in chapters 3 & 4 suggest, rejecting the Western-oriented and universal approach to archaeological sites in local contexts is a result of realising the difference between Western cultures and local ones.

As suggested in the mediate inference in section 10.2.6, in post-colonial contexts, where governments strive to identify themselves with the West, very little effort is made to explore or emphasise local contexts. In such contexts, where the West is highly courted by, and seen to lead, political and academic groups, arguments that highlight the importance of local contexts are best introduced by the West itself. The Western studies that criticise Western approaches to the past in other contexts can be very influential in encouraging post-colonial governmental and academic institutions to investigate local perceptions of the past. Furthermore, studies that indicate the importance of local contexts in initiating sustainable development in deprived countries can succeed in drawing local scholars' attention to the power that resides within local contexts. Foreign agencies operating in Jordan, such as the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR) and the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) play a vital role in the conduction of the conventional approach to archaeological sites in Jordan. The influence of the postprocessual archaeology on these organisations and approaches is very small. However, if these research centres chose to incorporate the postprocessual archaeology as part of their approach, they could help to introduce local scholars as well as the Government to more dynamic and inclusive approaches to archaeological sites.

The immediate inference 10 CSJ suggests that foreign agencies in Jordan can set the example for a 'bottom-up' approach to the past. The great emphasis that Andrews

University's Director of the Excavation in Hesban puts on being engaged with the local community in Hesban is well recognised among the members of the local community itself, and the Municipality of Hesban. For such an approach to set an example for governmental agencies and local scholars in Jordan, it is important for the foreign agency involved in Hesban to disseminate its experience with the local community among local scholars, and the governmental institutions concerned with the past, through academic lectures, as well as articles and books.

d) Activating engagement with local communities

In post-colonial contexts, where 'top-down' approaches dominate the way matters are perceived, local communities' experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes are rarely valued on governmental and academic levels. The following discussions highlight the moments at which local communities' accounts can be recognised as valid material with which to identify and evaluate archaeological sites.

1) When cultural heritage is viewed as a process

The basic argument here is that archaeological sites go through a meaning-making process. This process is carried out by local communities who encounter these sites on a daily basis. It is based on local communities' engagement with these sites as part of their place. These meanings are derived from people's historic and contemporary contexts, and allow these sites either to be considered by local communities as cultural heritage, or to be dismissed as *kharabat* (ruins). In this sense, identifying an archaeological site as cultural heritage is a specific process, as the meanings that the site reflects are specific. They are far from being universal or general as they are derived from specific geographic, political, social and historic contexts, and specific communities. These contexts provide the past with a 'qualitative energy' that is suggested in local communities' accounts. The 'qualitative energy' balances the overwhelming 'objectivity' and science in the conventional, 'top-down' approach.

2) When the human dimension of the past is appreciated

As the mediate inferences in sections 10.2.2 and 10.2.3 suggest, the shift from the 'objective' and scientific approaches to the past towards a dynamic one is contingent

on recognising the human dimension of the past. The human dimension of the past is mainly concerned with two aspects. The first is the intangible dimension of life in the past, such as modes of thinking and religion, and the influence these aspects have on the tangible ones, for example the influence of religion on the style of building. The second aspect, which is the concern of this thesis, is the influence of archaeological sites on the contemporary local communities that live within the geographic context of these sites. This influence is approachable through local communities' experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, these sites, which are subject to people's contexts. Thus, exploring archaeological sites with the human dimension in mind compels scholars to engage with the local communities of these sites. This engagement and its importance in initiating a sustainable approach to the past, is evident in the mediate inference suggested in section 10.2.5.

3) When the role of the scholars in approaching the past is reinvented

A community-based approach to the past requires making local communities, their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites, rather than the sites themselves, and/or the professionals' identification and evaluation of them, the main subject of enquiry. This requires reinventing the role of the scholars involved. Instead of identifying and evaluating archaeological sites according to a pre-prepared set of values that they might or might not satisfy, scholars turn to local communities' experience, knowledge, feelings and attitudes. Local communities' accounts about archaeological sites become the 'material' that scholars have to deal with in order to provide an identification and evaluation of archaeological sites that are community-based and context-oriented.

The role of scholars in this process is based on their belief that a qualitative approach is adequate for conducting their research. As chapter 2 suggests, qualitative research is an "analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (Neuman 1994: 62). Thus, it can provide an insight into the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. The role of scholars in establishing a community-based, context-oriented and culture-led approach to archaeological sites is to: a) interact with local communities and 'collect'

their accounts regarding archaeological sites; b) analyse these accounts in the light of local communities' contexts; c) validate the accounts and give them credibility among governmental and academic institutions as part of a sustainable approach to the past; and d) employ the accounts within the levels of intervention conducted in the sites. The following account explains each of these roles.

The first role of scholars is to interact with local communities and to 'collect' their accounts regarding archaeological sites. As chapter 2 in this thesis indicates, for scholars to be discovery-oriented and inductive in approach, they have to be ready to learn from the contexts they examine and the people they approach. Converting to a qualitative approach to archaeological sites is made possible if scholars believe that meanings develop out of people's interaction with archaeological sites rather than the sites themselves. Thus, scholars' interest becomes diverted into local communities, their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards archaeological sites, and the influence that historic and contemporary contexts have on the meaning-making process of these sites. At this point, scholars should realise the importance of a qualitative approach in the identification and evaluation process of archaeological sites. Thus, they approach local communities, not as part of the problem, but as essential part of the process in which approach the past and its material.

The second role of scholars in the community-based, context-oriented approach to archaeological sites is to analyse local communities' accounts in the light of their contexts. At this stage, issues such as marginalised stories, counter-memories, identities, development and colonialism start to emerge in the accounts. These issues are directly derived from local communities' contexts; they shape part of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. The recognition of these issues allow scholars to investigate their relevance to the meaning-making process of archaeological sites, and to be engaged in debates about archaeological sites that shift from the confines of intrinsic values and technical issues concerned with conservation and tourism towards a dynamic, inclusive, 'bottom-up' approach.

The third role of scholars is to validate local communities' accounts, and to give them credibility as part of a sustainable approach to the past. This can be done through validating qualitative methodology and its subjective accounts as an adequate

conceptual and practical approach to investigate meanings of archaeological sites. Validating subjective accounts can be also achieved by examining the importance of contexts in shaping and reshaping the meanings of archaeological sites, and capitalising on literature and case studies that appreciate local people, contexts and approaches.

The final role of scholars is to employ these accounts within the levels of intervention conducted in the sites. Using local accounts in the levels of intervention is contingent on the empowerment of local communities. The immediate inference 10 CSJ suggests that communicating with people regarding their past empowers them. This empowerment prepares local communities for collective actions regarding their past. People's empowerment introduces a new political context to archaeology. This context is generated from local communities being part of the process in which archaeological sites are identified and evaluated: it is derived from the shift in the nature of interaction between scholars and local communities from a 'top-down' approach that aims at increasing their awareness of the importance of the past, to a 'bottom-up', interactive approach that acknowledges them as the 'enablers' of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.

This power takes many shapes. On the one hand, it can be suggested in critical engagement with the agencies working in the site, or critical thinking about, and intellectual engagement with the role of archaeology in the contemporary community. On the other hand, local communities' empowerment can lead to local communities organising themselves into groups that address the archaeological sites within their geographic context. For example in the case study of Hesban, the active communication with the local community that was originally established through Andrews University work in Tell Hesban, resulted in the local community establishing a Friends of Archaeology of Hesban (discussed in chapter 9). In Khreibt al-Suq and the Citadel, local communities' empowerment is evident only in their critical accounts; this is because they have not been approached (as the local community of Hesban was) regarding the archaeological sites within their contexts. The scholars' role should be to help local communities take their critical thinking into a practical level by encouraging collective actions that aim at improving archaeological sites as part of local communities' place.

Active engagement with local communities about archaeological sites within their contexts enhances the sense of ownership of these sites. When these sites are introduced as being part of a universal approach to the past and its material, little concern is paid for the levels of intervention conducted in them. However, the accounts that local communities deliver about the archaeological sites within their context represent them as specific *places* rather than general *sites*. This ‘specificity’ is derived from people’s accounts that reflect specific contexts, people, and issues; it counteracts universality and acts against generality.

The ‘specificity’ should be reflected in the levels of intervention conducted in these sites. For example, inspired by one of the respondents’ accounts about the Temple in the Citadel, one can suggest scholars should search archaeological evidence for local characteristics that distinguish archaeological sites in certain contexts from others, and that are derived from their specific geographic, social and political contexts. Furthermore, scholars should examine how levels of intervention influence local communities’ sense of place. For example, three respondents in the Citadel consider that the restriction of restoration work to the Upper Citadel indicated the powerful (the gods and the kings), and marginalised the ‘real’ people (those who lived in the Lower Citadel) (see node: perception/ government/ negative). Consideration of such accounts could influence scholars and agents in charge of conservation work to capitalise on local accounts and interweave them with the levels of intervention. This practice implies validating the subjective together with the objective in approaches to archaeological sites.

Besides conservation and restoration, interpretation signs can be designed to include local communities’ experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. Interpretations of these sites are currently restricted to providing signs that offer *general* archaeological and architectural information. Legitimising cultural knowledge and its role in the meaning-making process of archaeological sites can provide ‘specificity’ to this information. Local communities’ memories and stories can add a human dimension to interpretation. It can bring material of the past into the present by showing how local communities think about it, and how, if at all, they transpose it into something that can be considered as their cultural heritage.

The arguments developed above are not intended to exclude archaeologists and scholars concerned with the levels of intervention in the material of the past from the suggested approach to the archaeological sites in Jordan. Local scholars are fundamental for the initiation of this alternative approach: their embrace of local contexts, cultures, knowledge and experience is fundamental for the validation of 'bottom-up' approaches on a governmental level; their critical engagement with universal charters, conventions, and Western policies is crucial for empowering the local communities; their belief in the adequacy of the anthropological approach is essential for the exploration of the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. The 'bottom-up' approach this thesis identifies does not aim to put local communities in exclusive charge of the identification, evaluation and intervention of the archaeological sites. The call for a community-based and a culture-oriented approach in this thesis indicates that scholars should refer to local contexts, knowledge and experience, rather than the universal charter and conventions and the conventional Western approaches, to identify, evaluate and intervene with the archaeological sites.

10.5 Summary and the mediate inferences

This chapter draws on the accounts delivered by local communities in Jordan, discussed in chapters 8 and 9, and the literature discussed in chapters 3 to 7, to suggest the importance of contexts in the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. The capacity of local communities to interweave material of the past with their daily lives legitimates it as cultural heritage. In this sense, cultural heritage is a process through which archaeological sites are transformed into something meaningful and specific that reflects specific local communities and their contexts.

This chapter incorporated the different data about theories and practices in archaeology, dominant approaches to material of the past, sustainability, and the meaning-making process of material of the past, together with the accounts delivered by local communities in three selected case studies in Jordan, to build up an alternative approach to archaeological sites that replaces the 'top-down', conventional one. The alternative approach moves beyond the conventional process of identification and evaluation of archaeological sites. It suggests that the meanings of

archaeological sites are directly derived from local communities' experiences with these sites. These experiences can be approached through interactive engagement with local communities regarding archaeological sites within their contexts. Thus, the alternative approach challenges the presumption that dominates governmental and academic institutions in Jordan, and that considers local communities as a problem which needs to be tackled through spreading awareness of the importance of the past and its material. Instead, it brings local communities to the foreground in the process of identification and evaluation and intervention in archaeological sites as specific places rather than 'cultural properties' that belong to all human kind. The 'specificity' of these places is derived from their meanings, which in turn reflect specific local communities, historic and contemporary contexts, as well as cultures.

This chapter explores how a qualitative approach to archaeological sites can be validated for local scholars operating in post-colonial contexts. The suggested approach is challenged by the dominance of 'top-down' approaches in these contexts. Therefore, the chapter examines how local scholars can benefit from recently developed approaches to the past that acknowledge local knowledge and contexts. It investigates how scholars can replace the 'objective-oriented', 'scientific-led' approach to archaeological sites, with a more dynamic and inclusive approach that is community-based, context-oriented and culture-led.

The immediate inferences from the different chapters, and the mediate inferences generated from them are presented in table 10.2 as the following:

Table 10.2 *Generation of mediate inferences from the immediate inferences created throughout the chapters*

Serial no.	Immediate Inferences	Mediate inferences
1 TPP	Since early civilisations, people's attitudes towards material of the past have been highly influenced by changes in their contexts, cultures, beliefs and practices. The influence of contexts and the human dimension was obscured by the 'objective' approach that Western scholars have created and adopted, since the Renaissance period, to understand and approach the past.	Sustainable approaches develop out of the contexts in which they are applied rather than being designed and imposed on these contexts. Contexts play an influential role in the meaning-making process of material of the past. However, this role is obscured by the dominance of Western perceptions and practices. In Western approaches, the notions of monumentality and
2 TPP	Western approaches to the past are heavily influenced by Western social, political, economic and cultural contexts. However, these approaches are rarely criticised, and applied indiscriminately in	

	many contexts, especially post-colonial ones. This uncritical approach is facilitated by two factors. First, technical practices concerned with material of the past are applied without acknowledgement of their conceptual frameworks. Second, most governments and institutional bodies in post-colonial contexts strive to identify themselves with the West in almost all aspects of life.	authenticity overwhelm what is local and ordinary. The levels of intervention that develop in response to these notions are mainly concerned with conserving the physical material, with very little interest in intangible aspects of the past. Imposing such approaches on contexts that value the intangible and the ordinary is fundamentally opposed to sustainability.
1 UNES CO	The uncritical adoption of Western approaches to the past in post-colonial contexts was enhanced and legitimised by UNESCO's charters and institutions. This legitimisation facilitates the marginalisation of local contexts, and emphasises the notions of universality and generality of the past, especially the ancient past.	
1 S	Sustainable approaches develop out of local communities' contexts. They reflect local cultures and tackle local issues. Approaches that are pre-designed and imposed on these contexts rarely generate a positive and continuous impact on local communities' life.	
1 JA	In the post-colonial context of Jordan, the 'top-down' approach to the past is the norm. Very little interest, if at all, is paid to local contexts and local perceptions of archaeological sites. Western agencies, supported by Western-oriented local scholars, and the Jordanian Government, which strives to be identified with the West, are responsible for applying the Western approaches to material of the past in Jordan without critical engagement.	
3 TPP	objective', 'scientific' and 'rigid' approaches to the past shifted towards more dynamic ones when local communities and contexts were recognised and appreciated by Western scholars operating in post-colonial countries.	Community-led, context-oriented and culture-based approaches to material of the past are more likely to develop in contexts where issues such as identity and local rights, are stimulated and debated.
4 TPP	In contexts where issues such as identity and local rights were stimulated and disputed, the significance of the past shifted from domination by inherent values (e.g. aesthetic values and authenticity) towards interest in assigned ones (e.g. religious, social and cultural values).	It is also in these contexts that the notion of sustainability develops into a more inclusive definition that is human-based and 'bottom-up'. The intersection between the human factor, contexts and sustainability in studies concerned with material of the past brings subjects such as the notion of places, memories and stories into the foreground. The following immediate inference examines the influence that memories and stories have on the meaning-making process of the past.
1 S	A dramatic shift in the meaning of sustainability from being economy-based (i.e. mainly concerned with the balance between supplies and demands) towards being more inclusive and human-based (i.e. mainly concerned with cultural aspects of life), occurred when the intangible aspects of human needs in deprived contexts were recognised.	
2 MMP	A human-based approach to the past implies focusing on dynamic subjects such as memories and stories. Memories and stories 'humanise' the past. They anchor its material to place. They operate as processes that reflect the way individuals as well as communities define themselves.	
3 MMP	Memory and story are an essential part of the process through which people identify themselves and the world around them. Furthermore, they offer an introduction into cultural knowledge, which is a reflection of people's perceptions of their contexts. In this sense, memories and stories change	Memory and story play an influential role in the meaning-making process of archaeological sites. In this process of meaning-making, archaeological sites are conceptualised as places that are

	archaeological sites into places that are experienced actively as part of daily life.	part of people's lives. Their meanings are produced and reproduced in accordance with context. Because the power of 'reproduction' resides within memories and stories, they are essential elements for initiating a sustainable approach to archaeological sites. Furthermore, memories and stories enhance the inherent and assigned values of archaeological sites; thus, they provide dynamism to the conventional processes of identification and evaluation. Besides, memories and stories offer an access to marginalised stories and counter-memories, and provide a platform for people to express their opinion safely, without suppression: they empower people. Empowerment is also an element of sustainability; thus, consulting memories and stories in processes concerned with identification and evaluation of archaeological sites can initiate a sustainable approach to them.
4 MMP	Individual and/or collective attachment to a place is a result of different elements such as memories, stories, place identity, identity of place, sense of continuity as well as local and cultural knowledge. These elements constitute and foster attachment to a place through their contribution to meaning-making process of place. The lack of individual and/or collective attachment reflects, in many senses, lack of meanings of that place for its local community.	
7 S	Memory and story are processes through which cultures are reproduced, and local communities are empowered. As reproduction and empowerment are at the heart of sustainability, consulting memories and stories is fundamental to establish sustainable approaches to the past.	
5 CSJ	Memory and story offer 'life' to archaeological sites. People draw on their individual as well as collective memories and stories to share their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. These memories and stories offer local communities an opportunity to express their social and political opinions in an implicit way. This implicitness is important in contexts where explicit expression of such opinions could result in people's freedom being jeopardised.	
5 TPP	Spiritual and cultural attachment to the classical past guaranteed its continuity in modern Western culture. Greek and Roman classical remains generated power that tended to unify the West.	
5 MMP	At the heart of people's attachment to material of the past, is their capacity to develop a sense of continuity through the time and the place of that past. In this sense, archaeological sites are places with temporal depth which physical evidence reflects. These places are socially constructed on the basis of contemporary issues. The social construction of archaeological sites demonstrates the quality of attachment that people develop to the past and its places.	
8 S	A sense of attachment to places empowers people. It enables them to be engaged critically with any external intervention in these places. It also delivers action against any attempts to exploit these places. Therefore, a sense of attachment to places with temporal depth generates self-empowerment.	
1 JA	The conventional approach to the past in Jordan neglects the cultural continuity of the past that Jordan has through time and place. It assumes a lack of cultural attachment to the past before 1750 AD, and instead focuses on modern Jordan as an entity that was created recently. It therefore assumes that the only time that matters in shaping the present and future of Jordan is that of the Hashemites, which started in Jordan only in 1921.	
1 CSJ	Local communities in Jordan consider archaeological sites as their cultural heritage only when they are able to interweave them into their lives. Contrary to the sharp distinction that the Jordanian Government	

	<p>have established between archaeology and heritage, local communities perceive the past as a whole. They draw on incidents from historic and contemporary contexts to demonstrate their perception of, and feelings towards, archaeological sites.</p>	<p>social, political and economic contexts generates their meanings. It is through this interweaving with contemporary contexts that archaeological sites maintain their continuity in people's lives. The way people relate archaeological sites to their contexts is only accessible through in-depth and active engagement with local communities. The following inference examines in-depth engagement with local communities as being a prerequisite for establishing a sustainable approach to the past.</p>
1 MMP	<p>Meanings are generated only through interaction between people and things. This process of interaction is highly influenced by surrounding contexts, as well as memories and stories that influence people and their relationship with things. It is only through exploring this interaction that scholars can gain an insight into the meaning-making process of things. Exploring people's experiences requires interacting with them.</p>	<p>People and places are inextricably linked, and investigating one of them leads to exploring the other. Therefore, interactive communication with people regarding their places can only be done on the basis of mutual trust and confidentiality. This process of active communication empowers people. It initiates a 'bottom-up' approach towards the past, in which local communities provide scholars with meanings and values of archaeological sites that are derived directly from local communities' own contexts. Therefore, interactive communication initiates sustainability.</p>
3 S	<p>In-depth communication with people empowers them. It enhances the feeling that they, as individuals as well as a community, count. While conventional approaches to any problem view communication with people as a waste of time and effort, the recent approaches that aim at initiating sustainability recognise people's experiences, knowledge, feelings and attitudes as essential factors in defining problems and suggesting solutions. These factors provide an insight into people's contemporary and historic contexts. They are accessible only through interactive communication between people and scholars.</p>	
4 S	<p>Cultural knowledge is a process through which people understand, define and redefine the world around them. Although this process is highly influenced by changes in contexts, it provides people with personal security and group pride. In this sense, cultural knowledge empowers people, and therefore provides potential for a 'bottom-up' approach.</p>	
2 CSJ	<p>Approaching local communities regarding archaeological sites within their contexts needs to be preceded by an investigation of local communities' contexts. This investigation enables scholars to communicate with people and understand their accounts about archaeological sites. The accounts themselves can provide further information about people's contexts, and in many cases, urge scholars to make further investigations about the contexts and their influence on the meaning-making process of archaeological sites.</p>	
6 CSJ	<p>For local communities to share their cultural knowledge with scholars, scholars need to gain local communities' trust. This is crucial in contexts where local communities reflect on political and social</p>	

	<p>issues to convey their experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, archaeological sites. Sharing these reflections with strangers is very unlikely in overtly or implicitly suppressed contexts. Thus, establishing active communication with local communities is contingent on their trust of scholars, and the confidentiality in the process of communication.</p>	
6 TPP	<p>Western approaches to material of the past were originally introduced to the colonies as colonial tools. The consequences of these colonial approaches are evident in local communities' alienation from the past. Colonised people were denied any relationship with that past. In post-colonial contexts, approaches to the past hardly differ from those developed during colonialism, with their emphasis on monumentality, authenticity and technical issues of conservation.</p>	<p>Critical engagement delivers sustainable approaches to the past. It brings issues such as local contexts, cultural knowledge, feelings and attitudes to the foreground. However, in post-colonial contexts, critical engagement is restricted by several factors: the dominance of Western approaches that was sustained by UNESCO's charters and conventions; the colonial legacy that sustains the alienation of the local communities from their past; and lastly the persistence of 'top-down' approaches in post-colonial contexts that prevent governments and local scholars from considering local communities' perceptions of, and approaches to the past. In this sense, liberation from the taken-for-granted approaches and adoption of critical engagement are crucial for initiating a sustainable approach to material of the past.</p>
2 UNESCO	<p>Many of UNESCO's charters and conventions concerned with material of the past represent an extension of the colonial project in post-colonial contexts. The notion of universality and generality, which UNESCO charters and conventions have emphasised, contribute to the empowerment and legitimisation of Western influence over the past in the rest of the world.</p>	
9 S	<p>While Western approaches to the past among Western scholars were able to shift towards more inclusive and democratic approaches, the Western approaches that were adopted during colonialism and persisted in post-colonial contexts hardly changed. On the contrary, they were fostered by the 'top-down' structures of the post-colonial governments themselves. The persistence of 'top-down' approaches in post-colonial contexts prevents local scholars from shifting towards more democratic and inclusive approaches.</p>	
3 JA	<p>The lack of critical approach to the past in Jordan is due to the following factors. First, in the post-colonial context of Jordan, where the Government and institutions strive to be identified with the West and compromising its identity in this process of identification, very little effort, if at all, is made to question any shifts in Western policies in Jordan. Second, in this context, the 'top-down' approach dominates almost all policies and practices. In this approach, local communities are seen as one of the problems that archaeological sites face, and as an obstacle that needs to be tackled, rather than a main stakeholder in the process of approaching archaeological sites.</p>	
7 TPP	<p>It is among marginalised and suppressed communities that Western scholars started to realise the importance of context and the human factor in approaching the past. In these approaches, exploring the past as part of contemporary life is inextricably linked to bringing the individual, whether ancient or modern, into the foreground. Thus, it is in marginalised contexts that archaeologists developed an anthropological approach to the past.</p>	
6 S	<p>It is in small places and marginalised communities</p>	<p>The meaning-making process of archaeological sites that is conducted by local communities, is based on their critical engagement with the past (its material, people and events), as well as their engagement with local and foreign agencies involved in these archaeological sites. Critical engagement with the</p>

	that people show most interest in the past as part of their contexts, culture and way of life. This interest stimulates people to address critical issues in the field of culture and development when consulted about the material of the past in their contexts.	past is at the heart of local communities' approach to material of the past. This engagement is demonstrated in accounts that stem from local communities' contemporary and historic contexts. Most of these accounts indicate feelings of suppression and marginalisation. Marginalisation intensifies the past, and stimulates people to think and act critically towards practices concerned with places of the past. Local communities find in archaeological sites an arena in which to criticise the Government as well as local and foreign agencies involved in archaeology. In-depth engagement with local communities provides scholars with insights into people's critical engagement with the past and its material, and can encourage them to critically approach the past and the theories and practices concerned with it.
4 CSJ	Local communities, in their construction of meanings of archaeological sites, tend to provide accounts that are based on critical engagement with the past. They tend to construct meanings for these sites on the basis of debated issues that are relevant to their daily lives. Political and economic issues are the most prominent, and accounts related to these issues tend to criticise the Government and its institutions.	
8 TPP	The dominance of Western approaches to the past prevented scholars, Western and local alike, from recognising alternative approaches to the past that are derived from local contexts and cultures. The conventional Western approach to the past implied 'top-down' policies and strategies in identifying, evaluating and intervening with archaeological sites that persisted in approaches to the past in many contexts in the world.	The dominance of the 'top-down' approach in post-colonial contexts prevents scholars, as well as governments, from considering more recent democratic approaches to the past. As local communities in these contexts are constantly perceived as a problem that threatens material of the past, it is hard for post-colonial governments and local scholars to realise the attachment local communities develop with archaeological sites as places, and the meanings they constitute for them as part of their contemporary contexts, culture and issues.
10 TPP	Although Western approaches shifted from marginalising local communities towards embracing their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past; in post-colonial contexts that are heavily dominated by 'top-down' strategies and policies, appreciation of local perceptions is hard to establish.	
3 UNES CO	The universal and general approach to material of the past adopted by most of the countries resulted in marginalising local practices and, in some cases, trivialising them. Marginalising local approaches to the past in the context where they are developed and applied, implies marginalising the culture that produced the approach, and the people of that culture.	
2 S	'Top-down' approaches confine the concept of sustainability to technical issues. The meaning of sustainability in the 'top-down' approach concerned with material of the past is restricted to maintaining archaeological sites in conditions that facilitate exploiting them as touristic and/or scientific venues. This implies focusing on intervention that are concerned with the physical appearance of archaeological sites.	
9 TPP	In Europe, the Classical past was identified as an essential part of modern Western cultural heritage.	The decision to isolate archaeological sites from

	<p>However, the absence of a Classical past in North America forced the United States of America (USA) to look at the recent past, mainly events, sites and buildings that marked modern life after independence from Britain in 1776 AD, to construct its cultural heritage. The ancient past in the USA was identified as being irrelevant to the modern state and its modern residents who mostly came from Europe. While the recent past was sensitively approached as cultural heritage, the ancient one was mainly considered as archaeology, and 'rigidly' interpreted on the basis of 'pure' scientific approach.</p>	<p>contemporary life is highly charged with political implications. In Jordan, this decision ignores the fact that the vast majority of archaeological sites exist within busy urban contexts, and are surrounded by vivid daily life. The definition of archaeological sites on the basis of their being isolated entities that stand on their own prevented scholars from recognising the surrounding contexts of the archaeological sites. Very little interest, if at all, is paid to the context in which these sites exist. Archaeological sites in general are evaluated according to their inherent values, and sometimes, according to their assigned values that are derived from their association with ancient events and/or historic individuals. While monumental sites are approached on the basis of their importance in tourism industry, non-monumental sites are mainly excavated, documented and in most cases, 'fenced' to be 'protected' from their surrounding contexts.</p>
<p>4 JA</p>	<p>The nature of interest in the past in Jordan enhances the lack of intellectual engagement with it. The separation between what is considered as heritage and what is identified as archaeology in Jordan appears to be circumstantial. The Heritage Law was issued in 2003 to cover a drawback in Antiquities Law that was designed to protect the material of the past dated before 1700 AD. The Antiquities Law identified the year 1700 AD as the year when archaeology ends. Consequently, the Heritage Law was designed to protect the material of the past dated after 1750 AD. It adds 50 years to the time span of archaeology. However, the existence of these two laws resulted in emphasising the recent past as cultural heritage, while the ancient past was dismissed as being relevant only to archaeologists and tourists. Having the Department of Antiquity in Jordan (DAJ) under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism, instead of the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Education, is further evidence of the exclusion of archaeology from contemporary life in Jordan.</p>	
<p>5 JA</p>	<p>Dividing the material of the past in Jordan into archaeology and cultural heritage might not be an arbitrary decision as it appears. Identifying the recent past as cultural heritage is believed to serve the newly established state of Jordan. However, it ignores the roots that Jordan has in time and place, and only focuses on the modern state of Jordan, which is an outcome of the 20th century colonialism of the Arab World. Furthermore, it fosters narratives of élite and powerful families in Jordan. In practice, the government's interest in monumental archaeological sites is restricted to economic and touristic purposes, while interest in other sites that lack monumentality and aesthetic values is abstract and general.</p>	

The above table summarises the mediate inferences that shape the alternative sustainable approach to archaeological sites in Jordan that is community-based, culture-led and context-oriented, which is discussed throughout the chapter. The following conclusion chapter examines how the aims and objectives, explored in chapter 1, are achieved throughout the different chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 11: Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

In order to understand how archaeological sites develop meanings among the local communities of Jordan, it is vital to investigate how material of the past is approached on an international level. Indeed, approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan, as well as most of post-colonial contexts, are directly influenced by those that evolved and developed in the West (de Cuéllar 1995: 193; Byrne 1991: 274). Conventional Western perceptions of, and approaches towards, archaeological sites, such as culture-history and art historical value-systems, are embedded in the UNESCO charters and conventions concerned with material of the past (Meskell 2002: 568). It is thus imperative for exploring the meanings of archaeological sites in Jordan to examine Western approaches to material of the past (aim 1; section 1.5).

The dominance of conventional Western approaches resulted in the marginalisation of local communities, contexts, cultures and knowledge, and the enhancement of 'top-down' approaches to material of the past, especially among marginalised communities and post-colonial contexts (Byrne 1991: 274; Wei & Aass; 1989: 6, 8; Bowdler 1988: 521-522). Approaches that are imposed on contexts other than those they derived from usually operate on local contexts and cultures, and in most cases result in demolishing them, and are thus less likely to be sustainable (Maybury-Lewis 1994: x; Edwards 1989: 123). Therefore, sustainability as a social process in which local communities and scholars are actively engaged with each other as well as their contexts was examined, with special interest in the role of contexts and local communities in initiating 'bottom-up', community-based and context-oriented approaches to material of the past (aim 2; section 1.2). Part of this social process of engagement is the mechanisms through which archaeological sites, as places with temporal depth, acquire meanings among local communities (see figure 11.1 below). Consequently, the different meanings of time and place were explored, together with the mechanism through which these meanings are shaped and reshaped (aim 3; section 1.5).

The first aim of this study (to examine the different theories and practices concerned with material of the past) provided the researcher with a general background understanding of the approaches to material of the past in general. The research, then focused on colonial archaeology in order to introduce the approaches to material of the past in the post-colonial contexts (objective 1.4; section 1.5). Finally, the approaches to the past and its material in the post-colonial context of Jordan were examined (aim 4; section 1.5). The second aim of the study (to investigate the concept of sustainability and its use in establishing a community-based, context-oriented approach to material of the past) allowed the researcher to identify deficiencies in the conventional approaches to archaeological sites, and partially contributed to the construction of a suggested approach towards archaeological sites in Jordan that is more sustainable than the conventional one (objective 1 & 2 of the main aim; section 1.5). The community-based, context-oriented and culture-led approach to archaeological sites in Jordan is contingent on exploring local communities' experiences and knowledge of, and attitudes and feelings towards, archaeological sites and the levels of intervention conducted in them (objective 4.3 & 4.4; section 1.5). Using the data generated from investigating the meaning-making process of material of the past (aim 3; section 1.5; also see chapter 2), the three case studies were explored on the basis of in-depth interviewing and active engagement with the local communities. The accounts gained from this engagement were analysed and used in the formulation of the alternative approach (the main aim; section 1.5).

11.2 The power of context in shaping theories and practices concerned with material of the past

By exploring the different theories and practices concerned with material of the past in the West (aim 1; section 1.5), and the related UNESCO charters and conventions (objective 1.2; section 1.5), this study demonstrates that approaches to material of the past cannot be general and universal as they are shaped and reshaped by specific social, cultural, political and economic contexts (immediate inference 2 TPP; table 3.1). However, the influence of contexts and the human dimension was obscured and marginalised by the 'objective' and abstract approach that Western scholars created and adopted, since the Renaissance period, to understand and tackle the past and its material (immediate inference 1 TPP; table 3.1). This was perpetuated by the relevant

UNESCO charters and conventions that emphasised material of the past as universal ‘property’ (immediate inferences 1 & 2 UNESCO; table 4.1).

The emphasis of a universal approach to the past and its material resulted in taking this approach for granted, and applying it in other contexts without any critical engagement. Furthermore, it prevented local scholars from examining how their own contexts and cultures could influence their approach to material of the past (immediate inference 1 UNESCO; table 4.1). Consequently, this situation resulted in marginalising local communities, contexts and knowledge; a practice that has its root in European colonisation (immediate inference 6 TPP; table 3.1 & immediate inference 3 UNESCO). However, the importance of context in generating meanings and shaping and reshaping approaches to material of the past came to the foreground through the postprocessual approach (see section 3.5). Western scholars began to realise the importance of context and the human factor in approaching the past while conducting their studies among marginalised as well as suppressed communities (e.g. Jones 2006; Smith 2006; Kreps 2003; Ucko 1995; Hodder 1982a). In this approach, exploring the past as part of contemporary life is inextricably linked to bringing the individual, whether ancient or modern, into the foreground, an act which contradicts the more conventional approaches that are based on objectivity and abstraction. Consequently, scholars began to realise that local approaches to the past are complicated procedures in which local communities interact with their contexts, and generate meanings for, and practices concerning material of the past, as a result of their interaction with their social, political, economic and cultural contexts (see immediate inference 7 TTP; table 3.1 & section 4.5.3).

As this study fosters the importance of context in generating approaches to material of the past, and therefore, rejects the idea that this material can be approached as universal or general, it sees that it is essential to anchor approaches to material of the past to the process in which local communities interact with their surrounding contexts, and to examine the influence of this interaction on the meaning-making process of material of the past that constitutes part of that context. UNESCO could contribute to enhancement of the importance of local contexts by questioning and addressing in particular: Western hegemony over the approaches to material of the past; the adverse influence of global political and economic shifts on material of the

past; and the influence of colonialism on local perceptions of, and attitudes towards, material of the past.

11.3 Marginalisation of the local in post-colonial contexts

Despite the fact that local communities, contexts and knowledge are increasingly acknowledged in studies concerned with material of the past conducted by Western scholars, in post-colonial contexts the local continues to be marginalised. This can be attributed to two factors: firstly, technical practices concerned with material of the past are applied in these contexts without acknowledgement of their conceptual frameworks that stem from Western contexts. Secondly, most governments and institutional bodies in post-colonial contexts strive to identify themselves with the West in almost all aspects of life (see immediate inference 2 TPP; table 3.1). Consequently, the 'top-down' approach that is inherited from conventional practices towards material of the past was reinforced by local scholars' and institutions' belief that local communities are one the major problems that material of the past faces in these contexts (e.g. immediate inference 9 CSJ; table 9.1). In Jordan, the lack of interest in the local resulted in compromising Jordanian cultural identity in the process through which specific archaeological sites were selected and presented to, mainly Western, tourists as 'hazard'-free landscape (see immediate inference 3 PJ; table 7.1 & section 10.2.8). Indeed, the lack of critical interaction with material of the past and the approaches to them in the Jordanian context by local scholars demonstrates the acceptances of these approaches, or, more accurately, the acknowledgment that these approaches are directly anchored to the political approach in Jordan that is unquestionable. This is an area worthy of further study. A critical study that looks at the influence of the current approach to material of the past on local contexts of Jordan may reveal impacts of this approach that go beyond technical aspects and tourism into more inclusive and dynamic approaches.

11.4 Sustainability: Interaction between local communities, contexts and scholars

A sustainable approach to material of the past is a process of interaction between three elements: scholars, local contexts and local communities (see figure 11.1 below). This perception of sustainability allows for dynamic aspects of local communities' contexts that are related to local communities and archaeological sites (such as place identity,

identity of place, sense of continuity, memory, story, as well as local and cultural knowledge), rather than technical issues that are related to aspects of conservation, to be the centre of scholar's attention. Sustainability, in this sense, is introduced to studies concerned with material of the past as an inclusive process in which physical aspects and technical issues constitute only part of the approach to material of the past. Applying this perception of sustainability requires scholars to interact actively with local communities and contexts, a process that implies acknowledging local communities as equal stakeholders.

This study demonstrates that the dominance of the 'top-down' approach in post-colonial contexts, such as Jordan, is one of the fundamental factors that prevents such a perception of sustainability from being applied. However, foreign agencies operating in these contexts can help to introduce this perception of sustainability; especially as inclusive approaches to material of the past are increasingly developing by Western scholars (see section 10.4.1.3). As shown in the case study of Hesban, the Andrews University initiated an approach to archaeological sites in which the local community of Hesban are viewed as fundamental stakeholders. The consequences of such an approach resulted in empowering the local community and the establishment of the Friends of Archaeology of Hesban (see section 9.2.4).

11.4.1 The role of local communities in initiating a critical approach to the past

This study suggests that it is within marginalised communities and suppressed contexts that local communities tend to engage critically with time and place (see section 10.2.7). The examination of Jordanian local experiences and knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the selected archaeological sites, as well as the levels of intervention conducted in these sites (objective 4.3 & 4.4; section 1.5) reveals that the accounts delivered by many respondents demonstrate critical engagement with the archaeological sites in question, as well as the levels of interventions conducted, and the agencies responsible for these sites. According to this engagement, archaeological sites were sometimes identified as *kharabat* (ruins), and in other times were considered as *turath hadaree* (cultural heritage). The identification and evaluation of archaeological sites as ruins or heritage is closely related to the quality of mental and physical engagement the respondents had with the

archaeological sites in question, a matter that can only be explored through in-depth and sensitive interaction with local communities (see section 10.2.5). This study identifies both critical engagement with time and place of the past as well as in-depth engagement of scholars with local communities and contexts as part of a process in which a community-based, context-oriented approach to material of the past can be established.

11.4.2 Broadening the perception of cultural heritage

This study demonstrates that the expression ‘cultural heritage’ is used arbitrarily to refer to material of the past. For scholars and professionals, this term is mainly associated with intrinsic and assigned values that are based on an ‘objective’ approach to material of the past. In Jordan, the use of the term cultural heritage is based on anchoring the time and place of Jordan to the Hashemite existence in the country that is dated to 1921 (see sections 7.3.1 & 7.3.2). In addition, some archaeological sites that are internationally recognised, such as the World Heritage Sites of Petra and Qusair Amra, are also identified as cultural heritage. Therefore, most of Jordan’s time and place of the past is officially considered as archaeological sites that are irrelevant to contemporary contexts and daily life. However, the in-depth interaction with local communities in three different places in Amman demonstrates that many of the respondents think of archaeological sites that exist within their geographic context as an inextricable part of their place. Reflections on these sites by the local communities of these three places reveal that local communities construct meanings for these sites out of their contemporary social, political and economic contexts. Failing to anchor these sites to contemporary contexts by some respondents resulted in identifying these sites as *kharabat* (ruins) rather than *turath hadare* (cultural heritage). Therefore, this study argues that establishing a new perception of cultural heritage in Jordan in which local contexts and knowledge are considered, together with intrinsic and assigned values, as essential elements in the identification and evaluation processes of archaeological sites as cultural heritage, is crucial for initiation of a sustainable approach.

The immediate inferences generated in this study set the general framework for the suggested approach. In this approach, sustainability is a process of interaction

between three elements: scholars, local contexts and local community, as figure 11.1 demonstrates. In this process, scholars, as part of governmental and non-governmental institutions, are actively engaged in an in-depth interaction with local communities, and critically engaged through an anthropological approach with local contexts. The meaning-making process constitutes a fundamental part of the suggested approach as it represents the area where local communities interact with their local contexts. This interaction is based on the sense of attachment that local communities develop towards their contexts. This attachment constituted of several elements such as memory and story, place identity and identity of place, sense of continuity as well as local and cultural knowledge. The area where the three elements overlap represents the maximum sustainability.

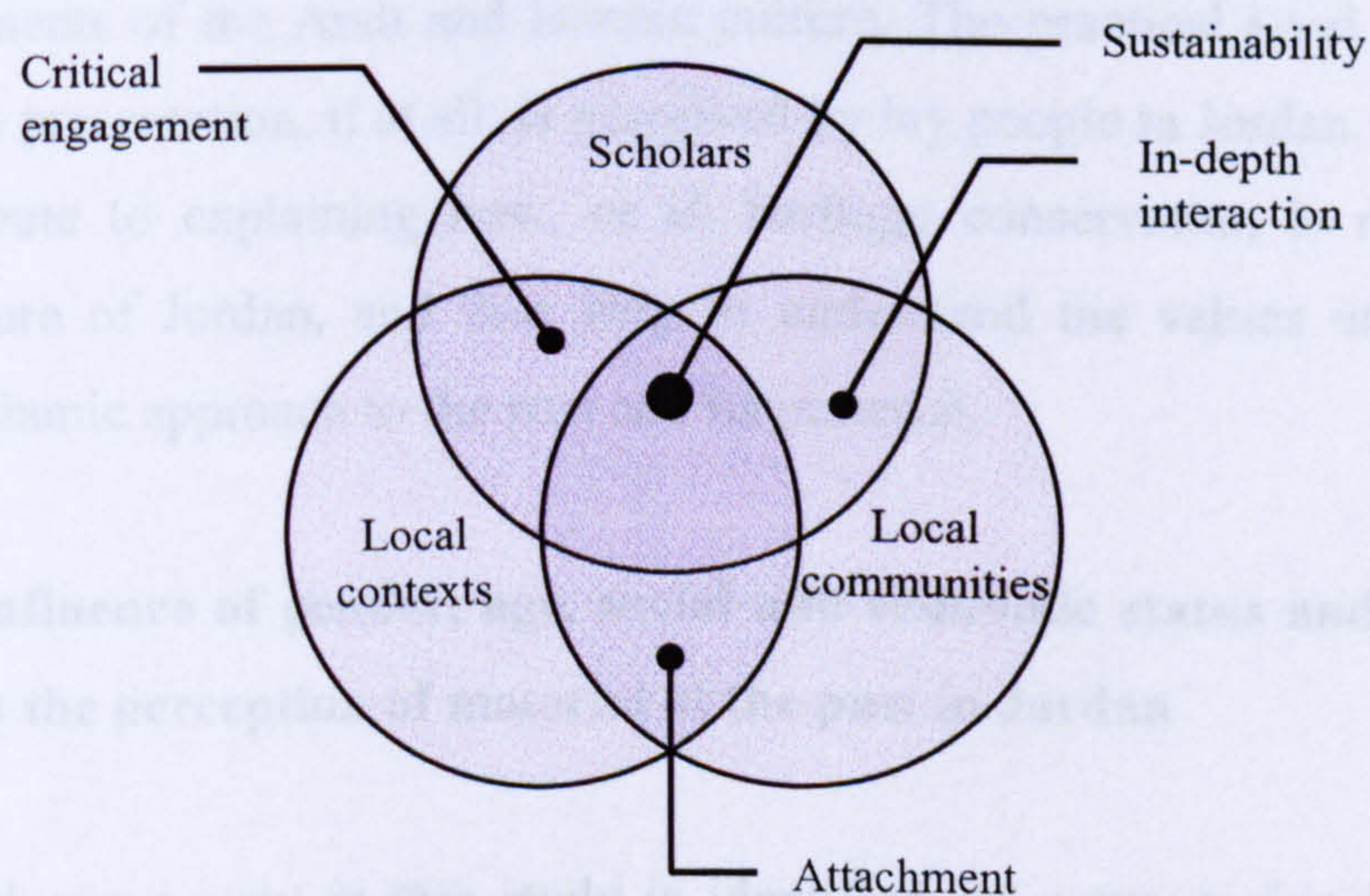


Figure 11.1 Sustainability as a process of interaction between scholars, local contexts and local community

11.5 Future studies

Throughout the study and especially during the process in which the respondents' accounts were analysed, many questions were raised about the nature of the relationship between local communities and archaeological sites in Jordan, and the influence of different aspects of life on the process through which archaeological sites acquired meanings in these contexts.

11.5.1 Representation of material of the past in Arabic and Islamic culture

Many respondents referred to some verses in the Quran that refer to the past and its material, in order to demonstrate their perceptions and knowledge of the past and its material (see section 8.3.2). Anchoring the interest of the past and its material to the Quran is a subject that is only tackled by a very few scholars (e.g. Hodjat 1999; Cam 2003). Others referred to the material of the past in terms of classical Arabic poetry in order to reveal the importance of the past and its material in Arab culture (see section 9.4.2). Representation of the past and its material in the Quran and classical Arabic poetry is worthy of further investigation on both theoretical and practical levels. The theoretical level is concerned with how the past and its material are represented in the Quran as well as the classical Arabic poetry as they both shape essential elements of the Arab and Islamic culture. The practical level is concerned with how this presentation, if at all, is perceived by lay people in Jordan. Such a study could contribute to explaining how, or if, heritage conservation is rooted in the national culture of Jordan, and thus help to understand the values underlying the Arabic and Islamic approach to the past and its material.

11.5.2 The influence of gender, age, social and economic status and the level of education on the perception of material of the past in Jordan

Because local community in this study is identified on a geographical basis (local communities who live close to the archaeological sites in question), it was not important to establish a relationship between the variations of the respondents (e.g. age, gender, level of education) and their perceptions of archaeological sites. However, every care was made to cover both genders and different age groups in the selected places. If local community was identified on a basis other than geographic closeness to archaeological sites, it is possible that different perceptions and experiences could have been revealed. Although general social, political, cultural and economic contexts play a vital role in defining the way local communities interact with material of the past, the influence of these contexts on local communities differ according to their age, gender, social and economic status as well as the level of education they received. These elements could be the subject of a study that examines

the relationship between these varieties and the different perceptions of material of the past in general and archaeological sites in particular.

11.5.3 The approaches to archaeological sites in Jordan throughout the ages

As demonstrated in chapter 7, different people shaped the time and place of Jordan. They established different cultures and ways of life that are reflected in the diversity of material of the past. How these cultures approached material of the past they inherited from their ancestors could be the subject of a study that explores the ancient cultures approach to material of the past in Jordan. Taking into consideration that Jordan as an independent state has been only recently established, and that it was politically and culturally part of a wider context of *Bilad al-Sham*, such a study could shed light on archaeological and anthropological evidence related to the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the past and its material in, not only Jordan, but also *Bilad al-Sham*.

References

- Abdelhalim, A. (1998) 'Architecture, Community and Culture in the Context of Globalization: An Argument against Globalization', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlement Review* x, 1: 11.
- Abu-Hdeib, S. & Abu-Shmeis, A. (2003) *Archaeological Sites in the Capital According to the Administrative Sectors in the Hashemite Kingdom* [in Arabic], unpublished report. The Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- Abu-Hdeib, S. (2004) *Hesban 2004* [in Arabic], unpublished report. The Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- Addison, E. (2004) 'The Roads to Ruins: Accessing Islamic Heritage in Jordan', in Y. Rowan & Baram, U. (eds) *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield: 229-247.
- Adovasio, J.M. & Carlisle, R.C. (1988) 'Some Thoughts on Cultural Resources Management Archaeology in the United States', *Antiquity* 62: 72-87.
- Agar, M. (1986) *Speaking of Ethnography*, Vol. 2, California: Sage University Paper Series on Qualitative Research Methods.
- Al-Asad, M. (2001) *The Socio-economic Dimensions of Conserving an Architectural Heritage* [online]. Available: www.worldarchitecture.org/articles/alasad05.htm [Accessed 2 March 2003].
- Al-Mahadin, S. & Burns, P. (2007) 'Visitors, Visions and Veils: The Portrayal of the Arab World in Tourism Advertising', in R. Daher (ed.) *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change and Transformation*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications: 137-160.
- Al-Mahadin, S. (2007) 'Tourism and the Power Relations in Jordan: Contested Discourses and Semiotic Shifts', in R. Daher (ed.) *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change and Transformation*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications: 308-325.
- Anawak, J. (1996) 'Inuit Perceptions of the Past', in R.W. Preucel & I. Hodder (eds) *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell: 646-652.
- Andah, B.W. (1990) 'Prologue to "Cultural Resources Management: An African Dimension"', in B.W. Andah (ed.) *Cultural Resources Management: An African Dimension*. Nigeria: Wisdom publishers Limited: 2-8.
- Andah, B.W. (1995) 'Cultural Ideology Information Management and Development in Africa', in B.W. Andah (ed.) *Rethinking the African Cultural Script*. Nigeria: University of Ibadan: 154-188.

- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edition, London: Verso.
- Anderson, B. (2005) *Nationalist Voices in Jordan: the State and the Street*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Antiquities Law (1988) *The Antiquities Law of Jordan: Law no. 21 for the year 1988*, Amman: Jordan Press Foundation.
- Anyon, R. & Ferguson, T.J. (1995) 'Cultural Resources Management at the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico, USA', *Antiquity* 69, 266: 913-930.
- Anyon, R., Ferguson, T.J. & Welch, J.R. (2000) 'Heritage Management by American Indian Tribes in the Southwestern United States', in F.P. McManamon & A. Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 120-141.
- Archibald, R. (2004) *The New Town Square : Museums and Communities in Transition*, Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Ascelard, H. (1999) 'Sustainability and Territory Meaningful Practices and Material Transformations', in E. Becker & T. Jahn (eds) *Sustainability and the Social Science: A Cross-disciplinary Approach to Integrating Environmental Considerations into Theoretical Reorientation*. London: Zed Books: 37-58.
- Australia ICOMOS (1979) *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter)* [online]. Available: <http://www.gdrc.org/heritage/icomos-au.html> [Accessed 29 December 2005].
- Australia ICOMOS (2004) *Burra charter* [online]. Available: <http://www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html> [Accessed 29 December 2005].
- Awwad, R. (2005) 'UNESCO Announce 'the Cultural Space of Bedu in Petra and Wadi Rum' a Masterpiece of an Oral and Intangible Heritages of Humanity' [in Arabic], *Al Rai News Paper*, December, 1st 2004: 2.
- Awwad, R. (2006) 'The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities Cancel the Jerash Festival' [in Arabic], *Al Rai News Paper*, July, 19th 2006: 1.
- Bahrani, Z. (1998) 'Conjuring Mesopotamia: Imaginative Geography and a World Past', in L. Meskell (ed.) *Archaeology under Fire*. London: Routledge: 159-174.
- Bar-Yosef, O. & Mazar, A. (1982) 'Israeli Archaeology', *World Archaeology* 13,3: 310-325.
- Barakat, S. & Daher, R. (2000) 'The Cultural Heritage and the Nature of Disasters in Jordan and Palestine', *CRM* 23, 6: 39-43.

- Baruch, Y. & Kudish-Vashdi, R. (2006) *From The Israel Department of Antiquities to The Founding of the Israel Antiquities Authority* [on line]. Available: http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?sec_id=38&subj_id=154 [Accessed 19 May 2006].
- BBC (1995) *Whose Wall is it anyway?* [video]. BBC Production.
- Becker, E., Jahn, T. & Stiess, I. (1999) 'Exploring Uncommon Ground: Sustainability and the Social Science', in E. Becker & T. Jahn (eds) *Sustainability and the Social Science: A Cross-disciplinary Approach to Integrating Environmental Considerations into Theoretical Reorientation*. London: Zed Books: 1-22.
- Becker, G.S. (1964) *Human Capital: a Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bélanger, A. (2002) 'Urban Space and Collection Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 11, 1: 69-92.
- Bellaigue-Scalbert, M. (1985) 'Actors in the Real World', *Museum* 37, 4: 194-197.
- Belsey, C. (2000) 'General Editor's Preface', in S. Tamsin (ed.) *Reading the Past: Literature and History*. Hamshire: Palgrave: ix-x.
- Benjamin, W. (1992) *Illuminations* [translated by H. Ardent], London: Fontana Press.
- Berke, P. R. & Conroy, M. (2000) 'Are We Planning for Sustainable Development? An Evaluation of 30 Comprehensive Plans', *Journal of American planning association* 66, 1: 21-33.
- Berkes, F. (1998) 'Cultural and Natural Capital: A Systems Approach Revisited', in A. Mendis (ed.) *Social Capital Formation and Institutions for Sustainability, Workshop Proceedings* [on line]. University of British Columbia, November 16 – 17. Available: http://www.williambowles.info/mimo/refs/soc_cap.html [Accessed 24 Feb. 2004].
- Bernhardsson, M.T. (2005) *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Binford, L.R. (1962) 'Archaeology as Anthropology', *American Antiquity* 28, 2: 217-225.
- Binford, L.R. (1965) 'Systematic and Cultural process', *American Antiquity* 31, 2: 203-209.
- Binford, L.R. (1983) *In Pursuit of the Past: Decoding the Archaeological Record*, New York: Thames and Hudson.

- Binous, J., Hawari, M., Marin, M. & Öney, G. (2000) 'Islamic Art in the Mediterranean', in *The Umayyads: the Rise of Islamic Art* (collected articles), Amman: International Museum with no Frontiers Cycles: 15-32.
- Biörnstad, M. (1989) 'The ICOMOS International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM)', in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: 70-75.
- Blake, J. (2001) *Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Elements for Consideration* [online]. Available: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001237/123744e.pdf> [Accessed 15 February 2006].
- Bloch, M. (1991) 'Language, Anthropology and Cognitive Science', *Man* 26: 183-198.
- Bond, G.C. & Gilliam, A. (1994) 'Introduction', in G.C. Bond, & A. Gilliam (eds) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London and New York: Routledge: 1-22.
- Bond, G.C. (1990) 'Research in Past Occurrences', in R. Sanjek (ed.) *Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 278-290.
- Botscharow, L.J. (1990) 'Paleolithic Semiotics: Behavioural Analogs to Speech in Acheulean Sites', in M.L. Foster & L.J Botscharow (eds.) *The life of Symbols*. Oxford: Westview Press: 63-79.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* [translated by Richard Nice], Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1997) 'The Forms of Capital', in A. H. Hasley, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 47-58.
- Bowdler, S. (1988) 'Repainting Australian Rock Art', *Antiquity* 62, 236: 517-23.
- Boylan, P.J. (2002) 'The concept of cultural protection in times of armed conflict: from the crusades to the new millennium', in N. Brodie & K. Walker Tubb (eds) *Illicit Antiquities: The Theft of Culture and the Extinction of Archaeology*. London: Routledge: 43-108.
- Braidotti, R. (1999) 'Towards Sustainable Subjectivity: A View from Feminist Philosophy', in E. Becker & Jahn, T. (eds) *Sustainability and the Social Science: A Cross-disciplinary Approach to Integrating Environmental Considerations into Theoretical Reorientation*. London: Zed Books: 74-95.

- Brandi, C. (1996a) 'A Theory of Restoration I', in N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 230-235.
- Brandi, C. (1996b) 'A Theory of Restoration III', in: N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 339-342.
- Breslin, P. (1994) 'Identity and Self-respect', in Ch.D. Kley Meyer (ed.) *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers: 39-56.
- Briggs, C. (1986) *Learning How to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Bridge.
- Brundtland, G. (ed.) (1987) *Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brussels Declaration (1874) *International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War* [online]. Available: <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/FULL/135?OpenDocument> [Accessed 9 January 2006].
- Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Byrne, D. (1991) 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Anthropology* 5: 269-276.
- Byrne, D. (1991) 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Anthropology* 5: 269-276.
- Calthorpe, P. (1993) *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream*, New York: Princeton Architectural press.
- Cam, N. (2003) 'The Role of Reinterpretation of Some Quranic Verses and Hadiths in the Protection and Introduction to Cultural Heritage', unpublished paper submitted to the *Second International Conference on Science and Technology in Archaeology and Conservation*, Jordan 7-11 Dec.
- Campbell, S. (1996) 'Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities? Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development', *Journal of American planning association* 62, 3: 296-312.
- Cannan, T. (1929) 'Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra', *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society* 9, 3-4: 136-218.
- Carman, J. (1993) 'The P is Silent – as in Archaeology', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 12, 1: 39-53.

- Carman, J. (2002) *Archaeology and Heritage: an Introduction*, London: Continuum.
- Carver, M. (2003) *Archaeological Value and Evaluation*, Mantova: Societa Archaeologica Padana s.r.l.
- Center for Strategic Studies (2005) *Labor in Jordan*, Unpublished report, University of Jordan.
- Chatterjee, P. (1993a) *The Nation and its Fragment: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chatterjee, P. (1993b) *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Childe, V.G. (1954) *What Happened in History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Childe, V.G. (1957) *The Dawn of European Civilisation*, London: Routledge.
- Childe, V.G. (1965) *Man Made Himself*, London: Watts.
- China Principles (2000) *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* [online]. Available: http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/china_prin_2_english.pdf [Accessed in 15 January 2006].
- Clark, G. (1939) *Archaeology and Society*, London: Methuen.
- Clark, K. (2002) 'Hard times', *Conservation Bulletin* 37: 37-38.
- Clarke, D.L. (1968) *Analytical Archaeology*, London: Methuen.
- Clavir, M. (2002) *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*, Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Cleere, H.F. (1984a) 'Preface', in H.F. Cleere, (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: ix-x.
- Cleere, H.F. (1984b) 'World Cultural Resources Management: Problems and Perspectives', in H.F. Cleere, (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 125-131.
- Cleere, H.F. (1984c) 'Great Britain' in H.F. Cleere, (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 54-62.
- Cleere, H.F. (ed.) (1989a) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, London: Unwin Hyman.
- Cleere, H.F. (1989b) 'Introduction: the Rationale of Archaeological Heritage Management' in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: 1-19.

- Cleere, H.F. (2000) 'The World Heritage Convention in the Third World' in F.P. McManamon, & A., Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 99-106.
- Cleere, H.F. (2001) 'The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage', in R. Layton, P.G. Stone, & Thomas, J. (eds) *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. London: Routledge: 22-29.
- Cleere, H.F. (2006) 'The World Heritage Convention: Management by and for Whom?', in R. Layton, S. Shennan & P.G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*. London: UCL press: 65-82.
- Cleere, H.F. (1996) 'The concept of outstanding universal value in the World Heritage Convention', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 1: 227 - 233.
- Cole, D.P. (2003) "Where Have the Bedouin Gone?", *Anthropological Quarterly* 76, 2: 235-267.
- Collingwood, R.G. (1961) *The Idea of History*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Conder, C. R. (1878) *Tent Work in Palestine: Record of Discovery and Adventure*, London: Alexander, P. Watt.
- Corsane, G. & Holleman, W. (1993) 'Ecomuseums: A Brief Evaluation', in R.C. de Jong (ed.) *Museums and the Environment*. Pretoria: South African Museums Association: 111-125.
- Corsane, G. (2005) 'Issues in Heritage, Museums and Galleries: A Brief Introduction', in G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries*. Abigdon: Routledge: 1-12.
- Corsane, G., Davis, P. & Elliott, S. (2005) 'Liberating Museum Action and Heritage Management Through 'Inreach'', in M. Maggi (ed.) *Museum and Citizenship: Participation and Community Building through Heritage Sharing*. Turin: IRES: 17-28.
- Coser, L.A. (1992) 'Introduction', in M. Halbwachs *On Collective Memory*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago press: 1-30.
- Costanza, R. & Daly, H.E. (1992) 'Natural Capital and Sustainable Development', *Conservation Biology* 6: 37-46.
- Costello, J. & Palumbo, G. (1995) 'A Program to Develop a National Register of Cultural Heritage Properties in Jordan', *ADAJ* XXXIX: 541-552.
- Côté, J. E. (1996) 'Sociological Perspectives on Identity Formation: The Culture-Identity Link and Identity Capital', *Journal of Adolescence* 19: 417-428.

- Cowen, M. P. & Shenton, R. W. (1996) *Doctrines of Development*, London: Routledge.
- Creswell, J.W. (2003) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, California: Sage publications.
- Cruickshank, D. & Vincent, D. (2003) *People, Places and Treasure under Fire in Afghanistan, Iraq and Israel*, London: BBC Books.
- Daher, M. (1995) *Towards a Comprehensive Approach for the Identification, Evaluation, and Management of Historical and Cultural Resources in Jordan: Paradigm Shift in Conservation Ideology*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Texas A&M University.
- Daher, R. (2000a) 'Heritage Conservation in Jordan: The Myth of Equitable and Sustainable Development', in I. Maff & R. Daher (eds) *Patrimony and Heritage Conservation in Jordan*, Amman: CERMOC: 17-42.
- Daher, R. (2000b) 'Dismantling a Community's Heritage "Heritage Tourism: Conflict, Inequality, and a Search for Social Justice in the Age of Globalisation"', in M. Robinson, N. Evans, P. Long, R. Sharpley & J. Swarbooke (eds) *Tourism and Heritage Relationships: Global, National and Local Perspectives: Reflections on National Tourism*. Sunderland: The Centre for Travel and Tourism in association with Business Education Publishers Ltd: 105-128.
- Daher, R. (2004) 'Domains of Heritage in Bilad al Sham: Places, Actors and Agents "Where are the Publics?"', unpublished paper submitted for *Beirut Conference on Public Spheres*, Beirut: Lebanon, 22-24 October.
- Daher, R. (2005) 'Urban Regeneration/Heritage Tourism Endeavours: The Case of Salt, Jordan 'Local Actors, International Donors, and the State'', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, 4: 289-308.
- Daher, R. (2007) 'Tourism, heritage, and Urban Transformations in Jordan and Lebanon: Emerging Actors and Global-local Juxtapositions', in R. Daher (ed.) *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change and Transformation*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications: 263-307.
- Daifuku, H. (1968) 'The Significance of Cultural Property', in *The Conservation of Cultural Property, Museums & Monuments, XI*. Paris: UNESCO: 19-26.
- Daniel, G. (1981) *A Short History of Archaeology*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Davis, P. (1996) *Museums and the Natural Environment: the Role of Natural History Museums in Biological Conservation*, London: Leicester University Press.
- Davis, P. (1999) *Ecomuseums*, New York: Leicester University Press.

- Davis, P. (2004) 'Ecomuseums and the Democratization of Japanese Museology', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, 1: 93-110.
- De Cuéllar, P. (1995) *Our Cultural Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, Paris: UNSECO.
- De la Torre, M. & Mac Lean, M. (1997) 'The Archaeological Heritage in the Mediterranean Region', in M. de la Torre (ed.) *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 5-14.
- Degeorge, G. (1995) 'The Damascus Massacre: Effect of Modernity on Old Buildings in Syria', *Architectural Review* CXCVII, 1178: 70-17.
- Denzin, N.K. (1978) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Department of Antiquities of Jordan (2004) *Public and Cultural Communication Department*, unpublished report. Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- Department of Antiquities of Jordan (2007) *The Department of Antiquities of Jordan* [online]. Available: <http://www.legadoandalusi.es/conference/en/doa1.htm> [Accessed 13 March 2007].
- Derry, A., Jandi, H., Shull, C. & Thorman, J. (1977a) *Guidelines for Local Survey: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, Washington D.C.: US National Park Service Publications.
- Derry, A., Jandi, H., Shull, C. & Thorman, J. (1977b) *Guidelines for Local Survey: A Basis for Preservation Planning* [online], Washington D.C.: US National Park Service Publications. Available: <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb24/> [Accessed 15 August 2005].
- Dicks, B. (2000) *Heritage, Place and Community*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Dixon, J. & Durrheim, K. (2000) 'Displacing Place-identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other', *British Journal of Social Psychology* 39, 1: 27-44.
- Dobby, A. (1978) *Conservation and Planning*, London: Hutchinson.
- Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H. & Negus, K. (1997) *Doing Cultural Studies: the Story of the Sony Walkman*, London: Sage.
- Duncan, J. & Ley, D. (1993) 'Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture', in J. Duncan & D. Ley (eds) *Place, Culture and Representation*. New York, Routledge: 1-34.

- Durkheim, E. (1964/1938) *The Rules of Sociological Method* [translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller, and edited by George E. G. Catlin], New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Edwards, D. (1997) *Discourse and Cognition*, London: Sage.
- Eickelman, D.F. (1998) *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Emerick, K. (2003) *From Frozen Monuments to Fluid Landscapes: The Conservation and Preservation of Ancient Monuments from 1882 to the Present*, Unpublished PhD thesis. University of York.
- Emovon, E.U. (1990) 'Cultural and Engineering Resource Management in Africa', in B.W. Andah (ed.) *Cultural Resources Management: An African Dimension*. Nigeria: Wisdom publishers Limited: 10-17.
- English Heritage (1997) *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage (2000) *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* [online]. Available: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/upload/pdf/power_of_place [Accessed 30 May 2005].
- Erder, C. (1977 [2004]) *The Venice Charter under Review* [on line]. Available: <http://www.international.icomos.org/venicecharter2004/erder.pdf> [Accessed 15 March 2005].
- Erder, C. (1986) *Our Architectural Heritage: From Consciousness to Conservation* [translated by Ayfer Bakkalcioglu], Paris: UNESCO.
- Escobar, A. (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fairclough, G. (1997) 'Sustaining the Historic Environment', *Context* 55: 39-41.
- Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*, London: The Penguin Group.
- Faqih, S. (1991) *The Traditional 'Souf' House* [in Arabic], Amman: University of Jordan publication.
- Fielding, N.G. & Fielding, J.L. (1986) *Linking Data*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Fitch, J.M. (1984) *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Fletcher, B.F. (1982) *History of Architecture*, London: Butterworths.
- Flick, U (2002) *An introduction to qualitative research*, London: Sage.

- Fontein, J. (2006) *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage*, London: UCL Press.
- Foster, M.L. & Botscharow, L.J. (1990a) 'Preface', in M.L. Foster & L.J Botscharow (eds) *The life of Symbols*. Oxford: Westview Press: vii-ix.
- Foster, M.L. (1990a) 'Introduction', in M.L. Foster & L.J Botscharow (eds) *The life of Symbols*. Oxford: Westview Press: 1-8.
- Foster, M.L. (1990b) 'Analogy, Language, and the Symbolic Process', in M.L. Foster & L.J Botscharow (eds) *The life of Symbols*. Oxford: Westview Press: 81-94.
- Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (translated from French by Alan Sheridan Smith), London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M (1977a) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1977b) *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, (translated from French by Alan Sheridan Smith), London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/ Knowledge*, New York: Pantheon.
- Funtowicz S. & Ravetz, J. (2003) 'Post-Normal Science', *International Society for Ecological Economics: Internet Encyclopaedia of Ecological Economics* [online]. Available: http://www.ecoeco.org/publica/encyc_entries/PstNormSc.doc [Accessed 13 May 2005].
- Geertz C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1985) 'Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolic of Power' in Wilentz (ed.) *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.
- Gero, J. (2005) *The History of the World Archaeological Congress* [online]. Available: http://ehlt.flinders.edu.au/wac/site/about_his.php [Accessed 16 January 2006].
- Giroux, H. A. (2004) 'Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals', *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1, 1: 59-79.
- Glesne, C. & Peshkin, A. (1992) *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*, White Plains, New York: Longman.

- Glueck, N (1940) *The Other side of the Jordan*, Cambridge: Massachusetts.
- Glueck, N (1968) *The River Jordan*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Gorman, G.E. & Clayton, P. (2005) *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional: A Practical Handbook*, London: Facet Publishing.
- Gosden, C. (2001) 'Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*. Oxford: Blackwell: 241-261.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. & Tunbridge, J.E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Graves-Brown, P., Jones, S. & Gamble, C. (eds.) (1996) *Cultural Identity and Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Gray, J. (2002) 'Community as Place-Making: Ram Auctions in the Scottish Borderland', in V. Amit (ed.) *Realizing Community: Concepts, Social Relationships and Sentiments*. London: Routledge: 38-59.
- Greene, J. (1999) 'Preserving which Past for whose Future?', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 3, 1&2: 43-60.
- Greene, K. (2002) *Archaeology: An Introduction; the History, Principles and Methods of Modern Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Griswold, W. (1994) *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World*, Thousand Oak: Pine Forge Press.
- Gubser, P. (1983) *Jordan: Crossroads of Middle Eastern Events*, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (1997) 'Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference', in A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (eds) *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hackney Cultural Strategy (2001) *Hackney Cultural Strategy: Support for Creative and Cultural Industries* [on line]. Available: <http://www.hackney.gov.uk/clcultstrat.doc+final+draft+hackney+cultural+strategy&hl=en&ie=UTF-8>. [Accessed 3 March 2004].
- Hague IV (1907) *Fourth Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land* [online]. Available: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/lawofwar/hague04.htm> [Accessed 9 January 2006].
- Halbwachs, M (1992) *On Collective Memory* [translated, edited and introduced by L.A. Coser], Chicago, IL: University of Chicago press.

- Hall, M. (2001) 'Cape Town's District Six and the Archaeology of Memory', in R. Layton, P.G. Stone & Thomas, J. (eds) *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. London: Routledge: 298-311.
- Hall, S. (1992) 'The Question of Identity', in S. Hall, D. Held & T. McGrew (eds) *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity: 273-320.
- Hall, S. (1997) 'The Work of Representation', in S. Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage: 13-74.
- Hall, S. (2005) 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-nation', in J. Littler & R. Naidoo (eds) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*. London: Routledge: 23-35.
- Hall, C.M. & Mc Arthur, S. (1998) *Integrated Heritage Management: Principles and Practice*. London: The Stationary Office.
- Hallam, E. & Hockey, J. (2001) *Death, Memory and Material Culture*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hamilakis, Y. & Yalouri, E. (1996) 'Antiquities as symbolic capital in modern Greek society', *Antiquity* 70, 267: 117-129.
- Hamilakis, Y. (1996) 'Through the Looking Glass: Nationalism, Archaeology and the Politics of Identity', *Antiquity* 70, 270: 975-8.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2003) 'Iraq, Stewardship and 'The Record': An Ethical Crisis for Archaeology', *Public Archaeology* 3: 104-111.
- Harding, G.L. (1967) *The Antiquities of Jordan*, London: Lutterwort.
- Harvey, C.D. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, 4: 319-338.
- Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into The Origins of Cultural Change*, Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.
- Hassan, F.A. (1998) 'Memorabilia: Archaeological Materiality and the National Identity in Egypt', in L. Meskell (ed.) *Archaeology under Fire*. London: Routledge: 200-216.
- Hassan, F.A. (2006) 'Objects of the Past: Refocusing Archaeology', in R. Layton, S. Shennan & P.G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*. London: UCL press: 217-227.
- Hayden, D. (1995) *The Power of Place*, Cambridge: Massachusetts.
- Hazbun, W. (2002) 'Mapping the Landscape of the 'New Middle East'', in G. Joffé (ed.) *Jordan in Transition*. London: Hurst and Company: 330-345.

- Held, C.C. (2006) *Middle East Patterns: Places, Peoples, and the Politics*, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Henson, F.G. (1989) 'Historical Development and Attendant Problems of Cultural Resources Management in the Philippines', in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: 109-117.
- Heritage Law (2003) *The Protection of Urban and Architectural Heritage Law*, unpublished English version. Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Jordan.
- Herr, L.G. & Najjar, M. (2001) 'The Iron Age', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 323-346.
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London: Methuen.
- Hodder, I. & Hutson S. (2003) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1982a) *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1982b) 'Theoretical archaeology: a Reactionary View', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1984a) 'Archaeology in 1984', *Antiquity* LVIII, 25-32.
- Hodder, I. (1984b) 'History vs. Science: No Contest. Review of L.R. Binford 1983 *In Pursuit the Past* (Thames and Hudson) and J.G.D. Clark 1983 *The identity of man* (Methuen)', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3: 66-68.
- Hodder, I. (1986) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1989) 'Post-modernism, Post-structuralism and Post-processual Archaeology', in Hodder, I. (ed.) *The Meanings of Things*. London: Unwin Hyman: 64-78.
- Hodder, I. (1991a) 'To Interpret Is to Act: The Need for An Interpretive Archaeology', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 8: 8-13.
- Hodder, I. (1991b) 'Interpretive Archaeology and its Role', *American Antiquity* 56, 1: 7-18.

- Hodder, I. (1991c) 'Postprocessual Archaeology and the Current Debate', in R.W. Preucel (ed.) *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press: 30-41.
- Hodder, I. (1993) 'Changing Configurations: the Relationships Between Theory and Practice', in J. Hunter & Ralston, I. (eds) *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction*. Washington: Alan Sutton: 11-18.
- Hodder, I. (2001) 'Introduction: A Review of Contemporary Theoretical Debates in Archaeology', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*. Oxford: Blackwell: 1-13.
- Hodjat, M. (1995) *Cultural Heritage in Iran, Policies for an Islamic Country*, unpublished PhD Thesis. University of York.
- Howard, P. (2003) *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum.
- Howden, D. (2005) 'The Destruction of Mecca: Saudi Hardliners Wiping Out Their Own Heritage', *The Independent*, August, 6th 2005: 1-2.
- Hudson, K. (1981) *A social History of Archaeology: the British Experience*, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- ICOMOS (1964) *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Vince Charter)* [online]. Available: http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.htm [Accessed 12 December 2005].
- ICOMOS (1990) *ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* [online]. Available: http://www.international.icomos.org/e_archae.htm [Accessed 20 October 2005].
- ICOMOS (1994a[1931]) *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* [online]. Available: http://www.icomos.org/athens_charter.html [Accessed 12 December 2005].
- ICOMOS (1994b) *The Nara Document on Authenticity* [online]. Available: http://www.international.icomos.org/naradoc_eng.htm [Accessed 19 December 2005].
- ICOMOS (2004) *ICOMOS ENAME Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites* [online]. Available: http://www.icomos.org/australia/images/pdf/A%20%20ICOMOS%20Ename%20Charter%20_Draft%203_%2023-08-04.pdf [Accessed 5 January 2006].
- ICOMOS (2007) *International Council on Monuments and Sites* [online]. Available: <http://www.international.icomos.org/members.htm> [Accessed 5 June 2007].

- Infranco, G. (1998) *Archaeological Conservation*, Amman: Al-Dustur Commercial Printing Press.
- Insoll, T. (1999) *The Archaeology of Islam*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jameson, F. (1984) 'Postmodernism or the cultural logic of late capitalism', *New Left Review* 146, 53-92.
- Jeannotte, M.S. (2003a) 'Singing Alone? The Contribution of Cultural Capital to Social Cohesion and Sustainable Communities', *The International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9, 1: 35-49.
- Jeannotte, M.S. (2003b) 'Social Cohesion: Insights from Canadian Research', paper presented at *The Conference on Social Cohesion*, Hong Kong, November 29, 2003 [online]. Available: http://www.hku.hk/socsc/cosc/Full%20paper/Jeannotte%20Sharon_Full788. [Accessed 9 March 2004].
- Jencks, Ch. (1969) 'Semiology and Architecture', in Ch. Jencks & G. Baird (eds) *Meaning in Architecture*. London, Barrie & Rockliff: the Cresset: 10-25.
- Johnson, J. (1990) *Selecting Ethnographic Informants*, Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Jokilehto, J. (1988) 'Conservation Principles and their Theoretical Background', *Durability of Materials* 5: 267-277.
- Jokilehto, J. (1994) 'Authenticity, a General Frame Work for the Concept', in *Proceeding of the Conference on Authenticity*, Japan, 31 January- 2 February 1994: 1-14.
- Jokilehto, J. (1999) *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Jones, S. (2005) 'Making Place, Resisting Displacement: Conflicting national and local identities in Scotland', in J. Littler, & R. Naidoo (eds) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*. London: Routledge: 94-114.
- Jones, S. (2006) "'They made it a living thing didn't they...': The Growth of Things and the Fossilization of Heritage', in R. Layton, S. Shennan & P.G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*. London: UCL press: 107-126.
- Kanellopoulos, C. (1994) *The Great Temple of Amman: the Architecture*, Amman: ACOR publications.
- Karp, I. & Lavine, S.D. (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Kavanagh, G. (2000) *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, London: Leicester University Press.
- Keck, Sh. (1996) 'Further Materials for a History of Conservation', in N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 281-287.
- Killebrew A. & Lehmann, G. (1999) 'Interpreting the Past', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 3, 1&2: 3-7.
- King, T.F, Hickman, P.P. & Berg, G. (1977) *Anthropology in Historic Preservation: Caring for Culture's Clutter*, London: Academic Press.
- Kleinman, Sh., Stenross, B. & McMahon, M. (1994) 'Privileging Fieldwork Over Interviews: Consequences for Identity and Practice', *Symbolic Interaction* 17, 1: 37-50.
- Kleymeyer, Ch.D. (1994a) 'Introduction' in Ch.D. Kleymeyer (ed.) *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development*. Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers: 1-13.
- Kleymeyer, Ch.D. (1994b) 'The Uses and Functions of Cultural Expression in Grassroots Development', in Ch.D. Kleymeyer (ed.) *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development*. Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers: 17-36.
- Kleymeyer, Ch.D. (1994c) 'Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development', in Ch.D. Kleymeyer (ed.) *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development*. Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers: 195-214.
- Korpela, K. M. (1989) 'Place-identity as a Product of Environmental Self-regulation', *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 9: 241-256.
- Kreps, K. (2003) *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation*, London: Routledge.
- Krupat, E. (1983) 'A place for Place Identity', *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3: 343-344.
- Kudson, R. (1986) 'Contemporary Cultural Resources Management', in Meltzer, D.J., Fowler, D.D. & Sabloff, J.A. (eds) *American Archaeology Past and Future*. London: Smithsonian Institute Press.
- LaBianca, Ø. S. (1990) *Hesban 01: Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan*, Andrews University: Andrews University Press.
- Larsen, K.E. (1995) 'Preface', in K.E. Larsen (ed.) *Nara Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention*, Japan: ICOMOS: xi-xiii.

- Larsen, M.T. (1989) 'Orientalism and Near Eastern Archaeology', in D. Miller, M. Rowlands & C. Tilly (eds) *Domination and Resistance*. London: Unwin Hyman: 229-239.
- Layton, R. & Thomas, J. (2001) 'Introduction: the Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property', in R. Layton, P.G. Stone & Thomas, J. (eds) *Destruction And Conservation of Cultural Property*. London: Routledge: 1-21.
- Layton, R. (1989a) 'Introduction: Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions' in R. Layton (ed.) *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*. London: Unwin Hyman: 1-21.
- Layton, R. (1989b) 'Introduction: Who needs the past?' in R. Layton (ed.) *Who Needs the Past: Indigenous Values and Archaeology*. London: Unwin Hayman: 1-20.
- Le Duc, V. (1996) 'Restoration', in N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 314-318.
- Lerner, S. & Hoffman, T. (2000) 'Bringing archaeology to the public: programmes in the southwestern united states', in F.P. McManamon & A. Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 231-246
- Lewis, M. (1991) 'Historical Setting', in H.Ch. Metz (ed.) *Jordan: a Country Study*, Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: 1-62.
- Lipe, W.D. (1984) 'Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources', in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resources Management Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-11.
- Loewenberg, P. (1996) *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Low, S.M. (2002) 'Anthropological-Ethnographic Methods for the Assessment of Cultural Values in Heritage Conservation', in M. de la Torre, & R. Mason, (eds) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 31-49.
- Lowenthal, D. & Binney, M. (ed.) (1981) *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?*. London: Temple Smith.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1993) 'Memory and Oblivion', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 12, 2: 171-82.

- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of the History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (2005) 'Natural and Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, 1: 81-92.
- Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Lynch, K. (1972) *What Time is This Place?*, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. press
- Lyons, C.L. & Papadopoulos, J.K. (2002) 'Archaeology and Colonialism', in C.L. Lyons & J.K. Papadopoulos (eds) *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute: 1-23.
- Maffi, I. (2002) 'New Museographic Trends in Jordan', in G. Joffé (ed.) *Jordan in Transition*. London: Hurst and Company: 208-224.
- Matenga, E. (1996) 'Conservation History of the Great Enclosure, Great Zimbabwe, With Reference to the Proposed Restoration of a Lintel Entrance', in G. Pwiti & Robert S. (eds) *Aspects of African archaeology : papers from the 10th Congress of the PanAfrican Association for Prehistory and Related Studies*. Harare : University of Zimbabwe: 825-828.
- Mahadin, K. & Fathi, I. (1992) *Samra: Traditional Houses of Vernacular Village in Southern Jordan*, Unpublished article. Archive of the Department of Architecture, University of Jordan.
- Maher, M.S.J. (2005 [1915]) *Psychology: Empirical and Rational* [online], Longmans: Green & Co. Available: <http://www.nd.edu/Departments/Maritain/etext/psych.htm> [Accessed 21 July 2005].
- Malinowski, B. (1929) 'Social Anthropology', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 20: 862-870.
- Marijinissen, R. (1996) 'Degradation, Conservation, and Restoration of Works of Art: Historical Overview', in N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds.) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 275-280.
- Marris, P. (1986) *Loss and Change*, London: Routledge.
- Mason, D. & Shacklock, V. (1995) 'Restoration to Conservation', *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 1, 1: 9-26.
- Mason, R. (2002) 'Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices' in de la Torre, M. & Mason, R. (eds) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 5-30.

- Mason, R. (2004) 'Conflict and Complement: An Exploration of the Discourses Informing the Concept of the Socially Inclusive Museum in Contemporary Britain', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, 1: 49-73.
- Mason, R. (2006) 'Cultural theory and Museum studies', in Sh. Macdonald (ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies*. London: Blackwell: 17-32.
- Masry, A.H. (1982) 'Traditions of Archaeological Research in the Near East', *World Archaeology* 13, 2: 222-239.
- Mattingly, D.J. (1996) 'From One Colonialism to Another: Imperialism and the Maghreb', in J. Webster & N. Cooper (eds) *Roman Imperialism: Post-colonial Perspectives*. Leicester: Leicester University Press: 49-69.
- Maxwell, J. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, London: Sage Publications.
- Maybury-Lewis, D. (1994) 'Foreword: Culture and Development', in Ch.D. Kleymeyer (ed.) *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers: ix-xv
- McEachern, J.D. (1991) *National Environment Strategy for Jordan*, Switzerland: The World Conservation Union.
- McGimsey III, C.R. & Davis, H.A. (1984) 'United States of America' in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McManamon, F.P. & Hatton, A. (2000) 'Introduction: Considering Cultural Resources Management in Modern Society' in F.P. McManamon & A. Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 1-19.
- McQuitty, A. (2001) 'The Ottoman Period', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 561-594.
- Meacham, J.A. & Leiman, B. (1982) 'Remembering to Perform Future Actions', in U. Neisser (ed.) *Memory observed: Remembering in Natural Contexts*. San Francisco, CA: W. H. Freeman: 327-336.
- Merril, S. (1881) *East of the Jordan, A Record of Travel and Observation in the Countries of Moab, Gilead and Bashan*, London: Richard Bently.
- Meskell, L. (1998) 'Introduction: Archaeology Matters', in L. Meskell (ed.) *Archaeology under Fire*. London: Routledge: 1-12.
- Meskell, L. (2002) 'Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology', *Anthropological Quarterly* 75, 3: 557-574.

- Metz, H. Ch. (1991) 'Introduction', in H.Ch. Metz (ed.) *Jordan: a country study*, Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: xxi-xxxi.
- Miller, J. & Glassner, B. (2004) 'The "Inside" and the "Outside": Finding Realities in Interviews', in D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage Publications: 125-139
- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E. and Alexander, L. (1990) *In-Depth Interviewing: Researching people*, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Ministry of Planning (1998) 'Newsletter of the Aid Coordination Unit', *Partners in Development* 16: 1-4 [online]. Available.
http://www.mop.gov.jo/reports/Partners/EN/PID_September_1998.pdf#search=%22spanish%20archaeological%20mission%20Citadel%20to%20Amman%22 [Accessed in 16 October 1996].
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (2004) *Jordan National Tourism Strategy 2004-2010* [online]. Available: <http://www.tourism.jo/PDFs/NTS%20Book.pdf> [Accessed 12 September 2006].
- Murtagh, W. (1988) *Keeping Time: the History and Theory of Preservation in America*, New York: Main Street Press.
- Musitelli, J. (2002) 'Opinion: World Heritage, Between Universalism and Globalization', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 11, 2: 323-336.
- Myles, K. (1989) 'Cultural Resources Management in Sub-Saharan Africa: Nigeria, Togo and Ghana', in H.F. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: 118-127.
- Narin, I. (1965) *The American Landscape*, New York: Random House.
- Ndoro, W. (1994) 'The Preservation and Presentation of Great Zimbabwe', *Antiquity* 68: 616-23.
- Ndoro, W. (1995) 'Restoration of Dry-stone Walls at the Great Zimbabwe Archaeological Site', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 1.2: 87-96.
- Neuman, W. L. (1994). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Newman, A. & McLean, F. (1998) 'Heritage Builds Communities: The Application of Heritage Resources to the Problem of Social Exclusion', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4, 3&4: 143-153.
- Newman, A. & McLean, F. (2004a) 'Presumption, Policy and Practice: The Use of Museums and Galleries as Agents of Social Inclusion in Great Britain', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10, 2: 167-181.

- Newman, A. & McLean, F. (2004b) 'Capital and the Evaluation of the Museum Experience', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, 4: 480-498.
- Newman, A. & McLean, F. (2006) 'The Impact of Museums Upon Identity', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, 1: 49-68.
- Newman, A. (2005) 'Understanding The Social Impact of Museums, Galleries and Heritage Through the Concept of Capital', in G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries*. Abingdon: Routledge: 228-237.
- Norton, P. (1989) 'Archaeological Rescue and Conservation in the North Andean Area', in H.F. Cleere, (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: 142-145.
- O'Neill, M. (2006) 'Museums and Identity in Glasgow', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, 1: 29-48.
- Oliphant, L. 1880. *The Land of Gilead with Excursions in the Lebanon*, Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons.
- Olszewski, D.I. (2001) 'The Paleolithic Period, Including the Epipalaeolithic', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 31-66.
- Osborne, B.S. (2001) 'Memorialization', paper submitted to the *Policy Research Seminar on Identity*, Department of Canadian Heritage, Multicultural Program, Halifax: Nova Scotia, 1-2 November .
- Osborne, B.S. (2006) *From Native Pines to Diasporic Geese: Placing Culture, Setting Our Sites, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada* [on line]. Available: <http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=1767&layout=html> [Accessed 3 June 2006].
- Palumbo, G., Abu Dayyeh, A., Amr, Kh., Green, J., Kanan, R., Krackiewicz, E., Shartz, C., Shwemat, M. & Waheeb, M. (1993) 'Cultural Resources Management in Jordan, 1987-1992', *ADAJ* XXVII: 69-81.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, London: Sage Publications.
- Pearce, S.M. (1992) *Museums objects and Collections: a Cultural Study*, Leicester and London: Leicester University Press.
- Pearce, S.M. (1994) 'Objects as Meaning; or Narrating the Past', in S.M. Pearce (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge: 19-29.
- Peteet, J. M. (1991) 'The Society and its Environment', in H.Ch. Metz (ed.) *Jordan: a Country Study*, Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: 63-123.

- Petersen, A. (2001) 'Ottoman Hajj Forts', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 685-692.
- Peterson, R. (1976) 'The production of culture: A Prolegomenon', in R. Peterson (ed.) *The Production of Culture*. California: SAGE Publications: 7-22.
- Philippot, P. (1996) 'Restoration from the Perspective of the Humanities', in N. Price, M. Talley, & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 216-229
- Pliny, G. (1963) *Natural history*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Potter, P. B. (1994) 'Postprocessual Approaches and Public Archaeology: Putting Critical Archaeology to Work For the Public', in J.E. Kerber (ed.) *Cultural Resources Management: Archaeological Research, Preservation Planning, and Public Education in the Northeastern United States*. London: Bergin and Garvey: 65-85.
- Pretty, J. & Ward, H. (2001) 'Social Capital and the Environment', *World Development* 29, 2: 209-227.
- Price, C. (2000) 'Following Fashion: The Ethics of Archaeological Conservation' in F.P. McManamon, & A. Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 213-230.
- Pringle, D. (2001) 'Crusader Castles in Jordan', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 677-684.
- Proshansky, H., Fabian, A.K. & Kaminoff, R. (1983) 'Place-identity: Physical World Socialisation of the Self', *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3: 57-83
- Rahman, A.M.D. (1993) *People's Self-Development: Perspectives on Participatory Action Research, a Journey Through Experience*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Reid, D.M. (2002) *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, California: University of California Press.
- Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion Limited.
- Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (1996) *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, London: Thames and Hudson.

- Renfrew, C. (1994) 'Towards a cognitive archaeology', in C. Renfrew & E.B.W. Zubrow (eds) *The Ancient mind: elements of cognitive archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-12.
- Renfrew, C. (2001) 'Symbol before concept: material engagement and the early development of society', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 122 – 140.
- Richardson, L. (1990) *Writing Strategies*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rifa'i, T. & Kan'an, R. (1987) *First Houses of Amman* [in Arabic], Amman: University of Jordan publication.
- Rigg, J. (1997) *Southeast Asia: The Human landscape of Modernization and Development*, London: Routledge.
- Rio Declaration (1992) *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*, adopted in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3 - 14 June [online]. Available: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/conf151/aconf15126-1annex1.htm> [Accessed 1 May 2006].
- Rollefson, G.O. (2001) 'The Neolithic Period', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 67-106.
- Rowlands, M. (1994) 'The Politics of Identity in Archaeology' in G.C. Bond & A. Gilliam (eds) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*, London and New York: Routledge: 129-143.
- Rowles, G. D. (1983) 'Place and Personal Identity in Old Age: Observations from Appalachia', *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3: 299-313.
- Ruskin, J. (1849) *Seven Lamps in Architecture*, London: Smith Elder.
- Ruskin, J. (1908) *Our Fathers Told Us: The Bible of Amiens*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Ruskin, J. (1996) 'The Lamp of Memory II', in N. Price, M. Talley & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 322-323.
- Russel, K.W. (1983) 'Ethnohistory of the Bedul Bedouin of Petra', *ADAJ* XXVII: 15-35.
- Sachs, I. (1999) 'Social Sustainability and Whole Development: Exploring the Dimensions of Sustainable Development', in E. Becker & T. Jahn (eds) *Sustainability and the Social Science: A Cross-disciplinary Approach to Integrating Environmental Considerations into Theoretical Reorientation*. London: Zed Books: 25-36.

- Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism*, 3rd edition, London: Penguin Books.
- Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory, Vol. 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso.
- Saussure, F. (1974) *Course in General Linguistics* [translated from French by Wade Baskin], London: Fontana.
- Schmid, S.G. (2001) 'The Nabataeans: Travellers between Lifestyles' in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 367-426.
- Schwartz, H. & Jacobs, J. (1979) *Qualitative Sociology: A Method to the Madness*, London: Collier Macmillan Publishers.
- Seeden, H. (1987) 'Lebanon's Past Today', *Berytus Archaeological Studies XXXV*: 5-12.
- Seeden, H. (1990) 'Search for the Missing Link: Archaeology and the Public in Lebanon', in P. Gathercole & D. Lowenthal (eds) *The Politics of the Past*. London: Routledge: 141-159.
- Seeden, H. (1994) 'Archaeology and the Public in Lebanon: Development since 1986' in P.G. Stone & B.L. Molyneaux (eds) *The Presented Past*. London: Routledge: 95-108.
- Seeden, H. (2000) 'Lebanon's Archaeological Heritage on Trial in Beirut: What Future for Beirut's Past?', in F.P. McManamon & A. Hatton (eds) *Cultural Resources Management in Contemporary society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York & London: Routledge: 168-187.
- Shanks, M. & Tilley, C. (1992) *Re-Constructing Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Shaw, W.M.K. (2003) *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Shoup, J.A. (1985) 'The impact of tourism on the Bedouin of Petra', *The Middle East Journal* 39: 277-291.
- Silberman, N.A. (1989) *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*, New York: Holt.
- Silberman, N.A. (1998) 'Whose Game Is It Anyway? The Political and Social Transformations of American Biblical Archaeology', in L. Meskell (ed.) *Archaeology under Fire*. London: Routledge: 175-188.

- Silva, R. (1977 [2004]) *The Significance of the Venice International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, with Special Reference to Eastern Countries* [online]. Available: <http://www.international.icomos.org/venicecharter2004/silva.pdf> [Accessed 13 June 2005].
- Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*, London: Sage Publications.
- Simms, S. & Koorring, D. (1996) 'The Bedul Bedouin of Petra, Jordan: Traditions, Tourism and an Uncertain Future', *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19: 22-25.
- Smith, L. (1993) 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Archaeological Heritage Management', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 12, 1: 55-75.
- Smith, L. (1994) 'Heritage Management as Postprocessual Archaeology?' *Antiquity* 68: 300-309.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge.
- Smith, L., Morgan, A. & van der Meer, A. (2003) 'Community-driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: the Waanyi Women's History Project', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, 1: 65-80.
- Soukhanov, A. & Ellis, H. (eds) (1984) *Webster's II: New Riverside University Dictionary*, Boston, Massachusetts: The riverside Publishing Company.
- Solli, B. (1996) 'Narratives of Veery: on the Poetics and Scientifics of Archaeology', in S. Jones, P. Graves-Brown & C. Gamble (eds) *Cultural Identity and Archaeology*. London: Routledge: 209-227.
- Start, D. (1999) 'Community Archaeology: Bringin it Back to Local Communities', in G. Chitty & D. Baker (eds) *Managing Historic Sites and Buildings: Reconciling Presentation and Preservation*. London: Routledge: 49-59.
- Steinberg, F. (1996) 'Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries', *Habitat International* 20, 3: 463-475.
- Stone, P.G. (1989) 'Interpretations and Uses of the Past in Modern Britain and Europe. Why Are People Interested in the Past? Do the Experts Know or Care? A Plea for Further Study', in R. Layton (ed.) *Who Needs the Past: Indigenous Values and Archaeology*. London: Routledge: 195-206.
- Stone, P.G. (1994) 'Introduction: a Framework for Discussion', in P.G. Stone & Molyneaux, B.L. (eds) *The Presented Past*. London: Routledge: 15-28.
- Stone, P.G. (2006) "'All some and Mirrors ...'" The World Archaeological Congress, 1968-2004', in R. Layton, S. Shennan & P.G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*. London: UCL press: 53-64.

- Strange, J. (2001) 'The Late Bronze Age', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 291-322.
- Sturken, M. (1999) 'Narratives of Recovery: Repressed Memory as Cultural Memory', in M. Bal, J. Crewe & L. Spitzer (eds) *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England: 231-248.
- Sullivan, Sh. (1993) 'Conservation Policy Delivery', in M. MacLean (ed.) *Cultural Heritage in Asia and the Pacific: Conservation and Policy*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 15-26.
- Sullivan, Sh. (1997) 'A Planning Model for the Management of Archaeological Sites', in M. de la Torre (ed.) *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 15-26.
- Tainter, J.A. & Lucas, J. (1983) 'Epistemology of the Significance Concept', *Antiquity* 48, 4: 707-719.
- Taylor, K. (2004) 'Cultural Heritage Management: A possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, 5: 417-433.
- Taylor, S.J. & Bogdan, R. (1984) *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: the Search for Meanings*, Chichester: A Wiley-Interscience publication.
- Taylor, P. (1997) *Investigating Culture and Identity*, London: Collins Educational.
- Theodosianus, B. (1952) *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitution: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography*. Edited and translated by Clyde Pharr. In collaboration with Theresa Sherrer, Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr, New York: Green Press.
- Thomas, J. (1995) 'Where Are We Now?' In P.J. Ucko (ed.) *Theory in Archaeology: a World Perspective*. London: Routledge: 343-362.
- Throsby, D. (1999) 'Cultural Capital', *Journal of Cultural Economics* 23, 3-12.
- Throsby, D. (2001) *Economics and Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Throsby, D. (2002) 'Cultural Capital and Sustainability Concepts in the Economics of Cultural Heritage', in M. de la Torre (ed.) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute: 101-118.
- Tilden, F. (1977) *Interpreting Our Heritage*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tindall, G. (1980) *The Fields Beneath: The History of One London Village*, London: Granada/ Paladin.

- Trigger, B.G. (1978) *Time and Traditions: Essays in Archaeological Interpretation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Trigger, B.G. (1981) 'Anglo-American Archaeology', *World Archaeology* 13, 2: 138-55.
- Trigger, B.G. (1984) 'Alternative Archaeology: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist', *Man* 19, 3: 355-370.
- Trigger, B.G. (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trigger, B.G. (1995) 'Romanticism, Nationalism and Archaeology' in P.L. Kohl & C. Fawcett (eds) *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practices of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trigger, B.G. & Glover, I. (1981) 'Editorial', *World Archaeology* 13, 2: 133-37.
- Tunbridge, J.E. & Ashworth, G.J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Tylor, E (1871) *Primitive Culture*, Gloucester, Maine: Smith.
- Ucko, P.J. (1989a) 'Forward', in H.F. Cleere, (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*. London: Unwin Hyman: ix-xiv.
- Ucko, P.J. (1989b) 'Forward', in R. Layton (ed.) *Who Needs the Past: Indigenous Values and Archaeology*. London: Routledge: ix-xv.
- Ucko, P.J. (1989c) 'Foreword', in Shennan, S. (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin Hyman: ix-xx.
- Ucko, P.J. (1994a) 'Museums and Sites: Cultures of the Past within Education-Zimbabwe, Some Ten Years on', in P.G. Stone & B.L. Molyneaux (eds) *The presented past: Heritage, Museums and Education*. London: Routledge: 237-82.
- Ucko, P.J. (1994b) 'Foreword', in G.C. Bond & A. Gilliam (eds) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London: Routledge: xiii-xv
- Ucko, P.J. (1995) 'Introduction: Archaeological Interpretation in a World Context', in P.J. Ucko (ed.) *Theory in Archaeology: a World Perspective*. London: Routledge: 1-27.
- UNESCO (1972) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* [online]. Available: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> [Accessed 20 January 2006].

- UNESCO (1986) *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*, adopted by the World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 26 July - 6 August 1982 [online]. Available: http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/mexico/html_eng/page1.shtml#CULTURAL%20I [Accessed 28 April 2006].
- UNESCO (1989) *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*, adopted by the General Conference at its twenty fifth session, Paris, 15 November 1989 [online]. Available: http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/paris/html_eng/page1.shtml [Accessed 30th April 2006].
- UNESCO (1998) *Final Report of Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development: The Power of Culture*, Stockholm, 30 March- 2 April, UNESCO: Paris.
- UNESCO (2001) *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, UNESCO: Paris.
- UNESCO (2003a) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* [online]. Available: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf> [Accessed 18 January 2006].
- UNESCO (2003b) *Cultural Diversity* [online]. Available: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2450&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [Accessed 7 January 2004].
- UNESCO (2005) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* [online]. Available: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf> [Accessed 19 January 2006].
- UNESCO (2006) *World Heritage List* [on line]. Available: <http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=31> [Accessed 18 May 2006].
- Vaccaro, A. (1996a) 'The Emergence of Modern Conservation Theory', in N. Price, M. Talley & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 202-211.
- Vaccaro, A. (1996b) 'Restoration and Anti Restoration', in N. Price, M. Talley & A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute: 308-313.
- Vansina, J. (1985) *Oral Tradition as History*, Oxford: James Currey.
- Vitruvius, M. (1995) *On Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- WAC (1990) *Meeting of the World Archaeological Congress Council*. Held in the Hilton Hotel, Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 6 September 1990 at 14:00.

- WAC (2005) *Aims of the World Archaeological Congress* [online]. Available: http://ehlt.flinders.edu.au/wac/site/about_aims.php [Accessed 16 January 2006].
- Walker, B.J. & LaBianca, Ø.S. (2003) 'The Islamic Quşūr of Tall Hisbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2011 Seasons', *ADAJ* 47: 443-469.
- Walmsley, A. & Damgaard, K. (2005) 'The Umayyad Congregational Mosque of Jerash in Jordan and its Relationship to Early Mosques', *Antiquity* 78, 304: 362-378.
- Walmsley, A. (2001) 'Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Jordan and the Crusader Interlude', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 515-560.
- Walmsley, A. (2004) 'Archaeology and Islamic Studies: The Development of a Relationship', In K. Von Folsach, H. Thrane & I. Thuesen (eds) *From Handaxe to Khan: Essays Presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Århus: Aarhus University Press: 317-29.
- Watson, P. (2001) 'The Byzantine Period', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 461-502.
- Wei, Ch. & Aass, A. (1982) 'Heritage conservation: East and West', *ICOMOS Information* 3: 3-8.
- Wengrow, D. (2006) 'The Idea of Prehistory in the Middle East', in R. Layton, S. Shennan & P.G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*. London: UCL press: 187-197.
- Western, D. (1994) 'The Background to Community-based Conservation' in D. Western, & R.M. Wright, (eds) *Natural Connections*. Washington D.C: Island Press: 1-12.
- Weyeneth, R. (1995) *Historic Preservation and Civil Rights Movement: Identifying, Preserving, and Interpreting the Architecture of Liberation*, Columbia: University of South California.
- Whitcomb, D. (2001) 'Umayyad and Abbasid Periods', in B. MacDonald, R. Adams & P. Bienkowski (eds) *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 503-514.
- White, L.A. (1975) *The Concept of Cultural Systems: A Key to Understanding Tribes and Nations*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism and Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

- Williams, R. (1988) *Keywords*, London: Fontana Press.
- Wilson, J. (1847) *Lands of the Bible: Visited and Described*, 2 vols. William Whyte: Edinburgh.
- World Culture Forum (2005) *World Culture Forum*, 4th -7th of December, Jordan [online]. Available: http://www.meccad.org/WCF/sched_sep.shtm [Accessed 28 April 2006].
- World Resource Institute (2006) *Population, Health and Human Well-being Country Profile – Jordan* [online]. Available: http://earthtrends.wri.org/pdf_library/country_profiles/Pop_cou_400.pdf [Accessed 18 April 2005].
- Wright, J. & Mazel, A. (1991) 'Controlling the Past in the Museums of Natal and Kwazulu', *Critical Arts: A Journal for Cultural Studies* 5, 3: 59-77.
- Wright, R.M. (1994) 'Recommendations', in D. Western & R.M. Wright (eds) *Natural Connections*, Washington D.C: Island Press: 524-535.
- Zayadine, F., Kehrberg, I. & Bisheh, G. (2000) 'Amman, the Governor's Headquarters', in *The Umayyads: the Rise of Islamic Art* (collected articles), Amman: International Museum with no Frontiers Cycles: 59-75.
- Zuboff, Sh. (1988) *In the Age of The Smart Machine: The Future of Work and Power*, New York: Basic Books.

Appendix 1

Guidelines to the themes of the in-depth interviews with local communities in Jordan

Stage 1: local communities, contexts and archaeological sites in Jordan (people's experiences, knowledge, attitudes and feelings towards the archaeological site in question)

Main question:

What can you tell me about this *athar* (archaeological sites)?

Probe questions:

How long have you been living close to the *athar*?

What do you know about this *athar*?

What do you like/dislike about it?

Do you go there, why, how often, with whom, what do you do there?

Do you talk to each other (friends, family, neighbours) about the *athar*? what do you say?

Stage 2: local communities, scholars and levels of interventions (people's experiences, knowledge, attitudes and feelings towards the work conducted in the archaeological site in question and the agencies conducting them)

Main question:

How do you feel about the work conducted in the *athar*?

Probe questions:

Who work in the *athar*? What do they do? What do you think of that?

How do they deal with the local community?

Do you think this work can contribute something to the local community? If yes, then how? If no, then why?

How do you see the site in the future, say 10 or 20 years time?

Final question:

Do you think this *athar* is part of your culture and heritage?

Appendix 2

The different periods of time that shape the history of Jordan (adopted from Daher 1995: 31).

TIME	PERIOD OF EVENT
BEFORE 6500 B.C.	Neolithic Period (settlement of well-built houses).
4500-3200 B.C.	Chalcolithic Period(melting copper and making of pottery)
3200-2200B.C.	Early Bronze Period(Rock-cut tombs, discovery of bronze)
1550-1200B.C.	Late Bronze Period(small prosperous cities)
1200-500 B.C.	Iron age ("Rabbath Ammon" (Amman) became the capital of Ammonites State. Almost 3000 years later, Amman became the capital again.
Eighth Century B.C.	The Assyrians ruled over the region.
Seventh Century B.C.	The Babylonians ruled the region during the time of Nebuchadnezzar.
540-332 B.C.	The Persians ruled the region.
332-63B.C.	The Hellenistic Period (Alexander the Great invades the whole region).
260-247 B.C.	"Rabbath Ammon" (now Amman) was built by Ptolemy II
Second Century B.C.	The Nabatteans (local people) ruled over parts of Jordan and built Petra in the southern part of the country.
Second Century B.C.	The Seleucids ruled the region.
63 B.C.	Pompey, the Roman Emperor, conquered Syria, Palestine and Jordan. Many cities were built (cities of the Decapolis) like Philadelphia (Amman), Gadara (Umm Qais), and Jerash.
200 – 750 A.D.	Byzantine period.
637 A.D.	Defeat of the Byzantines at Yarmouk by the Muslims. The beginning of the Islamic period.
661-750 A.D.	The Muslim Umayyads .The desert castles in the Jordanian desert.
750-969A.D.	The Muslim Abbasids.
Eleventh Century A.D.	The Crusaders invade the region, many castles were built during that era. The prosperity of the city of Karak.
1188 A.D.	Salah al-Din defeated the Crusaders at Karak. Beginning of the Ayyubid period.
1260 A.D.	The Mongols attacked the region.
Thirteenth Century A.D.	The Muslim Mamluks defeated the Mongols.
fifteenth Century A.D.	The land of Trans-Jordan became part of the Muslim Ottoman Empire.
1850-1900A.D.	Many immigrants (Syrians, Chechens, and Circassians) started to arrive to Jordan and settled in cities like Amman, Wadi as Sir, and Jerash.
1900-1910 A.D.	The Hijaz Railroad line, which was built by the Muslim Ottomans, reached Jordan and settled in cities like Mafrq, Zarqa, Amman, Qatraneh, and Ma'an.
1916 A.D.	The secret Sykes-Picot agreement between Britain and France was signed, according to the agreement, Jordan became under the British rule.
1920s	The Emirates of east Jordan was founded after the Arab Revolution in 1916. Salt became the capital of the Emirate of east Jordan.
1946	The end of British mandate of Jordan. The birth of modern state of Jordan (The Emirates became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan).
1948	Jordan lost the war against Israel. The birth of the state of Israel which affected Jordan politically, economically, and socially. Many Palestinians were forced to immigrate to Jordan and they settled there.
1976	The occupation of the West Bank by Israel, Jordan was limited to the East Bank (east of the River Jordan). Many immigrants from the West Bank settled in Jordan.

Appendix 3

1. List of the places selected in the first stage of the windshield survey and their satisfaction degree of the selection criteria (adopted from Abu-Idcib, S. & Abu-Shmeis, A. 2003; translated from Arabic by the researcher with alteration)

No.	Place	Archaeological Sites' description	Satisfaction Scale (1 least satisfaction, 3 maximum satisfaction)		
			Criteria 1 closeness	Criteria 2 work	Criteria 3 visiblility
1.	The Citadel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A city with continuous occupation since the Bronze Age up to the Umayyad period. • A Roman temple • Umayyad palace and mosque • Byzantine church 	3	3	3
			total: 9 points		
2.	Tell Hesban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A city dated to the Iron Age, with continuous occupation through the Roman, Byzantine, and the different Islamic periods up to the Ottoman period. 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			3	3	3
			total: 9 points		
3.	Khreibt al-Suq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Byzantine church • Two Roman mausoleums 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			3	3	3
			total: 9 points		
4.	Ain Ghazal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neolithic village, domestic constructions, floors and walls covered with clay, an early example of villages in human history, dated to 8000-6000 BC 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			2	2	1
			total: 5 points		
5.	Tell al-'Umayri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An archaeological Tell dated to the Bronze Age • Constructions dated to the Iron Age, Roman and Islamic periods • Roman tombs 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			1	3	3
			total: 7 points		
6.	Yajuz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural village with continues occupation from the Roman period until the Umayyad, Islamic one. • Byzantine chapel and church • Roman wine and olive presses • Roman query 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			2	3	2
			total: 7 points		
7.	Nwejeez	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roman mausoleum, square plan, stone sarcophagi, caves, water reserves, queries, dated to the second century AD 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			3	0	3
			total: 6 points		
8.	Al-Rakeem cave	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roman tombs • Two Byzantine churches • Two Umayyad mosques • Though to be the Sleepers cave that is mentioned in the Koran 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			2	1	2
			total: 5 points		

9.	Kherbet al-Kurse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural village dated from Iron Age until the Mamluk Islamic period. • Roman wine and olive presses • Byzantine church • Umayyad mosque 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			3	0	2
			total: 5 points		
10.	Umm-Seiuna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ancient city with fortifications dated to 2000 BC • Industrial, agricultural village dated from 800 to 600BC • Roman query 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			1	0	1
			total: 2 points		
11.	Kherbet Sara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A village with a continuous occupation from the Bronze Age until the Mamluk, Islamic period • Ammonite temple built with basalt stone • Roman, Byzantine and Islamic constructions 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			2	0	2
			total: 4 points		
12.	Rujm Abdoon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex dated to the Ammonite period (6th -7th century BC) • Roman wine and olive presses • Roman query 	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3
			2	0	3
			total: 5 points		

2. Photos of the twelve selected places (stage 1 of the windshield survey) taken by the researcher during the windshield survey in 2004

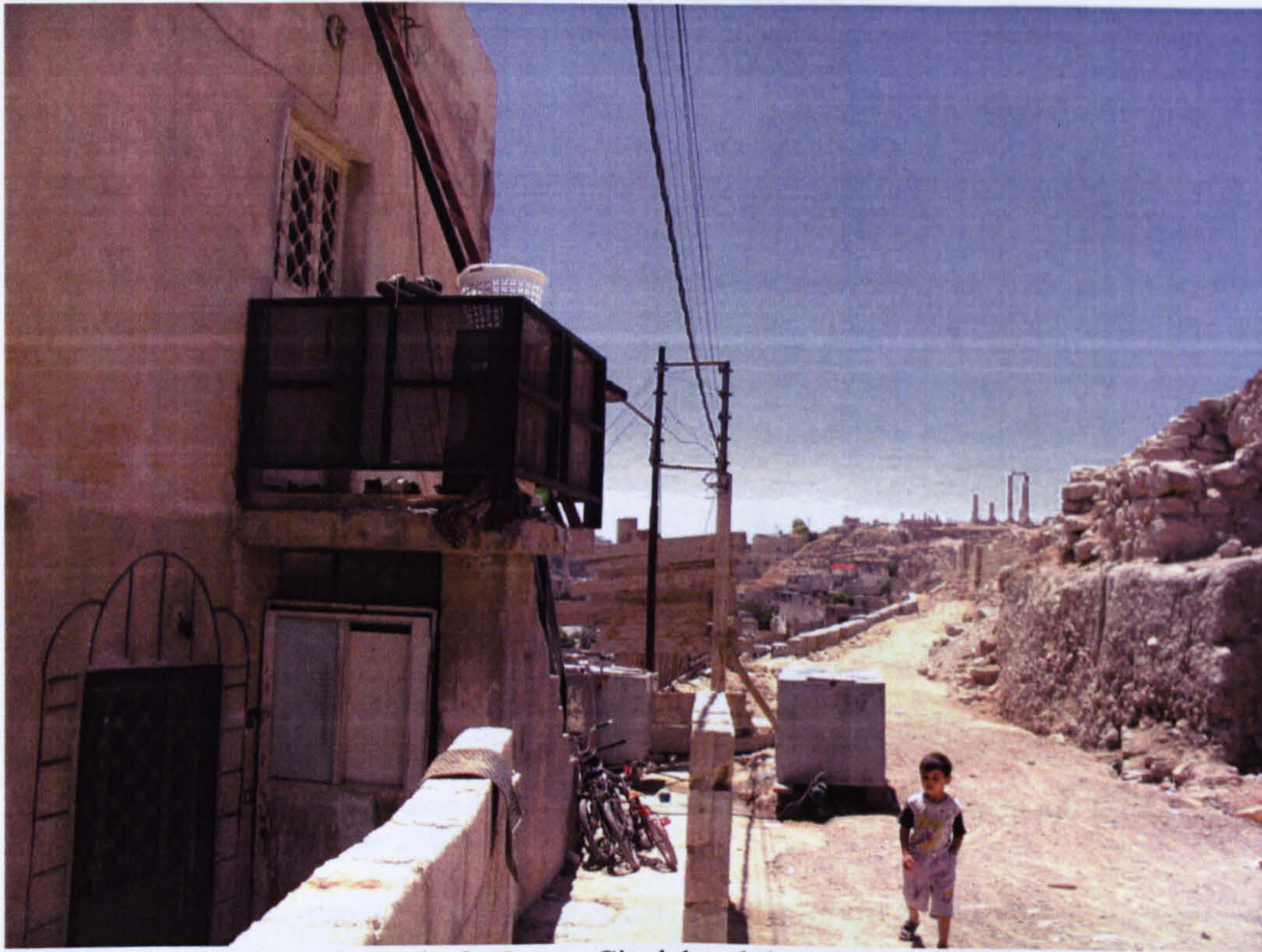


Figure 1 The Citadel: A house in the Lower Citadel and the Roman Temple is in the horizon (the researcher 2004).



Figure 2 The Citadel: A member of the local community crossing the archaeological sites in the Lower Citadel to reach his house (the researcher 2004).



Figure 3 Tell Hesban: The houses of the local community as it appears from the Tell; looking West (the researcher 2004).



Figure 4 Tell Hesban: The local workers in Tell Hesban (the researcher 2004).



Figure 5 Khreibt al-Suq: The Byzantine chapel located among the houses of the local community (the researcher 2004).



Figure 6 Khreibt al-Suq: An archaeological cave that constitutes part of a Roman mausoleum. The complex is a few meters away from a modern house that appears in the horizon (the researcher 2004).



Figure 7 Ain Ghazal: The archaeological site adjacent to one of the houses (the researcher 2004)



Figure 8 Ain Ghazal: the archaeological site as it appeared in 1985 (reproduced with kind permission from Dr. Gary Rolefson)



Figure 9 Tell al-'Umayri and the residential area in the background (the researcher 2004).



Figure 10 Yajuz: A Byzantine chapel (reproduced with kind permission from Dr. Lutfi Khalil, taken in August 2003)



Figure 11 Yajuz: The crane used to take photos in Yajuz, with a modern residential area in the horizon (reproduced with kind permission from Dr. Lutfi Khalil, taken in August 2003)



Figure 12 Nwejeez: A Roman Mausoleum by a main road in Amman (the researcher 2004)



Figure 13 Al-Rakeem: An archaeological site of Umayyad mosque, and a modern residential area in the horizon (the researcher 2004)



Figure 14 Kherbet al-Kurse: Remains of an agriculture village, with modern residential area in the horizon (the researcher 2004).



Figure 15 Umm-Seiuna: The archaeological site (the researcher 2004).



Figure 16 Umm-Seiuna: The archaeological site on a main road, between two modern houses (the researcher 2004).



Figure 17 Kherbet Sara: Arches buried in the archaeological site, with a modern residential area in the horizon (the researcher 2004).



Figure 18 Rujm Abdoon (the researcher 2004).

Appendix 4

The names of the respondents in Hesban, the Citadel and Khreibt al-Suq as used in the thesis, their gender and age

Place	<u>Hesban</u>		<u>The Citadel</u>		<u>Khreibt Al-Suq</u>	
	Males/ age	Females/ age	Males/ age	Females/ age	Males/ age	Females/ age
Age group: 18-25	Kamel 22 Abdullah 20	Khitam 22 Ahlam 23	Ahmad 22 Mohamed 23	Rania 19 Salma 22 Reem 24	Jawad 20 Seraj 22	Aroob 19 Ghada 20
Age group: 25-45	Anas 30 Mustafa 35 Said 27	Amira 27 Su'ad 40	Wajeeh 35 Abdel-Rahman 40 Abu-Saleem 42	Asma 40 Wedad 43	Amer 30 Basem 35	Samar 29 Jamila 35 Lama 39
Age group: 45-65	Naseem 48 Rasheed 53 Abu-Habis 60	Umm-Kasem 47 Wafa 50 Nawwar 57	Abu-Ghaleb 63 Mefleh 50 Ayoub 55	Ummel-Noor 63 Umm-Ali 50	Omar 48 Edrees 55	Fadia 47 Umm-Ameen 53
Age group: 65 and above	Abu-Ahmad 66 Abu-Subh 70 Musa 68	Umm-Ehsan 70 Hajeh-Falha 75	Abu-Nart 68 Abu-Hashim 75 Awwad 70	Mariam 68 Umm-Maher 75	Saleh 67 Abu-Mohamed 70 Abu-Hilal 72	Umayya 72 Umm-Waddah 70
Number of the respondents	11	9	11	9	9	9
Total	20		20		18	
Subtotal	58					

Appendix 5

The names of the professionals interviewed during the fieldwork of this study and their careers

Name	Career
Abu-Hdeib, Sabah	Representative of DAJ in the Citadel in September 2004, and in Hesban, May-June 2004
Abu-Shmeis, Adeeb	Inspector of the Antiquities in Amman
Al-Tarawneh, Basem	Mayor of Hesban 2003-until the present time
Arce, Ignacio	Director of Spanish Archaeological Mission to Jordan, Director Excavation, Restoration and Presentation Project of Qasr Hallabat
Ha'obsh, Mirvat	Director of Management and investment of Tourist and Heritage Sites /Technical Development Department
LaBianca, ØySten	Director of the Andrews University Expedition in Hesban since 1996/ Professor of Anthropology and Senior Director of International Development Programme at the Andrews University, Michigan
Naghawi, Aida	Director of the National Museum of Jordan at the Citadel of Amman 2003-until the present

Appendix 6

Guidelines to the themes of the semi-structured interviews with the professionals involved in the archaeological sites investigated in this study

Main questions:

Do you interact with the local communities in the area where you work? If yes, what is the nature of this interaction?

Is there any strategy for this interaction? If yes, then what is it?

How do you view the relationship between local communities and the archaeological sites within their contexts?

Do you think that local communities play part of the future of archaeology in Jordan?

Appendix 7

Example of the data provided by the Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (JADIS)

Page 81 of 382

JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System

07-01-2004

Full JADIS Report

1. Site no.: 2315-002
 2. English Name: AMMAN / CITADEL
 3. UTM zone: 36 4. UTM east: 777400 5. UTM north: 3539200
 6. UTM calculated 7. UTM sited
 8. PG calculated 9. PG sited
 10. Palestine grid east: 238,520 11. Palestine grid north: 151,420
 12. K737: 3153.1.NE 13. Other map no.:
 14. Air photo series: 15. Air photo no.:
 16. Satellite photo no.:
 17. Site size: 200000 18. Max elevation:
 19. Type of Site Period 20. Type of Use
 EB III 05)MATERIAL CULTURE FOUND IN STRATIFIED SEQUENCE
 EB IV (EB-MB) 05)MATERIAL CULTURE FOUND IN STRATIFIED SEQUENCE
 MB II/III (MB IIB/C) 82)ROCK-CUT SHAFT TOMB
 MB II/III (MB IIB/C) 96)OTHER TYPE OF TOMB
 IRON I 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 IRON IIA/B 05)MATERIAL CULTURE FOUND IN STRATIFIED SEQUENCE
 IRON IIC 05)MATERIAL CULTURE FOUND IN STRATIFIED SEQUENCE
 IRON IIC 25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
 IRON IIC 31)TEMPLE ?
 UNSPECIFIED HELLENISTIC 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 UNSPECIFIED HELLENISTIC 25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
 UNSPECIFIED NABATAEAN 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 LATE ROMAN 12)FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT
 LATE ROMAN 31)TEMPLE
 LATE BYZANTINE 12)FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT
 LATE BYZANTINE 32)CHURCH/CHAPEL
 Umayyad 12)FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT
 Umayyad 19)PALACE
 Umayyad 33)MOSQUE
 Umayyad 52)CISTERN
 Umayyad 53)BIRKET/WATER RESERVOIR
 Umayyad 66)TABUN
 Umayyad 75)KILN

Page 82 of 382

ABBASID 12)FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT
 FATIMID 33)MOSQUE
 AYYUBID 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 AYYUBID 17)TOWER
 MAMLUK 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 LATE OTTOMAN 11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
 UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE 51)AQUEDUCT OR WATER CHANNEL
 21. Topographic location: 11)HILLTOP
 22. Site condition: 02)GOOD
 23. Disturbances: 27)CONSTRUCTION 28)MODERN HOUSES 30)MODERN TOMBS/ CEMETERY
 01)ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION
 24. Inventory rating: 09)SITE ALREADY UNDER PROTECTION
 Dam: No Risk Quarry: No Risk
 25. Type & level of threat of destruction by: Cultivation: No Risk Other: No Risk
 Construction: Medium Erosion: High
 Road work: Medium
 Development: Medium
 26. Archaeology of Jordan References:
 ABEL F.-M. 1908
 AHARONI Y. 1950
 1. Site no.: 2314-124

2. English Name: SUQ - (2)
 3. UTM zone: 36 4. UTM east: 777100 5. UTM north: 3530600
 6. UTM calculated 7. UTM sited
 8. PG calculated 9. PG sited
 10. Palestine grid east: 238,000 11. Palestine grid north: 142,800
 12. K737: 3153.1.NE 13. Other map no.:
 14. Air photo series: 15. Air photo no.:
 16. Satellite photo no.:
 17. Site size: 18. Max elevation:
 19. Type of Site and 20. Period and Type of Use
 LATE ROMAN 31)TEMPLE
 LATE ROMAN 85)BURIAL CAVE (LOCULUS/ARCOSOLIUM TYPE)
 LATE ROMAN 99)SARCOPHAGUS
 UNSPECIFIED BYZANTINE 32)CHURCH/CHAPEL
 Umayyad 25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
 MAMLUK 25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
 UNSPECIFIED OTTOMAN 24)ISOLATED STRUCTURE/HOUSE
 21. Topographic location: 0)UNKNOWN LOCATION
 22. Site condition: 00)NO INFORMATION
 23. Disturbances: 00)NO INFORMATION
 Other Disturbances
 24. Inventory rating:
 Dam: Quarry:
 25. Type & level of threat of destruction by: Cultivation: Other:
 Construction: Erosion Page 83 of 382

Road work:

JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System

07-01-2004

Full JADIS Report

Development:

26. Archaeology of Jordan References:

32. Other reference:

SULAIMAN M.(UNP

REPORT)ARABIC.

27. Visited by:

28. Visit date:

29. Encoded by:

30. Encoding date: 14-05-1998

31. Notes:

Page 84 of 382

JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System

07-01-2004

Full JADIS Report

1. Site no.: 2314-125

2. English Name: SUQ - (3)

3. UTM zone: 36 4. UTM east: 776300 5. UTM north: 3530100

6. UTM calculated 7. UTM sited

8. PG calculated 9. PG sited

10. Palestine grid east: 237,200 11. Palestine grid north: 142,300

12. K737: 3153.1.SE 13. Other map no.:

14. Air photo series: 15. Air photo no.:

16. Satellite photo no.:

17. Site size: 18. Max elevation:

19. Type of Site and 20. Period and Type of Use

UNSPECIFIED ROMAN 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER

UNSPECIFIED BYZANTINE 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER

UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE 25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL

UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE 96)OTHER TYPE OF TOMB

UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE 99)SARCOPHAGUS

21. Topographic location: 0)UNKNOWN LOCATION

22. Site condition: 00)NO INFORMATION

23. Disturbances: 00)NO INFORMATION

Other Disturbances

24. Inventory rating:

Dam: Quarry:

25. Type & level of threat of destruction by: Cultivation: Other:Erosion

Construction:

Road work:
 Development:
 JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System
 Full JADIS Report
 26. Archaeology of Jordan References:
 32. Other reference: HARDING L. , UNPUBLISHED REPORT; VOL.S; P.53
 27. Visited by:
 28. Visit date:
 30. Encoding date: 20-07-1993
 29. Encoded by:
 31. Notes:

Page 85 of 382

07-01-2004

1. Site no.: 2415-001
 2. English Name: AIN GHAZAL (2)
 3. UTM zone: 36 4. UTM east: 781300 5. UTM north: 3543000
 6. UTM calculated 7. UTM sited
 8. PG calculated 9. PG sited
 10. Palestine grid east: 242,400 11. Palestine grid north: 155,100
 12. K737: 3153.1.NE 13. Other map no.:
 14. Air photo series: 15. Air photo no.:
 16. Satellite photo no.:
 17. Site size: 300000 18. Max elevation: 699
 19. Type of Site and 20. Period and Type of Use
 PPNB 11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
 PPNB 27)PLATFORM
 PPNB 28)COURTYARD
 PPNB 31)TEMPLE ?
 PPNB 35)SANCTUARY/HIGH PLACE ?
 PPNB 41)HAMLET/FARMSTEAD
 PPNB 56)BATHS
 PPNB 64)STORAGE FACILITY/SILO
 PPNB 74)FURNACE
 PPNB 77)OTHER INDUSTRIAL INSTALLATIONS
 PPNB 91)SUB-FLOOR BURIAL
 PPNB A3)FRESCOES
 PPNB A4)STATUE / SCULPTURE / BAS-RELIEF
 PPNB D1)HEARTH
 PPNC 11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
 PPNC 28)COURTYARD
 PPNC 77)OTHER INDUSTRIAL INSTALLATIONS
 PPNC 91)SUB-FLOOR BURIAL
 PPNC D1)HEARTH
 PNA/YARMOUKIAN 11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
 PNA/YARMOUKIAN 28)COURTYARD
 PNA/YARMOUKIAN 36)STONE CIRCLE
 PNA/YARMOUKIAN 64)STORAGE FACILITY/SILO

Page 86 of 382

JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System
 Full JADIS Report
 PNA/YARMOUKIAN 75)KILN
 UNSPECIFIED BYZANTINE 01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
 21. Topographic location: 21)SLOPE
 22. Site condition: 03)FAIR
 23. Disturbances: 01)ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION
 24)ROAD WORK
 27)CONSTRUCTION

07-01-2004

Other Disturbances
 24. Inventory rating: 06)PRESERVATION IMPERATIVE
 Dam: No Risk Quarry: No Risk
 Cultivation: Medium Other: No Risk
 Construction: High Erosion: Medium
 Road work: Medium
 Development: High
 26. Archaeology of Jordan References:

BANNING & BYRD	1984			
AZAR H.	1982	18	19	ADAJ 26
HOMES-FREDERICQ & FRANKEN		1984		
KURDI, H.	1972	B		
MITTMANN ET ALII	1987			
ROLLEFSON	1984	F		
ROLLEFSON	1988	B		
ROLLEFSON	1988	A		
ROLLEFSON	1983	D		

Page 87 of 382

JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System
Full JADIS Report

07-01-2004

ROLLEFSON & SIMMONS	1983				
ROLLEFSON, G. & KAFABI Z.	1997	27	47	ADAJ 41	T)ARABIC.
ROLLEFSON, G. & KAFABI Z.	1996	11	27	ADAJ 40	

PPNB clay figurines. PPNB plaster human statues and busts.

1. Site no.: 2315-166
 2. English Name: Yajuz
 3. UTM zone: 36
 4. UTM east: 775700
 5. UTM north: 3547700
 6. UTM calculated
 7. UTM sited
 8. PG calculated
 9. PG sited
 10. Palestine grid east: 236,900
 11. Palestine grid north: 159,900
 12. K737: 3154.2.SE
 13. Other map no.:
 14. Air photo series:
 15. Air photo no.:
 16. Satellite photo no.:
 17. Site size:
 18. Max elevation: 860
 19. Type of Site and 20. Period and Type of Use

UNSPECIFIED ROMAN	31)TEMPLE
UNSPECIFIED ROMAN	58)ROAD
UNSPECIFIED ROMAN	59)MILESTONE
UNSPECIFIED ROMAN	71)QUARRY
UNSPECIFIED ROMAN	85)BURIAL CAVE (LOCULUS/ARCOSOLIUM TYPE)
LATE ROMAN	01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
EARLY BYZANTINE	01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
EARLY BYZANTINE	11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
EARLY BYZANTINE	32)CHURCH/CHAPEL
EARLY BYZANTINE	82)ROCK-CUT SHAFT TOMB
LATE BYZANTINE	11)VILLAGE SITE (NO FORTIFICATIONS)
LATE BYZANTINE	32)CHURCH/CHAPEL
MAMLUK	01)SHERD/FLINT SCATTER
LATE OTTOMAN	25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	07)SURFACE
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	25)OTHER/UNSPECIFIED STRUCTURE OR WALL
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	45)OIL PRESS
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	52)CISTERN
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	53)BIRKET/WATER RESERVOIR
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	71)QUARRY
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	81)CEMETERY
UNSPECIFIED PERIOD STRUCTURE	82)ROCK-CUT SHAFT TOMB

21. Topographic location: 21)SLOPE

Page 88 of 382

22. Site condition: 03)FAIR
 JADIS / Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System

07-01-2004

Full JADIS Report

23. Disturbances: 32)REUSE OF ANCIENT MASONRY
 28)MODERN HOUSES
 21)BULLDOZING
 Other Disturbances

24. Inventory rating: 06)PRESERVATION IMPERATIVE
 Dam: No Risk Quarry: No Risk
 Cultivation: No Risk Other: No Risk

25. Type & level of threat of destruction by:

Construction:	Medium	Erosion	No Risk		
Development:	High				
26. Archaeology of Jordan References:					
CONDER C.R.		1889	b	279	
DALMAN G.		1911		28	
GLUECK N.		1939	a	177	178 SITE 249
IBRAHIM M.		1972	c	93	
MCCOWN C.C.		1930	b	13	17
MERRILL S.		1881		272	277
THOMPSON H.O.		1972	a	37	41

32. Other reference:

SULEIMAN E. 1994, UNP. REPORT (ARABIC)
 SULEIMAN E. 1995, UNP. REPORT (ARABIC)
 CRM REPORT 1994.
 Suleiman e.1999(udp report)arabic
 SULEIMAN E. 2001 (UNP.REPORT) ARABIC.
 MOMANI A. 2001 (UNP.Report) JORDAN UNIV. 7th Season (ARABIC).
 KHALIL L. 2002 (UNP. REPORT) 8th Season (ARABIC) preliminary report

Appendix 8

The duties of the Cultural and Public Communications Department in the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (adopted from Department of Antiquates of Jordan 2004; translated from Arabic by the researcher)

Cultural and Public Communications Department Duties in the Department of Antiquities of Jordan

The Public and Cultural Communication Department Duties were prepared by the Department of Antiquities in an unpublished report in 2003. This appendix is a translation from Arabic for this report which reads as follows:

Introduction:

The Public and Cultural Communication Department is the connection body between the Department of Antiquities and the local, national and international communities. The Department operates through the following sections: the Public Relation Section, the Cultural Relation Section, the Awareness Section and the Media Section.

The Public Relation Section

This section aims at organising conferences, seminars, exhibitions and meetings that the DAJ held with individually, as well as in cooperation with other national and international bodies. The duties of this section are:

1. Receiving the visitors who come from abroad to attend conferences organised by the DAJ at the airport;
2. Organising the visitors stay and transportations;
3. Confirming hotels' reservations for those visitors;
4. Organising the visitors' transportation;
5. Accompanying those visitors in their activities within and outside the DAJ;
6. Providing the required facilities for the conferences;
7. Receiving the visitors of the DAJ and giving them a good impression about the work in it;
8. Reinforcing the relationships among the DAJ staff through social and cultural meetings and parties;
9. Organising trips for the DAJ staff to the different archaeological sites in Jordan;

10. Providing scholars with the information they need about archaeology in Jordan;
11. Organising with tourism offices, restaurants and hotels to ensure providing high standard services for the visitors;
12. Sending greeting cards in official and religious occasions by the name the DAJ Director;
13. Communicating and helping people who visit the Director at the office in order to help reducing his duties.

The Cultural Relation Section

This section aims at monitoring the application of conventions that the DAJ conduct with Aran and foreign institutions, especially those related to lending archaeological artefacts. The duties of this section are:

1. Organising the communication between the DAJ and local, national and international institutions;
2. Helping to write cultural conventions and the application rules of these conventions between the DAJ and other national and international bodies;
3. Monitoring the application of these conventions;
4. Representing the DAJ in the meetings concerned with these conventions;
5. Attending meetings, seminars, conferences that are related to the DAJ and preparing abstracts about these activities;
6. Organising for national and international conferences;
7. Cooperating with the Awareness section to organise exhibitions that accompany these conferences;
8. Informing all the departments in the DAJ of the cultural conventions and their application strategies in order to get feedback on these conventions;
9. Providing the Jordanian embassies in the different countries of the world with brochures about archaeology in Jordan;
10. Reinforcing the relationship of the DAJ with other archaeological institutions operating in Jordan;
11. Formulating regulations concerned with archaeological sites' visit fees;
12. Preparing the conventions concerned with lending archaeological artefacts;
13. Monitoring the rented artefacts and ensuring their return on the time specified.

The Awareness Section

This section aims at spreading the awareness among local communities of the importance of archaeological sites and its conservation from vandalism and distortion.

The duties of this section are:

1. Organising lectures about archaeological sites for different sectors such as schools, universities, teachers, and different organisations;
2. Organising an annual exhibition about archaeological sites that the DAJ excavated in the past as well as those it is still excavating;
3. Cooperating with the Ministry of Education to organise cleaning archaeological sites during national events as a sign of the DAJ contribution to the local community;
4. Publishing articles in the national newspapers that emphasises the richness of archaeological sites in Jordan;
5. Liaising with the national television to produce programmes about archaeological sites that attracts different types of people, especially the young;
6. Organising meetings for the staff of the DAJ in which the members can talk about their participations in conferences and workshops;
7. Organising meetings with the tour-guides in order to provide them with information about archaeological sites;
8. Organising visits to archaeological sites for governmental and non-governmental bodies;
9. Cooperating with the local communities living close to archaeological sites and including them in the activities conducted in these sites;
10. Organising with other sections in the DAJ in order to provide help for scholars interested in archaeological sites;
11. Encouraging the DAJ staff to present scientific lectures by providing the place and adequate equipments for these lectures;
12. Preparing a photo archive for archaeological sites (Department of Antiquates of Jordan 2004:n.p).

The Media Section

This section aims at providing the local, national and international institutions with information about archaeology in Jordan using the communication means provided.

The duties of this section are:

1. Providing the media with reports about the DAJ archaeological activities;
2. Providing the media with reports about the DAJ cultural activities that reflects positive image of the DAJ;
3. Liaising with the national media to cover these activities;
4. Providing the media with reports about the DAJ different achievements (e.g. using new programmes, establishing new sections, attending conferences and workshops;
5. Preparing for the Director's press conferences;
6. Accompanying the international journalists to archaeological sites after getting the official permission for such visits;
7. Preparing reports in response to what the press publish about archaeological sites and activities in Jordan;
8. Preparing the DAJ advertisements concerned with archaeological activities and providing the media with these advertisements;
9. Preparing regular reports about the DAJ activities;
10. Preparing regular reports about the media news concerned with archaeology and providing the Director with these reports.

Appendix 9

Instructions for accessing the NVivo CD attached at the end of the thesis

In order to access any of the documents or the nodes indicated in chapters 8 and 9, follow the instructions below:

1. make sure that the programme QSR NVivo is installed in your computer;
2. save the three documents in the CD on your computer's hard drive;
3. open the NVivo programme;
4. from the NVivo pad, go to open project;
5. select one of the following projects: Hesban or Citadel or Khreibt al-Suq;

To explore the documents analysed in the selected project, from the NVivo pad (the first window that opens when accessing a project):

1. click Documents;
2. click Explore all project documents;
3. click on one of the documents which carry the names of the informants;
4. click Browse (the button on the right hand side of the windows) to open that document.

Example: to open the document Abu-Habis in Hesban project:

1. click on the document Abu-Habis;
2. click Browse to open that document;
3. to view the codes in that document click View in the document browser (the window that opened once you clicked Browse);
4. select coding stripes and the codes will appear in the left side of the document

To explore the nodes used to analyse the documents, from the NVivo pad:

1. click Nodes;
2. click Explore all project nodes;
3. click on the node you want to explore;
4. click Browse to open that node.

Example: to open node attachment/ traditional attachment/ ancestors in Hesban project:

1. click on the tree node attachment (many nodes under the tree node attachment appear);
2. select the node traditional attachment (one node is included in that node);
3. select the node ancestors
4. click Browse to view the node.