

Durham E-Theses

The processes and patterns of Sedentarization of the Galilee Bedouin 1880-1982

Ghazi Falah

How to cite:

Falah, Ghazi (1982) *The processes and patterns of Sedentarization of the Galilee Bedouin 1880-1982*.
Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/7625/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

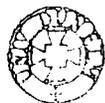
THE PROCESSES AND PATTERNS OF SEDENTARIZATION
OF THE GALILEE BEDOUIN, 1880-1982

Ghazi Falah, B.A., M.A (Jerusalem)

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, Department of Geography,
University of Durham
UK

November, 1982



-5. DEC. 1983

To

my brother Maruf

for all the sacrifices he has made
on my behalf

COPYRIGHT

The Copyright of this thesis rests
with the author. No quotation from
it should be published without
prior written consent and information
derived from it should be acknowledged.

Ghazi Falah,
Luhaib Falahat,
Nazareth P.O. Box 297,
Galilee.

ABSTRACT

This study is the first comprehensive geographical research upon the bedouin tribes of Galilee. These tribal groups have been rather neglected in Literature and relatively little is known about them. It is hoped to contribute to the Settlement Geography of the Middle East and to shed some light on studies of the Holy Land.

Settlement geography is defined for this study as having two basic aspects: 1) explaining the processes which have created the bedouin settlement, and 2) describing the resultant settlement patterns.

The most important period of sedentarization among the Galilee bedouin tribes is that of the first half of the 20th Century, although the processes of changing nomadic habits into sedentary ones were observed in earlier times. However, political and economic conditions of the country, as well as the weakness of the Central government of the Ottoman regime contributed much to the spread of nomadism into the non-desert environment of Galilee. However, the pattern of settlement among the Galilee bedouin is a recent phenomenon emerging largely during the past three decades. It has not yet reached its final shape.

The study is divided into three parts, each part emphasizing one phase of the sedentarization process; the first part discusses the conditions under which the nomadism develops and the early symptoms of the denomadization process. The second part analyses the processes of sedentarization, and in the third part, the final product of sedentarization, the settlement patterns, are examined.

The thesis ends with some concluding remarks summarizing the most significant general findings of this study and suggesting some further research for the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The opportunity to undertake this study is due to the great help I received during my three years' studying in Western Germany (June 1977 - October 1980) and in Britain (October 1980 - October 1982). First, I would like to thank those who financed my study and stay in both countries. I am particularly grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) who provided a full award for 16 months during my stay at the University of Hannover. In the last two years of study in Britain I am greatly indebted to many people and organisations who enabled me to continue. In the first place I am grateful to the College of St. Hild and St. Bede who generously offered me free board and lodging for one year. The Revd. David Jones, Vice Principal of the College was a helpful friend as my college tutor. I am also indebted to those who contributed to the payment of my 1980/81 University Fees. Many thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, Professor F.G.T. Holliday who was able to allocate some scarce funds, and to the Arab-British Chamber Charitable Foundation. I also benefited from support over two years from the O.R.S. Support Scheme for overseas students in the U.K. Thanks are also due to Professor J.I. Clarke, Chairman of the Department of Geography, Durham, who allocated some funds for my field research. In my last year in Britain I enjoyed the full support of the British Council to whom I deliver my heartfelt thanks. It is clear that without the help of many in Germany and Britain this research would never have been completed.

I thank those who taught me at Jerusalem, Professor D.H. Amiran who was often prepared to talk with me about my subject; and Professor Y. Ben-Arien and Professor D. Nir for their encouragement.

At Hannover I wish to thank Professor Dr. E.Grötzbach for his supervision in the early stage of this study and Professor Dr. L. Shätzl , the Head of the Department for finding premises for me in his Department.

At Durham, I would like to thank Professor W.B. Fisher for allowing me to continue my research in his department. My supervisor Dr. Gerald Blake has provided an excellent mixture of advice and encouragement. He has read all my drafts with a careful and ruthlessly critical eye. I would like also to thank him for his many efforts in writing letters and recommendations for financial support. He also accompanied me on one day's field research in my study area in Galilee. I am grateful to Dr. R.W. Dutton, my second supervisor for discussing my topic and showing a great interest. Thanks also to Dr. D.C.D. Pocock who was very interested in the first part of my research. I learned much from his perception of the Holy Land.

I acknowledge gratefully the help which I have received from the secretary and technical staff in the department, particularly Mrs. M. Bell who typed the thesis. I also acknowledge the help of the librarians in the Oriental Library, particularly Mrs. Jill Butterworth and the Documentation Centre, particularly Dr. R.I.Lawless.

The warm and friendly atmosphere among postgraduates and staff in the Department has contributed greatly to the enjoyment of my research. I wish to find special room to thank my colleagues in Skylab with whom I shared the task of writing our higher degress. Of this group I wish to thank especially Ian Leveson for spending time reading through some parts of this study.

At home I wish to thank the bedouin teachers in Galilee and many others who helped me during my field research, particularly those who were willing to be interviewed and made their family records available

Finally, I give my sincere thanks to my parents for their patience, my wife Jamilah (and little Naail) for her long-suffering during the most severe British winter of this century.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Contents	v
List of Figures	x
List of Tables	xii
List of Plates	xv
List of Appendices	xvii
Abbreviations	xix
 <u>CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION</u>	 3
1.1 Aims.....	3
1.2 Sedentarization : National Attitudes and Theoretical Models	5
1.2.1 Models of Sedentarization	8
1.3 Sources of Data	12
1.3.1 Primary sources and historical maps	12
1.3.2 Official Documents and Private Collections	12
1.3.3 Field work	12
1.3.4 Personal Experience	13
1.3.5 Supporting Material	13
1.4 Organization of the Study	14
1.5 Spelling and Units of Measure	15
References	17
 <u>PART ONE : HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE</u>	
 <u>CHAPTER TWO : THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVELLER - AUTHORS</u>	
<u>LITERATURE : LIMITATION AND CONTRIBUTION</u>	19
2.1 General background	19
2.1.1 Pre-Nineteenth Century Explorers	19
2.2 The Spirit of 19th Century Travel	23
2.2.1 The significance of Travellers' Expectations	25
2.2.2 Dependence upon Local Guides	31

<u>CHAPTER TWO (Cont)</u>	<u>Page</u>
2.3 The Religious Landscape	33
2.3.1 The Christian Landscape	35
2.3.2 The Jewish Landscape	37
2.3.3 The Muslim Landscape	40
2.4 Attitudes to the Nomads	42
2.5 Estimates of Galilee Bedouin Population	45
2.5.1 Jaubert (1812)	45
2.5.2 Drake (1875)	47
2.5.3 C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (1880-83)	49
2.5.4 Schumacher (1886)	51
2.5.5 Salname- Wilayet-i Suriye (1884)	53
2.6 Conclusion	56
Notes and References	57
 <u>CHAPTER THREE : GALILEE NOMADISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY</u>	 62
3.1 Introduction	62
3.2 Pastoral Nomadism : Definition	62
3.3 The Character of Galilee Nomadism	68
3.3.1 Arab Luhaib	73
3.3.2 Arab Turkmān.....	74
3.3.3 Arab Luhaib Fālahāt	75
3.4 Political and Economic Factors Influencing Nomadism in Galilee	76
3.4.1 Political Conditions	76
3.4.2 Economic Conditions	85
3.4.2.1 Central Authority	87
3.4.2.2 The Private Development	88
3.4.2.3 The Location of Galilee Region with Syria	91
3.5 Evidence of Semi-nomadic Trends in the Nineteenth Century	96
3.6 Conclusion	104
Notes and References	106

<u>CHAPTER FIVE (Cont)</u>	<u>Page</u>
5.2 The Control of Malaria	193
5.2.1 The Ghawarnah	197
5.3 Social Influences	200
5.3.1 Arab Luhaib al 'Aithah	202
5.3.2 Arab Nu'aim	203
Notes and References	204
 <u>CHAPTER SIX : THE ROLE OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION 1918-48</u>	 209
6.1 Introduction	209
6.2 The effect of the Political Border	212
6.3 Land Settlement	217
6.3.1 Arab Şubaiḥ.....	221
6.4 Forest	230
6.4.1 Arab Şubaiḥ.....	234
6.4.2 Arab Şuwaitat.....	236
6.4.3 The Tribes of Tiberias District	237
6.5 Bedouin Control Ordinance 1942	238
6.5.1 Arab Sa'āyidah.....	242
6.6 Conclusion	244
Notes and References	246
 <u>PART THREE : THE PATTERNS OF SEDENTARIZATION</u>	
 <u>CHAPTER SEVEN : THE SPONTANEOUS BEDOUIN SETTLEMENT</u>	 250
7.1 Introduction	250
7.2 Distribution of Bedouin Settlement	253
7.3 Factors influencing the Nature of Spontaneous Settlement	260
7.3.1 Landownership	263
7.3.2 Military rule in Galilee (1948-1963)	268
7.3.3 The State strategy of establishing Jewish Settlement and the related concept of concentrating bedouin population	271
7.3.4 Size of population, family relationships and age structure	281

<u>CHAPTER SEVEN (Cont)</u>	<u>Page</u>
7.3.4.1 The Settlement Size	281
7.3.4.2 Family Relationships	286
7.3.4.3 Age Structure	287
7.4 The Development of Spontaneous Bedouin Settlements Illustrated by Six Case Studies	289
7.4.1 The Kurdish Tribes in the village Sha'ab	289
7.4.2 The Khasās (Sawālmah) and the Ghawarnah of 'Wad al Ḥamam	291
7.4.3 Luhaib Tuba	293
7.4.4 Zanghariyyah	300
7.4.5 Ḥujairat	302
7.4.6 The Sawāid Kammana and Wadi Sallama	307
7.5 Conclusion	317
Notes and References	318
 <u>CHAPTER EIGHT : THE PLANNED BEDOUIN SETTLEMENT IN ISRAEL</u>	 323
8.1 Introduction	323
8.2 Planning Bedouin Settlement in the Negev - Tel Sheva	325
8.3 Planning Bedouin Settlement in Galilee	332
8.3.1 Bosmat Tivon	334
8.3.2 Beit Zarzir : Spontaneous Sedentarization	345
8.3.3 Beit Zarzir : Planning Sedentarization	349
8.3.3.1 Housing Pattern 1974-1981	354
8.3.3.2 Population Growth 1969-1981	357
8.4 Conclusion	359
References	361
 <u>CHAPTER NINE : CONCLUSION</u>	 364
 Appendices	 378
Bibliography	403

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Fig. 1.1	Location map of the study area 1
Fig. 1.2	Tribal names in Northern Palestine c.1880 2
Fig. 2.1	Travellers and explorers of Palestine during the 19th Century 21
Fig. 2.2	Travellers' routes through Galilee during the years 1801-1854 26
Fig. 2.2.1	Explorers' routes through Galilee during the years 1838-1852 27
Fig. 2.3	Sacred Sites of Galilee in 1880 34
Fig. 2.4	Map of Ancient Palestine 1851 36
Fig. 3.1	Precipitation distribution in Galilee and the adjacent regions 67
Fig. 3.2	Settlement pattern in North Western Galilee (end 19th Century) 69
Fig. 3.3	Change in Tribal Location 1880-1937 72
Fig. 3.4	Administrative Divisions of Syria in the 19th Century 77
Fig. 3.5	Ottoman administrative divisions in the Levant 1887-1914..... 79
Fig. 3.6	The Frontier Settlement of Palestine and Southern Syria in 1890 81
Fig. 3.7	Budget of vilayet Syria 1883 86
Fig. 3.8	Pattern of roads in Lower Galilee in relation to settlement distribution 1880..... 90
Fig. 3.9	Khans and markets in Galilee 1900 92
Fig. 3.10	Galilee population density & tribal locations 1880 97
Fig. 4.1	Tribal migration in Northern Palestine 1880-1937 112
Fig. 5.1	Land in Jewish possession in Northern Palestine, 1944 163
Fig. 5.2	Location of Bedouin Tribes in Northern Palestine, 1937..... 164
Fig. 5.3	Jewish Landownership in Palestine by Sub- Districts (1914-1947) 167

Fig. 5.4	Land in Jewish possession in Palestine 1944	168
Fig. 5.5	Northern Palestine : Land Transfer Zones (1940) and partition proposals (1947)	172
Fig. 6.1	Tribal names in Northern Palestine 1947	211
Fig. 6.2	Change in landownership in Arab Şubaiḥ 1927-1947	220
Fig. 7.1	Bedouin population and settlement distribution in Galilee 1981	252
Fig. 7.2	Bedouin population settled in towns and Arab villages	254
Fig. 7.3	Population change of bedouin settlement in Galilee 1955-81 : Tribes of under 900 persons in 1955	258
Fig. 7.4	Population change of bedouin settlement in Galilee 1955-81 : Tribes under 400 persons in 1955	259
Fig. 7.5	Nujaidāt : Patterns of Housing Distribution 1955-81	265
Fig. 7.6	Rural settlement in Galilee 1974	272
Fig. 7.7	Jewish settlement strategy in Galilee 1974-1980 in relation to Arab settlements	273
Fig. 8.1	Bedouin concentration in Israel 1982	328
Fig. 8.2	Zubaidāt Tribe : Pattern of Spontaneous Housing (1977) in relation to Topography	338
Fig. 8.3	Beit Zarzir : population growth 1955-81	344
Fig. 8.4	Beit Zarzir : pattern of "spontaneous" housing (1974) in relation to Topography	346
Fig. 8.5	Beit Zarzir pattern of "spontaneous" housing (1974) in relation to private land ownership	348
Fig. 8.6	Beit Zarzir : private bedouin land in relation to areas officially designated for bedouin housing	350
Fig. 8.7	Beit Zarzir : pattern of bedouin housing 1974-1981	351
Fig. 8.8	Beit Zarzir : pattern of planned bedouin housing (1974-1981) in relation to land ownership	353

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1.1	Nomadic and semi-nomadic population in selected countries (1970) 6
Table 2.1	Location of Muslim Sacrad sites in Galilee 1880 41
Table 2.2	Estimate of Galilee bedouin tribes in 1812 46
Table 2.3	Estimate of Jordan Valley Tribes in 1874 48
Table 2.4	List of Bedouin Tribes enumerated by the Memoirs (1881-83) 50
Table 2.4.1	Tribal groups camping in Shafa 'Amr vicinity and Marj Ibn 'Amir (1881-83) 50
Table 2.5	Estimates of bedouin tribes in Akka liwa (1886) 52
Table 2.6	Estimates of Galilee bedouin Tribes in 1884 54
Table 2.7	Estimate of Bedouin population in Galilee 1812-1886 55
Table 3.1	Area required to feed livestock unit 71
Table 3.2	Change in Tribal Location in Northern Palestine 1880-1937 75
Table 3.3	Budget of the Syria vilayet (1883) 87
Table 3.4	Markets in Galilee 1812-1881 94
Table 4.1	Bedouin population in Northern Palestine (1922-1948) 111
Table 4.2	Annual Rate of Natural Increase per Thousand of settled population by communities, 1922-37 120
Table 4.2.1	Annual Rate of Births and Deaths per Thousand of settled population by communities, 1922-37..... 120
Table 4.2.2	Infant Mortality : Deaths of Infants under one year of Age per Thousand Live Births 1922-37 120
Table 4.3	Bedouin population in Israel 1948-1981 126
Table 4.4	Bedouin groups camping in Tiberias vicinity (1931) 142
Table 4.5	Bedouin Land holding in Northern Palestine (1945) 144
Table 4.6	Increasing Urbanization of the Arab population of Palestine Between 1922 and 1975 148

	<u>Page</u>
Table 4.7	The Rural and Urban populations of Palestine by Religion 1922-1944 149
Table 4.8	The Development of Citrus plantations 1922-1937 150
Table 4.9	Distribution of the Arab Wage Force in 1946 152
Table 4.10	Estimated number engaged in each Branch of Production and Average Income per Head in the Arab Community, 1944 153
Table 4.11	The Average land per Head in Northern Districts in 1945 154
Table 4.11.1	The Average Land per Head in Three Arab villages in 1945 154
Table 5.1	The Increase in Land Prices During the years 1930-1936 179
Table 5.2	Purchases of Land by the Three Main Jewish Land companies PICA (Palestine colonisation Association), Palestine Land Development Company and Jewish National Fund - up to 1936 182
Table 5.3	Model of Socio-economic changes within tribal groups 201
Table 6.1	Areas of Forest Reserves in Palestine 1925-1947 232
Table 6.2	Distribution of Forest Reserves according to Districts 1944-5 233
Table 7.1	The population of Galilee Bedouin by Type of Sedentarization (1st September 1981) 253
Table 7.2	Changing in Landholding of Bedouin Groups in South Western Galilee 1949-1958 277
Table 7.3	Galilee bedouin settlements, by size and number (1st September 1981) 283
Table 7.4	The population of Galilee bedouin settlements, by official status and population (1st September 1981) 283-4
Table 7.5	The pattern of Age Structure in Luhaib Tuba(May 1981) 288
Table 7.6	Luhaib population According to the Type of sedentarization (1st September 1981) 294

		<u>Page</u>
Table 7.7	The economic structure of the Luhaib Tuba settlement (May 1981)	298
Table 7.8	The Hujairat population by type of sedentarization (1st September 1981)	302
Table 7.9	The Sawāid population by the type of sedentarization (1st September 1981)	308
Table 7.10	Population Change in Galilee by Jews and Arabs 1961-1976	309
Table 7.11	Distribution of Sawāid population by Site and by Family Groups (July 1981)	316
Table 8.1	The Tribal Origin of Bosmat Tivon Population 1981	337

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 3.1	The early bedouin house in Arab Sawāid Husainiyyah - circa 1890 (June 1981).....	99
Plate 3.2	The arched structure of the early house (June 1981)	99
Plate 3.3	Khirbat al Mansurah north east of the present village Luhaib Tuba (June 1977)	101
Plate 3.4	Khirbat Tuba north east of the present Luhaib Tuba (June 1977)	
Plate 5.1	The production of straw mats in Hula (1932)	198
Plate 5.2	Buffaloes in Al Buteiha marshes (c.1920)	198
Plate 7.1	Bedouin houses in Shafa 'Amr's southern quarter (August 1981)	256
Plate 7.2	Bedouin houses in the east side of Eilabun village (August 1981)	256
Plate 7.3	Luhaib Tuba from the south (July 1977)	261
Plate 7.4	The Nujaidāt Settlement (June 1981)	261
Plate 7.5	'Akbara village from the north (June 1982)	262
Plate 7.6	Some part of Wad al Ḥamam houses (June 1982)	262
Plate 7.7	The pattern of dispersed bedouin houses in the east side of Bir el Maksur (June 1982)	264
Plate 7.8	The pattern of cluster bedouin houses in the east side of Bir el Maksur (June 1982)	264
Plate 7.9	The pattern of bedouin houses in Luhaib Furush (June 1981)	267
Plate 7.10	The Ṣubaiḥ Settlement on the northern slopes of Mount Tabor (June 1982)	275
Plate 7.11	The Sa'āyidah settlement on the southern slope of Mount Tabor (June 1982)	275
Plate 7.12	Bir el Maksur from the south : scenery of a planned bedouin settlement (June 1982)	279
Plate 7.13	Luhaib Furush from the east : scenery of a recognized bedouin settlement (August 1981)	279
Plate 7.14	Sawāid Kammana houses : scenery of an unrecognized spontaneous bedouin settlement (August 1981)	280

	<u>Page</u>
Plate 7.15	Nu'aim settlement : scenery of an unrecognized spontaneous settlement where stone houses are prohibited (June 1982) 280
Plate 7.16	Luhaib Fālahāt settlement : A settlement which started from a single nuclear family (June 1977) 285
Plate 7.17	Pattern of houses in Luhaib Abu Saiah (June 1977) 285
Plate 7.18	The changing function of tin shack houses in Luhaib Tuba (June 1977) 295
Plate 7.19	The purpose of fencing area around houses in Luhaib Tuba (June 1977) 295
Plate 7.20	The Hujairat Bir el Maksur settlement, a view from the south east (June 1982) 303
Plate 7.21	The Hujairat Bir el Maksur settlement - Land allocated for establishing new houses (June 1982) 303
Plate 7.22	The Hujairat Dahirah Settlement; semi-deserted houses (September 1981) 304
Plate 7.23	The Hujairat Umm az Zinat - a tent camp (June 1982) 304
Plate 7.24	A view from Mizpe Kamon to the Sawāid Wadi Sallama Settlement and the Arab village of Deir Hanna (June 1982) 310
Plate 7.25	The planned settlement of Sawāid Wadi Sallama in the north east of Kammana mountain (June 1982) 311
Plate 7.26	Settlement strategy in the eastern top of Kammana mountain (June 1982) 313
Plate 7.27	Settlement strategy in the western top of Kammana mountain (August 1981)..... 313
Plate 8.1	Bosmat Tivon : General view from the south (June 1982) 333
Plate 8.2	Wad al Hamam : General view from the south east (June 1982) 333
Plate 8.3	Bosmat Tivon : The Undeveloped Centre 1981 336
Plate 8.4	A view of the Haifa Metropolitan area from Zubaidāt houses (July 1981) 341
Plate 8.5	A family household in the tribe of Zubaidāt (June 1977) 341
Plate 8.6	Sa'diyyah and Bosmat Tivon : General view from the west (June 1982) 336

LIST OF APPENDICES

		<u>Page</u>
Appendix 1	A petition from the Sumirī Tribe to the High Commissioner for Palestine regarding land dispute with P.I.C.A. 29th July 1947.....	378
Appendix 2	Agreement regarding the purchase of land by the Ka'biyyah tribe from the people of Shafa 'Amr, 1940	379
Appendix 3	Letter from the District Commissioner (Galilee District) concerning border crossing procedures for the bedouin of Beisan District, 27th March 1943	381
Appendix 4	Application for the scheduling of the tribal camping along the Palestine-Lebanese frontier - the Arab al Ḥamdūn, 21st May 1945	382
Appendix 5	Petition from the Subaiḥ tribe to the High Commissioner for Palestine concerning their grazing lands at Mount Tabor, 14th January 1946	383
Appendix 6	Petition from the Arab National Fund on behalf of the Subaiḥ tribe concerning the disappropriation of 1,200 donums of their land near Mount Tabor for forestry development 19th March 1946	384
Appendix 7	Application from the tribe Arab Suwaitat for the purchase of their former land at Mount Carmel, 24th October 1946	385
Appendix 8	Application from the High Commissioner of Palestine for the scheduling of seven bedouin tribes of the Tiberias District under the Bedouin Control Ordinance, 1942, 7th February 1947	385
Appendix 9	Contents of the Bedouin Control Ordinance, No.18, 24th June 1942	387
Appendix 10	A Note from the Galilee District Commissioner concerning the implementation of the collective punishment ordinance and the Bedouin Control Ordinance in relation to the Arab al Ḥamdūn tribe, 23rd June 1945	390
Appendix 11	Application for the scheduling of two tribes - Arab Mazārīb and Arab Subaiḥ, 8th October 1943	391

	<u>Page</u>
Appendix 12	Description of reasons behind the scheduling of the Arab Mazārīb and Arab Şubaiḥ tribes, 3rd September 1943 392
Appendix 13	Application from Galilee District Commissioner - without reasons - concerning the scheduling of five Galilee bedouin tribes, 13th September 1945 ... 393
Appendix 14	Summary of a memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission by Izzat el Atawneh of Beersheba Sub-District on behalf of its bedouin, 12th February 1937 394
Appendix 15	Application for the purchase of building materials by a member of Mawāsi tribe, 9th August 1952 396
Appendix 16	British Land Title Certificate for the Lands of the Luhaib Falāḥāt Settlement, 2nd March 1945 (a) Front side; (b) Reverse side 397
Appendix 17	Field enumeration of the population of Galilee bedouin settlements, 1st September 1981 399
Appendix 18	Field enumeration of Galilee bedouin in non-bedouin areas, 1st September 1981 400

ABBREVIATIONS

BCO	Bedouin Control Ordinance
CO	Colonial Office
CPO	Collective Punishments Ordinance
CS	Chief Secretary
CSO	Chief Secretary's Office
DCr	District Commissioner
FO	Foreign Office (U.K.)
GB	Great Britain
HCr	High Commissioner
ILA	Israel Lands Administration
INF	Israel National Fund
ISA	Israel State Archive (Jerusalem)
LS	Land Settlement
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
PEFQst	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PG	Palestine Government
PICA	Palestine Jewish Colonization Association
PP	Parliamentary Papers
RG	Record Group
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins



LOCATION MAP OF THE STUDY AREA

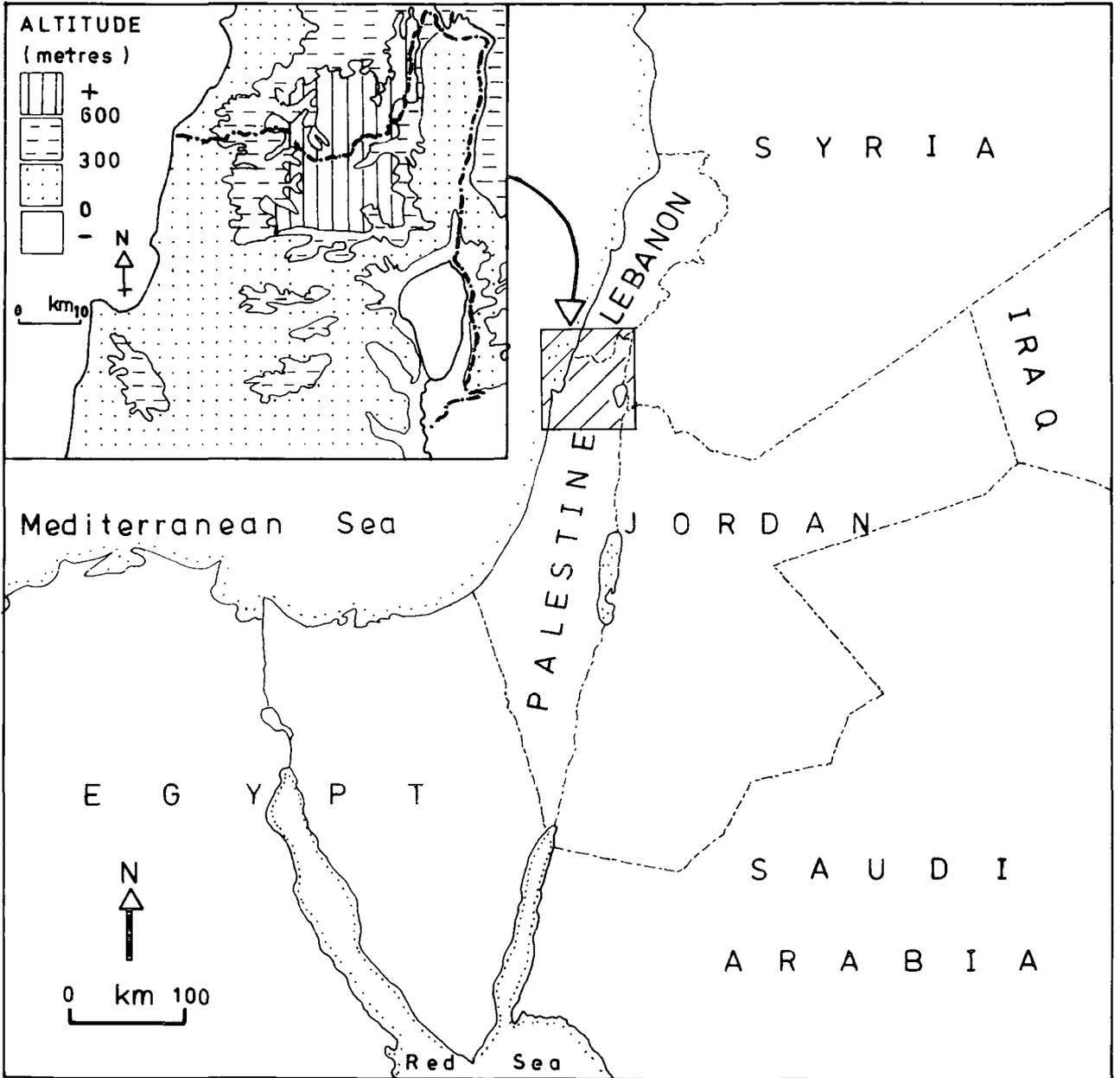
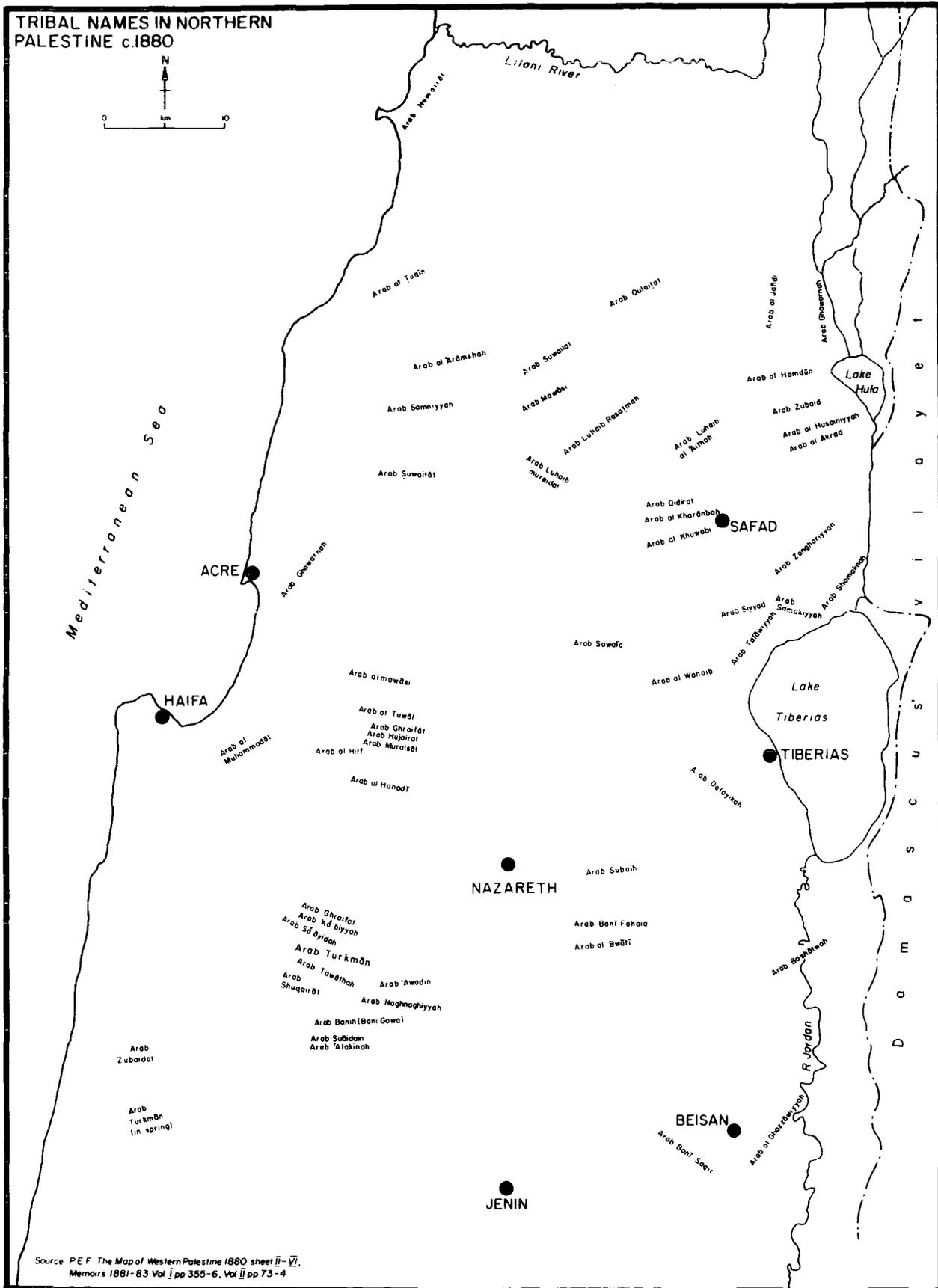


FIG 1.1



Source PEF The Map of Western Palestine 1880 sheet II-VI, Memoirs 1881-83 Vol I pp 355-6, Vol II pp 73-4

FIG. 1.2

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims

This study deals with bedouin tribes who were camping in Northern Palestine during the last century and who today have become settled in the same region of the State of Israel. (Fig. 1.1). The year 1880 was chosen as a base year because it marks the publication of the first scientifically surveyed map of Western Palestine.⁽¹⁾ This map gives the tribal names of Galilee. (Fig. 1.2), and thus provides a reliable source for examining the spatial distribution of bedouin tribal territories and for comparison with more recent sources.

The main objective of this study was to undertake a geographic analysis of the processes and the patterns of Galilee bedouin sedentarization. The bedouin tribes of Galilee have been rather neglected in literature and relatively little is known about them. Despite the fact that they were a small group of some 5,000 in 1880 and today (1981) number only 30,000, their history has been one of continual conflict with central government. Their sedentarization processes were the product of these conflicts. Sedentarization of the Galilee bedouin tribes has probably involved a greater variety of influences than with most other cases of sedentarization in the Middle East. The combination of all these factors has produced a markedly irregular pattern of bedouin settlement in the rural landscape of Galilee, a new pattern which deserves the interest of settlement geographers. This study will attempt to analyse these sedentarization forces in terms of challenge and response. The discussion will include several specific cases to illustrate the bedouin adjustment to each conflict and changing circumstance. It will also show the great struggle of this section of the

native population to maintain their traditions and culture until the present day. The thesis hypothesises that there are four characteristics by which the Galilee case can be distinguished from other arid zone processes of sedentarization :

- First - Semi-nomadism as in Galilee, is a distinctive life style which is an amalgam of both nomadic and sedentary habits; it is not a stage of transition from nomadism to sedentarization.
- Second - The evolution of semi-nomadism in Galilee was not a response to climatic conditions but a response to conditions, largely political, and economic created by man.
- Third - The process of sedentarization was not directly caused by providing services to the bedouin or increasing the opportunities for hired labour, but resulted indirectly from interference with the balance between man, animals, and pasture. A systematic reduction of both pasture and agricultural land has left the bedouin with little possibility of retaining the pastoral life.
- Fourth - In the case of sedentarization of nomads in humid areas, agriculture tends to be an intermediate stage between pastoralism and an industrial economy, whilst in arid areas this stage is not necessarily experienced. The pressure of the central government upon the Galilee tribes to change their way of life was so great, however, that an agricultural stage has often not been able to develop as might have been expected.

The study has, in addition, the following secondary aims:

- (1) To contribute modestly to the historical and geographical studies of the Holy Land. From the time of Abraham (circa 2000 BC) Palestine was the home of bedouin tribes and other ethnic groups. By studying these groups in the recent past it will be possible to reconstruct their movements in Galilee before the older generation of the bedouin disappears; it would be difficult to shed light on certain events from the new generation.
- (2) To produce a bibliographical record of the bedouin tribes of Galilee and an indication of the location of major sources.
- (3) To fill a gap in the literature on nomadic sedentarization in the Middle East. Most of the literature overlooks the varied types of bedouin settled in a non-desert environment.
- (4) To document bedouin reactions to the crisis of present day planned sedentarization; it is hoped that planners may change their approaches to meet some of the bedouin desires more fully, once the results of their actions are better understood.

1.2 Sedentarization : National Attitudes and theoretical Models

Sedentarization is generally regarded among nomads as the culmination of a series of accidents and failure in life.⁽²⁾ From this view point the Middle Eastern nomadic people are facing major crises in their traditional way of life. The present study investigates one bedouin group who seem to have been amongst the first of such groups to meet these crises.

There are two contrasting approaches to the study of continuance

of pastoralism in the Middle East and in other regions :

1) The general concensus is that pastoralism is a major obstacle to social and economic development. Central governments in the Middle East generally regard non-sedentary populations as tribal, forming a national problem.⁽³⁾

This may be particularly true where nomadic and semi nomadic people form a relatively large proportion of the national total population, as in Somalia, Mali, Saudi Arabia and others as shown in Table 1.1

Table 1.1 Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Population in Selected Countries (1970)

Country	Nomadic	Semi Nomadic	Both Combined	Per cent of total population
Afghanistan			2,000,000	12.5
Algeria	60,000	140,000	200,000	0.017
Botswana	14,000			0.024
Iraq	66,000			0.008
Jordan			95,000	5.5
Libya			150,000	9
Mali	308,000 ^a			52 ^a
Saudi Arabia			2,000,000	45
Somalia			1,300,000	58
Sudan	1,400,000	2,500,000	3,900,000	38
Syria	200,000	150,000	350,000	0.7
Tanzania			102,000 ^b	0.01
Tunisia			60,000	0.015
Egypt			100,000	0.003

a. North Mali only

b. Masai only

Source : D. Christodoulou, Settlement in Agriculture of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and other pastoral people : Basic Considerations from a World view, Land Reform, (FAO) No.1 Rome 1970, p.42.

It should be noted that accurate statistics on nomads are very difficult to obtain. The estimates are often out-dated or are deliberately falsified by various state authorities for political reasons.⁽⁴⁾ In Israel nomadism has ceased. However, in 1980 the settled beouin in the Negev and Galilee formed 12% of Israel's Arab population. They also formed 2% of the total population of the state in the same year.⁽⁵⁾

The belief is that nationhood in the Arab world cannot be achieved on a stable and permanent basis until the tribal sector becomes fully integrated into the rest of the nation. At the same time pastoralism in the Middle East has become associated with "anti-progressive" forces. Administrative policies in agriculture, health, educational and land reform often appear to be obstructed by pastoral populations. The pastoral population is seen as a source of trouble, a backward group that stands in the way of national progress. The only solution proposed is the settling of the tribe, usually implying the transforming of the man who lives upon the products of herds and flocks into a settled cultivator of the soil.⁽⁶⁾

2) In contrast with these views, some authors advocate a more objective consideration of pastoral society and its relationship with sedentary communities. They show that both specializations, pastoral and sedentary are not anachronistic, but rational and complimentary.⁽⁷⁾ Pastoral nomadism is defined among other things as an adaptation to a marginal environment.⁽⁸⁾ Fisher (1961) for example, enumerating cases where pastoralism represents the only possible utilization of limited geographical opportunities states that this limited means of utilization "does not seem to be fully appreciated by some governments of States in which pastoral nomadism exists. The governments tend to regard the nomadic population as an inferior community to be civilized as quickly as possible by the imposition of a different way of life,

usually agriculture."⁽⁹⁾ The same notion was stated also by Sauer as early as 1952 declaring that pastoralism is the only form of production that the ecology of an arid area could maintain⁽¹⁰⁾. Cole, (1975) shares the same view : "Nomadic pastoralism represents an attempt on the part of Middle Eastern peoples to utilize areas that are not conducive to agriculture but which provide the potential for high returns through the rational pasturing of animals by skilled herders."⁽¹¹⁾

1.2.1 Models of Sedentarization

Literature on nomadic sedentarization in the Middle East often distinguishes between three models of sedentarization which are also identified as indirect and direct methods.⁽¹²⁾

(i) Spontaneous Sedentarization

This model is a voluntary and evolutionary process; it also involves projects which have a principal aim other than purely settling nomads. Spontaneous sedentarization as a whole, is the result of more than one stimulus. It is usually the result of a combination of environmental, economic, demographic political and social factors, all putting pressure on the bedouin to leave their traditional way of life for a new one.

In arid regions environmental factors are playing a major role in contributing to the spontaneous sedentarization of the nomads. During periods of prolonged drought when the desert becomes more barren year after year, this leads to the loss of animals as the range-carrying capacity of the area is exceeded. Hence pastoral opportunities gradually decrease, consequently encouraging sedentarization as part of a search for alternative means of survival. The environment factors seem also to play an important role in the spontaneous sedentarization of the Galilee bedouin. However in the humid environment of Galilee

the decline of pastoral opportunities and overgrazing was not caused by drought but - arguably - by the reduction of bedouin pasture as considerable parts of their grazing area were transferred to other land uses, such as agriculture and forestry.

The economic factor is generally the most common stimulus to spontaneous sedentarization. The improvement of a country's economic infrastructure introduces into the life of the bedouin a new secure economic activity other than that of pastoralism. The best example is the development of the oil industry which in certain parts of the Middle East has given the nomad an opportunity to abandon the old ways of life and to become integrated into the wider national economic system. Other factors such as demography, urbanisation, political and cultural change may also be important but their role is merely to accelerate the economic process of sedentarization which varies from one nomadic group to another and from country to country. In Galilee the cultural factor is probably the most significant since the bedouin were a small minority group camped among the settled majority in the region. Their socio-economic contacts with the sedentary settlement will inevitably influence their culture and their way of life and so bring about voluntary sedentarization.

(ii) Induced Sedentarization

"Induced" here refers to official government policy to encourage the bedouin to settle. It may involve direct measures planned and intended to encourage and promote the nomad's welfare through sedentarization. Additional objectives are always included as part of these overall policies. For instance the first example of Induced Sedentarization in the Middle East was started in Saudi Arabia in 1912, called al-Hijar (in Arabic, settlements of people who have abandoned

the state of the desert for the state of sedentary life) and aimed to facilitate combinations of social, political, strategic and religious objectives. Socially, the main objective was to stabilize the bedouin by trying to induce them to accept a sedentary way of life. It was believed that such change would put an end to their feuds over the control of ranges, water points, and other tribal conflicts. Politically, in addition to the obvious advantages of fixing the bedouin to the soil, their settlement would provide the nucleus of a permanent army that could be called upon at any time. Religion was the basic force behind this type of settlement. These settlements became religious centres and a means of teaching true Islam to the nomad.⁽¹³⁾

In the case of Galilee the induced sedentarization policy was implemented by the Israeli Government in their attempt to concentrate (or to re-settle) the bedouin into new planned settlements, providing modern services. The objectives behind these Israeli induced schemes were often not what the Authorities claim. They were not primarily aimed at civilising the bedouin but rather - as will be shown in Chapter 8 - at nationalising the land and controlling the Arabs and their economy.

(iii) Forced Sedentarization

This type of sedentarization is regarded as a most extreme form of induced sedentarization. The official implementation of this policy may involve all possible means to force the bedouin to settle, regardless of consequent human suffering. The prime concern of the central government in this policy is to break the power and the internal cohesion of the tribes by restricting their movements. Thus, it was believed, the nomads would be integrated into a national framework. Forced sedentarization is usually associated with the two classic examples of Iran and Turkey. The famous case of forced sedentarization introduced

by Reza Shah (1925-40) was a ruthless and short-sighted policy with the single aim of forcing tribal allegiance to the government.⁽¹⁴⁾ Similarly this happened in Turkey, following World War I when the Kurdish tribal loyalty presented an internal problem for Turkey, in the form of demands for a Kurdish National State. The government reacted ruthlessly, arresting and "re-educating" the elements and settling them, but the Kurds retained a high degree of autonomy, and jealously guarded their national identity.⁽¹⁵⁾ In Israel the sedentarization of the Negev bedouin could be regarded also as a type of forced sedentarization since all the bedouin were concentrated by the authorities in a specifically defined area, or reservation, which constitutes only about 10% of the area previously utilized by them.⁽¹⁶⁾ In Galilee there are cases of four bedouin tribes being transported from the border area into other places inside Galilee then eventually forced to settle there (Chapter 7). This can also be regarded as a case of forced sedentarization. In evaluating the three models of sedentarization the amount of human suffering caused by cutting the nomads off from their own cultural environment should always be borne in mind. The sad state of the demoralized bedouin community should also be judged in terms of the loss of a unique human culture.

The above three models of sedentarization are all represented in Galilee and may be compared with sedentarization undergone by other nomadic groups of the Middle East. Spontaneous sedentarization occurred during the British Mandate in Palestine (1918-1948). However both induced and forced sedentarization belong to the period of the State of Israel from 1948 to the present time.

1.3 Sources of Data

This study utilises various sources gathered chiefly during the research period June 1979 - September 1982, but there are also some sources which the author gathered during earlier years as part of his personal interest in the subject, mostly from newspapers. The data sources are as follows:

1.3.1 Primary sources and historical maps

This data includes books, articles, maps and other records of 19th Century traveller-authors in Palestine. Some of this material was available only on microfilm or was confined to libraries and museums. The author visited Sorbonne University and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) to use this material in December 1979 and in June 1980. An additional search for historical data was made in the British Museum, London, in December 1980. Part One of this thesis is mostly based on this historic data. Rather less fruitful searches were made in Utrecht, Tübingen, Berlin, Graz and Jerusalem.

1.3.2 Official Documents and Private collections

Part two of this study is based largely upon evidence from official documents gathered mainly from the following three places (1) The Public Record office, London, (2) The Israel State Archive, Jerusalem and (3) the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, the Documentation Centre, University of Durham.

1.3.3 Field work

The periods from April to September 1981 and June 1982 were spent on intensive work among the 49 villages and hamlets of the Galilee bedouin while resident in these villages. A large number of people were interviewed during the four months field research and their

contribution is most significant in the third part of the thesis. In many cases the interviewees supported their information by presenting documents and other evidence such as land deeds, which the author was able to photocopy.

A questionnaire was delivered in the largest bedouin village in Galilee designed to investigate particularly the specific demographical and occupational structure of the village. However, the author concluded that the use of questionnaires was very risky since the events surrounding the developments of traditional society vary greatly from one case to another. The field research also included a 100% census of the Galilee bedouin (30,295 persons in September 1981) through listing the names of each household.

1.3.4 Personal Experience : The author belongs to the bedouin community of Galilee. His own knowledge of certain events and bedouin traditions helped him assess the veracity of information gathered during field research. In many cases interviewees were surprised to be asked repeatedly about certain issues which they assumed the author should know as a part of his tribal education. It was rare to find a tribe in which the author did not know at least one of its members before conducting field research. It was due to the cooperation of all these relatives and friends that a 100% census of the bedouin Galilee was achieved. They not only cooperated during field research period but in some cases also corresponded with the author after his return to Britain.

1.3.5 Supporting Material : This includes official and semi official material, private papers, photocopies of land deeds and other letters. Unfortunately there was no access to material in some government offices. The author visited and interviewed responsible officials in

these offices but documentary material was not made available. Some officials unfortunately passed the author off with propaganda platitudes that the bedouin in Israel are treated more liberally than their brethren in other Middle Eastern countries.⁽¹⁷⁾

Most of the supporting material used in the text, such as village master plans and private papers was gathered from Arab engineers, lawyers and others who were attached professionally to bedouin villages in one way or another.

1.4 Organization of the Study

The study is divided into three parts:

Part One is concerned with the pre-sedentarization period of the 19th century associated with the Turkish regime in Palestine. Our knowledge of bedouin in this period is limited. Chapter two discusses the limitations of travellers' literature as evidence of the Galilee region and its bedouin population. Chapter three examines the unique nature of nomadism in Galilee, associated with various forces such as ethnic composition and semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary characteristics. It also discusses the economic and political environment in which nomadism was able to survive in a non-desert environment.

Part Two covers the British Mandate in Palestine (1918-1948), and the beginnings of sedentarization. Chapter four examines those universal causes of sedentarization which seem applicable to the Galilee bedouin and other groups in the Middle East. Chapter five examines causes for sedentarization specific to the Galilee region, notably Jewish colonization, malaria and social influences. Chapter six examines the role of the British Administration in the process of sedentarization.

Part Three deals with the post-1948 period of the State of Israel and the pattern of sedentarization established in Galilee during the past three decades. Chapter seven discusses contemporary bedouin settlement emphasizing the factors which have influenced the pattern. Chapter eight examines present day trends in the planned bedouin settlements in Israel. In this chapter a comparison is made between planned bedouin settlement in the Negev and Galilee in order to evaluate state planning strategies. A summary of the major findings of the study is presented in the concluding chapter.

1.5 Spelling and units of measure

The spelling of place-names generally follows that of the official map of the Palestine Department of Survey 1943.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, to standardise the spelling of tribal names, some Arabic words and terms used in the thesis have been transliterated in accordance with a simplified version of the system used in Wehr and Cowan's (1971) Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic.⁽¹⁹⁾ The one exception is that in the second chapter the spelling of tribal names in the tables are given as they appear in the original text. The spelling of the word "bedu" in Arabic, meaning "sons of the desert" from the word "Badiah" (desert) varies greatly in literature. Some talk of "Badu" (sing.) and "Badwin" (pl.); others use 'Bedouin' or 'Beduin' as both singular and plural. Another version is "Badui"(sing.) and "Badu " (pl.). For the purpose of this study "bedouin" as both singular and plural is used, which is near the normal English transliteration of the word. The English plural "s" is generally used for the Arabic nouns.

The word "Arab" prefixed to the tribal name as an appellation rather than an indication of the origin of the group. It's equivalent in English is "The tribe of..." or "the bedouin groups of...". In the text the word "Arab" is prefixed to the tribal name, as shown on most

maps. However, in the third part of the thesis, bedouin settlements do not carry the appellation "Arab". Since their inhabitants are considered a settled group, the place name is annexed to the group name.

Monetary values are retained in their denominations, and are not converted to a common currency or equivalent values. Thus changes in the currencies in use and in their values during the period of a century makes accurate comparisons very difficult, and only rough estimates of relative quantities are possible.

Units of measure

1 donum = 1000 sq.m = 1/4 acre = 1/10 Hectare

1 hectare = 2.471 acres = 10 donums

1 feddan = 1.038 acres = 0.42 hectare

References

- (1) C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, The Map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets, London, 1880, scale 1:63360 (one inch in a mile), sheets II-VI.
- (2) F. Barth, "Nomadism in the mountain and plateau area of South West Asia", The problems of Arid Zone, Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone Research. Vol.XVIII, UNESCO, Paris, 1962, p.350.
- (3) L.Krader, "The Ecology of Nomadic pastoralism", International Social Science Journal, vol.XI, W0.4, 1959, p.509.
- (4) A.R. George, Processes of Nomadic Sedentarization in the Middle East, M.A. Dissertation, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1972, p.101 (unpublished).
- (5) State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, No.31, Jerusalem 1980, pp.44-45. Statistics gathered during the field research (April - September 1981) (own calculation).
- (6) A.I. Tannous, "The Arab tribal community in a Nationalist State", Middle East Journal, vol.1, Washington, 1947, pp.5-8.
- (7) D.Chatty,"Pastoralism : Adaptation and Optimization", Folk, vol.14, Kopenhagen, 1972, p.29.
- (8) P.G.N. Peppelenbosch, "Nomadism on the Arabian Peninsula", Tijdschrift voor Economische en sociale geografie, vol.59, Nov/De/, 1968,p.
- (9) W.B. Fisher, The Middle East : A Physical, Social and Regional Geography, 3rd ed. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1961, p.129.
- (10) C.O. Sauer, Agricultural Origins and dispersals, The American Geographical Society, New York, 1952, p.97.
- (11) D.P. Cole, Nomads of the Nomads, The Āl Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1975, p.20.
- (12) M. Awad,"Living Conditions of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and Settled Tribal Groups", in Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures, A.M. Lutfiyya and C.W. Churchill, (eds.), The Hague and Paris, Mouton, 1970,p.144.
- (13) N.O. Al-Saleh, Some problems and Development possibilities of the livestock sector in Saudi Arabia : A Case study in livestock development in arid areas, Ph.D. thesis, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1976, pp.62-64. (unpublished).

- (14) P.C. Salzman, "National integration of the Tribes in Modern Iran" The Middle East Journal, Washington D.C., Summer 1971, pp.325-336.
- G.R. Fazel, "The Encapsulation of Nomadic Societies in Iran," in The Desert and the sown, C. Nelson (ed.), Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1973, pp.129-142.
- (15) George, op.cit., p.70.
- (16) Ibid, p.39.
- (17) D.H.K. Amiran, Y. Ben David and A. Shinar, The Process of Sedentarization and settlement among the Bedouins of the Negev, Research Report to the Ford Foundation (Project E-2/7), Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976, p.4.
- (18) Palestine Government, Department of Survey, 1:100,000 Palestine, Jerusalem, 1943.
- (19) H. Wehr and J.M.Cowan, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, (3rd ed.) Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1971.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER TWO

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVELLER - AUTHORS LITERATURE :
LIMITATION AND CONTRIBUTION

2.1 General background

It is commonly accepted that Western civilizations have contributed much to the study of the Holy Land. Their interest started in the form of missionary activity and encouragement of pilgrimages to the holy places, while in the second half of the nineteenth century several European Consulates opened in Jerusalem and some Colonial settlements followed in the northern part of the country. As a result, much attention is given to nineteenth century activity in the Holy Land as, for example, in The Rediscovery of The Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, the author argues that "At the beginning of the nineteenth century Palestine was a virtual terra incognita from a scientific point of view."⁽¹⁾ This chapter therefore has two main objectives; first, it is a modest attempt to introduce a methodological approach to the large amount of literature on this period, and secondly, it will give some explanation for the lack of information upon particular topics, while other topics have been over-emphasized. This is most applicable to the bedouin who, although camped along the travellers' routes, were greatly neglected. Nevertheless, the small and fragmentary pieces of information recorded in the literature have been of great value.

2.1.1 Pre-Nineteenth Century Explorers

Ever since the Holy Land became sacred to Europe, pilgrims travellers and explorers made their way to Palestine. They journeyed patiently along the shores of Asia Minor until they were able to reach the Holy Land to take back to their homes some account of the country; while in later times the pilgrims came not singly, but in groups which

continually increased in size. Later there were crusaders, colonists, traders, Consuls and Ambassadors. The literature of Palestine's exploration, therefore, begins with the establishment of Christianity.

Pilgrims from Europe kept diaries and manuscripts in various ancient languages. Most of this material is preserved in monasteries, church libraries, museums, and private places and only a few short texts have been translated and published, for example, the works of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (1884-1899).⁽²⁾ Conder (1889) refers to an anonymous work written at the time of Salah ed-din (1187 A.D) in these terms:

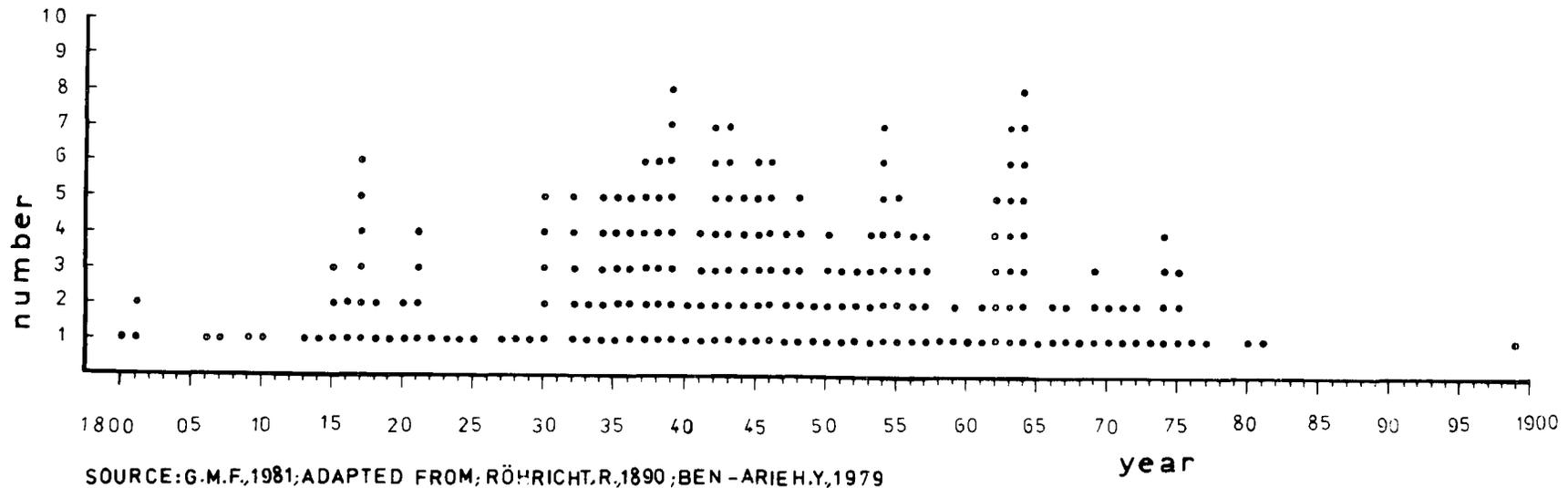
"There are many manuscripts of this, as of earlier works, which were preserved in the monasteries of Europe, and recopied by students who seem to have little idea of the importance of preserving the original purity of their text. Some of the versions are mere abstracts, some are supplemented by paraphrases from scripture." (3)

Translation of these manuscripts into modern languages such as English, German or French is more difficult than tracing the places of preservation : theoretically the more ancient narratives are the most interesting because they relate to a period when a far greater number of monuments of still earlier antiquity remained in existence than are there for modern travellers; also local linguistics were closely related to events of these early times.

2.1.2 Nineteenth Century Explorers

Travellers and explorers of the nineteenth century are only one of many groups who reached the country in different periods, yet their narratives have been discovered and examined so much by modern scholars simply because this particular period is the closest to the present century. Röhricht (1890) in his *Bibliotheca Geographica* points out that between 300 A.D and 1878 A.D. traveller-authors produced 3,515

TRAVELLERS AND EXPLORERS OF PALESTINE DURING THE 19th CENTURY



SOURCE: G.M.F., 1981; ADAPTED FROM; RÖHRICHT, R., 1890; BEN-ARIEH, Y., 1979

FIG 2.1

references and 747 cartographical works. This represents 47 per cent of a total of 4,262 works published between 1800-1878.⁽⁴⁾

The dots of the histogram (Fig.2.1) indicate that 219 traveller/explorer-authors visited Palestine during the Nineteenth Century. Eleven of these visited for a second time, one a third time, two for a fourth time, and three died in the East before their self-allotted tasks were completed. The histogram also shows that 84 per cent of the travellers arrived in Palestine during the 50 years from 1815 to 1864. In contrast, only 12 per cent of the travellers arrived in the years 1864 to 1900. In practice, the expected increase in the number of travellers visiting towards the end of the nineteenth century does not appear in the histogram for two main reasons:

- A. The bibliography from which this histogram has been constructed and modified was confined to traveller-authors in the years 1800 to 1881.⁽⁵⁾ The single dot in 1899 being a traveller visiting for the third time.
- B. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the study of Palestine became more systematic and was organised by three scientific societies. Many individual explorers joined one of these societies:
 - i) The Palestine Exploration Fund (British) was established in 1865.
 - ii) Deutsche vereins Zur Palästina (German) was established in 1877 together with a journal called Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
 - iii) The American Palestine Exploration Society was established in 1870 but disbanded in 1884.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century changes took place in the

Middle East. Firstly there was the Egyptian Conquest of Palestine and Syria (1831-1940) which produced fairly effective rule of the country and secondly, the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. Such developments brought the area back into the great traffic lanes of the world and aroused the political and economic interest of the European Powers in the Levant.⁽⁶⁾

Travellers of the latter half of the nineteenth century produced and achieved more than earlier travellers because of the favourable conditions in Palestine. In this period the first scientific survey of the country was undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The maps and records of this society (1871-1878) provided authentic material on the country and served as a basis for all mapping until the first half of the twentieth century. In summing up this general background, it seems advisable to sound a caution about the historical geography of Palestine before the nineteenth century : the shortage of information about this period is essentially related to the fact that only a few modern historians and historical geographers have attempted to study it. Palestine has been explored by European civilizations since the establishment of Christianity. This long period before the nineteenth century is still clouded with mystery and deserves further study.

2.2 The Spirit of 19th Century Travel

Nineteenth century European literature on Syria and Palestine was the product of various groups of writers who had contrasting points of view and a wide range of interests.

Despite such a diversity of approach, however, no single work of literature, certainly within the first half of the 19th century dealt with Galilee as a single region.⁽⁷⁾ Material on the northern part of

Palestine was generally included in the literature in two different forms :

(A) Galilee was described as part of the narrative of travellers who traversed Galilee from various directions continuing to their own destinations outside Galilee. Such reports were usually presented chronologically from the memoirs and personal experiences of those who had actually visited Galilee. Other descriptions were largely the product of the imagination of those who had never visited Galilee, stimulated by others' primary sources. A good example to these writers is C. Ritter (1848-55).⁽⁸⁾ He never visited Palestine, basing his work on other sources, he succeeded in compiling the information from others' primary sources and presented a reasonably complete picture of the country.

(B) Galilee was included in a Biblical regional study of the whole country, often as a separate chapter. Sometimes Galilee was merely dealt with as a section of a chapter dealing with the wider region of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria.

Writers in the first group, both geographers and non-geographers, appear to show a tendency to describe only what they were attracted to in the cultural landscape along their routes, notably religious sites. It is often the custom of travellers to follow the routes of previous travellers, in order to examine the reliability of their narratives or to re-examine the accuracy of the siting of the historical elements. The result is an abundance of information about certain places while other parts of the region are left relatively neglected.

The second category (B) appears to show a tendency by travellers to study the region from a regional viewpoint in which the topography and the drainage pattern, and other physical elements are emphasised in order to explain the biblical division and sub-division of the Holy land.

It was rare to find a geographer who approached a study of the country from a thematic viewpoint, choosing a single topic and discussing it in terms of place and time.⁽⁹⁾ This might be because early 19th century geography generally was dedicated to the regional approach and the thematic aspect had still not become fashionable.

Since information on the bedouin in Galilee fell within the thematic category it is hardly mentioned at all. In fact, in a systematic search through the abundant literature of the 19th century, not a single reference to bedouin was to be found in the first half and only two chapters appear in the second half. These were (i) "Tent and nomadic life" in Bible Land and Customs, (1875); (ii) the "Bedawin" in Tent work in Palestine (1879).⁽¹⁰⁾ Both chapters deal with general aspects of the nomadic life, describing habits and customs and comparing them with those of two other classes of population living in Palestine; the ploughmen, or agricultural peasantry (fellaheen) and the townfolk (belladeen). The object of studying the bedouin people as expressed by Conder (1879), was

"because we should naturally expect them to throw much light on the Bible narrative." (11)

2.2.1 The Significant of Travellers' Expectations

Western travellers to Palestine brought with them a certain mental attitude, either from books they had read, or the kind of education they had received, and this affected the sort of things they came to see in Palestine, their manner of seeing things, and also the character of their description. Their motives varied, but were mostly religious. Only a few travellers were able to overcome their preconceived religious and romantic feelings and see the country realistically, and even those were influenced by religion, especially

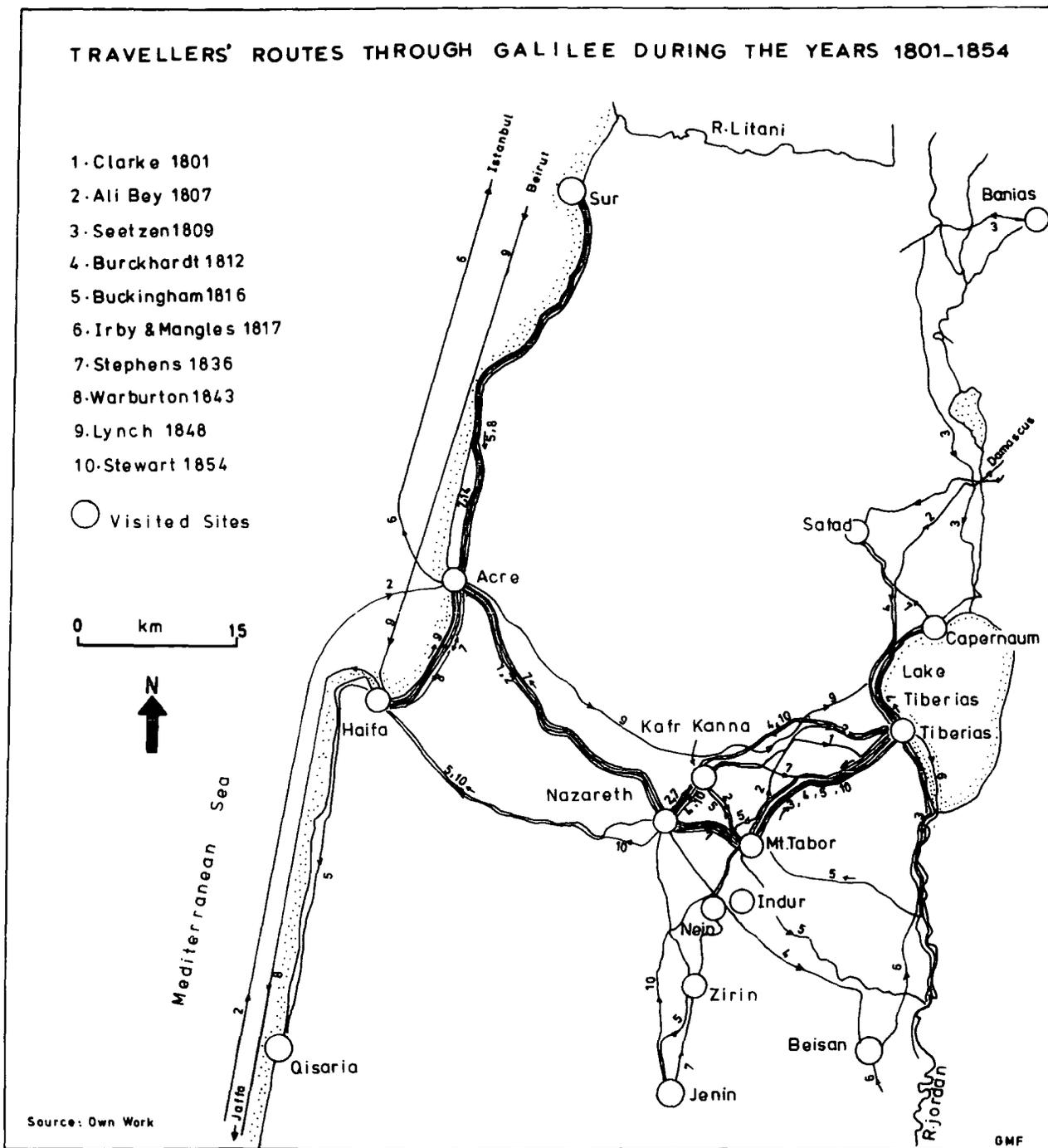


FIG 2.2

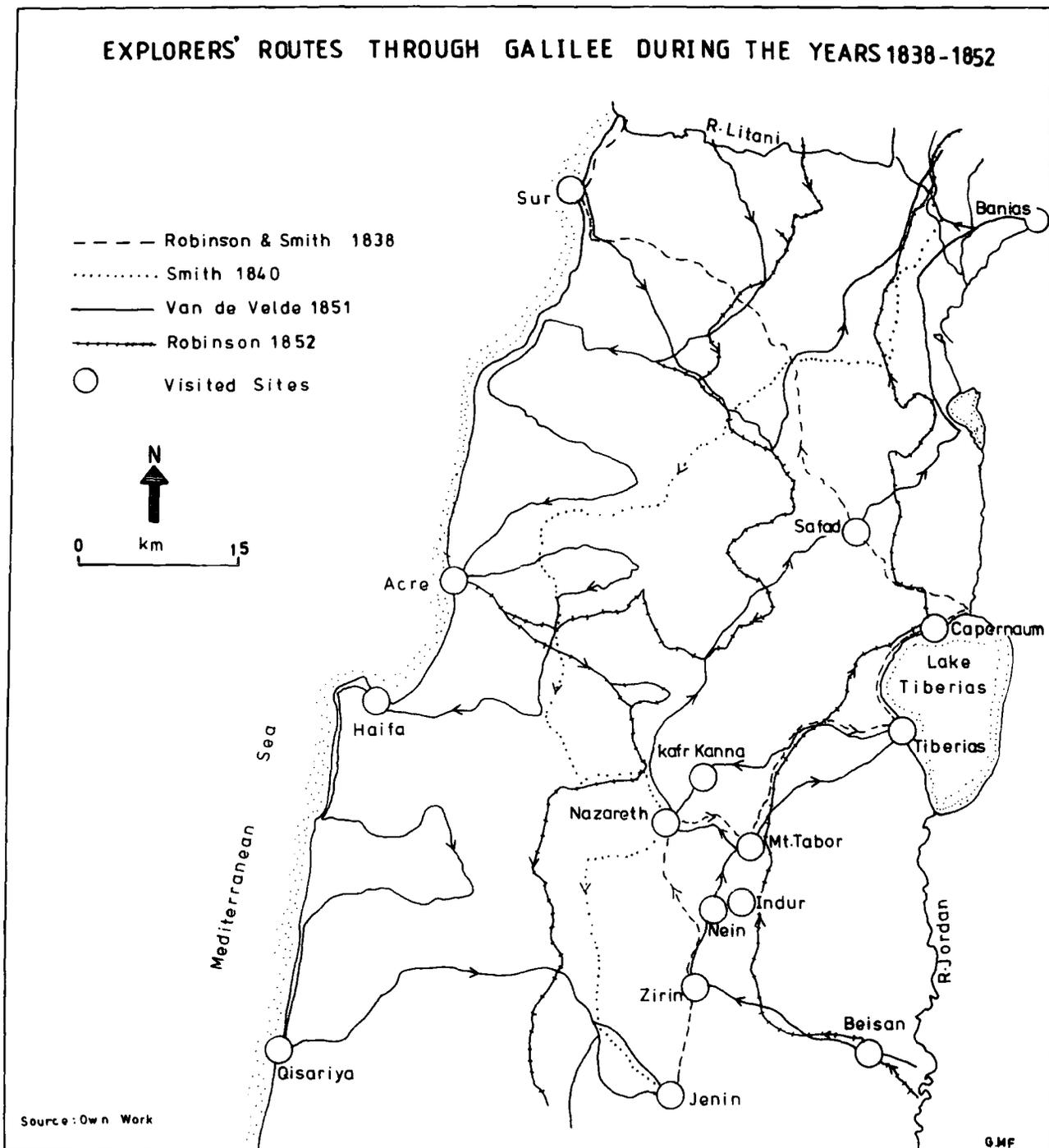


FIG 2.2.1

regarding their choice of itinerary. The most complete descriptions available are therefore of places of religious interest, whereas the Sharon plain and the Hula basin, for instance, lacking such interest, were used only for transit to somewhere else.

Some of the aims of visiting the country have been defined clearly in the prefaces of the traveller works. Strauss (1849) for instance, considered that his "journey in the East" had

"served as an additional corroboration to my mind of the truth of the Divine word..." (12)

Murray (1868) expressed a wide range of aims of travellers for their visit to Palestine :

"Every traveller has, or is supposed to have, some specific object in view in making a "Pilgrimage to Palestine". One is in pursuit of health; another of pleasure; another of fame; another of knowledge; and adventure." (13)

Another method for gaining insight into travellers' personal interests is by tracing their routes throughout the country and analysing their manner of describing what they observed. Figures 2.2 and 2.2.1 depict routes of famous travellers and explorers who visited Galilee in the years 1801-1854. Generally, they represent three groups of interests, according to the sites they visited and the period of time spent at these sites.

(A) First category (Fig. 2.2) Travellers who spent a short while (one week approximately) in Galilee, usually as part of a much wider itinerary, they travel the familiar routes. These travellers crossed Galilee either from west to east or from east to west; from Acre to Tiberias or the opposite. The main interest was to visit the "triangle", Nazareth (the town of Joseph and Mary), Kafr Kanna; (the village where Jesus performed his first miracle of water turning into wine) and

Mount Tabor (the mountain where he was transfigured).⁽¹⁴⁾ The order of visiting the three places was determined by the direction of entry into Galilee, approaching from the west, usually starting from Nazareth, either continuing to Kafr Kanna and ascending to Mount Tabor, or continuing to Mount Tabor and descending to Kafr Kanna. Approaching from the east the choice was divided between Kafr Kanna and Mount Tabor to reach Nazareth. Acre (and sometimes Haifa) have been visited by most of the three groups as a point of arrival or departure. The contribution of this first group to the knowledge of the area is confined merely to the sites they planned to visit. The other part of the country between the sites is described generally and briefly. Travellers who exemplify this group (Fig.2.2) are : Clarke in 1801; Ali Bey in 1807, Irby and Morglas in 1817 and Warburton in 1843.⁽¹⁵⁾

(B) Second category (Fig. 2.2) Large groups whose journey to the east was confined to the Holy Land. These had a relatively longer period of time (1-4 weeks approximately) than the first group. Therefore, they were able to visit other sites of secondary religious importance merely associated with historical events. The main interest of this group was still the sacred sites. In addition to the "triangle", they moved onto secondary roads and visited sites such as the villages of Nein, Zir'in and Indur south of Mount Tabor in the Plain of Esdraelon (Marj Ibn 'Amir), Mount Carmel, and the "Mount of precipitation",⁽¹⁶⁾ and the Horns of Hittin where Salah ed-din in 1187 A.D. defeated the Crusaders.⁽¹⁷⁾ The town of Safad was also visited by most of this group.

Because they were the largest group, reconstructing the landscape is possible from the large mass of narratives they left. The following travellers clearly belong to this group. Burckhardt in 1812; Buckingham in 1816; Stephens in 1838; Stewart in 1857 and perhaps Seetzen in 1809.⁽¹⁸⁾

(C) The Third Category (Fig.2.2.1) is a very small group of explorers who ventured along unknown paths. They chose a point as a centre and journeyed from it in several successive directions, but always coming back by a different road. They crossed the length and breadth of the country with a thoroughness without precedent.

Their contribution is invaluable for reconstructing the rural landscape, but since they were few, it is naturally impossible to obtain a complete picture of the whole country. Their works have been recognized by many later explorers and travellers as a basis for further scientific research. Despite the wide interest of issues covered they remain within the biblical framework. Such explorers were : Robinson & Smith in 1838, Smith in 1840, Robinson in 1852, Van de Velde in 1851-1852 and Lynch in 1848.⁽¹⁹⁾ Beyond such division of interest which was motivated by religious feeling and which can be found across the three groups, there are the specific interests of each individual. For example Ali Bey (1806) was the only traveller who gave the exact number of Roman Catholic monks in Nazareth and the whole Holy Land.⁽²⁰⁾ Similarly, when Lynch (1849) arrived in Haifa by sea he observed that

"the first thing in Syria which strikes a visitor from the Western world, is the absence of forest trees." (21)

Clarke (1812) however noted on his way from Acre to Nazareth, that the nomadic tent in Syria was constructed differently from that of the Lapland tent. The reason for this, in his opinion, was that "A variety of Climate necessarily modifies the mode of their construction." (22)

Wilson (1824) noted certain similarities between the bedouin encampment at the foot of Mount Tabor and that of the gang of gipsies in England.

"I crossed a fine valley which led me to the foot of Mount Tabor, where I observed, at a short distance, a party of Arabs had pitched their tents, which were covered with black cloth, almost a counter-part of the exhibition I remarked on the plains of Jericho. Taking the scene altogether, it was similar to a gang of gipsies in England. (23)

This manner of description is evidence of specific personal observation of Western travellers and explorers perceiving Eastern culture through their Western experience, and consequent expectations, "using their eyes to compose pictures." (24)

2.2.2 Dependence upon Local Guides

Western travellers were greatly dependent on Arab local guides as they roamed in an environment very different from that of their home land. Out of necessity they hired local guides in order to reach their destinations. The professional guides were available only in the large towns such as Jerusalem and Damascus. These professional guides were few in number and charged a high price. Burckhardt (1822) gave an example of this category.

"I took with me Damascence, who had been seventeen times in Mekka, who was well acquainted with the Bedouin, inured to fatigue and not indisposed to favour my pursuits; I had indeed reason to be contented with my choice of this man, though he was of little further use to me than to take care of my horse, and to assist in intimidating the Arabs, by some additional fire-arms." (25)

But most of the local guides were under-qualified; they could speak a smattering of the travellers' languages, perhaps as a result of guiding previous travellers, and pretended to be experienced by mentioning names of Western travellers who had hired them before. However, at some distance from their villages, their knowledge diminished and in many cases they deserted. Consequently, travellers very often changed them, hiring another when they reached the next village. Robinson (1867) in his first visit in 1838 records one such example:

"The guide whom we had yesterday taken at Nablus proved so incompetent and untrustworthy, that we dismissed him, and engaged a Muslim of Jenin to accompany us to Nazareth; not indeed to show us the road, for that was plain enough, and our muleteers had often travelled it; but in order to elicit from him information as to the country along the way." (26)

The same notion of dissatisfaction with guides appears in Burton's Book Unexplored Syria (1879)

"They accompany the traveller not because they know the road, but apparently to honour him, and really to receive pay - say ten piastres or two francs per diem; consequently he soon finds himself obliged to guide his guides." (27)

Despite the fact that Western travellers knew this reality, they allowed themselves to demand this minimum service from the natives, primarily because of the need of translations rather than showing direction. This absolute dependence can be seen from Robinson. During his second visit in 1852, passing Marj Ibn 'Amir on his way from Acre to Jerusalem:

"There were quite a number of men ploughing in the adjacent fields; and others at work or lounging in the mills; but we tried in vain to obtain one of them as a guide." (28)

Overall, the result of such dependence of Western travellers on the unqualified local guides manifests itself in two ways:

1. The selection of travellers' routes : Guides who did not appreciate Western travellers interest in the Holy Land saw their role as finding the shortest and the safest road in order to reach the next place. An example is given by Wilson (1824):

"I cross a fine valley which led me to the foot of Mount Tabor, where I observed at a short distance, a party of Arabs had pitched their tents,...The guide turned off, unwilling to come in contact with these stragglers, apprehensive they might lay hold of our mules, and thus save the animals the trouble of carrying us up the mount." (29)

2. The reliability of the information required by the travellers. This is clearly shown by Burton and Drake (1872):

"It is ever difficult in the extreme to gather exact topographical details amongst a people who require truth to be drawn from them 'by wain-ropes'. Le paysan interrogé, says the astute M.Lecoq, me répond jamais ce qu'il pense devoir être agréable à qui l'interrogé; il a peur de se com promettre." (30)

According to such evidence it is reasonable to argue that the local guides did not contribute substantially to exploration of the Holy land. In fact, in one way or another they probably blurred the process by the misconceptions they instilled into the Western memory.

2.3 The Religious Landscape

Jerusalem and Galilee are frequently mentioned in 19th century literature as the two most sanctified places in the Holy Land. Both places attracted travellers and explorers who had longed to make a "once in a life time" visit to Palestine:

"The first impressions of childhood are connected with that scenery; and infant lips in England's prosperous homes pronounce with reverence the names of forlorn Jerusalem and Galilee. We still experience a sort of patriotism for Palestine, and feel that the scenes enacted here were performed for the whole family of man. Narrow as are its boundaries, we have all a share in the possession : that what a church is to a city, Palestine is to the World." (31)

Jerusalem achieved her superiority over Galilee due to its great significance for all three monotheistic religions. Each religion expressed this significance by establishing physical elements such as churches, mosques and synagogues throughout the centuries as a demonstration of their reverence for the holiness of the place. In contrast, the 19th century travellers elevated Galilee to the most important place in Christianity, relative to other regions of the country. Murray (1868) was expressing a widespread sentiment when he wrote:

"No other spot - not even Jerusalem witnessed so many of His mighty works, no other place - not even Olivet - witnessed so many of his discourses. His parables and his prayers." (32)

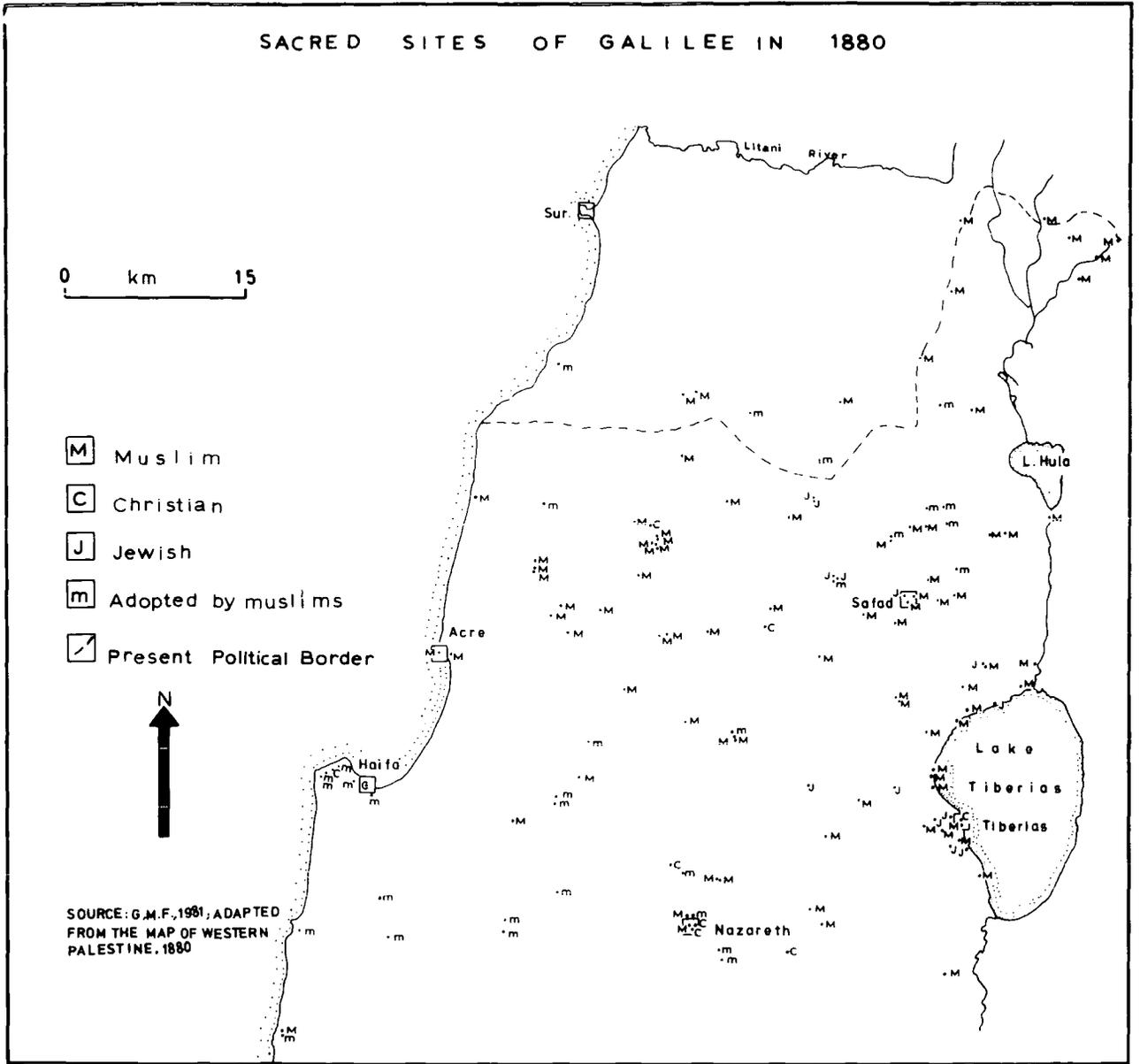


FIG 2.3

A similar notion was also expressed by Conder (1889)

"Galilee always had a different place in our minds from any other part of Palestine, because it is the cradle of Christianity and chief scene of the Gospel narratives." (33)

In contrast, in Judaism, Galilee was only of secondary importance, after Judea.⁽³⁴⁾ While in Islam, Galilee is hardly mentioned by the 19th century travellers despite the fact that 83 per cent of the religious sites are Muslim (Fig. 2.3) as shown in the map of the survey of Western Palestine.⁽³⁵⁾

The importance of understanding the behaviour of such writers during their first visual experience of the place shows how an individual with a particular religious disposition will have regard for certain elements of the landscape whilst neglecting others. By seeing through, rather than looking at, "the eye of faith," as Lynch (1849) recorded, "viewed a more interesting and impressive sight."⁽³⁶⁾

2.3.1 The Christian Landscape

Western travellers made a great contribution to promoting Galilee as the spiritual centre of the Holy Land. To a certain extent they followed the route of Jesus, identifying those places which he visited and at which he performed miracles. Travellers who possessed a theological background or experience in archaeological studies, were enthused by enlarging the discussion and referring to evidence from the words of the Bible.

In approaching Galilee from a Christian perspective, compared with those of the Muslim and Jewish perspectives, it was found that the sanctity of the region was not confined only to the sites that Jesus and his disciples visited. In his thirty years of living and teaching in Galilee, his experiences were spread widely over the region. His mission entailed moving from one site to the other throughout Galilee

MAP OF ANCIENT PALESTINE 1851



Source : J. Rapkin, 1851.

FIG 2.4

and thus all his routes were considered sacred. This notion is pointed to clearly in the narratives of Christian travellers, for example : Stewart (1857) describes the hills of Nazareth as follows:

"There was not a hill around but his blessed foot must have been visited by him. In no other place was presence so long manifested. Who can visit Nazareth without calling to remembrance the brief history of his childhood? - He increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and Man - Luke ii.52" (37)

And also Lynch (1849) in his narrative when he first saw Galilee Lake

"How dear to the Christian are the memories of the Lake! the lake of the New Testament! Blessed beyond the nature of its element, it has borne the son of God upon its surface" (38)

Western travellers, bringing to bear a Christian perspective thus acquire the notion that Galilee as a whole was "the Holy region". In this way their outlook differed fundamentally from the outlook of the other two religions.

2.3.2 The Jewish Landscape

According to G.A. Smith's (1897) Biblical division of the Holy Land, Galilee was the third northernmost province, after Judea and Samaria respectively. Its natural boundaries are clearly defined. In the south, the plain of Esdraelon (Marj Ibn 'Amir in Arabic and in Hebrew Emiq Israel); to the north, the great gorge of the Litani river (Kasimiyeh); in the east, the Valley of the Jordan and the Lake of Gennesareth (Galilee Lake and also Lake Tiberias); and to the west, the narrow Phoenician coast (Acre Plain or Emiq Zebulon).⁽³⁹⁾ This region coincides closely with the territories of four of the Israelite tribes (Fig. 2.4), Issachar, Zebulon, Asher and Naphtali. Each tribe demarcated its own territory according to the physical subdivision of the region. Lower Galilee was almost identified with

the tribe of Issacher; Upper Galilee comprised all Zebulon and Naphtali and the coastal plains were claimed for Asher.⁽⁴⁰⁾ According to G.A. Smith (1897), the sea coast, which was claimed for Zebulon and Asher, never belonged either to them or to the province of Galilee; it was always Gentile.⁽⁴¹⁾

It has been mentioned frequently by 19th century travellers and explorers (for instance, Robinson (1867), Van de Velde (1864)) that the notion of moving from one Israelite tribal territory to another was accompanied by changes in the topography. Consequently the literature tends to reflect two points of view.

(A) The region was divided conceptually into tribal units and the physical elements were mentioned in order to explain the history of the tribes, and to identify those events which were mentioned in the Bible. Thus, an attempt was made to translate the language of the Bible into that of the visible world. Thomson, (1886) who made a journey into Northern Palestine, typified the idea of travellers who conceptualised the region in terms of tribal territories.

"Our travellers now cross the scriptural boundary of the tribe of Asher, the northmost of the twelve tribes, and enter the land of Israel. The tour through northern Palestine may be divided into two parts, in each of which the country is crossed from west to east, and from east to west. In the first of these journeys, setting out from Tyre, we traverse the territories of Asher and Naphtali,... In the second excursion through northern Palestine, our route lies chiefly through the tribes of Zebulon, Naphtali, and Issachar." (42)

This attitude is also portrayed by numerous cartographers in the mid-nineteenth century⁽⁴³⁾ (Fig. 2.4).

(B) The information within the literature concentrates unduly upon the physical units containing the tribes, and upon the dividing lines between two different landscapes. Travellers who passed through these

demarcating lines enlarged their description of the physical environment in order to determine the accurate boundaries of the tribes. Consequently several sites are over-emphasized because of their location on the "Imagined Border".

Examples of sites which were over emphasized : Tell esh Shuman, or Tell Thuren, two mounds of ruins projecting into the plain of Esdraelon indicated the - south - western frontier of the Zebulon tribe. The same is applicable to the village of El Meshhad the ancient Gittah-hepher which was in the border of Zebulon. 'Abilin village in the Wadi A'bilin was considered by Van de velde (1854) to be a landmark in the northwest between Zebulon and Asher, and the shrine Seiyid Huda Ibn Yakub identified by Thomson (1886) to be the northern limit of Naphtali tribe.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In addition to the emphasizing of sites located close to or upon the "Imagined Borders" travellers and explorers often associated the two cities Tiberias and Safad as an integral part of the Jewish religious landscape of Galilee. Both cities were venerated by the Jews as Holy cities like Jerusalem and Hebron. They were declared sacred through the belief that the Messiah will arise from the waters of the lake, land in Tiberias and establish his throne at Safad.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In summing up the Jewish landscape in Galilee through the eyes of the Western travellers one finds that such landscape referred mainly to the two cities of Tiberias and Safad and several sites on the Israelite tribal borders, and not to the whole of Galilee as seen in a Christian context.

2.3.3 The Muslim Landscape

Western travellers regarded Galilee as a Holy Christian region contained within the territories of four Israelite tribes. The travellers were non-Muslims who gave priority to describe and to evoke their own religious landscape. From this perspective, the literature over-emphasized the Christian and Jewish landscape, with the Muslim landscape hardly represented.

Thus, to adopt Christian and Jewish perspectives, of the kind just outlined in order to study the Muslim landscape of Galilee can only lead to misconception. There was no direct experience of the Islamic prophet in Galilee, while the preaching of Islamic faith appears firstly outside Galilee, whereas the Gospels started inside Galilee. In parallel, the battle-fields of the Israelite tribes which occurred in various places of Galilee were holy wars. These events mentioned in the Bible and represented by the travellers contributed to the emergence of the Jewish landscape. In contrast, the celebrated Muslim battle-field of Salah ed-din in 1187 (A.D.), in the Horn of Hittin to the west of Tiberias was of political rather than religious importance and did not add significantly to the Muslim landscape.⁽⁴⁶⁾

On the other hand, Jerusalem is regarded in Islam with a great degree of importance associated with the traditional Night Journey of Mohammed, the prophet, to the Masjid al Aksa (the further mosque).⁽⁴⁷⁾ One's image of a place may be moulded by the traditions of the physical experiences of a prophet, and the place then becomes elevated to an unrealistic degree of importance. In this respect Jerusalem eclipses any other region in Palestine in Islamic eyes.

Nevertheless, some Western travellers paid some attention to some of the Islamic sacred sites, which were seen from their passing routes.

Table 2.1

Location of Muslim Sacred Sites in Galilee - 1880

Map of W. Palestine Sheet	Neby (Prophet)	Sheikh (Chief/elder)	Wely (favourite)	Mazar (Shrine)	Sidi (My Lord-male)	Sitti (My Lord-female)	Kabir (tomb)	Khader (St. George)	Shejerat (tree)	Unidentified tombs
II	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
III	4	12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
IV	3	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
V	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	19
VI	4	12	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	2

Source : C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, The Map Survey of Western Palestine in 26 sheets,
London, 1880, scale 1:63360, sheets II - VI.

These sites, namely "Makam" (place), are usually seen as a white-stone building about 10 feet square and 8 feet high, surmounted by a small dome. They have various degrees of importance according to their names (Table 2.1) and the belief connected to the name. Usually such sites were regarded as sacred by the local peasantry (fellaheen) since they were associated with a story that a Saint was supposed once to have "stood" there. Neil (1891) quoting Major C.R. Conder,

"it is in worship of these shrines that the peasantry (fellaheen) consists. Moslem by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and protection of village makam than to Allah himself, or to Mohammed, his prophet." (48)

Guerin (1854) noticed on "Kubur Benat Yakub" (the tombs of the Daughters of Yacub) bedouins have hollowed out places where the stored grain is under the protection of the tomb.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Figure 2.3 shows the distribution of makams in Galilee according to the map of western Palestine. The makams should be considered as a contribution to the religious scenery of Galilee.

2.4 Attitudes to the Nomads

In the first half of the 19th century, Palestine was described politically and economically in terms of anarchy and primitive economy. This situation was documented by reports of visitors to the country who stressed mainly the insecurity owing to raids of robbers and wild bedouin tribesmen who wandered through if unchecked.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Ensuring personal security was a central point which enforced travellers to follow known safe roads and to change direction according to temporary hostile circumstances. The following quotations from travellers' experiences suggests the degree of suspicion and the negative preconception possessed by European travellers towards the Arab nomads.

In 1806 Seetzen (1855) made his way to Tiberias coming from the eastern side of Lake Tiberias; his impression was thus :

"Der Abend war mir nahe. Ich eilte daher aus diesem unsichern Aufenthalte zu kommen, und wäre beinahe zwei Arabern in die Hände gefallen, die mir im dem dichten Gebüsch auflauerten. Glückliche erreichte ich eine Stunde nach Sonnenuntergang das kleine mohammedanische Dörfchen Madschidil, welches am Ufer des Sees liegt (in S. Briefe bei v. Zach M.C.I.c) und wo ich die Nacht blieb" (51)

One year after Seetzen, Ali Bey (1816) passed along the same road, on his way from Nazareth to Damascus his assessment of the situation was as follows:

"We had hardly begun to go towards the N.N.E. before some Bedouins on horse back appeared; they hovered near us during half an hour, sometimes afar off, at others near, as if they were meditating on an attack upon us. I ordered my people to prepare their arms and be in readiness for defence; the foe then thought proper to withdraw, though my suit was composed only of a servant, a slave and four fusileers." (52)

This is also the only information given by Ali Bey (1816) upon Galilee bedouin, describing the bedouin in terms of a potential enemy. Similarly in Buckingham's (1821) narratives, on his arrival to the feet of Mount Tabor coming from Nazareth in 1815:

"We saw before us about a dozen Arabs, each with his gun prepared to fire. We mutually halted to regard each other, and not knowing whether this was an ambush lying in wait for us, or for the boar, we unslung our muskets for defence. We remained for some minutes in this hostile attitude, until one of our party accosted the band which had so suddenly appeared, and received such insolent answers as to induce us to look upon them as enemies rather than friends." (53)

Western travellers frequently mentioned their suspicions of bedouin, repeating one another's experiences and adopting a habit of writing about these to show their exotic experience of this race of people, without necessarily being attacked or threatened by them.

Writers who possessed the ability to describe their experience in a flamboyant manner gave the reader a particularly exaggerated picture.

Murray (1868) belonged to this category of writers. The following is a description of the road from Tiberias to Damascus via Jisr Banat Yakub.

"The traveller who has enterprise and courage enough to pass this way at this season will enjoy a favourable opportunity of seeing those true sons of the desert, and true descendants of him of whom it was prophesied that he would be "a wild man, his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him : and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" Gen. xvi.12). These words are still fully applicable to the Bedawin, who are the scourges of eastern Syria. Their hand is against every traveller, every unguarded caravan." (54)

Western opinion of the Galilee bedouin was thus derived from the general image of nomads from elsewhere in the Middle East, although the reference to desert here seems to be rather misplaced. Those who have known the nomads most intimately have liked them, and trusted their chivalry.

C. Grant (1937) came to a similar conclusion from study of the Syrian desert, confirming the fact that European travellers hold misconceptions on bedouin, due to the great tribal conflict and the chronic warfare between Arab and Turk, between the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth centuries. (55)

Modern travellers concur in holding a favourable opinion of the bedouin, especially explorers who have spent many months either living amongst them, travelling with one or more of the great desert tribes; notably Charles Doughty (1933) and Wilfrid Blunt and his wife Lady Anne Blunt (1879, 1889) in the late nineteenth century (56) and Gertrude Bell (1911); Alois Musil (1927); Douglas Carruthers (1935) in twentieth century. (57) T.E. Lawrence (1926,1927) and W.Thesiger (1959, 1964) who lived amongst the Arab tribes on an equally intimate but rather different footing were much prejudiced in favour of the bedouin. (58)

There was, however, no attempt by Western travellers and explorers to live among the Galilee bedouin and to hold a favourable opinion which might have made more information upon them available. It seems that having a negative preconception of nomadic people led to the Western travellers avoiding learning about this group of people, and the little information which was reported was moulded by a negative misconception. Such a limitation is a crucial element in the interpretation of available material. Moreover the statistical material is systematically incomplete and as it stands it could hardly be used to make any comparison. Such statistics were gathered in order to provide estimates for the phenomena discussed below.

2.5 Estimates of Galilee Bedouin Population

The bedouin did not play an important role in the political and the demographic life of Galilee during the 19th century. They were a small minority group who occupied unused land between local settlements. Their small size might be one reason why 19th century travellers and explorers overlooked them. Thus Conder (1879) wrote:

"The Arab clans in Philistia and Sharon are too numerous and insignificant to require notice; and in Galilee also there is a large number of very small tribes" (59)

However, in the last two decades of the 19th century, a few sources gave a list of tribes and numbers, though these were still not complete. These sources deserve some discussion.

2.5.1 Jaubert (1812)

The "Description de L'Égypte, État Moderne" (1812) published Jaubert's list of nomadic tribes of Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Jaubert's estimates were the first statistics available in the 19th century. Forty six tribes were recorded in Palestine. (60)

The following Table has been modified from the information given on tribes who were in Galilee :

Table 2.2 Estimate of Galilee bedouin tribes in 1812

Tribe	Horsemen
Berārych	200
Mesaid	200
Halef	(few)
Samkyeh	(many)
Soumerat	(many)
Gāātyn	(many)
Khayt Beouādy	1000
Bechātoueh	(few)
Ghaur	300
Sekhour el Ghaur	300
Ghaouar ^h eh	(unknown)
Sabyeh	(unknown)
Nemyret	(unknown)
Mohammedat	(unknown)
Total	> 2000

Source: A. Jaubert, "Nomenclature des tribus d'arabes qui campent entre L'Égypt et la Palestine...etc.." dans la Description de L'Égypte, État Moderne, vol.II, Paris,1812, pp.249-275.

Jaubert's statistics were in fact estimates of the power of tribes and not population. Using the number of horsemen in order to estimate the population of a bedouin tribe is unrealistic, particularly when the information, derived from the tribesmen themselves, was exaggerated to demonstrate tribal power.

Burckhardt (1822) who was present at the same time in the east came to similar conclusions when he tried to estimate the 'Anezeh Tribes:

"It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe for a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen, as they believe, like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it." (61)

Despite the fact that Jaubert's list was incomplete (9 tribes out of 14 were not counted), Jaubert's information is valuable since he also recorded the approximate location of each tribe, thus making it possible to trace subsequent tribal migrations.

2.5.2 Drake (1875)

Among the aims of the Palestine Exploration Fund was the collection of native traditions in Palestine, together with manners and customs of the peasantry. This was a subject to which Tyrwhitt Drake (1875) gave constant attention.⁽⁶²⁾ Drake (1875) estimated the nomadic population of Palestine by listing the names, location, numbers of tents, and manpower for each bedouin tribe, as follows:

Table 2.3 Estimate of Jordan Valley Tribes in 1874

Tents	Men	Tribe
-	-	El Tyyahah)
		El Terabin) in the Desert of the Tih
-	-	El 'Azāzimeh
-	-	El Dhullām
100	150	El ūehalin, south of Hebron
50	70	El Ka'abineh, in Masferah, south of Hasasa, and north-east of Hebron
60	100	El Rashaideh, near 'Ain Jidi
360-100	1000	El Ta'amirah, south of Bayt Lahm, and Mar Saba
150	200	El Abbaydiyeh, serfs of the monastery of Mar Saba
120	150	El Hetaymāt
250	300	El Sawāharet el Wad
50	80	El Abn Nusayr
100	150	El 'Abid, serfs of the last, who live near Ain el Sultan
50	100	El Ka'abineh, north of Wady el 'Awjch
110	180	El Mesa'ayd (under an Emir), in Wady el Far'ah, and east of Nablus
-	-	El Belawni) from east of Jordan, but usually
-	-	El Fahaylāt) have a few tents in the Ghor near
-	-	El Sardiyeh) Wady el Maleh
150	400	El Sakr, near Baysan, and in Wady Jālūd
60	100	El Ghazawiyeh (under an Emir), east of Baysan
40	70	El Beshatwi, near Jisr el Mujāmi'a
35	60	S'khur el Ghor, south of the Sea of Tiberias

Source: C.F.T. Drake, Tyrwhitt Drake's report on May 1974, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterley Statement, London, 1975, p.28.

The number of tents and men was an average of the numbers given to the author by different bedouin. This list probably represents a high degree of reliability. Unfortunately Drake's list was confined only to the Jordan Valley tribes

2.5.3 C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener. (1881-83)

Both authors prepared the survey memoirs which were the index of the 26 sheets of maps comprising the Survey of Western Palestine 1880; each memoir is subdivided into three sections:

- A. The geographical and topographical description of the sheets. All the villages are described, The sub-headings of this section are 'Orography', 'Hydrography', 'Roads and Cultivation';
- B. Archaeology of the sheet, giving a detailed account of the ancient remains in alphabetical order;
- C. Ethnographical, with notes on the population and on traditions collected by the survey party in connection with various sites.

Despite this comprehensive work, the 34 tribes which were inscribed on the first six sheets were not included in the Memoirs except for one tribe mentioned in the following context:

"The Henady Arabs are survivors of a strong tribe which was headed by Akil Agha" (63)

There is also indirect general information from sheet II (topography):

"The hills are only very sparingly cultivated, and a good deal of the land is given to Arab tribes, who feed their flock amongst the bush wood and have become famous for their butter and milk (64)

Moreover, the Memoirs mentioned 15 bedouin tribes in the Shafa 'Amr vicinity and the Marj Ibn 'Amir (Tables 2.4 & 2.4.1) but these tribes were not marked on the survey maps of Western Palestine (1880).

Table 2.4 List of Bedouin Tribes Enumerated by the Memoirs (1881-83)

<u>Tribe</u>	
1. Arab el Ghareifat	200
2. Arab es Sa'ideh	120
3. Arab el Kābiyeh	200
<hr/>	
Total	570

Source : C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrology and Archaeology, The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1881-83 Vol.II, p.11.

This information was followed by a note stating that they cultivated about 50 feddans of land.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Such information was cited under Section C; where the following tribes were also mentioned as camping in Shafa Amr vicinity and Marj Ibn 'Amir.

Table 2.4.1 Tribal groups camping in Shafa 'Amr vicinity and Marj Ibn 'Amir (1881-83)

1. Arab el Tuwal	7. Beni Gowa (or Benihah)
2. Arab el Hujeirat	8. 'Awadin
3. Arab el Mureisat	9. Shageirat
4. Arab Zebeidat	10. Beni Saïdan
5. Arab Hul f	11. 'Alakineh
6. Tawat-hah	12. Nagnagnhiyeh

Source : Conder and Kitchener, (1881-83), op.cit., Vol.I, p.355, vol.II, pp. 73-74.

The lack of information in the Memoirs upon Galilee bedouin can be seen as a gap within the work of the P.E.F. The whole settled population were enumerated and only those tribes who were apparently

semi-sedentary and engaged partly in agriculture were considered part of Galilee's inhabitants. Nevertheless, the contribution of the memoirs is valuable for two reasons :

1. The Memoirs provide information on the fifteen tribes in the Memoirs (which the maps do not show) and the 31 tribes marked on the map. Thus it is possible to trace 46 bedouin tribes in Galilee during the years 1880-83.

2. The enumeration of the three tribes is evidence of the small size of the Galilee bedouin tribes.

A rough estimate of the total Galilee bedouin population can be attempted by taking 190 (the average size of the three tribes in Table 2.4) as an indicator of the average size of each of the 46 Galilee tribes, giving a total of 8,740 for 1880-83.

2.5.4 G. Schumacher 1886

In 1886 the Turkish government decided to improve its road system in parts of Palestine. To finance this enterprise, an obligatory labour contribution of four days per year was imposed upon each male of working-age (16 to 60 years). To procure this labour, each district first had to canvass its working-age male population. G.Shumacher undertook this task for the Acre district (Liwa 'Akka) a region covering Upper Galilee and the region across to Haifa on the Mediterranean coast. The Schumacher census (1886) not only counted the working-age males, but women, children and the aged, as well. The total number of villages and towns in Acre district was found to be 186 with a total population of 152,965. Ten of the 186 villages and towns were identified as bedouin (Table 2.5) Their population amounted to 3,950 (Table 2.5) (66)

statistics failed to distinguish between bedouin and non-bedouin in the same village in the cases of Kiryet (village) A'deisiyeh and Kiryet (village) ed Delhamiyeh.

4. Other tribes mentioned by travellers and marked on the map of Western Palestine (1880) are absent from Schumacher's list.

Apparently Schumacher counted only the groups which were semi-sedentary like the Ghawarneh and those groups whose encampments were permanently found in close vicinity of the villages.

In reducing the tribal groups by excluding those mentioned in reasons 2 and 3, and also excluding the tribe Skhur e'l Ghor which did not belong to Galilee permanently. Schumacher's lists contributed the number of 1520 souls as Galilee bedouin population in 1886.

2.5.5 Salname-i Wilayet-i Suriye, (1884)

From the last two decades of the 19th century the Ottoman government published the "Salname" (Yearbook) of several Turkish Provinces (Vilayets) in the form of government publications including the "Salname" of the vilayets of Syria and Beirut. These "Salnames" give lists of the villages grouped according to administrative divisions. The first being for the year 1880/81.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Syria's vilayet salname of the year 1884 provides a list of nomadic tribes organized under each of the five liwas of Syria's Vilayet. The "salname" gives the number of tents of each tribe in some liwas and the total number of bedouin souls to each of the five liwas, using the coefficient of 6 persons per one tent.

For 'Akka liwa 22 tribes with a total population of 4,000 souls have been mentioned (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 Estimates of Galilee Bedouin Tribes in 1884

District	Tribal Name	Souls
Safad	Luhaib	--
	Qidairyyah	--
	Sawāid	--
	Kharānbah	--
	Mawāsi	--
	Ṣuwailat	--
	Akrād	--
	Zanghariyyah	--
	Suwaitāt	--
	Samakiyyah	--
	Shāar	--
	Khubar	--
Tiberias	Wuhaib	--
	Ṣubaiḥ	--
	Dalāyikah	--
	Shabshosh	--
	Skhur el Ghor	--
Shafa 'Amr	Hanadī	--
	Hawarah	--
	Ḥujairat	--
	Turkmān	--
	Ghuraifāt	--
Total		4,000

Source : Turkey, Sālnāmes, Sālnāme-i wilāyet-i Sūrīye, No.17, 1302 H. (1884), pp.229-230.

The "Salnames" information is the most valuable one. Through extrapolation it will be possible to achieve a reasonable estimate of Galilee bedouin population. However, the Syrian Salname (1884) did not include the eight bedouin tribes marked in the map of Western Palestine (1880), while their tribal territories are found within the northern part of Galilee which administratively belongs to Beirut.

In summing up the statistical data above it is possible to construct Table 2.7 so as to provide some aspects of sizes of Galilee bedouin tribes through the 19th century literature. Despite the fact that all these data are incomplete it is reasonable to conclude that the two estimates of 4,000 and 8,740 for the "Salname" (1884) and the P.E.F. (1880-83) respectively could be taken as low and high estimates for the Galilee bedouin total population in the years 1880-1884. While Galilee total population was estimated in 1880 as 139,200 ⁽⁶⁸⁾. Thus the bedouin tribes formed less than 5 per cent of the whole region's population.

Table 2.7 Estimate of Bedouin Population in Galilee 1812-1886

Year	Tribe's number	Population	Source
1812	14	>2000 horsemen	Jaubert
1880/83	46	570 souls (numbered) 8,740 (estimate)	P.E.F.
1884	22	4,000 (estimate)	Salname
1886	10	1,520 (estimate)	Schumacher

2.6 Conclusion

There are obvious gaps in the 19th century literature concerning the nomadic population in Palestine, and particularly that of Galilee. It was necessary to assess this literature and to examine the amount of the knowledge about the bedouin groups in the period in question, in order to form any future generalization. The names of the tribal groups and their localities, together with the circumstances of groups mentioned is a most vital pre-condition for researching the present topic.

Notes and References

- (1) Y. Ben Arie, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, The Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1979, p.12
- (2) Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, London, 1884-1897, 32 Vols.
- (3) C.R. Conder, Palestine, George Philip & Son, London, 1889, p.11.
- (4) R.Röhrich, Bibliotheca Geographica Palestina, Berlin, 1890.
- (5) Ben Arie, op.cit., pp.23-249.
- (6) S. Abu 'Aiz ed-din, Ibrahim Pasha in Syria, Beirut, 1929, pp.131-132, (in Arabic).
- Y. Karmon, Israel : a regional geography, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., London, 1971, p.53.
- (7) Two valuable studies appeared during the second half of the Nineteenth century; (i) S. Merrill, Galilee in the time of Christ, (3rd ed.), The Religious Tract Society, Oxford, 1891. Merrill who visited Palestine in 1874 related his study to the time of Christ. (ii) L.Oliphant, Haifa or a Life in Modern Palestine, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1887. Originally this book formed a series of letters on various subjects from Galilee and modern Palestine, compiled by C.A. Dana.
- (8) C. Ritter, Vergleichende Erkunde der Sinai - Halbinsel von Palastina u. Syrien, Berlin 1848-55. 14 Vols.
- (9) One of those who developed a geographical thematic subject was H.B. Tristram, Natural History of the Bible, (2nd ed.) Society for promoting Christian knowledge, London, 1868, The Fauna and Flora of Palestine, London, 1884.
- (10) Van Lennep, Bible Land and Customs, John Murray, London, 1875, vol.II, pp.398-415.
- Conder, C.R. Tent Work in Palestine, Richard Bently & Son, London, 1879, Vol.II, pp.270-290.
- (11) C.R. Conder (1879), op.cit., p.235.
- (12) F.A. Strauss, Sinai and Golgotha : a Journey in the East, R.A. KiraTdy, London, 1849.
- (13) J. Murray, A Handbook for Syria and Palestine, London, 1868, Vol.J. Preface, p.v.
- (14) The Macmillan Bible Atlas, Carta, Jerusalem, 1968. pp.144-147.

- (15) E.D. Clarke, Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, London, 1812, Vol.II, part 2d, Section 1st.
C.L. Irby and J. Mangles, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land, John Murray, London, 1844.
E. Ali Bey, Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey, London, 1816, Vol.II.
E. Warburton, The Crescent and the Cross, (2nd ed.), Henry Colburn, London 1845, Vol.II.
- (16) H.B. Tristram, The Topography of the Holy Land, Society for promoting Christian knowledge, London, 1872, p.234. According to Tristram "Mount of precipitation" is a half-an-hour south east of Nazareth, a place connected with "special incident of our Lord's life at Nazareth which points to a definite locality, and that is 'the brow of the hill whereon their city was built' "
- (17) Conder (1889), op.cit., pp.96-97;
C.P. Rudolph, Travels in the East, Richard Bentley and Son, London 1884, p.374;
G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, Alexander P. Watt, London, 1890, pp.451-
Useful information upon the battle of Salah ed-din on the 3rd and 4th July 1187 is to be found here.
- (18) J.L.Burckhardt, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822;
J.S.Buckingham, Travels in Palestine through the Countries of Basrah and Galilee, east of the River Jordan, London, 1821
- Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the east of Syria and Palestine, London, 1825
J.L.Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, Petraea, and the Holy Land, William and Robert Chambers, Edinburgh, 1839; R.W. Stewart, The Tent and the Khan : a journey to Sinai and Palestine, Hamilton, Adams and Company, London, 1857; U.J. Seetzen, Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan - Länder, Arabia Petraea und unter-Aegypten. Berlin, 1855, Vol.3.
- (19) E.Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions. John Murray, London, 1867, 3 Vols.
C.W.M. van de Velde, Narrative of A Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1854, 2 Vols.
W.F. Lynch, Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, Richard Bentley, London, 1849.
- (20) Ali Bey, op.cit., Vol.II, p.255.
- (21) Lynch, op.cit., p.417.

- (22) Clarke, op.cit., Vol.II, part 22, p.399.
- (23) W.R. Wilson, Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, (2nd ed.) London, 1827, p.235-236.
- (24) Y-Fu Tuan, Topophilia, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1974, p.63.
- (25) Burckhardt, 1822, op.cit., pp.211-212.
- (26) Robinson, op.cit., Vol.II, p.318.
- (27) R.F. Burton, and C.F.T. Drake, Unexplored Syria, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1872, Vol.II, p.65.
- (28) Robinson, op.cit., pp.118-119.
- (29) Wilson, op.cit., pp.235-236.
- (30) Burton and Drake, op.cit., Vol.I, p.132.
- (31) Warburton, op.cit., vol.II, p.191.
- (32) Murray, op.cit., vol.II, p.407.
- (33) Conder (1889), op.cit., p.94.
- (34) G.A. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, (2nd.ed.), Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1897, p.425.
- (35) C.R. Conder and H.H.Kitchener, The Map Survey of Western Palestine in 26 sheets, London, 1880. Scale 1:63360 (one inch in a mile), sheet II-VI.
- (36) Lynch, op.cit., p.152.
- (37) Stewart, op.cit., p.432.
- (38) Lynch, op.cit., p.152.
- (39) Smith, op.cit., p.415; Merrill, op.cit., pp.17-21.
W.Oehler "Die ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus", Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, (ZDPV) No.23, Leipzig, 1905, pp.1-26.
- (40) Smith, op.cit., p.415.
- (41) Ibid.
- (42) Thomson, W.M., The Land and the Book, T. Nelson and Sons, London, 1886, p.195.
- (43) (i) H.S.Obsorn, A map of Palestine and other parts of Syria, Philadelphia, 1868. Scale 1½ miles to the inch.
(ii) J.Rapkin, Ancient Palestine, London, 1851 Scale 1:1090,000.
(iii) van de Velde, C.W.M., Map of the Holy Land, London, 1858. Scale 1:315.000.

- (44) Van de Velde, op.cit., Vol.I p.287; Tristram (1872), op.cit., pp.232, 240; Thomson, op.cit., p.254.
- (45) Lynch, op.cit., p.154.
- (46) Le Strange, op.cit., p.451.
- (47) Ibid, p.89.
- (48) J. Neil, Pictured Palestine, James Nisbet & Co., London, 1891, p.193.
- (49) V. Guérin, Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine - Galilée, Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1969, vol.VI, pp.342-343 (represented from the edition, Paris, 1880).
- (50) Ben-Arieh, op.cit., p.27; Karmon, op.cit., pp.51 - 52.
- (51) Steetzen, op.cit., Vol.I, p.168. Steetzen's note is translated as follows:
- "I felt that the evening was near - therefore I hurried away from this unsafe refuge and nearly happened to fall into the hands of two Arabs who ambushed me in the dense shrubbery. One hour after sunset I arrived luckily in the small Mohammedan hamlet Madshdil, which is located on the bank of the lake - and where I stayed for the night."
- (52) Ali Bey, op.cit., Vol.II, p.261.
- (53) Buckingham (1821), op.cit., p.102.
- (54) Murray, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.437-438.
- (55) C.A. Grant, The Syrian Desert-Caravan Travel and Exploration, A.C. Black Ltd., London, 1937, p.29.
- (56) C.M. Doughty, Travels in Arabian Deserta, London, 1933.
- (57) L.A. Blunt, Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates, London, 1879, 2 vols.
- A Pilgrimage to Nejd : The Cradle of the Arab Race
London, 1881, 2 Vols.
- (57) G.L. Bell, Amurath to Amurath, London, 1911.
- A. Musil, Arabia Deserta, New York, 1927.
- D. Carruthers, Arabian Adventure : To the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx, London, 1935.
- (58) T.E.Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom : A Triumph, Oxford, 1926.
- Revolt in the Deset, New York, 1927.
- W. Thessiger, Arabian Sands, London, 1959
- The Marsh Arabs, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, England, 1964.

- (59) Conder (1879) op.cit., p.273.
- (60) A Jaubert, "Nomenclature des tribus d'arabes qui campent entre L'Égypte et la Palestine...etc..." dans La Description de l'Égypte, Étar Moderne, Vol.II. (XI), Paris, 1812, pp.249-275.
- (61) Burckhardt, op.cit., p.9.
- (62) C.F.T. Drake, Tyrwhitt Drake's report on May 1874, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, (PEFQST), London, 1875, pp.27-28.
- (63) C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hedrography and Archaeology, The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1881-83, Vol.I, p.335.
- (64) Ibid, p.144.
- (65) Ibid, Vol.I, p.74.
- (66) G. Schumacher, "Population of Liva of 'Akka", PEFQST, London, 1887, pp.169-191.
- (67) W.D. Hütteroth and K.Abdulfattah, Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the late 16th Century Erlanger Geographische Arbiten, Sonderband 5, Erlanger, 1977, p.7.
- (68) V. Schwöbel, "Die Verkehrswege und Ansiedlungen Galiläas in ihrer Abhängigkeit von den natürlichen Bedingungen" ZDPV, vol. XXVII, Leipzig, 1904, Table IV.

CHAPTER THREE

GALILEE NOMADISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine and to define the nature of pastoral nomadism in Galilee during the nineteenth century, arguing that such pastoral nomadism is basically different from the pastoral nomadism of the Arabian desert or the mountain areas of Turkey and Iran. While the latter has been primarily developed as a response to marginal environmental conditions, the former seems to be the product of quite different conditions. Political and economic conditions during the period in question were the prime reasons for the emergence of a kind of nomadic life in Galilee. The discussion in this chapter will consider firstly, the general context of pastoral nomadism in the Middle East and other regions, within which the case of Galilee could be considered and the factors influencing Galilee nomadism in the nineteenth century

3.2 Pastoral Nomadism : Definition

Pastoral nomadism is usually regarded as a response to low annual rainfall. From this perspective pastoral nomadism is, among other definitions, an adaptation to marginal resources. Johnson's (1969) definition of pastoral nomadism as "a livelihood form that is ecologically adjusted at a particular technological level to the utilization of marginal resources,"⁽¹⁾ fits this perspective well. Scarcity of rainfall causes limited pasture and therefore nomads who rely almost entirely upon livestock and their products have to migrate considerable distances with their animals in search of pasture and water. It should be emphasized that such migration is not one of aimless wandering but of regular and systematic migration, influenced chiefly by both physical geographical factors and the distribution of settlements. Within this

rational system of migration pastoral nomads are "not self-sufficient"⁽²⁾ and maintain regular contact with villages and towns for purposes of commercial enterprise.⁽³⁾

Much attention has been paid to the definition of nomadism and pastoral nomadism in the literature. The definitions are usually based upon migration patterns, economic activities or political organization. For example, Fisher (1961) in The Middle East in describing the bedouin indicates that nomadism is "regular movement in search of pasture for animals". He distinguished "true nomadism" from "transhumance", the former being "movement... from one district to another", the latter being "movement... in mountain regions (where) different levels in the same district are occupied successively." True nomadism is, in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in altitude or vertical movement.⁽⁴⁾ Bacon (1954) in "Types of Pastoral Nomadism in central and southeast Asia" bases her detailed definition on "degree of cultivation and permanence of dwelling."

"True" or full nomads are people who dwell the year round in portable dwellings and who practice no agriculture. In this usage sheep-breeders following a restricted orbit in their seasonal migrations may be as much true nomads as camel-or horse-breeders who travel hundreds of miles in the course of their annual migration. "Semi-nomads" plant a few crops at their base camp before moving out on the seasonal migration, but they normally live in portable or temporary dwellings the year round. "Semisedentary" has the connotation of people who dwell in permanent villages during a part of the year, where they plant crops, and move out in tents only during one season of the year. ... transhumance is applied usually to semi-sedentary or seminomadic peoples who move vertically into the mountains during the migratory season. but, the term does not appear to have wide applicability since it brings together two principles which are only accidentally found in association. Verticality in migration appears to be a matter of topography and climate, and may be found in association with any of the several kinds of nomadism - full, seminomadic, and semisedentary." (5)

Patai (1951) in "Nomadism : Middle Eastern and Central Asian" states that "Nomadism... is the mode of existence of peoples who derive their livelihood from tending herds of one or more species of domesticated quadrupeds and who wander to find grazing for their cattle" Semi nomads or sheep - and - goat - nomads according to Patai are distinguished from true nomads who have camels or horses as their main livestock. Transhumance is "a kind of 'vertical' nomadism, as against... horizontal nomadism... The nomads practicing transhumance spend the summer in the mountains and the winter in the lower level of the plateau or in the valleys within the area" (6) Stenning (1960) in "Transhumance, Migratory Drift, Migration : patterns of pastoral Fulani Nomadism" is primarily concerned with functionally different types of movement. Among the Fulani transhumance is "regular seasonal movement of cattle, southward in the dry season in response to shortages of pasture and water, northward in the wet season to avoid tsetse." "Migratory drift" is the "gradual displacement of customary transhumance tracts and orbits, resulting eventually in a completely new orbit." "Migration" is "a dramatic shift to different transhumance orbits without the piecemeal abandoning of pastures which characterizes migratory drift." (7)

Salzman (1967) in "Political Organization of Nomadic Peoples", tried to introduce to the study of nomadism a definition which he claims to be a "general and flexible concept". His suggestion was :

"Nomadism,..., is a way of life at least partially based upon movement of people in response to the needs of their herds and flocks. The way of life of a particular group could be regarded as more or less nomadic than the way of life of other groups to the extent that is "based upon movement...in response to the needs of...herds and flocks." How all of the important factors relevant to "extent" could be systematically weighed and evaluated is not clear; nor is the theoretical value of such a ranking immediately apparent." (8)

Peppelenbosch (1968) has described the elements of nomadism on the Arabian Peninsula, noting that the seasonal and geographical variations of aridity, and the consequent variations in the development of pasture, are the basic causes of pastoral nomadism. He recognizes five elements which constitute true nomadism:

1. It is "a type of non-sedentary animal husbandry determined by the search for pasture"
2. An entire human group accompanies the flocks and herds in their migration.
3. The movement is seasonal.
4. There is an identifiable tribal area (Arabic : dirah; Persian : il-rah) with dependence upon specific wells.
5. The nomads are not self-sufficient, and this is shown in their need for fixed routes, and the fact that summer grazing is often found near a village where their animals and products can be exchanged for agricultural produce, weapons, etc. (9)

Finally, Baer (1964) recognized four categories of nomads and semi-nomads, based mainly on the type of livestock;

- (1) The camel raisers with the longest migrations, moving far from areas of permanent settlement, except in summer months.
- (2) Closer to the settlements are camel raisers who occupy themselves with sheep grazing, and have a tendency to become full sheep-rearers using the camel only for transport.
- (3) Shwaya or sheep rearers; the range of migration is limited, and they are thus subject to the rule of sedentary authorities.

- (4) Baqqara; these are intermediate between nomad and farmer, and build houses, living in tents in spring and summer only.⁽¹⁰⁾

In summing up the previous definitions used by authors it is notable that three variables are common : seasonal movement, type of livestock, and the degree to which additional occupations are practised. It seems that most authors view the idea of semi-nomadism as a stage of transition between the earlier stage of full nomadism and ultimate sedentarization. Although there is no common agreement on the definition of this stage, there are a few scholars who attempt to consider semi nomadism as an independent stage which constitutes some kind of acculturation from both nomadism and sedentary habits. Among those scholars who regarded semi-nomads as a separate category is Clarke (1959), "Semi-nomadism is not a necessary transitional phase between nomadism and agriculture; it is a distinct mode of life,⁽¹¹⁾ and Pulyarkin (1972), "The semi nomadic way of life should not be viewed simply as an intermediate stage in the process of degradation of the nomad economy (or in the process of conversion from a settled to a nomadic way of life). There are historical examples of the prolonged existence of the semi nomadic economy,... especially in areas with dissected landforms where crop growing is conveniently combined with stockherding. This simultaneous reliance on the two basic activities of agricultural production gives the semi nomadic economy the character of a self-contained natural economy system that differs significantly from nomadic economy."⁽¹²⁾

For the purpose of this thesis the author advocates the idea of regarding semi nomadism as an "independent stage", since this interpretation is most applicable to the Galilee case.

PRECIPITATION DISTRIBUTION IN GALILEE AND THE ADJACENT REGIONS

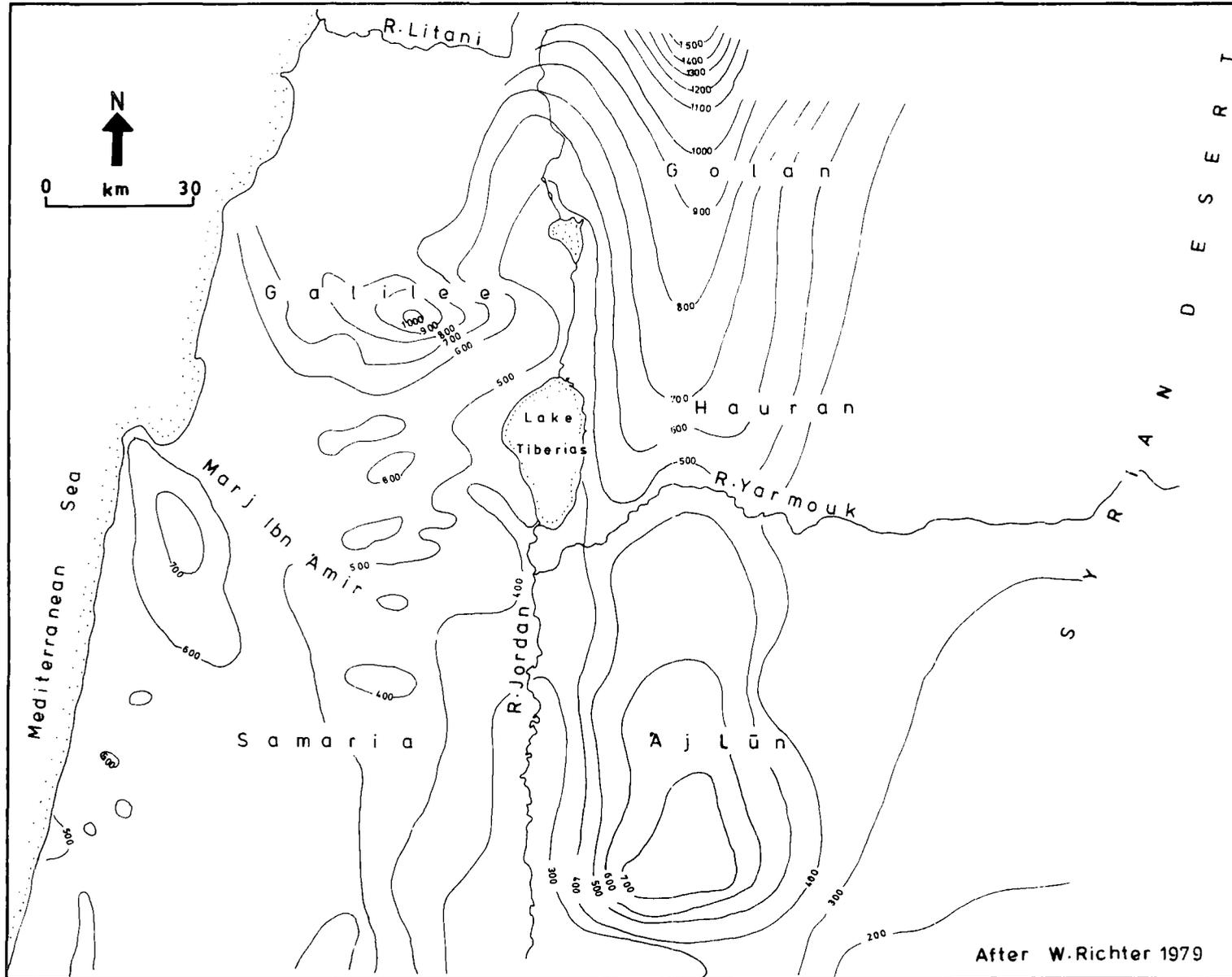


FIG 3.1

3.3 The Character of Galilee Nomadism

Galilee's favourable climate and its relatively small inhabited area did not encourage pure nomadism. The area is contained between the Jordan Valley in the east and the Mediterranean coast in the west, approximately 40-60 km. wide and 70-80 km. long from the Plain of Esdraelon in the south to the Litani river in the north. According to the PEF Memoirs (1881-83) this area measures about 4,000 km² and contained 321 villages and 8 towns with a total population of 139,200 persons in the 1880's. (13) The region can be divided into three zones according to the amount of precipitation it receives, due to its topography (Fig.3.1). The coastal plain in the west which is below 300 metres receives over 600 mm. precipitation. The western uplands and the upper Galilee mountains are between 300 metres to 600 metres. The highest point is the Mount Jarmaq (Merom) (1,206 metres). This zone is considered a semi-humid area with precipitation between 600 mm. and 1,000 mm. The third zone is the Jordan rift valley, a narrow semi-arid extension of the desert zone in the south. This zone ranges from 200 metres above sea-level to 200 metres below, and receives the lowest amount of precipitation, some 400 mm. - 500 mm. on average. However, east of the Jordan valley, the high land rim of the Golan on the Hauran forms a fourth semi-humid area, closely followed by the wide semi-arid to arid expanses of the desert, the outer fringes of the vast deserts of Syria and Arabia.

In discussing nomadism in such favourable conditions as those in Galilee, there are five preliminary considerations :

(1) In arid and semi-arid zones, pasture land is limited and therefore nomads have to migrate considerable distances with their animals. In the Galilean case there is more than 600 mm. annual average rainfall and groundwater sources are plentiful. Thus there is no real necessity for migration.

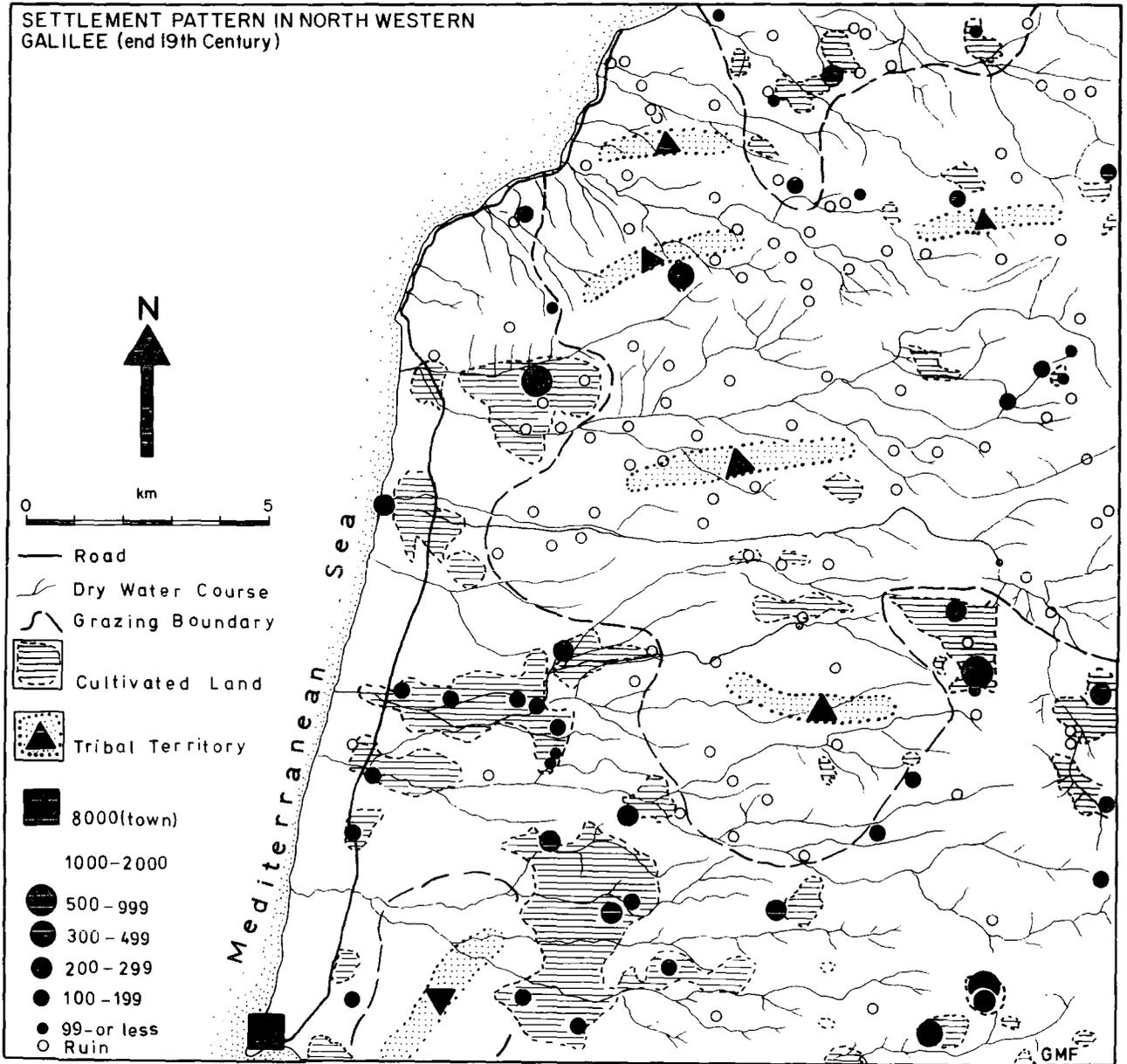


FIG 3.2

(2) Pastoral nomads are not self-sufficient and normally need to migrate long distances in order to reach villages, towns and markets for purposes of commercial exchange. Since Galilee is one of the more densely inhabited regions in Palestine, distances between its settlements do not exceed more than an average of 5 km. The availability of water and pasture and the accessibility of markets mean that pure nomadism is therefore unlikely to exist in Galilee.

(3) Because of the necessity for constant movement, the traditional material culture of true bedouins may be described as poor.⁽¹⁴⁾ The chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is his tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. Since the migration ranges of Galilee bedouin are not extensive, there is a tendency to become attached to immovable property such as wells, ruins, caves, and even stone buildings.

To these three considerations may be added two features concerning the Galilee tribes themselves:

(4) Galilee bedouin tribes are characteristically small. Their tribal territories (dirah) are widely dispersed between the existing Galilee settlement pattern, with an approximate size of 3-8 km long and 2-3 km. wide, assuming that the printing of the tribal name in the Survey of Western Palestine maps of 1880 covered the whole tribal territory (Fig.3.2). Since they are small tribes and can be assumed to have small numbers of live-stock they are unlikely to affect the area's productive capacity by over-grazing. Tribal groups usually chose to camp in empty spaces between settlements or chose areas with the lowest population densities. The possibility of choice was related to the relatively high amount of rainfall in which only a small area for feeding livestock is necessary.

Table 3.1 shows the clear relationship between the amount of rainfall and the size of area required to feed livestock.

Table 3.1 Area required to feed livestock unit (one livestock unit = 1 cow or 7 sheep)

Annual rainfall (millimetres)	Number of hectares per livestock unit
50 - 200	50 or more
200 - 400	10 - 15
400 - 600	6 - 12

Source : H.Golabian, An Analysis of the Underdeveloped Rural and Nomadic areas of Iran (4:77), the Royal Institute of Technology, School of Architecture, Department of Regional Planning, Stockholm 1977, p.233.

(5) The second additional feature is that of the ethnic composition of the tribes. Besides the Arabs there are the seven Turkṡmān tribes (of Turkish origin) camped in the plain of Marj Ibn 'Amir. The Ghawarnah, a semi settled group, camp close to swampy marshes in both Acre and Hula plains. There are two Kurdish tribes, the Ghaṡāmah and the Baqqārah, who as the name indicates raise sheep and cows. One tribe (the Husainiyyah) from Maghrib cultivate land in the Hula plain. In south western Galilee there is the Hanadi Tribe originally Egyptian soldiers brought to Palestine during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha 1831-40, and one tribe (ṡuwailāt) of gypsy origin. Furthermore there are three new tribes who established themselves in the south western part of Galilee during the first two decades of the twentieth century, these tribes were the 'Imariyah and the Sadiyyah, of fellaheen (non bedouin) origin and the tribe of Ḥilf which is a mixture of both fellaheen and bedouin families who were banded into a tribe called the Hilf (or "the allies" in Arabic).

It should be emphasized that none of these groups were originally

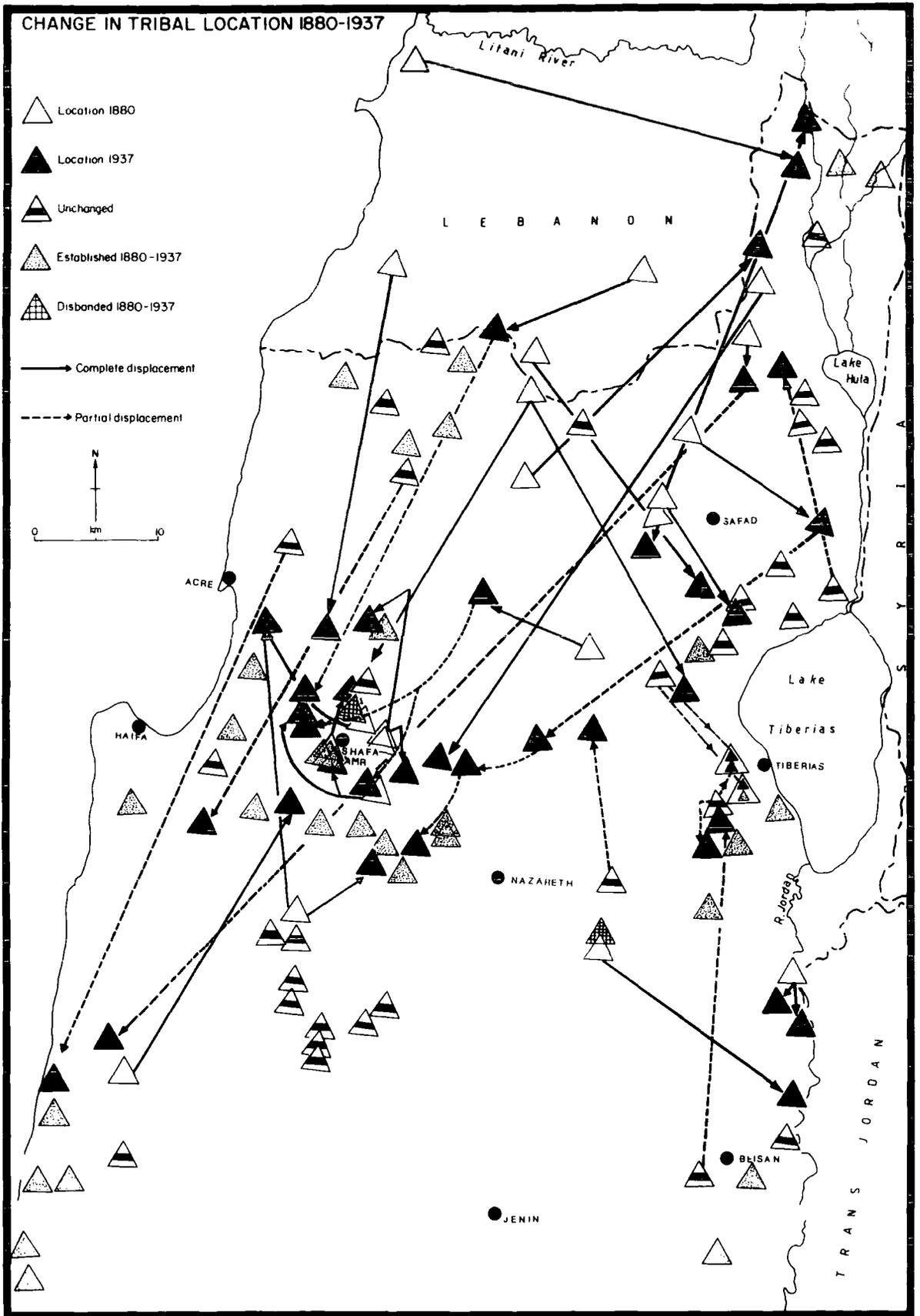


FIG 3.3

nomadic, but they probably form half of the bedouin population in Galilee. Each group tends to concentrate in distinctive areas of Galilee and to specialise in certain economic activities apart from the raising of livestock. With these characteristics in mind, it is very difficult to regard the case of Galilee nomadism as resembling other Arid Zone nomadism. Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the distinctive nature of Galilee nomadism is the movement of tribes between about 1880 and 1937. Superficially these appear to be conventional nomadic long-term migrations (Fig. 3.3). Research reveals, however, that few of the changes in tribal location were the results of traditional tribal movement in response to the environment. Three such cases are considered in the following paragraphs.

3.3.1 Arab Luhaib

Burckhardt's (1831) observation of the Luhaib tribe in the first decade of the 19th century (1810) showed that this tribe practiced transhumance, their summer pasture being found in the Upper Galilee mountain and the winter grazing closer to the Hula lake.

"Arab el Hāib, a small tribe who in winter pasture their cattle near the sea-shore between Jebail and Tartous. Some families of the Hāib remain up in the mountains even during the winter months, their tents being pitched near the villages of Akoura or Temerin. In summer time the Hāib ascend Mount Libanas, where I found them encamped, with their cattle in September, 1810, on the Ardh Lahlouh between Besherray and Akoura, near the highest summits of the mountains: besides camel, sheep, goats, they breed cows, pay tribute to Tripoly, and are reputed to be great thieves." (15)

It is not clear in Burckhardt's account whether Luhaib's transhumance was associated directly with the necessity for pasture.

However, according to elders of the Luhaib, they practiced this movement until the middle of the 20th century, chiefly for comfort. During summer, the shores of Hula lake reach some 40⁰C and mosquitoes

abound. The bedouin ascend to the mountain summits 20 kms. to the west both to avoid the heat of the Jordan Valley and to enjoy the breeze of the Mediterranean wind. Similarly, in winter, the bedouin avoids the coldness of the mountain summits and descends to a lower altitude in the Jordan Valley where it is warmer. (16)

3.3.2 Arab Turkmān

Another example of "nomadism" was recorded by the PEF Memoirs (1881) concerning the Turkmān tribes

"The plain of Sharon and the lower slopes east of it are in winter and spring covered with flocks and herds of Turcomans, who in summer and autumn inhabit the Merj Ibn 'Amir, or the plain of Esdraelon. They cultivate the soil and pay tithes or 'Ashr. They are divided into seven tribes :

1. Tawat-hah
2. Beni Gowa (or Benihah)
3. 'Awadin
4. Shageirāt
5. Beni Sa'idan)
6. 'Alakineh) under one sheikh
7. Naghnaghiyeh "

"... The Turcomans are a distinct race, and in personal appearance approach most to the Kurds; few of them now speak their native language, but only Arabic. Their eastern camps are on the edge of the hills near Lejjun and Kireh. In the spring of 1873 they were found in the plain of Sharon, west of Kannir, as far as the Zerka river." (17)

The seasonal change of camping ground among the Turkmān was strongly associated with the fact of practising some agricultural activities during the summer in the plain of Marj Ibn 'Amir rather than for the purpose of grazing. Moreover, their linear migration of a distance of less than 10 km. from the south eastern slopes of Mount Carmel to its south western slopes, associated with the autumn and the spring seasons was probably influenced by bedouin traditions in choosing the encampment location during the cold and the windy seasons. Since the south eastern slopes of Mount Carmel had the advantage of facing the sunrise from the east, of providing protection from winds, and of being in the mountain

rain-shadow, they preferred to locate their camps in this locality during autumn and winter.

3.3.3 Arab Luhaib Fālahāt

The author is also familiar with an example from his own tribal group, the Luhaib Fālahāt whose permanent camps were formerly found in the middle of the southern side of the Sahl al Battuf plain, at the northern foot of Mount Turan, in Lower Galilee. The Luhaib Fālahāt changed their camps once every four years over almost a period of three decades, before they settled (circa 1920-1950). They changed their location by removing their tents and flocks from the southern sides of the Sahl al Battuf into its northern side, once in four years, while camping in the latter side only in the autumn and the winter season. The reason for this behaviour is associated with the occurrence of a common animal disease every four years, known as the "warwār", or merops. As bedouin believe that strong sunshine is required for animals to fight this disease, the Luhaib Fālahāt used to cross the Sahl al Battuf, a distance of 3-4 km. in order to face the sun-rays which starts 1-2 hours earlier than in their permanent camp on the south side of the plain.

In summing up tribal migration and the changing location of camps in Galilee between the years (1880-1937) one finds that more than half the tribes did not change their camping place for a period of at least half a century (Table 3.2) and there is evidence from travellers who mentioned that some of these tribes were also in the same place half a century earlier.

Table 3.2 Change in Tribal Location in Northern Palestine 1880-1937

Description ,	Numbered tribal groups
Unchanged	31
Complete displacement	26
Partial displacement	16
Established	30
Disbanded	2

Source : Calculated from Figure 3.3

However, the migration of the tribes appearing on the map (Fig.3.3) was by

complete or partial displacement. It could reasonably be categorized as a pattern of "migratory drift", as Stenning (1960) has suggested for the Fulani nomadism "gradual displacement of customary transhumance tracks and orbits, resulting in a completely new orbit." (18)

3.4 Political and Economic Factors Influencing Nomadism in Galilee

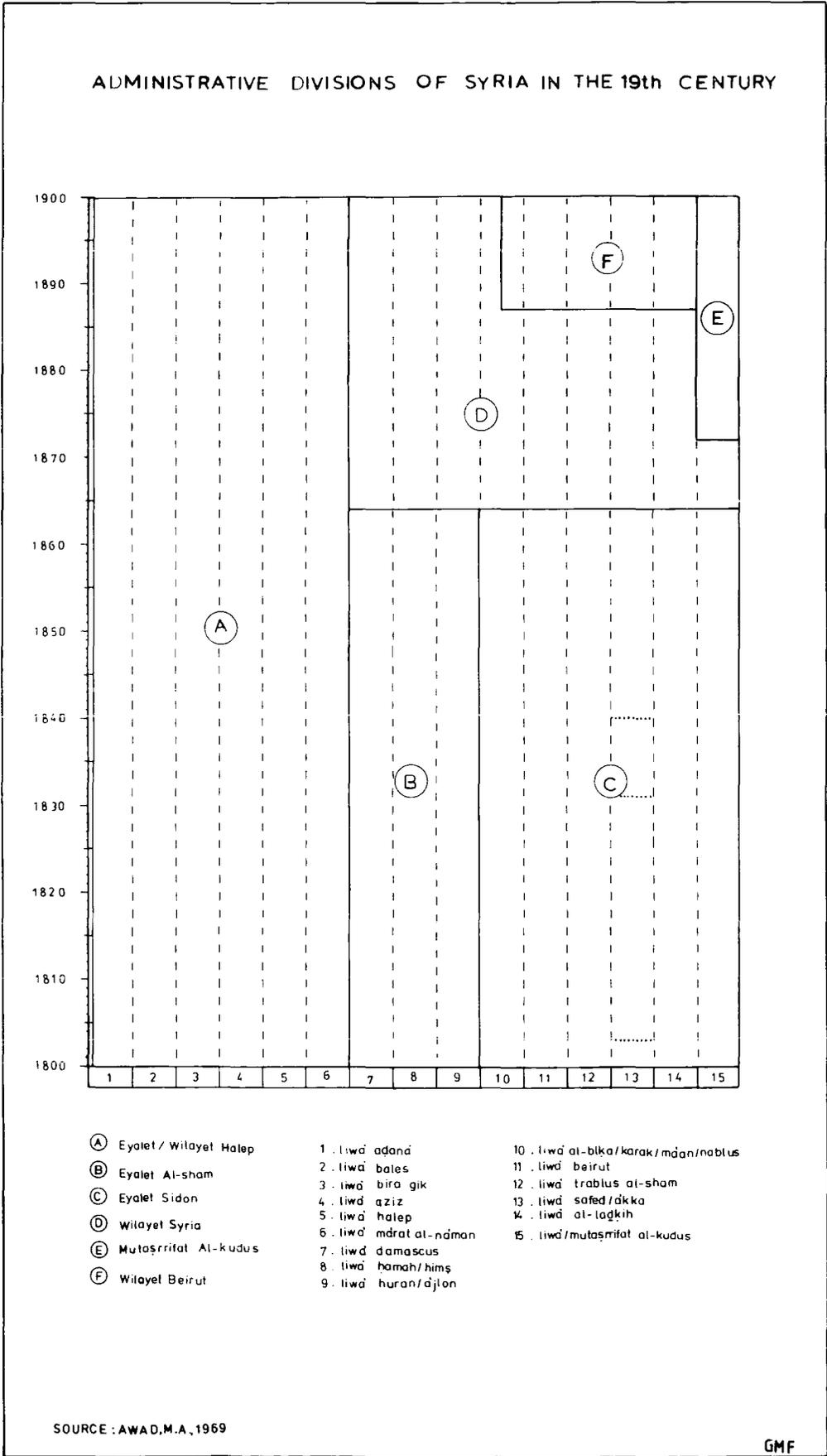
"At the beginning of the 19th Century Palestine was but a derelict province of the decaying Ottoman Empire. The sublime porte only showed interest in it because of the holy places and the meagre revenue extorted from the wretched inhabitants. The country was badly governed, having no political importance of its own; its economy was primitive; the sparse, ethnically mixed population subsisted on a dismally low standard; the few towns were small and miserable; the roads few and neglected. In short, Palestine was but a sad backwater of a crumbling empire - a far cry from the fertile, thriving land it had been in ancient times." (19)

There is a direct relationship between economic and political conditions and the existence of nomadism in Galilee. Both the weakness of central government and the absence of economic development in the region seem to have played a major role in the emergence and the survival of nomadism in Galilee during the four hundred years of Ottoman rule in Palestine (1516-1916). Nomadism is generally favoured by unstable conditions, but since these conditions changed, and the country was ruled effectively, Galilee's potentially fertile soil began to be fully exploited. It is inevitable that pastoral land will decrease and rapid spontaneous sedentarization will follow. Both economic and political aspects of the region will be considered.

3.4.1 Political Conditions

Galilee was not a separate political unit during the nineteenth century.⁽²⁰⁾ It was attached to one of the three administrative divisions of Syria as a peripheral province. Therefore, any changes occurring in Syria had their repercussions on Galilee. It is thus only possible to understand the political status of Galilee with reference to Syria (which comprised three of the twenty seven provinces of the Ottoman

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF SYRIA IN THE 19th CENTURY



SOURCE : AWAD, M.A., 1969

GMF

FIG 3.4

Empire), and its historical-political development through the 19th Century. In the 19th Century Galilee was attached at various times to three different Syrian provinces : Sidon, Syria and Beirut, as shown in Figure 3.4 where Liwa Safad, subsequently called Liwa Akka corresponds roughly with Galilee. From 1804 to 1864 Galilee was considered as part of the eyalet Sidon and Sidon City was the residential seat of the pasha who was subject to the Wali of Damascus. The pasha's main task was to collect taxes from the people of his eyalet, and to submit a list of conscripts to the military. In practice the nature of the administrative system prevented the pashas from maintaining proper security and reducing conflicts among the various religious groups of the country.⁽²¹⁾

The most fundamental change in this period was the Egyptian conquest of Palestine and Syria, in the years 1831-1840 by Ibrahim pasha who replaced the existing Ottoman administrative divisions. He placed Sub-Governors (Mutesellims) in the coastal towns and ruled the country from Damascus with a certain degree of effectiveness.⁽²²⁾ When the Ottomans returned to rule in 1840, they re-established the traditional pre-1831 divisions, with slight administrative changes within the eyalet.⁽²³⁾

From 1864 to 1887, fundamental changes occurred in the whole of the Ottoman Empire following a law passed on the 8th of November, 1864 which had been worked out in consultation between Foad pasha and Medhat pasha. The twenty-seven Ottoman eyalets were redivided into thirty vilayets and a revised hierarchy of provinces and sub-divisions was established.⁽²⁴⁾ The name of the reorganised province was changed from eyalet to vilayet, an older term for "region" or "native county" that had sometimes been applied to provinces. Each vilayet was subdivided into a number of liwas (sometimes also called "Sanjaks"; a subdivision of the old eyalet), each Sanjak into Qadha, and each

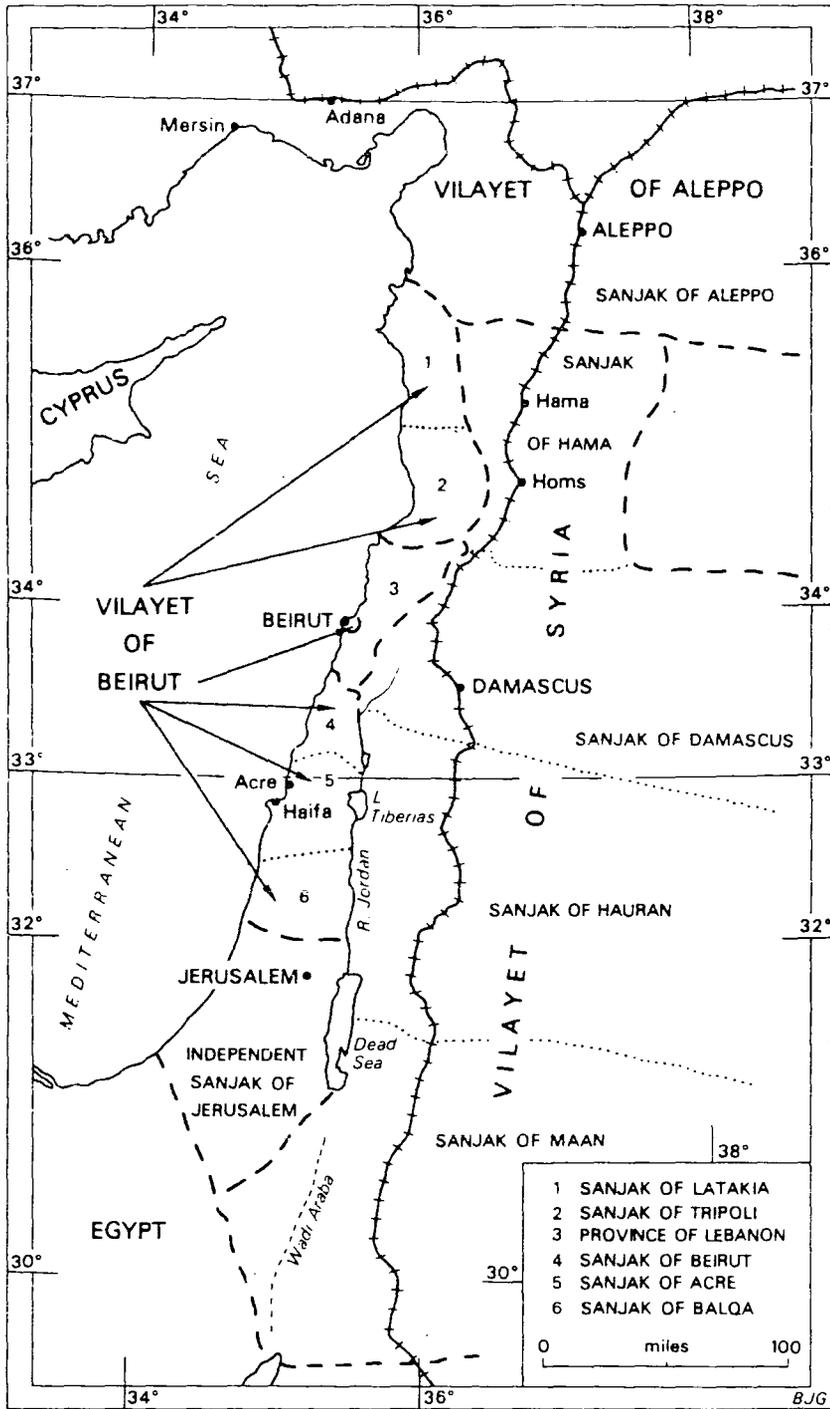


FIG 3.5

Ottoman administrative divisions in the Levant 1887-1914

From E. Kedourie (1976) Page 81

Qadha into Qariyes (either communes or town quarters with at least 50 houses) and Nahiyes (groups of rural hamlets). Although the law was somewhat vague as to the exact relationship of the Qariye and Nahiye to the higher division, it represented, as a whole, a more integrated hierarchy than had hitherto existed, stretching from the highest three divisions - Wali, Mutasarrif (or pasha), and Qaimacam, in descending order. These officials were appointed by the Sultan; only the headmen (mukhtar) of the communes were elected by the people, with two headmen for each "class of people", which presumably meant religious community or millet.⁽²⁵⁾ This extreme centralising policy brought a period of dramatic changes within the provinces. These changes also applied to Syria. As a result, Sidon eyalet disappeared and Syria was divided administratively into two vilayets : Vilayet Syria and Vilayet Halep. The former comprised parts of Al Gazera and Anatolia.⁽²⁶⁾ The northern part of Palestine was linked into vilayet Syria with Damascus at its centre. From 1887, to 1900, the administrative borders changed considerably with several administrative units separated successively from vilayet Syria, starting with Liwa al-Kudus (Jerusalem) in 1877, eventually achieving an independent Sanjak connected directly with the Porto in Istanbul.⁽²⁷⁾ Vilayet Beirut separated in 1887, and the Ottoman State approved this separation by increasing their administrative presence in Beirut, to reduce the growing western influence on the coast. In addition, since vilayet Syria contained a large part of the country, with Damascus as its centre, Beirut remained in the second rank. It was, therefore, necessary to establish a new vilayet containing five liwas (liwa Beirut, liwa 'Akka, liwa Al-Bika, liwa Tarablus and liwa Al-Ladkia), with Beirut as the centre.⁽²⁸⁾ (Fig. 3.5).

As a result of these changes Galilee in the last two decades of the nineteenth century fell mostly within the administrative unit of

Liwa Akka (Sanjak of Acre in Fig. 3.5). The villages located north of the present political border came under the government of Qaimacam of Sidon, who was himself under the Mutaserrif of Beirut. Baniyas was the only village of Galilee belonging to the Qadha of Kuneiterah, which was ruled by a Qaimacam residing at Kuneiterah, on the east side of Jordan⁽²⁹⁾. Despite the political developments during the 14th century, Galilee remained peripheral to Syria with Damascus at its centre. Moreover, change in the names of the provinces of which Galilee was a part, and fluctuation in their size did not affect the fact that Galilee remained on the provincial periphery. The northern section of the Jordan river formed the natural border of Galilee on the east, it also formed the administrative boundary between vilayet Beirut and Syria (1887-1914). It should be mentioned that the use of the term "border" in the Ottoman regime context was rather artificial. The division was used to enable the pasha to know his ultimate jurisdiction for tax collection and there was never any attempt to control population movement across this border. Bedouin tribes thus established their dirah along both sides of the river and administratively they belonged to two vilayets at the same time. They rarely paid any taxes to the authorities and clearly enjoyed camping in this locality. Since there were no political frontiers in the European sense of the word, and because Galilee lay to the west of the "frontier of permanent settlement",⁽³⁰⁾ (Fig. 3.6) with easy access to it, infiltration by nomadic tribes from the desert in the east was logical and inevitable, particularly during extremes of drought or famine. In this respect two points should be emphasized. First, bedouin infiltration into a settled region should not be seen through what is often interpreted as the "time-honoured beduin custom and sport of the ghazzu or raid,"⁽³¹⁾ which is often a matter of survival and contains a high risk to life. Second, bedouin infiltration into a

settled region may also take the form of "forced migration". Lewis (1955) mentions that several tribal groups were pushed from the Syrian desert by stronger tribes into the inhabited regions:

"many of the tribal groups which suffered at the hands of the Anizeh and other incoming tribes in seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and were pushed into agricultural regions on the edge of the desert, naturally tended by degrees to become agriculturalists. Such were some of the Kurds and Turcomans of the northern Frontier, the Naim and many Mowali sections of the Homs-Hama area, and the Fadl between Mount Hermon and the Sea of Galilee." (32)

Since Galilee bedouin originated east of the Jordan valley, (in Julan or "Golan", Hauran, and the Syrian desert),⁽³³⁾ beyond the frontier, and since they were small groups of various ethnic elements, it is likely they were pushed into Galilee by other stronger groups. Thus they apparently lost their tribal territory and then were forced to migrate into Galilee, to search for a new tribal territory.

The Ottoman Army had insufficient power to control this nomadic infiltration and to protect the local sedentary farmers. Therefore a long term process of depopulation and abandonment of agricultural land developed in the plains adjoining the desert. H.B. Tristram (1876) who travelled in Palestine in the years 1863-4, speaks of utter absence of villages. "There is not", he says, "even a sign of habitation or dwellings in the valleys, even where the valley is wide, fertile, and suitable for cultivation like the valley of Acre or the valley of Jezreel. Nowhere is there any break, not even a single village, in the tame monotony of stagnation, devoid of life and movement". According to Tristram (1876) even a few years before his visit to Palestine the lands of the whole valley of Ghor, i.e. the Jordan valley, were in possession of the fellaheen themselves and were chiefly used for the cultivation of corn, but at the time of his tour they were already under the control of the tribe of Sukhur el Ghor, and all agricultural

work had ceased except on a few plots of land which were left to be tilled by the slaves of the tribe.⁽³⁴⁾ Earlier travellers reports give a similar impression. Volney (1825) expressed this as follows: "Une dévastation qui donne à cette partie (Judée) un aspect plus misérable qu'au reste de la Syrie" ⁽³⁵⁾ and again, he says that this region, near to the desert convenient for riders, was open to bedouin to robbery and plunder "est une des plus dévastées de la Syrie..." ⁽³⁶⁾ Murray's (1868) description is even stronger "One would imagine, in traversing Syria... that the whole country had recently been shaken to its centre by an earthquake, there are so many broken bridges, ruinous mosques and roofless caravanseries. It is emphatically a land of ruins and ruins are increasing in number every year..." ⁽³⁷⁾ The Turkish authorities not only failed to protect the local sedentary agriculture but were forced to accept, de facto that control was left to the bedouin who would protect the fellahen agricultural areas in return for the latter paying them tributes. This tribute or protection tax called the "khuwa", was paid regularly to the bedouin tribes which dwelt in the neighbourhood, but more distant tribes which rarely came into the country also exacted the "khuwa".⁽³⁸⁾ In general, until the middle of the 19th Century the Turkish authorities had operated throughout their rule a policy of "Divide and rule", or, as described by Consul Finn "Divide et Impera". ⁽³⁹⁾ Thus the Turkish regime facilitated the development of nomadism in Galilee by permitting the penetration of tribal groups into the inhabited areas. This created a sufficient reserve of pastoral land to retain these groups in Galilee. Eventually they became permanently attached to specific areas and they became legal owners of such areas after the issuing of the 1858 Land Code. However, during the second half of the 19th century, and particularly during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908), the Central Government exercised more effective control, followed by some improvement in both general security

and economic conditions. During this period Palestine was also subjected to strong foreign political influences, bringing in some new technological advances and modernization. This modernization eventually had an impact on the sedentarization of the semi nomadic groups of Galilee.

3.4.2 Economic Conditions

Palestine's economic condition was described by most travellers and writers in the first half of the 19th century as being primitive and stagnant. Agriculture was the predominant branch of the economy but almost all production was for home consumption, at a generally low level.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Shubert (1837), describing the mountain of Judea, reported that because of the insecurity of property, people were not eager to develop agriculture and preferred other occupations. These were also taxed, of course, but there was less danger of plunder by bedouin or Turks.⁽⁴¹⁾ Volney (1825) states that merchants and artisans were in less danger from the authorities and could escape more easily.⁽⁴²⁾ Volney also stated that the inhabitants were not interested in repairing their roads which would only mean easier access for government and army officials :

"mais les chemins dans les montagnes sont très pénibles, parceque les habitants, loin de les adoucir, les rendent scabreux, afin, disent-ils, d'ôter aux Turks l'envie d'y amener leur cavalerie." (43)

Traveller authors' descriptions of the country's economic condition help one to understand the continued existence of semi-nomadism in Galilee without significant transition to sedentary life during the whole of the 19th century. It also explains why the local peasantry remained confined in their small mountain villages during the same period. The following three joint reasons will explain this phenomenon in the economic context of Galilee.

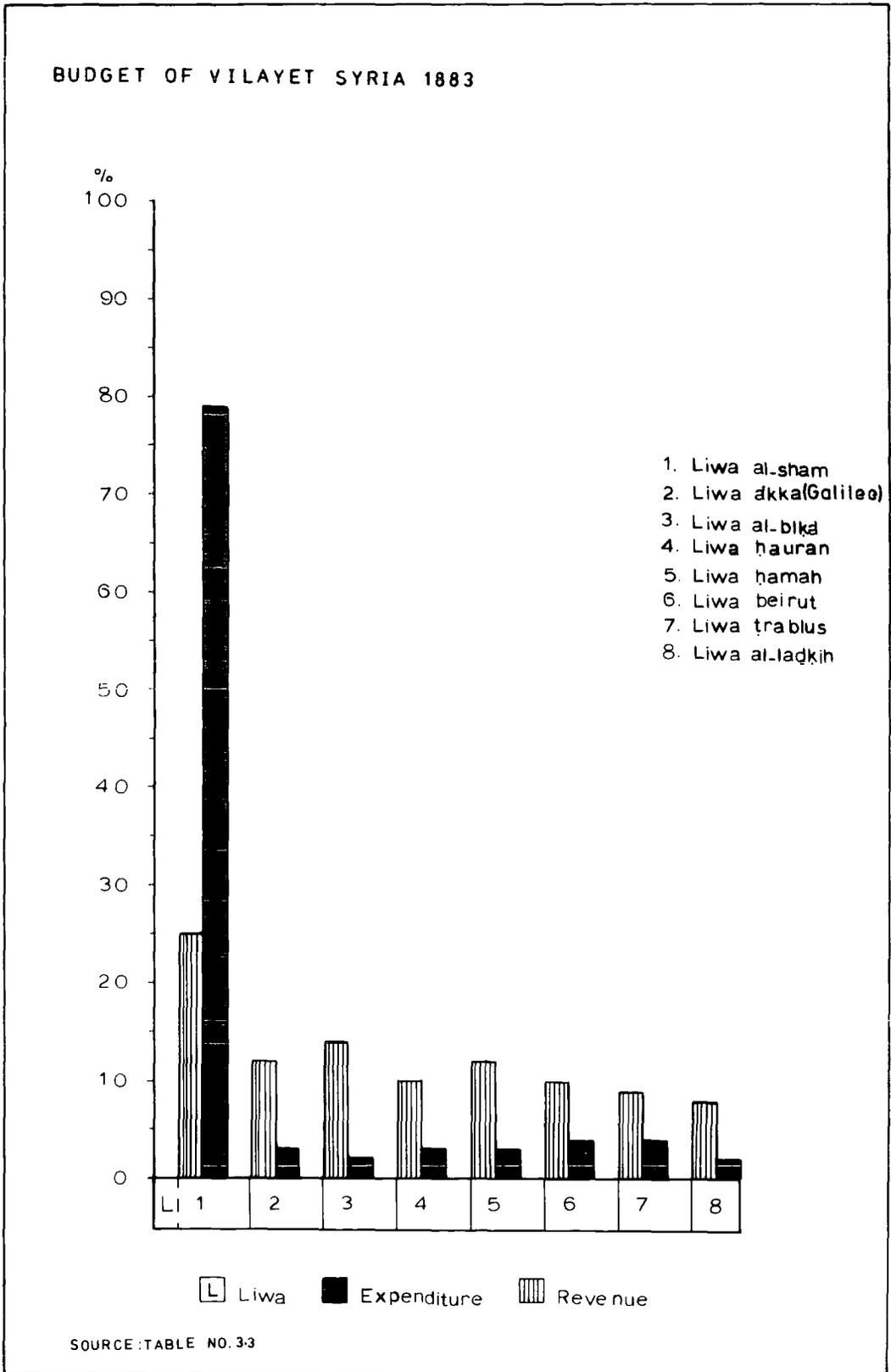


FIG 3.7

3.4.2.1 Central Authority : There was no government plan to develop the region in a manner that would benefit its inhabitants. The lack of government investment and innovation led the local inhabitants to continue their own traditional occupations and methods, as for several centuries. Moreover, due to the absence of employment opportunities and alternative economic incentives, the local inhabitants' subsistence economy remained. The fellaheen strictly oriented their efforts towards agriculture and the small bedouin groups who had penetrated within the existing rural settlement remained, raising livestock, and some groups imitated their neighbouring fellaheen by practicing some supplementary agricultural activities. Burckhardt (1822) describe this phenomenon as "Bedouin Agriculture" ⁽⁴⁴⁾ in the first decade of the 19th Century. Table 3.3 and Figure 3.7 offer useful evidence of the lack of government investment for development, according to the ratio of expenditure and revenue.

Table 3.3 Budget of the Syria vilayet (1883)

Liwa	Revenue (krosh)	Percent	Expenditure (krosh)	Percent
Al-sham (Damascus)	15,244,127	25	20,572,826	79
'Akka	7,555,472	12	828,702	3
Al-Blka	8,282,557	14	567,844	2
Hauran	6,147,840	10	662,795	3
Hama	7,579,467	12	756,414	3
Beirut	6,042,699	10	1,100,644	4
Trablus	5,154,146	9	894,016	4
Al-ladkih	4,855,681	8	579,542	2
Total	60,861,984	100	25,962,783	100

Source : modified from, A.M. 'Āwāq, The Ottoman Administration in Syria Vilayet 1864-1914, Dar al Ma'arif fi Maser, Cairo, 1969, p.217 (in Arabic)

Liwa Akka in Figure 3.7 represents Galilee and can be compared with the other seven liwas comprising the Syria Vilayet. The first impression from the diagram (Fig.3.7) and Table 3.3 is that that revenue is twice the level of expenditure. This is a consequence of the lack of development of infrastructure and the small number of administrative staff in the various liwas, rather than the large amount of revenue. In contrast, Liwa al-Sham (or Liwa Damascus) is the centre of Syria Vilayet, the residential seat of the Wali, and the location of a high concentration of administrative staff and military man power, has an expenditure three times its revenue. Liwa al-Sham accounts for 79% of the total provincial expenditure and the other seven Liwa together account for only 21% despite the fact that they contribute 75% of the total revenue.

It is concluded that Liwa al-Sham whose revenue is more than 25% of the total for the province utilized almost 80%. This fact is explained by its status as the centre of the vilayet, while the liwa Akka (comprising the Galilee region) as with the other liwas, was treated as a neglected periphery.

3.4.2.2 The Private Development

The responsibility for developing the region's potential economy was given by the Turkish government to 'individuals', while these individuals were able to pay regular taxes to the government. As in many other examples of feudal economy, the landlords main interest was to increase their revenue. They oriented the development of some of the land to the exclusive needs of outside European markets while the latter provided good capital. Little attention was given to direct the economy into inward consumption. This was reflected among other consequences, in the Palestine land tenure, where a large landed property fell in the hands of individuals. For example, the whole eastern part of Marj Ibn 'Amir, including nearly all the villages extending from the foot of the Nazareth hills to the

sea, was owned in 1872 by a single family, the Sursock family, residents of Beirut.⁴⁵⁾ The local fellaheen were the main manpower to cultivate the land either as tenants or Haratheen (hired workers). The fellah's economic condition remained at a low level while he usually had to pay his 'trouble' debt to his landlord. Strickland (1930) clearly indicates this notion in discussing the causes of the economic stagnation of the fellah in the excessive rate of interest. "His trouble is his debt; so long as a small cultivator sees the burden of his debt to be so great and the rate of accruing interest so high, that not only the present produce of his fields but even the increased amount of produce which he may hope to secure by minor agricultural improvement are insufficient to pay off his creditors, he will make no sincere attempt to alter his plan of cultivation. If his present crops allow him to pay only one half of the interest upon his debt, there is little inducement to make such improvements as will enable him to pay three-quarters of the amount. The benefit will fall entirely into the hands of his creditors, while he will only labour the harder without hope of reaching freedom." (46)

A recent study of A. Schölch (1981), "The Economic Development of Palestine, (1856-1882) shows a clear picture of the pattern of private development. His study, based on the commercial reports of the English, German, Austrian, and French Consuls in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Acre shows that from 1850 Palestine produced a relatively large agricultural surplus which was marketed to the neighbouring countries, such as Egypt or Lebanon, and which was increasingly exported to Europe." (47)

Schölch study shows that "The transmission links between European demand and the European markets after 1850 were European consular agents (the majority of whom were themselves merchants, entrepreneurs, landowners, and even tax-farmers), the representatives of European commercial houses in the ports, and their partners and middlemen in the interior of the country." (48)

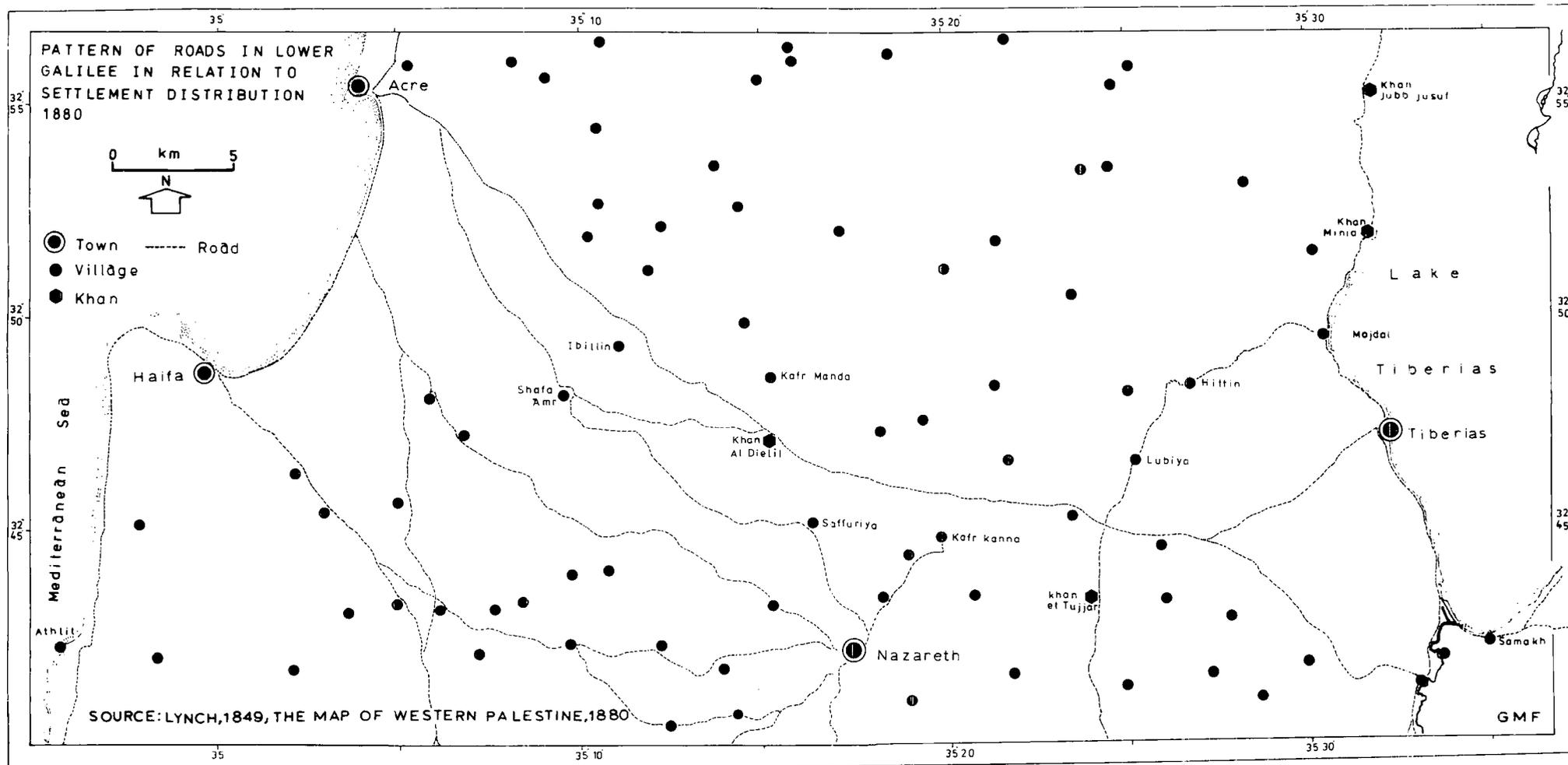


FIG 3.8

It is astonishing to learn that Palestine with its agricultural surplus contributed substantially to both European markets and to overall Syrian balance of trade. It did this without a significant improvement in the conditions of the local peasantry. It benefited particularly, the merchants, middlemen, big landowners and tax-farmers and, above all, the treasury.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This group acquired land from both the Turkish government and from the fellaheen who failed to cultivate the land because of the heavy taxes imposed on their land's production. They were the only group who profited from initiating this development, and in return for the exported grain, as Consul Finn (1856) confirms, "they bury the coin in holes, they purchase arms, and they decorate their women."⁽⁵⁰⁾

The condition of bedouin groups probably was slightly better since they obtained their major income from animals which they owned themselves. They hardly paid any government taxes and they were unlikely to rely upon cultivating lands other than their own as they had the choice of their traditional way of life without being controlled by others.

3.4.2.3 The Location of Galilee Region within Syria

From the earliest times great thoroughfares crossed Galilee, the use of which has varied from age to age according to political circumstances. These roads can be traced easily by the location of khans or caravanserais, (which are still in ruins) and perhaps the remains of Roman pavements. ⁽⁵¹⁾

Figure 3.8 shows trans-Galilee highways form two distinct patterns:

(A) Parallel roads occurred in western Lower Galilee. The road took the shortest distance towards the port City of Acre, that the relief allowed. This pattern can be explained by the fact that there was no

KHANS AND MARKETS IN GALILEE 1900

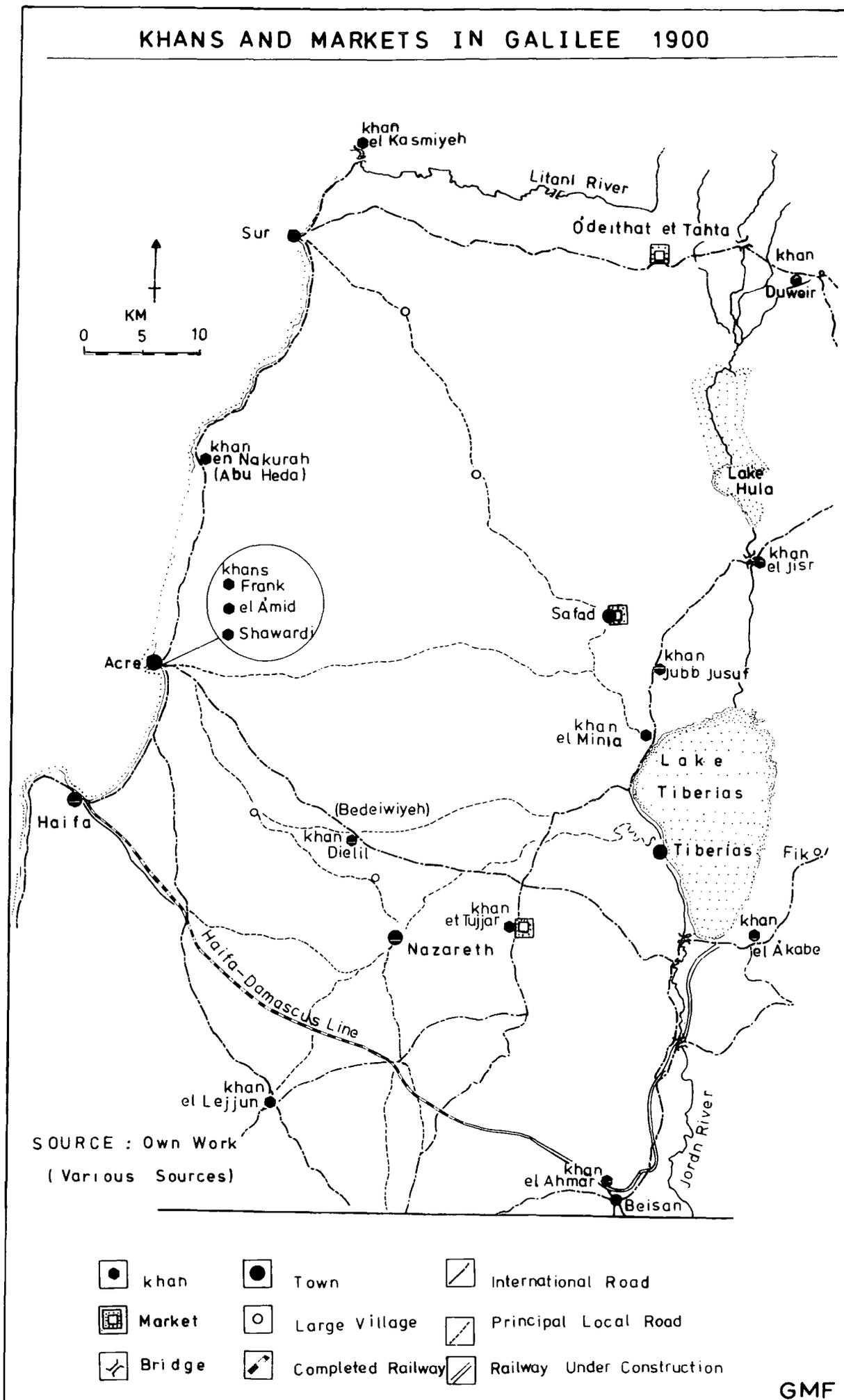


FIG 3.9

attempt to initiate commercial activity between the local settlements and the caravans using these roads.

(B) The second pattern of roads was confined to the eastern part, where the road forked in order to take another direction, or as local roads rejoined the highway. At the points where the roads crossed, or where they rejoined, towns were not established for serving caravans or travellers passing through, quite unlike the remarkable ruined Nabatean towns along abandoned trade routes in the Central Negev founded during the beginning of the Christian era.⁽⁵²⁾

It seems that in northern Palestine, the humble Khan took the place of these towns in order to perform the task of servicing the caravans, while the existing towns (Nazareth, Tiberias and Safad) at distances of approximately 5-8 kms from the highway, did not service the caravans passing between them. This might be explained by the relatively high number of Khans founded in northern Palestine (Fig.3.9) with distances of 8-15 km between each. According to Warburton (1845), the normal distance khans in Syria is 10-15 miles or about a half day's journey in terms of the level of transportation technology in the 19th Century.⁽⁵³⁾

Burckhardt (1822) who visited Safad and Tiberias in 1812 on his way from Damascus to Cairo, confirmed, there were no khans in either town, and he used the Catholic Church for lodging.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Acre, on the other hand, contained three khans.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This high number of khans reflected the fact of being an entry point it received the highest number of travellers and caravans who needed servicing and lodging. Consequently, Acre was probably the only town in northern Palestine to benefit substantially from trade and commercial activities. Thus Conder (1879), described the "whole shore" between Acre and Nahr al Maqatt'a (Qishon river) as

"often covered by troops and camels brining corn from the Houran, and dark Bedawin - some of whom have probably never before seen the sea." (56)

There is no evidence in 19th Century literature concerning the involvement of the Galilee population in the caravan trade between the Hauran and the Mediterranean Coast. What Conder noted about the "dark Bedawin" is a reference to Transjordan bedouin tribes, the powerful tribes who monopolized the caravan trade, by providing camels for transport and manpower for guides and guards. Consul Finn (1857) makes a similar statement :

"...coin is poured in from abroad for payment. An Ionian merchant of Caiffa (Avicrino, the Vice-Consul for Russia and Greece) assures me that last year no less a sum than half a million sterling passed through his hands between the ships of Port and the Bedaween of the Hauran, who have on their side imported no merchandize." (57)

The reason why there was no reasonable commercial exchange between Galilee settlements and the caravan merchants is probably related to a number of factors. First, the local population were highly oriented in their economic activities towards subsistence and trade was conducted on a limited local level, in the form of a periodic market which was held on different days in different places (Table 3.4). Such markets largely served the everyday needs of the people.

Table 3.4 Markets in Galilee 1812 - 1881

Place	Day	Year of Mention
Safad	Friday	1812
Khan et Tujjar (north of Mount Tabor)	Monday	1812, 1838
O'deithat et Tahfa	?	1881

Source : J.L.Burckhardt, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822, pp.308,333, E.Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent regions..., John Murray, London,1867,vol.II,p.368-9. C.R.Conder and H.H.Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography...,London 1881-83, Vol.I, pp.89,234.

Secondly, the caravan trade would have offered goods beyond the needs of Galilee's inhabitants. Therefore from an economic point of view, the term "transit region" is applicable to Galilee during the 19th Century. Several international highways passed through the region, without making a significant contribution to the development processes of the region. However, the initial improvement of the economic conditions of the region began towards the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the twentieth Century, partly due to the construction of the railway from Haifa to Damascus (opened in 1906) passing through Marj Ibn 'Amir to Hauran and continuing to Damascus. The railway could be expected to have replaced about one thousand camels loaded with cereals, which came annually from Hauran to Acre and Haifa.⁽⁵⁸⁾ According to Oliphant (1887), Mr. Sursock, who owned a great part of the eastern portion of Marj Ibn 'Amir, first encouraged this idea in order to increase his profit from this means of communication and with a view to cheapening the cost of transport.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The whole length of the railway is some 150 miles, 30 miles of which were laid in the last year of the 19th Century.⁽⁶⁰⁾

This sort of investment by the Ottoman Empire in order to develop this part of the country had its price, for it "invited" European interests into this part of the Middle East. It was the first attempt to develop the region and to invest substantial capital within the region. As a consequence a new era began and a new innovation came to replace caravan transport; one of the most important branches of bedouin income. It also opened up prospects for alternative jobs for the local bedouin tribes as Oliphant (1887) indicated with regard to the bedouin tribes camped in the south of Lake Tiberias:

"The surveying party tell me that they received the greatest kindness and hospitality from Arabs in Jordan Valley, who were of a sedentary tribe, and cultivated the land, and who

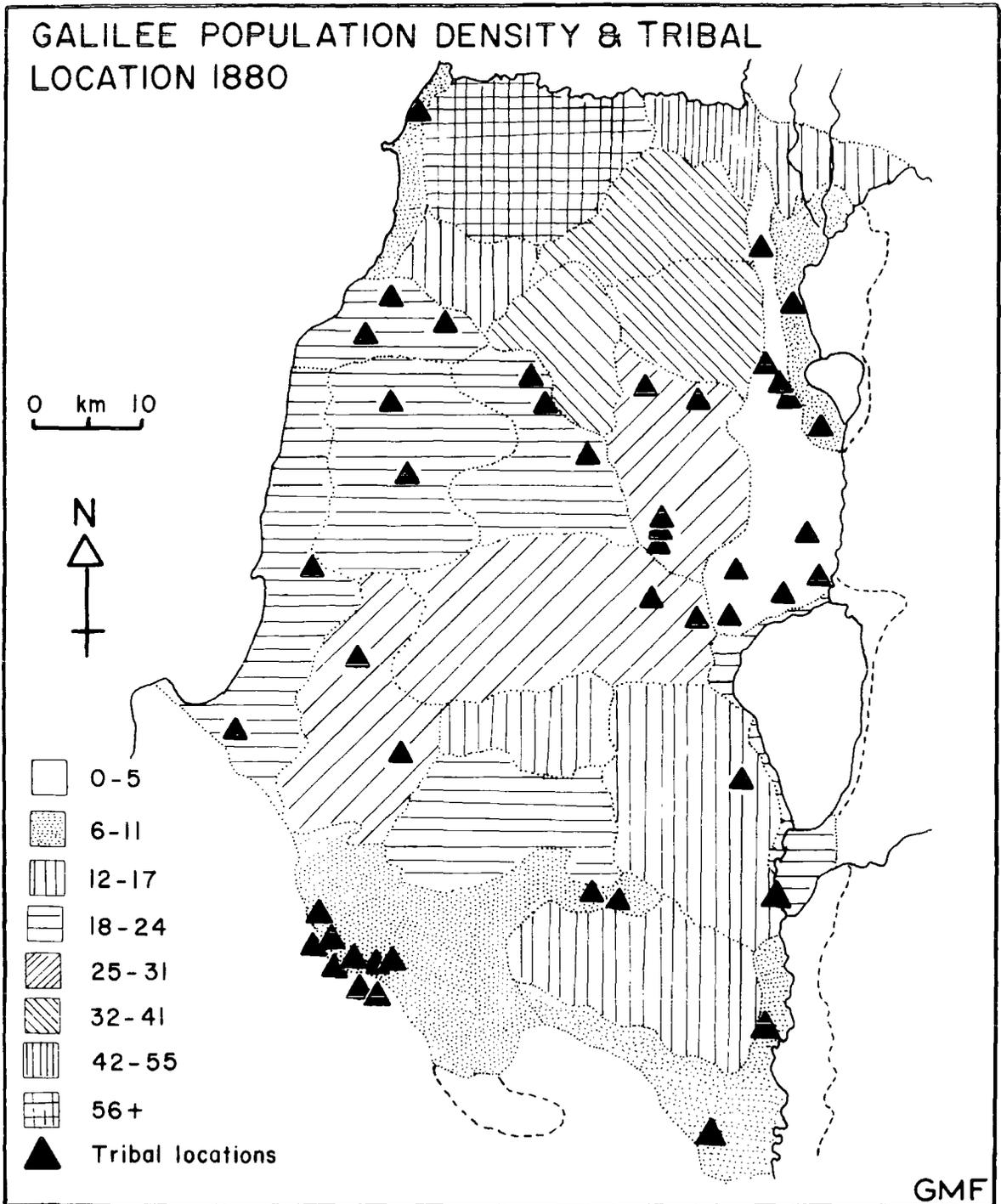
looked forward with pleasure to the advent of railway, and to the chances of employment which it afforded them. Indeed, both natives and foreigners are not little excited at the prospect which is now being opened to them, and which promises to be the dawn of a new era of prosperity for the country." (61)

In summary, it is reasonable to conclude that political and economic conditions of the region were a dominant factor in the continued existence of "semi-nomadic life" in Galilee during the whole of the 19th Century and even before, while the political factor is seen through its role in facilitating nomadic migration from the unfavourable environment of the desert into that of the favourable one of Galilee. The low level of economic development promoted a semi-nomadic life, which was a subsistence economy.

Galilee's "nomadism" puts a wider perspective on the previously accepted definition of nomadism. It shows that pastoral nomadism is not only a response to conditions created by nature, but also a response to conditions created by man.

3.5 Evidence of semi-nomadic Trends in the Nineteenth Century

Probably the most useful contribution of 19th Century travellers to this study is their observation of various forms of physical construction located within bedouin encampments. This sort of information is significant in tracing the early stages of denomadisation for certain groups and it forms a base for identifying the pattern of the settlement which was eventually established. In most cases these early physical constructions become the nucleus of the settlement. Moreover the function of these sorts of physical construction, usually associated with agricultural activities, reveals some features of bedouin economic transition, and the emergence of activities supplementary to that of raising livestock. Robinson (1867), passing through



Source: P.E.F., 1881; Schwöbel 1904

FIG. 3.10

the encampment at Arab Samakiyyah, noted that bedouin built up a few hovels among the ruins, which they used as stone houses.⁽⁶²⁾ Robinson (1867) also mentioned the Ghawarnah in Al Buteiha Plain, north east of Lake Tiberias, who cultivated wheat, barley, millet, maize and rice and who kept a few buildings in repair on the east bank of the Jordan Valley in el-Araj and el Mesādiyeh, as stone houses for their grain, and other products.⁽⁶³⁾ In the eastern side of the Hula Plain Guérin (1880) visited Palestine in 1854 and 1863 and noted that bedouin had stored grain in the tomb of Kubur Benat Yakub.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Ewing (1895), passing in the same place in August 1892 in his journey from Safad to Hauran, observed the Arab tents and the threshing floor.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Thomson (1866) passing through the plain of Ard el Kheit, to the south of Hula Lake, observed bedouin making coarse mats for the walls and roofs of their huts.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Geikie (1887) observed, on the mountainous slopes of the western Hula Plain, "cow-houses of stone...with attached roofs, slanting from a high back wall, with no windows, but only a door," Geikie (1887) states that this property belongs to a half "settled tribe".⁽⁶⁷⁾

The above observations of traveller-authors foreshadow the future sedentarization process. First, the fact that stone constructions for various purposes were used instead of traditional black hair tents suggested that the bedouin tribes were heading for de-nomadization. Secondly, for the construction of stone buildings, the bedouin have used existing ruins in order to form their permanent tribal territory.

The characteristic location of bedouin tribal territory alone is probably satisfactory evidence for bedouin semi-nomadic habits. While Figure 3.10 shows that bedouin occupied areas with the lowest density of population; earlier Figure 3.2 showed that in these areas there were a disproportionately high number of abandoned sites (ruins). These



PLATE 3.1 : The early bedouin house in Arab Sawāid
Husainiyyah - circa 1890 (June 1981)
(Photo : G. Falah)



PLATE 3.2 : The Arched Structure of the early house (June 1981)
(Photo : G. Falah)

abandoned sites known to the Arabs as Khirba - may be found in all stages of decay, from hamlets or uninhabited houses in varying degrees of disrepair, to ruins and sites where there remain only a few scattered stones or foundations. The Khirba (or sometimes Khirbat) are usually identified by their names as an indication to their former existence as a place of habitation.⁽⁶⁸⁾ At the beginning of the present century, Schwöbel (1904) calculated the number of inhabited settlements in Galilee (from the map of Western Palestine 1880) as 329 compared with at least 460 ruined sites.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The bedouin had often established their encampment in these localities while using these ruins as their permanent base. A Field Research Survey was carried out (April - September 1988) and included a study of both early bedouin housing and the function of Khirbats among the Galilee bedouin tribes. The Survey revealed that these early houses have since been demolished, either because they had been constructed in an unsafe manner or because they were considered as old-fashioned by the local bedouin and not worth preserving. Plates 3.1 and 3.2 show one of those surviving early bedouin houses, found in Arab Sawāid Ḥusaniyyah. The age of this house is unknown to the owners, the Faaur family. Most of the older generation of the tribe admitted that this building had been erected before their birth. The Fa'aur family hold a Turkish Tapu (land title) from 1886. The area within which this house was built (some 600 donums), was owned in partnership with the Asādi family from the nearby fellaheen village of Deir al Asad. According to the Tapu document, the house might have been built during the last decade of the 19th Century. Therefore, the value of tracing the age of this kind of artifact is that it helps in identifying the first stage of Galilee bedouin processes of sedentarization.

The building material and the size of the cut Nari stone, clearly indicate their origin from some nearby Khirba. Moreover,



PLATE 3.3 : Khirbat al Mansurah north east of the present village
Luhaib Tuba (June 1977) (Photo : G.Falah)



PLATE 3.4 : Khirbat Tuba north east of the present village Luhaib
Tuba (June 1977) (Photo : G. Falah)

some 120 metres distance to the north of this building site, there has been found an ancient cutting in the Nari rock with some cut stone inside. Thus, it is possible that the house stone was transported from this site. The material which was used to bind together the different sized wall stones was the same material used in constructing the fellaheen village house. Until cement became known to the fellaheen, they cemented the walls with mud, straw and small hard limestone, termed "Srar". The roof was usually constructed from wood, covered by a thin strata (10 cm) of mud mixed with straw, which was renewed before each winter.

The arched structure of the building (Plate 3.2) provides further evidence about the fellaheen houses. The three curved structures supporting the weight of the roof, have been adjusted in view of the relatively large size room (8 metres length, 6 metres width and some 2.5 - 3 metres height). Accepting that this building was constructed in the late 19th Century and that bedouin did not possess building skills at this time, it is therefore assumed that the building was built by fellah. This, to a certain degree reflects some aspects of bedouin-fellaheen interaction apart from the fact that they were partners in the land deed. The function of the building is clearly identified as a grain store; the internal division of the building, together with the flat threshing floor behind the building where all the crops were gathered, prove this.

Further evidence for the usages of Khirbats, can be seen in the Luhaib tribe's encampment. According to the local bedouin the tribe used the two Khirbats of Al Mansura (Plate 3.3) and Tuba (Plate 3.4) as corrals for keeping their livestock. These corrals were fenced by basalt blocks, termed "Siar" by the bedouin. The "Siar" were used only during the spring season (February - May). During the winter season December - February, the animals were kept in a cave, located some 3 km.



east of the permanent winter camp of the tribe. Thus keeping domestic animals inside caves during the cold seasons was a unique phenomenon for most Galilee tribes. Shepherds took their animals considerable distances to mountains during the winter, and most tribesmen shared in the duty of guarding these animals during the nights. In contrast the neighbouring fellaheen who owned some domestic animals preferred to keep their animals inside their houses where rooms had been constructed for this purpose. The floors of such rooms were on two levels. The entrance was at ground level and served as a place for oxen, sheep or other domestic animals in the winter. The second half of the floor was approximately one metre higher than the lower level. This part was used as a sleeping place for the family. In this respect it is important to mention that the first house (since replaced) built by the tribe of Arab Luhaib Fālahāt in 1918 consisted of two rooms with a similar floor to that in the fellaheen villages.

In addition, three large caves were found in their tribal territory which were permanently used for their flocks. It may reasonably be implied that some bedouin groups considered these caves an advantage when choosing their encampment site. The tribe of Arab al 'Arāmshah occupied three Khirbats of Idmith, Jurdeih and Iribbin. The tribe dwelt in tents and their animals were kept inside the stone corrals of the Khirbats. Mr. Hamada Swidan (70 years old), claimed that he was the first Arāmshian to construct a stone house in Khirbat Idmith in the year 1930. He also mentioned that the first bedouin houses to emerge in his tribe were houses constructed from block stones termed "makatea", a cut stone of varying size brought from the nearby Khirab (plural of Khirba).

Bedouin erected such early houses regardless of the ownership of the land, acquisition of land from fellaheen being a gradual process with the construction of physical artifacts in the land. Both the physical

structure of stone houses used for storing grains and the flock corrals were new to the traditional bedouin culture. Nomads did not usually utilise shelters or corrals for their flocks. The tented encampments were widely dispersed and arranged in different ways in order to keep the flocks during night time in front of their owners' tents. The departure from this traditional pattern which is seen in the case of Galilee bedouin is evidence of the effect of exposure to the sedentary culture. Thus it is seen that most of the sedentary aspects which were observed among the Galilee bedouin tribes, during the 19th Century, did not indicate a real transition from nomadism into sedentarization but this was one of the symptoms of a semi-nomadic way of life. It is also considered as a kind of acculturation to their fellaheen neighbours, as well as an adjustment into the Galilee non-desert environment. A real transition stage would occur only when bedouin began to establish houses for residential purposes, during the role of the British Mandate in Palestine 1918-1948, when improvement of the country's economic conditions allowed the bedouin to change their subsistence economy into a cash one. Thus they were able to accumulate capital in order to improve their standard of living.

3.6 Conclusion

There is too little information in the narratives of 19th Century travellers to draw general conclusions about the traditional lifestyle of these bedouin. There are, however, several descriptions of tribal groups in Galilee in the travellers' accounts which give some useful indications of the migration patterns of these groups. Nevertheless, it is clear that pure nomadism is not likely to develop in areas such as Galilee. The tribal groups could be categorized as semi-nomadic tribes, maintaining themselves by subsistence. Raising livestock is

the prime branch in their subsistence economy. Agriculture was probably practised among those groups who had non-nomadic origins. Changes in this pattern occurred only in the 1920's. A new rule brought a major change in the country's political and economic conditions, followed by rapid sedentarization.

Notes and References

- (1) D.L. Johnson, The Nature of Nomadism : A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migration in Southern Asia and Northern Africa, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No.118, Chicago, 1969, p.2.
- (2) D.G.N. Peppelenbosch, "Nomadism on the Arabian Peninsula", Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Nov/Dec. 1968, p.339.
- (3) F.Barth, "Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau area of South West Asia", The Problems of Arid Zone, Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone Research Vol. XVIII, UNESCO, Paris, 1962.p.346.
- (4) W.B.Fisher, The Middle East : A Physical Social, and Regional Geography, Methuen & Co.Ltd., London, 1961, p.123.
- (5) E.E.Bacon, "Types of Pastoral Nomadism in Central and South west Asia", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, X, 1954,p.44.
- (6) R.Patai, "Nomadism : Middle Eastern and Central Asia", South Western Journal of Anthropology VII, 1951, p.405.
- (7) D.J. Stenning, "Transhumance, Migratory Drift, Migration : Patterns of Pastoral Fulani Nomadism", in Cultures and Societies of Africa, Simon and P. Ottenberg, (eds.) Randon House, New York, 1960, pp.145,149, 153.
- (8) P.C.Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol.111, No.2, Philadelphia, 1967,p.118.
- (9) Peppelenbosch, op.cit., pp.339-340.
- (10) G.Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p.121.
- (11) J.I.Clarke, "Studies of semi-Nomadism in North Africa", Economic Geography, 35, 1959, p.108.
- (12) V.A.Pulyarkin, "Nomadism in the Modern World", Soviet Geography : Review and Translation, XIII,No.3, 1972, p.164.
- (13) V.Schwöbel, "Die Berkehrswege und Ansiedlungen Galiläas in ihrer Abhängigkeit von den natürlichen Bedingungen", Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina - vereins, XXVII, Leipzig, 1904, Table III.
- (14) Fisher, op.cit., p.126.
- (15) J.L.Burkhardt, Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, London, 1831, Vol.I,p.14
- (16) G.Falah, Arab al Luhaib, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, B.A.Dissertation, June 1977, p.12 (unpublished) in Hebrew. p.16.

- (17) C.R. Conder and H.H.Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hedrography and Archaeology, The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1881-83, Vol.II, pp.73-74.
- (18) Stenning, op.cit., p.149.
- (19) Y.Ben Arie, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, the Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1979, p.II.
- (20) Ibid, pp.26-27, Except the first four years of the 19th century during which Galilee was a separate political unit under the role of Ahmed pasha Jazzar.
- (21) J.L.Burckhardt, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822, Appendix No.II, discussion "on the political division of Syria and recent changes in the government of Aleppo".
- (22) S.Abu 'Aiz ed-din, Ibrahim Pasha in Syria, Beirut, 1929, pp.131-132. (in Arabic).
- (23) 'A.M. 'Awad, The Ottoman Administration in Syria Vilayet, 1864-1914, Dar al Ma'arif fi Naser, Cairo, 1969, pp.61-81 (in Arabic).
- (24) R.H.Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876 Princeton v.p., 1963, pp.188-190.
- (25) Ibid, pp.136-171, Conder and Kitchener, op.cit., vol.I, pp.43-44.
- (26) A.A.'Abid al-Karim, The Administrative Division of Syria during the Ottoman Period, Cairo, 1951, vol.I, p.181, (in Arabic).
- (27) 'Awad, op.cit. p.71.
- (28) Ibid, p.72.
- (29) Conder and Kitchener, op.cit., Vol.I, p.95.
- (30) W.D. Hüttheroth and K. Abdulfattah, Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the late 16th Century, Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, 5, Erlanger, 1977, pp.45-46.
The Frontier of permanent settlement of Palestine is this frontier which corresponds approximately to the 250 mm.isohyets in the south, the east and on the escarpments of the Jordan Rift Valley. It is more or less, closed line of frontier villages which by generalizing a 3 km and 5 km-distance from the outermost villages towards the desert.
- (31) D.H.K.Amiran and Y.Ben-Arie, "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel", Israel Exploration Journal, vol.13, No.3, Jerusalem, 1963,p.165.
- (32) N.N.Lewis, "The frontier of settlement in Syria 1800-1950", International Affairs Journal, Vol.XXI, No.1 1955, p.52.
- (33) M.F.V. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1943, Vol.II, pp.1-43.

- (34) H.B. Tristram, The Land of Israel, Journal of Travels in Palestine, Pott, Young & Co., New York, 1876, pp.409-482.
- (35) C.F.C. Volney, Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, Paris, 1825, Vol.II, p.189.
- (36) Ibid, Vol.II, pp.190-91.
- (37) J.Murray, A Handbook for Syria and Palestine, London, 1868, Vol.I, p.XXXVII.
- (38) M.Maoz, Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861, Oxford University Press, London 1968, pp.131-134.
- (39) M.Sharon, The Bedouin of the Land of Israel in the 18th and 19th Centuries (M.A.Dissertation) Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1964, p.86. (Unpublished) (in Hebrew).
- (40) H.Margalit, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Landscape of Palestine During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", Israel Exploration Journal, 13, Jerusalem, 1962, p.216.
- (41) G.H. Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837, Erlangen, 1838, vol. III, p.12.
- (42) Volney, op.cit., vol.II, p.257.
- (43) Ibid, p.260.
- (44) Burckhardt (1822), op.cit., pp.276-277.
- (45) A.Granott, The Land System in Palestine, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1952, p.80.
- L.Oliphant, Haifa or Life in Modern Palestine, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1887, pp.59-62.
- (46) Report by C.F.Strickland on possibility of introducing a system of agricultural co-operation in Palestine, Jerusalem, 1930, pp.1-2.
- (47) A. Schölch, "The Economic Development of Palestine, 1856-1882", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.X, No.3, Spring 1981, p.36.
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Ibid, p.51.
- (50) Public Record Office, F.O. 78/1383 (Jerusalem, October 9, 1858)
- (51) E.Warburton, The Crescent and the Cross, (2nd Ed.) Henry Colburn, London, 1845, vol.II, p.32.
- R.W.Stewart, The Tent and the Khan : a Journey to Sinai and Palestine, Hamilton, Adams and Company, London, 1857, pp.475,478-79.

- (52) D.H.K. Amiran, "Man in Arid Lands : Endemic Cultures",
in Arid Lands, E.S. Hills, (ed.) London, 1966.p.225.
- (53) Warburton, op.cit. p.32.
- (54) Burckhardt (1822), op.cit., pp.308, 323.
- (55) Conder and Kitchener, op.cit., pp.166-167.
- (56) C.R.Conder, Tent work in Palestine, Richard Bentley & Con, London,
1879, Vol.II, p.188.
- (57) PRO, F.O. 78/1294 (Jerusalem, January, 7 1857).
- (58) G.Schumacher, Across the Jordan, London, 1886.
pp.23-24.
- (59) Oliphant, op.cit., pp.59-62.
- (60) Macmillan's, Guide to Palestine and Egypt, London,1907,p.79.
- (61) Oliphant, op.cit., p.67.
- (62) E.Robinson, Biblical Research in Palestine and the Adjacent
Regions..., John Murray, London 1867, vol.III, p.408.
- (63) Ibid, p.411.
- (64) V.Guérin, Description Geographique, Historique et Archeologique de la
Palestine - Galilee, Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1969,
Vol.VI, pp.342-343. (reprinted from the edition, Paris, 1880).
- (65) W.Ewing, "A Journey in the Hauran, January 1895", Palestine
Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, (PEFQST), London, April 1895.
pp.60-61.
- (66) W.M.Thomson, The Land and the Book, T.Nelson and Sons, London,
1886,p.259.
- (67) C.Geike, The Hold Land and the Bible, Cassel and Company,Ltd.,
London, 1887, vol.II, p.381.
- (68) D.H.K.Amiran, "The pattern of Settlement in Palestine",
Israel Exploration Journal, 3, Jerusalem, 1953, p.68.
- (69) Schwöbel, op.cit., p.96.

PART TWO

THE PROCESS OF SEDENTARIZATION

CHAPTER FOUR

UNIVERSAL CAUSES FOR SEDENTARIZATION

4.1 Introduction

The period which the following three chapters will discuss covers the last years of Turkish rule in Palestine to 1917, and that of the British Mandate 1918-1948. In this period censuses were first undertaken and some useful official and semi-official publications became available. Unfortunately, statistical data on the Galilee tribal groups in the two governmental censuses (1922, 1931)⁽¹⁾ and other official sources are systematically incomplete and contain large discrepancies. For example, the first Palestine census of 1922 excludes the bedouin groups camping in the Hula plain since this area was still a part of the French mandated territory and passed to the British Mandate only in 1923. The 1931 Palestine second census used a different method of bedouin enumeration from the first census. While the first census (1922) grouped the bedouin tribes under the definition of "tribal areas", the second census (1931) used a "non-synchronous enumeration" which clearly has limitations. The term "nomadic" as against settled population was used. As a result of introducing a strict artificial division between sedentary and nomadic, bedouin groups who were camping on the lands of the villages were enumerated and included in the village population. The census treated them as an attached hamlet, mentioning only the tribal group name and the village to which they were attached. This bedouin group was estimated by Amiran (1963) as being 2,000-6,000 souls.⁽²⁾ The Village Statistics of 1945⁽³⁾ provide very useful data about tribal land holding and the amount of cultivable bedouin land. However, the statistical account concerning tribal population is rather poor, some tribal groups being totally excluded from the estimation. The estimation used a similar

coefficient of persons per household to that of the settled non-bedouin population. Nevertheless the information upon certain tribal groups in these censuses is most valuable for purposes of comparison. Table 4.1 shows the total bedouin population given in these sources, for what they may be worth.

Table 4.1 Bedouin Population in Northern Palestine (1922-1948)*

Year	1922	1931	1945	1948 (end)
Persons	13,420	11,786	17,100	5,000

* The tribal groups of Beisan subdistrict are excluded.

Source : Calculated from the census Returns and other sources (Amiran 1963, Ashkenazi (1938), Bar-Gal and Soffer (1981)).

The interruption of population growth in 1948 is associated with the 1948 war followed by the exodus of the Arab population from Palestine.

This chapter aims to explore the reasons for the sedentarization of Galilee bedouin tribes, which the author argues began in the late 19th Century. The author also believes that the introduction of modernization into the Galilee region during the first half of the 20th Century, coupled with the distinctive nature of the bedouin life style already containing considerable sedentary ingredients, was the major cause for sedentarization. The two components outlined above may also explain the differences in time and speed between Galilee bedouin sedentarization and other groups in Palestine.

This modernization was started with the establishment of four German Colonies during the years 1870-1917, introducing mechanisation in agriculture.⁽⁴⁾ The establishment of the Damascus-Haifa railway

(opened in 1906), replacing the camel caravans, brought the region into better contact with the outside world. The establishment of Jewish colonies brought with them high capital investment, associated with drilling deep water wells, and undertaking some anti malaria measures through draining of swamps. Perhaps of even greater importance was the allotting of Palestine to the British administration bringing effective rule to the country. Most of these developments directly affected Lower Galilee and particularly the plains area. A certain degree of regional disequilibrium emerged, whereby the mountain area of Upper Galilee became less influenced by modernization. "Hitherto Jewish colonization has been of a character which calls for the use of modern agricultural machinery adaptable only for the lowlands; it has as yet no plan for the hill country colonization, in which human labour plays a great role."⁽⁵⁾

It seems, however, there is a direct relationship between this pattern of regional disequilibrium and the pattern of Galilee tribal migration, developed during the years 1880-1937 (Fig.4.1). Thus most of the migrating bedouin groups undertook a similar direction of movement from the northern part of Galilee into its south eastern and south western areas, or from the mountain area into the hilly and the plains area where modernization was proceeding. This suggests that such migration was largely attributable to voluntary sedentarization and not associated with the traditional pattern of nomadic migration. Moreover, Figure 3.3 shows that such migration changed the location of the tribal groups who were camped in the upper part of Galilee in 1880. However, those tribal camps which were located close to the plain area in 1880 did not change their location. They seem to have favoured the development of their immediate environment.

The causes for bedouin sedentarization could be divided into

three groups of factors as the following outlines -

- A. Underlying "universal" causes which apply also to the sedentarization of other nomadic groups in Palestine and the Middle East, notably :
 - (i) Improvement of security conditions
 - (ii) Demographic growth
 - (iii) Migration and urbanization trends
 - (iv) Socio-economic interaction

- B. Specific factors; related directly to that of Galilee bedouin:
 - (i) Pre-state Jewish colonization
 - (ii) The control of malaria
 - (iii) Social influences

- C. Factors resulting from the rule of the British Administration in Palestine 1918-1948 :
 - (i) The effect of the political boundary
 - (ii) Land settlement
 - (iii) Forestry
 - (iv) The Bedouin Control Ordinance 1942.

These groups (A-C) will be elaborated below, each in a separate chapter (Chapters 4-6) which aims to evaluate the contribution of each of their factors to the sedentarization processes of Galilee bedouin during the period in question.

It should be mentioned that some factors may appear to influence sedentarization only indirectly. For example, malaria control may help to expand agricultural areas which otherwise would have been left for pastoral purposes. Thus the reduction of pasture land leading to sedentarization was caused indirectly by the anti-malaria measures undertaken. In addition, some tribal groups tended to split up into

sub tribal groups. This phenomenon may be considered as a social change which accompanied the sedentarization rather than being caused by the demographic factor.

Finally, all the above factors will be seen to lead to one or more of the following distinctive features of Galilee bedouin sedentarization -

- (i) reduction of pasture
- (ii) introduction of private land
- (iii) increasing dependence on agriculture
- (iv) detribalization and "disbandinization"
- (v) the establishment of stone dwellings.

4.2 Improvement of Security Conditions

The improvement of the country's security condition during the late 19th Century, the first two decades of the 20th Century, and during the British Mandate (1918-1948) increasingly permitted mountain villagers to intensively cultivate their lands lying on the plains. This new tendency led further to the establishment of new villages, whereby some families from the mountain villages preferred to remain in their lands after the harvest season and eventually such small hamlets grew to become independent villages.⁽⁶⁾ Such migrations from mountain areas onto the plains were not necessarily for the purpose of cultivating the villagers' own lands but some of the people who made these migrations were also tenants, or belonged to a group of Harathin (singular Harath) who were workers employed by tenants or landowners on the basis of an annual contract.⁽⁷⁾

The bedouin, changing the location of their camps from Upper Galilee into the plain, were likely to be influenced by their neighbouring villagers' movements early in the twentieth century. The main

reason for bedouin migration was probably to graze their flocks during the harvest season (May - October). It is well-known that during periods of effective central government, relations between farmers and nomads usually turn into symbiotic ones, whereby the nomads obtain permission from the farmers in order to feed their animals after the latter have gathered their crops. At the same time farmers also obtain animal products from the bedouin.⁽⁸⁾

Some examples of travellers' observations from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century provide vital evidence of the improvement of the security condition reflected by both expansion of the cultivable land and regulations of the nomadic-sedentary relationships. Geikie (1887), described the Marj Ibn 'Amir (Esdraelon) as an "oasis" which attracted the bedouin; he also indicated that improvement in security came only in the 1970's :

"So late, indeed as 1870, they were so numerous that only about one-sixth of the plain was filled for fear of them, but Turkish cavalry, armed with repeating rifles, taught the lawless invaders such a lesson that they fled to their deserts, whence, however, they return as often as the weakness of the government give an opportunity." (9)

Laurence Oliphant (1887) described the Marj Ibn 'Amir as resembling "a huge green lake of waving wheat" (10)

Grant (1907) stated in the first decade of the 20th century that the Turkish government "organized the country more closely in favour of its own authority. The transition stage between herding and agriculture may be seen in the Jordan valley and eastward, where the nomads and the village peasants go into partnership together to raise grain."⁽¹¹⁾

Thus the importance of the security condition was not only in regulating relationships between bedouin and sedentary villagers, but also

in introducing alternative opportunities to the traditional bedouin economy, replacing some branches of this economy which had ceased. Villagers no longer paid protection tax (khuwa) to the nomads, and bedouin were no longer able to make raids (ghazzu).⁽¹²⁾ Furthermore, the expansion of agricultural settled land may sometimes have divided the bedouin pastoral area, leading to a further reduction of its size. As some of the bedouins' traditional economy ceased they tended to share the settled villagers' economy. This sharing often took the form of villagers migrating into bedouin camps and converting part of the former bedouin pasture into agricultural land. These villagers eventually became members of the tribe and settled permanently among them.⁽¹³⁾

The role of the security factor was to "denomadize" the bedouin through reduction of pasture land and to incorporate them into the national economic system. Thus the bedouin began an era of stability in their economic activities, such stability is at the heart of sedentarization.

4.3 Demographic Growth

Previous studies on sedentarization suggested that demographic growth within nomadic camps is an important cause for sedentarization.⁽¹⁴⁾ A general model of this study was presented by Barth (1962) in his work upon the Basseir nomads of South Persia. The assumption emphasized that nomads and semi-nomadic groups cannot be understood in isolation from the sedentary group, particularly when they both live in close proximity to each other. The sedentarization process has been explained in terms of regional equilibrium and therefore sedentarization emerges as an outcome of the migration process.

Changes in the balance of fertility rates between the two groups will cause a movement of people within and between the different groups of the region.⁽¹⁵⁾ Barth (1962) assumed that within the nomadic camp the rate of natural growth of the population is higher than that among the villagers. Hence, in any period of total population stability there is implied a continual imbalance between nomad and sedentary society, leading to a flow of migrants from nomadic to settled life, a process of sedentarization and de-nomadization at the same time.

The reasons for the differences in natural growth rates between village and nomadic camps were summarised as follows :

"the diet of nomads was better balanced; containing a larger proportion of proteins than that of the villages; the sanitary and climatic conditions under which the nomads lived were far better; the lower density made the nomad population less susceptible to epidemics". (16)

In the same vein Capot-Rey (1962) confirmed that the result of two surveys in the northern and southern Sahara indicated that the nomad's living standards in both places were higher than those of the sedentary population:

"At Laghouat in 1955, a nomad family budget showed an income of 53-54 francs and 1,776-7,797 calories per person per day, against 28-46 francs and 1,349-1,770 calories for the sedentary folk. The average annual income of a nomad family was estimated at 115,323 francs against 106,754 francs for farming families.... At Borkou in 1955, the nomads had 500 grammes of dates, 180 grammes of millet and 4 litres of milk per person per day, together with a sufficient sum of money to pay taxes, buy one or two articles of clothing and drink a certain amount of tea. The settlers, on the other hand, had only 400 grammes of dates, 400 grammes of millet, very little milk and 12 francs per day in cash." (17)

Barth (1962) also stressed additional causes for sedentarization related to both demographic and economic imbalances; the increase of birth-rates and reduction of death-rates in sedentary communities in a given region led to an entirely changed balance between sedentary and nomadic

population. Both now have considerable natural growth rates, while only the sedentary sector offers room for rapid expansion, either in industry or in agriculture. The expansion of agriculture often encroaches on the pastures and migration routes of nomads. Consequently, economic imbalance continues between the two groups and it reaches a point where some nomadic groups leave their camps and join the ranks of the sedentary groups of the region. (18)

In the case of the Galilee bedouin tribes the demographic factor seems to play an important role in both processes of sedentarization and splitting up into tribal groups.

Unfortunately the difficulties of enumerating the nomadic groups of Palestine during the 1922 and the 1931 census resulted in the exclusion of the nomads from most of the published demographic reports and other sources. Thus, the only conclusions which could be suggested for the bedouin tribes were inferred from those which applied to the Muslim population as a whole. (19) There are, however, no great dangers in assuming that the bedouin tribes of Galilee, who were scattered between the settled population, had a similar high rate of natural growth to their settled neighbours. The relatively short distances of less than 10 km (on average) between the urban centres (Tiberias, Safad, Acre, Nazareth and Haifa) and the furthest bedouin camp in Galilee should be taken as an advantage in view of the accessibility to medical facilities. In addition, the construction of roads and the introduction of public transport eased the bedouin access to urban centres. (20) Vital statistical data for the Muslim population growth in Palestine during the first decade of the British Mandate provide useful evidence which may apply also to the bedouin groups. Three indices of the natural growth (Table 4.2) (Birth-rate, Death-rate and infant mortality) for the Muslim population are shown in Tables 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. Apart from 1937, which shows a

Table 4.2 Annual Rate of Natural Increase Per Thousand of Settled Population by Communities, 1922-37

Year	Muslims	Jews	Christians
1922-25 average	23.26	21.19	20.24
1926-30	25.14	22.63	20.64
1931-35	24.90	21.01	20.80
1934	19.88	20.68	17.30
1935	29.08	22.22	21.62
1936	33.17	20.92	23.71
1937	24.92	18.89	19.64
Average 1922-37	25.01	21.43	20.58

Source: Great Britain, Palestine Partition Commission Report, Cmd.5854, London, 1938,p.25.

Table 4.2.1 Annual Rate of Births and Deaths Per Thousand of Settled Population by Communities, 1922-37

Year	Birth-rate		
	Muslims	Jews	Christians
1922-25 average	50.09	34.81	36.37
1926-30	53.45	34.29	38.55
1931-35	50.24	30.33	35.84
1934	45.56	30.21	33.55
1935	52.54	30.80	35.61
1936	53.14	29.74	36.34
1937	49.74	26.67	33.55
Average 1922-37	51.15	32.21	36.47
	Death-rate		
1922-25 average	26.83	13.62	16.13
1926-30	28.31	11.66	17.91
1931-35	25.34	9.32	15.04
1934	26.68	9.53	16.25
1935	23.46	8.58	13.99
1936	19.97	8.82	12.63
1937	24.82	7.78	13.91
Average 1922-37	26.14	10.78	15.89

Source : Great Britain (1938), op.cit. p.24.

Table 4.2.2 Infant Mortality : Deaths of Infants Under One Year of Age Per Thousand Live Births, 1922-37

Year	Muslims	Jews	Christians
1922-25 average	190.39	122.90	144.35
1926-30	193.46	95.83	158.56
1931-35	166.41	77.99	136.28
1934	175.15	78.13	152.39
1935	148.10	64.15	125.81
1936	136.15	68.70	113.72
1937	179.33	57.20	127.34

Source : Great Britain (1938), op.cit., p.24.

relatively abrupt downward turn for birth-rates and natural increase and an upward turn for death-rates and infant mortality during the first decades of the British Mandate in Palestine there was a gradual downward trend in the death-rate, and most notably in the rate of infant mortality. The birth rates remained high which is seen as characteristic of a peasant community in which family size is unrestricted.⁽²¹⁾ Natural growth under these circumstances is abnormally high.

Table 4.2.2 shows a rapid reduction of the infant mortality rate among the three religious groups of Palestine's population. For the population as a whole the reduction was from 156.6 in 1922 to 116.3 in 1941.⁽²²⁾ Such a marked reduction is among other things an indication of the improvement in both the public health services and in hygienic standards.

The impact of demographic growth within a given bedouin tribe in Galilee is likely to lead into one of two trends:

First - a tribe splitting, temporarily or permanently

Population growth within a certain tribal territory necessitates an increase in livestock, assuming livestock is the main economic means, while the productivity of the area is limited to a standard number of livestock through their needs for pasture and water. Pastoralists who depend entirely upon natural vegetation to maintain their flocks, have to determine the size of their livestock according to the carrying capacity of the area. Imbalance occurs following the reduction of the grazing area and without necessarily raising the number of the livestock population. Thus during the season of minimum productivity, when pasture and water become inadequate, part of the tribe traditionally split up into groups and searched for alternative grazing areas, such as the lands of the neighbouring villages. According to Ashkenazi (1938) in eastern

Lower Galilee the villages of Kafr Sabt, Lubiya and Beit Jan frequently sold water to bedouin who roamed in their vicinity, and in Upper eastern Galilee, the Luhaib bedouin bought water from Fir'im village. However, in 1923 the Dalāyikah were forced to sell their livestock because of inadequate water.⁽²³⁾ This sort of splitting from the tribal camp may start as seasonal but very often becomes permanent as some tribal groups create a new area for permanent communal grazing. The chosen area for alternative grazing has always been that of lower population densities in the plains of lower Galilee. Eventually most of these tribes became the subjects of evacuation when the communal grazing lands were transformed into forests, or acquired for Jewish colonization. The bedouin, therefore, had no choice other than to return to their original tribe or to acquire new lands from the Arab villagers.

Second - The increasing dependence on supplementary economic activities⁽²⁴⁾

Population continues to grow and the area carrying capacity allows only a certain number of livestock. In the long run the number of animals per family will decrease and may reach a point where they can no longer provide the basic subsistence needs. In these circumstances, bedouin turn to rely on supplementary economic support. Traditionally pastoral nomads rely upon supplementary means, particularly during periods of drought. Under a weak government this may mean caravan guiding and guarding, caravan raiding and smuggling, or hunting and growing some crops. However, under a strong central government and after the introduction of mechanized transport, many of these traditional supplementary economic means were curtailed.⁽²⁵⁾ The bedouin were therefore forced to rely mainly upon agriculture and outside employment. In some regions of the Middle East nomads took to oil industry employment and fishing as supplementary economic means.⁽²⁶⁾

As both population grow and demands for supplementary income

continue, it is possible that some of the tribesmen will devote themselves to animal husbandry, while others will maintain some animals for consumption, while largely relying on shifting cultivation and work as labourers. A large number of tribesmen are likely to join this trend as they recognize that sedentary life provides more secure economic means than increasing the livestock population. In the case of Galilee, the reduction of livestock population because of population growth may be assumed, although there are no available statistics to prove this. In practise the reduction was mainly due to the lack of suitable water resources and pasture caused by the expansion of agricultural land, forestry and Jewish colonization. Since the rates of population growth and losing pasture lands were extremely high in Galilee, the bedouin had to search for an alternative either in agriculture or in other employment. Nevertheless, the raising of livestock continues after the bedouin have settled. Once employment outside the bedouin settlement becomes more profitable, the new generation will not be prepared to continue their parents' traditional economy. Some bedouin shepherds join the Israeli military services and create a social mobile class replacing the sheikhs, mukhtars and even the teachers in their respective tribes because of their social prestige and status.

4.3.1 Some Particular Causes for Bedouin Population Growth

There are two additional sources of bedouin population growth during their stage of nomadism and after the completion of the sedentarization processes; internal migration of non-bedouin (fellaheen) into the bedouin tribes, and some improvements in modern family services. This section will discuss the reasons for this type of growth.

4.3.1.1 Internal migration of fellaheen elements into the bedouin camps

Barth (1962) has called this process a "reverse nomadism" -

"On the other hand there is a reverse trend of villages picking up and adopting nomadic life in a certain frequency. But it would seem that this process reaches rates where it can compensate for sedentarization and produce a reverse net flow of population from village to pasture only in brief periods of administrative collapse and chaos, when large numbers of villagers are driven out by wholesale crop and land loss." (27)

According to various sources there are four reasons for such phenomena in the case of Palestine.

1) During the Ottoman period, Fellaheen groups migrated into bedouin tribes in order to evade military conscription. Bedouin tribes did not encourage conscription and always struggled against being forced to undertake military service. Some fellaheen groups took the protection of these tribes and eventually identified themselves as bedouin. (28)

Amiran and Ben-Arieh (1963), mention the conscription reason in addition to the wish to be free from tribute, taxes, blackmail, debts or drought. (29) The Ta'amreh in the Judea Desert are an example of those who evaded conscription. Conder (1879) reported that the Ta'amreh were of fellah (plural : fellaheen) origin and that they "wear turbans and sow corn." (30)

2) Competition for land use; Ashkenazi (1957) notes that, mountain villagers who owned large waste lands located at considerable distances from the villages, sent their sons to guard the land in case bedouin tribes invaded this territory and occupied it. Meanwhile this group became semi-nomads. (31)

3) Marx (1979) stated that fellaheen elements were found in the Negev tribes, related to the expansion of agriculture in the Negev after the 1870's when under relatively stable Ottoman security, the fellaheen made strenuous efforts to increase their land holdings. While the land for the fellah was the main property he migrated and lived within the bedouin camps. This category represents the groups of the Kilaāiah families of the Arab al 'Aazameh in the Negev, who were related to those

of fellaheen origin from Khan Younis in the Gaza district. (32)

4) Tenants, Slaves and Gipsies

In some bedouin tribes, particularly the powerful ones, families very often lived under the protection of the sheikh performing some specific function. These individuals may have arrived temporarily, but after some time they preferred to remain permanently within the tribal camp. This category consisted largely of tenants who came to cultivate the sheikh's lands under the condition of obtaining usually a fifth to a third of the crops. The bedouin sheikhs who owned relatively large areas of pasture land very often encouraged this group in order to increase their wealth and prestige. However, as time passed this group purchased some of the sheikh's land under favourable conditions and were finally integrated within the tribal population. This case is well illustrated by the fellaheen families who joined the tribes of Luhaib, Zanghariyyah and the Kurdish tribes. (33)

Bedouin sheikhs may also have acquired slaves and gipsies for domestic work particularly helping in preparing foods for guests. The gipsies were responsible for entertainment.

These two groups were considered to form the lower rank of the tribe. However, they enjoyed special rights known to the whole tribe. For example in the event of bedouin women marrying outside the tribe, the slaves would benefit from some cash, called in Arabic "Radwah" (34) Ashkenazi (1957) mentioned that slaves were found in the tribes of Arab Luhaib, Samakiyyah and Sumair. (35) According to Ashkenazi (1957) the Arab Luhaib's slave was brought from Mecca by the sheikh when he visited Mecca during his pilgrimage. (36) Today the freed slaves in the Luhaib Tuba village have equal status; they numbered 85 persons (9 households), or 4% of the village population in May 1981. The average size of their

Table 4.3

Bedouin Population in Israel 1948-1981

Year	Negev	Galilee
1948	11,000	5,000
1951	12,740	N/A
1955	12,540	7,630
1961	17,451	9,267
1967	23,551	9,892
1968	31,650	10,243
1972	31,650 : 30,205	13,694
1973	30,557	N/A
1975	37,900	13,400
1977	N/A	25,000
1978	41,465	N/A
1981	50,120	30,295

Source: G.Falah, The Development of the "planned bedouin settlement" in Israel 1964-1982 : Evaluation and Characteristics, Paper presented at the Conference of Geographical Perspectives on Development . Bedford College, University of London, 8-10 July, 1982, p.7. (unpublished).
(Calculated from various sources)

households was 9.4 persons compared with the average of 7.5 and 6.6 persons per household in their village and in neighbouring Zanghariyyah village.⁽³⁷⁾ In the Luhaib tribes today there are also three families belonging to the Sulubah tribe which formerly acted as clients to the powerful 'Anezeh tribe in northern Arabia.⁽³⁸⁾

4.3.1.2 Population Growth after Completing Sedentarization

Since most governments have insisted that nomads must be sedentarized (or as the French say "fixé au sol")⁽³⁹⁾ in one way or another, it is essential to forecast their patterns of population growth in order to incorporate these groups into the wider national planned services. A high rate of natural growth among traditional societies would be expected in response to two factors. First, the traditional desire of keeping a large family, and early marriage, and secondly, the innovation of family health care associated with improvement in baby foods and health conditions. Table 4.3 shows that the Negev and the Galilee bedouin increased their populations during the last three decades of being settled by 4.5 and 6 fold respectively, while the Arab population in Israel trebled their population in the same period.⁽⁴⁰⁾ These relatively high rates of bedouin population growth and its different pattern from the settled population is a topic which deserves special attention. Previous demographic studies put forward the hypothesis of new trends in fertility rates among nomads according to their degree of sedentarization. Henin's work (1968) on Baggara nomads in the Sudan shows that fertility rates rose among settled nomadic groups.⁽⁴¹⁾ Bernus's (1981) summary of demographic studies on the Twareg and Peul in Niger indicates that several surveys there have shown an internal gradient of fertility according to the degree of sedentarization.⁽⁴²⁾ More recently Hill et al. (1982) in The Mortality and Fertility of Farmers and Pastoralists in Central Mali 1950-1981, confirm that the Bambara's (settled millet farmers)

fertility is higher than that of the Twareg (fully nomadic pastoral). "In summary, we can say that Bambara fertility is substantially higher than that of the Twareg, a difference of the order of 1 to 2 children per woman."⁽⁴³⁾ According to Hill et al (1982), the reason for the fertility differences in this particular group arises mainly from their different patterns of marriage, in which the "exposure to the risk of pregnancy" is higher among the Bambara than the Twareg. Social orders and customs played an important factor in this respect. For example for the "free" Twareg, sexual relations before and outside marriage are condemned,... Bambara women are not supposed to have children prior to marriage, but there is a social custom whereby a young girl can spend the rainy season before her marriage in the home of her fiance. She is "lent" to help out in her future home. Although she will return home before she finally does marry, some women get pregnant in this period and may have the child before the marriage takes place.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The above explanation has been mentioned to illustrate the social variables in causing fertility differences among certain groups. This "marriage pattern" was used here as an "intermediate variable in Fertility" which has a certain degree of power to affect the number of children being born during the reproductive life span for women (usually 15 - 45).⁽⁴⁵⁾ In this respect attention should be paid to the work of John Bongaarts (1978) listing eight "intermediate variables" for an analysis of fertility differentials between populations. These variables were : marriage (or its equivalent), contraception, induced abortion, lactational infecundability, frequency of intercourse, sterility, spontaneous intrauterine mortality, and duration of the fertile period.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It is not the place here to discuss the effect of the above intermediate variables on fertility. However, these variables are the "practical guide"⁽⁴⁷⁾ for further research on demographical trends among the bedouin. For the purpose of the present

discussion it seems however that the two intermediate variables of contraception and lactational infecundability are likely to be the keys to population growth among bedouin after sedentarization has been completed. The combination of these two intermediate variables plays an important role in determining fertility rates since both have a direct affect on "the exposure to the risk of pregnancy". For example, the introduction of bottle feeding instead of breast feeding would probably foreshorten the lactational infecundability period and thus increase the risk of another earlier pregnancy. The same principle is applicable for the contraception intermediate variable since certain communities are still not prepared to use contraception.

4.4 Socio-economic Interaction

The unique pattern of the distribution of Galilee bedouin tribal territories among inhabited regions provides a good reason to examine some aspects of the nomadic sedentarization processes. There are many examples throughout the history of the Middle East in which drought, or new forces which arose in the desert, have at times driven migratory tribes to the borders of settled regions, brought them into close contact with the local populace, and consequently resulted in the conversion of these desert migrants into settlers. (48)

The following discussion examines the nature of the socio-economic interaction of the pastoral and sedentary populations in Galilee during the British Mandate period in Palestine (1918-1948), arguing that their mutual interaction was a fundamental cause for the spontaneous sedentarization of Galilee bedouin tribes.

For the purpose of the present discussion the term bedouin, as it relates to their cultural and social identity indicates the pastoral group whose main livelihood is based on animal husbandry, despite

operating some sort of sedentary residence. The term fellaheen meaning literally "tillers of the soil" but with a cultural and social significance beyond this, will indicate the sedentary villagers whose main occupation is agriculture and farming. It is important to mention that such a division is an artificial one. In reality there are village-dwelling shepherds and there are nomadic herdsmen who are part-time farmers. Village farmers may hire pastoralists to take care of their herds, while pastoral groups may own villages where others do the farming for them. (49)

4.4.1 Theoretical background

There is a wide range of studies of nomadic sedentarization throughout the Middle East and North Africa. It seems that geographers tend to neglect the importance of internal factors on nomadic sedentarization, such as change brought about through imitation, competition and innovation, though they have stressed external influences. In recent decades, the discovery of oil followed by large-scale industrialization in various parts of the Middle East, has led to an increased interest in nomadic sedentarization. Furthermore the contemporary ideology of the governments and of the urban masses is strongly against the continuation of nomadism, which is regarded as contrary to these goals and aspirations of a modern nation and society. (50) Accordingly, in such developing circumstances, geographers have approached the subject of nomadic sedentarization by placing emphasis on external economic and political factors.

In contrast, anthropologists tend to attach great importance to the internal factors which have influenced the sedentarization processes resulting from socio-economic interaction and interdependence between the pastoral and non-pastoral groups inhabiting the same area. A most valuable collection of studies on this subject has been compiled by

Cynthia Nelson in The Desert and the Sown : Nomads in the Wider Society (1973).⁽⁵¹⁾

Anthropologists have approached nomad-sedentary relationship in two ways. First, nomadic society in relation to its total environment. Sedentary peoples and societies are part of this total environment, and nomads' relations to them are revealed as part of an ecologic, economic or political analysis.⁽⁵²⁾ This general viewpoint is adopted by Fredrik Barth (1973) in his work upon the Basseri tribes of South Persia. Barth (1962) has referred to this approach as follows:

"In areas with an established nomadic minority, a strong economic interdependence tends to develop between the village communities and the nomads, and one finds a situation of symbiosis where they mutually depend on each other's products, and where the whole economy of the area is based on the presence of both groups. The removal from such a system of all the specialized pastoral producers can only result in economic decline for the areas as a whole." (53)

Secondly, a more explicitly symbiotic view whereby the inter-connections of nomads and sedentary people are seen as prerequisites for the survival of each in their present form. Abbas Mohammed (1973) in a paper entitled "The Nomadic and the Sedentary : polar complementaries not polar opposites", advocates this view by drawing attention to the joint system in which both nomads and settled populations participate.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In his case study of the North White Nile region of the Sudan he shows that the nomadic contribution to the cotton picking labour force amounted to 42 per cent. He also concluded that due to the employment of pastoral nomads in cotton-picking "a pattern of socio-economic interaction has developed and become a characteristic feature of nomadic-sedentary relations. Mutual need, trust and goodwill are emerging principles, and the model of mutual hostility between nomads and their sedentary neighbours become a myth."⁽⁵⁵⁾

There are obvious limitations to anthropological studies of nomadic and sedentary groups. They tend to concentrate their work on a particular group, largely because their studies are mostly done while residing among one particular group. Therefore, their studies tend to be either of a single village, with subsidiary references to urban and pastoral nomadic contacts, or of a single pastoral group with subsidiary references to village and urban contacts. The overall result is that symbiotic production systems of villagers and nomads have been studied in terms of separate parts rather than as regional systems containing considerable numbers of tribes and sedentary groups. (56)

It has been accepted commonly by both Anthropologists and Geographers that nomadic pastoral groups have always maintained regular access to settlements despite their degree of mobility and their remoteness from these settlements. The frequency of interaction and the extent of interdependence between both communities varies from region to region. This variety relates to the nature of the migration regime of the nomadic group and the type of interrelationships.

Cole's (1973) study of the Al Murrah of Saudi Arabia illustrates a high degree of interaction. The main grazing territory of the Al Murrah for winter pastorage is in the Rub al-Khali. Cole (1973) notes that they are among the most highly mobile camel herders in Saudi Arabia; nevertheless in the summer they live in date-grove oases villages. In addition, their kinship ties link them with village dwellers, and their notables have contacts with important city dwellers. Access to religious instruction and sectarian affiliations are among their village and town interests. Recently, they have contributed manpower to the modern Saudi Arabian army. Cole's (1973) main point is that however isolated some segments of Al Murrah may seem at certain times of the year, it is impossible to conceive of them as being anything but integrated to the same ecological and national systems as villages and city dwellers. (57)

4.4.2 Economic Interaction

Nomadic societies in the Middle East do not exist in isolated habitats. They are usually in contact with other nomads, with villages, markets, and towns. Arensberg (1965) pointed out that the universal integration of the pastoral and agricultural sectors of production in the Middle East into one regional economy is evidenced by the basic diet consumed - in tents and in villages composed of both agricultural and pastoral products.⁽⁵⁸⁾ This point may serve as a preliminary framework for analyzing the basic form of nomad-sedentary integration, through demand and supply where both sectors initially conduct economic exchange at a domestic level. Among the pastoral nomads, the tent is the basic social and economic unit. The economy of the tent-dwelling household is based on the ownership of three kinds of property :

- (1) a flock, cattle, sheep and goats which serve as productive capital together with a number of transport animals, camel, horse, mule and donkey;
- (2) movable property consisting of a tent, tools, and implements and
- (3) land; in some cases the rights of access to such lands may only be for pastoral purposes.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The tent as a unit of production and consumption has become a highly specialized subsistence economy and its primary products are few, limited essentially to meat, milk, wool and supplying animals for transport. In contrast, pastoral nomads are characteristically consumers of, or require, a wide variety of agricultural and industrial products which are not produced by its members, but can be obtained only from town and village. These include coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, wheat, cereals, dates, fruit, clothing, footwear, craftsman's products and industrial wares. Pastoral nomads are completely dependent on these products for their work and everyday life. Such patterns of consumption are typical of Middle Eastern pastoral nomads and may, to a certain extent, also apply to nomads of

other regions whose requirements and consumption patterns are different, such as the reindeer nomads of the sub-Arctic, or the classic nomad cultures of central Asia, both of which are closely dependent on the products of their flock. These flocks are used with great inventiveness to provide a diversity of food and equipment and the nomadic community of this type thus makes itself much more independent of supplies from the outside.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The products which a nomadic household needs and cannot produce may be obtained from sedentary persons or groups in a number of different ways. The simplest of these is trade, but also in certain circumstances a nomad will not hesitate to obtain it by raiding and robbery. If the nomad's flocks produce a sufficient amount of pastoral products, above and beyond what he and his family consume, the surplus can be exchanged for such agricultural and industrial goods as are available in a market. This process implies the most complete and effective division of labour, whereby pastoral nomadism, through suitable market institutions, becomes fully integrated in the local economic system as a specialized occupation.

In the case of the Galilee bedouin, unfortunately both 19th century travellers' literature and modern writers devoted very little attention to the economic interaction between fellaheen and bedouin. It usually describes their relationship with the sedentary people in terms of conflicts and aggressions. The bedouin contribution to the regional economy was usually viewed negatively and often considered as being a major obstacle for development.⁽⁶¹⁾ In most modern literature the Israeli writers have elaborated this notion and given to this particular topic a distorted picture. They are probably influenced by two factors. First, they apparently associated bedouin with the experience of the early Jewish colonization in Palestine, when it is often mentioned that the Jewish pioneers struggled against bedouin and malaria.⁽⁶²⁾

Secondly, some of the writers are deliberately trying to promote Zionist propaganda "turning the desert into a rose garden."⁽⁶³⁾ For example, Arlosoroff (1930) mentioned "There is an age-old feud between the bedouin and the fellah that may go back to the very beginnings of human civilization; that the grazing rights forced out of the defenseless peasant, and accompanied by frequent thefts of crops, pilferings and raids, belong to those phenomena in the social life of the desert frontier which, time and time again have checked the progress of civilisation in these parts of the world."⁽⁶⁴⁾ Karmon (1953) in his paper "the settlement of the northern Huleh Valley since 1938" described the Ghawarnah as resisting the mandatory government when the latter acted for the prevention of malaria. "Most of these activities met with resistance and sometimes obstruction from the Arab settlers, who saw in them an interference with their traditional methods and ways of life."⁽⁶⁵⁾ The result of such over-emphasis on one particular aspect could easily lead to the conclusion that economic enterprise between local fellaheen and the bedouin in Galilee has not been greatly developed. In reality, things are entirely different. Galilee bedouin tribes who formed only 5% of the total population could not establish a self-sufficient economy. Their demands for food from the local villages would be considerable.

Another cause of bedouin-fellaheen interaction and perhaps the most important one is the nature of the Galilee nomadism. Since they were characteristically semi-nomadic or settled in tents, their range of movement is usually limited and infrequent. Thus the bedouin begin to accumulate immovable possessions. Thus their demands for such goods are higher than the true nomads. The main point suggested here is that nomads' degree of economic interaction increased in direct relation to the progress of sedentarization. If the bedouin are growing crops this does not mean that they become less dependent on the fellaheen but that they are widening their range of economic enterprise. The Galilee bedouin economic contribution to the fellaheen was not just the provision of certain products

as Conder and Kitchener (1883) found among the tribes of the Upper Galilee who had "become famous for their butter and milk".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Some bedouin tribes who owned extensive lands were prepared to share with fellaheen in cultivating the land. This sort of co-operation whereby the fellaheen become a bedouin's tenant is convincing proof of genuine economic interaction.

It is interesting to note that bedouin-fellaheen economic interaction continues until the present day after the completion of sedentarization. The author is familiar with many cases where bedouin in Lower Galilee continue to obtain yearly olive oil from their neighbouring Muslim villages. In exchange, the bedouin who still raise flocks, provide both animal products and the ram for the Islamic Feast of Sacrifice (or the Feast of Immolation, in Arabic 'Īd al-aḍḥā). Such sort of longstanding barter is usually conducted on the land of individuals. This is also an extension to what Barth (1962) describes as the 'village friend' relationship, whereby each nomad has one or more trading partners in villages close to his normal migration route.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In summing up, economic interaction between bedouin and fellaheen in Galilee was a matter of necessity and not choice. The contribution of such interaction to the sedentarization process should be concluded from the increasing degree of incorporation within the wider regional economic system. Bedouin groups who experienced a long period of contact with the culture of local sedentary people, and whose material life diffused from village to camp, would inevitably obtain a similar diffusion of ideas and change of perception whereby bedouin began to imitate their neighbouring villages. As a pre-condition for such processes both fellaheen and bedouin require a stable central government which could provide effective order.

4.4.3 Social Interaction

Having discussed the nomad-sedentary interaction from an economic viewpoint, it is necessary to examine whether such a relationship gives rise to social repercussions of great significance. The marriage relationship will be used as an indicator for such interaction. There is little evidence regarding nomad-sedentary intermarriage. Awad (1970) found that some sedentary tribal groups who have been settled on the land for a fairly long time still continue to maintain their tribal solidarity and refuse to intermarry with the earlier settlers or fellaheen. A good example of this is afforded by the Hawara of Upper Egypt, an Arabized Berber tribe that at one time ruled the whole of Southern Egypt. They still refuse to give their daughters in marriage to a fellah, however rich he may be. But they themselves do not object to marrying a rich fellah girl, by which means, as Awad notes, they have been able to acquire land.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Marx (1974) gives evidence of certain cases of intermarriage between fellaheen and bedouin in the Negev, where a few sheikhs have married fellaheen girls as additional wives. He pointed out that there is a greater possibility that the fellaheen will give their daughters to bedouin rather than the reverse. Marx (1974) also mentioned a case where a bedouin father in the Negev gave his daughter to a fellah from Hebron with whom he had engaged in trade.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Among Galilee bedouin tribes, there is no evidence in the literature concerning bedouin-fellaheen intermarriage, during the British Mandate in Palestine (1918-1948). However, there is evidence from recent field work research (April - September 1981), and through close personal acquaintance with some tribes that cases of intermarriage were found to be quite numerous in various tribes, notably among the tribes of Lower Galilee. For example, tribesmen of Arab Al Nujaidāt married fellah

women from the villages of Bu'eina, Nimrim and Hittin. In each case there was one marriage and one bedouin girl married a fellah from Tur'an; tribesmen of Arab Luhaib, notably the Falah family, have married fellah women, once in the village of Uzeir and twice in Ilut. Also one Luhaib woman married a fellah from the village of 'Arraba. The Jawāmī's tribe, who settled in the land of the village of Ilut and eventually bought their own land from the village, show two cases of intermarriage whereby two Jawāmī'sian men married girls from this village. Since data on other tribes have not been gathered about this specific point, it is likely that more cases of intermarriage between bedouin and fellaheen have occurred.

The highest percentage of bedouin and non-bedouin intermarriage in Galilee today (August 1981) are apparently found in Sa'āyida Umm al Ghanam bedouin village who settled the southern slopes of Mount Tabor. The mothers of 25 families, out of a total of 89 households, were of non-bedouin Arab origin. A rate of almost one third of all the village have intermarried with wider society and this may be considered as parallel to Awad's (1954) fourth stage of assimilation.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Awad (1954) divided the process of the assimilation of Egyptian nomads into five states; (1) absolute nomadism (2) partial nomadism (3) partial assimilation (4) advanced assimilation (5) complete assimilation. In the final stage of assimilation, Awad said that the Arabs of nomadic origin become fellaheen as a result of intermarriage, which may have been going on for several decades.⁽⁷¹⁾

It should be remembered that the case of Sa'āyidah Umm al Ghanam does not represent other settled bedouin groups in Galilee. For example in the bedouin village of Nu'aim in August 1981, only one fellaheen wife was found out of a total of 39 wives. The rest are from bedouin origin. The one fellaheen wife was married to a Nu'aimian

widower as a second wife.

Thus, bedouin preserve social integration, notably through inter-marriage, despite the high degree of economic interdependence. This may be explained by the bedouin perception of sedentary people. For many centuries the bedouin considered himself the highest standing in society and considered it his customary and hereditary right to impose his rule on those "despised toilers" who lived in houses and tilled the soil.⁽⁷²⁾ But increasing nomadic-sedentary interaction through both channels of economic exchange and possible social relationships, will lead to eventual changes in bedouin perception of sedentary communities. Such a confrontation between contrasting cultural societies is likely to create a base for mutual cultural exchange by diffusion of ideas, thoughts and material from one side to the other, through processes of imitation and competition. Moreover, within the same tribe, there exist different attitudes toward sedentarization. Those members who have more access to, and opportunities of encountering, the sedentary neighbours have been amongst the first tribesmen to settle. This may be equally applicable in the regional context. In areas where nomadic groups have had a long contact with local sedentary populations, there has been more rapid sedentarization than among other desert nomads. This factor accounts for the major difference between the Galilee and Negev bedouin types of sedentarization. Finally, socio-economic interaction could encourage the bedouin to change their tents into modern dwelling houses.

4.5 Migration and Urbanization Trends

The Palestine type of urbanization and its regional orientation towards the plains and the coastal parts of the country provide a good case to test the earlier assumption of regular Galilee bedouin migration from the upper mountain into the lower part. This migration is assumed to be an integral part of the sedentarization and denomadization processes. Thus, bedouin migration from the rural environment of Upper Galilee into areas with close proximity to towns and modern agricultural expansion is likely to be associated with the idea of changing the bedouin subsistence economy into a welfare one. Changing the base of such traditional economy is most vital for the processes of sedentarization since it allows both accumulation of capital for purchasing private property such as land, and also contributes to the disintegrating of the tribe while some of its members are absent temporarily or permanently to search for jobs in towns. There are several examples in the Middle East and Northern African countries where nomadic groups have migrated into urban areas for the purpose of employment and have eventually established small shanty towns around their work places. The emigration of nomadic groups, from Southern Tunisia into towns inhabited by Europeans in the Mediterranean zone has been mentioned by Clarke (1957), and fits this category.⁽⁷³⁾ According to Clarke (1959) "Temporary emigration to the towns and villages of the north is a feature of the more settled groups."⁽⁷⁴⁾

Other examples are found in the oil-rich countries where nomads become settled after being permanent dwellers in the new shanty towns around the oil fields and associated industry. They almost lose their contact with the original tribes.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The bedouin tribes in the Jerusalem and Bethlehem vicinities have also produced a scattered pattern

of settlement close to both cities.⁽⁷⁶⁾ It is only in general terms that one can compare the case of Galilee bedouin migration with that of the above cases. Whatever was the circumstance and the reasons involved, there is a tendency of bedouin groups with various degrees of sedentarization to abandon their traditional camp and to join the ranks of the urbanized. It is not always necessary that such groups migrated for labour purposes, as most studies have heavily emphasized; there are examples of bedouin groups who migrated with their flocks and settled on the urban periphery at a distance perhaps not exceeding 5 km. from the town centre. Perhaps the prime reason for choosing such a location was better accessibility to water resources, or to maintain daily contact with the market rather than to search for labour. In these cases tribesmen and particularly the women could make a daily journey to the town to sell the animal products, mostly milk, yogurt, cheese, butter and ghee; sometimes also animal meat, skin, hair, chickens and eggs. These groups very often remain settled in such a locality and contribute considerably to the local market. A good example of such groups is found in the Tiberias vicinity. A 1943 map of Palestine marked them as being "Arab Tabariya", namely the bedouin of Tiberias, camping some 2-5 km. west and south of the town.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Table 4.4 shows that these groups are sub tribal groups who were split up from their original tribal camp (Fig.4.1) to form a sort of communal grazing. Several groups who were camping close to each other had identified themselves by the name of the site or the land they camped on. In 1947, 10 families from each of the Wuhaib and the Tawāfirah were settled in the town of Tiberias and maintained themselves from the sale of animal products and labour.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The second bedouin group who migrated close to urban areas were those tribes of South Western Galilee in the vicinities of Haifa and Shafa 'Amr towns. Figure 4.1 shows that a relatively high number of tribal groups have chosen to concentrate around the town of Shafa 'Amr.

Table 4.4 Bedouin Groups Camping in Tiberias Vicinity (1931)

Tribal group	Tribal origin	Tent	Population 1931
Arab Nasir ed Din	Dalāyikah al 'Īsa, Wuhaib	35	179 ; 90*
Arab al Manara	Tawāfirah Wuhaib, Dalāyikah, Şubaih	33	214 ; 490*
Arab Sarjuna	Khawālid, Dalāyikah Shuhādāt and 'Īsa	11	73
Arab Poriya	Dalāyikah Shuhādāt and 'Īsa. Ghuraifāt Tawāfirah	19	97
Arab al Midraj	-	11	57
Arab al Qadish	Dalāyikah Shuhādāt and 'Īsa	16	79

* Population in 1945.

Source : Ashkenazi, 1938, pp.245-247, Hadawi, 1970, p.72.

The town of Shafa 'Amr is the smallest town in Galilee and it has never developed any industrial activities. It is assumed, however, that there were other reasons influencing the high concentration of bedouin groups in Shafa 'Amr vicinity rather than possible bedouin employment in the town. Thus the link between bedouin migration and employment opportunities in this case is very weak and perhaps did not exist. Towards the end of the 19th century the area had attracted several bedouin groups whose arrival in this particular area was probably because it had one of the lowest population densities. The oak forest south of Shafa 'Amr forms

a good natural grazing ground and within this hilly area bedouin could cultivate some tracts between the hills. Furthermore, the Wad al Malik was one of the most important water resources for watering the animals. Finally, the town Shafa 'Amr was used by the bedouin for commercial and services purposes.

The area continued to attract more bedouin groups in the first half of the 20th century and particularly during the British Mandate. The new bedouin groups were mostly sub tribes who split off from their original tribe in the Upper Galilee mountain. In addition, there are also bedouin groups who arrived to this hilly area from the plains of Marj Ibn 'Amir in the south and Acre plain in the West. These particular group had left the plain in the 1930's when the Jewish Agency acquired the land they were occupying.

Before elaborating on the reasons for the new bedouin migration into this part of Galilee it is essential to mention that the present groups are bedouin who camped in the lands of settled villages or towns. Therefore their sedentarization has to be associated with the acquisition of suitable land for establishing the new stone houses. They are unlike the majority of bedouin tribes in Galilee (Table 4.5) who possess their own tribal land and had no need to invest capital in land purchase during the stage of transition into sedentary life. However, the reasons for this new migration, which greatly influenced their sedentarization, are several, two direct causes and some indirect.

(i) The area in which the bedouin concentrated contains the great advantage of being bounded by both new industrial activity in the Haifa-Acre region in the west and agricultural activities in Marj Ibn 'Amir to the south. Thus, according to Golany (1966) :

"These two regions, characterised by high economic activity, have attracted bedouin concentrations to this corner richer in means of subsistence than any other part of the Galilee since early times". (79)

Table 4.5 Bedouin Land holding in Northern Palestine (1945)*

Tribe	Total land (Donum)	Cultivable Land (Donum)	% of Cultivable land
Arab el 'Aramis ha & Arab el Quleitat	11,442	2,653	23
Arab Touqiya	1,872	196	10
Arab el Fuqara	15	-	-
Arab el Ghawarnia (Jist Zergā)	2,531	680	27
Arab el Ghawarnia (Jidru)	793	-	-
Arab Baniha	7,611	7,295	96
Arab es Subeih	3,740	3,708	99
Arab esh Shamalina	16,690	4,080	24
Kirad el Baqqara	2,141	2,021	94
Kirad el Ghannama	3,795	3,548	93
Arab Zubeid & Mallāha	1,838	1,761	95
Qudeiriya	12,487	1,029	16
Arab el Heib (Tuba)	13,684	7,478	54
Tyleil & el Huseiniya	3,556	3,410	96
Zanghariya	27,856	7,265	26
Arab el Mawasi & el Wuheib	7,038	2,027	29
Manara	4,185	4,172	99
Samakiya	10,474	4,102	39

Source : S. Hadawi, Village Statistics 1945, Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, Beirut, 1970.

* The spelling of names are presented as they appear in the original source.

A similar viewpoint was reported by Amiran and Ben-Arieh (1963)

"In industry the bedouin found an open market for his labour. This applied especially to the northern part of the country. In contrast to present trends, Haifa was in mandatory days the preeminent industrial city. Outside Haifa there grew up the most ugly and shocking shanty towns where some of the labour force 'resided', among them many bedouin." (80)

Thus the notion that Galilee bedouin engaged in industrial activities during the mandate period, seems to be held consistently by several scholars. However, according to a secret document compiled by the Palestine Government Chief Secretary on 17th November 1942, entitled Manpower in Palestine, there were 66,000 bedouin in Palestine "whose labour value, incidentally, is small."⁽⁸¹⁾ Such a statement conflicts with the former views. It certainly seems that at this stage revenue from industrial employment was not an important means to attract bedouin to this area. However, it did partially benefit some individuals but did not reflect a general trend. It is interesting to note that one person of the tribe, Arab as Sadiyyay, worked as a policeman in Shafa 'Amr police station for many years during the British Mandate. One of his sons (51 years old) claims that 'due to his father's acquaintance with the Shafa 'Amr's people his tribe were able to acquire their lands.'⁽⁸²⁾ There is also another case in Arab Luhaib Abu Şaiah where a bedouin man worked for some 10 years in the neighbouring German colony of Waldhelm as a fulltime labourer. These examples were gathered during the field research (April - September 1981) in order to assess the contribution of wage labour capital invested in land purchases. The impression which most interviews gave was that until the end of the British Mandate the main source of bedouin income was from livestock and some supplementary income from growing crops. A general conclusion may be put forward that industrial development did not radically change the major Galilee bedouin economic activity of raising livestock.

Thus they did not resemble the cases of the Arab villages or that of nomadic groups in a desert environment. It seems, however, that the Galilean non-desert environment allowed the bedouin in Galilee to react slowly to the industrial development, while they preferred to continue raising livestock and cultivating some part of the land they possessed or turned other parts of their pasture into cultivable land. Table 4.5 clearly shows that most of the tribal groups mentioned in 1945 cultivate a considerable part of their lands either by themselves or through fellaheen tenants. The hypothesis which may be put forward is that bedouin in their early stages of sedentarization prefer to combine agriculture as a source of supplementary income to raising animals rather than labouring. This preference was perhaps due to the fact that labouring demands fulltime work, while agriculture is usually seasonal and does not upset the requirements of time and manpower necessary for the task of raising animals. By contrast, in arid environments where the risk of drought is high and the opportunities of developing extensive agriculture (without modern irrigation) are limited, nomads in their early stages or sedentarization usually react positively to work in oil industry or irrigation schemes. This often leads to the reduction of their livestock population. Since there is the opportunity in Galilee for bedouin to turn to agriculture and to continue raising animals it appears that agriculture has been an essential intermediate stage in the sedentarization process.

(ii) The second reason for the high concentration of bedouin groups in south western Galilee is the availability of land for purchase. The immediate needs for land are different from one bedouin group to the other. Those groups who had split up from their original tribe may have needed lands not only for cultivation or grazing purposes, but also to create a sort of small traditional dirah. However, for those

groups who were evacuated from Marj Ibn Amir after the land had been transferred into Jewish hands new land was urgently required to secure their existence and keep their people together.

The introduction of the new concept of private land ownership is at the heart of Galilee bedouin sedentarization. Traditionally land was owned collectively by the whole group. Deviation from this concept is a relatively new idea among bedouin, initiating marked social change within the tribe and challenging tribal solidarity. Once bedouin have made the first step towards a permanent lifestyle through acquiring land, the second stage of establishing a stone house for dwelling usually follows quickly since the bedouin only needs to gather cash for buying the building materials. The period between acquiring the land and building the stone house or digging a water well is crucial in the process of sedentarization, during which the bedouin adapts to the idea of immovable property. The length of this period varies because such processes depend on individuals rather than groups, taking up to a maximum of ten years, but usually less.

The offering of large land sales to the bedouin from about the early 1930's in south western Galilee closely corresponds to the period of the increase in urbanization in Palestine and accelerating sedentarization. The following discussion will examine the impact of urbanization on the local Arab community. Urbanization influenced the possibility of offering lands for bedouin. Between the years 1922-1940 the urban population of Palestine grew by 165% whereas the rural population increased only 72%.⁽⁸³⁾ Such a rate of increase was not only due to the Jewish immigration to Palestine during the British Mandate, but also among the Arabs urbanization was raised from 29% in 1922 to 34% in 1944 (Table 4.6). The process was interrupted in the 1948 War by the exodus of most of the Arab town population from Palestine. Then under the state of Israel the process apparently began again (Table 4.6').

Table 4.6 Increasing Urbanization of the Arab Population of Palestine Between 1922 and 1975

Year	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
1922	71	29
1933	70	30
1944	66	34
1961	75	25
1972	45	55
1975	41	59

Source : A.J. Parkinson, An analysis of the Geographical Implications of the Israeli-Lebanon border : The Problems of Settlement in Northern Israel, Durham University, Geography Department, M.A. Dissertation, 1978, p.55 (Unpublished)

The increasing urbanization among the Arab population, particularly the Christians (Table 4.7) resulted mainly from the expansion of Palestine's economic infrastructure during the British Mandate. This was associated mainly with 1) the growing citrus industry; citrus plantations increased about ninefold between the years 1922 to 1937 (Table 4.8), the Arab sector developing almost to the same extent as the Jewish sector. According to Main (1937), "the conversion of arable land into citrus groves means a tenfold increase in the labour employed."⁽⁸⁴⁾ 2) The construction of Haifa harbour, which began in 1929 and was completed in 1934. 3) The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. At its peak, the wage labour force included an estimated 100,000 full-time Arab workers, or one-third of the entire male Arab population of working age.⁽⁸⁵⁾ It must be emphasised here that the British administration were not able to impose conscription for military service (unlike the Turks) on native Palestinians because conscription would have been contrary to the terms of the Mandate.

Table 4.7

The Rural and Urban Populations of Palestine by Religion 1922-1944

Religion	Years	Rural number	%	Urban number	%	Total number	%
Moslem	1922	451,816	76.6	139,074	23.4	590,000	100.0
	1931	571,637	75.2	188,075	24.8	759,712	100.0
	1944	693,820	69.7	300,900	30.3	994,720	100.0
Jews	1922	15,172	18.1	68,622	81.9	83,791	100.0
	1931	46,143	26.4	128,467	73.6	174,610	100.0
	1944	138,220	25.0	415,380	75.0	553,600	100.0
Christian	1922	17,981	24.6	55,043	75.4	73,024	100.0
	1931	22,148	24.2	69,250	75.8	93,198	100.0
	1944	27,760	20.5	107,790	79.5	135,550	100.0
Druze	1922	7,896	83.3	1,578	16.7	9,474	100.0
	1931	8,602	85.1	1,499	14.9	10,101	100.0
	1944	12,290	87.2	1,810	12.8	14,100	100.0

Source: G.Kossaifi, contribution a l'étude Demographique de la Population Palestinienne, Ph.D. Thesis, Institut De Demographie Université de Paris, Sorbonne, Paris, 1976, p.33 (unpublished)

Table 4.8 The Development of Citrus Plantations 1922-1937
(in donums)

End of Year	Jews	Arab	Total
1922	10,000	22,000	32,000
1927	24,000	33,000	57,000
1930	60,000	47,000	107,000
1933	120,000	81,000	201,000
1935	153,000	134,000	287,000
1937	155,500	144,600	299,500

Source : D.Horowitz, "Arab Economy in Palestine," in Palestine's Economic Future, J.B. Hobman (ed.), Percy Lund Humphries and Company Limited, London, 1946, p.59.

However a large number of unskilled Arab labourers were needed during the war for building Army Camps, installations, roads etc., while the British troops had to maintain other functions.

The expansion of Palestine's economic infrastructure had a profound effect on both bedouin and Arab village socio-economic structure. For the first time in history the Arab village had a better and wider opportunity to be freed from being dependent on agriculture. It follows that the base of the traditional occupational structure was altered with a movement of manpower from the agricultural branch into other modern occupations. According to Horowitz (1946):

"No less than 10,000 Arab earners have therefore been transferred from agriculture where the annual income per earner was in 1936 only LP27 per year, to Government employment with an average annual pay of LP120 per salaried employee and LP60 per daily worker." (86)

The government secret document of 1942 on manpower in Palestine gave a similar notion:

"During a recent survey in Jenin subdistrict an estimate of 75% was given by the local authorities as the proportion of the total labour available employed on Army works. It must be noted, however,... Already there is evidence from all districts that competitive demands and high wages have dangerously reduced the labour available for agriculture. The large landowners who use hired labour are particularly affected." (87)

In addition, the Histadrut estimated the Arab wage force in agriculture as being 20% of the total Arab wage forces in 1946 (Table 4.9) towards the end of the British Mandate, compared with being 65.5% (in 1920) in the first years of the Mandate.⁽⁸⁸⁾ This decline may be largely due to the impact of the British Mandate (1918-1948).

Table 4.9 Distribution of the Arab Wage Force in 1946

Occupation	Number
Government workers	24,000
Army	27,000
Railways	7,000
Municipalities	3,250
Arab industries and handicrafts	11,000
Arab Workers in non-Arab industry	2,500
Miscellaneous small enterprises	500
Mining	1,300
Harbours	1,700
Fishing	3,000
Oil Companies	4,000
Construction	7,000
Transport	N/A
Business, services, professions	14,000
Agriculture	30,000 (20%)
Miscellaneous	6,750
	147,000

Source: R.L. Taqqu, Arab Labor in Mandatory, Palestine 1920-48 Ph.D Thesis History, Asia Department, Columbia University 1978, p.170.

The decreasing proportion in agricultural employment was a direct result of the decrease in cultivable land in many villages which were located close to the regional economic developments, thus resulting in either the selling of marginal areas or the abandoning of it temporarily, especially when such land was formerly cultivated by tenants who turned to industrial work or other modern jobs. Simultaneously there was continuous manpower outflow from agriculture into the modern sectors, creating conflicting attitudes within the same village as to the worth of maintaining agriculture as against possible cash earnings from the alternative activities. This not only created a new social class within the village, but also led to competition between villagers for the more profitable jobs. Table 4.10 clearly illustrates employment and incomes in agriculture in comparison with other branches.

Table 4.10 Estimated Number engaged in each Branch of Production and Average Income per Head in the Arab Community, 1944.

Branch of Production	Number Engaged '000	Total Income LP mil.	Average income per person LP
Agriculture, livestock, fisheries and forests	152	20.4	134
Industry and handicrafts	13	3.3	254
Housing	-	2.9	-
Building and construction	20	2.9	145
War Department, civilian employment	26	2.7	104
Palestine troops	2	0.2	121
Transport and communications	15	3.5	233
Commerce and finance, hotels, restaurants and cafes	29	6.9	238
Government and local authorities	32	4.8	150
Other	11	2.0	182
Total	300	49.6	165

Source : P.J. Loftus, National Income of Palestine, 1944, Government printer, Palestine, 1946, p.27.

The introduction of profitable alternatives to agriculture among the sedentary local community was apparently the main reason for selling some of their lands to the bedouin. Golany (1966) shows that the settlements who sold land to bedouin in south western Galilee often had relatively large amounts of land per capita as in Tables 4.11 and 4.11.1. The averages of land holding for the three chosen settlements was 17.6 donums (Table 4.11.1), or double the district's average of 8.02 donums (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11 The Average Land per Head in Northern Districts in 1945

District	Total land (Donum)	Total population	Average land (Donum per person)
Acre	799,663	68,330	11.7
Nazareth	497,533	46,100	10.7
Safad	696,131	53,620	12.9
Tiberias	440,969	39,200	11.2
Haifa	1,031,755	224,630	4.5
Total	3,466,051	431,880	8.02

Source: G. Golany, Bedouin settlement in Alonim-Shfaram Hill Region, Ministry of Interior and Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966, p.17.

Table 4.11.1 The Average Land per Head in Three Arab Villages in 1945

Settlement	Total land (Donum)	Total population	Average land (Donum per person)
Safa 'Amr	97,606	3,640	26.8
Suffuriya	55,378	4,330	12.7
Ilut	17,557	1,310	13.4
Total	174,181	9,280	17.6

Source : Golany, op.cit. p.19.

According to Amiran and Ben-Arieh (1963) the land which was offered to bedouin in Shafa 'Amr vicinity was distinctive in having little value to the Shafa 'Amr people, since such land had a low productivity and was distant from their town:

"The land most easily available for sale was a considerable extent of low oak forest in the hills immediately to the north of 'Emeq Jezreel, which belonged to the people of Shefar'am. This forest cover had been preserved on an area covered with nari crust which made the land of poor agricultural value to the conventional Arab farmer. The oak forest on the other hand was useful for the Beduin for pasturing his livestock. Beduin had been in this area for a considerable time, apparently since the eighteenth century. Here, therefore, was a favourable deal, both for the people of Shefar'am who owned a wealth of good agricultural land and had a chance to sell for fair money land distant from their town which had little value to them, and for the Beduin, who could at reasonable prices acquire pieces of land useful to them." (89)

This pattern of land acquisition seems to be over simplified and represents only the settler's order of preference. However, field research (April - September 1981) among the bedouin tribes who settled in this vicinity (notably the tribes of Zubaidāt, Sadiyyah, Ḥilf, Khawālid, Ka'biyyah, Samniyyah and Sawāid-Ḥumairah) confirmed that the pattern of bedouin land acquisition appears quite different from a bedouin perspective. For all the bedouin groups (except the Ka'biyyah) the sale was arranged through private bedouin families acquiring land from private non-bedouins. The bedouin usually preferred to acquire land suitable for immediate cultivation which mostly formed a tract between the hills or the valley bottom and also traces in the top plateaux, (further discussion in chapter 8). This pattern of preference was greatly influenced by the religious affiliation of the settlers rather than the distance from city. In this respect, the Christians and the Druzes of Shafa 'Amr were among the first people to offer land for sale to bedouin. Thus the location of land offered depended largely on the location of both Christian and Druze land within the total town territory.

No evidence has been shown that these particular groups owned the land from the town.

The Christian group were likely to offer land for sale because they were first groups among the Arab society to move towards urbanization. They were the most skilled class among the villagers and they were the first people who were attracted, or perhaps encouraged, by the British Administration to engage in modern employment, industry, in military bases, construction, trade, etc. Their qualifications allowed them to earn a higher wage than others in the same village. The wage of a skilled worker exceeded the rates for unskilled labour ⁽⁹⁰⁾ by four to six fold during the British Mandate.

In summing up this part, one could clearly see that migration and urbanization had contributed to the process of sedentarization, through gradual detribalisation and through migration. Indirectly, urbanization accelerated private land acquisition. The impact of both migration and urbanization was of varying significance among tribes of Galilee.

Notes and References

- (1) J.B. Barron, Palestine Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922, Jerusalem, 1923.
E. Mills, Census of Palestine 1931, Alexandria, 1933.
- (2) D.H.K. Amiran, "Nomadic and Beduin Population in the Census Returns of Mandatory Palestine", Israel Exploration Journal, Vol.13, Jerusalem 1963, p.250.
- (3) S. Hadawi, Village Statistics 1945, Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, Beirut, 1970.
- (4) D.H. Kallner, "Population and Economic Development in Palestine", Union Géographique Internationale Comptes Rendus du Congrès International De Amsterdam, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1938, p.436.
- (5) A. Ruppin, Three Decades of Palestine, "Haaretz" Printing Press, Tel-Aviv, 1936, p.264.
- (6) Y. Shimoni, Arave Eres Yisrael (The Arabs of Palestine), Davar, Tel-Aviv, 1947, p.162 (in Hebrew).
- (7) Ruppin, op.cit., p.226.
- (8) D.G. Bates, "The role of the State in Peasant-Nomad Mutualism" Anthropological Quarterly, vol.44, No.3, 1971, pp.109-131.
- (9) C. Geikie, The Holy Land and the Bible, Cassel and Company, Limited, London, Vol.II, 1887, p.248.
- (10) L. Oliphant, Haifa or a Life in Modern Palestine, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1887, p.67.
- (11) E. Grant, The Peasantry of Palestine, the Pilgrim Press, Chicago, 1907, p.130.
- (12) G. Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p.128.
- (13) E.Marx, Bedouin of the Negev, Reshafim, Tel-Aviv, 1974, p.68 (in Hebrew).
- (14) V. Monteil, "The Evaluation and Settling of Nomads of the Shāhāra" International Social Science Journal, Vol.XI, No.4, 1959, p.577.
F. Barth, "Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau area of south West Asia", The Problems of Arid Zone, Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone Research, No.1 XVIII, UNESCO, Paris, 1962, p.350.
A.Shmueli, Nomadism about to Cease, Reshafim, Tel Aviv, 1980, pp.101-102.
- (15) Barth, op.cit. p.350.
- (16) Ibid.

- (17) R. Capot-Rey, "The present state of Nomadism in the Sahara", The Problems of Arid Zone, Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone Research, Vol.XVIII, UNESCO, Paris, 1962, p.304.
- (18) Barth, op.cit., p.350.
- (19) F.W. Notstein and E. Jurkat, "Population Problems of Palestine", The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, No.4, 1945. pp.307-352.
- (20) S. Reichman, "The Evolution of Land transportation in Palestine, 1920-1947", Jerusalem Studies in Geography, No.2, Department of Geography, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1971, pp.55-90.
- (21) Great Britain, Palestine Partition Commission Report cmd. 5854, London, 1938, p.30.
- (22) Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, Palestine and Transjordan, London, 1943, p.176.
- (23) T. Ashkenazi, Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine Du Nord, Librairie Orientalists, Paul Geuthrer, Paris, 1938, p.157.
- (24) L. Krader, "The Ecology of Nomadic Pastoralism" International Social Science Journal, Vol.XI, No.4, 1959, pp.505-507.
- (25) Baer, op.cit., p.128.
- (26) Krader, op.cit., p.507.
- (27) Barth, op.cit., p.350.
- (28) T. Ashkenazi, The Bedouin Manners and Customs, Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1957, pp.34-35. (in Hebrew)
- (29) D.H.K. Amiran and Y. Ben-Arieh "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel", Israel Exploration Journal, Vol.12, No.3, Jerusalem 1963, p.163.
- (30) C.O. Conder, Tent work in Palestine, vol.2. London, 1878,p.273.
- (31) Ashkenazi (1957) op.cit., p.34.
- (32) Marx, op.cit., p.68.
- (33) Field Research, Wardah al Salim, Luhaib Tuba, Interview, 18.8.1981.
- (34) Ibid.
- (35) Ashkenazi (1957) op.cit. p.121.
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Field research in the Luhaib Tuba village, May 1981.

- (38) J.L. Burckhardt, Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, Vol.I. London, 1831, pp.14-15.
- (39) J.I. Clarke, "Summer Nomadism in Tunisia", Economic Geography, Vol. 31, 1955, p.167.
- (40) Y. Bar-Gal and A. Soffer, Geographical Changes in the Arab Villages in Northern Israel, University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional papers series No.9, 1981, p.6.
- (41) R.A. Henin, Fertility Differentials in Sudan (with reference to the nomadic and settled populations) Population Studies Vol.XXII, London, 1968, p.164.
- (42) E. Bernus, Touaregs Nigeriens, ORSTOM, Paris, 1981, pp.115-118.
- (43) A.G.Hill, S. Randall and O.Sullivan, The Mortality and Fertility of Farmers and Pastoralists in Central Mali 1950-1981. Centre for Population Studies, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London, CPS Research Paper No. 82-4, May, 1982, p.35.
- (44) Ibid.
- (45) A.G.Hill and F.C. Shorter, Intermediate variables in Fertility Analysis : A Practical Guide, Seminar Paper 1, prepared for the 1979 Annual Conference of the Institute of Statistical Studies and Research, Cairo University, March 10-11, 1979, p.2.
- (46) J. Bongaarts, "A Framework for Analyzing the proximate Determinants of Fertility" Population and Development Review, Vol.4, No.1, March 1978, pp.105-132.
- (47) A.G.Hill and F.C. Shorter, op.cit.
- (48) Baer, op.cit., p.127.
- (49) J. Gullick, The Middle East : An Anthropological Perspective, Pacific palisades : California Goodyear, 1976, p.72.
- (50) A.I. Tannous "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State", Middle East Journal, Vol.1, Washington, 1942, pp.5-17.
- (51) C. Nelson, (ed.) The desert and the sown : Nomads in the Wider Society, University of California, Institute of International Studies, Research Series 21, Berkeley, 1973.
- (52) F. Barth, "A general perspective on Nomad-Sedentary Relations in the Middle East", in Nelson (ed.) op.cit., p.17.
- (53) Barth (1962) op.cit., p.344.
- (54) Abbas Mohammed, "The Nomadic and the Sedentary : Polar Complementaries - not polar opposites, in Nelson, op.cit., p.97.

- (55) Ibid, pp.108, 111.
- (56) Gullick, op.cit., p.78.
- (57) D.P.Cole, Nomads of the Nomads, The Al Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1975, p.114.
- (58) C.M.Arensberg, "A Comparative Analysis of Culture and Community, Peoples of the old world", in Culture and Community, C.M. Arensberg and S.T.Kimball (eds.), New York, 1965. p.82.
- (59) G.R.Fazel, The encapsulation of Nomadic Societies in Iran, in Nelson, op.cit. pp.132-133.
- (60) Barth (1962) op.cit., p.345.
- (61) A. Bitan-Buttenwieser, Changes in the Settlement and Land Use in Eastern Lower Galilee from the beginning of the 19th Century until the present day, Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1969, p.81. (unpublished)
- (62) Ruppin, op.cit., pp.153-4.
- (63) Among other things Zionist propaganda claim that Palestine was neglected, deserted and only due to Jews efforts the situation changed.
- (64) General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel, Documents and Essays on Jewish Labour Policy in Palestine, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1975, pp.179-180.
- (65) Y.Karmon, "The Settlement of Northern Huleh Valley since 1938", Israel Exploration Journal, No.3, Jerusalem, 1953,p.23.
- (66) C.R. Conder and H.H.Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hedrography, and Archaeology, The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1881-83, vol.I, p.144.
- (67) Barth, op.cit., p.346.
- (68) M. Awad, Living Conditions of Nomadic semi-nomadic and Settled Tribal Groups, in Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures, A.M. Lutfiyya and C.W.Churchill (eds.), The Hague and Paris, Mouton, 1970, p.140.
- (69) Marx, op.cit., p.61.
- (70) M.Awad, "The Assimilation of Nomads in Egypt", Geographical Review, XLIV, No.7, 1954, p.247.
- (71) Ibid, p.252.
- (72) Amiran and Ben-Arieh, op.cit., p.163.

- (73) J.I.Clarke, "Emigration from Southern Tunisia", Geography, Vol.42, 1957, pp.96-104.
- (74) J.I.Clarke, Studies of Semi-Nomadism in North Africa, 35, No.2, 1959, p.106.
- (75) D.P.Cole, "Bedouin of the oil fields", Ekistics, Vol.37, (221), 1974, pp.268-270.
Cole, op.cit., p.158-163.
- (76) Shmueli, op.cit., pp.100-101.
- (77) Palestine, Department of Survey, 1:100,000 Palestine, 1943, Sheet 3 Safad.
- (78) Israel State Archives (ISA) Record Group 2, Y/58/42, Galilee District Commissioner to Chief Secretary 7.2.1942.
- (79) G.Golony, Bedouin Settlement in Alonim-Shfaram Hill Region, Ministry of Interior and Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966, p.11.
- (80) Amiran and Ben-Arieh, op.cit., 169.
- (81) Public Record Office (PRO), CO 733/449/76182, "Manpower in Palestine", Secret document published by the Palestine Government, 17.6.1948.
- (82) Field Research, Mohammed Diab Saadi, Interview 14.6.1982,
- (83) Notestein and Jurkat, op.cit., p.333.
- (84) E. Main, Palestine at the Crossroads, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1937, p.203.
- (85) R.L. Taquu, Arab Labor in Mandatory, Palestine 1920-1948. Ph.D. thesis, History Asia Department, Colombia University, 1977, p.159.
- (86) D.Horowitz, "Arab Economy in Palestine", in Palestine's Economic Future, J.B. Hobron (ed.), Percy Lund Humphries and Company Limited, London, 1946, p.65.
- (87) PRO CO 733/449/76182, op.cit., p.4.
- (88) House of Lords, Parliamentary Debates, June 29, 1920 (Calculated from various figures).
- (89) Amiran and Ben Arieh, op.cit., p.175.
- (90) Taquu, op.cit., p.65.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPECIFIC CAUSES FOR THE SEDENTARIZATION OF GALILEE BEDOUIN

5.1 The Impact of Pre-State Jewish Colonization

"The future of these tribes is a difficult problem. They have as strong a claim as the rest of the Arabs to follow their habitual mode of life, but that mode, with its wasteful system of nomadic grazing, can hardly be held to justify the perpetuation of primitive methods of cultivation. The whole question demands careful consideration. It may be that pastoral economy and intensive culture cannot exist side by side, in which case the bedouin's needs must be met in other ways." (1)

The impact of Jewish colonization on the ongoing process of sedentarization was probably the strongest factor for those tribes who were camped in the plains or attached to them in one way or another. Sir Herbert Samuel (1920), the first High Commissioner for Palestine himself gave the first warning of this colonization process. In addressing his declaration to the Zionist leader Dr. Weizman (1920) the High Commissioner, he described the effect of large scale Jewish immigration on Palestine bedouin as follows:

"In addition to the rights of private landowners communal village lands, are the historical and accepted rights of the nomad and semi-nomad Bedouin Arab located in Palestine. Their grazing rights over lands not their permanent habitat and their passage to and from such lands in accordance with the seasons, are sanctified by centuries of custom and acquiescence by the peasants over whose lands they pass on whose land their flocks obtain summer pasturage. The unwritten law on this subject is quite clear and includes fees paid for protection en route. There are dividing lines across Palestine mutually accepted by the tribes from the North, East and South. The areas of these migrations are clearly marked and accepted and I attach a sketch map showing these movements. Where local protecting tribes do not exist, island colonies have been formed by the migrating tribes on suitable grass lands so as to furnish necessary protection to the flocks during the annual visit of the contingent from the main tribe. The migration commence as soon as the crops are in and grazing in the homelands shows signs of exhaustion, that is from about June and continues into July and August. The return starts with the first rainfall, usually early in November.

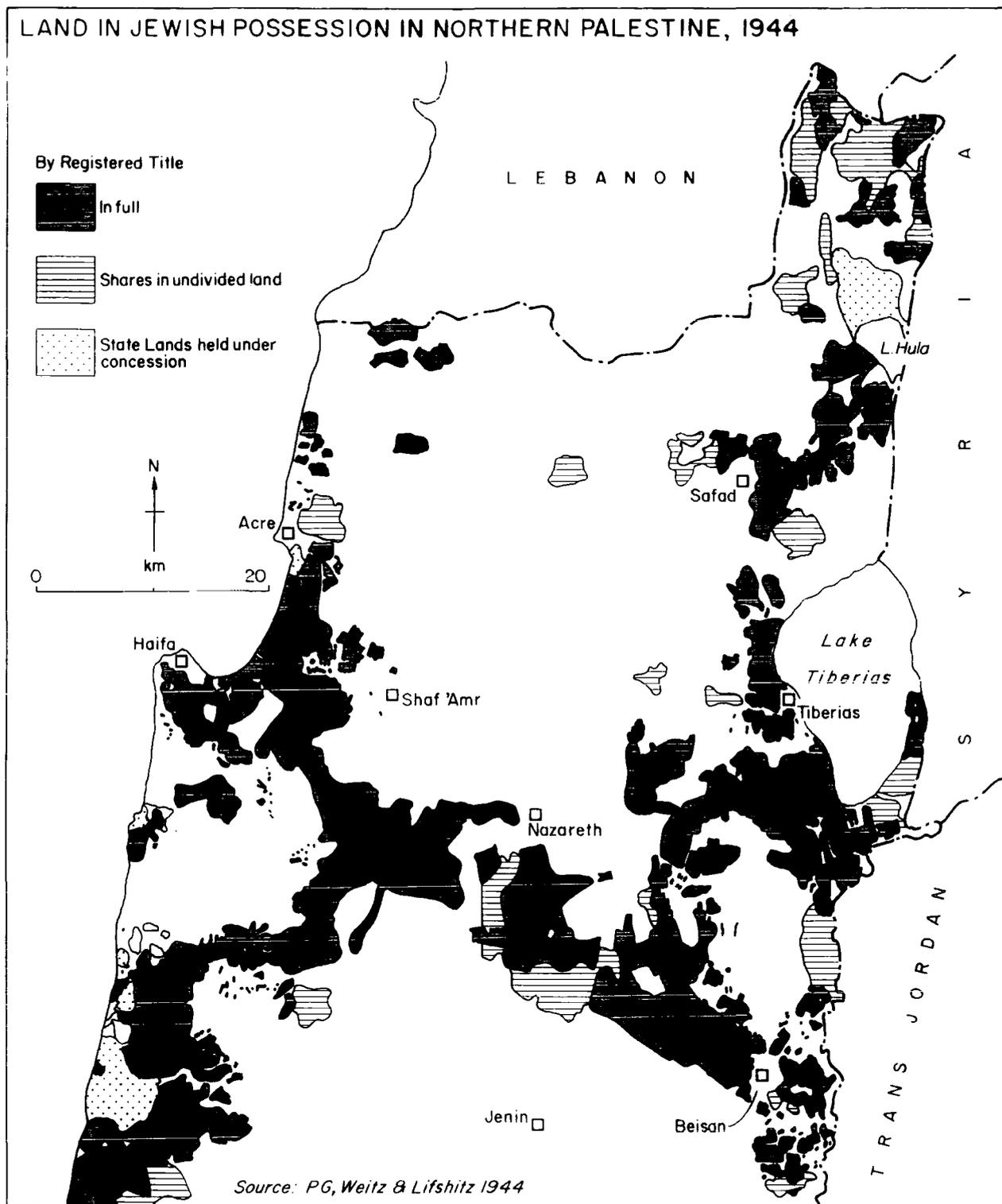


FIG 5.1

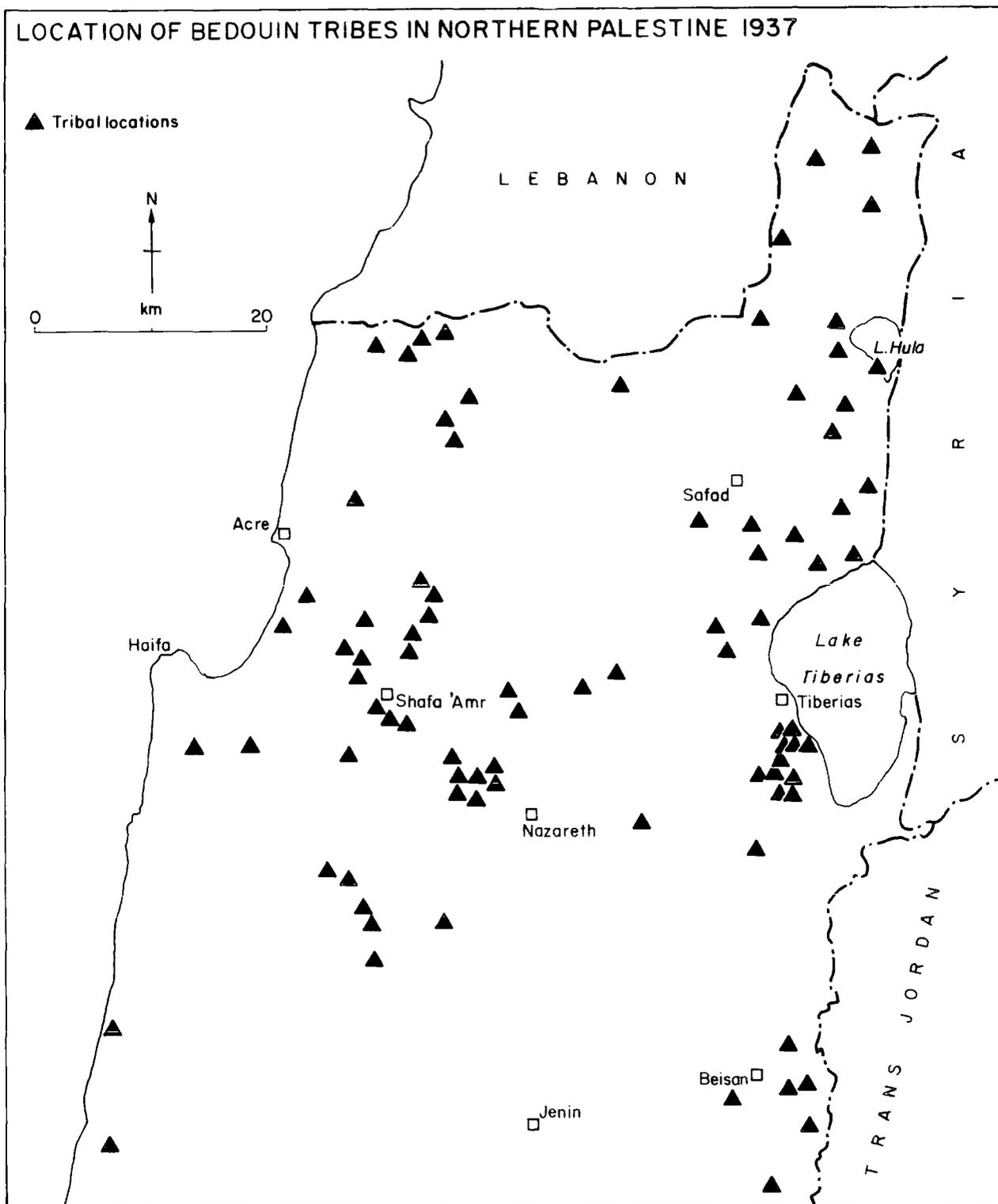


FIG 5.2

The number affected in the North zone are approximately 3,000, in the centre a few hundred herdsmen, in the south up to as many as 10,000. From the foregoing it will be recognized that Jewish immigration to the land, if in any large numbers, will necessitate a complete revision of the present system of tenure and the abolishment of old tribal grazing rights and customs." (2)

In the light of the High Commissioner's evidence, an attempt will be made to examine the impact of Jewish colonization upon the bedouin groups of Galilee arguing that such impact did not contribute to the bedouin economic stability as much as to the detribalization and disbanding of certain groups. In this respect, it seems that the impact arose primarily because of the unique spatial distribution of the Jewish land preference within the northern areas (Fig. 5.1) which follows a similar pattern to the existing preferences of the bedouin tribes (Fig. 5.2). This pattern of similarity led to competition for land. On the one hand the Zionist organization acquired this land by various methods in order to settle immigrants and on the other hand bedouin tribes, as well as Arab villages, were in possession or in tenancy of the same land. In order to understand the process of bedouin detribalization it is necessary to explain firstly the reasons surrounding the establishment of the unique pattern of Jewish land acquisition in northern Palestine.

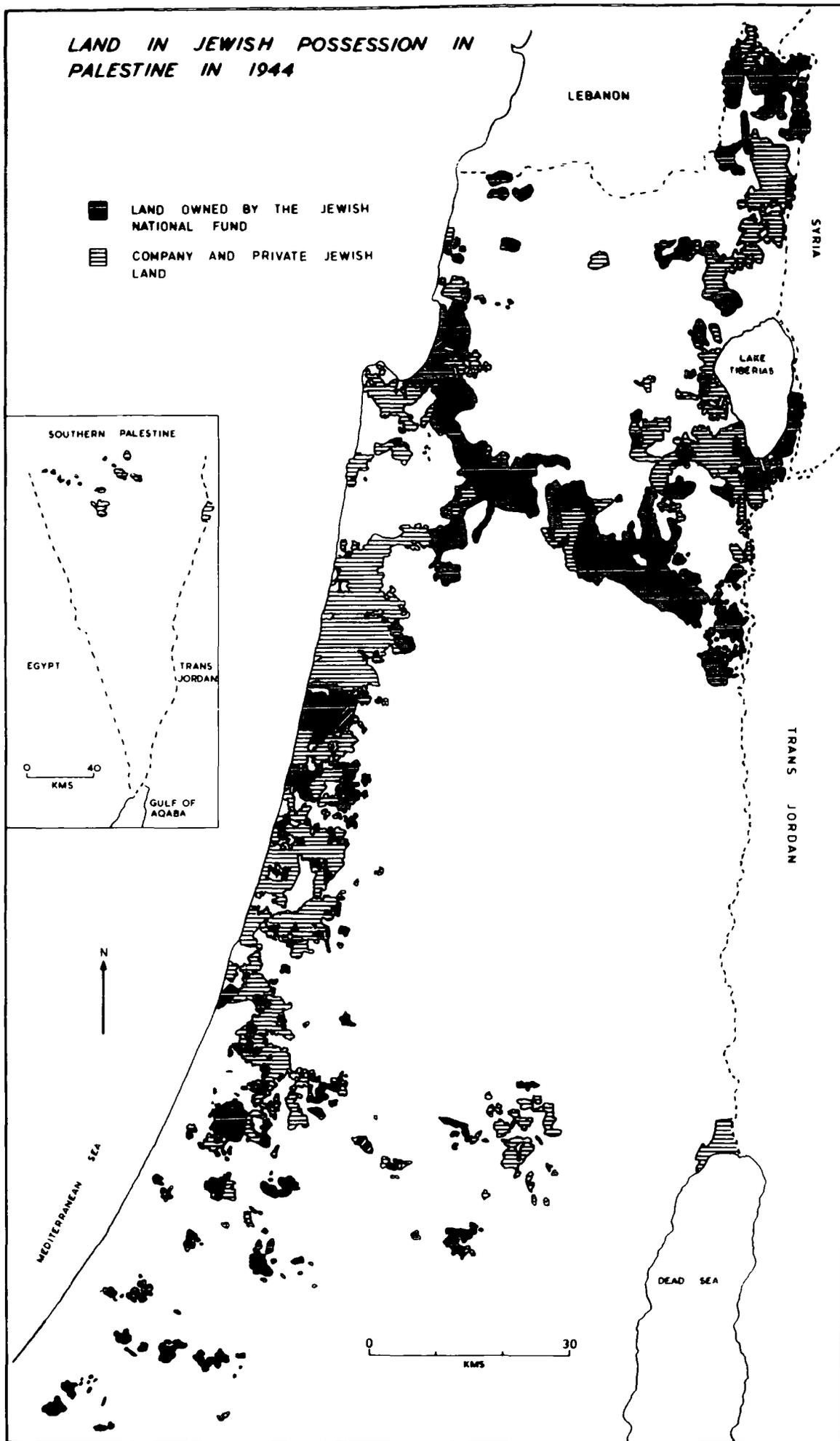
5.1.2 Political Background

The Balfour declaration of the 2nd November 1917 concerning the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine was a turning point in the geography of Palestine, as well as in the history of Jews. After centuries of population stability the country became a territory for future colonization.

The declaration itself was issued in the form of a letter from Arthur James Balfour, the Foreign Secretary to Lord Rothschild.⁽³⁾ At a Cabinet Meeting on 31st October 1917, Arthur Balfour, who was to be

signatory to the document, said that he understood the words "National Home" (from Heimstätte) to which the Zionists attached so much importance, to mean some form of British, American or other protectorate, under which full facilities would be given to the Jews to work out their own salvation and to build up, by means of education, agriculture and industry, a real centre of national culture and a focus of national life. It did not necessarily involve the early establishment of an Independent Jewish State, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution.⁽⁴⁾

In response to this declaration the British administration had to introduce a restricted legislation of the land system in order to fulfil Balfour's promise.⁽⁵⁾ The mandate for Palestine is the only one of the 'A Category' to provide for matters such as land system and settlement.⁽⁶⁾ Special attention had been paid to this question in the mandates of the 'B' and 'C' categories; these territories were regarded by the Western powers as communities who had not reached the stage of development to enjoy control of their land systems. The general classification of various mandated territories into three categories 'A', 'B' and 'C' was based on the character of the given mandate, such as the stage of the development of the people, and the geographical situation of the territory. For example, 'A' category is applied to ex-Turkish provinces and 'B' 'C' to ex-German colonies in Africa and the Pacific. Mandated territories under 'B' and 'C' category needed to pass a longer period on the way to their ultimate independence compared with the mandated territories of 'A' category. Despite the fact that Palestinian communities were regarded among those who had reached an advanced stage of development such as the other 'A' mandates of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine's inhabitants did not enjoy similar treatment. From this viewpoint the mandate for Palestine stands alone as a result of being involved



Source: From Feasey (1973) page 12.

FIG 5.4

in the national home policy.⁽⁷⁾

It is true that the British administration did not institute such a land system in order to colonize the country with their nationals or in their own more or less exclusive interest, as was the case of colonization of North Africa by the French and the Italians.⁽⁸⁾ However, since their policy contained two elements : the provisions of Article 11 (the control of land) and the undertaking to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, in cooperation with the Jewish agency (Article 6), it follows that the British administration in Palestine was in the position of Judge and partner at the same time. By this means the colonization of the land in Palestine was, in principle, similar to any other colonization in the world. However, abuses of British Colonization in Palestine were less likely to occur because they did not use the land directly for themselves. Nor did they begin to interpret the immigration regulations more liberally to help Jews migrate to Palestine following the Holocaust in Europe.⁽⁹⁾

5.1.3 Areas of Jewish Land Preference

The absolute percentage of total increase of Jewish land possession (including public land) during the British Mandate in Palestine was from 1.5% in 1914 to 6.8% in 1947.⁽¹⁰⁾ (Fig. 5.3). Such increase may be regarded as relatively small if compared to the percentage increase of Jewish population from 9.7% in 1914 to 35.1% in 1946.⁽¹¹⁾ However, the chosen areas for colonization in Palestine are the focus of the present paragraph.

The northern sub-districts of Haifa, Acre, Tiberias and Beisan comprise only 14% of Palestine but in the years 1914 and 1947 comprised 71% and 60% respectively of the total Jewish land possession in these

years. Moreover the four sub-districts of Haifa, Beisan, Tiberias and Safad become the districts (beside Jaffa) with the highest Jewish land concentration by the end of the British Mandate in 1948 (Fig. 5.3). In these sub districts one-third (on average) of the land was transferred into Jewish land for agricultural and other purposes. This strong orientation towards northern areas is explained by a combination of political, environmental and economic factors as follows:

- (a) The British administration's policy.
- (b) The condition of the land.
- (c) The Jewish capital nature and structure.
- (d) The attitudes of local Arab inhabitants.

5.1.3.1 The British administration land policy

In addition to the policy of the land system and the "promoting of the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land" (in Article 11), Article 6 states that "The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." (12)

The text of this Article clearly indicates that immigration and settlement on the land are closely connected with each other and that the latter is to be the direct and immediate consequence of the former.

The obligation assumed by the mandatory, however, to encourage close settlement by Jews on the lands includes a similar obligation concerning the rights of the native Arab population that is they should not be affected by the former. Hence the Mandatory Power was to

co-ordinate in his land legislation for these two sets of interests.

The legislative measures to be taken by the Mandatory thus had to provide for a double guarantee : one to the Jews who are to acquire new land in order to be able to establish their national home in Palestine and one to "the other sections of the population" who were in present possession of the land. Under such favourable conditions both Jewish immigrants and lands acquisition were considerably increased in the early years of the British Mandate. For example, the country was opened to immigration and between 1920 and 1929 more than one hundred thousand Jewish immigrants entered the country, trebling the Jewish population of 1920. (13) As far as land purchase is concerned, by 1925 they had already purchased half a million donums, just about doubling their holdings at the beginning of the war in 1914. (14)

In 1929 it was officially accepted that the land policy pursued was creating a landless class of cultivators. The two reports of the Shaw Commission and Sir John Hope-Simpson, (1930) state clearly the effect of the Zionist Colonization policy on the Arabs. According to the Shaw Report (1930) :

"that land purchase by Jews on anything approaching a large scale must necessarily violate the rights of the nature tenant farmers, peasants, or squatters, and lead to the creation of a landless class, that the rights of these groups have hitherto not been sufficiently protected." (15)

In addition, Sir John Hope-Simpson points out that :

"to all intents and purposes the land purchased by the Jewish National Fund is actually extraterritorialised and ceases to be land from which the Arab can derive any advantage either at present or at any time in the future. He can never hope to cultivate, nor can he expect employment on the land as a paid labourer. Nor can anyone help him by restoring the land, by purchase to common use, since the land is inalienable. It is for this reason that the Arabs discount the profession of friendship and goodwill on the part of the Zionists in view of the policy which the Zionist Organization deliberately adopted." (16)

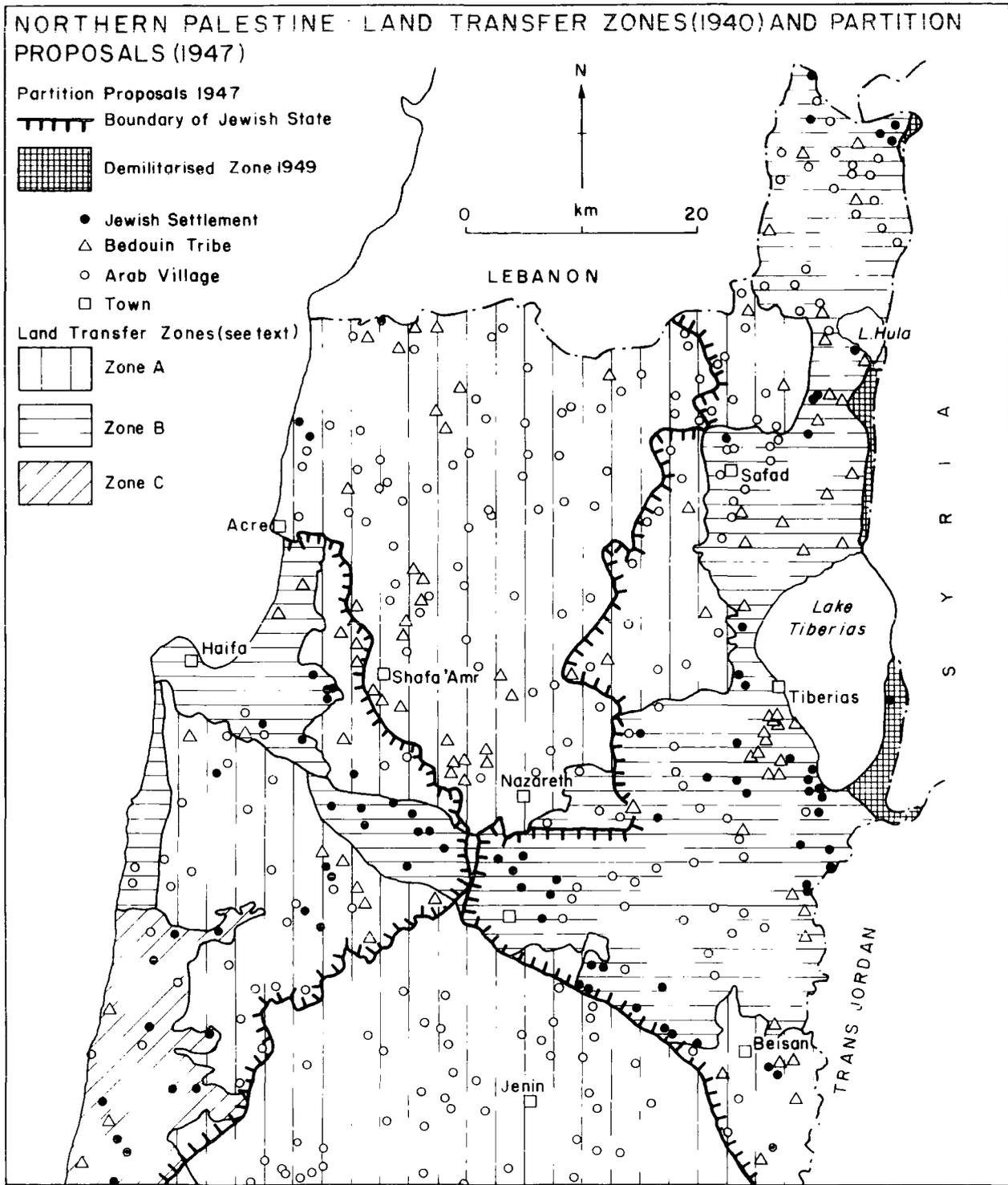


FIG 5.5

Following these two inquiries the Administration initiated a scheme for the settlement of landless Arabs on government land. Investigations disclosed the fact that certain properties owned by the government were not suitable, and those properties that were suitable were insufficient for the purpose.⁽¹⁷⁾ In spite of the settlement of some 350 families (out of 3,300 applications), the number of landless Arabs, in view of the continued purchases by Zionists, was increasing.⁽¹⁸⁾ The present situation continued until 1939 when the British Administration issued the White Paper which proved to be inconsistent with the spirit of the terms of the Mandate.⁽¹⁹⁾ It imposed a ceiling of 75,000 on Jewish immigration over the following five years and restricted the areas in which Jewish land purchases could be made.⁽²⁰⁾ The new policy of restricting Jewish land purchases was practically implemented by the issue of the Land Transfer Regulations, 1940. These Regulations derived their principles from the idea of "partition", suggested early in 1937 by the Peel Commission. Accordingly, Palestine was divided into two major zones : (see Figure 5.5 for northern Palestine) Zone "A" where transfers of land from Arabs to Jews is prohibited with certain specified exceptions, and Zone "B" where land sales from Arabs to Jews, though controlled, are permitted in such cases as the consolidation of holdings or the development of an area for the benefit of Arabs and Jews. In other areas (such as Zone C) which comprise municipal areas, the Haifa industrial zone and the maritime plain, no restrictions on transfers of property are imposed.⁽²¹⁾

In summing up the role of the Mandatory's land policy in creating the map of Jewish land in Palestine, it was essentially that of directing the Jews to acquire new land in certain areas in which it considered there would be no discrimination to the Arab inhabitants. The Mandatory's duty was to "encourage" Jewish settlement in Palestine.

In the eyes of the British Administration such "encouragement" would simply mean giving favourable consideration to any application by the Zionist organization.

5.1.3.2 The Condition of the Land

Before Palestine was handed over to British administration on April 25, 1920, the private land in Palestine was largely divided into large estates owned by a limited number of landlords. According to Granott (1952):

"The owners of large estates were practically all absentee landlords, living in towns, and often abroad, and did not show the slightest disposition to pay regular attention to their estates. If opportunity offered they leased the land; if not, they left it uncultivated." (22)

In most circumstances large estate lands were left in the hands of the local fellaheen with practically no modern means to cultivate or to develop the lands. This sort of land tenure had generally been encouraged by the Turkish authorities and this largely explains the persistence of quasi-feudal land conditions in Palestine - a state of affairs which was mainly responsible for the low degree of development of the Palestinian soil.⁽²³⁾ When the country was ruled by the British administration the Mandatory found an obligation to form a new land policy and to take the necessary measures for altering this state of affairs as being inconsistent, not only with his obligation explicitly undertaken to encourage close settlement on the land in Palestine, but also with the interests and needs of the country as a whole. On the other hand, it may be said that in taking such measures in order to break the feudal system, the Mandatory might have to act contrary to the rights and interests of the native population which meant also the big estate-owners, who it was equally his duty to safeguard.

Owing to this condition the Mandatory regulated the land system

so as to meet the national home policy and to prevent the emergence of new big estates. Hence the Mandatory's legislative measures were to interfere with transactions in private lands. The main principle in the Transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920, was that any person wishing to make a disposition of immovable property must first obtain the written consent of the Administration and must fulfil three conditions : 1) the person acquiring the land is (a) "resident in Palestine", and (b) 'intends himself to cultivate or develop the land immediately"; 2) the person disposing of the land "will retain sufficient land in the district or elsewhere for the maintenance of himself and his family"; 3) the land itself (a) must not exceed "either in value £E 3000 or in area 300 donums in the case of agricultural land and 30 donums in the case of the urban land" (b) it cannot be the subject of any new disposition.

When one or more of the above conditions are not fulfilled the only competent authority to grant the necessary consent of the Administration is the High Commissioner himself. (24)

The Transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920, as it stands (with the three conditions) may seem to act contrary to the Jewish wish of establishing a national home in Palestine, but where the acquisition and parcelling out of big estates occurs is, in fact, in the interest of the national home. However, the Ordinance left one option to meet this ambiguity. For example, during the years 1918-1927 when the Jews had already begun purchasing large parcels of land such as the extensive purchases made in the plain of Acre (maritime plain) and Marj Ibn 'Amir (plain of Esdraelon) where some 200,000 donums had been acquired. (25)

The High Commissioner, theoretically, had to welcome such sales in cases where he is satisfied that the transaction is for the benefit of the national home and the country as a whole. Beside this he was convinced that the Jewish Agency which was the acquiring body would

distribute the land among individual settlers, either in private property transactions or under lease for a number of years.⁽²⁶⁾

There is one point which must be emphasised in connection with the settlers here. The Marj Ibn 'Amir, where the biggest Jewish land concentration is, formed part of the vilayet of Beirut before the inclusion in present-day Palestine as a result of the 1914 War. By the division of Syria, the landlord was not merely an absentee but had become, in the eyes of the Law, a national of a foreign state : the Lebanon under French Mandate. This situation was ideal for the Jewish agency to acquire large lands in northern Palestine. The absentees were, therefore, prepared to accept the Jewish offers, not because of the so-often mentioned fact that higher compensation was paid than they could benefit from the fellaheen tenants,⁽²⁷⁾ but merely by the fact of that as foreigners they were anxious to avoid the difficulties of administering properties in a foreign country.

In connection with state and waste lands, the process of passing this category to Jewish hands is less complicated. This category eventually called "public lands", has always been understood to mean lands the ownership of which was formerly vested either in the Turkish sovereign or in the Turkish states, and which, upon the introduction of the mandates system, passed to the "States" placed under the Mandatory control.

This class of land was a significantly large class. The Ottomans had enlarged their ownership of land by various methods such as introducing the "Mahlul Law" or the Turkish Land Code. In this the land reverts to the government in the event of failure of heirs of the holder or on non-cultivation during three years.⁽²⁸⁾ The Mandatory, in his capacity of trustee for the State lands in Palestine, was

therefore under a twofold obligation : one, towards the country as a whole, to administer these lands in the interest of the latter; and the other, towards the Jewish national home, to encourage close settlement by Jews on such lands. If the Government does not or cannot cultivate or develop directly the State lands in its trust, then it is in the interest of the country that they should be thrown open to cultivation or development by private or collective enterprise. This is what the first obligation seems to imply, while the second points out the direction where such enterprise is to be sought. By virtue of the special provision embodied in Article 6 of the Mandate, Jewish settlers seem to have accorded priority in the acquisition or occupation of State and waste lands.⁽²⁹⁾

5.1.3.3 The Nature and Structure of Jewish Capital

The amount of capital available for both purposes of land purchase and the establishment of new settlements is a significant factor in the establishing of a Jewish national home in Palestine. It is important to mention that only about one-third of the available capital was allocated for the purpose of land purchase. The rest was needed for the establishment of the settlement and maintaining its population. According to Reichman (1979), the expenditure on land purchase and its improvement averaged 30-40 per cent.⁽³⁰⁾ Thus, theoretically, one may consider that the high proportion of investment for other purposes is one limitation on the expansion of Jewish land purchase in Palestine. Moreover, the nature and the structure of the available capital seems to play a dominant role in shaping the Jewish land distribution. This capital was largely obtained from philanthropists who were living in various countries of Europe and America. Economic crisis and other political developments within the philanthropists' countries inevitably had an effect on the amount and the consistency of its supply.

Another major source of capital was imported and invested by the immigrants themselves. The settlers brought with them the great bulk of the funds required for development. However, the uncertain number of immigrants to Palestine was another limitation on the availability of capital, which changed with British policy towards regulation of Jewish immigration. Arab nationalism increased in Palestine associated with the Arab resistance towards the Jewish national home. This may have deterred a number of potential immigrants who had capital. The structure of the capital invested in the national home was an important element to the task of colonization. This structure consists of public, semi-public and private funds. The proportion of private investment may have been as much as 3-4 times the total capital contributed from national institutions.⁽³¹⁾ According to Kaplan (1946), out of a total LP 100-120 million invested by the Jews in Palestine, about LP 20-25 million were derived from public and semi-public funds. The rest of this capital was presumably derived from private sources.⁽³²⁾

Owing to both its philanthropic nature and the private element in the capital structure, the investment in colonization must, as a rule, be very profitable. Hence the Jewish land preference was oriented to the most fertile areas of Palestine which were located in the northern and the coastal plains. "It is accepted without question that the five plains, namely the Maritime Plain, the Acre Plain, Marj Ibn 'Amir, Al Huleh and Jordan Valley comprising an area of 5,424,000 donums are the most fertile lands in Palestine."⁽³³⁾ In these fertile areas the Jewish Agency was prepared to pay relatively high prices to obtain the land. Such land also had particular value because they needed only a minimum of improvement for immediate settling. The Marj Ibn 'Amir area which passed to Jewish possession during the years 1918-1927 was one of the most fertile spots in Palestine by the end of the 19th century.

Table 5.1 The Increase in Land Prices During the Years 1930-1936 (LP/Donums)

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
<u>1. North</u>							
The plain	5.15	5.65	8.50	9.40	9.80	18.75	25.0
Western mountain	3.50	4.20	4.85	5.60	6.40	11.0	15.0
Eastern mountain	3.50	3.50	-	6.25	7.75	12.25	20.5
Average price	4.05	4.45	6.76	7.10	8.0	14.00	20.0
Increase %	100	109	164	175	197.5	345.6	493.8
<u>2. The other Regions</u>							
Beisan	5.0	6.0	7.0	10.0	10.0	20.0	25.0
Lower Galilee	3.5	4.5	4.75	5.75	8.25	13.0	18.0
*Emiq Israel	6.35	7.0	7.75	9.0	-	20.0	24.0
Hanita	3.57	-	-	-	-	15.0	15.0
Sharon	13.5	14.0	14.0	21.0	31.0	39.0	49.0
Jerusalem	5.0	-	-	14.0	14.0	20.0	25.0
The South	6.0	7.6	8.5	14.25	28.0	32.0	34.0
Beersheba	2.0	-	-	3.0	4.0	6.0	8.0
Average price	4.11	7.82	8.4	10.571	15.875	20.625	24.75
Increase %	100	190.2	204.3	257.2	386.2	603.6	603.6
Average price (1 + 2)	4.08	6.13	7.53	8.835	11.937	17.312	22.4
Increase in % (1 + 2)	110	150.2	184.5	216.5	292.5	424.3	549

* Marj Ibn 'Amir

Source : S. Reichman, From foothold to settled territory, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem 1979, p.235 (in Hebrew).

Thus Oliphant (1887) described the Marj Ibn Amir as resembling "a huge green lake of waving wheat".⁽³⁴⁾ This was not just due to the efforts of Jewish settlers and German protestants who were beginning to establish themselves in that period, but also because Arab villagers from the western slopes of the Galilee hills were starting to cultivate land in the plains below, following the increasing security in Palestine during the late 19th Century. Despite the increase in land prices of 400-500% during the years 1930 to 1936 in areas greatly sought after by the Jewish settlers, such as the Northern plains, Beisan, 'Amiq Israel (Marj Ibn 'Amir) and the Sharon (Table 5.1), the percentage of Jewish land in the northern districts (Fig. 5.3) changed only slightly from 71% in 1914 to 60% in 1947. This was largely due to the extensive purchases along the coast.

In fact the limitation of the available capital was not only because of its philanthropic nature and its private structure, but also the need of such large capital to obtain the best land suitable for maintaining modern settlement. Moreover, in areas considered by Jews as among the first preference, the Jewish Agency was prepared to pay additional compensation to the sitting tenants. This trend of land preference can be understood only through economic considerations rather than ideological ones. The private investor was interested in safe returns and he hesitated to engage in enterprises if the lands were not profitable enough. This approach may explain the low percentage of Jewish land possession in the southern districts. This part of Palestine had the lowest land prices and also the lowest Arab population density. Its relatively large territory should be most valuable for the idea of a national home or an independent State. The same factors may also explain the lower percentage of Jewish lands in the districts of Jerusalem (3.4%) and Hebron (0.61%) (Fig. 5.3) two cities which are regarded as the two most holy cities in the Jewish tradition.

5.1.3.4 The Attitudes of the Local Arab Inhabitants

The attitude of the local Arab inhabitants towards the issue of Jewish land purchase is most important since it determined both the amount of land offered for sale and its price. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 provide clear evidence of the lower percentage of Jewish land possession in areas highly populated with Arab settlements. Districts such as Acre, Nazareth, Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron comprising the three mountain regions of Galilee (Samaria and Judea) are mostly populated by Arab settlements. In these districts also the Jewish land possessions in 1947 were very low or non-existent. Such correlation can only be understood by the fact that in these areas the Arab local population owned the land and were unwilling to sell lands to Jews whatever the price.

Granott (1952), an Israeli land expert, commenting on the distribution of the land from the point of view of its ownership before it passed into the hands of the Jewish state:

"The Jews acquired their land principally from large and medium Arab landowners; the area which was bought from small proprietors was not extensive".

He went on to say that :

"although there are no figures covering the whole of the land acquisition, there are more or less precise data on the majority of the lands which in the various periods passed into the hands of the Jews."

The figures, he said :

"relate to acquisitions which were made by companies and associations - P.I.C.A., the Palestine Land Development Company, and the Jewish National Fund."

He then listed Jewish land acquisitions up to the year 1936 and pointed out that the figures embrace "only about half (55.4 per cent) of all the areas which were acquired by Jews."⁽³⁵⁾

According to Granott's tabulation, acquisition of land by the three Jewish Companies by the end of 1936 stood as in Table 5.2

Table 5.2 Purchases of Land by the Three Main Jewish Land Companies - PICA (Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association), Palestine Land Development Company and the Jewish National Fund - up to 1936.

The ex-owner	Donums	Percentage
Acquired from large absentee landowners	358,974	52.6
Acquired from large resident landowners	167,802	27.6
Acquired from government, churches and foreign companies	91,001	13.4
Acquired from fellaheen (farmers)	64,201	9.4
Total	681,978	100

Source : Modified from A.Granott, The Land System in Palestine, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1952, p.277.

Granott remarks :

"If we add up all these figures we shall find that no less than 90.6% of all acquisitions were of land which formerly belonged to large landowners, while from fellaheen only 9.4% was purchased." (36)

This 9.4% which was acquired from Palestinian fellaheen forms less than one-fourth of a single per cent of Palestine. Fellaheen probably refused to sell lands for Jews because of economic and social reasons rather than political ones. As the fellah land is his prestige and his main income, selling his land or part of it to Jews would threaten his existence. He perhaps never understood the meaning of "the Balfour Declaration" and its political implications. He might welcome the presence of Jewish Colonies beside his village since he could benefit

by working in them. However, for the Arabs living in towns perhaps their refusal to sell lands to Jews was based on nationalist motivation. This group also forms the elite in Arab society. They established various committees and organizations for protecting Palestine land. It is important to mention the "Sanduq al Ummah" or "The Arab National Fund", established in 1935; their aims were to protect the Arab nation's land by means of protesting to the High Commissioner for Palestine, raising land prices and even imposing sanctions against those Arabs willing to sell land to Jews. (37)

In summing up the factors surrounding the creation of the Jewish land possession in Palestine before 1948, one found that the condition of the lands and its legal ownership were dominant factors in creating the pattern of preference. In northern Palestine the Jewish lands in the plains of Marj Ibn 'Amir, Acre, south eastern Galilee, south and east Tiberias Lake and the Hula were acquired mostly from non-Palestinian absentee landlords. They were mostly Lebanese, Syrians, and even Egyptians and Iranians. (38) It is reasonable to assume that land distribution in Palestine was the major factor behind the various partition proposals for Palestine (1937-1947) and notably the United Nations proposal plan 1947 which suggested dividing the country into two States, Arab and Jews. This may be seen from the Woodhead Commission (1938) which excluded Galilee from the proposed Jewish State because :

"it is impossible to put Galilee into Jewish State without injury to the Arabs resident in the area, who form some 96 per cent of the population and own about the same percentage of land." (39)

5.1.4 Some Regional Cases

Pastoral land reduction was among the first consequences for the Galilee bedouin sedentarization. The Jewish land acquisition contributed most to such reduction. For some bedouin groups such reduction reached almost 100%. It should be mentioned that in calculating pastoral land reduction one must consider not only land where bedouin permanently camped, but also the land of other villages acquired by Jewish Agencies and which formed the main summer grazing. In this way the effect on bedouin was reflected not only in decreasing the size of tribal territory in a single tribe, or cause its total disappearance, but the effect was pronounced in the context of the northern region.

Since about one-third of the land on average in each of the three sub districts of Safad, Beisan and Haifa (Fig. 5.3) was transferred into Jewish land for agricultural and other purposes, the size of grazing areas in these sub districts will also probably have decreased in the same proportion.

It is important to mention that in some areas where Jewish Agencies acquired land, bedouin groups continued to camp on this land since it was not needed immediately. In some cases bedouin groups annually leased lands from Jewish Agencies after the latter had acquired it from absentee landlords. This former group suffered often since they did not realize that the new land owner had the legal right to ask them to evacuate the land at any time. They did not secure themselves by acquiring new alternative land and also could no longer turn to their former landlords for help since they were usually absentees in foreign States. In the two cases of the evacuation of the tribes of Ka'biyyah and Sa' āyidah in 1939 and 1944, respectively, the Jewish Agency paid monetary compensation.⁽⁴⁰⁾ According to Ruppin (1936) "the Jewish

organizations gave to each family a money indemnity amounting, on average, to about £P 49, which is more than the annual earnings of a fellah family.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, according to Hope Simpson (1930) the amount of £P 27 was given as the average.⁽⁴²⁾ The following cases provide some evidence of tribal groups in which Jewish colonization had accelerated their sedentarization in one way or another.

5.1.4.1 Arab Dalāyikah

The Dalāyikah tribal territory marked on the map of Western Palestine (1880) is located some 3-5 km from the south western corner of Lake Tiberias. The area is known as Al Hima.⁽⁴³⁾ Schumacher (1886) estimated the Dalāyikah in this locality as two groups consisting of 695 persons,⁽⁴⁴⁾ which seems to be the largest bedouin group at that time. Until 1914, the Dalāyikah were considered as a "settled farmer tribe" in the lands of the local villages of Beit Gan, Yavneel, Poriya and Mallaha colony lands.⁽⁴⁵⁾ PICA purchased this land before 1914 and the tribe had to disperse before the British Mandate,⁽⁴⁶⁾ split them up into their four main groups (al 'Īsā, Shuhādāt, Mohammed and Derwish). Each group joined other bedouin groups camping in this area. According to Ashkenazi (1938) the Dalāyikah were forced to sell their livestock because of inadequate water. Towards the end of the British Mandate in Palestine, the Dalāyikah bedouin were estimated as 80 families (in 1947).⁽⁴⁷⁾ Since this number is roughly equal to what Schumacher (1886) gave 60 years ago it seems that a large group of them had left Palestine and migrated back to the desert, east of the river Jordan. One of the 1930's writers has referred to bedouin tribal behaviour as generally the same as the Dalāyikah after their lands had been taken :

"The third of the things that are happening is the gradual removal of nomad tribes beyond the pale of cultivation and settlement; some of them are settling down in the frontier

district on the edge of the desert, on a very extensive and simple system of dry farming, while those tribes which are opposed to any change from the bedouin's tent to the peasant's peaceful hut are slowly pushed backward across the borderline of the desert." (48)

The Dalāyikah case provides an example in which the process of sedentarization has been interrupted. For many years they were living as settled farmers and when their dirah vanished the tribe split, searching for an alternative supplementary income to agriculture. Thus besides raising livestock they had to turn to raiding and robbing the Jewish colonies in that area for almost a period of half a century. There is no evidence that the Dalāyikah had attempted to migrate into the inner part of Galilee and to acquire land such as most other groups who were evacuated from their grazing lands towards the end of the British Mandate. The reasons for this exception are probably several. First, the Dalāyikah "dirah" lay on the desert frontier and for such a relatively large tribe, it is normal that in cases of losing land some elements will turn back to the desert and continue a nomadic life, while some other groups in the tribes will remain attached into their former dirah. Secondly, the timing of the Dalāyikah evacuation during the first decade of the 20th Century corresponded with a period in which the sedentarization process for the whole Galilee bedouin was still in its early stages. The disbanding was at the beginning of the first World War (1914) but it was not until about 1920 that the economic condition of the country began to improve, and bedouin were able to search for alternative employment to accumulate capital and to acquire land.

The whole Arab population left this area in the 1948 War, so the bedouin did not complete their sedentarization in Palestine.

5.1.4.2 Arab as Sumairī (Sumairī)

The case of Arab as Sumairī represents a common land dispute between the local Arab inhabitants and the Jewish Agencies. In this case it seems that the problem stems mainly from the unique system of land tenure rather than the parties involved. Thus some explanation is necessary before elaborating the dispute. The land over which the Arab as Sumairī and the PICA (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association) were in dispute belongs to the category of "masha' ", land in which the property is joint and undivided, whether belonging to one family or to a number of families united into a hamuleh, or to the inhabitants of a whole village. Under this form of ownership each family in the village receives a portion for tillage or other purposes, usually under redistribution which takes place at fixed intervals. The masha' land is a common land which is often used by villagers for grazing cattle and fuel gathering, village roads, schools, public threshing floors, cemeteries, wadis (stream beds) etc. The basic principle is that no individual can point to a piece of land as being his own property. The "Hak el Muzarā'a over this land means the right of sowing or cultivating. No houses or buildings may be erected and no trees may be planted on these lands without special permission from the Imperial Treasury Authorities. If this is obtained, the house or trees then become "mulk" (free hold property). Each individual member of the community has the right by inheritance to plough and to sow in "Masha' " lands by virtue of the Hak el Muzarā'a. (49)

This system is obviously not the most economic and contributed largely to the slow growth in Palestine's economy in recent centuries. By 1918, 70% of the land in Palestine remained masha'. In 1930 it was estimated that half the land was still held under this form of use. (50)

The Sumairī tribe, numbering 204 and 246 persons in 1922 and 1931 respectively,⁽⁵¹⁾ were a settled bedouin tribe who seemed to have been the first bedouin group to cultivate their lands by using irrigation. The tribal land was located within the village lands of Ghuweir Abu Shusha, along the north western shore of Lake Tiberias. The land was known as el Ghuweir Plain (or the little plain of Gennesareth), "the most sacred region of the lake - shall we not say of the world."⁽⁵²⁾ In the mid-nineteenth century (1856) the area on the western shore was described as being deserted with only one village containing "a collection of a few hovels" at the south eastern corner of the plain (named Majdal).⁽⁵³⁾ However, according to Lieutenant Kitchener's Reports at his survey camp at Tiberias on the 30th March, 1877, the land was extremely rich, "but is now only partially cultivated by a few bedouin and the people of Mejdal". He also mentioned that "the water is used for irrigation purposes."⁽⁵⁴⁾

In the first decade of the 20th Century Masterman (1908) described the Sumairī tribes and the neighbouring Talāwiyyah and Kharānbah as follows:

"The plain around Mejdal is cultivated by the fellahin of that village; between there and the mouth of Wady Amud by Tellaweyeh bedawin; Abu Shusheh is inhabited by Kharambeh bedawin; and the rest of the plain is under the control of the Sumeireh. These tribes, though tent-dwelling Arabs, are not true bedawin because they cultivate the soil like the fallahin, which the true nomads never do." (55)

The above traveller's observations confirm the idea that bedouin groups had experienced a long period of agricultural work.

The dispute between the Sumairī tribe and the PICA was recorded in two petitions addressed by the tribe to the High Commissioner for Palestine, dated 1.8.1946 and 29.7.1947. The first petition states that the tribe owns, in conjunction with PICA, certain masha' lands in

Ghuweir Abu Shusha. "The PICA partitioned these lands into two parts - one part being the plain fertile land, and the other rocky and waste land, and retained from them the plain fertile part, with the approval of Land Settlement. The partition of this land was done without the knowledge of the members of the tribe."⁽⁵⁶⁾ In the second petition (App. 1), Hassan Isma'il (29.7.47), Mukhtar of Arab as Sumairī explained explicitly the background of this dispute as follows:

"For a long time, the land of 'Uweir Abu Shousheh has been masha' land between them and the PICA. Before the settlement was made an agreement had been concluded between the two parties to the effect that the land would be divided for agricultural purposes and that the tribal share would be irrigated by the 'Amoud water. After some time, however, government deflected the course of the Amoud water to Mt. Can'aan with the result that the land belonging to the tribe became without any source of irrigation. The Mukhtar referred the matter to the PICA and the latter agreed to dig a canal and let the water in their possession run into the tribal land, but PICA would let the water run only when it pleased it to do so. Consequently, the tribe broke the agreement with it, with the result that the Association instituted legal proceedings against it, asking for damages of LP 2000. The tribe won the case, however, whereupon the PICA restored to it 300 donums from the land bought from some tribal women as compensation for losses sustained, when the settlement began, the Survey Department registered the land as masha' and ordered partition.

The tribe protested against this order but without any success. The PICA did not stop at that, however, but had new partition plans drawn out by their architect to suit their own wishes which they submitted to the Department of Land Settlement where they were approved without consulting the tribe.

On the 8th July, 1947, an armed force arrived at the village complete with tanks and military equipment (sic), seized the land in question and handed it to the Jews who started to plough it. The police attacked one of the tribesmen inflicting serious injuries on him. The petitioners claim that these proceedings were against the Law, that they still have rights in the land and that at any rate the Jews took much more than is their due, and entre His Excellency to see to it that every party receives his due."

The spirit of the two petitions suggest that bedouin did not benefit much from the modernization introduced to the land by their partners. The bedouin were a settled tribe who had irrigated their land by their

own methods. There is no doubt that bedouin could improve their situation and enjoy modernization if they wished to do so. Although such modernization is usually conditioned by purchasing local lands it appears that losing land contributes more to sedentarization in this case than modernization or economic improvement. Moreover Jewish selection of the fertile land had interrupted the Sumairī sedentarization.

5.1.4.3 The Ka'biyyah and the Sa'āyidah Tribes

Both groups represented those Arab tenants who were evacuated from the Marj Ibn Amir after the plain was purchased by the Jewish Agency. The bedouin obtained monetary compensation with which alternative land was acquired. Some general background must be mentioned here. Marj Ibn 'Amir formed one of the largest stretches of land that Jewish Agency was able to buy at once. The plain is a belt of rich soil which stretches for some 65 km. from the sea at Bay of Acne eastwards down into the Jordan Valley; it is some 14 km. broad, between the range of Mount Carmel and the hills of Samaria in the south and the hills of Galilee about Nazareth and Mount Tabor in the north. Until the 1950's a large portion of this plain was owned by the powerful tribe of Banī Saqir, controlling the whole area of Beisan district. The Turkish Authorities wrested the lands from the Banī Saqir tribe on the grounds that the bedouin could not support their claim by producing legal title deeds.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In 1872 the Turkish Authority sold the northern part of the plain which formed almost three quarters of the area to the Sursock family (landlords from Beirut) at a bargain price.⁽⁵⁸⁾ After 1890 Jewish Agencies and private bodies were interested in acquiring this plain "It was natural that this region, the largest fertile plain of Palestine, should have aroused the interest of the Jewish colonization societies at the very beginning."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Insufficient Jewish capital was available for this purpose until 1910. Then in February 1910 Hankin and Ruppin started their horseback journey

from Haifa to Beirut to negotiate over this land. The Sursock family sold 240,000 donums (at a cost of £P.726,000) during the years 1918 - 1927 to the Jewish Agency.⁽⁶⁰⁾ According to the Shaw Commission Report (1930) this sale displaced 1746 Arab farming families comprising 8,730 persons.⁽⁶¹⁾ This figure is much larger than that of the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) figures. The Jewish Agency supplied Hope Simpson with a list of 688 tenants who had worked the soil before the purchases were made, and who had to leave it as a result of the purchases. The list contains all the tenants who were indemnified for having to leave the soil.⁽⁶²⁾ However, Abcarius (1946), confirmed the number as 1,746 families, giving the following information :

"It should be remarked, in passing, that the plain of Esdraelon, or Marj Ibn 'Amer, formed part of the vilayet of Beirut before its inclusion in present-day Palestine as a result of the 1914 War. By the division of Syria, the landlord was not merely an absentee but had become, in the eyes of the law, a national of a foreign state : the Lebanon under French Mandate. The sale comprised twenty two villages and the inhabitants had to quit, with the exception of one village, the cultivators left their former holdings and accepted pecuniary compensation."⁽⁶³⁾

The real confusion between the figures arose from the definition of landless. For example, the Jewish organization did not regard the "Haratheen" as true tenants, while they were employed by tenants or landowners on the basis of an annual contract.

There were some Arab tenants who remained on lands acquired by Jews for later use. This was permitted for two important reasons, first, not to cause a large number of landless at once, which would upset the British administration and which might have led to some unfavourable political decisions, and secondly, in cases where the Jewish Agency acquired land from local people it let them occupy the land in order to acquire additional land subsequently from the same people and perhaps their neighbours as well.

The bedouin tribes of Ka'biyyah and the Sa'āyidah belonged to those tenants who remained on the acquired land by Jews for some ten years before they had to leave. In fact, this period was the most crucial one in their sedentarization process. They were "lucky" since they had the privilege of remaining on their land on the basis of leasing it from the Jewish Agency. During this ten year period they cultivated the leased land intensively. This land had never been part of their grazing land. The two tribes of Ka'biyyah and Sa'āyidah numbering in 1922, 320, and 134 persons respectively,⁽⁶⁴⁾ maintained transhumance for many years along the south western slopes of Mount Carmel. The Ka'biyyah had to leave the place in 1939 and in the following years the whole group were able to establish a new tribal territory in the hills south-west of Shafa 'Amr. The Ka'biyyah acquired one plot of 544 donums, an area which consisted of some agricultural land in the bottom of Wadi al Malik. The wadi was used for both watering flocks and growing some vegetables. The most interesting point in the Ka'biyyah group as far as the processes of sedentarization are concerned is that most of the bedouin who settled in the lands of other Arab villages acquired their lands from individuals. However the Ka'biyyah acquired the 544 donums collectively from the two Christian brothers Farid and Shukri Karkaby living in Shafa 'Amr (App. 2). The tribe divided this land equally among them into 16 plots, each family obtaining 34 donums.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The bedouin eventually distributed their houses within these lands in order to secure their existence. In this case the role of Jewish colonization was to influence the bedouin to cultivate leased land and to acquire new alternative land. It also encouraged the process by introducing the concept of private land and disbanding tribal groups. The same role is applicable in the case of the Sa'āyiddah group who were evacuated from the village of Qira Wa Qamun in 1944. The Sa'ayiddah split into two

groups, one group went to the hills of Shafa 'Amr and acquired their new lands in Manshiāt Zebda area and the main group went to the southern slopes of Mount Tabor, to a place named Khirbat Umm al Ghanam. This group had acquired over 500 donums from the "Muṭran", (i.e. the Greek Orthodox Archbishop). In February 1946 the Sa'āyidah of Kirbat Umm al Ghanam formed a "cooperative society" and applied to the Land Settlement Department for establishment of a planned housing scheme (Further discussion in Chapter 6).

The Sa'āyidah was the first group to replace the traditional leaderships, sheikh and Mukhtar with a title of 'Umda (in English - "Dean"). According to field research the bedouin also formed a committee of six persons, and the secretary of this committee (whom the author interviewed) went to Nazareth weekly in order to qualify as an accountant. This was arranged by the District Governor in Nazareth.⁽⁶⁶⁾

5.2 The Control of Malaria

The malarious area in northern Palestine is in the Lake Hula marshes, some swamps and seepages along the whole length of the Jordan Valley, in the plains of Marj Ibn 'Amir and in Acre, some spots were found along the Qishon river (Muqatta') and the Na'amin water course.⁽⁶⁷⁾

For many years the mountain-dwellers did not dare to cultivate some areas in the plains because of their fear of malaria, and so the plains remained with relatively few settlements.⁽⁶⁸⁾ They were mostly poor fellaheen oppressed by the burden of Turkish taxes and other debts. These people should not be accused of allowing conditions to remain bad. Thus draining swamps and fighting malaria must, however, be credited to the Jewish immigrants who came with high capital. "For £180,000 which the Palestine Government has at its disposal for health services covering the whole of the population the Jews have at their disposal over £ 300,000 for health services within their own community".⁽⁶⁹⁾

The suggestion made here is that owing to the introduction of drainage schemes towards the end of the Turkish regime and eventually the undertaking of anti-malaria controls by the British administration, new areas attracted both bedouin and mountain villagers in the plain. This sort of bedouin descent to the plains is a particular tribal migration 1980-1937 (Fig. 4.1) which was discussed earlier as part of the sedentarization process.

Interesting testimony is given by Sir Herbert Samuel as to the way in which anti-malaria measures restored land to cultivation and increased population density in the report of the Administration of Palestine, 1920-1925, upon the Marj Ibn 'Amir (Esdraelon):

"When I first saw it in 1920 it was a desolation. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest the country was uninhabited. There was not a house, not a tree. Along a branch of the Hijaz railway, an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The River Kishon, which flows through the valley, and the many springs which feed it from the hillsides, had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes and, as a consequence, the country was invested with malaria. Besides, public security had been so bad under the former regime that any settled agriculture was in any case almost impossible.

By an expenditure of nearly £900,000 about 51 square miles of the valley have now been purchased by the Jewish National Fund and other organizations; twenty villages have been founded, with a population numbering at present about 2,600; nearly 3,000 donums (about 700 acres) have been afforested. Twenty schools have been opened. There is an Agricultural Training college for women in one village and a hospital in another. All the swamps and marshes within the area that has been colonized have been drained, and cases of malaria are proportionately rare." (70)

Sir Herbert Samuel's enthusiasm about the progress made by the Jewish colonization may be slightly exaggerated. It must be borne in mind that he was the first High Commissioner for Palestine. This is the view of a man who had been Home Secretary in Britain and was a Jew

who saw Palestine as his second home.⁽⁷¹⁾ He believed firmly in the value and potential of development in Palestine, and in the capacity of Jewish influence - properly mediated - to "promote Arab advancement"⁽⁷²⁾ (further discussion in Chapter 6). Nevertheless, the High Commissioner's testimony is mostly accepted. In the same area Main (1937) confirms that "In the valley of the River Kishon in the Plain of Jezreel the malaria-breeding marshes have been drained. In that district, in 1922, 20,000 patients were treated for malaria. Although the local population has doubled since that time, actual malaria cases are decreasing."⁽⁷³⁾ Both quotations give insights into some aspects of human reaction to malaria, which was thought to be a determining factor as people had previously accepted Nature as it is. As this condition changed, national schemes started to minimize its effect, encouraging mountain dwellers to migrate towards the plain. From this viewpoint the control of malaria had contributed to the suggested "regional disequilibrium" occurring at the same time.

In fact the struggle against malaria started as early as 1887, when the first drainage schemes appeared in the Hula. This was not until the whole lands in the Jordan Valley became the private property of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Turkish engineers came to the Hula in 1887 in order to find ways of increasing the income of the Sultan's lands. According to Ya'ari (1947), the engineers succeeded in deepening the Jordan river, then the lake became lower by one metre, and there appeared thousands of donums suitable for cultivation. This drainage led to the resettlement of the Ghawarnah villages at the western edge of the swamp, and the erection of new villages in the eastern and western shores of the lake.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Another attempt at drainage in 1897 is reported by a company calling itself the "Société Agricole de Houle", which was founded in

1900 for the purpose of obtaining the concession.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Unfortunately, all these schemes were initiated in order to increase arable lands, but did not give much attention to malaria control. The incidence of this remained high. One of the visitors to the Hula in 1926 confirmed that malarial incidences reached 30% among the children of the Jewish settlements of Yesud ham Ma'ala and Aiyelet hashShahar, and 50-95% among the Ghawarnah bedouin villages.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Karmon (1953) states that in the Hula Valley it was not until 1940 when "systematic action for the prevention of malaria was started by the Mandatory government : cleaning of the ditches of all vegetation, interruption of the flow in the channels for 48 hours a week, pouring of kerosene on the pools and other means."⁽⁷⁷⁾ Karmon (1953) also mentions that, "a real turning point for this region came with the introduction of DDT in 1945. Ten years after the establishment of the State of Israel the Hula Lake was completely drained (in 1958). There is no available information on estimating the actual effect of both Turkish and Mandatory anti-malaria measurements in the Hula. However, statistics proved that the Hula population increased from 3,000-4,000 in 1906 into 10,267 in 1931, a rate of increase larger than in any other part of the country."⁽⁷⁸⁾

The relatively favourable conditions emerging in the plains as a result of the undertaking of some anti-malarial measures contributed to both stabilizing tribal camps around the plains and attracting new tribal groups from the upper mountain region of Galilee.

The contribution of the control of malaria to the sedentarization of some of the bedouin tribes was important, but indirect. For those groups who were camping in the plain of Marj Ibn Amir their former pasture land was greatly reduced when most of the drainage area passed into the hands of Jewish settlers. Thus the bedouin were either pushed

back northwards to the mountain or disbanded into small groups camping on the land of others. However, those groups attached to the area around the Hula marshes had the benefit of grazing their flocks and cultivating agricultural land. For example, the Husainiyyah bedouin (Maghribian origin) were granted agricultural land by the Sultan Abdul Hamid and the tribe became a settled group.⁽⁷⁹⁾

For the sedentarization of Galilee bedouin as a whole, the control of malaria contributed much to the demographical factor. Demographers often refer to the reduction of infant mortality as having resulted from the anti-malaria campaigns undertaken by the Palestine Government Department of Health.⁽⁸⁰⁾

5.2.1 The Ghawarnah

The Ghawarnah bedouin, who were camping on the Hula marshes and in Al Buteiha (northeast of Lake Tiberias) were among the bedouin groups most frequently mentioned by 19th century travellers. They were permanently associated with the swampy areas of northern Palestine for over one hundred years. Thus they became a distinctive group highly adapted to a particular environment. Furthermore, the swarthy colour of their skin and being composed from several mixed groups added greatly to their social and cultural isolation. Many travellers describe them as living in reed huts and as being in a transitional stage between grazing and agriculture. Robinson (1867), described the Ghawarnah as "an intermediate race, between the bedawin of the mountains and deserts."⁽⁸¹⁾ Thomson (1886) gave a similar description when he observed them camping to the south of the Hasbani river and on the edge of the Western plain "These tribes are stationary fellaheen of farmers, and are therefore regarded with sovereign contempt by the true Bedawin"⁽⁸²⁾ There has not been enough research on the origins of this group. They were named Gharwanah while they were resident



PLATE 5.1 : The production of straw mats in Hula (1932) Source : Bonne (1932)



PLATE 5.2 : Buffaloes in Al Buteiha marshes (Source : Sonnen (1952)
(the photo. from c. 1920)

in the "Ghor", which means in Arabic the bottom of the low plains, indicative of the Jordan Valley. It should be distinguished from the Hawarnah, the people of Hauran region, to whom most Galilee bedouin tribes belong. The Ghawarnah themselves never mentioned their origins. However, according to Karmon (1971), the Ghawarnah were "a mixture of deserters - from the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha, and escaped slaves. They set up a number of villages, consisting of mud hovels and reed houses and organized a primitive form of irrigation for rice and maize, but lived mainly on the making of reed mats and the keeping of water buffaloes. They were soon decimated by malaria but steady reinforcements arrived in the form of refugees from the law and family feuds."⁽⁸³⁾

It is still not clear whether the Ghawarnah have a similar origin to other groups who were also settled in marshy areas, breeding buffaloes and initiating some sort of primitive industry. It seems that writers have commonly accepted that dwellers on the marshes were usually refugees. The same notion stated by Thesiger (1964) upon the Arabs camped in the marshes of Southern Iraq "The marshes themselves, with their baffling maze of reedbeds where men could move only by boat, must have afforded a refuge to remnants of defeated people, and been a centre of lawlessness and rebellion, from earliest times."⁽⁸⁴⁾

It is interesting to know that the Ghawarnah themselves were the only bedouin groups who initiated some kind of small scale "bedouin industry" for commercial purposes. Their women specialised in producing straw mats (Plate 5.1) for supplementary income. The Ghawarnah also were the only group who raised buffaloes (Plate 5.2). Today (1982), the groups of Ghawarnah who remained after the 1948 war, were eventually settled in two villages in northern Israel, in Jisr az Zarga (north of Qisariya) and Wad al Hamam (north of Tiberias town). The local Arabs today recall them as being apathetic because of malaria.

5.3 Social Influences

Social reasons are largely responsible for the phenomenon seen in Figure 4.1 where several tribes split into two or more groups. Baer (1964) refers to the phenomenon of tribal groups tending to split into their hamulas as being an indication of a fundamental change in the social organization accompanying the processes of settlement. "The political and social importance of the tribe falls steadily until total disintegration. On settling, the Sheikh no longer controls its economic means, the tribe tends to split up into hamulas."⁽⁸⁵⁾ Baer (1964) mentioned the case of a tribe which settled in Southern Iraq in the first quarter of this century; the tribe no longer exists as a social or political unit, and the term 'ashira (a group of families which had a common father five to seven generations ago) has become meaningless, particularly among the younger generation.'⁽⁸⁶⁾

There are four reasons for the Galilee bedouin tribes splitting up into groups as shown in Figure 4.1. The first is related to the unusual political organization of the Galilee bedouin tribes. The absence of a customary hierarchic structure increased the importance of the nuclear family. The nuclear family in Galilee functions as an independent unit, and therefore it is likely that under certain circumstances, families will split from the tribal camping ground. The second reason relates to the improvement in the State's internal security; the tribe loses its function as the main protector of its members. Traditionally, the tribes' members bore collective responsibility to protect each other against any danger. This tradition was only practical during periods of weak central government. However, once the central government replaced the tribe in this function the individual tribesmen were not afraid to split from their main camp since they consider state protection effective for their tribe.

The third reason can be understood from Figure 4.1 . There are great similarities in the direction in which the departing groups moved. Most of the groups splitting up from their original camp in Upper Galilee moved to the south west and south east. Social reasons for bedouin changing location provide insufficient explanation of this pattern. Since most of the splinter groups migrated towards areas where modernization and economic opportunities were present it is likely that such splitting was also associated with other factors such as searching for alternative pasture, modern employment opportunities, and acquiring land. It seems that both social change and tribal splitting up may be inevitable in the process of changing traditional economy into a modern one. Since most traditional economic activity such as raiding (Ghazzu), smuggling and livestock rearing are usually conducted collectively by the whole tribe, the tribesmen had to organize themselves and to camp close to each other. However, modern economic activity such as agriculture and labouring can be maintained individually and does not necessitate camping in one place. It follows that often some families split from their original group in search of new jobs or cultivated lands. The combination of these socio-economic changes provides a more satisfying functional delimitation for the term "sedentarization"; it suggests that socio-economic changes within the tribal groups are the basis of sedentarization rather than transition from wandering to permanent settlement or a description of the phenomenon of converting tents into stone houses.

Table 5.3 Model of Socio-economic changes within tribal groups

	Nomadism		→ Sedentarization	
	Traditional economy		→ Modern economy	
<u>Activity :</u>	Ghazzu	Pastoralism	Agriculture	Labour
<u>Participation:</u>	Collectively	Collectively & Individually	Individually & Collectively	Individually

Fourth, bedouin groups tend to split up because of specific circumstances which may not fit into any categories. Two case studies of Galilee bedouin who split into several small groups follow. These show how outside observers may often misunderstand traditional communities. Information on these cases was gathered during field research (1981).

5.3.1 Arab Luhaib al 'Aithah

For many years the tribe Luhaib al 'Aithah practiced transhumance utilising winter pasture in Khirbat Tuba in the warm Jordan valley east of Safad and in summer they ascended to the Upper Galilian mountains north of Safad. Two other groups of the Luhaib (Luhaib Rasātimah and Luhaib Al Mureidat) camped permanently in the area. The map of Palestine 1943, marked all three groups.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Each group had its own Sheikh. The story of Luhaib al 'Aithah began before 1915 when the tribe wished to appoint a new sheikh. At that time the tribe comprised the following Beits (The Beit is the extended patriarchal family, the basic unit of bedouin society) Muṣṭafa al Taha, Falah, Fawaz, Abū Khazal, Humrān. All these families shared one ancestor (named, 'Aithah). While the Muṣṭafa al Taha Beits insisted on appointing their man because they were probably the biggest group, the Falah Beit also insisted on choosing their sheikh. The Falah family was supported by their close cousins the Fawaz and Abu Khazāl Beits. It is relevant to note that having two sheikhs for such a small group of 249 persons (in 1922)⁽⁸⁸⁾ would normally be unlikely as it would have weakened the power of the tribe in the eyes of other bedouin tribes. The conflict was resolved when the Falah's candidate said to the Muṣṭafa al Ṭaha candidate a famous bedouin saying "Two horses were never tied by the same rope. You are a horse and I am a horse as well".⁽⁸⁹⁾ This means both have equal qualification and there could be no compromise. They thus agreed that Falah's Beit would split from the camp in Khirbat Tuba and the latter were then able to choose their independent sheikh in a

new camp. The Falah and the Muṣṭafa al Ṭaha Beits agreed to continue intermarriage but not to "share in blood" (in Arabic Hutt Ba Dam) which means to pay some of the blood money in case of murder. According to bedouin law and traditions, vengeance for murder can be taken not only on the murderer but also on any one of his male relatives except where there has been a renunciation of association and of mutual responsibility.⁽⁹⁰⁾.

5.3.2 Arab Nu'aim

In the first decade of the 20th century a small group of the Nu'aim was camped in the central part of Upper Galilee, attached to the Druze village of Kisra. In that year two families in this group had to split and to join the Sawāid tribe, camping some 10 km. to the south of Kisra village. The reasons for this split were associated with the murder of a Druze man of Kisra. The two families, whose mother came from the Sawāid, found her tribe an appropriate place to protect her sons. Eventually the Nu'aim preferred to stay under the protection of Sawaid once the mother had been settled and the blood money paid. In time these two families split again from the Sawāid, by removing their camp some 3 km. to the west, to a site known as Khirbat Abu Qirad, claiming their independence. Today this group (of 36 households or 224 persons) is known as the Nu'aim Abu Qirad settlement.

In conclusion, whatever the reasons were for the splitting up of groups this phenomenon contributed much to the detribalization process, which itself is an essential part of sedentarization. The process of splitting derives from traditional tribal structures, which is in turn weakened by undermining the power of the leadership and increasing the importance of the nuclear family. This detribalization process leads finally to incorporation of the bedouin within wider society.

Notes and References

- (1) General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel, Documents and Essays on Jewish Labour Policy in Palestine, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1975, p.231.
(First published in 1930).
- (2) Declarations Published by Sir H. Samuel and Gen.Bols (1920), CO/61/44 in Public Record Office (PRO).
- (3) J.M. Linthwaite, Zionism and British policy in Palestine (1914-1947), University of Nottingham, M.Phil Dissertation, May 1980, p.23 (unpublished).
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, Palestine and Transjordan, London, 1943, pp.191.
- (6) J.Stroyanovsky, The Mandate for Palestine, Longmans, Green and Co., London 1928, pp.113-114.
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) J.I.Clarke, "Emigration from Southern Tunisia", Geography, 42, 1957, pp.96-97; "Studies of semi-nomadism in North Africa", Economic Geography, 35.No.2, 1959, p.108.
- (9) C. Sykes, Crossroads to Israel, Collins, London, 1965, p.271.
- (10) S.Reichman, From Foothold to Settled Territory, yad Ishak Ben-Zui, Jerusalem 1979, p.79 (in Hebrew) (calculated from the statistical data presented in this page). According to Reichman's figures, the total lands of Jewish possession at 30th June 1947 was 1,802,386 donums; of this 171,449 donums had been obtained through concessions from the Palestine Government. However, H.Granott's figures of the same date are 1,850,000 donums and of this 181,100 donums had been obtained through concession, In A. Granott, The Land system in Palestine, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1952, p.278. In addition, The Survey of Palestine, 1945-1946, vol. Chapter VIII, p.244, prepared for Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry estimated the Jewish land possession as being 1,588,365 donums. The total area of Palestine's districts according to Reichman as being 1,588,365 donums.
- (11) H.Mejcher, Die Arabische welt Aufbruch in die Moderne, Ernst Klett verlag, Stuttgart, 1976, pp.60-62.
- (12) J.Stroyanovsky, The Mandate for Palestine, Longman's, Green and Co., London, Annexe I, pp.355-362. The author annexed the 28 Articles of the Council of the League of Nations for the British Mandate for Palestine.
- (13) G.Biger, 'The role of the British Administration in Changing the Geography of Palestine 1918-1929, Occasional Papers No.35, Department of Geography, University College, London February 1979, p.4.

- (14) M.F.Abcarius, Palestine Through the fog of Propaganda, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1946, p.135.
- (15) General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel, op.cit., p.175; Great Britain, Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929, Cmd. 3530 (The Shaw Report) London, 1930.
- (16) Abcarius, op.cit., p.140; Great Britain, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development, Cmd. 3683-3687 (by Sir John-Simpson), London, 1930.
- (17) Abcarius, op.cit., p.139.
- (18) Ibid, p.140.
- (19) Linthwaite, op.cit., p.276.
- (20) S.Graham-Brown, Palestinians and their Society 1880-1946, Quarter Books, London, 1980, p.179.
- (21) Palestine Government (PG), Ordinances, Vol.II, 1940, pp.327-329.
- (22) A.Granott, op.cit., p.79.
- (23) Ibid.
- (24) Stroyanovsky, op.cit., pp.115-117.
- (25) Abcarius, op.cit., p.128.
- (26) Stroyanovsky, op.cit., p.118.
- (27) Reichman, op.cit., p.23.
- (28) S.Fisher, Ottoman Laws, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London 1919, p.24 (English translation of the Ottoman Land Code, 7th Ramadan)(1274 H. 21st April,1858, Art.68).
- (29) Stroyanovsky, op.cit., pp.123-131.
- (30) Reichman, op.cit., p.27.
- (31) Ibid, p.30.
- (32) E.Kaplan, "Private and Public investment in the Jewish National Home", in Palestine's Economic Future, J.Hobman (ed.), Percy Lund Humphries and Company Ltd., London, 1946, p.112.
- (33) Abcarius, op.cit., p.141.
- (34) L. Oliphant, Haifa or life in Modern Palestine, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1887, p.68.
- (35) Ibid, pp.275-277.
- (36) Ibid, p.277.

- (37) Z. Al-Peled, "The events of 1936-39 : A Riot or Revolt", Skirot, The Shilough Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, April, 1979, p.10 (in Hebrew).
- (38) S. Hadawi, Village Statistics 1945, Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, Beirut, 1970, pp.27-28. The author listed all names of non-Palestinian absentee landlords of whom Jewish organization acquired land. This list was originally submitted as a memorandum dated 25th February 1946 by the Arab Higher Committee to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on its arrival in Palestine.
- (39) Great Britain, Palestine Partition Commission Report. Cmd 5854 (Woodhead Report), H.M.S.O, London, 1939, p.102.
- (40) Field Research, Husain Wahash Ka'biyyah and Ghazal Sa'āyidah, Interview, 11.6.81; 30.6.81.
- (41) A. Ruppin, Three Decades of Palestine, "Haaretz" Printing Press, Tel-Aviv, 1936, p.228.
- (42) Cmd. 3686 - The Hope Simpson Report, op.cit., p.68.
- (43) C.R.Conder, and H.H.Kitchener, The Map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets, London, 1880, scale - 1:63360 (one inch to a mile), sheet VI.
- (44) G.Schumacher, "Population of Liva of Akka", Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterley Statement, (PEFQst), London, 1887,p.187.
- (45) Israel State Archives (ISA), Record Group (RG2), Galilee District Commissioner to Chief Secretary, Y/58/42, 7 February, 1947.
- (46) Ibid.
- (47) Ibid.
- (48) General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel, op.cit., pp.185-186.
- (49) S.Bergheim "Land Tenure in Palestine", PEFQst, July 1894,pp.191-199.
- (50) H.Rosenfeld, "From peasantry to wage labor and Residual peasantry : The Transformation of an Arab village", in Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East, L.E.Sweet (ed.), The Natural History Press, New York, 1970, p.147.
- (51) J.B. Barron, Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922, Jerusalem, 1923, p.40.
D.H.K. Amiran, Nomadic and Beduin Population in Census Returns of Mandatory Palestine, Israel Exploration Journal, 13, Jerusalem, 1963, p.252.

- (52) A.P. Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, Bradbury and Evans, London 1856, pp.374-375.
- (53) Ibid.
- (54) Lieutenant Kitchener's Report on camp at Tiberias, 30th March, 1877, PEFQSt, July, 1977, pp.119-120.
- (55) E.W.G.Masterman, "Genesaret", The Biblical World, 31, 1908, pp.173-174.
- (56) Al-Khatib Al-Sumarī, on behalf of Al Samayreh tribe to His Excellency the High Commissioner, 1.8.46, L/109/46 in ISA.
- (57) Granott, op.cit., p.95.
- (58) D.H.K. Amiran and Y.Ben Arie, "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel", Israel Exploration Journal, vol.13, No.3, Jerusalem, 1963, pp.174-175.
- (59) Ruppin, op.cit., p.182.
- (60) Hawadi, op.cit., p.27.
- (61) Cmd. 3530 - The Shaw Commission Report 1930, op.cit., p.118.
- (62) Ruppin, op.cit., p.225.
- (63) Abcarius, op.cit., p.128.
- (64) Barron, op.cit., pp.34-35. The Sa'ayidah numbered under the name of their village Qireh Wa Qemun.
- (65) Field Research, Husain Wahash Ka'biyyah, Interview, 11.6.81.
- (66) Field Research, Dieb Kuhiley (Abu Hilmi) Interview, 16.6.82.
- (67) Naval Intelligence Division, op.cit., p.229.
- (68) Y.Karmon, "The Settlement of Northern Huleh Valley since 1938" Israel Exploration Journal, No.3, Jerusalem, 1953, p.10.
- (69) E.Main, Palestine At the Crossroads, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1937, pp.199-200.
- (70) Ibid, 191.
- (71) Biger, op.cit., p.10.
- (72) R.L.Taqqu, Arab Labor in Mandatory Palestine, 1920-1948, Ph.D. thesis, History Asid Department, Colombia University, 1977, p.41.
- (73) Main, op.cit., p.201.

- (74) A. Ya'ari, Memoirs from the Land of Israel, Vol.2, Jerusalem, 1947, p.552.
- (75) Karmon, op.cit., p.15
- (76) M.Y.Ben Gavri'el, "Bei den Beduinen des Hule", Der Erdball, 1926-1927, pp.458-459.
- (77) Karmon, op.cit., p.23.
- (78) Ibid, p.17.
- (79) T.Ashkenazi, The Bedouin Manners and Customs, Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1957, p.171. (in Hebrew).
- (80) Cmd-5854, The Woodhead Report, op.cit., p.27.
- (81) E.Robinson, Biblical Research in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions, John Murray, vol.3, London, 1867,p.403.
- (82) W.M.Thomson, The Land and the Book, T.Nelson and Sons, London, 1886, p.255.
- (83) Y.Karmon, Israel. a regional geography, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., London, 1971, p.166.
- (84) W.Thesiger, The Marsh Arabs, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth England, 1964, p.99.
- (85) G.Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p.131.
- (86) Ibid.
- (87) Palestine, Department of Survey, 1:100,000 Palestine, 1943, Sheet 1.
- (88) Barron, op.cit., pp.37,42. The Luhaib tribe has been already split up when the 1922 Census was conducted. They were numerated as two groups of 175 and 74 persons.
- (89) G.Falah, Arab al Luhaib, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, B.A. Dissertation, June 1977, p.20 (unpublished) (in Hebrew).
- (90) 'Ārif al 'Ārif, Bedouin Love, Law, and Legend, AMS Press, New York, 1974, p.87.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION 1918-48

6.1 Introduction

Palestine was occupied by the British army in 1917-18 during the last year of the first World War. For nearly two years after the Armistice, and pending the allocation and confirmation of the Mandate, Palestine was under British military authority. The Civil Administration of Palestine was initiated on 1 July, 1920 with Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner, but the Mandate was not approved by the League of Nations Council until 24 July, 1922.⁽¹⁾ The guiding principle of the British administration was that "the well-being and development" of the inhabitants of certain ex-enemy colonies and territories should be a "sacred trust for civilization" under the tutelage of a mandatory power on behalf of the League of Nations.⁽²⁾ The twenty eight articles laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League provided the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory.⁽³⁾ This led to the Palestine Mandate in which "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" (Article 2).⁽⁴⁾ Furthermore, "the administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interest of the community in connection with the development of the country... (part of Article 11).⁽⁵⁾ The commitment to the Jewish national home entailed the pledge to promote "close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land" (Article 11).⁽⁶⁾ Associated with this intensification of cultivation were aspirations to develop the resources of Palestine, both for the benefit of its inhabitants and for the security of the British presence in the region.⁽⁷⁾ At the same time the mandatory's wish to protect the traditional social

order in the Arab Community represented its solution to the questions raised by development in Palestine. The considerable communal autonomy which had been granted under the terms of the Mandate thus became the effective basis for separate social policies. In this way, the government hoped to isolate the Arabs from the impact of Jewish settlement, as far as possible. This notion was pronounced by Herbert Samuel in his first report of 1921:

"It is the clear duty of the Mandatory power to promote the well-being of the Arab population, in the same way as a British Administration would regard it as its duty to promote the welfare of the local population in any part of our Empire. The measures to foster this well-being of the Arabs should be precisely those which we should adopt in Palestine if there were no Zionist question and if there had been no Balfour Declaration." (8)

An attempt will be made to examine the contribution of the new colonial power in changing the bedouin way of life in the Northern part of the country. It seems that under the "pax britannica" (1918-1948), the processes of sedentarization among the Galilee bedouin accelerated more than at any time before. It is intended therefore to identify both direct and indirect effects. Indirect effects will be dealt with first since it refers to the nature of the Western style of administration which expresses its ideas and principles in developing a colonized region. Hence the sedentarization process was affected by the new system of law and order applied to the whole region. Some of these laws stood in direct conflict to the continuity of the bedouin way of life. However, the direct impact of the British Administration on bedouin sedentarization refers to that of certain actions imposed on specific tribal groups in order to control their traditional movement and to abolish some of their economic bases. The discussion will include four case studies (since documentary sources on these tribes are available). The case studies aim to illustrate the adjustment of bedouin tribes to modern effective Government.

6.2 The effect of the political border

Under the Turkish regime, Palestine did not exist as an administrative unit. Before the First World War, the Southern part of Palestine was under direct rule from Istanbul. The most southerly part and the area east of the River Jordan were part of Damascus district, and northern Palestine was part of Beirut district.

The northern and the north eastern border of the country are both of prime concern in the present discussion. These were created by the French and the British after the Anglo-French Convention of 23 December, 1920 and were confirmed in 1923 following delimitation on the ground.⁽⁹⁾ Both countries had a long history of activity in the Middle East and they played an essential role in creating the boundaries of today. Each party's claims were backed by geographical, strategic, historical and political arguments.⁽¹⁰⁾ New boundaries were created in order to satisfy the interests of Western countries in the region and regardless of cutting across an inhabited region or damaging the bedouin's traditional nomadic routes. A similar example is that of the establishment of the boundaries during the partition of Africa and their subsequent evolution, which took no account of grazing practices of the nomadic tribes on the border of the Somali Republic.⁽¹¹⁾ As the result of such arguments, Galilee formed the boundary of three countries (Fig.6.1). In the east, the Jordan river - the old administrative border between the vilayet of Damascus and the vilayet of Beirut, became the border between Galilee and Trans Jordan, which passed to British Mandate while Syria was under the French Mandate. However, the northern border was considerably changed. It is not that of the Biblical Litani river, but was a new line further to the south, cutting an inhabited area of Galilee from Ras an Naqurah on the Mediterranean (lat.33⁰06' N, long.35⁰06' E) to a point west of Kades,

north to Metulla, and east to a point a short distance west of Banias (lat. $33^{\circ}15'$ N., Long. $35^{\circ}41'$ E.). This line eventually became the border between the states of Lebanon and Israel. Since this line was also the divide between British and French authority in the Middle East ⁽¹²⁾ (unlike the border with Trans Jordan) International customs posts were erected. Following this change of the northern boundary of Galilee, the new border cut the two tribes of Arab al Arāmishah and Arab al Qulaiṭāt into two sections and created a new shape of grazing area for Arab al Hamdun. The Arab al Ḥamdūn dirah suddenly changed to be some 10 kilometres along the new border. The eastern border similarly cut the four tribes of Arab Bashātwah, Arab al Bwātī, Arab al Ghazzāwiyyah and Arab Banī Saqir (Fig.6.1). Bedouin tribes in Galilee and in other places in the Middle East, particularly northern parts of the Arabian peninsula and the Syrian Desert have had to cope with such new political adjustments on the division of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, followed by the establishment of frontiers between independent nations. These frontiers, and the treaties and agreements between the new nations, greatly restricted the bedouin's freedom of movement. ⁽¹³⁾

The effect of the northern and the eastern border of Palestine were pronounced on three tribal groups located at various distances from both border sides. These were :

The powerful tribes whose dirah were located east of the Jordan river, but occasionally invaded deeply into the settled region west of the Jordan river. This was always an important traditional bedouin activity with economic motives called the Ghazzu or raid. The Ghazzu of the Rwala before the First World War (1914-1918) are well remembered; their invasion reached as far as Jub Josef in upper Galilee and to Yavneel, Yamma and Beit Gan in eastern lower Galilee. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Small bedouin tribes camped in the west of the river and settled villages had to unite in

order to protect themselves. Once the Jordan river had become the border such invasions from the east were curtailed and the river also became a strategic line against bedouin tribal invasion from the east. An example of this is that before it was known that Palestine would become part of the British area, the British army in the area (1921) asked for defensive lines in the east against bedouin tribes from Arabia.⁽¹⁵⁾

Baer (1964) states that one of the new causes of bedouin settlement is that "for the first time in history, overwhelming military supremacy passed into the hands of the Central authorities. Previously, both had employed the same weapon - the rifle - and the same methods of transport - camel and horse. The bedouin had often the upper hand because of his greater mobility and because of the depth of the area from which he fought. Nowadays, the Central authorities have armoured vehicles and bombs against the bedouin's rifle."⁽¹⁶⁾

There is evidence that the most modern weapons were used against the bedouin by both French as well as British military in the beginning of their Mandate in the Middle East. In October 1919 the French military fired the house of Amir Fa'áur⁽¹⁷⁾ in the Khiṣāṣ village in northern Hula and also fired the tents of bedouins who camped in the villages of Al Mansura and Dafna in the same place.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, two British aircraft fired 60 to 70 rounds of ammunition on bedouin tents pitched near Marjayoun in the French territory. This attack was on the afternoon of 30th August, 1929.⁽¹⁹⁾ Such action handicapped even the most powerful tribes. The result of pacifying the eastern border of Galilee was that both bedouin tribes as well as villages were able to live in peace and security. Both elements are important for the bedouin in his first stage of transition toward the sedentary style. In peace and security he tends to become attached to a permanent place and gradually intensify his contact with the neighbouring settlements.

The second group of bedouin tribes had both tribal territory and grazing rights on both sides of the border. Their dirah and wandering routes subsequently deteriorated. On this basis, this group was the most affected. They were usually kept under observation and control, since they were suspected of co-operating with smugglers. Another reason for controlling this group of bedouin was because they "constituted a danger from the malaria point of view. The migration of flocks from the east and the south in seasons of scanty rainfall, notably to the Jordan Valley, is still a factor of importance in the epidemiology of this disease."⁽²⁰⁾

Bedouin tribes had to adjust themselves, therefore, for the first time in their history, to a bureaucratic process in order to move legally from one side of their dirah to another. To facilitate the movement of animals across the northern and north eastern borders of Galilee an agreement was arranged on the 2nd February 1926, between the High Commissioner of the French Republic for the states of the Levant under French Mandate - Syria and Lebanon and the High Commissioner of Palestine. This agreement called, "Agreement between Syria and Palestine to facilitate the movement of certain animals from one territory into the other for purposes of grazing and watering,"⁽²¹⁾ contains the following conditions :

1. The Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian owners of farms within the Sub-Districts of Acre and Safad and the Kazas of Tyre Merjayun, Kuneitra and Hasbaya shall be allowed to pass freely with their animals across the frontier with a view to proceeding to any of their respective lands; provided
 - (a) that each owner or his herdsman accompanying the animals is in possession of an identity card as approved, establishing that his village of origin is one of the villages within the Sub-Districts of Acre and Safad and the Kazas of Tyre, Merjayun, Kuneitra and Hasbaya entitled to benefit from the provisions of the Bon Voisinage Agreements and indicating the number of animals of each kind (cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys and camels; and that
 - (b) each animal is marked by a metal ribbon bearing the letter

"s" in the case of Syrian and Lebanese animals and the letter "P" in the case of Palestinian animals, securely attached to its right ear.

2. Identity cards shall be issued by the officiers des Services Speciaux in the case of Syria and the Lebanon, and the District officers of Safad or Acre in the case of Palestine in the form scheduled to this agreement.
3. Identify cards shall be produced on demand to any police or veterinary officer.
4. Any disputes that may arise as to be the interpretation of the agreement or the enforcement of its terms shall be settled directly between the competent officers of the Governments of Palestine and of Syria and the Lebanon or any officers duly authorized to act on their behalf.
5. This agreement shall remain in force for one year from the date of its signature.

There was also a similar arrangement for the tribes of Banī Ṣāqir, Ghazzā wiyah, Bwātī, and Bashātawah (App. 3) these tribes were camping on the border of the south east corner of Galilee with Trans-Jordan. Since the border in this part of Galilee divided two British Mandates, bedouin who wished to cross their river were treated under easier legislative terms than that of the northern border with the French Mandate. They were "supposed to be in possession of a passport and to have it visa'ed for entry into the other territory" (App. 3)" however, the District Commissioner of Galilee District admitted that "naturally none of these tribesmen do this nor is it practicable to expect them to comply with such formalities." (App. 3).

The reaction of these tribal groups was "instead of passing through the authorised points of entry and exist they use one or more of the numerous fords which exist across the river." (App. 3).

This action, from the bedouin viewpoint may be regarded as struggling to keep their own regular traditional movement but from the Authority's viewpoint "Thus a large number of quite innocent persons are turned into potential law breakers". (App. 3).

The effect of the political border on this tribal group might be expected to change their economy from that of a movable type such as raising livestock into a more permanent one, i.e. cultivating land. The 1948 War forced the group to leave their dirah and the border was closed so that this process was not evaluated.

The third group affected by the political border was that of the tribes in the Inner Galilee who camped on the west side of the Jordan river. Some of the Galilee tribes had a long history of smuggling, notably the Arab al Hamdūn (App.4) and the Arab Luhaib. As the introduction of effective government brought significance to political boundaries, the incentive to smuggle would be expected to decrease. Former smugglers would, hopefully, find alternative means of support. It seems that the effect of the border closure on Galilee bedouin tribes may have been a psychological rather than economic measure. There is no accurate method for examining the psychological factor at that period, and this assumption can only be taken as a possibility.

6.3 Land Settlement

There are no formal title deeds to land in Palestine prior to the year 1858. Tradition alone was sufficient and was respected by everybody. At that time, however, unbridled violence was very prevalent, and strong villages used to annex the lands of weaker ones.⁽²²⁾ Tribal territories have been established apparently in a similar manner and therefore the boundaries of tribal territories were vaguely defined.

On the 14th December, 1858 the Ottoman Authority promulgated the law of tabu, the purpose of which was to make title deeds obligatory for all lands and to fix the rights of ownership to them.⁽²³⁾ Every landowner was ordered to have his property inscribed in the Land Register, and he was given permission to receive a Certificate of Ownership to it.

On the technical side the first Register was not cadastral and, therefore, it did not cover the land continuously, but it was on the basis of individual registration by each owner as he came along. The result was that the Turkish Land Registers never indicated correctly the state of land ownership.⁽²⁴⁾

Some bedouin sheikhs were attracted to the idea of registering land which was already known as their dirah, the tabu describe the boundaries of the dirah by using the description of the area from its four sides. They used physical features and traditional names existing in the area, but not modern survey methods. With the occupation of Palestine by the British a modern system of land tenure was established. The idea of developing a new system derived from the obligation stated in Article 11, which provides that the British Administration of Palestine "shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land".⁽²⁵⁾

The bedouin tribes in northern Palestine seem to have been affected by both the introduction of a new system of land registration and the policy of promoting the intensification of cultivation. Unlike the Turkish registration the mandatory authority adopted, in 1928, a new procedure for determining the ownership of land. The rights of ownership and possession, therefore, stated by The Land Settlement Ordinance were confirmed only after the Land Survey had been concluded. In accordance therewith a special machinery was instituted and settlement parties were appointed with the task of investigating in every village the rights and adjudicating all claims. Following such investigation title deeds were issued for individuals.⁽²⁶⁾ The registration of land was in the names of specific individuals rather than in the names of the sheikhs in the bedouin tribes. This was the first attempt to break the tribal solidarity and give

encouragement to private property. The most fundamental term brought within the Cadastral Survey was that tribal territories' boundaries were fixed with demarcating lines appears in the map. For many centuries tribal boundaries had not been defined accurately, including some tribes whose lands formerly comprised lands belonging to the state and to that of the neighbouring village. Since the land settlement survey made a clear distinction between the various landowners, tribes lost considerable portions of their land when dirah boundaries were defined accurately for the first time. The dirah's size then decreased and some tribal groups became landless, particularly those groups who were split from their original tribal dirah and were camped on the villages land. This new system handicapped bedouin tribes and enforced them to adjust to small areas of grazing as its capacity allowed. The new reality of diminishing dirah size may be seen from two different perspectives. From the administration's viewpoint as was illustrated in the case of the Arab Şubaiḥ, it was deemed to be in "the best interests of Government for this unruly tribe to settle on the land allocated to them and to concentrate on an agricultural rather than a pastoral existence."(27)

However, from the viewpoint of the Arab Şubaiḥ tribe it was stated in a letter to the Deputy District Commissioner of Nazareth on 22.2.1946, "You are well aware that this is the only land remaining to our tribe for grazing purposes and if the said land is taken by the Forest Department no land will remain to us for the grazing of our flocks. You have kindly noticed yesterday that the barbed wire fence of Kadoorie Agricultural school is not more than 3-4 metres from our dwelling houses and if the land subject of this letter is taken by the Forest Department we will become imprisoned in our houses and surrounded by barbed wire fences; Moreover we will have no other land for grazing of our herds and flocks."(28)

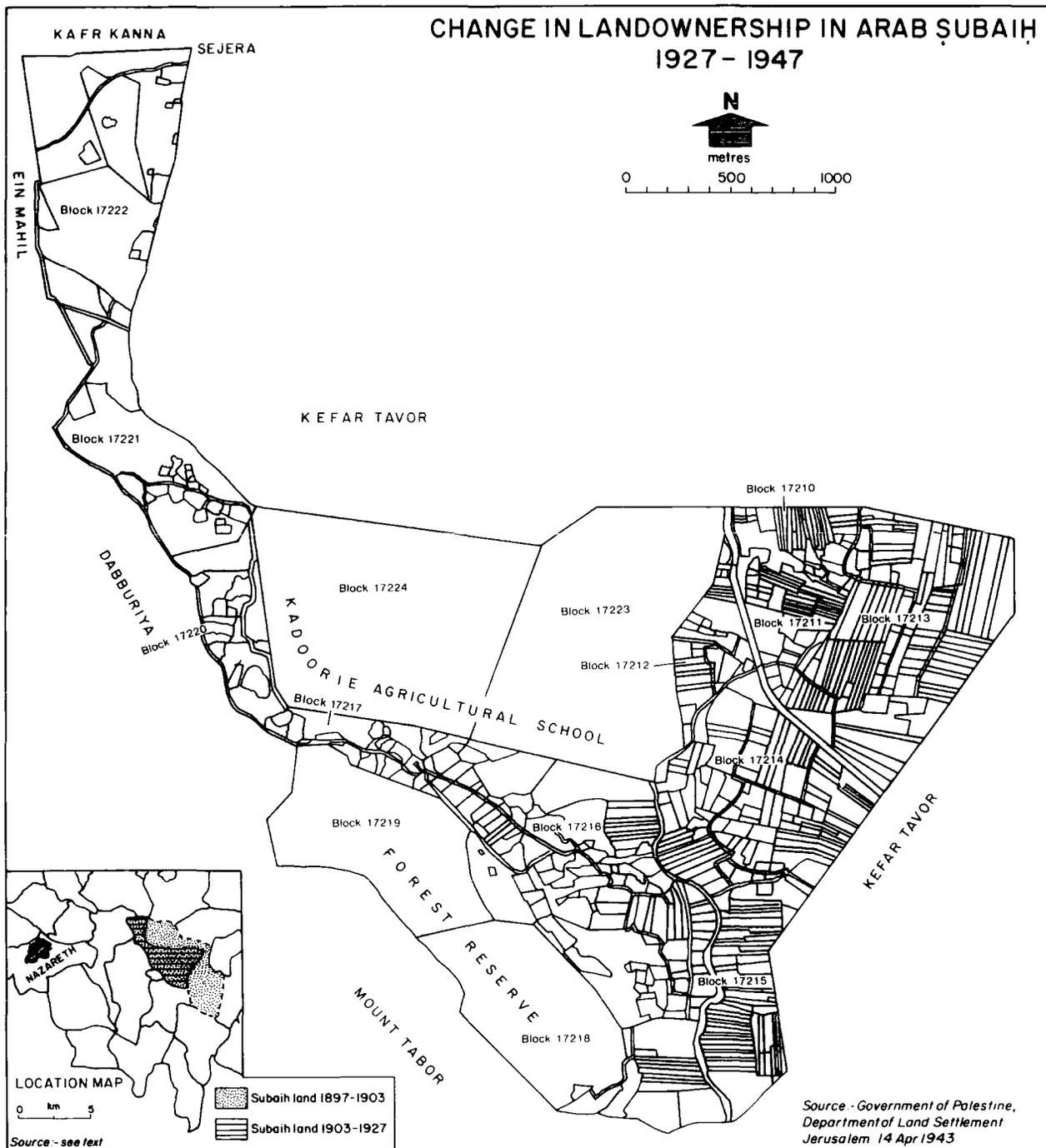


FIG 6.2

Considering the words *we will become imprisoned in our houses and surrounded by barbed wire fences* one may understand here the psychological implications introduced to the bedouin mind by the evaluation of a modern system of land registration. The former freedom of choice of unlimited grazing land became subject to outside interference. The following case of Arab Subaiḥ is one example of an external power playing the dominant role in transferring an undefined tribal territory pattern into a geometric one (Fig. 6.2).

6.3.1 Arab Şubaiḥ

The Subaiḥ tribe were probably the most powerful tribe of Galilee during the 19th century, after the Banī Şaqir tribe.⁽²⁹⁾ Its dirah was associated with the northern slopes of Mount Tabor. Since the famous Damascan-Egypt road passes through his dirah and it was also located closely to the travellers routes, particularly that of Tiberias-Mount Tabor route, the Şubaiḥ encampment was mentioned by most of the travellers who visited Mount Tabor and Khan et Tujar. Burckhardt (1912) observed the Şubaiḥ on his way from Tiberias to Mount Tabor when he arrived at the Khan of Djebel Tor (The same name for Khan et Tujar). "At a quarter of an hour from the Khan is a fine spring, where we found an encampment of the tribe of Szefeyh whose principal riches consist of cows." ⁽³⁰⁾

Robinson (1867) also mentions the Subaiḥ on his way from Beisan to Khan el Tujar passing through the eastern foot of Mount Tabor. He mentioned that Wadi Sharar is the border between the Subaiḥ dirah and the Bani Şaqir.⁽³¹⁾ Both tribes were enemies for a long time and on one occasion the Şubaiḥ killed the Shaikh of the Bani Şaqir.⁽³²⁾ Villages of lower Eastern Galilee, notably those of Dabburiya, Ein Mahil and Deir Hanna paid 'khuwa' to the Şubaiḥ for many years. By doing so the villagers were able to cultivate their lands in relative peace. The absence of an effective government that could protect the villagers from bedouin

blackmail or tribute allowed the Şubaiḥ tribe to manage a distinct way of life. For at least a period of two centuries they were attached to Mount Tabor, maintaining their livelihood from livestock, smuggling, tribute and cultivating a considerable part of their land. From the beginning of the British mandate which introduced modern ideas after many centuries of stagnation, the Şubaiḥ like other bedouin tribes were forced to adjust to an ongoing process of modernisation along western lines.

The case of Arab Şubaiḥ provides graphic illustrations of both sides of the conflict. On one side the tribe insisted on preserving the status quo in their dirah, while the state wished to break the tribal sovereignty. The following material is presented to demonstrate the changing patterns of land ownership of the tribe between the years 1927-1947. The information was obtained from two files⁽³³⁾ in the Israel State Archives in Jerusalem on the Şubaiḥ which contain a large number of letters, notes and correspondence. This material will be presented chronologically.

Information obtained from a record in the Director of Land Settlement's file D/Naz/1971⁽³⁴⁾ compiled during the British mandate (1918-1948), confirms that the Ottoman Government had offered certain lands for sale and Subaiḥ Arabs purchased 94 plots. The name of the locality is given as Khirbet Mujhayer. In about 1879 A.D they sold one-half to a certain N.Mudawar of Beirut who, 24 years later (around 1903), sold the land to the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association. In the meantime, around 1890, the Şubaiḥ Arabs had sold the other half of their land to Sultan Abdul Hamid and had become tenants paying rental tithes.⁽³⁵⁾ This was presumably the position at the time of the British occupation in 1917.

Disregarding the fact that certain areas are disputed by neighbouring villages, the total area once in the occupation of Subaiḥ was 10,192 donums, of this area 6,471 donums were cultivated and 3,721 were apparently used as grazing lands. Furthermore, a wadi (a sluggish

sort of a rivulet) ran through the land and was used at least for watering herds and domestic purposes. (36)

In 1927 (or earlier) the Government re-possessed part of the cultivable area occupied by the Arab Şubaiḥ tribe (some 2,175 donums) in the vicinity of Mount Tabor for the establishment of an Agricultural school from the Funds of the Kadoorie bequest. (37) It was therefore necessary to consider what compensation should be paid to the tribe for deprivation of rights to this land. Subsequently, on 29th June 1928 the tribe submitted their petition to the High Commissioner of Palestine. This petition contains the following : (38)

Your Excellency,

The Government has, for the purpose of construction of an Agricultural school, taken from within our lands in Nazareth sub-district a plot of 1,800 donums of land, and what remained at our disposal including cultivable lands, abiding places, accommodation for our cattle and other animals, is equivalent to only two fifths of the original areas of 3,000 donums, which is unjust and illogic.

2. But the major part of the portion which was decided to be taken from us is grown with fruit bearing trees and contains residential places for us and accommodation for our animals and crops, and all these constructions are in value much greater to the land itself; but lands of such a status are, in accordance with the law unrestorable to claimants who appear to be the rightful owners of same.

3. But nevertheless, we, our fathers and forefathers back to 300 years ago are and have been in free possession of these lands, and to take them from us after such a long duration of title would be construed as a "Dispossession by violence", and the Government in order to realise this, has but to evict us from the place by force.

4. We do not wish to dwell lengthily on the subject to prove the Government's unwise conduct by such a treatment, but can only invite her, in order to justify this her attitude, to try if she could make the part of the land which has been left for us wide enough to accommodate ourselves, our animals and our agricultural materials, at least while crowded together.

5. Many are the unclaimed lands which are suitable for the erection of schools thereon, and the Government may do this unobjectionably and without infraction of the law. The Government undoubtedly realise the result of her dispossession to our lands

and granting them to others, and also appreciates the heavy losses that befall us in consequence; but if she tries to ignore the situation, it is but for some secret ends which she herself only knows.

6. We wish the Government to justify her attitude legally for her attempt to scatter away 1400 souls, including the old and the young, the male and the female, the strong and the infirm, for the purpose of erecting on their land an agricultural school which should be erected elsewhere, and it is an unjudicious policy to cause by this her deed to create incessant disputes between the new settlers and our ever-peaceful tribe.

7. We beg to repeat our solicitations from the Government, in the name of the law, the true conscience and humanity, in that our lands be left for us for enabling us to utilise them for our maintenance and the settlement of our debts with our private creditors, and if she persists to have her will, the sharrar lands are more fit for the construction of an agricultural school thereon; if this also is impossible we have but to find recourse to the Ministry of Colonies for a favourable judgment.

SIGNATORIES

Mukhtar Husein el Assad	
Osman Shehab,	Member
Falah Ayesb	"
Khader el Assad,	Elder
Isa Mahmud	"
Ikhreis el Ali	"
Salim Hamaidi	"
Diab Hamaidi	"
Yusef Ragheb	"
Ibrahim Iseed	"
Hazza Isseed	"
Ahmad Hamaidi	"
All of Arab Şubaiħ	

29.6.28.

After some twelve years of negotiation on the matter this petition brought a visit of the High Commissioner to the tribe on the 19th June 1933.⁽³⁹⁾ Meanwhile a committee was appointed to decide what steps should be taken to settle the various points at issue during the period between the petition's submission date (29th June 1928) and the 9th February 1929. The Government made certain promises to the tribe, summarised as follows :⁽⁴⁰⁾

- (i) the remaining cultivable lands would be sold to the tribe on certain easy terms.

- (ii) compensation would be paid for fruit trees, buildings, caves, and improvements to the land which was taken from the tribe for the establishment of the school.
- (iii) arrangements would be made to supply the tribe with water if they were deprived of access to water.
- (iv) they would be given a free right to the forest for grazing and other purposes.
- (v) proceedings would be introduced in regard to the area of land occupied by the tribe which was in dispute.

No agreement was concluded even though negotiations continued on and off for the next twelve years. The following is a summary of the action taken.

On the 9th February 1929 the tribe was offered the lease of 5,893 donums at Kafr Misr but this offer was refused. They were also given the opportunity of buying the same lands but they similarly refused this offer. ⁽⁴¹⁾ This offer was apparently in addition to the sale of the cultivable part of the lands they occupied.

In February 1929 the District Commissioner, Northern District, was told that registration of the undisputed area of the land they occupied in the name of the tribe should be taken at once. ⁽⁴²⁾ Presumably this action would follow the 'Land Settlement Ordinance' which had appeared one year before.

In July 1929 the tribe stated that they wanted the land which was to be transferred to them to be registered in the names of the sheikhs of the three sub tribes and it was decided that there would be a mortgage back to the Government to secure the unpaid balance of the purchase price. The Government was advised, however, that it would be doubtful if such a mortgage would be valid and it was therefore decided in October 1929 that the land should not be registered in the names of the sheikhs until the purchase price had been paid in full. ⁽⁴³⁾ This proposal was not however conveyed to the tribe and in January 1930 it was decided to

abandon the proposal and to transfer the land by the terms of the Mudawarra agreement of 19th November 1921 by which state domains land were transferred to private individuals (bedouin and others) in perpetuity.⁽⁴⁴⁾ From 1930 to 1932 negotiations seem to have been postponed pending the settlement of claims for compensation in respect of improvements to the land taken from them, and nothing is recorded as having been done until August 1932 when as a result of a petition the District Commission, Northern District, was asked if the cultivable land had been sold. He replied in the negative and also stated that the lands at Kafr Misr were refused because they were not of the class desired by the tribe.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In 1933, the Development Officer stated that the land offered at Mount Tabor was not sufficient for the requirements of the tribe and that they had been, therefore, offered land at Kafr Misr; and that no objection would be raised by the Development Department to a new offer being made.

No further action was taken until April 1934 when the District Commissioner, Northern District, reported that the tribe needed additional land and that the only land available was at Kafr Misr, but that the Development Department was of the opinion that this land was so poor that the tribe would not accept it. It was suggested, however, that if the price charged for the lease of land was made low it might be acceptable and that investigations were proceeding.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The result of these investigations was a report by Mr. Foot, Acting District Commissioner of Nazareth in which he made the following recommendations: ⁽⁴⁷⁾

- (i) that Government should waive collection of arrears of rental tithe amounting to Lp.187 and reduce the rest of the cultivable land for the future to a nominal sum, a lease of 99 years being given;

- (ii) that forest reserve to the extent of 1600 donums should be abolished and this area leased to the tribe at a nominal rent for terracing and planting of fruit trees; and
- (iii) that a further 300 donums of state domain should be leased to the tribe for 99 years at a nominal rent.

These recommendations were eventually submitted to the High Commissioner who with the support of the Chief Secretary (Mr. Hall) gave the following decision :

"All Mr. Foot's suggestions should be accepted with the exception that only 500 donums of forest land and not the whole of 1600 donums for the present to be leased to the tribe".

His Excellency stated further that :

"it should be laid down clearly that my decision is that the remaining 1100 donums will be leased to the tribes if they make use of the 500 donums; and this pledge should be given just sufficiently definitely to make it incumbent on my successor to fulfil it." (48)

Following the High Commissioner's decision the Arabs were informed and a written promise was given in August 1934 with regard to the lease of the remaining 1100 donums of forest land if they made a good and successful attempt to cultivate the 500 donums. Negotiations for the completion of the lease were then initiated, but the tribe was reluctant to enter into a lease arrangement and desired to have full ownership of the land. They suggested that they should be given ownership under the terms of the Ghor Mudawarra agreement. (49)

Owing to this refusal on the part of the Arabs in 1935 the Government delayed taking a decision apparently due to the absence of the Development officer on leave, and then to the loss of the Secretariat file, and it was not until December, 1936 that the Government decided that the decision to lease the land to the Arab Sheikhs should be maintained. The Government, therefore, turned down the request of the tribe and confirmed the recommendation of the District Commissioner,

Nazareth District, that all the land should be leased under long-term lease. (50)

In March 1938 the District Commissioner, Nazareth, reported that the Arabs had consistently refused to sign any lease and had stated in writing that the land which they occupied should be sold to them on terms similar to those of the Ghor Mudawarra agreement in Beisan. (51)

The District Commission, therefore, asked if he could demand the payment of rental tithe as from the 1st April 1934, i.e. the date from which arrears were remitted in accordance with Mr. Foot's proposals. The District Commissioner was then asked what the arrears amounted to and how he proposed to collect them. He replied in June 1938 that arrears amounted to LP.282.131 in 1937, and that he considered the tribe could pay these in instalments. The Government agreed to the proposals of the District Commissioner and asked for a report in a year's time. (52)

The Arab Şubaiḥ, who had struggled for their land since 1927, achieved their main wishes only in 1940, following a meeting held at Kadoorie School on 26th June, 1940, to dispose finally of certain matters relating to the Arab Şubaiḥ. (53) At this meeting representatives of the following sides were present : Acting District Commissioner, Director of Agriculture, Conservator of Forests, Director of Land Settlement and also in attendance; Assistant District Commissioner, District officer, Assistant Conservator of Forests, and the principal of Kadoorie school. There are, however, no records of whether any representatives of the Şubaiḥ tribe attended this important meeting. The committee noted the various promises made in this case and was unanimous in its decision that every effort should be made to implement the original promise to register the land left to the Şubaiḥ after the imposition of Kadoorie school, in their names.

After discussion, it was agreed that Blocks I (1,436 Donums), II (747 Donums) and III(2,493 Donums), comprising 4,676 donums in all, formed the area in question. The committee decided, therefore, that Blocks I and II and all that part of Block III, which was not Forest Reserve, should be registered in the name of the Subaiḥ. (54)

In this connection the committee noted that Block V was in dispute with Dabbouriya village, Block VI with Er Reina, and Block VII with Ein Mahil, and that the Government had promised to assist the Subaiḥ in their case against Dabbouriya. This question had, however, been left to the Land Settlement administrators, when, if judgement went in favour of the Şubaiḥ, the land was to be registered in their names. It was assumed that this promise would also apply to Blocks VI and VII, but it was agreed that the promise made for Block III regarding the Forest Reserve (2,000 donums) should hold good for all areas in which it existed.

The committee was satisfied that there was more than one reason for the breach of the promise to register the land in the name of the Subaiḥ; (55)

- (i) The first was of a technical nature. The tribe was not a legal body and, therefore, no legal agreement could be made with it.

The committee thought that, despite the greater work entailed, there could be no objection to registering the land in the names of all the members of the tribe, leaving the partitioning of the land among individual members to the Land Settlement Department in due course.

- (ii) The second objection arose from the first and was that no valid mortgage of land could be made by the tribe pending settlement of the debt due for the land.

The committee was of the opinion that this could be overcome by obtaining the agreement of the tribe to have the debt collected in accordance with the Tax collection ordinance in consideration of the fact that the

land was registered in their name.

- (iii) The third reason was that it was almost certain that the Subaiḥ would do their best to sell lands over which they might have control.

It was thought that this could be prevented - if necessary by enactment of an ordinance prohibiting the sale of the land for at least 30 years.

It agreed, therefore, that the land (Blocks I, II and part of III) as a whole should be registered in the names of all the members of the tribe and that partition should be left to land settlement; that payment for the land should be at the rate of 800 mils a donum over a period of thirty years - that all amounts paid by the tribe since 1928 by way of rental for land should be counted as part of the sum due in respect of the land; finally, that in the contract of sale it should be stipulated that the purchase price should be subject to forcible collection in the same manner as taxes.

6.4 Forest

The Woods and Forests Ordinance of the year 1920 - one of the first activities of the Government Department of Agriculture - laid down amongst other things that the boundaries of the state lands were to be defined in such a way as to fix the location of forests and to create Forest Reserves.⁽⁵⁶⁾ For the protection of wide forest areas the authorities were allowed to define as State Forests "woodlands to which no prima facie evidence of private or corporate title exists". Forest Reserves were defined as "provisional reservation of scrub areas which are being protected so far as possible pending Land Settlement."⁽⁵⁷⁾ The result of such a definition was that many tribal groups became landless. These groups failed to introduce any evidence of title to lands. They knew the land had been utilized by them for centuries, but they could produce

no legal documents as evidence later when land titles or records of tax payment became recognized as the only valid land holding papers. Then they were forced to evacuate such lands. As a result of "closed Forest Areas", some bedouin groups eventually managed to create a new form of permanent settlement on the edge of the closed forest boundary.

The development of forest may be seen as going hand in hand with the development of the new land registration system which was a strong attempt to free state land from illegal private occupation. The 'freed lands', were proclaimed to be "closed Forest Areas". These, as the name indicates, are fenced-in areas within which grazing, cutting of wood, and any encroachment are forbidden.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The expansion of forest areas was confined to the hilly region of the country. Since most Galilee bedouin tribes are found in this environment, considerable conflict could be expected. Rational forest development was not only seen through the closing of large areas to nomadic grazing which was considered to be the principle cause of deforestation, but also in creating new internal boundaries.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Such boundaries frequently infringe upon the customary rights of bedouin grazing. A high pressure on bedouin traditional movement therefore became a new problem.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Grazing routes, however, deteriorate and the desires of continuing nomadic life are frustrated (see note 28).

Table 6.1 shows the development of areas of forest reserves during the years 1925-1947. The numbers speak for themselves; areas were added every year in both northern and southern divisions of the country (for forest administration purposes the country is divided into these two divisions only). The most rapid increase is, however, in the northern division. The number of blocks increased 4.3 and 2.7 times respectively in northern and southern divisions and the areas in donums increased 1.7 and 4.7. The increased number of forest reserves meant

Table 6.1

Areas of Forest Reserves in Palestine 1925 - 1947

Year	Number of areas		Area in donums	
	Northern Division	Southern Division	Northern Division	Southern Division
1925/26	73	47	467,918	49,370
1926/27	41	5	93,196	33,558
1927/28	5	22	3,918	9,050
1928/29	5	-	21,262	-
1929/30	3	1	750	534
1930/31	-	-	-	-
1931/32	3	-	2,531	-
1932/33	7	8	4,358	2,890
1933/34	14	-	4,432	-
1934/35	5	1	5,481	906
1935/36	32	4	32,710	4,320
1936/37	1	-	84	-
1937/38	3	1	4,068	166
1938/39	1	-	1,072	-
1939/40	9	-	1,070	-
1940/41	10	1	2,612	113
1941/42	3	1	2,281	663
1942/43	22	-	56,008	-
1943/44	30	3	57,956	24,182
1944/45	1	32	43	108,291
1945/46	43	-	39,794	422
1946/47	4	1	4,136	121
Total	315	127	805,680	234,586

Source : A Granott, The Land System in Palestine, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1952, p.116.

the creation of extensive internal boundaries within bedouin grazing pastures.

Table 6.2 shows the distribution of the Forest Reserves according to the 17 districts of the country at the end of the years 1944-5.

Table 6.2 Distribution of Forest Reserves According to
Districts 1944-5

District	Number of forest reserves	Total area in donums
Haifa	96	131,752
Acre	21	100,073
Nazareth	38	85,562
Tiberias	26	18,231
Nablus	13	64,266
Jenin	34	175,371
Tulkarm	14	9,184
Safad	19	41,574
Beisan	1	1,072
Jerusalem	9	9,384
Bethlehem	3	3,947
Ramallah	3	1,300
Jericho	1	3,500
Ramle	18	12,686
Hebron	81	44,901
Gaza	7	57,074
Beersheba	1	100,000
Total	385	859,877

Source : PG. Department of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944-45, p.239.

Thus the Northern districts (Haifa, Acre, Nazareth, Tiberias, Safad and Beisan which cover the Galilee region) contained 52 per cent of the total number of forest reserves and 44 per cent of the total area in donums. This provides clear insight of the relatively high forest development within the regional context since the total Galilee area amounts to less than one fifth of the area of the country. Having examined the general development of forest expansion within the northern part of Palestine, it is now essential to identify specific examples of tribal groups who were affected by this kinds of development. It will also throw light on Government policy towards settling bedouin tribes.

6.4.1 Arab Şubaiḥ

Previous discussion on the Arab Şubaiḥ showed how the tribe lost a considerable part of its land due to the Government's project of building an Agricultural school. Three years after the agreement of 1940 the tribe faced another challenge to its Landrights. The case started in June 1943 when the State Domain Inspection Committee recommended that two blocks in Mount Tabor, 17218 and 17219 (Fig. 6.2) should be allocated to the Conservator of Forests as "managed grazing grounds".⁽⁶¹⁾ The tribe and the Arab National Fund (Sanduq al Ummah) responded by submitting two petitions to the High Commissioner (Apps. 5, 6). dated 14.1.1946 and 19.3. 1946 respectively. According to the correspondence associated with the case, the Government's attitude was clearly aimed at directing the Subaiḥ bedouin to a sedentary livelihood.

For example, the Conservator of Forests stated in a letter dated 20th February, 1946 - "When Government decided to allot domain land to Arab es Sbeiḥ to the north of the Forest Reserve, it was intended that this tribe will go more for land cultivation." ⁽⁶²⁾

Another statement in the letter of the District Commissioner of

Galilee dated 25 March, 1946 reads : "It should be emphasized that the decision of the Land Settlement Officer was not based on evidence or legal argument but was merely a confirmation and continuation of the status quo. From a strictly legal point of view registration of the land is in the name of Government and the people are there as tenants in Jiftlik". (63) Moreover the District Commissioner confirms in the same letter that the Subaiḥ tribe prevented the officers of the Department of Forests from carrying out the work of fencing. He states also that 'a number of the Arabs had erected for themselves permanent stone houses at the foot of the mountain and had planted trees in the immediate neighbourhood". (64)

Such activity by the Şubaiḥ was a unique step in their process of sedentarization. The aim of building permanent stone houses was not, presumably, the outcome of a voluntary process, but in this case was undertaken to establish physical facts in order to protect their land. These houses were erected on the boundary of the now disputed land and it was regarded by the tribe as the strategic front line rather than primarily for dwelling purposes. However, this unique practice could be regarded from the Government viewpoint as evidence of failure to persuade the bedouin to adopt settled life. This case found only a partial solution since the British Mandate in Palestine terminated in 1948 while the case was being negotiated. However, the following recommendation recorded in 24.6.1946, addressed to the District Commissioner and the Forest Conservator indicates a last attempt at solving this problem. Unfortunately, the signature of the Government officer is illegible.

- (i) That the Arab Şubaiḥ should first of all be given a formal promise that grazing ground will be provided for their animals.

- (ii) That they should be instructed in the system of grazing by rotation, and be made to see its usefulness to themselves.
- (iii) That unless the Arab Şubaiḥ agree to a larger area being immediately closed, half of the area only should be so closed for the purpose of improving the grazing. The other half would be closed and improved only after the first half had been re-opened and made available.
- (iv) Meanwhile fencing should not proceed. (65)

6.4.2 Arab Şuwaitat

The Arab Suwaitat case in Haifa District represents the category of landless tribes who were affected by both forest expansion and Jewish land acquisition during the British Mandate period (1918 - 1948).

The magnitude of these phenomena could be understood from the Chief Secretary's letter to Haifa District Commissioner on November, 1946;

"I agree that the problem of settling this and other landless Arab tribes is a matter of great concern to the Government. However, in order to appreciate the seriousness of the situation which is gradually developing in your District I am directed to request that a careful survey of the position should be urgently undertaken by you with a view to ascertaining the number of such tribes and preparing an inventory of the number of landless Arabs in each tribe for which land has to be found (66)

The Şuwaitat tribe became a victim of the new development of forest expansion in Mount Carmel in 1934. For many years they established a permanent camp in Khirbat Aqqara on the north western slopes of Mount Carmel. Since they were a small group camping in the middle of the forest and far from travellers' routes, they were never mentioned by 19th Century travellers. Their existence remained generally unaltered until March 1934 when their lands were declared as a forest reserve and subsequently in 1937 when the Department of Forests and the police evacuated the Suwaitat from Khirbat Aqqara.

According to information mentioned in a memorandum submitted to

the High Commissioner of Palestine by the tribe's advocate, Mr. H.D. Nakkara, dated 16.3.1946, the tribe was numbered as 385 souls and as possessing nearly 2,000 beasts.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Their case was brought in the first instance to the judgment of Haifa district Court and on 21.6.1940 it declared : we accept their evidence of title and find that for a period of exceeding living memory they and their fathers have camped and pastured on this land. Subsequently for the period 1937-1946, the tribe camped on the lands of other villages, and during this time appealed to the High Commissioner to facilitate their return to their previous place by purchasing at a "nominal price" the 663 donums which constituted parcel 1 of Block 11896 on Mount Carmel. (App. 7) enabling them to continue their semi-nomadic life.

The present case remained without a final solution, before the Mandate terminated in 1948. However, Government policy in this case was in favour of settling this bedouin group permanently as is clearly seen from the Acting District Commissioner's letter dated 24.10.1946. "It would, however, be an advantage from every point of view if the tribe could be settled and I am examining the possibility of some alternative subsistence area being provided for them (App. 7)".

6.4.3 The Tribes of Tiberias District

According to the Galilee District Commissioner's note of 7.2.1977 (App. 8) some of the tribes - Wahaib, Dalāyikah, Qazaq, Masharqah, Tawāfirah, Nujaidāt and the Khawālid in Tiberias vicinity were considered as threatening forest by illicit grazing in Tiberias special areas. Therefore he recommended that their movements be controlled in order to protect this area and also for matters of convenience as and when desirable. In the previous case of the Arab Şuwaitat the administration exercised the cultivators' ordinance and the Forest ordinance in order

to evacuate them from the forest. However, in the present case the Government had already developed a better system of control. Hence they were scheduled under the bedouin control ordinance.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The present seven tribes' case is further evidence of Government activities of developing forest areas in Galilee and at the same time imposing pressure upon the local bedouin community. The personal attitudes of District Commissioners and officers towards bedouin played an important role in controlling bedouin movement.

6.5 Bedouin Control Ordinance of 1942

The ultimate objective of the Bedouin Control Ordinance is regarded as "primarily providing the administration with special powers of control of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes with the object of persuading them towards a more settled way of life."⁽⁶⁹⁾

Previously, the administration had adopted the policy of indirect persuasion as the matter arose in the context of the general development of the country, such as out of forestry or land settlement. In contrast the present ordinance is a direct confrontation with the interests of the bedouin. District Commissioners were permitted by this ordinance to exercise their power over bedouin groups. Presumably this change in British policy towards the bedouin was derived from a larger scale change in policy within the Colonial office. The emergence of the new policy on bedouin direct control towards the end of the British Mandate in Palestine was predictable. Sir Herbert Samuel, who was the first High Commissioner for Palestine, announced this notion on the 25th of March 1920 when he discussed the matter of tribal grazing rights and customs. His hope was that this matter would be dealt with in the future "when a more modern system of taxation is imposed as the progress of the cadastral survey."⁽⁷⁰⁾ Doubtless the accumulated experience among the

colonial personnel and particularly the District Commissioners played an important role in passing this law.

The Bedouin Control Ordinance No. 18 of 1942 (Appendix 9) affected bedouin tribes mainly by the following points :

- (i) It states that any tribe "scheduled" under the ordinance could be made subject to control by the District Commission (3)
- (ii) If a tribe is "scheduled", their movements could be controlled and they could be told to go to another area (4a).
- (iii) The tribe could be investigated and arrests could be made (4b).
- (iv) If an offence had been committed by a tribe the Commissioner could seize some of their property (4c) and return it to the people from whom it was stolen (5)
- (v) If an offence had been committed by a tribe, punishment could be meted out (7).

The unique point made by this ordinance was to break the normal rule of British law which states that only the individual person who has committed the offence is guilty. It states that if a member of a tribe commits an offence and one cannot tell who is responsible then the District Commissioner can investigate, arrest, control and punish the whole tribe.

The present ordinance developed from an earlier ordinance called the "Collective Punishments Ordinance" (C.P.O.). The Bedouin Control Ordinance (B.C.O.) had stronger powers than the previous ordinance because the B.C.O. can allow the bedouin to be controlled before they commit an offence, whereas the C.P.O. can only punish them after an offence. (App. 10).

The B.C.O. therefore provides District Commissioners with more power to exercise a general supervision over tribal movement and to take advance precautions. (App.10).

In order to schedule a certain tribe, the District Commissioner was obliged to obtain the permission of the Chief Secretary who was to

make the final decision. The policy of Mr. C.T. Evans, who was the Galilee District Commissioner for bedouin control in his district was aimed to schedule as many tribes as possible "It would be a convenience to have them all scheduled at the same time. It will then be possible to take action under section 4 of the ordinance to exercise general control of their movements, as and when desirable (Appendix 8)".

The reasons for scheduling bedouin tribes was left to his appreciation of the case. For example, the reason for Arab al Ḥamdūn tribe, which numbered some 260 persons and inhabited the area along the Palestine-Lebanese frontier was "... in the interests of security on the frontier and of good relations with the Lebanese authorities that I should be empowered to control the movements of the tribe and take punitive action" (App. 4).

The Mazārīb Arabs numbering 250 souls, have, for many years camped in the King George the Fifth Jubilee Forest (App. 11). The registered owners of which are the Jewish National Fund. The reason for scheduling the Mazārīb is different : "As you are aware the Jewish National Fund intend to have these Arabs evicted from the land; eventually it may be necessary to move the tribe and it will afford me greater control if ordinance has been applied to them". (App. 12).

The account on the Şubaiḥ tribe is as follows - "The Şubaiḥ are for the most part quiet and well behaved but there are certain elements at feud with the sheikh and there are other families known to have been harbouring absconded offenders. They are already scheduled under the collective punishments ordinance but the control ordinance will give me greater control over those families who live away from the tribe" (App. 12). Appendix 13 mentions no reason for the Arabs of - Mawasi, Es Sweilut, Hujeirat Hajayneh and el Heib - being scheduled. It is

clearly seen that District Commissioners have enjoyed power from this ordinance despite the fact that the reason of scheduling might not have justified the case. This argument may be understood from the Chief Secretary's reply to Mr. C.T. Evans concerning the cases of Arab Şubaiḥ and the Mazārīb. The letter dated 21 September, 1943, states the following :

"You will appreciate that the Bedouin Control Ordinance is intended to be applied only to nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes and only in cases of real necessity, but not *ad hoc* in every case where there is only a small community of tent dwellers. In the circumstances I am to request you to be good enough to confirm that you are satisfied that the tribes mentioned in your letter do in fact fall within the category of nomads or semi-nomads for whom the Bedouin Control Ordinance is designed, and that it would not be sufficient to make them amenable to the Collective Punishments Ordinance under which several of them are scheduled already." (71)

The Bedouin Control Ordinance of 1942 was confined in its definition to semi-nomadic and nomadic groups in the region, whereas some of the tribal groups within the same tribes were in an advanced stage of sedentarization during the forties. Hence difficulties were encountered over the definition of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in the existing ordinance. In order to eliminate these difficulties, the District Commissions of Palestine organized a Conference held at Gaza on the 31st August, 1945. The meeting was of the opinion that the ordinance was designed to apply to all tribes which were organised on the basis of accepting collective responsibility, and not only to the more lawless ones. (72) Following this Conference the Acting Attorney General had submitted a bill designed to eliminate the difficulties in the 1942 ordinance definition. (73)

Shortly after this request, on the 8th September 1945 (eight days following the Conference date) the Acting Chief Secretary sent a note to the Galilee District Commissioner referring to the present report

as follows :

"I am directed to refer... to inform you that the law officers have now prepared a Bill to amend the Bedouin Control Ordinance so as to avoid the validity of orders applying the ordinance to any particular tribe being challenged on the ground that such tribe was in fact neither nomadic nor semi-nomadic". (74)

It can be concluded from this information that the British Administration's policy of controlling bedouin tribes in Galilee had been passing through the stages of a developing legislative system. It seems that the Gaza Conference appeal, which aimed to amend the B.C.O., is the last stage of an evaluation of the complete legislative system over the Galilee tribes. By passing the new ordinance, it meant that the whole bedouin tribe of Galilee would be "scheduled". Hence, theoretically, all the Galilee tribes could have their movement controlled and be displaced as and when it was thought desirable. This last stage of legislation was most efficient in view of establishing a policy of planning bedouin settlement. The new ordinance enabled the government to exercise its power and to incorporate the planning of bedouin settlement within the context of developing the country.

Due to the fact that this stage in the legislation had reached the Galilee bedouin only a short time before the Mandate terminated in 1948, a planned bedouin settlement policy had not been developed. However, it is strongly assumed here that if the British Mandate in Palestine had survived for a longer period such a policy would have been expected. This assumption is based on an observation of a case in 1946. (75)

Arab Sa'āyidah

The tribe, Arab Sa'āyidah, were evacuated in 1944 from the lands of Qira wa Qamun in Marj Ibn Amir due to the Jewish agency acquiring the land on which they were camping. The Sa'āyidah Arab submitted an application in February 1946 to the District Commissioner of Galilee

in order to lease an area of 128 donums and 995 square metres of State Domain land, the site identified at the southern foot of Mount Tabor as parcel 6 of Block 17004,⁽⁷⁶⁾ the traditional name of the site being Khirbat Umm al Ghanam.

The District Commissioner pointed out to the tribe that 'it is desirable that the tribe should be permanently settled and that they must remain near their lands and unless they do have a permanent habitation they will be a continual nuisance to Government and their neighbours'.⁽⁷⁷⁾ This was considered as a conditional obligation on the tribe, but he recommended that the tribe be settled on the above mentioned parcel. The Sa'āyidah Arab, according to the District Commissioner's letter were 'prepared to form a cooperative society for the purpose of entering into a lease agreement with Government.'⁽⁷⁸⁾

Since the present case was the concern of Land Settlement the Director of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner issued an application on 26th November 1946 to the Chief Secretary in Jerusalem recommending the following :

"I shall be obliged if you will let me have your approval to conclude a long term lease agreement for the purpose of a housing scheme for the tribe of Arab es Sa'āyidah in respect of parcel 6 and part of parcel 13 as shown on the attached plan. The Lease will be for a period of 99 years at an annual rent to be calculated at 4% of the market value of the land which will be assessed by the valuation section of this department."⁽⁷⁹⁾

The present example could be considered as a sign that the Government was preparing its first housing scheme to settle a bedouin tribe in Galilee.

6.6 Conclusion

British administrative policy on bedouin tribes of northern Palestine, in particular, did not emerge quickly to a master plan designed by British Imperial policy. Rather, it evolved gradually in response to particular circumstances. The administrative and bureaucratic reforms undermined the political and economic traditions of the bedouin tribes indirectly through reorganizing the country's economic resources and its public order.

Obviously abolishing the old-fashioned life-style was necessary to pursue the way to progress in Palestine, and the bedouin became very vulnerable.

It is true that the British did not have a policy of systematically breaking up bedouin society or forcing settlement as did the French in Syria, but the changing economic structure and land tenure in Palestine over which they presided did not leave sufficient space or freedom for nomadic society to maintain the vitality and autonomy it had enjoyed under the Ottoman regime.

The role of the British therefore was to enhance the sedentarization process in an undesirable way from the bedouin viewpoint. Conflict was likely to emerge because the required speed of transforming semi-nomadic into permanent habitation was viewed in two different time scales by the administration and the bedouin.

The Administration insisted that bedouin should be settled because they were seen as a "nuisance to Government and their neighbours".⁽⁸⁰⁾ No attempt was made to provide the supporting facilities and supervision inherent in sedentarization. The bedouin themselves require a much longer time in order to cope with change in both cultural and material life style and also to adjust themselves to the new shape of the tribal territory.

Despite their semi-sedentary mode of life having a high potential for developing a settled occupation, this potential was not realized by the administration because of the absence of a precise policy of social and economic development for the bedouin. Moreover, the Bedouin Control Ordinance of 1942 which was introduced towards the end of the Mandate has been used as a means of punishment rather than encouragement.

The Memorandum of Izzat el Atawneh (App.14) submitted to the Royal Commission in 12.2. 1937 on behalf of the bedouin of the Beersheba subdistrict provides an insight into two aspects of the bedouin situation:(1) the Government's neglect of bedouin affairs, and (2) the bedouin's desire for modern facilities such as education, agricultural training and political participation. This clearly shows that the bedouin recognized the importance of sedentary life as a condition for obtaining modern facilities.

The process of sedentarization was not completed during the British Mandate in Palestine, The Mandate terminated when the Galilee bedouin were in the middle of reorganizing themselves to adopt a new life. But this process was interrupted by the war of 1948. Hence the few tribes who remained in Palestine after 1948 completed the process under rather different conditions.

Nevertheless the vital British contribution was to institute in the bedouin mind the concept of sedentary life and at the same time the benefit of abandoning nomadism.

Notes and References

- (1) Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, Palestine and Trans Jordan, London, 1943, p.191.
- (2) GB, PP, Mandate for Palestine and Trans Jordan Cmd. 1785, London, 1922, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.
- (3) J. Stroyanovsky, The Mandate For Palestine, Longmans, Green and Co., London 1928, Annexe I, pp.355-362.
- (4) Ibid, p.356.
- (5) Ibid, p.357.
- (6) Ibid, p.359.
- (7) R.L. Taqqu, Arab Labour in Mandatory Palestine 1920-1948, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971, p.37.
- (8) GB, PP, An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the period 1st July, 1920 - 30th June 1921 (First Samuel Report), Cmd, 1499, London, 1921, pp.7-8.
- (9) Naval Intelligence Division, op.cit., pp.1-2.
- (10) G.Biger, The role of the British Administration in changing the Geography of Palestine 1918-1929, Occasional Papers No.35, Department of Geography, University College, London, February 1979, p.13.
- (11) A. Melamid, "Political Boundaries and Nomadic Grazing", Geographical Review, IV (1965), p.289.
- (12) Biger, op.cit., p.14.
- (13) A.Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs 1925, London, 1927, Vol.I, pp.324-46.
- (14) T.Ashkenazi, Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine Du Nord, Paris, 1938, p.7. A. Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, New York, 1928.
- (15) C.O. to W.O. 11.8.1921 Co/733/5 in P.R.O.
- (16) G.Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p.129.
- (17) The Amir means Prince, a title used instead of the Shaikh for certain tribes such as the Al Fadel tribe in the Golan and the Mawasi in Galilee.
- (18) M.M. Dabagh, Beladuna filastin, Dar al Talia ah, Beirut, 1965-1976, Vol.6. Part 2, p.259 (in Arabic).
- (19) LO 112. 3/9/29. Reference Consul-General Beyrouth telegram to Foreign office No.7 dated 2nd September 1929, File 4198 in Fo/371/4469 in P.R.O.

- (20) Naval Intelligence Division, op.cit., p.225.
- (21) P G Ordinance, 1934, Vol.I. pp.57-58.
- (22) A. Granott, The Land System in Palestine, London, 1952, p.73.
- (23) S. Fisher, Ottoman Laws, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London 1919. English translation of the Ottoman Land Code, 7th Ramadan 1274 (21st April 1858, Art.68).
- (24) Granott, op.cit., p.74.
- (25) Stroyanovsky, op.cit., p.357.
- (26) Granott, op.cit., p.108.
- (27) ISA, RG2 (Chief Secretariat files) L/23/46, Galilee District Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 25 March, 1946.
- (28) Ibid, Şubaiḥ tribe to Deputy District Commission Nazareth, 22.2.46.
- (29) M.F.V. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1943, Vol.II, p.28.
- (30) J.L. Burkhardt, Travels In Syria and the Holyland, London, 1822, p.333.
- (31) E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent regions..., 1867, Vol.II, pp.340-341.
- (32) Oppenheim, op.cit., p.28.
- (33) ISA, RG2 (Chief Secretariat files) L/66/44 and L/23/46.
- (34) LS to FS 18.6.1941, L/66/44 in I.S.A.
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Conservator of Forests to Direct of Land Settlement, 3.10.1940, L/66/44 in I.S.A.
- (38) Arab Şubaiḥ to His Excellency Through District Officer, Nazareth, 29.6.28, L/66/44 in I.S.A.
- (39) District Commission to Chief Secretary, 18.7.1933, L/66/44 in I.S.A.
- (40) Conservator of Forests to Director of Land Settlement, Op.cit., 3.10.1940.
- (41) Ibid.
- (42) Ibid.
- (43) Ibid.

- (44) Granott, op.cit., p.101.
- (45) Conservator of Forests to Director of Land Settlement, op.cit., 3.10.1940.
- (46) Ibid.
- (47) Acting District Commissioner to Mr. Thompson, 19.7.1934, L/66/44 in I.S.A.
- (48) Conservator of Forests to Director of Land Settlement, op.cit., 3.10.1940.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) Ibid.
- (51) Ibid.
- (52) Ibid.
- (53) Minutes of a Meeting held at Kadoorie School on 26th June, 1940, L/66/44.
- (54) Ibid. pp.2-3.
- (55) Ibid. p.3.
- (56) Granott, op.cit., p.774.
- (57) Ibid. pp.114-115.
- (58) Ibid. p.116.
- (59) M.W.Mikesell, 'Deforestation in Northern Morocco', Science, Vol.132, 1960 pp.445-446.
- (60) E.H.Jacoby, Man and land, the fundamental Issue in Development, Andre Deutsch, London, 1971, p.289.
- (61) Reference 9, 24.4.46, L/23/46 in A.S.A.
- (62) Ibid, Conservator of Forests to Chief Secretary, 20.2.1946.
- (63) Ibid, Galilee District Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 25.3.1946.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) Reference 9, op.cit., 24.4.46.
- (66) Chief Secretary to District Commissioner - Haifa, 22.11.1946. L/157/46, R G2 in I.S.A.
- (67) Ibid. Advocate for Arab Şuwaitat to High Commissioner, 30.9.1946.

- (68) Chief Secretary to District Commissioner 27.2.1947. Y/58/42, RG2 in I.S.A.
- (69) Ibid. Galilee District Commissioner to Jerusalem District Commissioner 17.8.1945.
- (70) Declarations by Sir H. Samuel and Gen. Bols. 25.3.1920, File 6914 in FO/371/61. in P.R.O. p.71.
- (71) Chief Secretary to Galilee District Commissioner, 21.9.1943. Y/58/42, RG2 in I.S.A.
- (72) Ibid, Minutes of the 26th meeting of the District Commissioners' Conference held at Gaza on the 31st August, 1945.
- (73) Ibid.
- (74) Ibid. Acting Chief Secretary to Galilee District Commissioner 8.9.1945.
- (75) Director of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner to Chief Secretary 26.11.1947. L/172/46, RG2 in I.S.A.
- (76) Ibid.
- (77) Ibid.
- (78) Ibid.
- (79) Ibid.
- (80) Ibid.

PART THREE

THE PATTERN OF SEDENTARIZATION

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SPONTANEOUS BEDOUIN SETTLEMENT

7.1 Introduction

The discussion in this part is confined to the period of the state of Israel (1948-1982), when changes in both processes and patterns of the Galilee bedouin sedentarization were undertaken under entirely new political conditions. After the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in 1948, Galilee bedouin sedentarization was completed within a period of a single decade (1950-1960). However, the sedentarization pattern has further evolved during the past two decades and it is likely to continue until the end of the present century.

In the Israeli period, the pattern of Galilee bedouin sedentarization has developed in two distinct directions : firstly, by the bedouin themselves building permanent structures for residential purposes, and usually referred to as "spontaneous bedouin settlement". Secondly, the planning and establishment of settlements by State authorities. This category is usually called "planned bedouin settlement" in which the State was dominant in shaping its pattern. It is important to note that most Galilee bedouin settlements belong to the first category where the whole tribe or individual groups were the initiators of their settlements. It is, however, sometimes very difficult to define a bedouin cluster of housing as a settlement since it lacks the accepted characteristics of a settlement.

The bedouin settlements which are built by the spontaneous process are characterized by a lack of planning and the absence of infrastructural services such as electricity, water supply, sewage and other services. The reason for such a lack is mainly because spontaneous bedouin houses were built without State permission and with no connection with any

national settlement project and are considered illegal by the Israeli authorities.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly the State declined to provide any services for these houses as they were not recognized as legal.

In contrast, planned settlements designated by the State Authorities, are characterized by both uniformity and the modern services available. A description of both "spontaneous" and "planned" bedouin settlement features will be elaborated within the context of the bedouin settlement pattern in Galilee, and the factors which have influenced their development.

The generalizations in this part are based largely on data gathered in field research during the period of April - September 1981 and in June 1982. The field research included 100% household survey which enumerated the whole Galilee tribal population through listing the names of each head of household. This enumeration was achieved only with the full cooperation of the local bedouin, in particular the local school directors, teachers, university students and many other tribesmen who were convinced of the importance of conducting a precise census. For example, most of the names of household owners in bedouin villages having an elementary school were obtained from the local tribal teachers. In some schools where the director was a member of the village, a complete record of the village population was found. Formerly such a record was maintained by the village Muckhtar or the tribalscheikhs⁽²⁾ but when a new generation of local bedouin teachers and university students emerged in the village such responsibilities were passed to them. In the cases where bedouin groups were settled in both urban and rural areas, the listing of households was made by the author himself during interviewing and questionnaire delivery. It was possible to conduct such an enumeration through the method of listing the household owners' names and counting the number of persons in each household because of (1) the relatively small number of the Galilee bedouin population, and (2) the pattern of their settlement with a

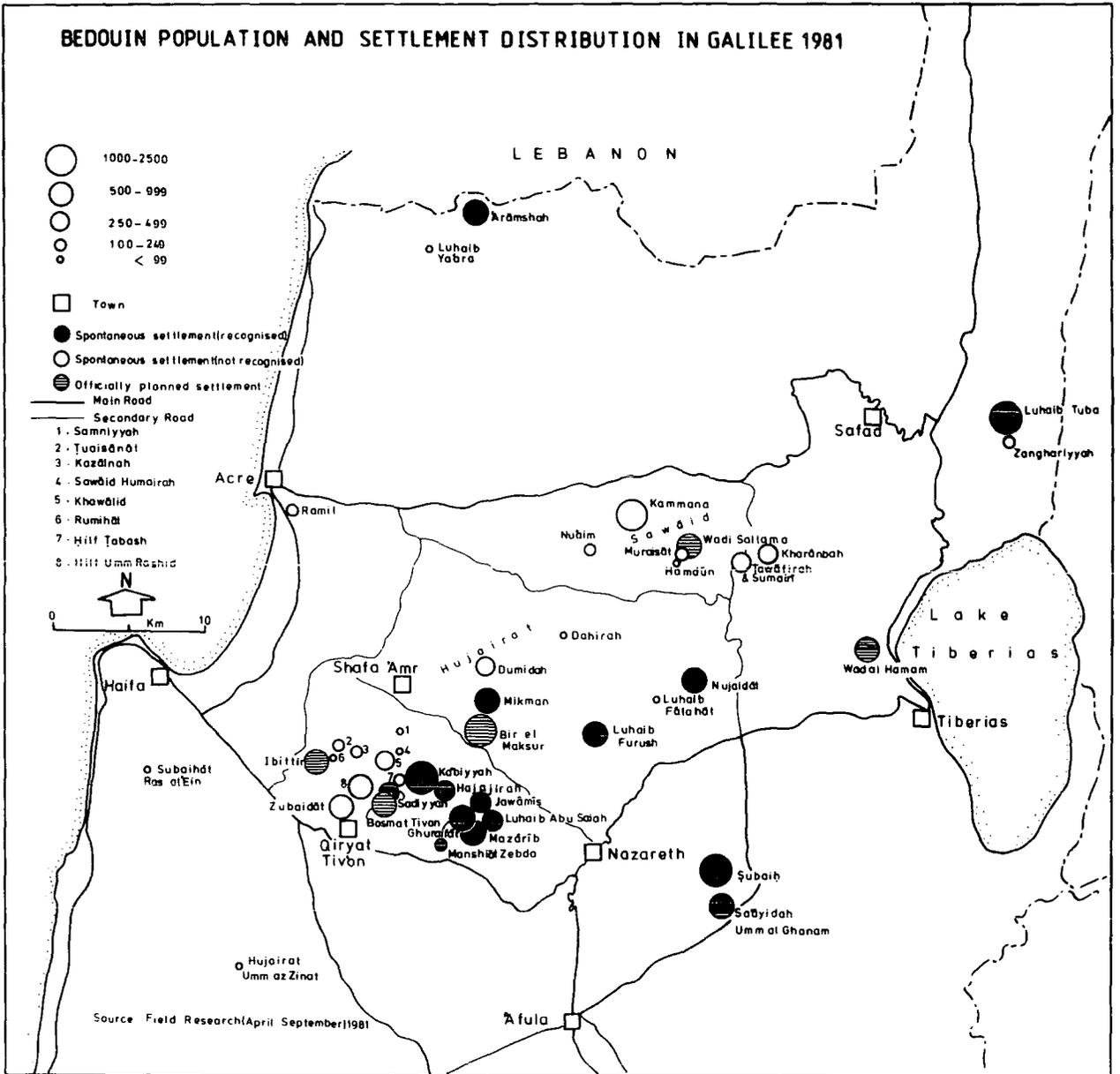


FIG. 7.1

relatively large number of settlements each having only a small population. In addition the bedouin groups who were settled in towns and villages (in non-bedouin areas) were also organized on a tribal basis. Each tribal group had its own neighbourhood. This group has never been enumerated before in the State census since it was considered as an integral part of the non-bedouin settlement population. Consequently only a part of the bedouin Galilee population were numbered in the official statistics.

7.2 Distribution of Bedouin Settlement

The majority of bedouin population in Galilee in September 1981 were settled in 43 permanent bedouin settlements (Fig. 7.1) numbering 22,377 persons or 74 per cent of the total Galilee bedouin population (Table 7.1).

(Table 7.1 : The Population of Galilee Bedouin by Type of Sedentarization (1st September 1981))

Type	Number of Sites	Population	%
Settled in own tribal settlement	43	22,377	74
Settled in non-bedouin villages	24	4,770	16
Settled in Town	4	3,148	10
Total	71	30,295	100

Source : Calculated from Appendices 17 & 18.

The population in each settlement usually belongs to a single tribe or even an extended family who form the whole population of the settlement. There are the two settlements of Wad al Hamam and Ibittin whose population

BEDOIN POPULATION SETTLED IN TOWNS AND ARAB VILLAGES IN GALILEE 1981

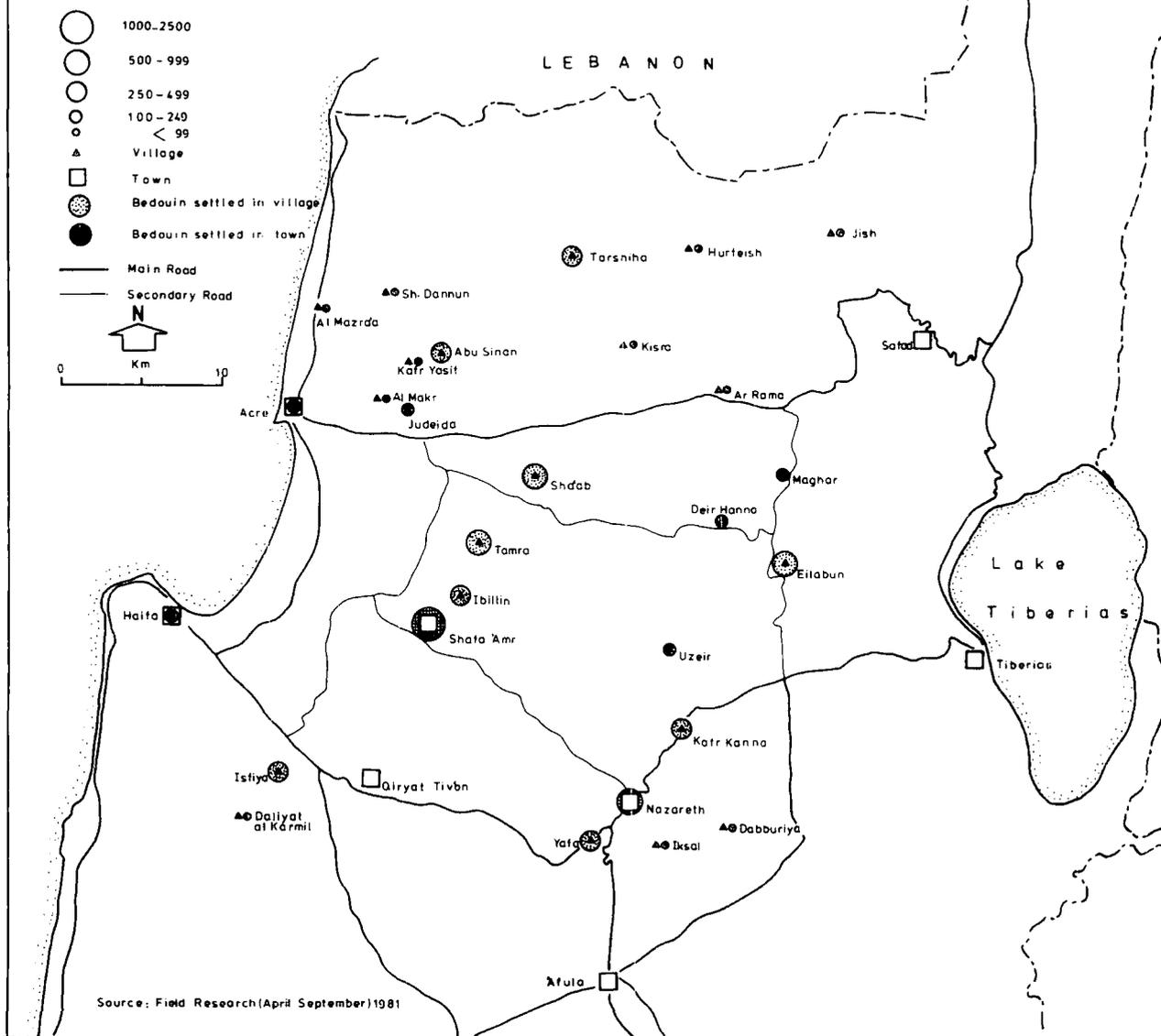


FIG 7.2

is a mixture of various tribal units and of those of fellaheen origin. The name of the settlement is identified by the name of the largest or the dominant tribal group. In cases where a single tribe settled in more than one settlement the bedouin named their settlement by combining the name of their original tribe with the traditional name of the site they occupied, or by adding to the tribal name the name of the extended family. These cases are found in the three tribes of Luhaib, Hujairat and Sawāid (Fig. 7.1) who established 13 separate settlements with a total population of 8,545 (38% of the total bedouin settlement population). However, the official names of the bedouin settlements which have been recognized or planned were mostly the geographical Hebrew names of those places. The rest of the Galilee bedouin population were settled in Arab villages (non-bedouin) and towns forming 16% and 10% of total Galilee bedouin populations respectively (Table 7.1). According to field research evidence the founding of bedouin population in towns and Arab villages was as a result of (1) the 1948 war when several tribal families fled to towns and large Arab villages after their tribe was disbanded. This group has remained in these places until the present day, identifying itself with the town or village population, tribal identity remains important to them. These groups are mainly the bedouin who settled in Haifa and Acre and Upper Galilee villages (Fig. 7.2). (2) Migration of bedouin groups took place from bedouin settlements during recent years (1965-1981) for various reasons, one main reason being the lack of sufficient modern services in their original locations. These groups are mainly the bedouin who settled in Shafa 'Amr, Nazareth and the villages of lower Galilee (Fig.7.2).

The bedouin groups who were settled in rural and in urban areas managed to concentrate their dwellings in a bedouin neighbourhood. They usually settled around the boundaries of the towns and the villages in areas where



PLATE 7.1 : Bedouin houses in Shafa 'Amr's southern quarter
(August 1981) (The houses belong to the tribe Sawāid)
(Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 7.2 : Bedouin houses in the east side of Eilabun village.
(August 1981) (The houses belong to the tribe Mawāsi)
(Photo : G. Falah).

they were able to acquire small pieces of land from the local inhabitants (Plates 7.1, 7.2). The social organization of the relatively large numbers of tribal groups in the towns and their interaction with the local non-bedouin population and with other bedouin settlements are topics which deserve further research. In the framework of the present research there is insufficient space to discuss such topics. However it is essential to indicate the role of such groups in attracting bedouin relatives who wish to be urbanized.

Figure 7.1 shows the distribution of bedouin settlements by size and by official status. These settlements are located in the lower part of Galilee with only four settlements close to the border area. The reason for this pattern is the result of the 1948 war. The remainder of the Arab villages and bedouin tribes were concentrated in the central part of Galilee associated with the area which, according to the United Nations partition proposals (1947), should be a part of the Arab State (Fig. 5.5). Both spontaneous and planned bedouin settlements were established in the hilly area of the southern and central part of Galilee located between the 100 and 300 metres contours, except for the two settlements of Hujairat Dahirah and Sawāid Kammana, which occupy topography above 500 metres. In addition most of the spontaneous settlements were established between main roads (Fig. 7.1). The roads do not seem to have played an important role in the choice of the settlement location because in the initial stages of spontaneous sedentarization, the importance of motor transport had not been realized. Thus prime consideration was given to the lands which were used as pasture and eventually acquired for establishing houses.

The largest number of bedouin settlements were established between the two parallel roads Nazareth - Shafa 'Amr and Nazareth - Qiryat Tivon, an area which had a few Arab villages pre 1948 but after 1949 most of

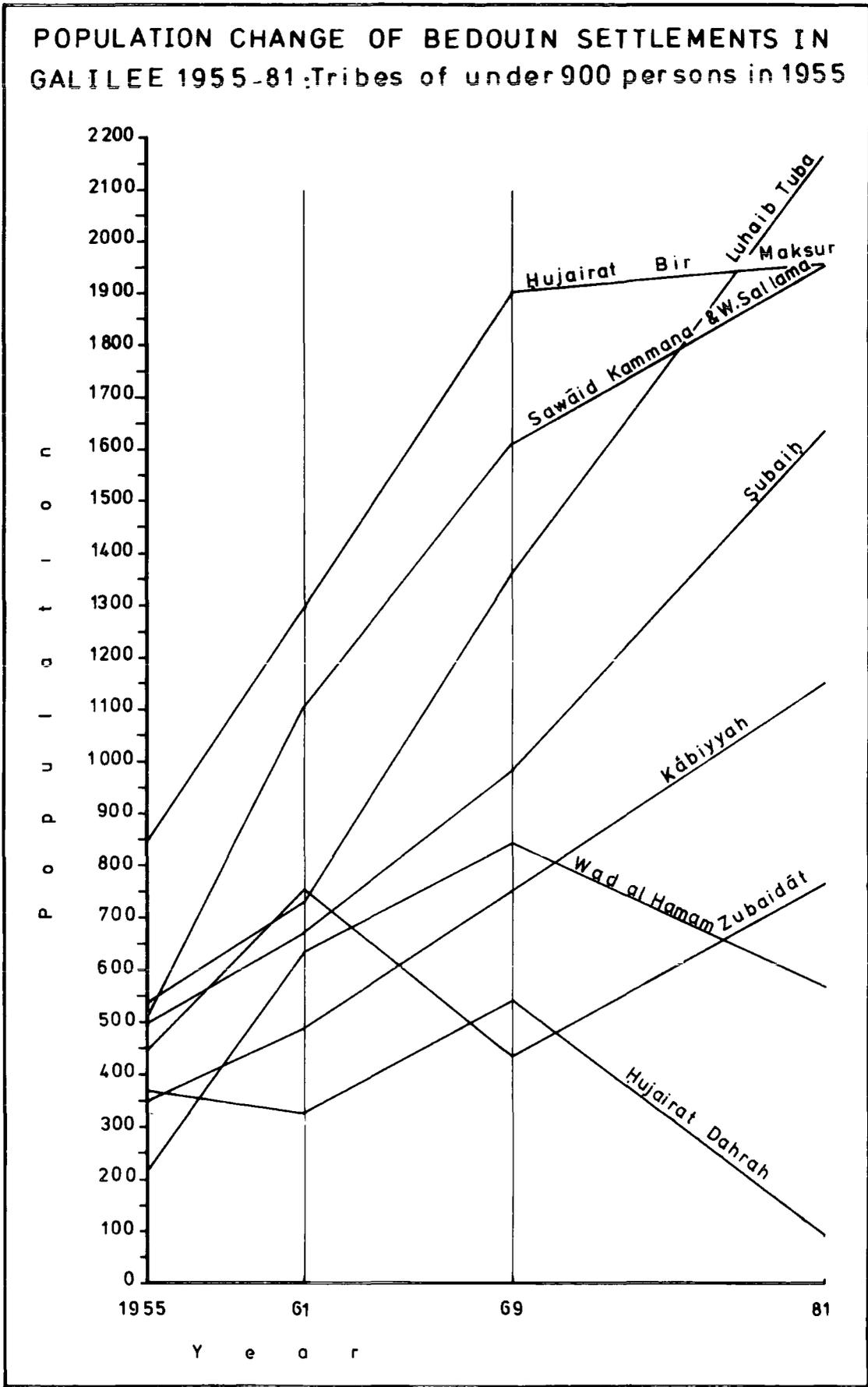


FIG 7.3

POPULATION CHANGE OF BEDOUIN SETTLEMENTS IN GALILEE 1955-81: Tribes of under 400 persons in 1955

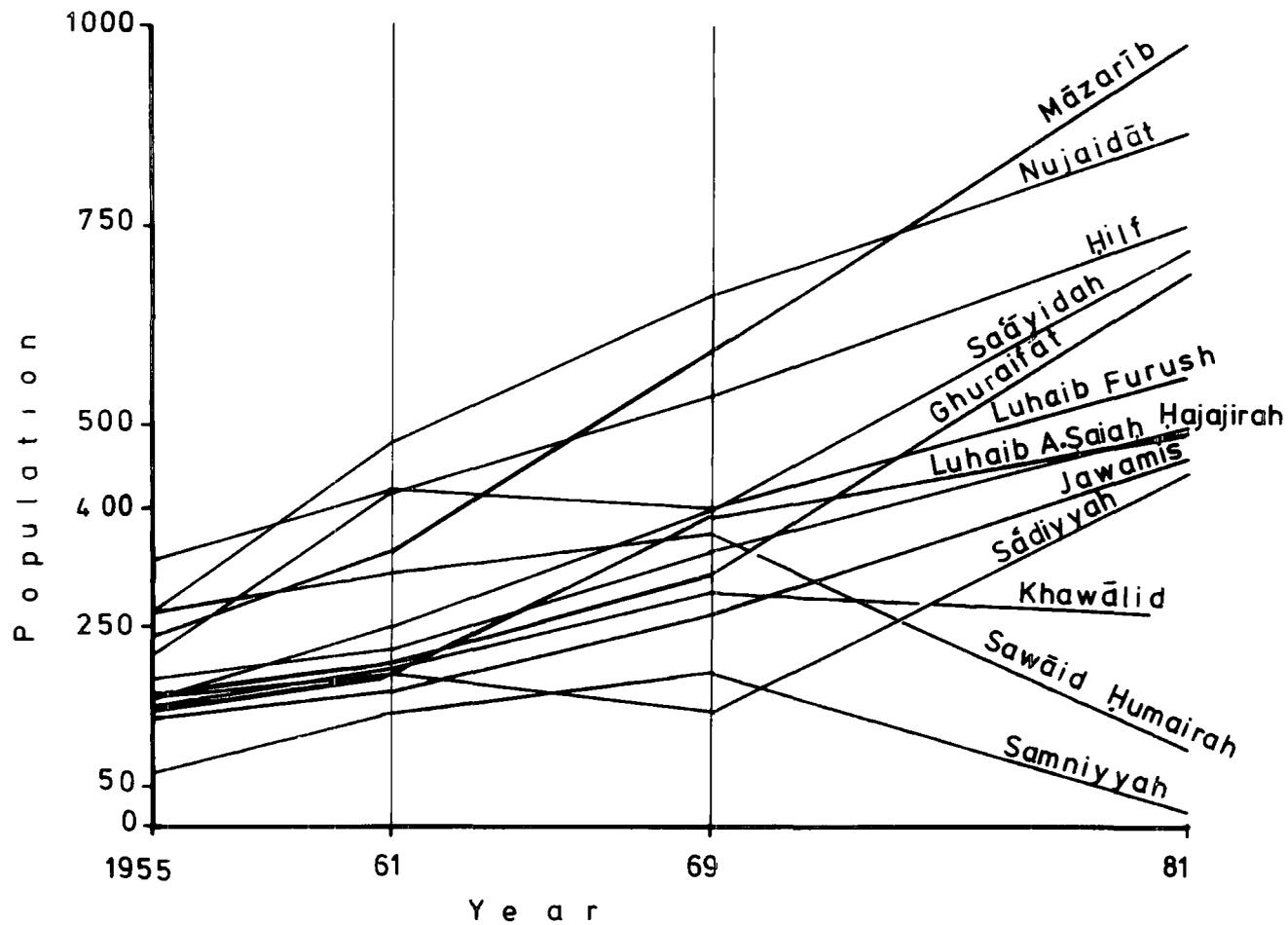


FIG 7.4

these villages had disappeared. Consequently this area has become a relatively large concentration of bedouin settlement. Despite the fact that although half of the bedouin Galilee settlement is to be found in this part of South West Galilee, the total population in September 1981 numbered only some 8,000 persons or 36% of the Galilee bedouin settlement population and 26% of the total bedouin in Galilee. The reason for such a large number of settlements is chiefly the relatively high number of different tribal groups each of which insists on building its own separate settlement.

7.3 Factors influencing the nature of spontaneous settlement

The characterization and definition of the bedouin settlement raises difficulties which arise from the relatively large number of factors involved. Some of these factors influence the development of the settlement in two contrasting directions. Consequently, spontaneous settlement is not uniform and there is a great variety of patterns among the settlements and even within the same tribe.

In examining the pattern of bedouin settlement in Galilee it seems that the chief characteristics were conditioned by three factors:

1) The dynamics of population growth in each settlement not solely due to natural growth. There are settlements whose population is increasing at a fast rate, some where it is increasing slowly and others whose population growth has been interrupted, or is in decline (Figs. 7.3, 7.4).

2) The settlement economy; this continued to rely on the traditional economy of flock raising and agriculture during the years 1948-1965 and gradually became based upon wage earning, particularly in the services sector.

3) The building material : tin shacks and wooden huts were associated with the early phase of the settlement and at a later phase, stone, cement



PLATE 7.3 : Luhaib Tuba from the south (July 1977)
(Photo : G.Falah)



PLATE 7.4 : The Nujaidāt Settlement (June 1981)
(Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 7.5 : 'Akbara village from the north (June 1982)
(Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 7.6 : Some part of Wad al Hamam houses (June 1982)
(Photo : G. Falah).

and concrete blocks. However, there are many examples of settlements which have "leapt" straight from the tent phase to that of the conventionally constructed house, skipping the intermediate phases of tin shacks and wooden huts.

These three factors were in turn influenced by other political, social, and environmental factors :

- (a) Landownership
- (b) Military rule in Galilee (1948-63)
- (c) The state strategy of establishing Jewish settlement and the related concept of concentrating bedouin population in Galilee.
- (d) The size of the population, family relationships and age structure.

Each will be considered in the following paragraphs.

7.3.1 Landownership

The impact of land ownership on the development of dwelling patterns is very strong. It explains a large part of the increased activity in house building and also the dispersal of these houses over the land. In cases where bedouin groups remained within their traditional boundaries of their origin, there is decisive development of house building (see Plates 7.3 and 7.4). In contrast to them, groups of both bedouin and non-bedouin who were evacuated from their lands in the early years of the State and eventually transferred to other places were among the latest groups to build stone houses. They remained in tin shacks and could not build new houses on land which they never acquired. These groups have been observed in the Negev⁽³⁾ and in Galilee; the groups of 'Akbara village (Plate 7.5) and Wad al Hamam (Plate 7.6) representing these groups. The inhabitants of 'Akbara were evacuated from the village of Qaddita in 1949 and the



PLATE 7.7 : The pattern of dispersed bedouin houses in the east side of Bir el Maksur (June 1982) (Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 7.8 : The pattern of cluster bedouin houses in the east side of Bir el Maksur (June 1982) (Photo : G. Falah).

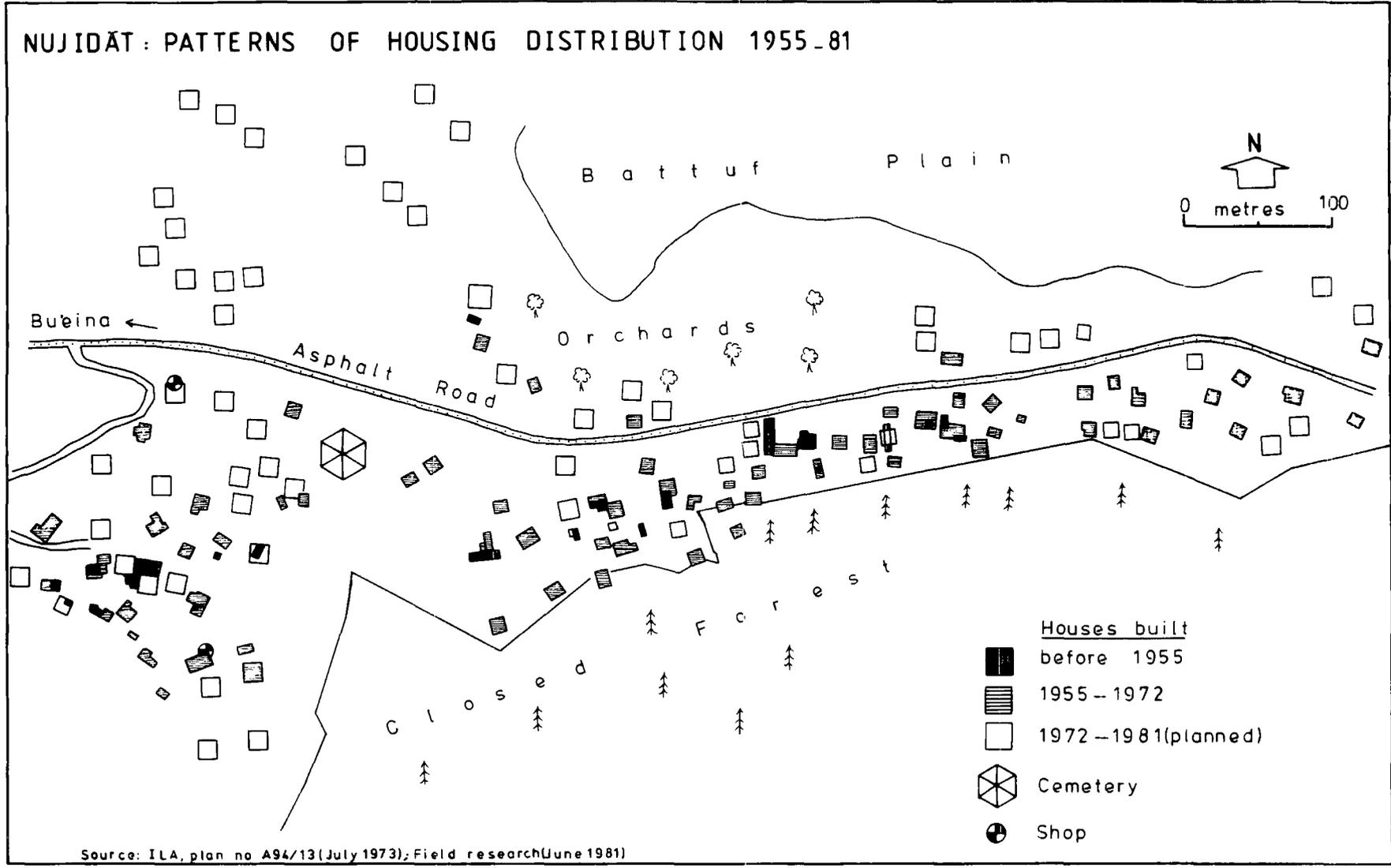


FIG 7.5

inhabitants of Wad al Ḥamam evacuated from northern Hula (further discussion (4) page 291). The tendency of establishing permanent houses on land which was possessed by bedouin is strongly associated with the fact that bedouin see the role of the stone house as both protecting the land and asserting their claim to land ownership. This approach has contributed largely to the creation of a dispersed pattern of houses which characterises the spontaneous bedouin settlement. The individual households were established in the middle of the plots or in one side of it preserving the rest of the land for the next generation (Plates 7.7, 7.8). One can observe three stages in building up the tribal settlement reflecting three generations.

(i) In the first generation, the settlement (or part of the settlement) contains a number of households with relatively large distances between them (Plate 7.7). The density of the settlement is extremely low.

(ii) In the second generation, the settlement is laid out in a cluster pattern (Plate 7.8) with a relatively small distance between the houses in the cluster, but the distances between the clusters remain high.

(iii) In the third generation, the empty space between the houses in the cluster falls in area because of the new houses, and infilling of the lands between the clusters occurs (Fig. 7.5). It is important to mention that only at this third stage does the settlement begin to develop its centre with one or two shops, a mosque and land allocated for a cemetery.

In fact this model of stages describes only some of the Galilee bedouin settlements. The important factor in creating this model is, as a rule, that the entire land in the settlement must belong to the local bedouin inhabitants and that there are no official restrictions on building new houses. The tribal settlements of Luhaib Tuba, Zanghariyya, Şubaiḥ and 'Aramshah are likely to develop on the lines of this model. Since their former dirah land was defined by the Department of Land Settlement in

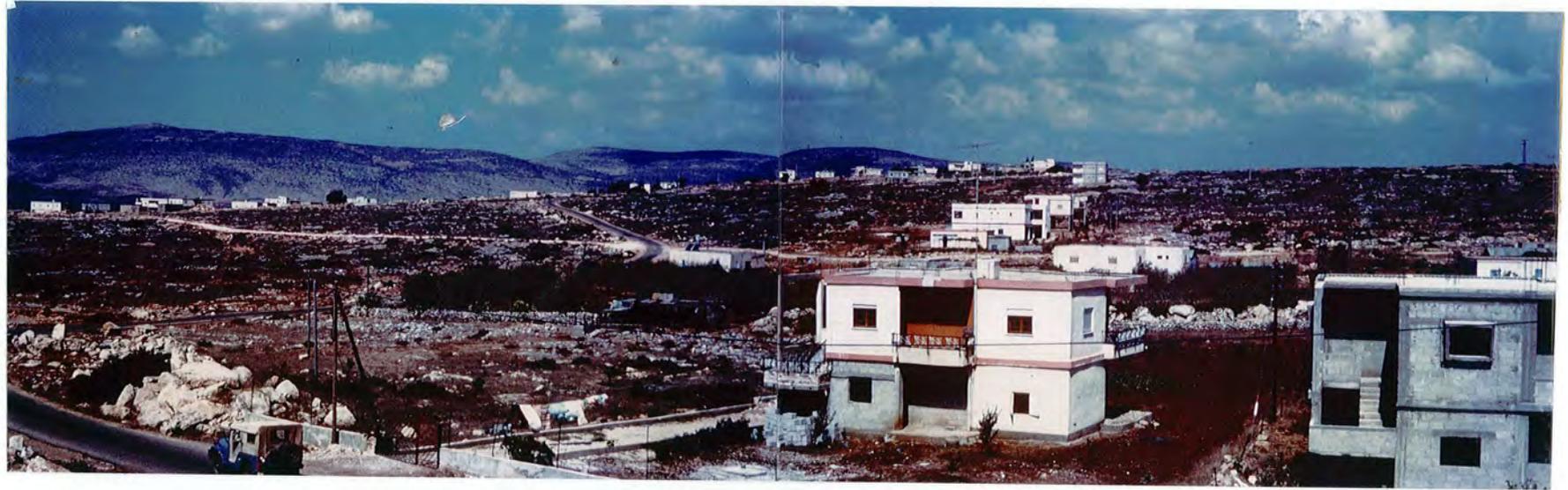


PLATE 7.9 : The pattern of bedouin houses in Luhaib Furush (June 1981)
(the bedouin settled on the land of Saffuriya)
(Photo : G. Falah).

1945 as one block. This appears on the map like any other village in Palestine.⁽⁵⁾ However, the lands of the rest of the Galilee bedouin tribes who settled on lands of other villages were divided by other owners - they could not pass to the third stage but mostly remain in the second stage of a single settlement created from several clusters of housing (Plate 7.9).

7.3.2 Military rule in Galilee (1948-1963)

"the system of military government imposed on the Arab population performs no particular function in protecting the security of the State against its enemies from without or in closing the door to infiltrators entering the country ... As for the absorption of the Arab population into the State of Israel and instilling sound feeling of citizenship into them, the military government is a negative factor which arouses resentment, creates obstacles and is an actively injurious factor which is bound to poison relations between Jews and Arabs. It is therefore more liable to shake the security of the State than strengthen it." (6)

Within the structure of Military rule and by virtue of Article 125 of the Emergency Laws of 1945, the Israeli Minister of Defence had used powers granted to him by the Emergency Laws of the British Mandate (1945) to appoint military governors in three principle areas: the Central area, the Negev and the Northern area which included the whole of Galilee, although the precise boundary of the area and the closed areas are known to no one in the country except the staff of the Military Government.⁽⁷⁾

Furthermore, the authorities could declare a "security" area in which no one could live permanently or enter without a special permit. Under the Emergency (Security Areas) regulations of 1949, the authorities were allowed to expropriate land and hand it to nearby Jewish settlements.⁽⁸⁾ The impact of the military rule (1948-63) on the development of the spontaneous settlement is important since it coincided with the period of bedouin completing their sedentarization process, creating a nucleus of permanent settlements. This study suggests that the period of military rule from 1948 to 1963 was the dominant cause of spontaneous bedouin settlement. By the end of this period it was virtually complete. There are cases where

bedouin groups who were evacuated from within their traditional boundaries by military orders and concentrated in certain areas pronounced as "Closed Areas". The confinement of the bedouin to an allotted area chosen by military governors is tantamount to forced sedentarization. Such sedentarization had later consequences which further affected the attitude of bedouin hesitating to join Government programmes of planned sedentarization. A good example of groups being confined to special areas are the Negev bedouin who were concentrated in the northern and central Negev and only within this area were the bedouin allowed to establish their settlements (Fig. 8.1). This is discussed in the next Chapter.

In Galilee, there are the cases of the four bedouin groups (Ghanāmah, Baqqārah, Khaṣāṣ, and Ghawarnah) who were evacuated from the Syrian border area and then transported into deserted or semi deserted villages in central Galilee. As well, 17 Arab villages have been declared "closed areas" and their populations either deported or annexed to other existing villages.⁽⁹⁾ However, most Galilee tribes remain in their former traditional lands, being affected only in cases when their presence conflicted with the ongoing processes of developing the country or with military regulations as in the case of the Sawāid group, according to Ma'ariv (1956):

"The Defence authorities are now taking administrative measures against the bedouin tribe of the Sāwaid, who live in the hills of Galilee, after their 'revolt' against a military order and their refusal to remove their tents, which were pitched in a closed area. The penalties imposed on this bedouin tribe include the prohibition of its members to move from their place of residence to the neighbouring area, the withdrawal of all government permits (for hunting, pasturing, movement etc.), the closing of the primary school, and a ban on the providing of the tribe with foodstuffs, and on its selling its produce outside its place of residence. The members of the tribe say that they will not leave the land which has been theirs for generations as long as there is breath left in their bodies." ⁽¹⁰⁾

In the period of military rule 1948-63, the bedouin tribes continued to live close to their early stone houses built before 1948, but mostly continued to live in black tents. Gradually they converted the tents into more stable structures of wooden huts and tin shacks as both house forms contain the advantages of cleanliness and low cost. A few bedouin whose budget allowed them to acquire material for building fixed stone houses, obtained housing permission. These small groups were apparently keen to apply for permission to transport building materials such as iron and cement rather than to obtain authorization for building fixed houses. Appendix 1 reveals this notion:

"I do not have either cement nor iron and then please approve this because the Winter is approaching".

There were two reasons for the slow rate of establishing fixed stone houses during the period of military rule (1948-1963). The first reasons may be deduced from Rosenfeld's (1970) observations: Since the "Military Government of Israel, both for security reasons and in order not to flood the market with cheap and largely unskilled Arab labour at one time severely restricted the movement of Arabs from one part of the country to another".⁽¹¹⁾ Thus bedouin had not the opportunity to accumulate capital by wage labour. Secondly bedouin fully realize the importance of keeping their livestock as a secure basis of subsistence and if they had to sell part of their livestock preferred to acquire land which could also provide additional subsistence. During this period the bedouin people as well as the Arab villagers in Galilee remained economically and politically isolated from the larger economic and political system of the State.⁽¹²⁾ It was only after October 1963 that the military rule was lifted and particularly after the 1967 war more job opportunities were available.⁽¹³⁾

However the main contribution of military rule to the bedouin settlement pattern was to stabilize population movement so that the population grew rapidly while out-migration was extremely low. Figures 7.3, 7.4 show that in all the Galilee bedouin settlements the population grew rapidly between the years 1955-1969 (except Hujairat Dahirah). The reason for such growth is a familiar feature of nomadic groups who complete their sedentarization processes (as previously discussed - see page 127). However, in the case of the Galilee bedouin it seems that the military rule had played a role in maintaining such growth.

7.3.3 The State strategy of establishing Jewish Settlement and the related concept of concentrating bedouin population

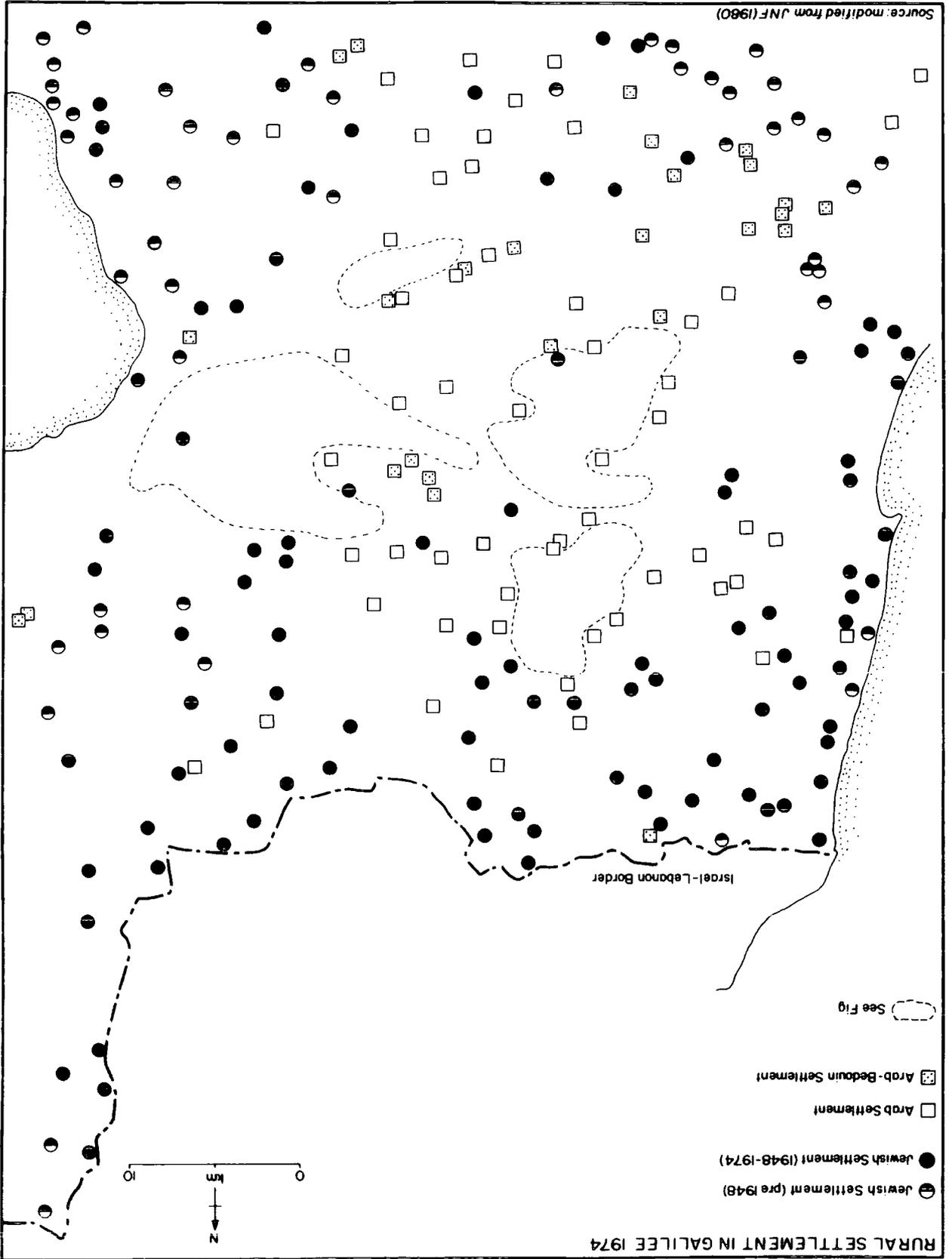
"The Arab minority centered here presents a continual threat to the security of the nation...Its presence adds to the burden of the Government and will create problems when the permanent borders are finally defined. The very existence of a unified Arab group in this part of the country is an invitation to the Arab States to press their claims to the area... At the very least, it can become the nucleus of Arab nationalism, influenced by the nationalist movements in the neighbouring countries, and undermining the stability of our state." (14)

And also in Ben-Borat (1965) :

"the claim has been repeatedly made that Galilee was not intended as part of Israel according to the partition plan, and this continues to feed the hope that a plebiscite will be held in the area which is after all Arab and not Jewish. [Thus] the problem of Galilee is a Jewish problem...it is an Arab Empire within our borders...and those who believe with government that military rule alone will liberate [Galilee] are simply mistaken." (15)

After 1948, the view of the distribution of Jewish settlement was changed. Thus pre 1948, the approach of selecting the settlement site was influenced by the existing geopolitical situation. (16) The chosen site was located, as a rule, in areas where Jews were able to acquire land and to assert full legal ownership over it.⁽¹⁷⁾ Land was acquired first and settlements were established thereafter. This guiding principle did not continue after the establishment of the State when the two main obstacles, the White Paper of 1939 and The Arab National Fund (Sanduq al Ummah) were

FIG 7.6



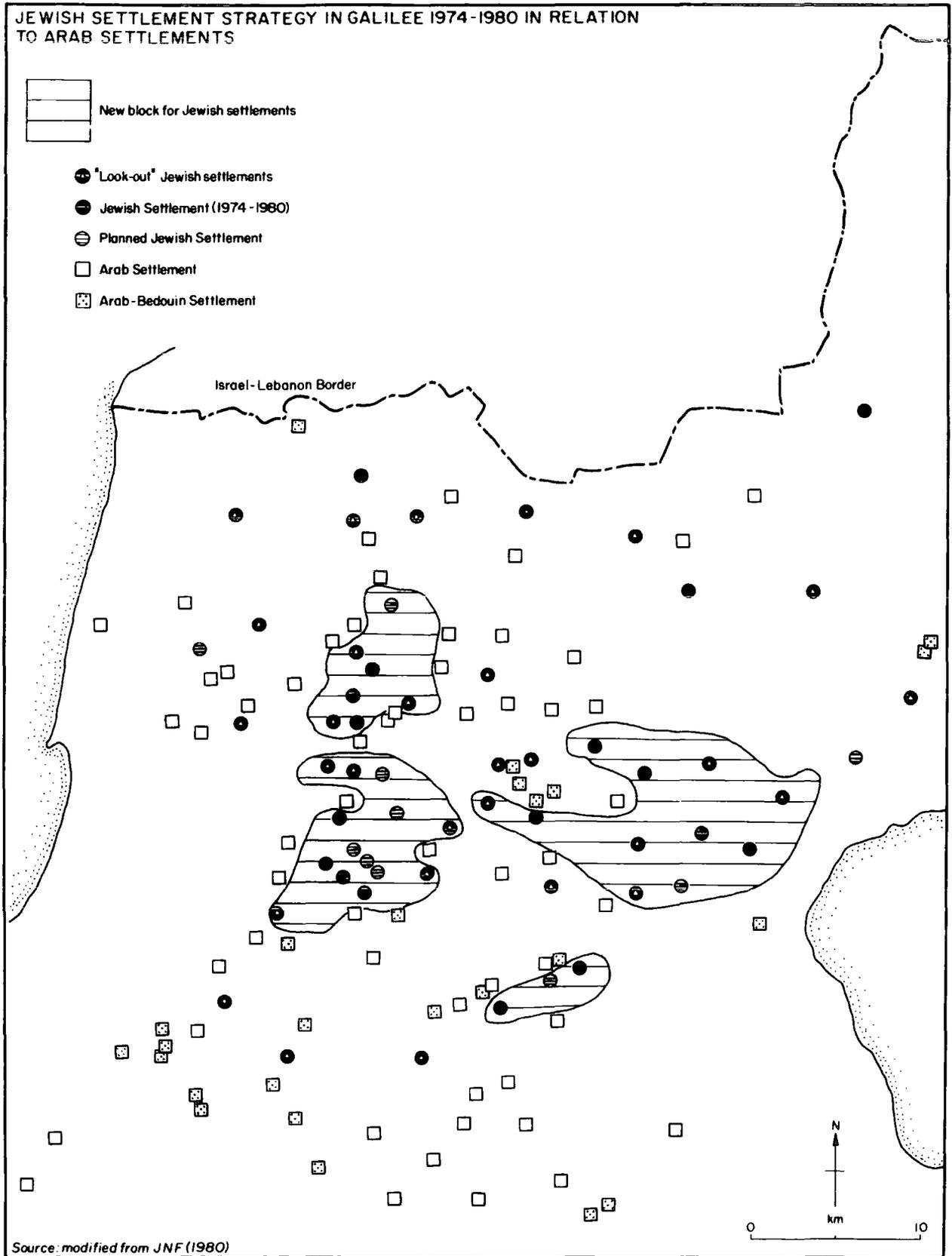


FIG 7.7

removed .

However, after 1948, the land ownership factor in choosing the settlement site seems to hold minor importance in comparison with other new ones. This notion may be concluded from the announcement of the Finance Minister in 1950 when he presented the Development Authority Law to the Knesset:

"we have established over 150 settlements without full legal title to their land...thousands of dwellings have been built for immigrants and we plan tens of thousands more...it was essential to legalize the procedure to provide a financial and credit basis for our operation." (18)

This announcement reveals how the government could take any legislative measure for obtaining any lands as long as such land was to serve the nation, "upbuilding of the country and absorbing immigrants." (19) In the particular case of Galilee, the impact of the Jewish settlement distribution pattern on the development of the bedouin settlement is very strong and perhaps is the major factor which determines both bedouin economy and their living standard. The real problem arose basically because of a conflict between two contrasting planning strategies : the national dispersal of Jewish settlement and the local concentration of bedouin settlement. The first strategy of dispersal was given priority since the Jewish settlement distribution was required to achieve security which Arab settlements were not expected to provide. The quest for security stand at the heart of Jewish population dispersal as may be seen from Granott (1956) :

"In everything we do, we are bound to consider the strategic and geographic situation of Israel" (20)

and also

"Thus the function of population dispersal becomes a cardinal requirement of security." (21)

Figures 7.6 and 7.7 show the two stages of Jewish settlement strategy in relation to the Arab settlement location. Figure 7.6 shows Jewish settlements



PLATE 7.10 : The Şubaiḥ settlement on the northern slopes of Mount Tabor (June 1982)
(Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.11 : The Sa'āyidah settlement on the southern slope of Mount Tabor. (June 1982) (Photo:G.Falah).

established in the border areas and lowlands surrounding the Arab villages. Figure 7.7 shows the strategy of penetrating into the heart of Arab settlements in Central Galilee selecting distinctive blocks for new settlements which deliberately divide the Arab village clusters. As a result of the implementation of these two stages, 17 Arab villages close to border areas disappeared and their lands were taken to supply the needs of Jewish settlements old and new.⁽²²⁾ The bedouin lands were not exempted from such treatment. In most cases agricultural land was the target for expropriation⁽²³⁾ and their owners accepted the situation as it was, concluding that appeals to the Supreme Court were ineffective as case studies discussed below will demonstrate. Some bedouin tribes lost their agricultural land in the early years of the State (1948-55) without being necessarily located close to the border area. For example, the two tribes of Arab Şubaiḥ and Sa'āyidah who established their settlements on the lower slopes of Mount Tabor (Plates 7.10 and 7.11) lost their agricultural lands in 1952 regardless of being among the bedouin groups located furthest from the border area.⁽²⁴⁾ Their expropriated lands adjacent to their houses are cultivated today by Jewish settlements and both tribes maintain themselves by doing agricultural and service work in Jewish settlements, without having the opportunity to farm their own lands. In fact, the losing of bedouin lands during the first years of the State, without necessarily fulfilling state security needs, was arguably a result of "strong arm" military rule coupled with the weakness of the Arab bedouin who had never recovered from the 1948 hostilities.

The concentration policy for bedouin settlements is connected strongly with the idea of concentrating Arab land to facilitate the establishment of Jewish settlements, and for national development objectives. This may be understood from the words of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1960:

"the state and the Development Authority and the Keren Kaymet Le Israel are the legal owners of thousands of donums in the Galilee

Table 7.2 Changing in Landholding of Bedouin Groups in South Western Galilee 1949-1958 (in donums)

Group	1949/50	1958	Rate of Change (%)
Zubaidāt	1,174	496	- 58
K'abiyah	1,550	705	- 58
Hujairat	2,337	488	- 79
Mazārīb	110	282	+ 61
'Imariyah	62	261	+ 76
Hilf	1,123	555	- 51
Ghuraiḫāt	640	288	- 55
Sawāid	656	139	- 79
Hajajirah	604	147	- 76
S'adiyyah	99	67	- 32
Luhaib (Abu Ṣaiḫ)	423	143	- 66
S'aā y idah (Manshiat Zabda)	-	380	+100
Ras 'Ali (non-bedouin)	-	18	+100
Tab'ūn (non-bedouin)	341	36	- 89
Samniyyah	559	57	- 90
Muraisāt	-	-	-
Kazālnah	-	-	-
Turkmān	-	-	-
Jawāmīs	269	291	+ 22
Saffuriya refugees (non-bedouin)	-	132	+100
Total	10,572	4,510	- 57

Source : G.Golany, Bedouin Settlement in Alonim-Shafara'm Hill Region, Ministry of Interior and Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1966, p.40.

Triangle and Wadi Ara districts and more than 250,000 donums divided up into small plots are surrounded by the lands of other Arab owners. There is no possibility of exploiting these lands for settlement or development purposes unless the government takes action to concentrate the lands they own in large lots for the purpose of improving, developing and settling them in accordance with requirements of the State" (25)

Unfortunately, no complete statistical data have been published on the rate of changing landholding among Galilee bedouin tribes. However, official statistics in Table 7.2 suggest a decrease in land holding for the bedouin groups in south western Galilee, during the years 1949-58 of 57%.

As a result of the reduction of the size of bedouin lands and at the same time increase in population, coupled with the type of inheritance practised in the Arab-Muslim society (whereby sons inherit their father's land equally) many households may be reduced to small holdings in a few generations. Either these lands cannot support the family, or they are too small to provide full time work. Such reductions in both pastoral and agricultural land inevitably create surplus labour. Work opportunities were more plentiful after 1967, some households had more than one person able to accumulate cash, parents and sons could share money to establish new houses. Thus during the past decade more than 70% of the stone houses were established. (26)

The impact of Jewish settlement on the bedouin's changing way of life is usually described by the authorities in terms of advantages and benefits, as in the words of the Director of the Department of Minorities, Ministry of the Interior in 1966:

"it is due to the presence of neighbouring Jewish settlements and to the activities of the Israel Government... Availability of water and access roads, improvements in the various branches of agriculture and organization of most of the villages within the municipal network - all these favoured rapid progress and have induced far-reaching changes in the bedouin way of life" (27)

Certainly the bedouin have benefited from the introduction schools, social services, modern health care and perhaps some of them became



PLATE 7.12 : Bir el Maksur from the south : scenery of a planned bedouin settlement (June 1982)
(Photo : G.Falah)



PLATE 7.13 : Luhaib Furush from the east : scenery of a recognized bedouin settlement (August 1981)
(Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 7.14 : Sawāid Kammana houses : scenery of an unrecognized spontaneous bedouin settlement (August 1981)
(Photo : G.Falah)



PLATE 7.15 : Nu'aim settlement : scenery of an unrecognized spontaneous settlement where stone houses are prohibited (June 1982)
(Photo : G.Falah).

prosperous from working as unskilled labourers in Jewish settlements, but they have probably more often lost a great deal. Although their sedentarization has been officially encouraged, they may settle only on lands designated for them by the authorities. Bedouin dwellings constructed on their traditional lands without official approval are liable to demolition.⁽²⁸⁾ An appreciation of the important role of the authorities in changing the bedouin way of life is crucial, particularly when it comes to a comparison between various forms of settlement. Some settlements were planned by the Authorities (Plate 7.12); others were spontaneous settlements recognized as legal (Plate 7.13). Such settlements had the opportunity to build the most modern houses. Other groups, however, were unable to produce the types of modern stone houses as seen in Plates 7.12 and 7.13 since they were not officially recognized (Plate 7.14) regardless of being settled on private land (Plate 7.15). The gap between the living standards of recognized and unrecognized bedouin settlements is considerable. While the former may establish new houses as finance allows, the latter build with cheap materials for urgent needs and under fear of demolition. It is reasonable to conclude that a low standard of living and tin shacks are merely an indication of a transition from the officially unrecognized settlement type to the recognized one, rather than a symbol of transition between tent dwelling and permanent stone houses, as is so often concluded.

7.3.4 Size of population, family relationships and age structure

These factors vary from tribe to tribe. Their role in the development of the bedouin settlement pattern is very important since they may operate to the disadvantage of the tribe. The effect of these factors has to be seen in conjunction with the external factors of modernization and State policy. State policy is to concentrate bedouin groups in planned settlements and to remove other settlements by means of non-recognition.

The force of modernization is acting at the same time to pull these groups from their traditional settlements towards planned bedouin settlements or other settlements where better services and modern opportunities are available.

7.3.4.1 The settlement size

Table 7.3 shows that 58 per cent of Galilee bedouin settlements have a population of less than 500 persons, and 93% did not exceed 1,500 persons. A small size population is regarded as a disadvantage since it is vulnerable to both the external factors; the state always used the smallness of bedouin settlements as an argument for non-recognition and for not providing modern services. Most of the small bedouin settlements in Table 7.4 have never previously featured in official census data or other literature. Since they have never been recognized by the Authorities as legal their exclusion is of course deliberate. Previous scholars who have conducted a population survey of the Arab population have obtained their data about unrecognized bedouin groups from the officials of the Department of Arab Affairs in Haifa, who usually simply referred to a few scattered families who would in the future be attached to one or another of the planned settlements.⁽²⁹⁾

The level of modern services is very low or non-existent among such groups so that the pressure for modernization is extremely strong. This is particularly true where these settlements lie a short distance from an urban centre, which naturally raises expectations among the bedouin. Figure 7.4 shows the result of these two pressures on the three groups of Khawālid, Sawāid Ḥumairah and Samniyyah located 5-10 km. from the town Shafa 'Amr. This pressure leads to settlement depopulation. It is notable that the population of the three tribes increased during the years 1955-69 and it was only after 1969 that the population started to decrease. This may be due to the fact that pre 1969 the settlement economy was largely based on pastoralism and agriculture, but after 1969 a new generation began to move

Table 7.3 Galilee bedouin settlements, by size and number
(1st September 1981)

Group size	Number of settle- ment (%)	Population (%)
> 1500	3 (7)	5,660 (25)
500 - 1500	15 (35)	11,861 (53)
< 500	25 (58)	4,856 (22)
Total	43 (100)	22,377 (100)

Source : Appendix 17

Table 7.4 The population of Galilee bedouin settlements, by
official status and population (1st September 1981)

Settlements			Population total by settlement status	
Status	Name	Popula- tion	Number	%
Planned	Ḥujairat Birel Maksur	1,926	4,895	22
	Bosmat Tivon	937		
	Sawāid Wadi Sallama	768		
	Ibittin	696		
	Wad al Hamam	568		
Recognized Spontan- eous settle- ment	Luhaib Tuba	2,104	12,169	54
	Ṣubaiḥ	1,630		
	Ka'biyyah	1,124		
	Mazārīb	975		
	Ḥujairat Mikman	868		
	Nujaidāt	864		
	Sa'āyidah Umm al Ghanam	719		
	Ghuraifāt	685		
	'Aramshah	637		
	Luhaib Furush	556		
	Ḥajajirah	498		
	Luhaib Abu Ṣalah	488		
	Jawāmīs	452		
	Sa'diyyah	441		
Manshiāt Zabda	128			

Cont.

Table 7.4 (Cont.)

Settlements			Population total by settlement status	
Status	Name	Popula- tion	Number	%
Unrecog- nized spont- aneous settle- ment	Sawāīd Kammana	1,158		
	Zubaidāt	768		
	Ḥilf Umm Rashid	538		
	Kharānbah	331		
	Khawālid	267		
	Ḥujairat Dumidah	250		
	Tawāfirah & Sumairī	250		
	Nu'aim	224		
	Ḥilf Ṭabash	212		
	Zanghariyyah	178		
	Muraisāt	151		
	Kazālnah	151		
	Ramil	124		
	Ṭuāisānāt	119		
	Ḥujairat Dahirah	96		
	Sawāid Humairah	94		
	Ḥujairat Umm az Zinat	91		
	Luhaib Ya'ara	74		
	Luhaib Fālahāt	72		
	Rumihāt	67		
Ḥamdūn	46			
Ṣubaiḥat Ras al 'Ein	38			
Samniyyah	14		5,313	24
Total			22,377	100

Source: Field Research (April-September) 1981.



PLATE 7.16 : Luhaib Fālahāt settlement : A settlement which started from a single nuclear family (June 1977)
(Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.17 : a. The Father's house. b. The son's house : pattern of houses in Luhaib Abu Şaiha (June 1977)
(Photo : G.Falah).

outside as wage earners, as the national economy experienced growth. As their connection with Shafa 'Amr has become stronger, the pressure for modernization has also become stronger.

7.3.4.2 Family relationships

The tribe's social structure is the most significant factor in the character of a single settlement. The settlement consists, generally, of one or several extended families that belong to the same hamuleh (clan). Family relationships are thus fundamentally important in the social composition of the settlement, being regarded as a factor which protects the settlement against other external pressures. Strong family relationships were often regarded as one explanation of the lack of rural-urban migration among the fellaheen Arab settlements in Galilee. ⁽³⁰⁾ This view is only partly true in the case of the bedouin in Galilee. Thus 27% of them are living in urban and rural areas outside true bedouin communities; they provide evidence of bedouin eagerness for modernization and at the same time the degree of loosening of family ties. Most of the small bedouin villages in Galilee were founded by a single nuclear family (a father and his sons). The families who leave the small villages are usually those whose lands are very small. Those who remain are the landowners whose ownership of land is more likely to influence their family relationships. A good example is the Luhaib Fālahāt settlement (Plate 7.16). The houses were built on land acquired in 1935 by a single nuclear family. The land title to this land was acquired in 2.3.1945. (App. 16). After the death of the owner in 1958, his 12 sons divided their father's land between them, each inheriting only two donums. In 1960 the total village land was some 50 donums but by 1982 it had been expanded by purchases to more than 200 donums. Such a relatively small amount of land led to the migration of eight families out of 15 into Nazareth between 1963 and 1979. They sold their two donums to their

brothers, who continued to strengthen their attachment to the area by acquiring additional land. In this case the disadvantages of both lands and population size forced more than half of the village to migrate. These families left their brothers, after becoming convinced that there was no future in the Luhaib Fālahāt, without giving undue importance to family relationships.

7.3.4.3 Age Structure

The importance of age structure in influencing the settlement pattern is strong, particularly in respect of differences between housing patterns in the same settlement. The younger generation whose daily work and experience are strongly connected with the world outside the village, are likely to produce a different style of housing from the older generation who still prefer traditional life. The contrast between the older and the younger tribesmen in their response to the outside world is due to the degree of their assimilation and imitation. While the young had a better education and opportunities to work outside for cash, it follows that most of the house building activity was initiated by this generation. Within the same bedouin settlement one could easily distinguish between houses built by the elders and their sons, as in plate 7.17 where the parents' houses were built on the grounds of their son's modern house. Since the youngest generation also form the largest section of the population it is likely that the establishment of modern houses will be extensive in the future. Table 7.5 shows that the age group 0 - 19 form two-thirds of the village population (63.7%). However, the second largest group is the 20 - 45 age group. The high percentage of this group is significant since it carries out most of the building activities.

Table 7.5 The Pattern of Age Structure in Luhaib Tuba (May 1981)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 19	202	36.1	154	27.6	356	63.7
20 - 44	67	12	74	13.3	141	25.3
45 - 64	26	4.6	4	4.3	50	8.9
+ 65	6	1.05	6	1.05	12	2.1

Source : Field Research, Random sample of 72 households, May 1981.

7.4 The Development of Spontaneous Bedouin Settlements Illustrated by Six Case Studies

The following case studies have been selected to illustrate the various factors discussed in the first part of this chapter which have influenced the pattern of spontaneous settlement in Galilee. The cases are arranged in chronological order.

7.4.1 The Kurdish Tribes in the Village Sha'ab

The two Kurdish tribes of al Ghanāmah and al Baqqārah represent a category of tribes and Arab villagers who have been evacuated from border areas and were transported by military forces into the inner part of the country in April 1951. The original camps of the two Kurdish tribes were located some 2-3 km. from the Israeli-Syrian border, and a similar distance from Jisr Bnat Yaqub which forms a strategic point and which was also used by the United Nations soldiers as a post in 1949. Pre 1948 the Jordan river was used both for the irrigation of crops and for watering the tribes' flocks, their cultivable lands being located between the two pre 1948 Jewish Colonies of Aiyelet hash shahar and Mishmar hay Yarden.

According to field research data (July 1981) gathered from the two tribes living in Sha'ab and Shafa 'Amr, ⁽³¹⁾ the tribal history was radically altered during the 1948 war. At the peak of the war the Syrian forces occupied an area west of the Jordan river, including the village al Baqqārah, but the al Ghanāmah village in the west of the al Baqqārah was held by Jewish forces. After the outbreak of hostilities the al Ghanāmah bedouin became refugees and remained away from their village for one and a half years, living in the meantime in Syria. This group returned to their village after a cease-fire was agreed. On July 20, 1949 the area was declared a demilitarized zone (Fig.5.5) with both bedouin and Jews being obliged to remain in their villages under

the supervision of the United Nation forces. The present situation lasted until the 24th April, 1951, when the Israeli army ordered the al Ghanāmah bedouin to leave their village for a few hours and go to the next village of al Baqqārah, stating that hostilities were expected. After the two tribes were gathered, (estimated 200 families) a curfew of 48 hours was announced. At the end of this curfew, buses arrived and the two Kurdish tribes were transported into Sha'ab, a semi deserted Arab village in the vicinity of Acre. The bedouin refugees were ordered to take over the empty houses, but when they expressed their desire to return to their original villages, a curfew was imposed on them for three months. During this period food rations were delivered to each family. Twenty two families had been re-evacuated during the first three months (May - July, 1951), two of them being sent to Shafa 'Amr and twenty to the village of Dannun.

After six months (in November 1951) had passed the United Nations were able to enter Sha'ab and by their intervention a choice was given to the tribes between remaining in Sha'ab or returning. The people were obliged to sign if they decided to return. Some of them were suspicious of giving their signatures, so the two tribes divided into two groups, one group signing, and thus able to return and the others, who refused, remaining in Sha'ab, eventually appealing to the Supreme Court to join the first group. After three years the Supreme Court decided in favour of the bedouin, but a stronger military order prohibited them from returning. Meanwhile, the 1956 war between Israel and Egypt broke out. As a result the Israeli-Syrian border became tense and the Kurdish bedouin who lived close by were expelled to Syria on the 30th October, 1956.⁽³²⁾

After a while an option was proposed to the bedouin of Sha'ab to sell their lands and instead to take possession of the Sha'ab absentees' lands. None of the bedouin agreed to such a deal. Some families migrated

to Shafa 'Amr and bought lands from local Arabs while another group migrated to the bedouin village of Luhaib Tuba in 1970/71 and the rest of them remained in Sha'ab. Each family leased one donum of State land for building houses after a master plan for the village was made in the 1970's. These houses now represent the main concentration of Kurdish people in Galilee. They were enumerated on 17th July 1981, as 41 al Baqqārah families (270 persons) and 24 al Ghanāmah families (149 persons). Their original lands were annexed to the Jewish settlements of Ayelet has Shahar and Mishmar hay Yarden. The main income of the Sha'ab bedouin is today derived from labouring, some families also taking temporary jobs in agriculture in the plans of Acre during the summer season.

7.4.2 The Khaṣāṣ (Sawālmah) and the Ghawarnah of Wad al Ḥamam'

Both these bedouin groups had a similar story to the Kurdish tribes. The tribes were camping in the north east corner of the Hula plains, distance of 2-3 km. from the two borders of Syria in the east and Lebanon in the north. The land of the tribes was located between the two northern tributaries of the Jordan river, the Hasbani from the west and the Baniyas from the east. Before 1948 the Khaṣāṣ group had a good relationship with the Jewish settlers in the Hula plain. They also cooperated with the Israeli forces by providing knowledge on the movement of the Syrian forces.⁽³³⁾ However, in 1949 the Israeli army transported them together with the neighbouring Ghawarnah group (of the villages of Qetiya and Al Muftakhira) into the deserted village of 'Akbara (south of Safad) (Plate 7.5). Another non-bedouin group from the village of Qaddita had previously been taken there.⁽³⁴⁾ The bedouin of Khaṣāṣ and Ghawarnah were subsequently re-evacuated that same year to another deserted village, Majdal (north Tiberias). This general area was called Wad al Ḥamam. The bedouin were promised by the military that they could return to their land when the place was secure. However, the war ended and the military

government did not fulfil their promise. Hence in 1952 the bedouin appealed to the Supreme Court asking to be allowed to return to their village. The Court finally granted their request on June 24th, 1953.⁽³⁵⁾

However, the military authorities immediately served them with orders to leave by virtue of the Military Regulations and when the matter was again referred to the Court it decided that it could not intervene because the powers of the authorities as regards "security affairs" were "absolute".⁽³⁶⁾ The bedouin of Wad al Ḥamam remained in tin shacks until 1975 when the government started to plan the village. They had been unable to improve their condition since the Authorities had neglected them and none of the basic services had been supplied. In May, 1972, Davar wrote an article entitled the "Weeping Valley beside Migdal", describing the low standard of living for this bedouin group where "civilization stopped in front of their doors".⁽³⁷⁾ The newspaper also mentioned that according to the Arab Affairs Advisor, the reason for the 24 years of neglect was that "the bedouin never asked the government to improve their conditions".⁽³⁸⁾ In fact the real reason for the neglect of Wad al Ḥamam until 1975 (Plate 7.6) was that the Authorities tried to persuade the bedouin refugees to forsake their original lands in the Hula and to accept monetary compensation. The 'Akbara villagers who are still living in tin shacks until the present day (1982) is another example (Plate 7.5) This strategy was realized by the bedouin of Wad al Ḥamam with the result that in 1969 many families migrated from Wad al Ḥamam to the Shafa 'Amr and to the villages of Maghar and Luhaib Tuba (see the change in Wad al Hamam population profile 1969-1981, in Figure 7.3) where they acquired some lands and built new stone houses.⁽³⁹⁾

The groups who remained in Wad al Ḥamam were mostly the Ghawarnah group. Each family of this group leased a single plot (450-650 sq.m.) for house building.

7.4.3 Luhaib Tuba

The Luhaib Tuba settlement is the largest Luhaib tribal settlement (table 7.5) and also the largest bedouin settlement in Galilee. The Luhaib Tuba is thought to have a good relationship with the Israeli Authority. The origin of such a relationship goes back to the 1940's when the tribe's sheikh sold a small part of his tribal lands to the Jewish national fund (Keren Kayemet Le Israel).⁽⁴⁰⁾ According to village statistics in 1945, the Luhaib Tuba total lands were 15,992 donums, including 2,307 donums (14%) Jewish land (this presumably being the lands which were sold to the Jewish agency) and also one donum of State land.⁽⁴¹⁾ In the 1948 war, the sheikh Husain al Mohammed chose to cooperate with the Israeli forces by providing 40 tribesmen of his people to fight beside the Jewish forces.⁽⁴²⁾ The sheikh's brother Ali al Mohammed refused this cooperation and as a result the brother fled to Syria with other families. Today Tuba village is the only Arab village to remain in eastern Galilee after 1948 war within a distance of 2.5 km. of the Israel-Syrian border. The village population was estimated in 1945 as 590 persons but by the end of 1948 the population had declined to 300 persons and reached 2,104 persons by May 1981.⁽⁴³⁾ The sevenfold increase in the village population during the past three decades is due not only to the high natural increase but also to the village attracting various bedouin and non-bedouin families whose main tribes were disbanded in 1948 (see Fig.7.3). These groups today compose about 50% of the village population.

During the early years of the State, the sheikh and his sons made great efforts to persuade the authorities to allow the sheikh's brother to return from Syria but no progress was made. Meanwhile, the Kibbutz of KefarHa Nasi was established in the 1950's north of the village and as a result 1,800 donums of Luhaib Tuba's best agricultural

Table 7.6 Luhaib Population According to the Type of Sedentarization
(1st September 1981)

Type	Site Name	Population	%
Settled in own tribal settlement	Tuba	2,104	87
	Furush	556	
	Abu Saiaḥ	488	
	Yaara	74	
	Fālahāt	72	
Settled in other tribal settlement	Wad al Hamam	51	7
Settled in town	Nazareth	146	4
	Shafa 'Amr	6	
Settled in non-bedouin villages	Eilabun	205	
	Ar Rama	22	
	Tar Shiha	19	
	Hurfeish	18	
	Sha'ab	16	
	Kafr Kanna	10	
Total		3,787	100

Source: Calculated from Appendices 17 & 18.



PLATE 7.18 : The changing function of tin shack houses in Luhaib Tuba (June 1977) (Photo : G.Falah)



PLATE 7.19 : The purpose of fencing area around houses in Luhaib Tuba (June 1977) (Photo : G.Falah).

land was appropriated.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Luhaib bedouin clearly understood the authorities reasons for refusing the return of the brother who had inherited one-fourth of Tuba village land.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In this respect Tuba experience a similar process of losing land to other bedouin groups.

During the years 1948-67 most of the bedouin converted their tents into tin shacks and only after 1972, when a master plan for the village was approved ⁽⁴⁶⁾ did they start to move into modern stone houses, although the tin shacks remain an integral part of the village scenery until the present day. However, their function has changed from a dwelling house into a coffee house, kitchen, store or shelter for animals (Plate 7.18). It is important to mention that among other reasons for the abandoning of the tent after 1948 were (1) the disappearance of the tentmakers and other craftsmen from Safad town after the 1948 war and (2) the military rule (1948 - 1963) did not allow the bedouin to travel along the Jordan river and the Hula marshes to gather the reeds.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Thus the bedouin turned to tin shacks because building stone houses was also restricted. The real change in village life and in their living condition occurred in the 1970's after a massive industrialization programme was launched in the northern development towns of Galilee, associated with the idea of increasing the Jewish population. In 1968 industrial employment in the northern development towns was heavily weighted towards food, clothing and textiles.⁽⁴⁸⁾ As a result of such development the bedouin of Luhaib Tuba had the opportunity to take work in these development towns, notably Hazor (located 5 km from their village) and Qiryat Shemona. At the same time they also had the opportunity to work in the nearby settlements in the citrus season.

The transition from a traditional economy into a modern one was very fast and accompanied by the introduction of two innovations.

First, some bedouin introduced intensive farming systems whereby

the animals were either kept indoors (Plate 7.18) or fenced in around the houses (Plate 7.19) instead of open grazing on pastoral land. This phenomenon began to emerge as a result of losing most of the tribal pasture lands (including the water spring) east of the village and also accelerated after the introduction of tap water to the village in the 1960's. The advantage of such a system is in minimising the need for manpower and at the same time freeing people to work outside. This sort of economy is by no means the main one. The small number of people still practicing this type of economy and the small number of cows in each case is an indication of its marginal contribution to the income of the inhabitants.

Secondly, as a result of the nature of the outside employment, which is largely organized in a shift-system in industry and in seasonal citrus work, the bedouin introduced a contract system in which they worked as groups. The organizer, usually a member or several members of the village, took the responsibility of transporting his group each day to the work places. The advantage of this contracting system was that for the first time the women had the opportunity to contribute an equal part in cash to the village economy. Since a member of the tribe took the responsibility to provide the manpower he could easily arrange a group of 10-20 women from his extended family for this purpose. Moreover he might acquire a mini-bus to transport his group. Thus in the village there are teams of such worker groups organized on family kinship lines.

Table 7.7 is a result of a random sample which investigated 72 households (out of 282) or 25% of the total. It shows almost complete dependence on outside employment. The village is a good example of a 'dormitory village' where the workers commute daily to the place of work. In each household there are at least two persons who are wage earners.

Table 1.7

The economic structure of the Luhaib Tuba settlement (May 1981)

	Construction guarding, diviners etc.		Industry (Food, clothing textiles)		Agriculture (Citrus and others)		Livestock (including herd- ing for others)		Government (Teachers, policemen)		Others (disabled, pen- sioners)		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	M
	48	-	21	36	13	-	10	-	4	2	7	3		
Total	48		57		13		10		6		10		104	41
%	33		40		9		7		4		7		72	28

Source: Field research, May 18-28 1981.

The high percentage working in industry is associated with the participation of women who contribute significantly to the village economy. The Luhaib Tuba's economic structure is not typical of most of the Galilee bedouin settlements. It is typical of only a small number of settlements which are geographically isolated from the majority of Arab settlements in Galilee. These settlements are notably Zanghariyyah, Luhaib Ya'ara and 'Arāmshah. They are surrounded by Jewish settlements and it seems that the women's cash contribution to the economy in their particular settlement is largely due to their being influenced by the example of neighbouring Jewish settlements.

In 1979 a new development occurred in Luhaib Tuba village with a factory being established in the village. Instead of transporting the women daily into Qiryat Shenoma, the sewing machines are located on the premises of the bedouin contractor.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A similar development has been observed in the two planned bedouin settlements of Bosmat Tivon and Bir el Maksur. This sort of industry is likely to develop increasingly in the large bedouin settlements. It is also likely to be the sort of industry which the authorities mean when they speak about future industrialization in bedouin villages ⁽⁵⁰⁾ where cheap labour is an attraction. The disadvantages of this private industry is its insecurity whereby businessmen have the right to change the factories' locations in order to maximize profit.

A good example happened in Bosmat Tivon where during the past five years three private sewing firms have been established and closed by three different private businessmen and in each case the working women were made redundant.⁽⁵¹⁾

7.4.4 Zanghariyyah

The Zanghariyyah settlement is located some 500 metres to the south of Luhaib Tuba. Of the Zanghariyyah bedouin, estimated in 1945 as 840 persons,⁽⁵²⁾ only 10 families (60-70 persons) remained after the 1948 war. Those families hid during the war with the neighbouring tribe of Luhaib Tuba who had good relations with the authorities. These families owned most of the Zanghariyyah tribal land and their strong attachment to it motivated them to seek the protection of the Luhaib Tuba's sheikh.⁽⁵³⁾ According to village statistics in 1945, the Zanghariyyah tribesmen were the biggest land owners among the Galilee bedouin during the British mandate. In 1945 they possessed 27,856 donums.⁽⁵⁴⁾ They refused to sell land to the Jewish agency before 1948, although Jewish land surrounded their lands on three sides, north, west and south. The Zanghariyyahs problems began in 1953 when the Development Authority first mooted a cattle farm called Kary Daysha on tribal land. The Zanghariyyah bedouin appealed in 1953 to the Supreme Court claiming ownership of 20,000 donums.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This represented an area larger than the total tribal land in Galilee which was estimated as 19,000 donums in 1949/50 according to an Israeli census.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The court, in its decision Number 63/55 (1955) approved the legal rights of the Zanghariyyah over the land. However, implementation of the Court's decision was changed by the parties to a "compromise" which was claimed to be generous to both sides of the dispute.⁽⁵⁷⁾ That "compromise" was recorded in an agreement dated 29th June 1955 involving three partners; on the one side the Zanghariyyah bedouin and on the other side, the Agriculture office (representing the Government) and the Development Authority. This agreement contains 7 Articles whose main points were (1) The Government and the Development Authority pledge to compensate the tribe by land exchange in return for the land which was taken in the years 1953 and

1954. (2) The Government and the Development Authority pledge to pay for the costs incurred and the taxes required for the implementation of legal land transfer. (3) The Government and Development Authority pledge to provide water requirements for both people and their animals free of charge within a period of two months.

At the same time the tribe was required to 1) withdraw its appeal to the Supreme Court Number 63/55 and 2) not to use wells and water springs within the cattle farm land after its establishment. They could, however, use four water springs outside known as 'Ein Abu Shibah, 'Ein al Kurka, 'Eiyun Garah and 'Ein Audah.

After this agreement was signed the cattle farm was established immediately and the bedouin received water in accordance with the agreement. However, the promises of land exchange and legal transfer of ownership have not yet been fulfilled. Eventually, the bedouin realized that their Jewish Advocate - Mr. Fingal was the reason for this delay. He succeeded in keeping their case unresolved in court for 15 years until he retired and then he confiscated valuable documents and land deeds which he had gathered from the bedouin in order to protect them.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Meanwhile, in December 1980 a second "agreement" was signed in Nazareth between the tribes and the Israel Lands Administration office.⁽⁵⁹⁾ According to this, the bedouin agreed to accept repossession of 13% of their original land, 3,200 donums for pasture and 500 donums for agricultural use. However, the official land title for this second "agreement" has not been issued.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Despite the fact that the State had greatly benefited from the Zanghariyyah's lands, their 27 spontaneous houses (housing 178 persons on 18th May 1981) have not been recognized by the Authorities as legal.

7.4.5 Hujairat

The Hujairat are among the largest tribal groups in Galilee numbering 3,639 in September, 1981. Most (88%) are settled in their own tribal settlement (Table 7.8) consisting of four permanent villages located 5-10 km. to the east of Shafa 'Amr. Some are camping in tents (Plate 7.23) in the Carmel mountain region (Fig. 7.1).

Table 7.8 The Hujairat population by type of sedentarization
(1st September 1981)

Type	Site name	Population	%
Settled in own tribal settlement	Bir el Maksur	1,926	88
	Mikman	868	
	Dumidah	250	
	Dahirah	96	
	Umm az Zinet	91	
Settled in Town	Shafa 'Amr	149	4
Settled in non-bedouin villages	Uzeir	152	8
	Ibillin	79	
	Tamra	13	
	Isfia	8	
	Judeida	7	
Total		3,639	100

The groups who settled in non-bedouin areas were mainly in the town of Shafa 'Amr and Uzeir village; these groups originated from a single nuclear family. The family who settled in Shafa 'Amr acquired their lands



PLATE 7.20 : The Hujairat Bir el Maksur settlement
(June 1982), a view from the south west.
(Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.21 : The Hujairat Bir el Maksur settlement - land
allocated for establishing new houses (June 1982)
(Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.22 : The Hujairat Dahirah settlement; semi-deserted houses (September 1981) (Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.23 : The Hujairat Umm az Zinat - a tent camp (June 1982) (Photo : G.Falah).

from a Jewish landowner in 1956.⁽⁶¹⁾ However, the bedouin who settled in Uzeir arrived at this village from the Dahirah in 1935 and eventually settled there.

The Hujairat case illustrates the role of State policy in bringing about changes in population. It also probably provides the best example of State success in concentrating bedouin in a single settlement through persuasion.

In 1968 the Government approved the plan for Hujairat Bir el Maksur and the chosen site for this settlement was a double hill (Plate 7.20) located about one hundred metres to the south of the Nazaret-Shafa 'Amr road. This plan was designed to persuade the northern group of Dahirah, Dumidah and Mikman to concentrate in Bir el Maksur where the Government had begun to prepare a suitable infrastructure (Plate 7.21). At that time the tribe was organized politically under two Mukhtars who were members of the two largest hamulets in the tribe. The Mikman group had their own Mukhtar and the rest living in Dahirah and Dumidah also had their own Mukhtar. Thus the Authorities concept of persuasion was to encourage the bedouin by giving their leaders an "appropriate reward" for doing the persuading. After 14 years this policy had been partially achieved. The Mikman Mukhtar and his group refused to leave their houses and only after 10 years of insisting that they would not move to Bir el Maksur did the Authorities recognize the Mikman settlement as legal in 1978.⁽⁶²⁾

In contrast, the rest of Hujairat and particularly the Dahirah and Dumidah groups agreed to sell most of their lands and to re-settle in the new planned settlement of Bir el Maksur. Figure 7.3 shows the process of depopulation for the Hujairat Dahirah after 1969 because of their migration to Bir el Maksur. However, the reason for an apparent decrease in Bir el Maksur's population between the years 1969-1981 is that official statistics for Bir el Maksur between the years 1955-1969

had included the Mikman group while field research enumeration (1981) had separated the Mikman population following their recognition as an independent settlement.

According to field evidence during 1981 the people who migrated to Bir el Maksur confirmed that their Mukhtar has played an important role in persuading his group to sell their land to the Authorities and to re-settle in Bir el Maksur. The bedouin had to accept the offer because they were granted compensation in addition to the value of the land. They were given alternative pasture with piped water for continuing animal rearing, mostly cattle. Moreover, within this arrangement the lands of the three deserted villages of Hittin (in Tiberias vicinity), Umm az Zinat (in Mount Carmel region) and Saffuriya (4km south east of Bir el Maksur) were chosen for Hujairat pasture. It is important to note that these villages were formerly a "closed area" and now the Hujairat were the only Arab group who were allowed to pasture in these places. In addition to the pasture the bedouin were given the opportunity to collect and to sell tree fruits (particularly olives) from these deserted villages. Indeed the bedouin were overwhelmed by the privileges granted by the Authorities. Within a relatively short period the bedouin accumulated capital to build modern houses in Bir el Maksur (Plate 7.12). As one bedouin said "they handed their lands to the Authorities after the wealth blinded them".⁽⁶³⁾ As far as the Mukhtar's rewards are concerned, they were given the village of Saffuriya as the closest deserted village to Bir el Maksur. The Mukhtar's brother also obtained a new identity card as being the resident of the Jewish settlement of Zapori⁽⁶⁴⁾ (taking the Arab village name, Saffuriya). However, the Mukhtar himself was chosen by the Labour Party as the first bedouin in Galilee to be nominated for the 1973 election and at the same time another bedouin sheikh from the Negev was chosen to represent his people.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The story of the Hujairat

group in the deserted village ended on a sour note. As most of the lands in Dahirah and Dumidah passed into State ownership the Authorities started to withdraw their promises. As in 1975, the group sent to Hittin had to evacuate the village. They sold their animals to the nearby Jewish settlement Kefar Hittin and returned to Bir el Maksur. However the group at Umm az Zinat remained in their homes until the end of July 1982 in the hope of obtaining pasture for their animals. This was doubtless due to the fact that the members of the tribe were eligible to vote in the 1981 election. The last group of Saffuriya (the Mukhtar's brothers) have to evacuate the place at the end of 1984.

The methods used in the case of Ḥujairat seemed to produce better results than suppression implemented during the military rule period.

The Sawāid Kammana and Wadi Sallama

The Sawāid, numbering 3,174 (Table 7.9) are the third largest tribal group in Galilee after the Luhaib (3,787 persons) and the Ḥujairat (3,639 persons). The high proportion of 30% settled in towns is due to the fact that several groups of the tribes were settled in the Shafa 'Amr suburbs in the late 1940's and during the past two decades this group has become part of the city, as city boundaries were extended.

The Sawāid Kammana and Wadi Sallama is the case where bedouin groups become the victim of the policy of "Judaization of the Galilee". This policy was designed to increase the Jewish presence in Galilee and particularly in areas where Arab villages are predominant.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The policy of "Judaization" had been proposed as early as 1953. The then head of the Jewish National Fund (J.N.F), Joseph Nahami, advocated the policy which was to break up the concentration of Arabs by an increase in the Jewish population (Note 14). But the effective implementation of this

Table 7.9 The Sawāid Population by the Type of Sedentarization
(1st September, 1981)

Type	Site Name	Population	%
Settled in own tribal settlement	Kammaana	1,158	64
	Wadi Sallama	768	
	Humairah	94	
Settled in Town	Shafa 'Amr	952	30
Settled in non-bedouin village	Abu Sinan	113	6
	Ibillin	26	
	Kafr Yasif	17	
	Deir Hanna	17	
	Tamra	15	
	Ar Rama	14	
Total		3,174	100

Source : Calculated from Appendices 17 & 18.

policy came only after 1974 with the massive development of a new Jewish settlement (Fig. 7.7) However, this occurred after a decade in which the Jewish population percentages showed a relative decrease while the Arab population was increasing (Table 7.10).

Table 7.10 Population Change in Galilee by Jews and Arabs 1961-1976

Year	Jews		Arabs		Total
	Population	%	Population	%	
1961 ^a	194,300	57.6	142,800	42.4	337,100
1966 ^a	236,400	56.7	180,200	43.3	416,600
1967 ^b	238,636	56.1	186,644	43.9	425,280
1970 ^a	248,800	54.0	211,100	46.0	459,900
1976 ^b	285,700	52.3	260,400	47.7	546,100

Source : a - Peldi, 1972, p.71 ; b - Katz and Menuhim, 1978, Table No.1

The demographic composition of Galilee was thought to be one of the important goals in developing the region as may be seen in the preliminary conclusion on the Galilee (1978) :

"The population goal involves growth, dispersal and stability. Jewish population in Galilee region has risen from 238,636 in 1967 to 285,700 an increase of about 20% while non-Jews have increased from 186,644 in 1967 to 26,400 in 1976, an increase of over 40% Population dispersal also leaves something to be desired. Settlements have been established along the northern border. However, there are still few settlements in a number of critical areas such as "Mountain Galilee". Population stability also leaves something to be desired. The evidence suggests that net out-migration is higher for the Galilee than for, say, the Jerusalem Region." (67)

It was the Sawāid'd groups "misfortune" to be located in the so called "critical area" for the Judaization of Galilee. Their spontaneous settlements are scattered in an area which divided the two biggest Arab settlement blocks. In the north are the villages of Ar Rama, Sajur, Nahf, Deir al Asad, Al Bi'na and Majd al Kurum along the Safad-Acre Road and in the east and south are the villages of Maghar



PLATE 7.24 : A view from Mizpe Kamon (598 contour) to the Sawāid Wadi Sallama settlement and the Arab village of Deir Hanna, (June 1982).
(Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 7.25 : The planned settlement of Sawāid Wadi Sallama in the north east foot of
Kamma mountain (June 1982)
(Photo : G.Falah).

Deir Hanna, 'Arraba, Sakhnin. Furthermore, some of the Sawāid group had established their settlements along the tops of the Kammana (Kamon) mountain, but such locations are required for "look out" settlements (or Mizpe) (Plate 7.24). The role of those settlements is apparently to observe and to control the undesirable expansion of Arab villages and also to protect State land at the same time.⁽⁶⁸⁾

From the Authorities view point, the Sawāid tribal lands are required for military training. The entire area in which the Sawāid established their settlement was declared as "military training area number 9", or "Area 9".⁽⁶⁹⁾ The bedouin were thus pressurised to abandon their location (Note 10). It is important to remember that in 1953 the Authorities issued building permission for the Sawāid bedouin⁽⁷⁰⁾ and up to 1960 five schools had been established by the Ministry of Education in the various Sawāid settlements. However, great pressure was imposed on the bedouin during the years 1961-1971 following the official closure of the schools. When they hired private teachers, the Authority arrested them.⁽⁷¹⁾ The bedouin accepted such difficulties and preferred to stay in their own places rather than migrate into other non-bedouin villages (see Sawāid's population profile between 1955 - 1969 in Figure 7.3). It was only in 1971 that one of the schools reopened and eventually in 1975 a settlement plan was approved.⁽⁷²⁾ Only part of Sawāid's children had the opportunity to continue a normal education because of shortage of schools. The approved Sawāid settlement plan in 1975 is associated with the establishment of four new Jewish settlements (Lutam, Zevia, Makmonim and Kamon) in 1974. It aimed at concentrating the bedouin in a specific area located at the south-eastern foot of the Kammana mountain (Plate 7.25) and at the same time to establish two "look out" settlements at the top of the mountain where some of the Sawāid are also settled (Plates 7.26,7.27).The two contrasting strategies of



Mizpe
Kamon

Sawāid
Kammana-
east

-313-

PLATE 7.26 : Settlement strategy in the eastern top of Kammana mountain (June 1982) (Photo : G. Falah)

PLATE 7.27 : Settlement strategy in the western top of Kammana mountain (August 1981) (Photo : G. Falah)

Sawāid
Kammana-
west

Mizpe
Makmonim



concentrating bedouin settlements and dispersing Jewish settlements are clearly seen in the present case. Once an area is allocated for the purpose of concentration, it is followed by both policies of "discouragement" and "encouragement". The "discouragement policy" is accompanied by non-recognition of the spontaneous settlement, the establishing of new houses is prohibited, and above all, none of the basic services are supplied. Plates 7.26 and 7.27 provide a clear illustration of this policy. The houses of the two Sawāid settlements, Kammana west (Plate 7.26) and Kammana east (Plate 7.27) are located less than 100 metres apart from their neighbouring "look out" settlements. Despite this fact they were not able to obtain electricity and piped water passing beside and between their houses to the neighbouring Jewish settlement. These bedouin groups therefore asked to sell their houses and land and to descend from the mountain plateau to surrounding lowland where they could obtain modern services. (73)

In order to encourage the Sawāid to concentrate in the planned settlement called Wadi Sallama (Zalmon), during the years 1975-1978, the Israel Lands Administration offered the possibility of purchasing plots in Wadi Sallama instead of leasing these plots. (74) This offer should be regarded as an unusual deviation from the practise of land tenure in Israel whereby State lands should not be transferred into private ownership as Gronott (1956) testifies :

"The Finance Minister told the Knesset that the Government did not intend to sell one foot of agricultural land to individuals "either officially or unofficially. We have not sold or transferred, and not promised to sell land to any private institution or individual in Israel...We wish to sell land to the Jewish National Fund and public bodies, including the Municipalities and Local Councils". There was a proposal in the Knesset that an express limit be imposed guaranteeing that rural land should not be alienated in perpetuity, and the demand was even made that the Government should not be authorised under any circumstances to carry out such a sale". (75)

Such an offer found only in the case of Wadi Sallama suggests that the Authorities apparently failed to persuade the Sawāid to move into the new planned area. Although this offer has not achieved much, since only 15 persons have accepted the offer and these were actually local bedouin of Wadi Sallama who did not have to change their houses. At present Wadi Sallama, as a planned settlement is still in its early stages of development. The gap between the Authorities objectives and the bedouin claims are very wide, while the Authorities stress that the solution for the Sawāid problem is the Zalmon concentration, "experience proves that once a suitable infrastructure is established, the bedouin tend to move into the new place despite the fact that they abstain in the beginning."⁽⁷⁶⁾

However, the bedouin prefer to stay in their spontaneous settlement asking the government to recognize their settlement in order to continue their chosen way of life. According to field research (1981) evidence from the Sawāid group living in the Kammana Mountain, the bedouin in this part had greatly strengthened their attachment to the place after the establishment of two "look out" settlements beside their houses. This tendency is primarily due to the introduction of the road to the new settlements. The innovation of roads into this mountain environment has changed entirely the bedouin's image of their living space. The feeling of isolation and remoteness has become irrelevant since the building of the road. The Authorities decline to provide water and electricity. Yet after the establishment of the road bedouin transport their water by tractors and electricity is obtained through private generators. The road also means that the school children are no longer making the vertical walk of 10 km daily to school in Ar Rama village. They are now taken mostly by their parents' new vehicles. Meanwhile, most of the Sawāid continue to live in the spontaneous settlements, developed during the previous decades in ten hamlets organized under the Hamaleh system (Table 7.10).

Table 7.11 Distribution of Sawāid Population by Site and by Family Groups (July 1981)

Site	Hamuleh	Persons
1. Wadi Sallamah and al Māl	Anān, Mosa Mostafa, Khaz'al	768
2. Hussaineh and Ruhrah	Tahat, Qababsah	243
3. Kh.Fukheikhira	Ālabin	77
4. Mahajir	Ālabin	76
5. Nirab	Abu Dallah	131
6. Sanor	Qababsah	45
7. Kammana-east	Ishaābin	277
8. Kammana-west	Masalihah, Qulibat	308
		1,925

Source : Field Research, July 1981.

The houses were established despite the restrictions imposed. The unclear policy towards the Sawāid before 1975 and the pressures imposed upon this group have contributed much to the development of this scattered settlement pattern.

7.5 Conclusion

The study of tribal bedouin settlement in Galilee shows how State policy towards this group has generated subtle differences between tribal settlements. There is however some danger of generalization here. Most of the material was derived from the bedouin viewpoint giving the impression that official sources were neglected. While there is no shortage of official material on the Galilee bedouin and their lands, access to it is restricted. During field research (April-September, 1981) the author visited several offices repeatedly, (particularly the Department of Minorities in the Ministry of Interior in Jerusalem, and the Israel Lands Administration office in Nazareth) to obtain access to documents in order to check the bedouin version of events. No cooperation was, unfortunately, given. There is therefore the need to continue further research on the subject, for which this chapter may be considered a modest beginning. It should be emphasised that there is no reason to disbelieve the evidence presented here, but clearly good scholarship would require the official view to give a right balance.

Notes and References

- (1) D.H.K. Amiran, Y. Ben-David, A. Shinar, The process of sedentarization and settlement among the Bedouins of the Negev, (project E-2/7), Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976, p.22.
- (2) 'Ārif al'Ārif, Bedouin Love, Law, and Legend, AMS Press, New York, 1974, p.205.
- (3) Amiran, Bed-David and Shinar, op.cit. p.27.
- (4) Field Research, Said Ihlaihil, Interview, 14.6.1982.
- (5) S.Hadawi, Village Statistics 1945, Beirut, 1970. Attached map.of Jewish land in Jewish possession 1944 (compiled by J.Weitz & Z.Lifshitz).
- (6) A.Cohen, Israel and the Arab World, Manchester University Press, 1965, p.509.
- (7) S.Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel, The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1969, p.15.
- (8) W.Schwarz, The Arabs in Israel, Faber and Faber, London, 1959,p.85.
- (9) Free Palestine (1972) for September, lists 17 villages evacuated between 1948 and 1956;Haaretz (Hebrew daily newspaper), 28.7.1972. pp.20-23. Jiryis, op.cit., pp.55-90.
- (10) Maariv (Hebrew daily newspaper), 4.4. 1956.
- (11) H.Rosenfeld, "From Peasantry to Wage Labour and Residual Peasantry : The Transformation of Arab Village", in : Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East (ed) L.E. Sweet, The Natural History Press, New York 1970, p.163.
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) Y.Bar-Gal and A.Soffer, Geographical changes in the Traditional Arab Villages in Northern Israel, University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional papers Series No.9, 1981, p.10.
- (14) J.Nahami, A Man of Galilee, Ramat Gan, 1969, pp.112-120.
- (15) Yediot Aharonot (Israeli newspaper), 28.8.1965.
- (16) A. Sharon, "Planning in Israel", Town planning Review, vol.23. 1952-53, p.70.
- (17) E.G.R. Warr, The basis of physical planning in Israel", Record : New Zealand Geographical Society, Vol.45, 1967, p.15.
- (18) A.Granott, Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1956, p.102.
- (19) Ibid.
- (20) Ibid, p.76.
- (21) Ibid, p.77.

- (22) A.J.Parkinson, An analysis of the Geographical Implications of the Israeli-Lebanon border : The problems of Settlement in Northern Israel, Durham University, Geography Department, M.A Dissertation 1978, pp.47-52,101 (Unpublished).
- (23) S.Jiryis, "The Legal Structure for the expropriation and absorption of Arab Lands in Israel", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.11, No.4, Summer 1973, p.99.
- (24) Field Research, Yassen Shibley and Dieb Kuḥiley (AbuHilmi), Interview, 16.6.1982. According to Mr.Shibley the Ṣubaiḥ agricultural land located east of the village was expropriated after the Military Governor in Nazareth Mr.Yussef Kadim convinced the tribal elder in 1952 to cultivate this land for only one year. When the bedouin came to cultivate their land the following year the authorities threatened them if they attempted to repossess their lands. However the story of the Sa'āyidah is similar. According to Mr.Kuḥiley (who displaced British land titles to more than 200 donums) "The land was taken in the 1950's and not one of us was able to prevent them".
- (25) Jiryis (1973), op.cit., p.103.
- (26) The estimate based on questionnaire delivered the settlements, Luhaib Tuba and Zanghariyyah and also 100% housing counting in Nujaidat and Luhaib Furush settlement, in July 1981.
- (27) G.Golany, Bedouin Settlement in Alonim-Shafara'm Hill Region, Ministry of Interior and Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1966, p.2. (in Hebrew)
- (28) Y.Waschitz, "Plight of the Bedouin", New Outlook, Vol.18, No.7, October/November, 1975,p.65.
- (29) E.Cohen and H.Gronau, A Survey of Israel's Minorities, Research Centre for Israeli Arabs, Jerusalem 1972, pp.22-30 (in Hebrew).
- (30) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit., pp.8-9.
- (31) Field research, Mahmūd Azaizī (born in the Al Baqqarah camp. Now he is living in Sha'ab) Interview, 17.17.1981. Diebah Mahmūd Ramadan (born in the al Ghanāmah camp in 1934 and now she is living in Shafa 'Amr) Interview, 19.7.1981.
- (32) S.Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1976, p.82.

- (33) Department of Minorities, Safad's branch, A Short Survey on the Arab Minority in Safad and the District, unpublished document dated 27.7.1948 (photocopy held) (in Hebrew).
- (34) Field research, Ahmad Ghayyād, Wad al Ḥamam, Interview, 21.6.1981; Idris 'Atiyah Jawaid, Shafa 'Amr, Interview, 19.7.1981.
- (35) Judgements of the Supreme Court, Vol. 13, p.203, Atiyah Jawaid et al US. The Minister of Defence, Case No. 132/52, 1953.
- (36) Jiryis (1973) op.cit., p.98.
- (37) Davar, 2.5.1972, p.8 (in Hebrew).
- (38) Ibid.
- (39) Field research, Idris 'Atiyah Jawaid, op.cit.
- (40) Department of Minorities, op.cit.
- (41) Hadawi, op.cit. p.71.
- (42) Department of Minorities, op.cit., Davar Hashavva, 10.6.1948; Davar, 2.8.1948., Maariv, 10.8.1948; Yediot Aharonot, 10.8.1948; Ha'aretz, 12.8.1948.
- (43) Hadawi, op.cit., p.71; Department of Minority, op.cit., Field Research, 18.5.1981.
- (44) Z. Artezman, Tuba, Tel Aviv University, Department of Geography, B.A. Dissertation, June 1972, p.51 (unpublished) (in Hebrew).
G.Falah, Arab al Luhaib, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, B.A. Dissertation, June 1977 (unpublished), (in Hebrew).
- (45) T. Ashkenazi, The Bedouins Manners and Customs, Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1957, p.114. (in Hebrew)
- (46) Israel Lands Administration, Tuba, Plan No. 290/5, 8.5.1972.
- (47) G.Falah, op.cit., p.31
- (48) R.A. Feasey, Planning and Immigration in Relation to Spatial Development in Israel, University of Durham, Department of Geography, M.A. Dissertation, 1973, p.119, (unpublished).
- (49) Field Research, Husain Ismail Luhaib, Interview, 11.6.1982.
- (50) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit. p.31.
- (51) Field Research, Basmah, Zubaidāt, Interview, 15.6.1982.

- (52) Hadawi, op.cit. p.71.
- (53) Field Research, 'Ali al As'aad, Interview, 14.6.1982.
- (54) Hadawi, op.cit. p.71.
- (55) Artezman, op.cit., p.54.
- (56) Jiryis (1976), op.cit. p.130.
- (57) Private papers "compromise" Agreement between the tribe Zanghariyyah, the Agricultural office and the Development Authority, dated 29.6.1966.
- (58) Ibid. (photocopy held) (in Hebrew)
- (59) This agreement was undated. However, according to Ahmad 'Ali al As'aad was signed in December 1980 (photocopy held)
- (60) Field research, Ahmad 'Ali al As'aad, Interview, 16.6.1982.
- (61) Field Research, 'Uthman Mustafa, Shafa 'Amr, Interview, 19.7.1981.
- (62) Field Research, Majid Jawasirah, Interview, 22.6.1981.
- (63) Ibid
- (64) Field Research, Aub Saleh al Hujairi, Interview, 20.8.1981.
- (65) A.Shmueli, Nomadism about to cease, Rishafem Tel Aviv, 1980, p.115.
- (66) Parkinson, op.cit., pp.53,68.
The policy was later renamed "the Development of the Galilee" because of the hint of racism implied in the first title. However, the Government have never denied the purpose of the policy.
- (67) S.M. Katz and N. Menuhin, Preliminary Conclusion of the Galilee, Settlement Study Centre Rehovot, Rehovot, August, 1978, pp.6-7.
- (68) Israel National Fund (I.N.F.) Settlement Plan for Mountain Galilee, Jerusalem, 1980 (A map with summary from A.Zemoniski) (in Hebrew). Field Research, Mizpe Kamon Secretary, Interview, 11.6.1982.
- (69) Private papers, Kammaana Village, A Letter from Avrahon Lati to Shmuel Tu'edanu, The Arab Affairs advisor, dated 2.9.1974. (photocopy held) (in Hebrew).
- (70) Field Research, 'Ali Mohammed Fa'aur, Interview, 12.6.1981
Mr.Fa'aur obtained his building permission in 1953.
- (71) Field Research, Mahmud 'Anan (School Director), Interview, 19.6.1982.
- (72) Ibid
- (73) Field Research, Ismail al Hassan, Interview, 11.6.1982. Mr. Hassam was among the few bedouin who agreed to "descend". He sold his 70 donums to the state in the eastern top of Kammana Mountain and instead he obtained 10 donums for irrigation

and 8 plots (5 donums) within the planned wadi
sallama) for establishing houses.

- (74) Field Research, Mahmud 'Anan Interview, 11.6.1982.
Mr. 'Anan, holding a contract of state land
purchase dated 1.5.1977.
- (75) Granott, op.cit., p.104.
- (76) Private Paper (1974) op.cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PLANNED BEDOUIN SETTLEMENT IN ISRAEL

8.1. Introduction

'Sedentarisation projects - which killed the Bedouin heritage and eradicated bedouin tribal society - seemed at the beginning to be for the welfare of the bedouin as they brought wide hopes for a transfer from the life of hardship and misery to an undreamt of life of happiness and comfort'. (1)

The idea of planning and establishing a permanent settlement for nomadic groups has always been a priority goal for many governments in the Middle East. The aims and the methods implemented vary from one country to another. Some countries stress the importance of detribalisation through settling the nomads in order to achieve a permanent political structure for the whole country.⁽²⁾ At times governments have felt a moral responsibility for improving the living conditions of their bedouin people and helping them reach the standard of life of their other settled populations.⁽³⁾

In May 1965 a meeting, sponsored by the League of Arab States on the settlement of nomads, was held in East Jerusalem (under the Jordanian regime). Fifty two participants from 12 Arab countries were present, in addition to representatives of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nation Regional office for the Near East in Beirut, Lebanon, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and six experts designated by the League of Arab States.

Several papers were presented during the meeting by representatives of the participating countries and many of them expressed the need to improve conditions of bedouins by integrating them in their national development programmes.⁽⁴⁾

Most governments in the Middle East have sponsored farming and

agricultural projects as a recognised method for changing the pastoral nomadic economy, and also as a means of fixing them in a permanent location. The chief problem involved in such projects was that of the bedouins' preparedness to accept such changes in their cultural life-style, and their lack of agricultural experience. On these points the governments considered training as an essential part of settlement projects.⁽⁵⁾ Careful planning must also take into account continuing support for the new settlers after establishing the projects. Such support is essential for the bedouin to overcome the psychological change following the changeover from nomadic habits. Furthermore, government willingness to devote both the effort and the capital required is essential in ensuring the stability of the sedentarization programme.⁽⁶⁾ However, the planning of bedouin settlements in Israel seems to be rather different in both the government approach and bedouin needs.

The basic difference revolves around two points. First, Israel's approach is that the settled bedouin population will not be agricultural, but a wage-labour force; therefore the overriding consideration in locating these settlements is the availability of such employment.⁽⁷⁾

Secondly, the Israeli authorities are dealing with bedouin groups who have been settled in a variety of forms and at various sites. Hence the main task is to resettle bedouin in places which fit into the general framework of national and regional planning. At the same time the Authorities seek to prevent a continuation of the process whereby this group has allegedly annexed extensive areas of State lands.⁽⁸⁾

Despite the contrasting environments of the Negev and Galilee, Israel planners put forward similar strategies for bedouin settlement in these regions. The concepts of encouraging the bedouin to be labourers and of concentrating them in certain areas chosen by the planners are strongly interrelated.

In examining the experience of the Israeli programmes for resettling the bedouin and judging the degree of success, one can identify the same developing stages of bedouin settlement planning in Galilee and the Negev. Various measures were designed to encourage the concentration of the disparate bedouin hamlets, and further attempts were made to seek appropriate formulae for attracting bedouin into the planned settlements.

Israel started its first attempt to resettle bedouin tribes in a modern housing scheme in the Negev in 1966. The settlement was located 4 km. east of the city of Beersheba, regional capital of the Negev and is linked to Beersheba by a tarmac road. It is, therefore, essentially a suburban settlement, particularly as the majority of its working population will be employed in the city and its various industrial plants. Comparing this case with other plans which were eventually established in the Galilee region, some idea of the problems of planned bedouin settlement in Israel can be obtained.

8.2 Planning bedouin settlement in the Negev - Tel Sheva

Tel Sheva is regarded as the most original, elaborate, and interesting attempt at bedouin settlement in the Negev. Construction was started in Tel Sheva by the Ministry of Housing early in 1966 ⁽⁹⁾ with 49 small houses on 400 sq.m plots, (less than half a donum). The settlement included medical, commercial and educational facilities to support the 15,000 residents projected for the year 2000. The planners also tried to adjust the buildings to the local semi-arid conditions; windows, for example accounted for only six per cent of the outer-surface of the buildings. The needs of the bedouin were also considered; elongated back-yards were provided for example, for the husbandry of animals. The initial residential unit is a one-family house with two rooms, kitchen, bath room, and toilet. The house itself stands in a

spacious courtyard enclosed by a wall. The wall and the house have a rough finish of yellow-brown mortar in keeping with the prevailing colour of the region.

Despite the most modern facilities invested in Tel Sheva the bedouin were unwilling to purchase the highly subsidized plots offered, and only a few families of sub-tribes of fellaheen origin were attracted to the idea. Most houses remained empty and were eventually occupied by Arab teachers who came from Galilee to teach in the Negev bedouin schools.⁽¹⁰⁾

Several explanations have been offered for the failure of Tel Sheva. Some maintain that although planned modern bedouin settlements may fit the requirements of a developing community in regard to all the modern services, by means of a compact layout and equipment to modern standards, "there is no precedence in the tradition of the bedouin community" ⁽¹¹⁾ for such development. According to this interpretation, the Negev bedouin had not reached a stage at which they could take advantage of the new houses and amenities offered. Another explanation for the failure referred to the quality of the first bedouin families. These families came from the "lower tribal ranks" of the Negev bedouin while the place did not attract other "noble bedouin" who are "socially superior".⁽¹²⁾ The same author also mentioned that bedouin sheikhs refused to cooperate because they were suspicious of losing the land which they claim and which they still dispute with the government. However, a more recent idea has stressed that planners failed to consider the particular needs of former nomads and that Tel Sheva was planned as a relatively high-density neighbourhood in contrast to the scattered, low density pattern of spontaneous bedouin settlements.⁽¹³⁾ Unfortunately the crucial point repeated by each bedouin has never been mentioned. Bedouin refuse to accept the modern houses and the small plots of land,

not because they were unattractive, but because of other factors recorded in the contract which they were obliged to sign, the lands being offered for lease and not for real purchase. A bedouin who accepted the deal knew that he would hold state land for a period of 49 years.⁽¹⁴⁾ An analysis of the conditions contained in the Articles of the Contract⁽¹⁵⁾ in terms of state control and private rights of landholding found that the basic needs of security of tenure were missing here.

For example, the bedouin did not hold the land in perpetuity and had to accept that the state had the right to enter his land at any time and for any purpose (Article 9b). However, in Articles 11b and 11c the bedouin did not have the right to oppose any possible change in both size and boundary of the plot he occupied and at the same time the state had the right to change the shape of the plot for any future development. Moreover, the 1955 Israeli Tenant's protection law which could protect bedouin from eviction is not applicable to this sort of agreement (Article 17). The ultimate government aim is clearly to prevent the bedouin from obtaining any legal possession of the land and at the same time retaining complete control over the bedouin-leased land. The Negev bedouin and bedouin elsewhere in Israel expected to avoid involvement in such deals of leasing state land when they were offered the possibility of settling in their own lands. Their desire was to secure their land and their sons' land. This legal aspect of landholding could not be avoided in discussing the problems of bedouin settlement planning. The system also was incomparable with the leasing of state land by Jews. "Thousands of families occupy national land and engage in farming, without giving a moment's thought to who hold title to the land!"⁽¹⁶⁾ In the case of Tel Sheva in particular the Negev bedouin sheikhs were aware of the importance of legal ownership of the land they were occupying.

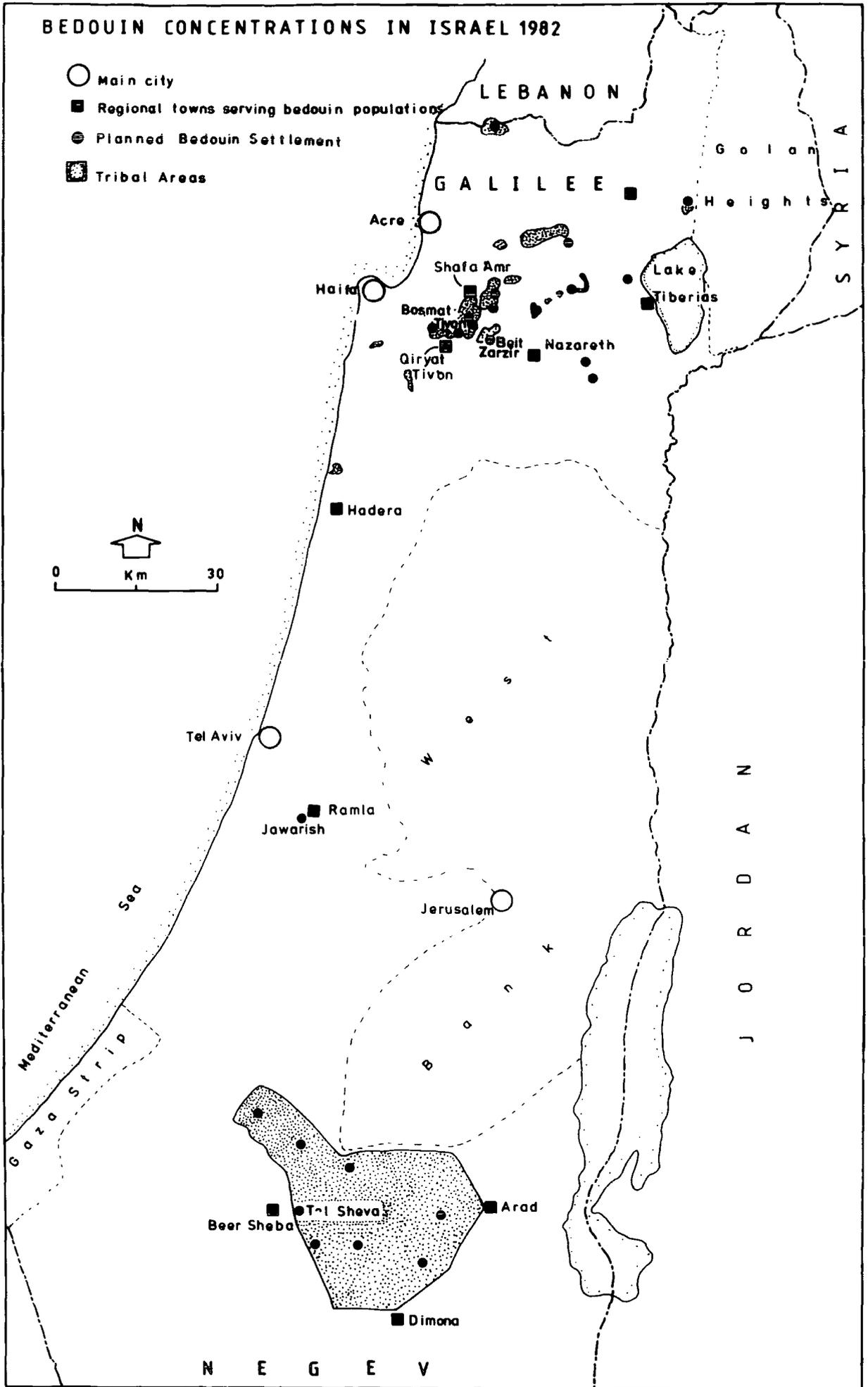


FIG 8.1

In judging the experiences of the Negev bedouin with the Authority between the years 1948-1963 one may conclude that hardly any government project would be acceptable on this basis. Tel Sheva (1966) had been established shortly after the end of the period of martial law which ended in 1963. The Negev bedouin at this time had still not recovered from the 1948 war and the restrictions of the military rule (1948-1963).

The Negev bedouin were only the meagre remnant of a pre-Israeli population of over 70,000. After the 1948 war, only 11,000 remained. The rest had become refugees - or, as in the case of 6,000 members of the 'Azazima tribe - had been expelled.⁽¹⁷⁾ Those bedouin who remained in Israel have been systematically concentrated in certain areas pronounced as 'reservations' or 'closed areas' in the northern and central Negev(Fig.8.1) and forbidden to stray outside them by military rule.⁽¹⁸⁾ Before 1959 bedouin were allowed to go to Beersheba only once per week without a special permit. In 1959, the government moved to relax the controls permitting bedouin to enter Beersheba without permits twice weekly.⁽¹⁹⁾

The special permits were issued in Beersheba only on one or two days a week - at an army outpost. Only the tribal sheikhs being free from the pass system, were authorized to travel to Beersheba to apply for permits on behalf of their tribesmen. This restriction weighed more heavily on the nomads than on the settled population. Gradually the bedouin came to feel that their very existence was being threatened. Furthermore, the years 1957 and 1958 were years of unprecedented drought and as a result, half of their flocks died of starvation.⁽²⁰⁾ Meanwhile new Jewish settlements were established in the desert. The bedouin were unable to improve their conditions by working as labourers in these settlements because job opportunities were preserved for the new Jewish immigrants.⁽²¹⁾ The Negev bedouin had already experienced labouring

work under the British mandate (1917-1948).⁽²²⁾ Marx (1967) presents the following picture of Negev bedouin employment opportunities during the military administration (1948-63) :

"The Military Administration delimited the number of movement permits issued to bedouin, and acceded to requests for such permits only for purpose it considered reasonable. Thus when a man applied for a permit to work outside the reservation, the officers knew how scarce jobs were and would refuse unless he could produce a written offer of employment. Even where a bedouin succeeded in obtaining a permit on other grounds, it was still difficult for him to locate, and even more, to hold, a job, for permits were issued for very short terms. The maximum period was one month, and bedouin found outside the reservation were frequently checked by the police. Only where employers were unable to procure their labour from other sources, would they approach the Military Administration, which then asked a tribal chief to supply the required gang.⁽²³⁾

Meanwhile the high birth rate was causing the bedouin population to expand and therefore an increasing number of people were having to share essentially the same quantity of land for pasture. They found that the area to which they were bound was too small to provide the means of subsistence from raising animals for the growing population. Since such employment is not economically secure the bedouin had to cultivate most of the suitable arid land in their reservation which was located in a low-rainfall area where good harvests are reaped only about one in four years. Bedouin in drought years did receive occasional drought payments,⁽²⁴⁾ but by no means sufficient to cope with the crisis of losing animals and they sought additional income from smuggling. This historical background suggests that at the time it was founded and with the economic base provided Tel Sheva was almost bound to fail. The settlement was established after the government had failed to prove to the bedouin that employment was a secure means of livelihood. During a period of 15 years of military rule, the bedouin of the Negev became strongly attached to the land which they intensively cultivate. In addition Bedouin realized the implication of leasing from the state

of Israel land which they considered their own.⁽²⁵⁾

However, bedouin who accepted living in Tel Sheva were likely to be groups who had not previously owned land, or families who became landless after the state acquired their lands and they had received compensation for that land. This group was likely to consider that employment is the appropriate means for their survival. The best example of this is the Jawarish neighbourhood whose inhabitants were originally families of different tribes and sub-tribes settled in a single planned neighbourhood near Ramla established in 1966. The inhabitants were bedouin families who migrated from the Negev during the years 1960-1965,⁽²⁶⁾ following some relaxations within the military administration in the Negev. These were bedouin employed in Citrus work who accepted accommodation in planned new houses. The houses were hired to them on easy terms but at the same time they were obliged to forsake their rights to their lands in the Negev.⁽²⁷⁾

Following the failure of the Tel Sheva plan, the Israeli Authorities adopted a new policy whereby the planners had only to choose the settlement site to define the plots within which bedouin were free to build their houses according to their own budgetary limits. According to Stern and Gradus (1979) the new policy of 'build-it-yourself' is a type of programme which enables the bedouin to adjust to the planned urban framework scheme by fulfilling their socio-cultural needs within it.⁽²⁸⁾

In fact, there are great advantages to the 'build-it-yourself' programme as far as the state is concerned. Both capital outlay in establishing the modern houses and the risk of houses losing value should they remain empty are avoided by the state.

8.3 Planning Bedouin Settlement in Galilee

The problems of Galilee bedouin are slightly different to those of the Negev bedouin, and perhaps also different to any other group in the Middle East. When the government initiated its comprehensive plans, the bedouin in Galilee had for almost two decades been completing their spontaneous processes of sedentarization. These processes were accomplished with expansion of individual families who settled where they were able to acquire land (a phenomenon which had been observed under the British mandate). Hence a large number of small hamlets had been established in various sites of Galilee. However, the main task of the authorities was to persuade bedouin to concentrate in a planned settlement on a location chosen by the authorities. In order to stimulate bedouin movement into the new planned settlements and at the same time to discourage bedouin from remaining in their present places two contrasting policies have been adopted:

(i) The government provided modern services to the new settlement, particularly roads, schools, infant clinics, water and electricity supplies. Usually such services are only provided when groups of settlers undertake to move into the new settlements.

(ii) On the other hand, are those cases where the bedouin have been asked to abandon their spontaneous settlement which the authorities did not recognize as a legal settlement. In such cases, a strict restriction is imposed on building new houses. None of the modern services were supplied and in some cases the school has been closed (or never established). The children were forced to walk several miles daily to other schools or even remained at home without education.

The Authorities were always prepared to pay compensation to these bedouin if they were prepared to sell their lands. Indeed the latter policy was more effective than the first. Some bedouin families were unable



PLATE 8.1 : Bosmat Tivon : General view from the south (June 1982)
(Photo : G. Falah).



PLATE 8.2 : Wad al Hamam : General view from the south east (June 1982)
(Photo : G. Falah).

to withstand the pressure of being deprived of access to modern amenities and their reaction was to move to Arab villages (non-bedouin) and towns where they could acquire land from other Arabs rather than move to the planned bedouin settlement. The chosen sites for the planned bedouin settlements in Galilee, were often on single hill or on double hills (Plate 8.1) as in the cases of Bosmat Tivon, Bir Maksur, and Ibittin. However, in the cases of Wad al Ḥamam (Plate 8.2) and Nujidāt the chosen plan area was on a steep slope. Such sites are not found in the Negev settlement areas.

Bedouin and Arab villages have never attempted to settle such topography. While the Arab villages usually chose mountain tops for security reasons, the bedouin in their spontaneous sedentarization have chosen patches between the hills, in the wadis, and flat tracts of land on plateaux. Bedouin acquired such land not only to build permanent houses but also to grow orchards, tobacco and crops such as barley and wheat and consequently, the rocky hills and the steep slopes were never considered by bedouin as suitable for acquisition. Hence the ownership of the sites chosen for planned settlement are mostly in waste state lands. Bedouin who agree to move to the new settlements will have to overcome the psychological pressure resulting from both living in a place which they have naturally avoided and to adapting themselves to a crowded environment. Among the first bedouin planned settlement of the type of 'build-it-yourself' was Bosmat Tivon

8.3.1 Bosmat Tivon

The planning of Bosmat Tivon was begun in 1958 and the first inhabitants settled there in 1964.⁽²⁹⁾ The high relative success of the new bedouin village has been popularized in the press and many foreign visitors have been invited to witness the progress towards modernization characteristic of the bedouin of Bosmat Tivon. Among the recent

distinguished visitors on the 5th September, 1979 was the former Egyptian President's wife - Mrs. Jehan Sadat. The story which surrounds the establishment of Bosmat Tivon was that a young group of the Zubardat tribe initiated the idea and Authorities helped to fulfil their wishes.⁽³⁰⁾ The chosen site for Bosmat Tivon was some 2 km to the north east of Qiryat Tivon and 8 km from Shafa 'Amir. In this part of Galilee there were no Arab settlements after 1948 within a radius of 10 km. (except Shafa 'Amir 8 km to the north but there are no direct road connections). Unlike most other parts of Central Galilee most of the Jewish settlement in this part were established pre 1948 and in the early years of the state. Little attention has been paid to the development of new Jewish settlements apart from two 'look out' settlements which are under construction in 1982.

The idea of Bosmat Tivon was to establish the settlement in the north-east corner of Qiryat Tivon town and at the same time to persuade the two tribes Zubaidāt and H̄ilf-umm Rashid (settling 3 km. to the east from Sadiyyah Village) to join the tribe Sādiyyah (who were settled in the north east of Qiryat Tivon and who were recognized officially as a legal spontaneous settlement. According to Bar-Gal and Soffer (1981) "the planned size of this settlement was 5,000 covering 30 ha. and was zoned for residences (of up to two floors), open space, public buildings, commerce, civic centre, workshops and industry, small farms, lanes and roads surrounding each house, an area 500 sq.m. was added, increased to 1,500 sq. m. for those families wishing to practise agriculture. The success of this settlement led to the preparation of a second (outline) plan." (31)

The settlement was designed within the framework of two roads circling the hill taking the shape of double rings. The space between the parallel roads was for building two rows of houses which also took a



PLATE 8.3 : Bosmat Tivon : The undeveloped centre 1981 (Photo : G. Falah)



Sadiyyah

Bosmat
Tivon

PLATE 8.6 : Sadiyyah and Bosmat Tivon : General view from the west (June 1982) (Photo : G.Falah)

similar pattern. However the top of the hill was flattened in order to create the village centre (Plate 8.3).

In 1964 when the first Zubaidāt families started to settle they were surprised by the easy term loans obtained from banks for the immediate purpose of building and furnishing new housing. Several families sold part of their lands and signed contracts for leasing a single plot in Bosmat Tivon. However, after 24 years of planning and 17 years of existence, Bosmat Tivon's population numbered 937 persons (144 households) by 2 June, 1981 or 19% of the expected future population. The Zubaidāt and the Hilf groups who remained in their lands and refused to move to Bosmat Tivon numbered 768 (113 households) and 538 persons (72 households) respectively at the same date.⁽³²⁾ Moreover, within the 144 households settled in Bosmat Tivon, 36 households (one-fourth) were from other bedouin groups than those which the Authorities planned to remove.

Table 8.1 The Tribal Origin of Bosmat Tivon Population 1981

<u>Family origin</u>	<u>Household's number</u>
Zubaidāt	108
Kulaibāt	9
Nāāranī	7
Dalāyikah	7
Sawāid	5
Hilf	5
Kābiyyah	2
Aiyadāt	1
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	144

Source : Field research data (June 1981)

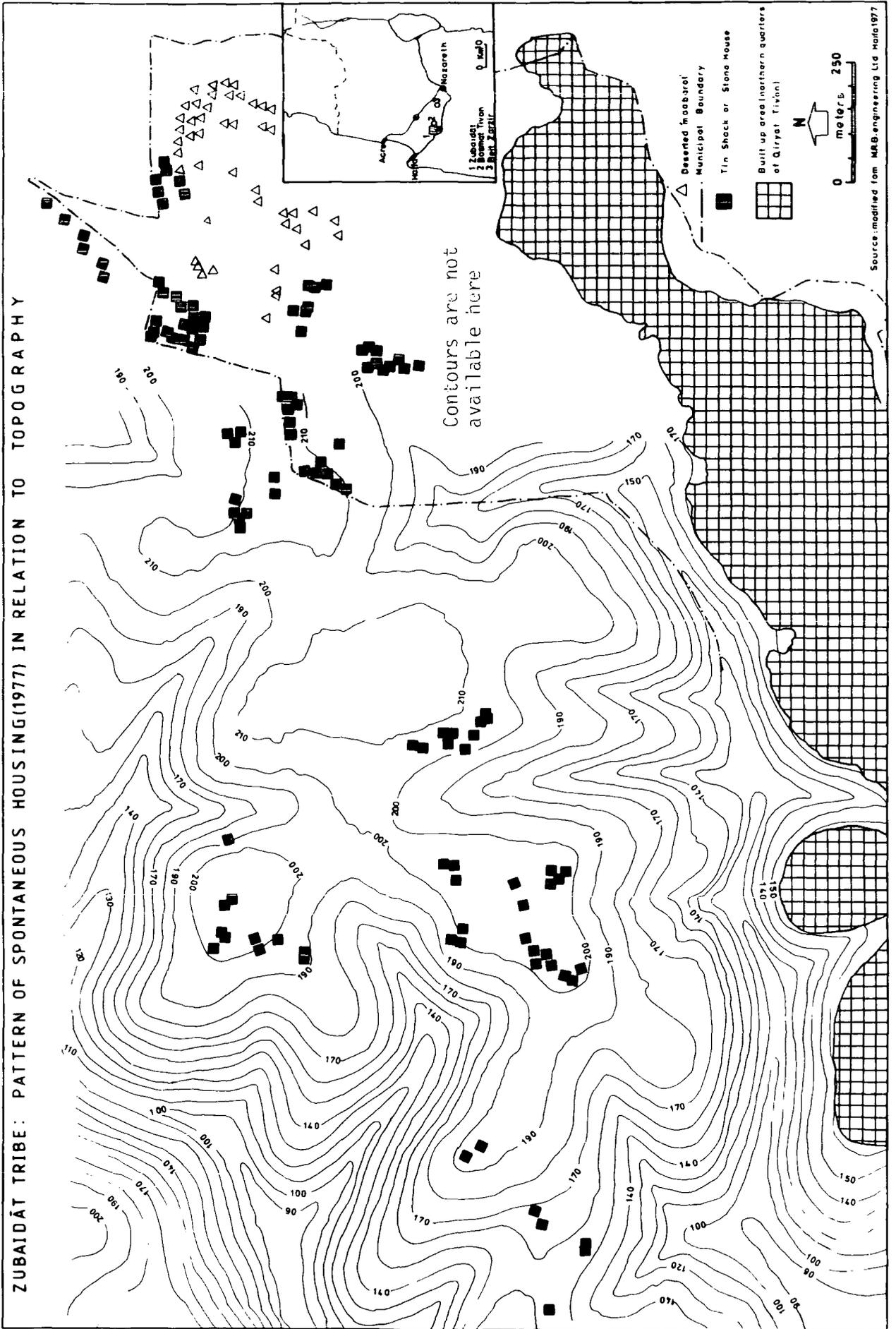


FIG. 8.2

These small groups had arrived in Bosmat Tivon from various places and origins. For example, the Kulaibāt migrated from Haifa Town, the Nāāranī come from fellaheen origin and the Dalāyikah belong to a tribe which was disbanded in 1914 (see page 185). The reasons for bedouin objections to resettlement are natural since it would be primarily the state which would benefit from removing the Zubaidāt from their lands along the northern built up area of the town.

Examining the possibility of expanding the town's built up area in the future one sees clearly that Qiryat Tivon is surrounded by the Jewish settlements of Sha'ar 'Amaqim, Oranim, Qiryat 'Amal, Allonim and Ramat Hadassa west-south-east, respectively. Thus the only appropriate direction for expansion of the Town should be the gap left in its northern side which is the land of Zubaidāt. Furthermore, the Zubaidāt land has special significance in relation to the existing urban function of Qiryat Tivon Town. The small town (10,600 inhabitants in 1981) ⁽³³⁾ grows as a residential place for commuters to Haifa. Most of the town is built as a single separate housing estate, and there has never been an attempt to industrialize the town or to change its quiet image as a recreation town and home for pensioners. Some of the town's first inhabitants lived in 'Maabarot' (transit work camp) in the 1950's close to some of the present Zubaidāt houses until their permanent houses were completed.

Plate 8.4 illustrates the bedouin houses built in this topography overlooking Haifa's metropolitan region 10 km. away. Figure 8.2 shows the housing pattern of Zubaidāt tribe extending over an area of some 3 km along the northern built up area of Qiryat Tivon. The chosen sites of the groups' houses give an insight into the nature of spontaneous sedentarization. Most of the houses are built in the flattest area on

the plateau. Steep slopes and tops of small hills have been avoided. Around the houses where the contours indicate a gentle change in slope, the Zubaidāt acquired land over a half century ago from the Druze and the Christian inhabitants of Shafa 'Amr'.⁽³⁴⁾ The circumstances involved in acquisition of suitable patches in this plateau may explain the strength of Zubaidāt claims to the place.

During the British mandate the Zubaidāt was one of the largest bedouin group in Galilee numbering 363 persons in 1922.⁽³⁵⁾ They camped on the south-western foot of the hills they are occupying at present, in a place known as the Harthiya land which forms a strip connecting the Acre plain with Marj Ibn Amir. The Zubaidāt and other groups of Harathen were tenants on the land engaged in intensive cultivation. However when the Jewish Agency acquired the land in the 1930's the Zubaidāt had to evacuate it over night. They were pushed from the plateau foot into its top.⁽³⁶⁾ Like many other groups who left the plains in such a manner the bedouin were encouraged to acquire suitable land in this new place. The motivation for acquiring land and obtaining official land titles was mainly securing their existence legally on the land they occupied.

When the plan of Bosmat Tivon was initiated in 1964, a period of less than two decades from their evacuation of the Harthiya land, it was doubtful that Zubaidāt's old generation would cooperate with the young families who accepted the deal. To them it was a ridiculous situation to accept modernization in Bosmat Tivon when the deal included the dispossession of housing and lands and no equal compensation in either land size or tenure status. Whatever the compensation was this group did not readily agree to the sale of tens of donums (and some families owned more than one hundred donums), and to lease a half or one donum for 49 years.



PLATE 8.4 : A view of the Haifa Metropolitan area from
Zubaidāt houses. (July 1981) (Photo : G.Falah).



PLATE 8.5 : A family household in the tribe of Zubaidāt (June 1977)
(Photo : G. Falah).

Some of the present families have acquired the land of their relatives who accepted to move to Bosmat Tivon,⁽³⁷⁾ thus preventing its acquisition by non-bedouins. In spite of this some families sold part of their lands to the Authorities and eventually these lands were turned into small plots of forest which broke up visually the various groups of houses. (Plate 8.5).

What is most interesting in this case is that the old generation who remained and did not sell land to the state, did not object to their young married sons leasing up lots in Bosmat Tivon as long as they did not have to sell any land to the state instead.⁽³⁸⁾ This could be explained in terms of growing pressures. On one side on the parents' lands there are strong restrictions on building new houses despite population growth, and on the other hand in the new planned settlement there are better connections and daily communication with work places. While the young generation continue to migrate to the new settlement, their parents remain on their land preferring to accept stagnation and to die holding their land titles intact.

The success of Bosmat Tivon must not be judged as the state invested a large amount of capital in order to provide modern facilities, but the real success will come in the future as a result of breaking up the spontaneous settlement followed by its demographic decomposition.

A comparison between Bosmat Tivon housing and the neighbouring S'adiyyah houses will clearly show the different housing densities (Plate 8.6). The relationship between the new settlers of Zubaidāt and the Sadiyyah who remained in their land and who were eventually recognized as a legal settlement are inharmonious ones. The reason for poor relationships was largely jealousy.⁽³⁹⁾ The S'adiyyah parents were left with more space and the option to build houses for their sons nearby. They need only to

pay some taxes and a sum for building permission, but they do not worry about having built houses on state-leased land. On the other hand the Zubaidāt were obliged to move far from their parents and to choose a plot in Bosmat Tivon, probably beside neighbours they may have never met. In the bedouin cultural context this is not acceptable.

Meanwhile, by no means all the promises of the state have been fulfilled. It is true that a new school building has been built to replace the old existing school of S'adiyyah. An infant clinic was also established with nurses coming 2-3 days a week, but other medical facilities were not provided locally because they could be reached within a ten minute drive to Qiryat Tivon. The commercial centre and the mosque, clubs, sports facilities, industry, and many other urban facilities have been planned for 18 years but never built (Plate 8.3). The local council leader and his two secretaries are members of the Zubaidāt tribe but are not able to change the situation. They are deeply concerned with daily problems such as collecting electricity and water bills and reporting to the regional council office and other government bodies about the serious cuts of water and electricity.

Most of the people in Bosmat Tivon and S'adiyyah are working in various places in the Haifa area. Bosmat Tivon's location is close to Qiryat Tivon and the Haifa-Nazareth road, enabling the people to become daily workers and maintaining most of their commercial activities outside of the village. The settlement could be described as half empty during the day time and in the evening people return to sleep, a classic "dormitory" settlement.

Following the experience of Bosmat Tivon a third stage in planning bedouin settlement was apparently adopted early in the 1970's. The Authorities began at that time to give official recognition to certain

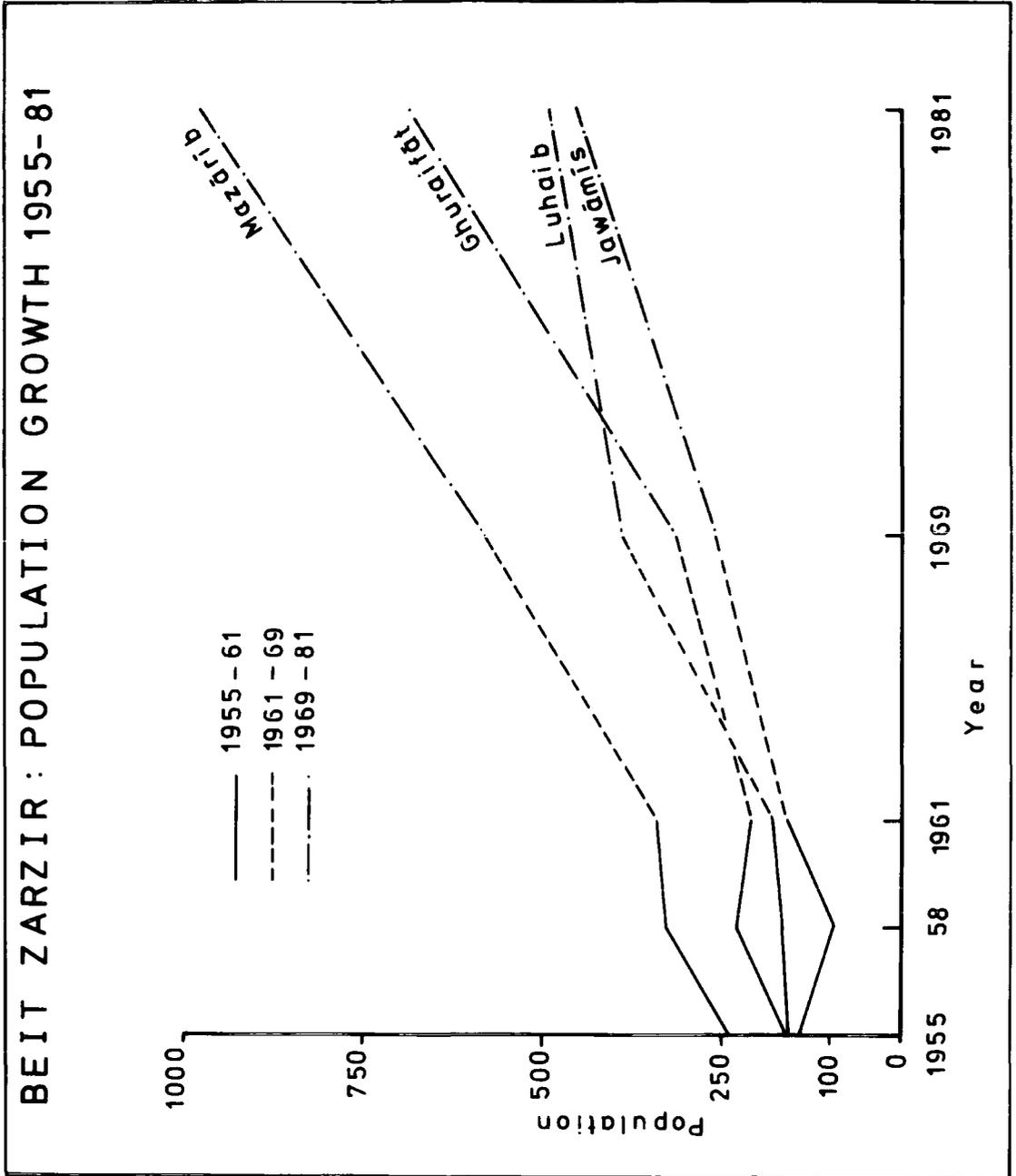


FIG 8.3

spontaneous bedouin settlements. In this latest stage the main task of the planners is not to choose the site of the new settlement, but rather to intervene in order to direct the future of house building. A good example is that of Beit Zarzir.

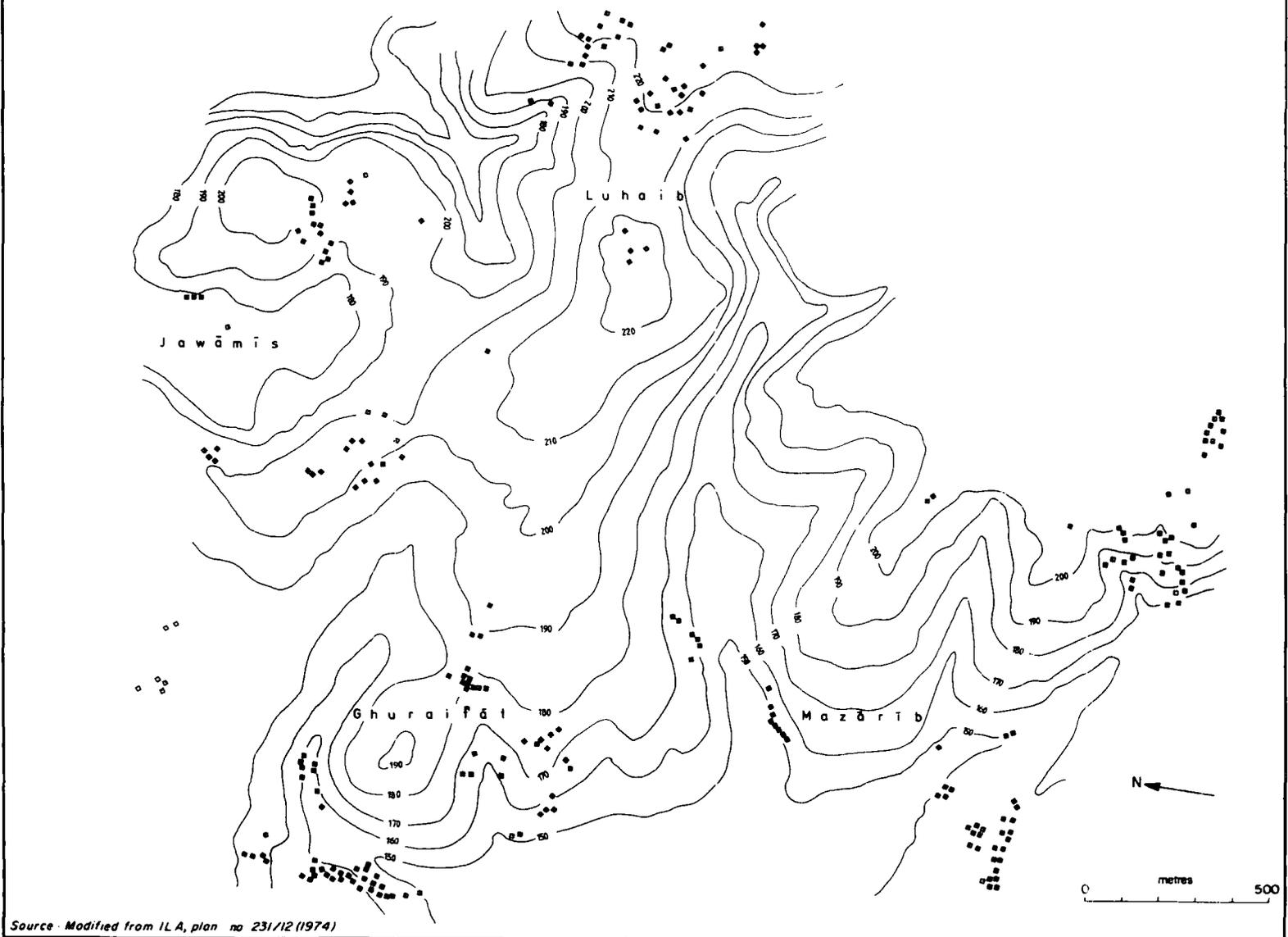
8.3.2 Beit Zarzir: Spontaneous Sedentarization

The Beit Zarzir tribal area is located some 10 km. to the west of Nazareth and 17 km. by motorway. The houses of the four tribes of Jawāmis, Luhaib, Ghuraifāt and Mazārīb are scattered within a radius of 2 km. located mid-way between the two parallel roads; Nazareth-Qiryat Tivon and Nazareth-Shafa 'Amir.

These tribes have always maintained strong connections with Nazareth for commercial and service purposes and may generally be described as being part of the suburbs of the town.

Probably Beit Zarzir is the best case in which both patterns of spontaneous and planned sedentarization of bedouin can be compared. It includes four bedouin tribes who settled within one km. of each other. They arrived at the place under different circumstances and at different times but house construction appears to have begun in all groups in the 1940's. Fig. 8.3 illustrates the pattern of population change in response to the various periods of sedentarization. For example fluctuation in population change, 1955-1961, indicates the period of completion of the stage of semi-nomadism. However, between 1961 and 1969, population increased rapidly at least partly as a reflection of stability accompanying voluntary sedentarization. Between 1969 and 1981, following the introduction of planned sedentarization, each group reacted differently (further discussion on page 354). The role of natural increase in these population changes is important, and the reason for high rates of natural increase generally associated with the early period of sedentarization is the topic of recent research (see page 127).

BEIT ZARZIR: PATTERN OF "SPONTANEOUS" BEDOUIN HOUSING (1974) IN RELATION TO TOPOGRAPHY



Source: Modified from I.L.A. plan no 231/12 (1974)

FIG 3.4

The circumstances which gathered the four tribes into the same area vary from one tribe to another. The first three tribes attached to the area were the Mazārīb, Jawāmīs and Luhaib. They had been in the area as early as 1922 when the first census of Palestine (1922) enumerated them as consisting of 125, 117, 74 persons respectively.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this same year the Ghuraifāt still roamed in the plains of Marj Ibn Amir and Acre. In 1931 none of these tribes were estimated by the Palestine second census (1931) as the census considered them neither nomadic nor settled, but the two tribes Jawāmīs and Mazārīb were mentioned as an attached hamlet to Ilut village.⁽⁴¹⁾

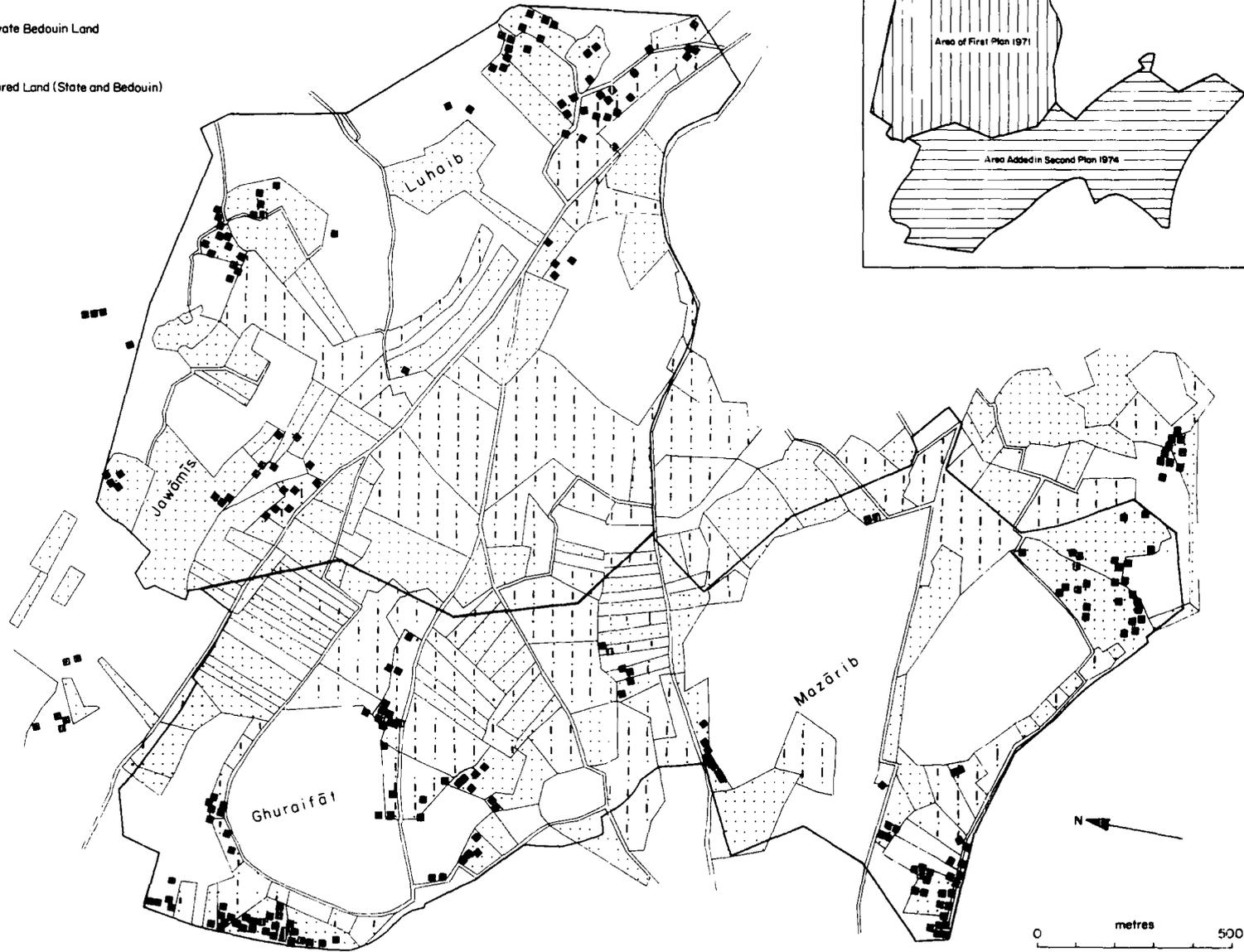
Towards the end of the British mandate in Palestine (1917-1948), some families from these tribes started to acquire lands and stone houses were built. The Ghuraifāt were the latest group to arrive at the place in late 1954 when they established their first stone houses. In 1936 the Ghuraifāt were camping in tents near the Turk-mān tribes in the vicinity of Tel Yoqne'am. Before 1948 they had migrated northwards to the hills of Tab'un and only in 1954 did they come to the place and acquired lands from the Ilut village people.⁽⁴²⁾

Within three decades (1940-1971), a pattern of spontaneous sedentarization was established among the four tribes. Figure 8.4 provides useful evidence of the pattern created among these four bedouin tribes of Galilee. The chosen sites for each house are not only dependent on cultural considerations whereby bedouin groups from particular families tend to concentrate closely, but separate from more distant relatives in the same tribe. In addition there are economic and personal psychological considerations.

Comparing the pattern of housing distribution of the four tribes in relation to topography (Fig. 8.4), one sees the similarities between

BEIT ZARZIR PATTERN OF "SPONTANEOUS" BEDOUIN HOUSING (1974) IN RELATION TO PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP

Private Bedouin Land
Shared Land (State and Bedouin)



Source: Modified from I.L.A. plan No. 231/12 (1974)

FIG 8.5

the Jawāmīs and the Luhaib on one side and on the other between the Ghuraifāt and the Mazārīb. The first pattern of choosing the flat land on the plateau top was also seen in the case of Zubaidāt. In this pattern could be found a combination of both an economic factor where bedouin acquire suitable land for cultivation and the personal factors whereby a bedouin prefers to locate his house within the acquired land. Here traditions from the past were involved. When a bedouin has the courage to give up the advantages of living in a mobile tent in which he used to enjoy the freedom of space, and decides to live in a permanent stone house, he will probably choose to locate his house on the site offering the most extensive views of surrounding land.

However, in the second pattern of Mazārīb and Ghuraifāt the chosen pattern of housing location was influenced by a strong economic factor in which most houses were located in areas in which suitable land could be cultivated, such as the patches on the valley floors.

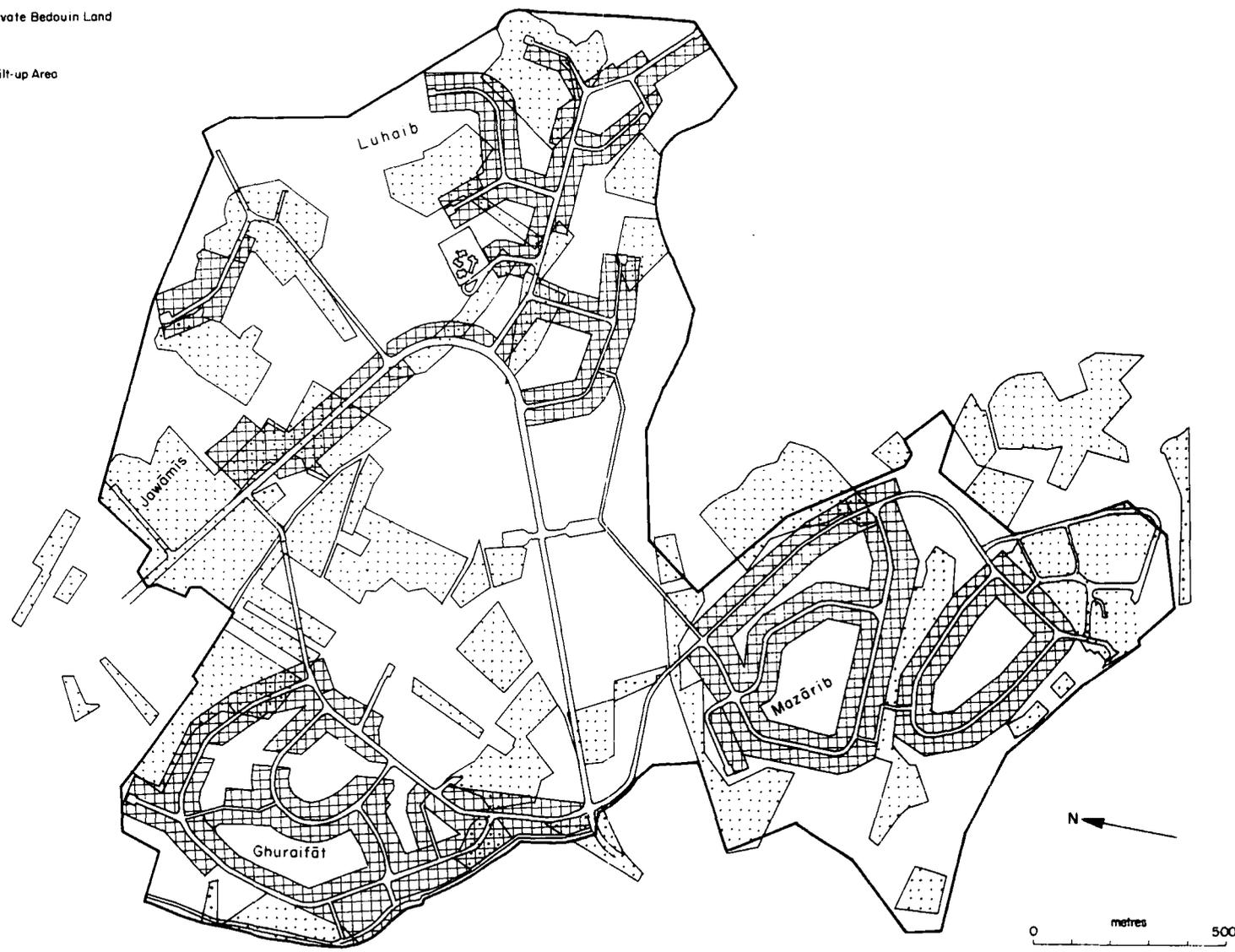
Moreover, above all considerations is the strong correlation between the pattern of private land distribution and the houses which were eventually built. Figure 8.5 shows clearly this correlation. There are very few houses located on state lands, the reason being that the inhabitants have failed to provide evidence of their ownership after the house has been built, or the land is still in dispute and its status remains state land

8.3.3 Beit Zarzir : Planning Sedentarization

Two governmental plans for Beit Zarzir are considered in the following paragraph, pertaining to 1971 and 1974 (Fig. 8.5) The first (1971) plan aimed at concentrating the four bedouin tribes in a single town.⁽⁴³⁾ Thus the concept of the planners was to persuade the Mazārīb and the Ghuraifāt to move north and to join the Jawāmīs and the Luhaib

BEIT ZARZIR: PRIVATE BEDOUIN LAND IN RELATION TO AREAS OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED FOR BEDOUIN HOUSING (1974)

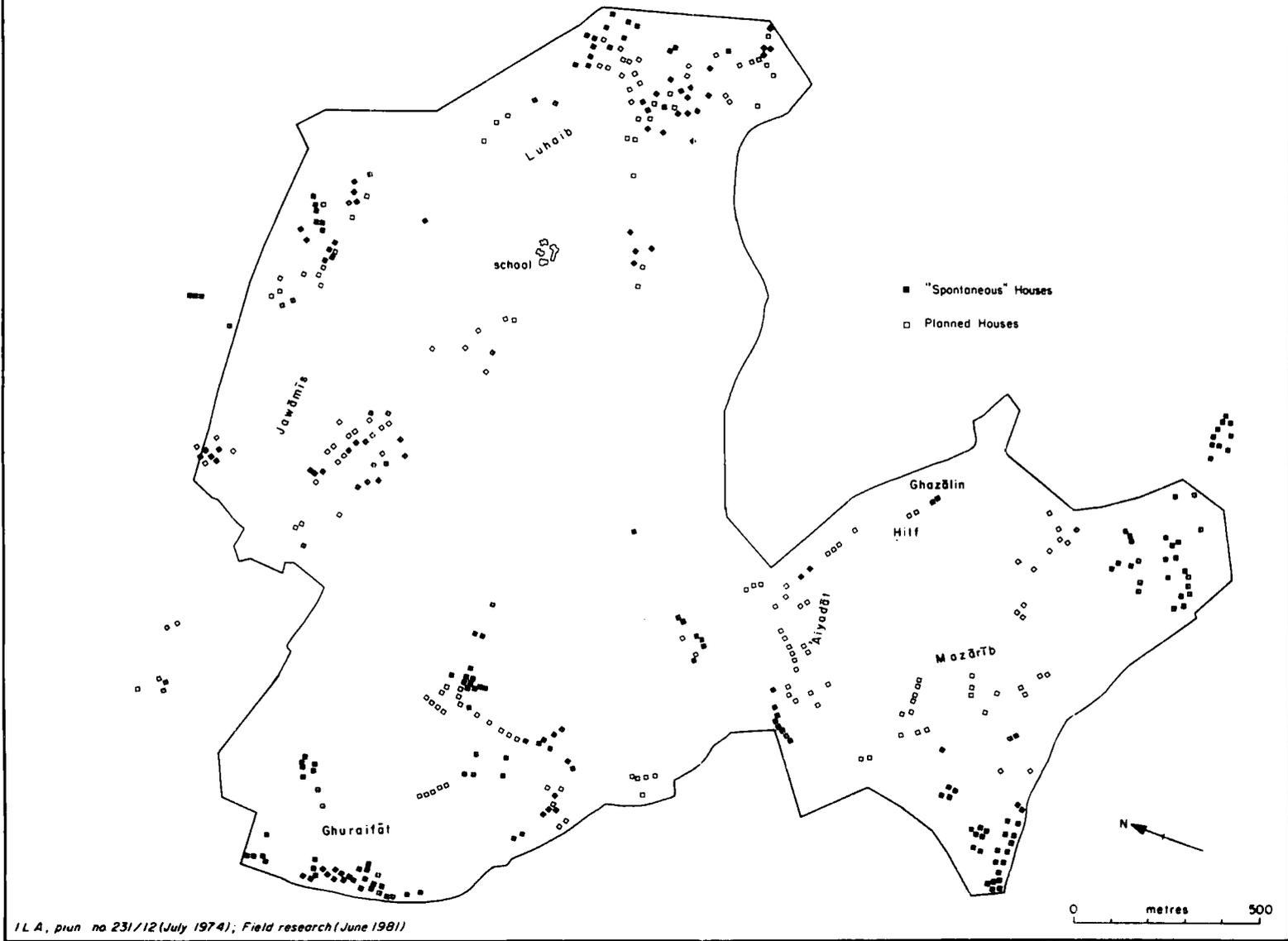
- Private Bedouin Land
- Built-up Area



Source: Modified from I L A, Plan No. 231/12, (1974)

FIG 8.6

BEIT ZARZIR: PATTERN OF BEDOUIN HOUSING 1974-1981



I. L. A., prin. no. 231/12 (July 1974); Field research (June 1981)

FIG 8.7

whose settlement was recognized as legal in 1971. The second (1974) plan extended the area of the first plan because of the failure of that plan to induce movement of bedouin from outside its boundaries.

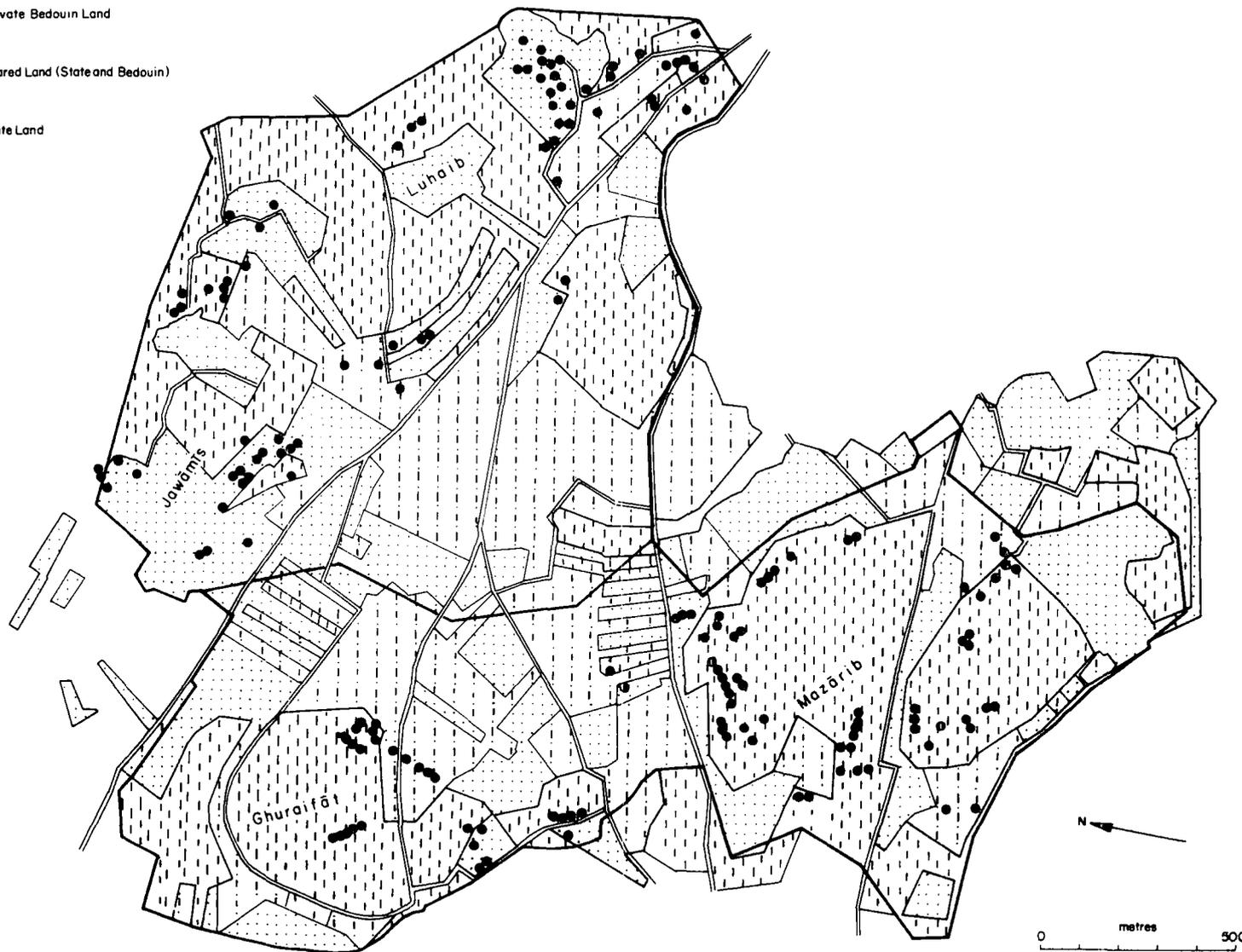
The Mazārīb and Ghuraifāt refused to join the Jawāmīs and Luhaib because they were not prepared to abandon their homes and lands.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, the media and eventually the much publicized children's school strike of April 1975⁽⁴⁵⁾ succeeded in revealing the real reasons for these objections. For example one version stated that the Mazārīb and the Luhaib refused to allow their children to mix in a single school because of an old blood feud between them.⁽⁴⁶⁾

A later explanation was that "the difficulties were caused by the transition from a nomadic way of life to a settled life style and by the conflicts between tribal traditions and the demands of a modern society with an urban orientation".⁽⁴⁷⁾ Meanwhile in 1974, the Authorities reached their conclusion and delimited the Southern boundary line further south to embrace the houses of both Mazārīb and Ghuraifāt (Fig. 8.6) but without changing the basic land use scheme within the first plan (1971). Thus today the school is located closer to the Jawāmīs and Luhaib (Fig. 8.7) than to the other tribes only because there was not a second (1974) plan, but merely an extension to the first plan preserving the original principles. Failure to respond to the children's school strikes of April 1975 were a clear expression of this inflexibility.

Following the approval of the so-called second plan of 1974, each of the four tribes was left with the illusion of having achieved its aims, apart from some houses left outside the planning boundary whose owners felt badly discriminated against. They also had hoped to be included within the planned area, but they seem to have little hope of achieving a change in the third plan.

BEIT ZARZIR: PATTERN OF PLANNED BEDOUIN HOUSING (1974 -1981) IN RELATION TO LAND OWNERSHIP

-  Private Bedouin Land
-  Shared Land (State and Bedouin)
-  State Land



Source: I.L.A. Plan No. 231/12 (1974); Field Research (June 1981)

FIG 8.8

In examining the relationship between private land ownership and the designated boundary line (Fig. 8.6), one finds clear evidence of the selective avoidance of private land. Half of the Mazārīb lands are beyond the planning boundary. Those lands which are included are those where bedouin have already established houses. Lands outside the boundary are forbidden for building houses. Thus the line was delimited to exclude the maximum area of unbuilt private land. However, within the plan boundary private lands were also cleverly excluded from the land designated for private housing, while the state land was fully exploited. The planners were clearly committed to the principle of safeguarding state lands for residential purposes. Private land has consequently been cut by roads but in cases where the planned road does not cross the private land such land was designated for non-residential uses. Even footpaths were calculated to pass through the private lands. The very limited private lands where bedouin were still able to build legally were in the empty spaces left between the original houses.

In both plans of 1971 and 1974, the planners followed a similar principle, in which the state sought to allocate state land for purposes of residential development. Thus the future growth of the settlement has to be described in terms of a guided sedentarization rather than planned sedentarization. This guided sedentarization seems to introduce a unique pattern of both future housing distribution and population growth.

8.3.3.1 Housing pattern 1974-1981

The Beit Zarzir second plan involved planning where population already existed in permanent homes. The spatial pattern of the new housing is affected by both the early housing pattern and the principles of the new plan.

A housing survey in June 1981, presented in Figure 8.8 shows

some aspects of bedouin adjustment to the Israeli concept of the planning of bedouin settlement, and also gives some insight into the planners achievements in this latest stage.

Within a period of a single decade, two distinctive patterns have crystallized in Beit Zarzir :

(i) Mixed spontaneous and planned houses as in the Luhaib and Jawāmīs group (Fig.8.7). Figure 8.3 shows natural population increase of these two groups between 1969 and 1981. High annual population growth rates of more than 4.5 per cent among bedouin resulted from access to modern health facilities and also the continuation of the traditional desire for a large family. Newly married couples usually wish to build their own separate houses, at the same time the parents wish to hold on to their children closely by providing finance and a plot of land. If there are official restrictions against the use of this land for building housing, parents and sons do not hesitate to contact the relevant authorities to obtain exemption. Thus very often Arabs succeed in obtaining building permission during election years when parliamentary members need the Israeli-Arab citizen votes. Moreover, if such permission was unobtainable the new houses would be built on the shared private-state land or on state land closest to their parents' houses.

Figure 8.8 illustrates such a phenomenon in the Jawāmīs and Luhaib group settlements. In both there is the tendency to concentrate the newly built housing units on private bedouin land, and those households which are constructed on state land or on private-state lands are usually attached to earlier existing households.

(ii) Spontaneous and planned houses in close proximity but not mixed, as in the Ghuraifāt and Mazārīb groups (Fig. 8.8).

These two groups tended to have a different pattern of population

growth between 1969 and 1981 (Fig. 8.3) related to in-migration of a kind not common among the Luhaib and Jawāmīs.

Field research (1981) data confirm that after the 1974 Second Master Plan was approved, two external groups of bedouin had migrated to join both tribes. These groups were close family relatives of the Ghuraifāt and Mazārīb, formerly scattered individually in small groups in various places of Galilee. The group which migrated to Ghuraifāt numbered 43 persons (5 households). They came from the Plain of Acre which was formerly used as one of the Ghuraifāt's grazing grounds.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The large group of Aiyadāt, numbering 249 persons (32 households), migrated to their relatives the Mazārīb from the vicinity of Tivon.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This area was formerly communal grazing for many small bedouin tribal units. Most of these families were landless, their attachment to their ancestor's grazing ground was perhaps to an existing supply of water and the wells they had dug. They could not build any permanent houses on land they did not own, which was mostly undeveloped state land, but they wished for better conditions in the area of their main tribal group. Since Beit Zarzir was an opportunity to obtain leased land they were encouraged to migrate to join their main tribal groups.

Two other small groups shown on Figure 8.7 migrated to the empty spaces between the four tribes, one family from the Hilf tribe and one from the Ghazālīn tribe who joined their settled relatives, in their turn immigrants from a Nazareth suburb. The new bedouin immigrants concentrated close to the main tribal groups of Mazārīb and Ghuraifāt.

The main reason for the similar pattern in Figure 8.7 for the groups of Ghuraifāt and Mazārīb was because the bedouin immigrants agreed to settle on state land (Fig. 8.8). One can easily distinguish between the houses which were established along linear roads in the Ghuraifāt case

and along a ring road in the case of Mazārīb. In both patterns houses were grouped in parallel or linear patterns.

One may conclude that in spite of the planners' attempts to direct bedouin to settle on state lands, most of Beit Zarzir's original inhabitants managed to continue to build new houses on private lands, an aim which has been observed through their spontaneous sedentarization processes. The bedouin of Beit Zarzir thus approached the guided sedentarization with caution and the planners did not achieve much success in guiding the construction of new houses on state land.

8.3.3.2 Population growth 1969-1981

The distinctive pattern of relatively high rates of population growth following the recognition of planned bedouin settlement has to be explained in the case of Beit Zarzir, and perhaps in other regions in Israel by two major factors:

(i) An immediate growth is caused by immigrants, this is due to both the feature of bedouin group migration and the unrestricted nature of land lease. The state is the landowner and practically any applicant can choose the lot he desires. The applicants are restricted to only a single lot and must establish a house within three years. Hence there is no danger of an individual leasing several lots. An interesting adjustment to that restriction, bedouin had to develop ideas of leasing lands and keeping their group within a compact territorial unit. Several cases were observed in Beit Zarzir where two brothers or a father and son leased two lots separated by another one or two plots in order to preserve leasing the latter plots in the future. The rationale of this approach was that other bedouin would not be prepared to build a house which divided the two brothers or the father and his son. Also bedouin will not lease plots beside existing bedouin houses. This idea involving

several landless families competing between themselves to gain the best location of plots consequently leads to continuing population growth. In the long run the rate of population growth of this kind will decrease. In contrast, the local bedouin's approach to settlement is different. He first exploits all the possibilities of building on his own land and hesitates to lease land because once bedouin obtain permission to build on state land their chances of obtaining further permission for building additional houses on their private lands are minimised. From this new point the second master plan (1974) was much more flexible than the first (1971) because of the relatively large space where bedouin could obtain land legally.

(ii) The second factor of demographic growth comes from high natural increase and decreasing out-migration.

After the official recognition of bedouin settlement, the settlers have less need to emigrate because some of the disadvantages in the formerly un-recognized status have been removed. Inhabitants of a recognized bedouin settlement are unlikely to migrate into a similar bedouin settlement because of the same restriction on building new housing except on state lands. They are also unlikely to migrate into the suburbs of towns and Arab villages (non-bedouin) because of high land prices. For example, the price of one donum of land on the Southern side of Eilabun village, where local private land is included within the village master plan, exceeded 1.5 million Israeli lira in August 1981.⁽⁵⁰⁾ However on the eastern side of the village where private land is available outside the village master plan, one donum costs only one-fifth of the former price, because building houses in land outside the master plan is prohibited. The land prices vary from one village to another and from one side of the village to another. Owing to this situation there will be a greater tendency for the bedouin living in towns and large Arab villages

to migrate into recognized settlements rather than the reverse. Planning bedouin villages on existing spontaneous settlements has thus been a great stimulus to the stabilization of the bedouin population. It was not the absence of electricity or a clinic which was the main disadvantage in the formerly unrecognized spontaneous bedouin settlements, but the absence of an asphalt road. With good roads bedouin are able to maintain similar patterns of occupation to the majority of the Arabs in Israel, with workers returning daily to their families.

The recognition of Beit Zarzir as a planned town in 1971 came at a time when the bedouin were conscious of the lack of communications with other major settlements. Indeed some 10 families from the Luhaib had actually migrated to Nazareth between the years 1958-1971 for various personal reasons, but the lack of roads and other services was a major cause for this migration.

8.4 Conclusion

Planned bedouin settlement in Israel is still in the early stages of development. Despite this fact there are some common conclusions to be drawn from the experience of two decades:

1. The policy of planning has not changed fundamentally throughout the three strategies of housing scheme, build-it-yourself and the recognition of the spontaneous settlement. The planners have continued to designate State land for bedouin housing and at the same time have prohibited the use of private land for this purpose.
2. The planners intended to direct spontaneous sedentarization with purposes in mind other than the mere provision of modern services to the bedouin. Moreover, providing services became merely a means rather than a goal within this policy.

3. Planned bedouin settlement in Israel was influenced primarily by the State's need to acquire private bedouin land for Jewish settlement and to secure bedouin manpower for the Israeli labour market. In the particular case of Israel, the State's desire for Arab bedouin land was not necessarily for economic or security needs. However, Zionist ideology is involved here, which aims to place - "all the lands in the homeland in the hands of the people by having most of the real estate in Israel become the property of the State and the Zionist movement". Thus the restriction of establishing new houses on private land was aimed at both nationalizing the land and making the Arab bedouin landless. By making the bedouin landless and leasing them State land, provided Israel with more effective control over the Arab minority than the earlier direct military rule (1948-1963). A new sort of control expressed through the mechanism of dependence on the State to supply the means of livelihood, and land on which to live, came into existence.

4. It is true that the state did not force bedouin to join planned settlements. However, bedouin opportunity of remaining on their land is limited since the State can declare, at any time, that it needs the land.

5. Bedouin groups who agreed to migrate into the planned bedouin settlement were mostly landless individuals and tribes who had become landless after the Authorities acquired or expropriated their lands during the early years of the State. In addition the planned bedouin settlement is likely to attract both the groups of bedouin who were not able to integrate socially with their tribes and also bedouin living in towns who could not afford high land and house prices. Such mixed composition is likely to become characteristic of the planned bedouin settlement in Israel.

References

- (1) S.S. Abū 'Ādhirah, "Sedentarization and Settlement of the Bedouin", in R.B. Serjeant & R.L. Bidwell (eds.) Arabian Studies, VI. London, Hurst, 1978, p.1.
- (2) A.A. Shamekh, Bedouin Settlements, Ekistics, Vol.43 (258), 1977, p.250.
- (3) D.P.Cole, Bedouin of the oil fields, Ekistics, Vol.37 (221) 1974, p.268.
- (4) S.M.Yacoub, Sociological Evaluation of a pilot project for Bedouin Settlement : A case study, Beirut, American University of Beirut, Publication No.40, 1969, p.10.
- (5) D. Christodoulou, "Settlement in Agriculture of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and other Pastoral People : Basic Considerations from a World View", Land Reform, (F.A.O.) No.1 Rome 1970, pp.40-51.
- (6) J.I.Clarke, "Summer nomadism in Tunisia," Economic Geography, vol.31, 1955, p.167.
- (7) D.H.K. Amiran, "Sedentarization of Bedouin in Israel", 21st International Geographical Congress, India 1968 Proceedings of Symposium on Arid Zones, Calcutta 1971, p.110.
- (8) Y.Bar-Gal and A. Soffer, Geographical Changes in the Traditional Arab villages in Northern Israel, University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional Papers Series No.9, 1981, p.31.
- (9) G.Lewando-Hundt, "Tel Sheva - a planned Bedouin village", in A.Shmueli and Y.Gradus (eds.). The Land of the Negev. Ministry of Defence Publishing House, Tel-Aviv, 1979, pp.666-72 (in Hebrew).
- (10) E.Stern and Y. Gradus, "Socio-Cultural Considerations in Planning Towns for nomads," Ekistics, 277, 1979, p.226.
- (11) Amiran, op.cit., p.111.
- (12) A.Shmueli, Nomadism about to cease, Tel-Aviv, 1980, p.112. (in Hebrew).
- (13) Stern and Gradus, op.cit., p.226.
- (14) See Israel Lands Administration Statement on the subject of Tel Sheva, Appendix 11 in A.Shmueli, Sedentarization of Nomads in the Region of Jerusalem During the Twentieth Century. Ph.D, thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1973, p.547. (in Hebrew) (Unpublished).
- (15) Private papers, Development Agreement, Contract between Salih Nimran Ghuraifāt and Israel Lands Administration, signed on 14th June, 1974 in Nazareth (Photocopy held) (in Hebrew).

- (16) H. Halperin, Changing patterns in Israel Agriculture, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1957, p.41.
- (17) W.Schwarz, The Arabs in Israel, Faber and Faber, London 1959,p.158.
- (18) E. Marx, Bedouin of the Negev, Manchester University Press, 1967, p.19.
- (19) Ibid
S.Jiys, The Arabs in Israel, New York : Monthly Review Press, 1976, p.36.
- (20) Schwarz, op.cit., p.160.
- (21) Marx, op.cit., p.46.
- (22) D.H.K. Amiran and Y.Ben-Arieh, "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel," Israel Exploration Journal vol.13(3), 1963,p.167.
- (23) Marx, op.cit., pp.46-47.
- (24) K.Goering, "Israel and the Bedouin the the Negev", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.IX, No.1 Autumn 1979, p.9.
Y.Oded, "Bedouin Lands Threatened by Takeover", New Outlook, November/December, 1964, pp.45-52.
- (25) Goering, op.cit., p.
- (26) G.M.Kressel, Individuality against Tribality - The Dynamics of a Bedouin community in a process of urbanization, Hakibbutz Hameuchael, Tel-Aviv, 1975, pp.43-47 (in Hebrew).
- (27) Ibid, p.59.
- (28) Stern and Gradus, op.cit., p.227.
- (29) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit. p.29.
- (30) Shmueli, 1980, op.cit., p.112.
- (31) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit. pp.31-32.
- (32) Field research, June, 1981.
- (33) State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel 1980, No.31. Jerusalem, 1980, p.49.
- (34) Field Research, Raja al'Ali, Interview 2/6/1981.
- (35) J.D.Barron, Palestine - Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922. Jerusalem 1923, p.35.
- (36) Field Research, Hassan Tabash Hilf, Interview 2/6/1981.
- (37) Field Research, Musa al Khalil, Interview 2/6/1981.
- (38) Ibid.

- (39) Field Research, Watfah Saadi, Interview 9/7/1981.
- (40) Barron, op.cit., pp.37-38.
- (41) E. Mills, Census of Palestine, 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas, Jerusalem, 1932, Cf.preface.
D.H.K. Amiran, "Nomadic and Bedouin Population in the Census Returns of Mandatory Palestine," Israel Exploration Journal No.13, 1963. p.262.
- (42) Field Research, Mahmud Deib Ghuraifat, Interview 20/6/1981.
- (43) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit., pp.32-33.
- (44) Al-Ittihad (Israeli newspaper) 28.4.1975 (in Arabic)
- (45) Al Ānbā (Israeli newspaper) 13.5.1975 (in Arabic)
- (46) Ibid.
- (47) Bar-Gal and Soffer, op.cit., p.33.
- (48) Field Research, Yussef Nimran Ghuraifāt, Interview, 7/9/1981.
- (49) Field Research, Ādil 'Aiyadāt, Interview, 28/7/1981.
- (50) Field Research, Saaid Zeinah - Eilabuⁿ village, Interview, 19/8/1981.
- (51) A.Granott, Agrarian reform and the record at Israel, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1957, p.104.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Evolution of Semi Nomadism in Galilee

This thesis has attempted an analysis of the factors instrumental in changing the way of life of a pastoral community, a process which lasted over one hundred years. This process was influenced by a wide range of factors which arose primarily out of political and economic developments occurring in the Middle East, and particularly Galilee itself. The emergence of various forms of bedouin settlement during the last three decades has been the physical expression of the diverse forces involved, one of which was Israeli state policy towards its Arab citizens. There are clearly direct links between the processes and the patterns of sedentarization; the former reveals the challenges faced by the community while the latter is the response to this challenge. This study examines the specific case of a small semi-nomadic group who migrated into a humid environment and eventually settled there. From the environmental viewpoint a large number of differences in the processes of sedentarization can be seen compared with other cases in Arid Zones.

The study has discussed the case of pastoral tribal groups who were mostly "pushed" from the Syrian desert into the humid environment of Galilee west of the Jordan Valley. The period of this migration is generally thought to have been during the last two hundred years of Ottoman rule in Palestine (the 18th and the 19th Centuries), although there are several groups who became established in Galilee later, in the first half of the 20th century. Despite the variety of causes and the different circumstances of their arrival into Galilee the bedouin groups generally found the region's climatic, political and economic conditions favourable, allowing them to maintain a semi nomadic

life for more than a century. During this period, the bedouin tribes of various ethnic origins established their tribal territories within the existing settlement pattern of Galilee in the empty spaces between villages, and in areas with a low population density.

Generally the lowland areas were chosen by the tribes of non-nomadic origin and non-Arab race. However, the mountain areas and the desert margins along the Jordan Valley attracted predominantly Arab tribes. All these groups have subsequently attached themselves permanently to distinctive geographical areas where sufficient uncultivated land for pasturing their flocks could be found.

2. The importance of administrative policy changes

The various forms of state intervention policies into the traditional bedouin life proved to have the most important effect upon their sedentarization, notably regarding the reduction of pasture and agricultural land.

The bedouin in Galilee claimed the right of ownership over the land upon which they were encamped following the important Ottoman Land Law of 1858, and more significantly after the British Land Registration of 1928. These laws fundamentally altered bedouin traditional life. In economic terms there arose a conflict as the new agriculturalists began to gain land at the expense of the pastoralists, resulting in reductions in the amount of pastoral land while the bedouin population increased in size. The reduction of the pastoral land was accelerated by the establishment in Palestine of an administration of European type, backed by force which defined and enforced new international boundaries and internal land use boundaries such as forests, orchards etc. The policies of the British Mandate in Palestine would arguably have completed the destruction of semi-nomadism in Galilee with or

without the complication of Zionist colonization. But the inevitable friction between administrator and bedouin was aggravated by Zionist pressures to accelerate the processes of land acquisition and land settlement. Moreover, British policy of afforestation which further eroded the economic base of nomadism paved tribal movements, as authorised in 1942 by the Bedouin Control Ordinance.

3. Changes in the Traditional Economy

The improvement of Palestine's economic infrastructure during the British mandate (1918-1948) indirectly accelerated the process of sedentarization. In general, the effect of economic development on nomadic sedentarization is reflected in the establishment of permanent settlements. The change from a traditional subsistence economy to a modern cash economy enables the bedouin to raise their living standards, acquire modern equipment and erect permanent stone houses. The most common means is for the bedouin to enter the modern economy as wage earners, for example in the oil industry. However, in Galilee a more profound effect on bedouin economic development was the process of private land acquisition from the neighbouring sedentary-fellaheen community, as the latter found labouring more profitable than agriculture.

The transition from raising livestock into agricultural activities was clearly seen in three trends. First, the selective pattern of acquiring new bedouin land, whereby patches of land suitable for immediate cultivation were chosen in valley bottoms, between hills and on the plateaux, reflected in a dispersed pattern of settlement. Secondly, the increasing dependence of bedouin on agriculture was seen in the remarkable appearance of some fellaheen and non-bedouin tenants living in bedouin camps in order to cultivate the land of the bedouin sheikh. Thirdly, and perhaps the most important factor, is that industrial development around Haifa Bay during the 1930's and 1940's did not attract

the Galilee bedouin labourer significantly. This accounts for the difference between the Galilee and the Negev bedouin (living in an arid area) who move commonly become labourers in the same period. Such differences in the role of wage-labour in the processes of nomadic sedentarization is largely explained by the fact that the humid environment of Galilee gave more opportunities to its bedouin to combine livestock with agriculture successfully.

The process of complete transition into agriculture was prevented because of various factors beyond bedouin control which led to the reduction of both pastoral and agricultural land. As a result there are two major reasons explaining the surprising absence of genuine bedouin agricultural villages in Galilee. First, all the bedouin tribes who were camping in the plain areas (associated with the area given to the Jewish state according to the United Nations partition proposals of 1947) disappeared from these areas following the 1948 War. Secondly the remaining bedouin tribes in Galilee were those who formerly camped in the hilly areas (i.e. areas given to the Arab State according to the United Nations partition proposals of 1947) some of whose agricultural land was expropriated by the State in the first years of its creation. Thus the intermediate stage of agriculture was not reflected in the sedentarization process, in a pattern of agricultural villages.

4. The end of semi-nomadism and the establishment of bedouin settlement

The processes of sedentarization were finally completed in 1948, when the Israeli-Arab war left Galilee with only one-third of its original bedouin population. This event gave enormous impetus to the processes, and it was followed by fifteen years of strong military rule, restricting bedouin movement and confining the remaining 5,000 bedouin to specific areas. Forced sedentarization is a justifiable

description of these practices. During the last thirty-five years of the Israeli States' existence two new types of rural bedouin settlement have emerged in Galilee, spontaneous and planned. These settlements are clearly distinguishable from the local Arab villages by distinctive features such as their small size, the dispersion of housing in each settlement, and the use of new building materials.

This study shows that both the geopolitical concept of the "Judaization of Galilee" and the Government policy towards the Arab citizens in Israel have influenced the development of the bedouin settlement. The bedouin in Galilee are part of the Arab minority in Israel, who were viewed by the Israeli Authorities as having two contrasting dimensions. They were viewed as Israeli equal citizens but also constituting a potential danger, threatening the wellbeing of the Jewish State by their geographical concentration and rapid demographic growth. In this respect the contemporary problems of the bedouin in Galilee are not so much being bedouin, but rather being Arabs in a Zionist State. It is very difficult not to conclude that these Arab citizens are treated as "second class citizens". In this context the Israeli Authorities have failed to convince their bedouin citizens that the planned settlements were initiated for the benefit of the bedouin themselves. This is also very clear to the Negev bedouin who see their crops dying because of lack of water, whilst the nearby Jewish kibbutz has a full swimming pool.⁽¹⁾ A similarly discouraging picture is also familiar to the bedouin in Galilee.

No one could convince the Sawāid bedouin and the four tribes of Beit Zarzir that the Authority has recently supplied them with electricity and water because of a moral responsibility to improve their standard of living. Even the poultry houses of the neighbouring Jewish settlement (a few hundred metres from the bedouin houses) of

Shezor and Bet Lehem Ha Gelilit, had obtained these services at least ten years earlier.

The delay in supplying modern services has been justified by claims that such settlements are "illegal" but this argument should be rejected. The designation of "illegal" or "unrecognized settlement" is an ingenious excuse to deprive the bedouin of their lands and to avoid paying capital to develop their villages. Nevertheless bedouin villages which enjoyed "recognised" status did not always enjoy the benefit of all the basic services and infrastructure. Thus, the four unusual characteristics of the processes of sedentarization in Galilee set out at the beginning of the thesis (page 4) appear to be well supported and confirmed by written evidence and extensive fieldwork.

5. Prospects for the future of Galilee bedouin

(i) Legalisation of the settlements

The present-day bedouin in Galilee are facing a severe crisis associated with the impossibilities of legally expanding their settlements. The pressures of modernization are increasing; when a new generation wishes to establish modern housing on their parents' lands, the planners prevent them from doing so. Even though the settlement has been "granted" "legal status, this does not mean that they are allowed to expand their settlement on their own land. Thus the claim that the control of spontaneous settlement is aimed at preventing the bedouin from the illegal annexation of extensive areas of state lands" is unacceptable. In fact the bedouin are struggling to settle in their private land, avoiding State land.

The future of the unrecognized bedouin settlements is an uncertain one. It lies primarily in a continuation of two factors: firstly, in how far the state goes with the policy of "Judaization of Galilee",

and secondly, how long the young generation of bedouin are prepared to stand against the pressure of modernization and to accept the present low level of living conditions. The recognition of a new bedouin village is a political problem since it contradicts the national policy of the "Judaization of Galilee". There are several Arab villages in Galilee whose inhabitants have been evacuated since the establishment of the state, to other existing villages. The reason proved to be not for security purposes but rather to take over their lands as well as reducing the number of Arab villages. Moreover, the new planned bedouin villages are named in Hebrew, in order to diminish Arab identity as much as possible. This strategy is probably the main reason behind the policy of refusing to recognise some bedouin settlements rather than the claim that they should not be recognised either because they are allegedly too small, or their houses are too scattered.

A partial solution to the contemporary crisis might be achieved if the Government permitted real bedouin members to participate in making decisions concerning the planning of their villages. In 1974 the Government authorized a "bedouin committee" to deal with Galilee bedouin affairs. This Committee consists of 22 members from all Government departments. Unfortunately there is only one bedouin member on the Committee, and this single chosen bedouin was the Mukhtar of Hujairat Bir el Maksur, a man who had persuaded his people to sell their lands to the state after 1968. Because of his influence the Authorities had their only major success in their policy of "concentrating bedouin groups". The bedouin regard this "bedouin committee" as a major obstacle to any progress in developing their villages, yet any bedouin demands have to be approved by it. However, the real aim of this committee, most bedouin feel, is to increase the State land through acquisition of bedouin lands and hopefully gather bedouin votes in the parliamentary elections.

(ii) Economic integration or economic independence?

The future of Galilee bedouin may be judged from the experience of the last thirty five years under Israeli rule. There has been no planned effort to integrate the bedouin into the State economic and political system on the basis of equal citizenship. The state concept of integration is that the bedouin should take their place as a minority group within the Jewish state. There are no independent Arab political parties permitted in the "democratic constitution" of Israel in which the bedouin could perhaps effectively present their case. However, their economic well being has been encouraged since the ending of military rule in 1963. This was aimed at controlling the Arab minority. There has not yet been an attempt to develop the Arab sector economically or industrially. One example of such "economic control" can be seen in the advertised jobs published by Israeli daily newspapers, where most opportunities are confined to people who served in the Army, which indirectly means Jews. Thus the Arabs - who are not obliged to serve in the Army - are badly discriminated against, being demoted to the bottom of the job market. In a period of economic recession the Arabs will suffer worst and will find a return to the land is the most secure future, although there is not sufficient cultivable land to support the whole Arab population, most of Arab lands in Israel (pre 1967 border) having been transferred into state ownership, by various methods. Since its establishment the state has sought to nationalize land; it now owns 93% of the country's total area and still strives to increase its holdings.⁽²⁾ This compares with the 6.8% of Jewish landholding in 1947 (one year before Israel was created).

It is thus suggested that the Arabs in Israel (including the bedouin) should start initiating the first step towards changing their "Economic Interdependence" into one of "Independence". The industrialization of their villages could be one means of achieving this, but this will

be achieved only by the initiative of the Arabs in Israel. There is little expectation that the Jews will assist them. The future prospects for industrialization in the Arab sector is a possible long term solution leading to the fulfilment of some of their aspirations. There are many examples of Industrial villages in the world, notably in the Jewish sector in Israel, where they have had great success, most recently in the occupied territory of the West Bank. There is no reason why this should not occur in the Arab villages of Galilee.

(iii) Planning policies and service provision

"To advance and modernize life in the Beduin villages is possible only if they are realigned on the basis of modern planning. It may reasonably be assumed that the Beduin population, which includes a fair number of men of considerable natural intelligence, will cooperate in this, in order to obtain the benefits of reasonable modern services." (3)

This research has shown that modern physical planning in Galilee appears to be designed for one group of citizens at the expense of the other. In the case of Galilee, the policy of Judaization has undoubtedly prejudiced progress in the physical expansion of bedouin villages. It is misleading to conclude that bedouin are rejecting modern planning purely because it is "modern". With the high price which must be paid for modernization (which includes the loss of land), it is not surprising that they reject it. It is true that the small size and the dispersed pattern of bedouin settlement has disadvantages and is "undesirable from the point of view of an efficient functioning of community services from the population concerned." (4) It also requires a high capital outlay for maintaining a reasonable infrastructure. The same disadvantages also apply to the new Jewish settlements established recently in Galilee (Mizpe), on top of mountains, with only some 6-12 nuclear families. That these Jewish settlements are enjoying a

high level of modern services with lower populations than that of the unrecognized bedouin hamlets is a clear indication of the bias in modern planning. The high capital outlay involved in establishing even small Jewish settlements contradicts any economic argument for refusing to provide services to the bedouin villages. In Sawāid Kammana for example (Plates 7.26, 7.27) water pipes and electricity pass between the houses to the nearby Jewish settlements. Supplying these services to the bedouin here would require minimal Government capital. Ironically the Sawāid Kammana have been asked to move to the planned settlement of Wadi Sallama presumably to become labourers while the planners have encouraged the new Jewish settlers to fence off extensive areas in the mountain for raising goats to maintain themselves!

The planners aimed to concentrate the bedouin in order that they might become labourers, or more likely "to provide neighbouring Jewish settlements with cheap labour".⁽⁵⁾ Two questions arise in view of the official policy of creating a labour reservoir from the bedouin villages; first, are the authorities prepared to guarantee security in the Israeli job market? and secondly, are the Authorities willing to provide training in order to fit them into long term job security? The answer to these questions is certainly no.

Marx's (1980) opinion relating to the Negev bedouin is equally valid in relation to the bedouin of Galilee. "The option to return to pastoralism should remain open, even if only few people take it up."⁽⁶⁾ This might be the best solution, in order to attain both aims of firstly, modernizing the bedouin (through the provision of services) and secondly, avoiding demoralisation of the bedouin.

It is important that planners and decision makers do consider the opportunity of turning the small bedouin villages into kinds of

agricultural hamlets in which pastoralism continues through modern improvement of pasture. The provision of basic services will not require massive investment in the present situation in Galilee. These services could be associated with services to nearby Jewish villages. In the long run such hamlets will turn into large villages and even small towns. In this case planners should consider the imaginative possibility of turning these hamlets into mixed Jewish-Arab communities.

6. Integration, isolation or dispersion?

The human geography of Galilee could be a model of regional integration. The bedouin community is a cultural and social group which shares with the Arab population their national identity, religion and language, but which is nevertheless isolated from full social interaction (such as intermarriage) because of their tribal affiliation. At the same time they also have weak economic integration with Arab villages because of their low level of economic development. In contrast their economic integration with the Jewish sector is very considerable but this integration could decrease once the Arab sector develops economically. Bedouin social integration with the Jewish sector is very limited and this is not only because of different national and religious affiliations, but is also partly due to the psychological feelings of Arab minority groups which seek to preserve their Arab identity in the Jewish state.

The bedouin maintain a high degree of social integration between themselves; despite the fact that sometimes the same tribe is dispersed between several non-bedouin and other bedouin settlements, its members continue to maintain their tribal affiliation through visiting and intermarriage. The tribe may be geographically disbanded but is still socially

bound together. Today it is very difficult to describe the Galilee bedouin in terms of total isolation, or segregation from the wider society, but it is also difficult to describe them as being assimilated. However, they are certainly not dispersed and are unlikely to become so in the near future. Despite the fact that they are a minority within the Arab minority in Galilee, their numbers are becoming numerically large enough to allow them to be recognized as an independent community.

7. Suggestions for further research

This research could be used as a basis for a further study of both nomadic sedentarization and the Arab village in Israel. Many topics have not been thoroughly investigated and it might be useful if geographers and anthropologists paid attention in the future to the following topics:-

(i) Perhaps the most urgent topic for research with regard to the bedouin in Israel should be the origins of the population of the planned bedouin settlement. These new bedouin settlers appear to include not only those of tribal origin, but also a number of reverse migrants from urban areas back into the rural planned bedouin village.

(ii) There is the need to further explore and define the concept of "sedentarization". The present research touched upon this topic in the case of Galilee only from the socio-economic perspective (page 201). Changes in culture, and political organisation clearly deserve attention.

(iii) Comparative studies between bedouin and non-bedouin Arab villages, including for example :

- (a) The fact that the rate of demographic growth among recently settled bedouin is higher than that of non-bedouin villages.
- (b) The employment structure in bedouin villages appears to be largely confined to the service sectors, whilst the population of

non-bedouin villages, contain higher proportions of personnel in skilled employment.

(c) The non-bedouin villages enjoy better access to modern services than do the bedouin villages.

(iv) It would be fruitful to investigate the social interaction of the various tribal groups which have concentrated in the non-bedouin rural and urban areas, with their non-bedouin neighbours.

This study is the record of a community which has displayed remarkably successful adjustment to changing economic and political circumstances, and to the pressures on its traditional way of life. It is arguable that the bedouin probably accepted the fact of the creation of the State of Israel before any other Arabs in Israel. The state should therefore give this community, and all the Arabs in Israel, the opportunity to integrate into the wider society as equal citizens. The geographical realities of their settlement location, and their dependence upon essential services such as water leave little room for the bedouin in Galilee to stand up to the State of Israel. Equally, the Jews should see that the bedouin are not a threat to their state.

Notes and References

- (1) British Council of Churches Towards understanding the Arab Israeli Conflict : The report of Churches Delegation to the Middle East, British Council of Churches, London, 1982, p.37.
- (2) E. Marx, "The anthropologist as mediator", The future of pastoral peoples, Proceedings of a Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, 4-8 August, 1980, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 1981, p.120.
- (3) D.H.K. Amiran and Y. Ben-Arieh, "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel", Israel Exploration Journal, vol. 13, No.3, 1963, p.179.
- (4) Ibid, p.178.
- (5) From the Tel Aviv Press Conference of the members of the Defence Committee on the Bedouin Lands in the Negev as reported by Yediot Aharonot, October 11, 1977.
- (6) E. Marx, op.cit., p.124.

APPENDICES

فما عدا المهدوت التي في القصب الطعم
 مقدمه لطلبنا من اجل حياضنا السحابية والسحابية والسيارة والسيارة والسيارة
 الطلب: ان الذي عبور ابي حنون المتكثرة بيننا وبينه صهيبة يعني هي نه اقليم ارضنا
 ساع بيننا وبينه الحمية المدارة. وقبل ظهور التسوية كان جاعل انفا نه قديم بيننا على قسما
 ارضنا نه تسوية زراعية ليعود كل واحد منا نصيب نه الاراضي للكل وزرع نه دون تسوية
 ليه ظهور التسوية. وقد تم الاتفاق نه على ان تبقى الاراضي التي بيدنا وهي موقع الطريق نه
 حياض عامود. وانما الذي بيد الجمعية وهي موقع ارضنا نه من مياه الرعيه. وبعد تسوية
 مع هي هذا الاتفاق نه سمحت الحكومة مياه عامود لجل كسان فاصبحت ارضنا يدرون مياه
 شاحونة الجمعية بذلك. فجمعت لنا قناه لسي ارضنا من مياه التي بيدها. ولذا جارت
 قنطرة بيننا وبينها تسوية لنا بالمياه. وحيثما لا تسوية تقطع عنا المياه. فعلا ارضنا
 ارضنا نه المشورة بيننا. وعندنا ارضنا الحمية نه هذا قطيعه لدى قنطرة مركزية هيينا
 طابقت ارضنا نه صديقا. وحيثما قسرت القنطرة ورجحناها. وحيثما المصالح اعطتنا الجمعية
 ٤٠٠ رطل من الاراضي التي اشتريتها من بعض الناس والشيوخ تعويضا لارضنا التي جمعت لنا.
 وحيثما اشتريت التسوية ارضنا نه نخذت الاراضي في المصالح معنا وارضنا المهدوت بكر الاراضي
 وارضنا المهدوت مع ذلك ولم اناهم شيئا. ولم تلتف الجمعية بغير الاراضي التي فاسرنا بها
 حديس ارضنا نه المهدوت لارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت
 سعادته على ذلك وارضنا نه المهدوت

وحيثما ارضنا نه المهدوت المهدوت ١٣/٧/٤٧ بيننا كما موعودين في ارضنا نه المهدوت
 ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت ارضنا نه المهدوت. ولم تلتف الجمعية
 سوية ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت. ولم يكتفوا بغير ارضنا نه المهدوت
 على ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت. لذلك سميت ارضنا
 لطلب ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت انما ارضنا نه المهدوت لم تزل لنا تسوية
 ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت
 ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت
 ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت
 ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت ارضنا نه المهدوت وارضنا نه المهدوت

محمد علي السمرية

١٣/٧/٤٧



عمدة ثانية

خامسا اذا وجد هناك تعدد على اى قسم من الاراضى المباعة من قبل اى شخص فعلى البائع طالما ان الحصر المباعة لم تسجل باسم المشتري بعد لدى طلب المشتري منه بالحصر المذكور التي يقيم الدعاوى اللازمة لرفع كل تعدد وان يقدم كل بيعة لديه لاثبات حقه بالحصر المذكور على انه اذا خسرت اى دعوى بصورة نهائية فلا تكون خسارتها سببا لفسخ او الغاء او تعديل هذه الاتفاقية .

سادسا كل دعوى يطلب من البائع اقامتها يلزم بمصارفها ورسومها المشتري وللبياع حق الخيار فى تعيين المحامي او المحامين الذين يختارهم على حساب ونفقة المشتري .

سابعا يعلن البائع انه برضاه واختياره قد اذن للمشتري بان يضع يده على هذه الحصر وان يستغلها بالصورة التي يراها هو (المشتري) انها فى مصلحته ولا يحق للبائع ان يصرح ببيع المشتري عن هذه الارض فى اى وقت ما لا يئنه من المنفق عليه ان الثمن المذكور انما يشمل حق تصرف المشتري بهذه الحصر منذ الان .

ثامنا لا يجوز للمشتري اقامة اى دعوى لادى سبب ما على البائع لاسترداد او جميع الثمن او اى قسم منه مالم يتاخر البائع عن القيام بتسديده الوارد ذكره فى البند الرابع من هذه الاتفاقية ويسقط المشتري حقه منذ الان باقامة اى دعوى او تقديم اى طلب باسترداد الثمن جميعه او اى قسم منه .

تاسعا على البائع ان يدفع جميع الرسوم والضرائب المستحقه على هذه الحصر حتى هذا التاريخ وبعد ذلك يدفع المشتري الضرائب والرسوم التي ترتبت على هذه الارض .

عاشرا بما ان البائع كان قد اجر هذه الارض فى السابق لمزارعين فالبياع غير مسؤول عن اية حقوق تستحق لأولئك المزارعين مما كانت تلك الحقوق والمشتري وحده المسؤول عن تادية تلك الحقوق او القيام بما يتطلبه القانون تجاه المزارعين ومعتبرانه استلم هذه الارض كما ورد فى البند السابع سوا تسلمها فعلا ليستغلها بنفسه او استوفى الاجرة المعتادة من المزارعين فى الحصر المذكور .

حادي عشر يبرأ البائع من كل تعهد تعهد به فى هذه الاتفاقية بمجرد توقيعه على وكالة دورية يوكل بها الشخص او الاشخاص الذى يختاره او الذين يختارهم المشتري للقيام بما تعهد به البائع فى البند الرابع انفا ويعبر البائع انه قام بجميع ما تعهد به فى هذه الاتفاقية بمجرد توقيع هذه الرقعة الدورية .

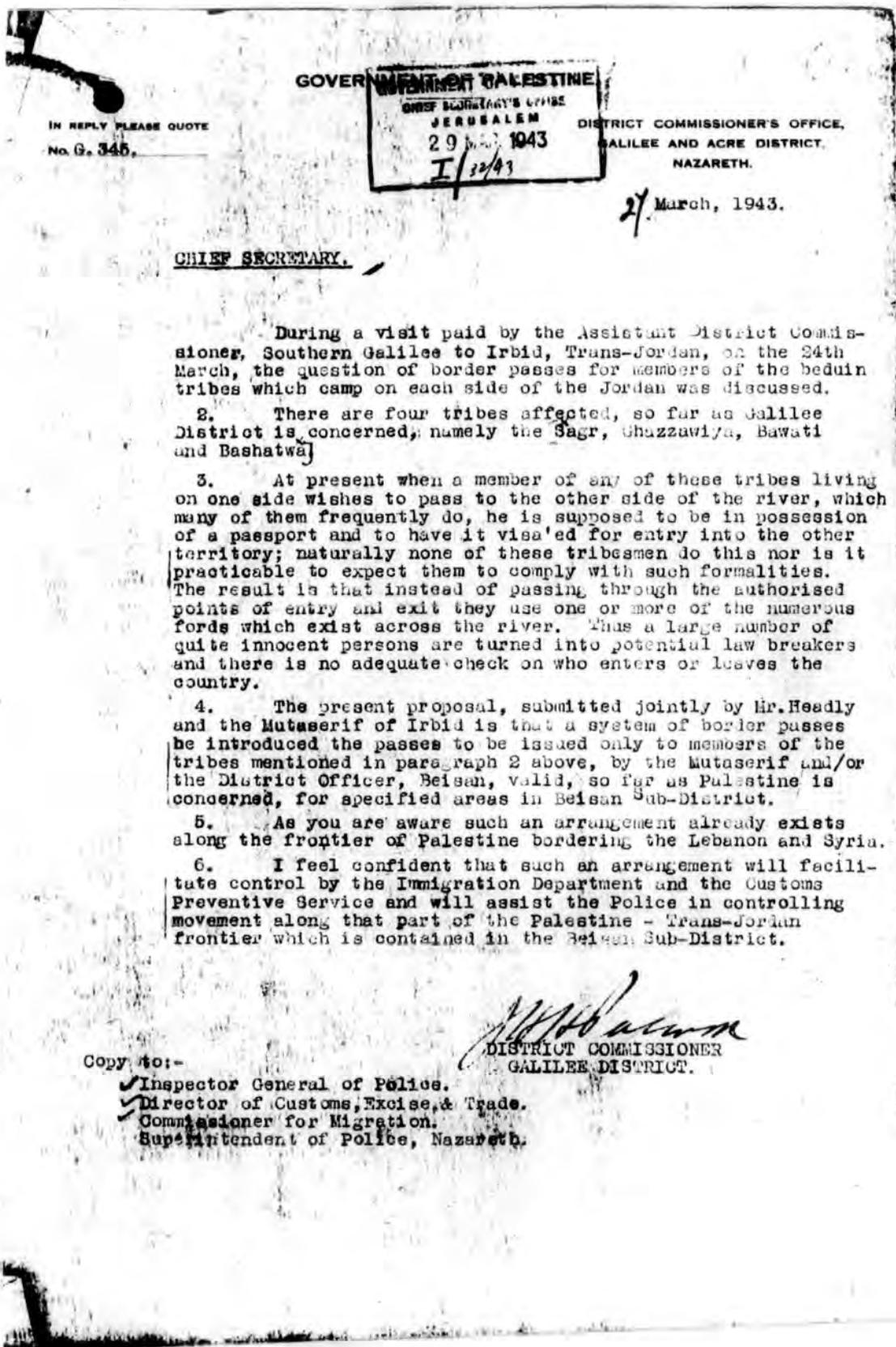
ثاني عشر كل اختلاف بين البائع والمشتري ينفاء عن هذه الاتفاقية او تفسيرها او تنفيذها يصير الفصل فيه من قبل محكمين اثنين ينتخب البائع واحد وينتخب المشتري الاخر وللحكيمين المذكورين عند اختلافهما حق تعيين فيصل او مرجع حسبما يترامى لهما .

ثالث عشر يعلن البائع والمشتري ان هذا التعاقد جرى بقبول واجاب متبادل بينهما وان البائع قد تسلم نسخة عن هذا وكذلك المشتري قد تسلم نسخة

جها
البائع
جها
المشتري

APPENDIX 3

Letter from the District Commissioner (Galilee District) concerning border crossing procedures for the bedouin of Beisan District. 27th March 1943.



IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
No. G. 345.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE
CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE
JERUSALEM
29 March 1943
I/22/43

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
GALILEE AND ACRE DISTRICT,
NAZARETH.

27 March, 1943.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

During a visit paid by the Assistant District Commissioner, Southern Galilee to Irbid, Trans-Jordan, on the 24th March, the question of border passes for members of the bedouin tribes which camp on each side of the Jordan was discussed.

2. There are four tribes affected, so far as Galilee District is concerned, namely the Sagr, Ghazzawiya, Bawati and Bashatwa]

3. At present when a member of any of these tribes living on one side wishes to pass to the other side of the river, which many of them frequently do, he is supposed to be in possession of a passport and to have it visa'ed for entry into the other territory; naturally none of these tribesmen do this nor is it practicable to expect them to comply with such formalities. The result is that instead of passing through the authorised points of entry and exit they use one or more of the numerous fords which exist across the river. Thus a large number of quite innocent persons are turned into potential law breakers and there is no adequate check on who enters or leaves the country.

4. The present proposal, submitted jointly by Mr. Heady and the Mutaserif of Irbid is that a system of border passes be introduced the passes to be issued only to members of the tribes mentioned in paragraph 2 above, by the Mutaserif and/or the District Officer, Beisan, valid, so far as Palestine is concerned, for specified areas in Beisan Sub-District.

5. As you are aware such an arrangement already exists along the frontier of Palestine bordering the Lebanon and Syria.

6. I feel confident that such an arrangement will facilitate control by the Immigration Department and the Customs Preventive Service and will assist the Police in controlling movement along that part of the Palestine - Trans-Jordan frontier which is contained in the Beisan Sub-District.

[Signature]
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

Copy to:-

- ✓ Inspector General of Police.
- ✓ Director of Customs, Excise, & Trade.
- ✓ Commissioner for Migration.
- ✓ Superintendent of Police, Nazareth.

Application for the scheduling of the tribal camping along the Palestine-Lebanese frontier - the Arab al Hamdun, 21st May 1945.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
No. G.867/3.

22
Y
4/58/42

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
GALILEE DISTRICT,
NAZARETH.

21st May, 1945.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

*A. V. 1742
p. 66.*

The Local Security Committee has recommended that the Palestinian tribe Arab el Hamdoun should be scheduled under the Bedouin Control Ordinance 1942.

2. The tribe, which numbers some 260 persons, inhabits the area along the Palestine-Lebanese frontier in the Safad sub-district. The tribesmen are notorious cattle thieves and smugglers and are constantly implicated in thefts on Lebanese territory. The Lebanese authorities recently produced to the Assistant District Commissioner, Safad, a list of twenty-four such crimes in which members of the tribe are believed to have been concerned since the beginning of 1942. One of the latest and most serious incidents involving the death of a Lebanese was recorded in paragraph 19 of my fortnightly report for the period 1-15th February, 1945.

3. In these instances arrests were made, but it will be realised that it is frequently difficult to bring charges against specific individuals in cases of raiding across the frontier. It is accordingly desirable in the interests of security on the frontier and of good relations with the Lebanese authorities that I should be empowered to control the movements of the tribe and take punitive action as contemplated by the Ordinance, where individual charges cannot be brought.

4. I, therefore, endorse the recommendation of the Local Security Committee and request that the High Commissioner will order that the Ordinance should apply to Arab el Hamdoun.

C. J. Evans
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

Copy to: H.Q., 15 Area.
Superintendent of Police, Galilee District.
Assistant District Commissioner, Safad.

Petition from the Subaih tribe to the High Commissioner for Palestine concerning their grazing lands at Mount Tabor, 14th January 1946.

His Excellency
The High Commissioner
Jerusalem

CHIEF (Clerk)
18 1-14/46 JERUSALEM

Petitioners :- Hussein el Assad, Assad el Mohamed, Ikhreis el Ali, Mohamed el Mifleh and Haj Nehar Ali el Warwar all of Tribe Esh Shibli Arab Sbeih Nazareth Sub-District

Request :- Grazing lands of Mt. Tabor

Your Excellency,

We beg to be permitted to submit the following for favour of Your Excellency's kind consideration :-

Some time ago an area of about 3000 dunums were taken from our lands and were given to Khadeerie Agricultural School and another area of 3000 dunums were given to the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association and 3000 dunums remained as Grazing lands for our Cattle and Flocks on the East-northern side of Mt. Tabor and we were promised by the Government that this area will be always used as Grazing lands for our flocks.

Three months ago Forest Department Officers came to the tribe and wanted to dig holes for erecting iron marks and barbed wire for the purpose of making these lands as Government Reserved Area but we have prevented them as these lands are the only grazing area for our flocks and had at that time submitted complaints to this effect, and up till now we have nothing received.

We, therefore, beg Your Excellency to kindly consider that this area of grazing lands be kept for us as promised by the Government as we have no other lands for our Cattle and flocks.

Hoping that this, our demand will be favourably considered

Thanks Very Much and Utmost Respects

Yours Most Respectfully

14.1.46

Copies to : Director of Land Registration
Forest Department - Jerusalem
District Commissioner Galilee Thre' District Officer
Nazareth

Petition from the Arab National Fund on behalf of the Subaiḥ tribe concerning the disappropriation of 1,200 donum of their land near Mount Tabor for forestry development, 19th March 1946.

ص. ب. ١٣٣٩

صناديق الامانة العزبي

تقون - ٢١٧

شركة محدودة الضمان
القدس
المكتب المركزي

١٩٤٦ / ٣ / ١٩

القدس في ١٩٤٦ / ٣ / ١٩

لخامة الندوب السامي لحكومة فلسطين المحترم
القدس

تحية واحترام اما بعد فقد ورد علينا كتاب من شيوخ عشيرة الصبيح في منطقة الناصرة يتظلمون فيه من محاولة الحكومة وضع يدها على اراضيهم البالغة مساحتها نحو ١٢٠٠ دونم قرب جبل طابور بحجة انها خراج محفوظة بموجب ان هذه الاراضي يملكها ويتصرف بها عشيرة الصبيح وهي منازل ومرامي للعشيرة يمتاشون من الانتفاع بها وبما تحتويه من اشجار وزروع وان انتزاع هذه الاراضي منهم يجعل هذه العشيرة من رجال واطفال ونساء وما لديها من حيوان عرضة للهلاك لعدم وجود ارض اخرى لديهم ، وبما ان واجب الحكومة اداريا وانسانيا يحتم عليها ان تنظر في هذا الامر جديا حرصا على حياة هؤلاء الناس وضما لتشتيتهم وتشريدهم بان تبيعهم في اراضيهم التي هي في تصرفهم منذ مئات السنين وهم مالكوها الشرعيون من اجل ذلك نرجو من فخامتكم اعادة النظر في هذه القضية والحفاظة على حقوق العرب التي توارثوها خلفا من سلف وورثون في بلانها بايديهم بلنا لحياتهم وكيانهم واثارهم وجدودهم ولنا وطيد الامل ان تكون النتيجة احثانا للحق وانراراً للمعادلة .

وتفضلوا بقبول وائق الاحترام و

احمد حلمي

رئيس مجلس ادارة صندوق الامانة العربي



APPENDIX 7

Application from the tribe Arab Şuwaitat for the purchase of their former land at Mount Carmel, 24th October 1946.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

IN REPLY TO CASE QUOTE
No. 287/315 - 2

CHIEF SECRETARY'S DISTRICT OFFICE
(Chief Clerk)
- 1946
JERUSALEM

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICES.
HAIFA DISTRICT.
HAIFA.

24 October, 1946.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

I forward herewith a petition addressed to the High Commissioner on behalf of the Arab Suwaitat. These semi nomadic Arabs were turned out some years ago from the lands on which they had been squatting on Mount Carmel and are now applying to return there by purchasing 'at a ^{nominal} price' the 663 dunams which constitute parcel 1 of Block 11896.

Their proposal, which I have discussed with representatives of the Land Settlement and Forests Departments is clearly out of the question, if only because the land concerned is in the middle of a closed Forest area.

2. It would however be an advantage from every point of view if the tribe could be settled and I am examining the possibility of some alternative subsistence area being provided for them. Unfortunately any land which is likely to be available is such as would need a considerable amount of hard work for its development and I am not certain that the present petitioners are capable of making the necessary effort.

3. The case is by no means an isolated one and the large number of landless Arabs in this District with no settled occupation is a matter of some concern.

OXW
ACTING DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

Application from the High Commissioner of Palestine for the scheduling of seven bedouin tribes of the Tiberias District under the Bedouin Control Ordinance, 1942, 7th February 1947.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE
(Chief Clerk)
8 FEB 1947
JERUSALEM

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
GALILEE DISTRICT,
HAZARETH.

7 February, 1947.

IN REPLY, PLEASE QUOTE
No. G.929.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

Subject :- Beduin Control Ordinance, 1942.

In connection with the protection of the Tiberias Special Area from trespass and illicit grazing by beduin and their cattle, I have had a survey made of a number of small semi-nomadic tribes which move in the vicinity of the special area with a view to their scheduling under the Beduin Control Ordinance, 1942, (Laws 1942, Vol.I, p. 66).

2. I attach a note by the District Officer concerning these tribes. Not all of them have in the past infringed the regulations governing the special area, but it would be a convenience to have them all scheduled at the same time. It will then be possible to take action under Section 4 of the Ordinance to exercise general control of their movements, as and when desirable.

3. The tribes are :-

1. Arab Wahab
2. Arab Delaykeh
3. Arab Qazaq
4. Arab Masharqah
5. Arab Tawafreh
6. Arab Nujaidat
7. Arab Khawalid (sub-tribe of Trans-Jordan tribe).

4. I accordingly request that the High Commissioner will exercise his power under Section 3 of the Ordinance as amended (vide Laws 1945, Vol.I, page 194), to declare that the provisions of the Ordinance should apply to the tribes mentioned.

C. J. Evans
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

Copy to:-
Asst. District Commissioner,
Northern Galilee.

BEDUIN CONTROL ORDINANCE.

No. 18 of 1942.

AN ORDINANCE TO CONFER UPON DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS A GENERAL POWER OF CONTROL OVER NOMADIC TRIBES AND COMMUNITIES IN PALESTINE INCLUDING POWER TO INVESTIGATE AND PUNISH OFFENCES COMMITTED BY MEMBERS THEREOF.

BE IT ENACTED by the High Commissioner for Palestine, with the advice of the Advisory Council thereof:—

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Bedouin Control Ordinance, 1942. Short title.

2. In this Ordinance — Interpretation.

“Nomadic tribe” means any nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe or community in Palestine to which the provisions of this Ordinance have been applied by order of the High Commissioner under section 3.

“Nomadic tribesman” means a member of a nomadic tribe as defined in this section, whether or not such member is a Palestinian subject.

“Relative to the fifth degree” of any person means any lineal descendant of any of the great-great-great-grandparents of such person.

3. The High Commissioner may by order declare that the provisions of this Ordinance shall apply to any nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe or community in Palestine or to any nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe or community which, or any member of which, may enter Palestine from time to time. Application of Ordinance to certain nomadic tribes.

4. A District Commissioner may exercise within his district all or any of the following powers:— General power of control and investigation by District Commissioner.

(a) exercise general control and supervision over all or any nomadic tribes or tribesmen, superintend their movements, and wherever he considers it necessary direct them to go to, or not to go to, or to remain in, any specified area for any specified period;

(b) investigate any raid committed by any nomadic tribesman or tribesmen, or any other breach of the peace which they may commit, whether such raid or breaches of the peace took place in Palestine or elsewhere, arrest all persons suspected of complicity in such offence, impound their movable property until completion of investigation into the offence, and recover all loot and return it to the owners thereof;

(c) in the event of the District Commissioner considering that reasonable grounds exist for supposing that a raid or breach of the peace is intended by any tribesman or tribesmen, he may seize so much of the movable property of such tribesman or tribesmen and of his or their relatives to the fifth degree, and retain it for so long, as he may consider necessary for the purpose of holding it as security for his or their good behaviour. If such raid or breach of the peace is committed by the tribesman or tribesmen whose property is being so retained, such property may be forfeited, and such forfeiture shall be in addition to the seizure and sale of any further movable property which may be ordered under section 5 and to any penalty which may be imposed under section 7.

Recovery of value of property lost or damaged, from tribesmen implicated and from their kinsmen.

5. If as a result of investigation by a District Commissioner into any offence committed or believed to have been committed within his district, or into any loss of or damage to property which has occurred therein, he has reason to believe that a nomadic tribesman or tribesmen —

- (a) committed the offence or wilfully caused the loss or damage; or
- (b) connived at or in any way abetted the commission of the offence or the loss or damage; or
- (c) failed to render all the assistance in his or their power to discover the offender or offenders or to effect his or their arrest; or
- (d) connived at the escape of, or harboured, any offender or person suspected of having taken part in the commission of the offence or implicated in the loss or damage; or
- (e) combined to suppress material evidence of the commission of the offence or of the occurrence of the loss or damage.

he may, after holding an enquiry as provided for under section 6 and upon the conviction of such tribesman or tribesmen under section 7, order the seizure and sale of the movable property of such tribesman or tribesmen or of his or their relatives to the fifth degree for the following purposes:—

- (i) to recover the value of looted property which has already been disposed of or cannot be seized, in order to compensate the owners of such looted property;
- (ii) to collect the value of any fines imposed by him under this Ordinance.

Manner of enquiry into offences.

6. No nomadic tribesman shall be convicted of an offence against this Ordinance until an enquiry into his case has been held by the District Commissioner. Such enquiry shall be conducted, as far as is in the opinion of the District Commissioner practicable and

expedient, in the manner of a trial before a magistrate exercising summary jurisdiction, provided that no person shall have the right to be represented by an advocate thereat.

7. Where after holding an enquiry as provided for under section 6 the District Commissioner is satisfied that any nomadic tribesman —

Offences and penalties.

(a) has been guilty of any of the acts or omissions set out in paragraphs (a) to (c) inclusive of section 5, or

(b) has failed, or is a sheikh or member of a nomadic tribe which has failed, to comply with any direction given by the District Commissioner in exercise of his powers under paragraph (a) of section 4,

such tribesman shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance, and the District Commissioner may convict him of such offence accordingly and may punish him with a fine not exceeding £P.50 or with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or with both such penalties.

8.—(1) Any person sentenced by a District Commissioner under the preceding section to a fine exceeding £P.10 or to imprisonment for a term exceeding three months may appeal against his conviction or against such sentence by lodging with the District Commissioner within fifteen days of the sentence, a notice setting forth the grounds of appeal, and the District Commissioner shall transmit the same to the High Commissioner, who may either uphold the conviction and sentence, or uphold the conviction and reduce the sentence, or uphold the conviction and increase the sentence up to the maximum penalty provided under this Ordinance, or quash the conviction and order a fresh enquiry to be held under section 6, or quash the conviction without ordering such fresh enquiry.

Appeal.

(2) A convicted person shall not be entitled to be released on bail pending the decision of the High Commissioner upon any appeal under this section; nor shall the collection of any fine imposed upon a convicted person, or the seizure and sale of any movable property under section 5, be stayed pending the decision of the High Commissioner upon any such appeal, unless the District Commissioner so directs.

HAROLD MACMICHAEL
High Commissioner

14th June, 1942.

APPENDIX 10

A Note from the Galilee District Commissioner concerning the implementation of the Collective Punishment Ordinance and the Beduin Control Ordinance in relation to the Arab al Hamdun tribe, 23rd June 1945.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
No. **G.867/8.**

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, GALILEE DISTRICT, NAZARETH. 25 JUN 1945 23rd June, 1945.
--

CHIEF SECRETARY.

With reference to your letter No. Y/58/42 of the 31st May, the Arab Hamdoun live in tents and in Palestine are accustomed to move their habitations although in a somewhat restricted area about 10 kilometres long abutting on the Palestine-Lebanese frontier. They are, however, accustomed also to migrate across the frontier and camp and graze in Lebanese territory. I submit, therefore, that the tribe may properly be regarded as semi-nomadic.

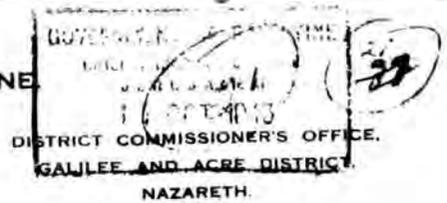
2. As regards paragraph 2 of your letter, I do not consider that employment of the Collective Punishment Ordinance presents a satisfactory alternative to scheduling under the Beduin Control Ordinance. The former Ordinance contemplates punishment after the crime, but the objective sought in the present case is primarily prevention or rather limitation of the opportunity for crime, easy escape and hampering of the Police which free movement across the frontier affords. This objective can most easily be attained by the exercise of a general supervision over movement and the taking of advance precautions for which sections 4(a) and (c) of the latter Ordinance provide.

B. J. Evans
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

Copy to:- Assistant District Commissioner,
Safad.

Application for the scheduling of two tribes - Arab Mazārīb and Arab Şubaih, 8th October 1943.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE



IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

No. G, 929.

8 October, 1943.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

Reference :- Your letter No. Y/58/42 dated 21st September, 1943.

The Mazareeb Arabs numbering about 250 souls are nomadic. They camp in and around the King George the Fifth Jubilee Forest. Your file L/234/35 refers. It will facilitate any action which ~~may have~~ to be taken if the powers conferred by paragraph 4(a) of the Beduin Control Ordinance (Csp. No. I of Palestine Gazette 1204 dated the 25th June, 1942).

The Subeih Arabs numbering about 1358 souls are nomadic and semi-nomadic living on lands to the South, West and North West of the Kadoori Agricultural School and at certain seasons of the year they camp in the Wadi Sharar.

In the interests of public security it is necessary to have control over the powers to remove those elements of the tribe which camp in the Wadi Sharar a haunt of outlaws and absconded offenders who are sheltered by these tribesmen.

As you are aware the Beduin Control Ordinance confers greater powers upon the control ~~and~~ movement of tribes and tribesmen than does the Collective Punishments Ordinance.

J. H. ...
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
GALILEE AND ACRE DISTRICT,
NAZARETH.

REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

J. 929.

Y/58/42

3/9 September, 1943.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

Subject :- Bedwin Control Ordinance No. 18
of 1942.

Reference:- Palestine Gazette No. 1204, Supple-
ment No. 1 of 29.6.1942.

I recommend that the Bedwin Control Ordinance be made applicable to the Arab Şubaiħ and the Arab Hazareeb normally camping in the Nazareth Sub-District.

2. The Şubaiħ are for the most part quiet and well-behaved but there are certain elements at feud with the Sheikh, and there are other families known to have been harbouring absconded offenders. They are already scheduled under the Collective Punishments Ordinance (Page 147 Clayton Vol. I) but the Control Ordinance will give me greater control over those families who live away from the tribe.

3. The Hazareeb, population about 250 souls, have, for many years, camped in the King George Fifth Forest, the registered owners of which are the Jewish National Fund. As you are aware the Jewish National Fund intend to have these Arabs evicted from the land; eventually it may be necessary to move the tribe and it will afford me greater control if the Ordinance has been applied to them.

I attach a draft order for consideration.

[Handwritten Signature]
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
GALILEE DISTRICT.

APPENDIX 13

Application from Galilee District Commissioner - without reasons - concerning the scheduling of five Galilee bedouin tribes, 13th September 1945.

IN REPLY TO LEASE QUOTE
 No. G. 867/S.

17 SE

SECRETARY'S OFFICE
 GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.
 (Chief)

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
 GALILEE DISTRICT,
 NAZARETH.
 JERUSALEM

15th September, 1945.

Chief Secretary.

With reference to your letter No. Y/58/42 of the 8th September, on the subject of the scheduling of Arab el Hamdoun under the Beduin Control Ordinance, 1942, I request that the following tribes of this district may also be incorporated in the schedule to the new bill:-

- Arab Mawasi.
- Arab es Sweilat.
- Arab Hufeirat.
- Arab Hajajreh.
- Arab el Heib.

[Signature]
 DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
 GALILEE DISTRICT.

Summary of a memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission by Izzat el Atawneh of Beersheba Sub-District on behalf of its bedouin, 12th February 1937.

SUMMARY OF A MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION BY IZZAT EL ATAWNEH OF
BEERSHEBA SUB-DISTRICT ON BEHALF OF ITS BEDUINS.

After sketching out the history and politics of the Beersheba tribal Sub-District and contrasting its previous position under the Ottomen Regime with its present position - praising the first and criticising the second, petitioner summarises the grievances of his sub-district as follows :-

1. Beduin affairs should be carefully studied by Government and Beduin's grievances can best be represented if Government appoints educated Beduins in senior offices. The Royal Commission is therefore requested to recommend so doing.
2. Government should afford educational facilities to Beduin youth, including agricultural instruction and training.
3. More schools should be opened for the Beduins and the few existing schools should be raised in standard.
4. Land and Animal taxation should be mitigated.
5. Agricultural loans should be issued to the Beduins who should be encouraged in dairy farming.
6. Roads construction and means of communication are an essential requirement of the Beersheba (grain-producing) Sub-District.
7. Water resources should be fully explored by Government, wells should be sunk and dams erected (on practical lines).

8. Medical treatment is lacking and the five chief tribal factions should each receive medical attention.
9. Land sales to Jews should be prohibited, Jewish immigration should be stopped and a legislative Council in which Beduins should be proportionately represented, should be established.
10. Beduins should be sent by Government on educational expeditions outside Palestine.
11. Improvement of agricultural methods by introduction of expert training.
12. Government should not have registered in her name extensive grazing grounds adjoining the Dead Sea and Wadi Arabs.
13. A boarding school for girls is called for in which domestic crafts should form the curriculum of training.
14. Beduins traditions and customs should be safeguarded and enhanced and tribal courts should be reformed. A tribal judge who does the work of a magistrate, is only paid LP 20 per annum and this salary should be raised.
15. Beduins should be permitted to trade in salt and in being prevented from so doing they are deprived of a large source of livelihood.

Lastly, petitioner hopes that the Beersheba Sub-District will not be forgotten in the Royal Commission's recommendations.

Petitioner's memorandum is dated Beersheba, 12.2.37.

APPENDIX 16 British Land Title Certificate for the lands of the Luhaib Fālahāt Settlement, 2nd March 1945. (a) Front Side

شماره (نمبر)

حكومة فلسطين

نمرة الجبلد

نمرة الاستعداد
١٣٧٠/٧٠٤٥

شهران تسجيل

دائرة تسجيل الاراضي في

نمرة التسمية	القطعة	المدينة او القرية	التضاه	الرواء
نمرة الطارئة	اسما	طرعان	الناعم	الجبلد
ملحوظات	دسيدر	امطار	حريبي دوغات	نوع الملك
		١٠	١٢	المساحة
			كامر	الحصة
				مقاطعة
				اسم المالك السابق
			تسجيل	نوع المعاملة
				القيمة او الثمن

التاريخ

١٩٤٥

ختم دائرة تسجيل الاراضي

مستجل الاراضي

APPENDIX 16 British Land Title Certificate for the lands of the Luhaib Falāhāt Settlement, 2nd March 1945. (b) Reverse Side.

358209

Government of Palestine



Certificate of Registration
Land Registry Office of

Application No.		Volume No.	
Deed No.		Folio No.	

District	Sub-District	Town or Village	Block	Parcel No.
			Name	Reference to Map Sheet No.
Category of Property				Remarks
Area	Danuns	Metros	Decimetres	
Share				
Mukta's				
Name of former owner				
Year of registration				
Consideration or Price				

This property shall be registered in the name of _____

This Certificate of Registration is issued under the Land Settlement Ordinance, 1926.

Date _____

Seal of Land Registry Office.

Source : Original copy held by Mohammed Saleh Falah - Luhaib Fālahāt

APPENDIX 17 : Field enumeration of the population of Galilee bedouin settlements, 1st September 1981

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Persons</u>
1. Luhaib Tuba	2,104	23. Kharānbah	331
2. Ḥujairat Bir el Maksur	1,926	24. Khawālid	267
3. Şubaiḥ	1,630	25. Ḥujairat Dumidah	250
4. Sawāid Kammana	1,158	26. Tawāfirah & Sumairī	250
5. Ka'biyyah	1,124	27. Nu'aim	224
6. Mazārīb	975	28. Ḥilf Ṭabash	212
7. Bosmat Tivon	937	29. Zanghariyyah	178
8. Ḥujairat Mikman	868	30. Muraisāt	151
9. Nujaidāt	864	31. Kazālnah	151
10. Zubaidāt	768	32. Manshiāt Zebda (Sa'āyidah)	128
11. Sawāid Wadi Sallama	768	33. Ramil	124
12. Sa'āyidah Umm al Ghanam	719	34. Tuaisānāt	119
13. Ibittin	696	35. Ḥujairat Dahirah	96
14. Ghuraifāt	685	36. Sawāid Ḥumairah	94
15. 'Arāmshah	637	37. Ḥujairat Umm az Zirat	91
16. Wad al Hammam	568	38. Luhaib Ya'ara	74
17. Luhaib Furush	556	39. Luhaib Fālahāt	72
18. Ḥilf Umm Rashid	538	40. Rumiḥāt	67
19. Ḥajajirah	498	41. Ḥamdūn	46
20. Luhaib Abu Şaiḥ	488	42. Şubaiḥat Ras al 'Ein	38
21. Jawāmīs	452	43. Samniyyah	14
22. Sa'diyyah	441		
		Total	23,377

Source : Field Research, April - September, 1981.

APPENDIX 18 : Field enumeration of Galilee bedouin in non-bedouin areas, 1st September, 1981

A. Tribal groups and population in towns:

1.	<u>Shafa 'Amr</u>	<u>Persons</u>	3.	<u>Haifa</u>	<u>Persons</u>
	Sawāid	952		Turkmān	137
	Akrad al Ghanāmah	173		Qumirat	37
	Ḥujairat	149		Ṣuwaitāt	30
	Samniyyah	141		Ḥamdūn	28
	Ziyud	122		Zanghariyyah	31
	Akrad al Baqqārah	97		Nu'aim	19
	Khawālid	88			
	Ghawarnah	79			<hr/>
	Kābiyyah	71			272
	Jandi	59			
	Muḥammadēt	48	4.	<u>Acre</u>	
	Ḥilf	41		Ghawarnah	128
	Muraisāt	39			
	Kharānbah	38			<hr/>
	Ṣuwaitāt	26		Total	3,148
	Samakiyyah	23			
	Qidirat	16			
	Luhaib	6			
		<hr/>			
		2,168			
2.	<u>Nazareth</u>				
	Luhaib	146			
	Nu'aim	101			
	Rabayyiah	99			
	Turkmān	60			
	Masharikhah	56			
	Ghazālin	41			
	Khawālid	33			
	Ṣubaiḥ	25			
	Ḥilf	19			
		<hr/>			
		580			

B. Tribal groups and population in Arab villages:

1. <u>Tamra</u>	<u>Persons</u>	5. <u>'Isfiya</u>	<u>Persons</u>
Mawāsi	196	Ṣuwaitat	89
Muraisāt	144	Qulaiṭat	82
Muḥammadāt	53	Kazāinah	42
Ḥamdūn	53	Ka'biyyah	20
Ghawarnah al Ramil	23	Ṣubaiḥat	10
Sawāid	15	Ḥujairat	8
Ḥujairat	13		<u>251</u>
Kharānbah	9	6. <u>Deir Hanna</u>	
	<u>506</u>	Mawāsi	132
2. <u>'Ibillin</u>		Muraisāt	47
Muraisāt	244	Ṣuwaitat	22
Mawāsi	95	Sawāid	17
Ḥujairat	79	Dalāyikah	16
Sawāid	46	Ḥamdūn	10
Ṣuwaitat	14		<u>244</u>
Samniyyah	14	7. <u>Eilabun</u>	
Ḥamdūn	6	Mawāsi	243
	<u>498</u>	Luhaib	205
3. <u>Sha'ab</u>		Nujaidāt	37
Akrad al Baqqārah	270	Ṣuwaitat	29
Akrad al Ghanāmah	149	Muraisāt	3
Numairat	47		<u>517</u>
Zubaid	43	8. <u>Tarshiha</u>	
Luhaib	16	Nu'aim	192
Muḥammadāt	13	Ṣuwaitat	82
	<u>538</u>	Samniyyah	75
4. <u>Abu Sinan</u>		Luhaib	19
Nu'aim	172	Mawāsi	8
Ṣuwaitat	129		<u>376</u>
Sawāid	113		
Ṣuwailat	27		
Khawālīd	20		
Ḥamdūn	14		
	<u>475</u>		

B. (Cont.)

9. <u>Judeida</u>	<u>Persons</u>	15. <u>Ar Rama</u>	<u>Persons</u>
Ghawarnah al Ramil	56	Luhaib	22
Şuwaitat	36	Sawāid	14
Mawāsi	28		36
Muhammadāt	12	16. <u>Daliyat al Karmil</u>	
Hujairat	7	Qulaiţat	10
	139	Kazālnah	7
10. <u>Al Makr</u>			17
Al FadiI	51	17. <u>'Uzeir</u>	
Nu'aim	26	Hujairat	152
Hamdūn	8	18. <u>Maghar</u>	
Şuwaitāt	7	Ghawarnah	113
Muhammadāt	2	19. <u>Kisra</u>	
	94	Nu'aim	29
11. <u>Yafa</u>		20. <u>Hurfeish</u>	
Ghazālin	229	Luhaib	18
Nu'aim	95	21. <u>Iksal</u>	
Hamdūn	39	Ghazālin	14
	363	22. <u>Jish</u>	
12. <u>Kar Kanna</u>		Hamdūn	8
Şubaiḥ	200	23. <u>Sheikh Dannun</u>	
Nujaidāt	56	Samniyyah	8
Luhaib	10	24. <u>Al Mazra'a</u>	
	266	Samniyyah	7
13. <u>Kafr Yasif</u>			
Ghuraifāt	19		
Sawāid	17		
Numairat	14		
	50	Total	4,770
14. <u>Dabburiya</u>		Total A & B	7,918
Şubaiḥ	29		
Zubaidāt	22		
	51		

Source : Field Research, April - September, 1981.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Unpublished Sources

A. Archives

(i) Israel State Archive, Prime Minister's Office, Jerusalem,
(ISA RG2 : Chief Secretarial files

D/46/41, F/LG/44, G/16/2/42
G/16/3/42, G/16/4/42, G/42/45
I/32/43, J/20/31, L/14/1/44
L/16/44, L/23/46, L/66/44
L/102/46, L/109/46, L/157/46,
L/161/46, L/170/46, L/172/46,
N/9/140, T/170/37, T/178/36,
X/22/37, Y/32/33, Y/33/45,
Y/58/42

65/5 : Arab High Committee files

454, 495, 525, 1050, 1597,
1725, 2908, 3363, 03318

(ii) Public Record Office, London (PRO)

Co 733 : Colonial Office, Palestine
Files Nos: CO/733/5, CO/765/10
CO/733/449/76182, CO/61/44

Fo 371 : Foreign Office
Files Nos: FO/371/4469, FO/371/61,
FO/78/1383, FO/78/1294

B. Unpublished Theses, Dissertations and Documents

Al-Saleh, N.O., Some problems & Development possibilities of the Livestock Sector in Saudi Arabia : A Case Study in Livestock Development in Arid Areas, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1976.

Artezman, Z., Tuba, Unpublished B.A. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University, Department of Geography, Tel Aviv, June, 1972, (In Hebrew).

Bitan-Buttenwieser, A., Changes in the Settlement and Land Use in Eastern Lower Galilee from the beginning of the 19th Century until the present day, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, Jerusalem, 1969 (In Hebrew).

Clarke, P.A., Historical Geography of Settlement in Ancient Palestine : From Neolithic to Roman Times, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, September, 1976.

Department of Minorities, Safad's branch, A Short Survey on the Arab Minority in Safad and the District, Unpublished document dated 27.7.1948. (photocopy held) (In Hebrew).

Falah, G., Arab al Luhaib, Unpublished B.A. Dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, Jerusalem, June, 1977 (In Hebrew)

— The Development of the "Planned bedouin settlement in Israel 1964-1982 : Evaluation and Characteristic Paper presented at the conference of Geographical Perspectives on 'Development', Bedford College, University of London, 8-10 July, 1982.

— Nomads and Nomadic Sedentarization - Basic Literature, Unpublished Bibliography (302 References), Geographisches Institute, Universität Hannover, December, 1979, 36 p.

Feasey, R.A., Planning and Immigration in Relation to Spatial Development in Israel, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1973.

George, A.R., Processes of Nomadic Sedentarization in the Middle East, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1972.

Hepworth, D. Aspects of Nomadism Amongst Selected Tribes in South-West Iran, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham September, 1971.

- Kossaifi, G., Contribution a L'étude Demographique De La Population Palestinienne, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, Universite De Paris, Sorbonne, Institut De Demographie, Paris, 1976.
- Linthwaite, J.M., Zionism and British Policy in Palestine (1914-1947), unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, May, 1980.
- M.R.B. Engineering Ltd., Survey on bedouin-Ramat Tivon, Haifa, 1977 (In Hebrew).
- Parkinson, A.J., Analysis of the Geographical Implications of the Israeli-Lebanon border : The Problems of Settlement in Northern Israel. Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Durham University, Department of Geography, Durham, 1978.
- Private papers, Development Agreement, Contract between Salih Nimran Ghuraifāt and Israel Lands Administration, Signed on 14th June, 1974 in Nazareth. (photocopy held) (In Hebrew).
- Private papers, Kammana Village, A letter from Avraham Lati to Shmuel Tuledanu, The Arab Affairs Advisor, dated 2.9.1974.(photocopy held) (In Hebrew).
- Private papers, "Compromise", An agreement signed between the tribe Zanghariyyah, the Agriculture Office and the Development Authority, dated 29.6.1955 (photocopy held) (In Hebrew).
- Private papers, Agreement, between the tribe Zanghariyyah and the Israel Lands Administration Office, undated, (photocopy held) (In Hebrew).
- Sharon, M., The Bedouin of the Land of Israel in the 18th and 19th Centuries, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, The Hebrew University, Department of History, Jerusalem, 1964. (In Hebrew).
- Shmueli, A., Sedentarization of Nomads in the Region of Jerusalem During the Twentieth Century , Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography, Jerusalem, 1973. (In Hebrew).

C. Interviews

Abu Salih al Hujairi	20.8.1981.
Ahmad 'Ali al Asāad	16.6.1982.
Ahmad Ghayyād	14.7.1981.
'Adil 'Aiyadāt	28.7.1981.
'Ali al As'aad	14.6.1982.
'Ali Huraib Hujairat	22.6.1981.
'Ali Mohammed Faāur	12.6.1981.
Basmah Zubaidāt	15.6.1982.
Dieb Kuhiley (Abu Hilmi)	16.6.1982.
Diebah Mahmmod Ramadan	19.7.1981.
Fawaz Nimr Mawāsi	20.8.1981.
Ghazal Sa'āyidah	30.6.1981.
Hamada Swaidan 'Arāmshah	3.7.1981.
Hassan 'Ali Falah	13.6.1982.
Hassan Tabash Hīlf	2.6.1981.
Husain Ismail Luhaib	11.6.1981.
Husain Wahash Ka'biyyah	11.6.1981.
Idris 'Atiyah Jawa'id	19.7.1981.
Ismail al Hassan Sawā'id	11.6.1982.
Ismail al Husain al Luhaib	11.6.1981.
Mahmod 'Azaizi	17.7.1981.
Mahmod 'Anan Sawā'id	11.6.1982.
Mahmod Deib Ghuraifat	20.6.1981.
Majid Jawasirah	22.6.1981.
Mara'i Hassan Falah	13.6.1982.
Mizpe Kamon Secretary	11.6.1982.
Mohammed Diab Saadi	14.6.1982.

Mohammed Salèh Falah	21.8.1981.
Musa al Khalil Zubaidāt	2.6.1981.
Raja al 'Ali Zubaidāt	2.6.1981.
Saaid Ihlaihil	14.6.1982.
Saaid Zeinah	19.6.1981.
'Uthman Mustafa Hujairat	19.7.1981.
Wardah al Salim	18.8.1981.
Watfah Saadi	9.7.1981.
Yassen Shibley	16.6.1982.
Yussef Nimran Ghuraifat	7.9.1981.

2. Published Sources

A. Official Publications

(i) Turkey

Sālnāmes, sālnāme-i Wilāyet-i sūriye, No.17, 1302 H.(1884).

(ii) Great Britain

Parliamentary Papers Commands

Cmd. 1499 An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine During the Period 1st July,1920 - 30th June,1921, London, 1921.

Cmd. 1785 Mandate for Palestine and Trans Jordan 1922 (Article 22 of the Government of the League of Nations), London, 1922.

Cmd. 3530 Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929 (The Shaw Report) London 1930.

Cmd. 3683-3687. Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development, by Sir John Hope-Simpson, London, 1930.

Cmd. 5479 Report of the Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Report), London, 1937.

Cmd. 5854 Palestine Partition Commission Report (Woodhead Report) H.M.S.O. London, 1939.

House of Lords, Palestine, Parliamentary Debates, London, June 29,1920.

(iii) Palestine Government

Census of 1931 by E. Mills, Alexandria, 1931

Department of Land Settlement, Arab es Subeih, Nazareth sub-District, General Plan, Serial No.10/43, Jerusalem, 14.4.1943.

Department of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Palestine, Jerusalem, 1944-45.

Department of Survey, 1: 100,000 Palestine, Jerusalem, 1943.

Map of Palestine, Index to villages and settlements, Land in Jewish possession (as at 31.12.44), Scale 1:250 000, compiled by J. Weitz & Z.Lifshitz, Jerusalem 1944.

Ordinance, 1927-40

Report and General Abstract of the Census of 1922, by J.B.Barron, Jerusalem, 1922.

Report on the possibility of Introducing a System of Agricultural Cooperation in Palestine, by C.F. Strickland.

A Survey of Palestine, Prepared in December, 1945 and January, 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. 3 volumes, Jerusalem, 1946.

(iv) Israel

Department of Survey, Israel 1 : 250,000, Tel Aviv, April, 1961.

Israel Lands Administration, Bu'eina, Survey of housing, Plan No. 94A/13, (Approved 15.7.1973).

Israel Lands Administration, Master plan of the bedouin township of Qishon, (Beit Zarzir), first plan, May 1970.

Israel Lands Administration, Master plan of Zarzir (The bedouin township of Qishon), plan No. 231/12, (Beit Zarzir second plan) (Approved 6.7.1974).

Israel Lands Administration, Tuba, Plan No. 290/5. 8.5.1972.

Israel National Fund (INF), Settlement plan for Mountain Galilee, Jerusalem, 1980.

Laws of the State of Israel, Judgements of the Supreme Court, No.13, 1953.

Ministry of Agriculture - Water Department, Water Utilisation Division, Map of Irrigated Areas 1950-51, Scale 1:250,000, Jerusalem, 1950-51.

State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, Nos. 1-31, Jerusalem (1949-1980).

State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Moslems, Christians and Druzes in Israel, Data from Stage A and B of the Population Census, 1961, Jerusalem, 1946.

State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, List of Settlements, their population and codes, Jerusalem, 1972.

State of Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, Population and Housing 1972, Jerusalem, 1972.

B. Newspapers and Journals

Al Ānbā (Arabic)

Al Ittihad (Arabic)

Davar (Hebrew)

Davar Hashavva (Hebrew)

Free Palestine

Ha'aretz (Hebrew)

Journal of Palestine Studies

Ma'ariv (Hebrew)

Yediot Aharonot (Hebrew)

C. Books and Articles

- Abu 'Ādhirah, S.S., "Sedentarization and Settlement of the Bedouin", in Arabian Studies, IV, Serjeant, R.B. and Bidwell, R.L. (eds.), 1978, pp.1-5.
- Abu 'Aiz ed-din, Ibrahim Pasha in Syria, Beirut, 1929, (In Arabic).
- Abcarius, M.F. Palestine Through the fog of propaganda, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1946.
- Al-Peled, Z., "The events of 1936-39 : A Riot or Revolt", Skirot, The Shilough Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, April 1979 (In Hebrew).
- Ali Bey, E., Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey, London, 1816, vol.II.
- Amiran, D.K.K. "The pattern of settlement in Palestine", Israel Exploration Journal, 3, Jerusalem, 1953, pp. 74-77.
- "Nomadic and Beduin Population in the Census Returns of Mandatory Palestine, Israel Exploration Journal, 13, 1963, pp.247-252.
- "Man in Arid Lands : Endemic Cultures", in Arid Lands, Mills, E.S., (ed.) London, 1966, pp.219-236.
- Sedentarization of Bedouin in Israel, 21st International Geographical Congress, India 1968 proceedings of Symposium on Arid Zones, Calcutta, 1971, pp.105-111.
- Amiran, D.H.K., and Ben-Arieh, Y., "Sedentarization of Beduin in Israel, Israel Exploration Journal, 13, 1963, pp.161-181.
- Amiran, D.H.K., Ben David, Y., and Shinar, A., The process of Sedentarization and Settlement among the Bedouins of the Negev, (Project E-2/7), Department of Geography, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976.

- Arensberg, C.M., and Kimball, S.T., Culture and Community, Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., New York, 1965.
- Ashkenazi, T., Tribus semi-Nomades De La Palestine Du Nord, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1938.
- The bedouin Manners and Customs, Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1957,
(In Hebrew).
- Awad, M., "The Assimilation of Nomads in Egypt", Geographical Review, XLIV, No.1 1954, pp.240-252.
- "Living Conditions of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and Settled Tribal groups", In Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures, Lutfiyya, A.M., and Churchill, C.W., (eds), The Hague and Paris, Mouton, 1970, pp.135-148.
- 'Abid Al-Karim, A.A., The Administrative Division of Syria during the Ottoman period, Cairo, 1951, vol.I (In Arabic).
- 'Arif al 'Arif, Bedouin Love, Law, and Legend, AMS Press, New York, 1974.
- 'Awad, 'A.M., The Ottoman Administration in Syria vilayet 1864-1914, Dar al Ma'arif fi Maser, Cairo, 1969. (in Arabic)
- Bacon, E.E., "Types of pastoral Nomadism in Central and south west Asia", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, X, 1954, pp.44-68.
- Baer, G., Population and Society in the Arab East, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964.
- Bar-Gal, Y., and Soffer, A., Geographical Changes in the Traditional Arab Villages in Northern Israel, University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional papers Series No.9, 1981.

- Barth, F., "Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau area of South west Asia", The Problems of Arid Zone, proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone Research, Vol. XVIII, UNESCO, Paris, 1962, pp.341-355.
- Bates, D.G., "The role of the State in Peasant-Nomad Mutualism", Anthropological Quarterly, Vol.44, No.3, 1971, pp.109-131.
- Beaumont, P. Blake, G.H., and Wagstaff, J.M., The Middle East : A Geographical Study, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 1976.
- Bell, G.L., Amurath to Amurath, London, 1911.
- Ben Gavriel, M.Y., "Bei den Beduinen des Hule", Der Erd ball, 1926-1927, pp.455-464.
- Ben-Arieh, Y., The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, The Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1979.
- Bergheim, S., "Land Tenure in Palestine", Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, (PEFQst), London, July 1894, pp.191-199.
- Bernus, E., Touaregs Nigeriens, ORSTOM, Paris, 1981, pp.115-118.
- Biger, G., The role of the British Administration in Changing the Geography of Palestine 1918-1929", Occasional Papers No.35, Department of Geography, University College, London, 1979.
- Blake, G.H., "The wandering Arabs", The Geographical Magazine, London, December, 1972, pp.179-182.
- Blunt, L.A., A Pilgrimage to Nejd : The Cradle of the Arab race, London, 1881. 2 Vols.
- Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates, London, 1879, 2 vols.
- Bongaarts, J., "A Framework for Analyzing the proximate Determinants of Fertility", Population and Development Review, Vol.4. No.2, March, 1976, pp.105-132.
- Bonne, A., Palästina, Land und Wirtschaft, Berlin, 1932.
- British Council of Churches, Towards Understanding the Arab Israeli Conflict : The Report of a British Council Churches Delegation to the Middle East, British Council of Churches, London, 1982.
- Buckingham, J.S., Travels in Palestine through the countries of Bashan and Gilead, east of the River Jordan, London, 1821.
- Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the east of the east of Syria and Palestine, London, 1825.

- Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822.
- Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, London, 1831,
2 Vols.
- Burton, R.F., and Drake, C.F.T., Unexplored Syria, Tinsley Brothers,
London, 1872, 2 Vols.
- Carruthers, D., Arabian Adventure : To the Great Nafud in Quest of the
Oryx, London, 1935.
- Capot-Rey, R., "The present State of Nomadism in the Sahara", The
problems of Arid zone, proceedings of the Paris
Symposium, Arid Zone Research, Vol. XVIII, UNESCO,
Paris, 1962, pp.301-310.
- Chatt, D., "Pastoralism : Adaptation and Optimization", Folk, 14,
1972, pp.27-37.
- Christodoulou, D., "Settlement in Agriculture of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic
and other pastoral people : Basic Considerations
from World View," Land Reform, (F.A.O) No.1,
Rome, 1970, pp.40-51.
- Clarke, E.D., Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa,
London, 1812, Vol.II, Part 2, section 1.
- Clarke, J.I., "Summer Nomadism in Tunisia", Economic Geography,
31, 1955, pp.157-167.
- "Emigration from Southern Tunisia", Geography,
42, 1957, pp.96-104.
- "Studies of Semi-Nomadism in North Africa", Economic
Geography, 35, No.2, 1959, pp.95-108.
- Cohen, A., Israel and the Arab World, Manchester University
Press, Manchester, 1965.
- Cohen, E., and Gronau, H., A Survey of Israel's Minorities, Research
Centre for Israeli Arabs, Jerusalem, 1972,
(In Hebrew).
- Cole, D.P., "Bedouin of the Oilfields", Ekistics, Vol.37 (221),
1974, pp.268-270.
- Nomads of the Nomads, The Al Murrah Bedouin of the
Empty Quarter, Aldine Publishing Company,
Chicago, 1975.
- Conder, C.R., Tent work in Palestine, Richard Bentley & Son,
London, 1879, 2 Vols.
- Palestine, George Philip & Son, London, 1889.

- Conder, C.R., and Kitchener, The Map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets
London 1880, Scale 1:63360 (one Inch in a mile).
- The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topo-
graphy, Orography, Hedrography, and Archaeology,
The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London,
1881-83. 3 Vols.
- Dabagh, M.M., Beladuna filastin (Palestine our homeland), Dar al
Talia'ah Beirut, 1965-1976, Vol.6. Part 2. (In Arabic)
- Davison, R.H., Reform in Ottoman Empire 1856-1876, Princeton
V.P., 1963.
- Doughty, C.M., Travels in Arabia Deserta, London, 1937.
- Drake, C.F.T., "Tyrwhitt Drake's report on May 1874", Palestine
Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, London,
1875, pp.27-28.
- Ewing, W., "A Journey in the Hauran, January 1895", Palestine
Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, London
April 1895, pp.60-67.
- Falah, G., "Pre-Nineteenth Century Exploration of Palestine"
The Journal, Durham University Geographical Society,
Vol. 23, Durham, 1981, pp.51-55.
- Fisher, G., Ottoman Laws, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University
Press, London, 1919.
- Fisher, W.B., The Middle East : A Physical, Social and Regional
Geography, 3rd ed., Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1961.
- Geikie, C., The Holy Land and the Bible, Cassel and Company Ltd.,
London, 1887, 2 Vols.
- General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel, Documents and Essays on
Jewish Labour Policy in Palestine, Greenwood Press,
Connecticut, 1975.
- Goering, K., "Israel and the Bedouin and the Negev", Journal of
Palestine Studies, Vol.IX, No.1 August 1979, pp.3-20.
- Golabian, H., An Analysis of the Undeveloped Rural and Nomadic areas
of Iran (4:77) The Royal Institute of Technology, School of
Architecture, Department of Regional Planning, Stockholm, 1977.
- Golany, G., Bedouin Settlement in Alonim-Shfara'm Hill Region,
Ministry of Interior and Department of Geography,
Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1966, (In Hebrew).
- Graham-Brown, S., Palestinians and their Society 1880-1946,
Quartet Books Limited, London, 1980.
- Granott, A., The Land System in Palestine : History and Structure,
Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1952.

- Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1956.
- Grant, C.P., The Syrian Desert - Caravans, Travel and Exploration, A.C. Black Ltd., London 1937.
- Grant, E., The peasantry of Palestine, the Pilgrim Press, Chicago, 1907.
- Guérin, V., Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine-Galilée, Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1969, Vol. VI, (reprinted from the edition, Paris, 1880).
- Gullick, J. The Middle East : An Anthropological Perspective, Pacific Palisades, California, Goodyear, 1976.
- Hadawi, S., Village Statistics 1945, Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, Beirut, 1970.
- Halperin, H., Changing patterns in Israeli Agriculture, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1957.
- Agrindus, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963.
- Hartmann, M. "Bemerkungen zu der neuen Haurankarte", Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, Band XIII, Leipzig, 1890, pp.60-65½
- Henin, R.A., "Fertility Differentials in Sudan (with reference to the nomadic and settled population)" Population Studies, Vol. XXII, London, 1968, pp.147-164.
- Herzog, R., "Anpassungsprobleme der Nomaden", Zeitschrift für Ausländische Landwirtschaft, Band 6, Heft, 1, March, 1967, pp.1-22.
- Hill, A.G., and Shorter, F.C., Intermediate variables in Fertility Analysis : A Practical Guide, Seminar Paper 1, presented for the 1979 Annual Conference of the Institute of Statistical Studies and Research, Cairo University, Cairo, March 1979.
- Hill, A.G., Randell, S., and Sullivan, O., The Mortality and Fertility of Farmers and pastoralists in Central Mali 1950-1981, Centre for Population Studies, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London, CPS Research Paper No.82-4, May 1982.
- Horner, D.F., "Planning for Bedouin, The Case of Tel Sheva" Third World Planning Review, Vol.4. No.2, May 1982. pp.159-176.

- Horowitz, "Arab Economy in Palestine", Palestine's Economic Future, Hobman, J.B., (ed.), Percy Lund Humphries and Company Limited, London, 1946, pp.55-65.
- Hütteroth, W.D., and Abdulfattah, K., Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century, Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderband 5, Erlangen, 1977.
- Irby, C.L. and Mangles, J. Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land, John Murray, London, 1844.
- Jaubert, A., "Nomenclature des tribus d'arabes qui campent entre L'Egypte et la Palestine...etc" dans La Description de L'Egypte, Etar Moderne, vol.II (xi), Paris, 1812, pp.249-275.
- Jacoby, E.H., Man and Land, the fundamental Issue in Development, Andre Deutsch, London, 1971.
- Jiryis, S., The Arabs in Israel, The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1969, 2 vols, (In Arabic).
- "The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel", Journal of Palestine Studies, vol. II, No.4, Summer, 1973, pp. 82-103.
- The Arabs in Israel, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1976.
- "The Arabs in Israel, 1973-79" Journal of Palestine Studies, vol.VIII, No.4, Summer, 1979, pp.31-56.
- Johnson, D.L. The Nature of Nomadism : A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migrations in Southwestern Asia and Northern Africa, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper 118, Chicago, 1969.
- Kallner, D.H., "Population and Economic Development in Palestine", Union Géographique Internationale comptes Rendus Du Congrès International De Amsterdam, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1938, pp.436-440.
- Kaplan, E., "Private and Public Investment in the Jewish National Home", in Palestine's Economic Future, Hobman, J.B., (ed), Percy Lund Humphries and Company Limited, London, 1946, pp.112-115.
- Karmon, Y., "The Settlement of Northern Huleh Valley since 1838", Israel Exploration Journal, No.3, Jerusalem, 1953, pp.4-25.
- Israel a regional geography, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., London, 1971.

- Katz, S.M., and Menuhin, N., Preliminary conclusion of the Galilee, Settlement Study Centre Rehovot, Rehovot, August, 1978.
- Kedourie, R., In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth, The McMahon Correspondence and its Interpretations, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.
- Kitchener, H.H., "Lieutenant Kitchener's Report on camp at Tiberias 30th March 1877, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July 1877, pp.119-120.
- Krader, L., "The Ecology of Nomadic Pastoralism", International Social Science Journal, Vol.XI, No.4, 1959, pp.499-510.
- Kressel, G., Individualism versus Tribalism : The Social Dynamics of a Bedouin Community in the process of Urbanization, Hakibbutz Hameuchad, Tel-Aviv, 1976. (In Hebrew).
- Lawrence, T.E., Seven Pillars of Wisdom : A Triumph, Oxford, 1926.
Revolt in the Desert, New York, 1927.
- Le Strange, G., Palestine under the Moslems, Alexander P. Watt, London, 1890.
- Lewando-Hundt, G., "Tel Sheva - a planned Bedouin village", in The Lands of the Negev, Shmueli, A., and Gradus, Y., (eds), Ministry of Defence Publishing House, Tel-Aviv, 1979, pp.666-72, (In Hebrew).
- Lewis, N.N., "The frontier of Settlement in Syria 1800-1950", International Affairs Journal, Vol.XXI, No.3, 1955, pp.48-60.
- Loftus, P.J., National Income of Palestine, 1944, Government Printer, Palestine, 1946.
- Lynch, W.F., Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, Richard Bentley, London, 1849.
- Macmillan's, Guide to Palestine and Egypt, London, 1901.
- Macmillan Bible Atlas, The, Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.
- Main, E., Palestine at the Crossroads, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1937.
- Maoz, M., Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1862, Oxford University Press, London, 1968.
- Margalit, H., "Some aspects of the Cultural Landscape of Palestine During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", Israel Exploration Journal, 13, Jerusalem, 1962, pp.208-223.

- Marx, E., Bedouin of the Negev, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1967.
- Bedouin of the Negev, Reshafim, Tel Aviv, 1974, (In Hebrew).
- "The Anthropologist as Mediator," The future of pastoral peoples, proceedings of a Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya 4-8 August, 1980, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 1981, pp.119-126.
- Masterman, E.W.G., "Gennesaret", The Biblical World, 31, 1908, pp.167-183.
- Studies in Galilee, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909.
- Melamid, A., "Political Boundaries and Nomadic grazing" Geographical Review, vol.LX, 1965, pp.287-290.
- Merrill, S., Galilee in the time of Christ, (3rd. ed.), The Religious Tract Society, Oxford, 1891.
- Miksell, M.W., "Deforestation in Northern Morocco", Science, Vol. 132, 1960, pp.441-448.
- Monteil, V., "The Evaluation and Settling of Nomads of the Sahara" International Social Science Journal, Vol.XI, No.4, 1959, pp.572-583.
- Murray, J., A Handbook for Syria and Palestine, London, 1868, 2 vols.
- Musil, A., Arabia Deserta, New York, 1927.
- The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, New York, 1928.
- Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series, Palestine and Transjordan, London, 1943.
- Nahami, J., A man of Galilee, Ramat Gan, 1969.
- Neil, J., Pictured Palestine, James Nisbet & Co., London, 1891.
- Nelson, C. (ed.) The desert and the sown : Nomads in the wider society, University of California, Institute of International Studies, Research series 21, Berkeley, 1973.
- Notestein, F.W., and Jurkat, E., "Population problems of Palestine", The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, vol.XXIII, No.4, 1945, pp.307-352.
- Obsorn, H.S., A map of Palestine and other parts of Syria, Philadelphia, 1868, scale 1½ miles to the inch.

- Oded, Y., "Bedouin Land Threatened by Takeover", New Outlook, November - December, 1964, pp.45-52.
- Oehler, W., "Die ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus" Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, No.28, Leipzig, 1905, pp.1-26.
- Oliphant, L., Haifa or a Life in Modern Palestine, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1887.
- Oppenheim, M.F.V., Die Beduinen, Otto Harrasswitz, Leipzig, 1943, vol.II.
- Patai, R., "Nomadism : Middle Eastern and Central Asian", South Western Journal of Anthropology, VII, 1951, pp.401-414.
- Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, London, 1884-1897, 32 vols.
- Peppelenbosch, P.G.N., "Nomadism on the Arabian peninsula", Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Nov/Dec. 1968, pp.335-346.
- Pulyarkin, V.A., "Nomadism in the Modern World", Soviet Geography : Review and Translation, XIII, No.3, 1972, pp.163-175.
- Rapkin, J., Ancient Palestine, London, 1851, Scale 1:1090,000.
- Reichman, S., "The Evolution of Land transportaion in Palestine, 1920-1947", Jerusalem Studies in Geography, No.2, Department of Geography, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1971, pp.55-90.
- From Foothold to Settled Territory, Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, 1979. (In Hebrew).
- Richter, W., Israel und Seine Nachbarräume, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1979.
- Ritter, C., Vergleichende Erkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel von Palästina u. Syrien, Berlin, 1848-55. 14 vols.
- Robinson, E., Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent regions..., John Murray, London, 1867, 3 vols.
- Rosenfeld, H., "From peasantry to wage labour and residual peasanty : The transformation of Arab village" in People and Cultures of the Middle East, Sweet, E.C., (ed), The Natural History Press, New York, New York, 1970, pp.143-168.
- Röhricht, R., Bibliotheca Geographica Palestine, Berlin, 1890.
- Rudolph, C.P., Travels in the East, Richard Bentley and Son, London, 1884.

- Ruppin, A., Three Decades of Palestine, "Ha'aretz" Printing Press, Tel-Aviv, 1936.
- Salzman, P.C., "Political Organization among Nomadic peoples", Proceedings of American philosophical society, vol.111, No.2, 1967, pp.115-131.
- "National integration of the Tribes in Modern Iran", The Middle East Journal, Washington D.C., Summer 1971, pp.325-336.
- Sauer, C.O., Agricultural Origins and dispersals, The American Geographical Society, New York, 1952.
- Schölch, A., "The Economic Development of Palestine, 1856-1882", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.x, No.3, Spring 1981, pp.35-58.
- Schubert, G.H., Reise in das Morgen Land in den Jahren 1836 und 1837, Erlangen, 1838, 3 vols.
- Schumacher, G., Across the Jordan, London, 1886.
- "Population of Liva al 'Akka", Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, London, 1887, pp.169-191.
- Schwarz, W., The Arabs in Israel, Faber and Faber, London, 1959.
- Schwöbel, V., "Die Verkehrswege und Ansiedlungen Galiläas in ihrer Abhängigkeit von den natürlichen Bedingungen", Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, vol. XXVII, Leipzig, 1904, pp.1-151.
- Seetzen, V.J., Reisen durch Syrien Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia petrdea und unter-Aegypten, Berlin, 1855, 3 vols.
- Shamekh, A.A., "Bedouin Settlements", Ekistics, vol.43 (258), 1977, pp.249-259.
- Sharon, A., "Planning in Israel", Town Planning Review, vol.23, 1952, pp.66-82.
- Shimoni, Y. The Arabs of the Land of Israel, Davar, Tel-Aviv, 1947 (In Hebrew).
- Shmueli, A., Nomadism about to cease, Reshafim, Tel Aviv, 1980. (In Hebrew).
- Smith, G.A., The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, (2nd ed.), Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1897.
- Sonnen, P.T., Die Beduinen um See Genezareth Ihre Lebensbedingungen, Soziale Struktur, Religion und Rechtsverhältnisse, Köln, 1952
- Stanley, A.P., Sinai and Palestine, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1856.
- Stephens, J.L., Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land, William and Robert Chambers, Edinburgh, 1839.

- Stenning, D.J., "The Transhumance, Migratory Drift, Migration : Patterns of pastoral Fulani Nomadism, in Cultures and Societies of Africa, Simon and Ottenberg, P., (eds.), Random House, New York, 1960, pp.139-158.
- Stern, E., and Gradus, Y., "Socio-Cultural Considerations in planning towns for nomads", Ekistics, 227, 1979, pp.224-230.
- Stewart, R.W., The tent and the Khan : A Journey to Sinai and Palestine, Hamilton, Adams, and Company, London, 1857.
- Strauss, F.A., Sinai and Golgotha : a journey in the East. R.A. Kirkaldy, London, 1849.
- Stroyanovsky, J., The Mandate for Palestine, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1928.
- Sykes, L., Crossroads to Israel, Collins, London, 1965.
- Tannous, A.I., "The Arab tribal community in a Nationalist State", Middle East Journal, vol.1, Washington, 1947, pp.5-17.
- Taqqu, R.L., Arab Labour in Mandatory Palestine 1920-1948, Ph.D. thesis, Colombia University, New York, 1977.
- Thessiger, W., Arabian Sands, London, 1959.
- The Marsh Arabs, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, England, 1964.
- Toynbee, A., Survey of International Affairs 1925, London, 1927, vol.1.
- Thomson, W.M., The Land and the Book, T. Nelson and Sons, London, 1886.
- Tristram, H.B., Natural History of the Bible, (2nd ed.), Society for promoting Christian knowledge, London, 1868.
- The Topography of the Holy Land, Society for promoting Christian knowledge, London, 1872.
- The Land of Israel, Journal of Travels in Palestine, Pott, Young and Co., New York, 1876.
- The Fauna and Flora of Palestine, London, 1884.
- Van de Velde, C.W.M., Narrative of a Journey through Syria Palestine in 1851 and 1852, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1854, 2 Vols.
- Map of the Holy Land, London, 1858, Scale 1:315,000.
- Van Lennep, Bible Land and Customs, John Murray, London, 1875, 2 vols.

- Volney, C.F.C., Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie, Paris, 1825, 2 vols.
- Warburton, E., The Crescent and the Cross, (2nd ed.) Henry Colburn, London, 1845, 2 vols.
- Warr, E.G.R., "The basis of physical planning in Israel" Record : New Zealand Geographical Society, vol.45, 1967, pp.11-17.
- Waschitz, Y., "Plight of the Bedouin", New Outlook, vol.18, No.7, October/November, 1975, pp.62-66.
- Wehr, H. and Cowen, J.M. A dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (3rd ed) Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1971.
- Wilson, W.R., Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, (2nd ed.). London, 1824.
- Ya'ari, A., Memoir from the Land of Israel, Jerusalem, 1947, 2 vols. (In Hebrew).
- Yacoub, S.M., Sociological Evaluation of a pilot project for Bedouin Settlement : A Case Study, American University of Beirut, Publication No.40, 1969.
- Y-Fu Tuan, Topophilia, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1974.
- Zeller, J., "The Bedawin" (A lecture delivered at Jerusalem), Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, April 1901, pp.185-203.

