

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Models of Market Peace:
The Case of A Bedouin *Suq* in Israel

BY

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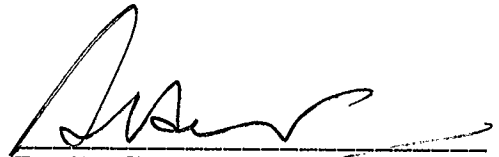
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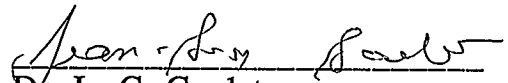
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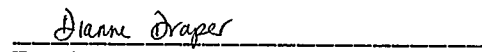
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Models of Market Peace: The Case of a Bedouin *Suq* in Israel", submitted by Cynthia Janzen, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

The classic model of "market peace" in the economic anthropology of the Middle East as put forth by Francisco Benét in his paper "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands" (1957) indicates that, in an otherwise segmented and feuding society, temporary outdoor markets (*suqs*) may serve as a mechanism which allows for the trading of surplus goods. Rather than maintaining the status quo of the society, with regard to codes of behaviour, the market adopts sanctuary-type attributes which allow participants, who historically are enemies, to converse and trade openly, apart from the political contest and without the threat of violence.

The research reported in this thesis was inspired by this classic model of "market peace" and its possible application to the suq in Israel. Despite Israel's economic modernization, involvement in the world market, and central government power the "traditional" suq has persisted over time. In a land contested by the Palestinians and Israelis, it was hypothesized that the suq would provide an arena within which both Arabs and Jews are buyers and sellers and, most importantly, cooperate with each other for economic purposes. Is it possible that the suq of Israel can be seen as a kind of "sanctuary" within which the norms of the larger society were not operative?

Subsequent research confirmed the applicability of the "market peace" model to the suq in Israel, however, in an unexpected way. The degree to which the activities in this suq in Israel were controlled by a central government (i.e. Israeli officials) was unforeseen and could not have been anticipated. In effect the suq did take on attributes common to the markets of the Highland Berbers, however, it became evident that, instead of being a spontaneous market within which historical enemies could interact, the suq was a staged event.

The suq in Beer'sheba, Israel, my research field, also known as "The Bedouin Camel Market" is a regular tourist destination point on all organized tours to the south of Israel and in fact may be seen as a staged event within a system of organized tours for foreigners. The suq is instrumental in creating a touristic image of Israel that portrays a peaceful coexistence of Arab and Jew, of cooperative interpersonal relationships between Israeli and Palestinian. To reduce the suq to its touristic function would be an oversimplification. Nevertheless, it is clear that the suq can not be interpreted solely as a folk economic institution. This thesis acknowledges the economic and social functions of the "Bedouin Camel Market" for the participants involved, however it appears that, like many "traditional" institutions within a modern society (eg. Calgary Stampede, Hopi Dances, and other folk activities which are now tourist attractions), it has become a model of peaceful co-existence not only for the participants but also for those people who are transported to and experience the suq.

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I have been fortunate enough to have also had the support of friends and family during the course of this thesis and I feel that a special thanks should be extended to them. Thank-you to my good friend Adele Makcrow, and my mom, Gwyn Salter for their constant encouragement. Without the support of these two people this thesis would surely not have been completed.

This thesis is dedicated to my son, Matthew who has been a source of inspiration to me in the writing of this thesis. I want to take this opportunity to thank Matt for the love and understanding he showed me during my work on the project (even on Mother's Day 1990 when he saw me wing my way to Israel to conduct fieldwork). I only hope that I can be half as supportive of him in his endeavours as he has been of me, in mine.

C.J.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE

Conflicts are part of social life and customs appear to exacerbate these conflicts: but in doing so custom also restrains the conflicts from destroying the wider social order.

(Max Gluckman, 1966: 2)

1.1 The Concept of Market Peace

This thesis is a study of an outdoor market or suq in Israel. The term suq, which means "outdoor market" in both Arabic and Hebrew, conjures up many images. The most vivid of these is that of the purely economic activities such as buying, selling and trading. The suq, in its most basic form, can be defined as a temporary gathering of people for the purposes of trading, buying and selling goods. Interaction in the suq is an everyday occurrence which is, for the most part, a taken-for-granted reality for the regular participants. The usual assumption is that the suq exists for economic purposes. But often the non-economic social interaction which is presupposed by economic activities is ignored. There are economic rules and norms governing behaviour in the suq. However, these rules and norms may not be sufficient in and of themselves to account for the suq; they also need to be viewed within the social context in which they emerge.

A case in point which illustrates this is the model of "market peace". This model is best articulated by Francisco Benét in his work on Berber markets in the highlands of North Africa. It has long been assumed, according to Benét, that markets in society are "characterized by a normal functioning of government" (1970: 174). Benét states the following with regard to this assumption:

"It has become almost an obsession to associate the development of markets with peaceable communities. At the back of such a preconception there lurk unrealistic ideologies concerning the institutional character of what we want to call the peace of the market" (1970: 173).

In his article, however, Benét presents the argument that, in a segmented, feuding society, it is still necessary to exchange surplus goods which may be exclusive to one group or another. In order for this to happen, Benét posits the existence of "temporary peace" between the feuding groups, under the umbrella of which the "temporary market" or suq takes place. These suqs cannot occur without this temporarily self-imposed peace, since the opposed groups are outside the zone of influence of the central government. The markets that Benét describes are not merely occasional rather they are regular, albeit weekly, and are relied upon by the participants for their livelihood.

One consideration which gives us some confidence that Benét is right is the Berber institution of nefra'a which provides a way for balance to be regained in the market after the code of behaviour has been broken.

Nefra'a refers to aggressive activities which threaten the peace (1970: 191). When nefra'a does occur it can result in a major conflict between the groups and often will also result in the suq's loss of reputation as a peaceful place. People will therefore tend not to frequent a suq where nefra'a has recently occurred. If an incidence of nefra'a leads to a death the suq must go through a purification period usually lasting around a year (Biarnay cited in Benét, 1957: 193). Therefore, keeping peace in the suq is linked directly to the economic life of the people of this area. Benét goes on to explain that the suq is a "mechanism of control" in this sense; while the market is on, the feuds and wars are not. This suggests that a kind of truce may be temporarily worked out between feuding groups in order to allow necessary everyday activities to take place. Thus, while Benét casts doubt on the assumption that state-mandated peace is a necessary condition for regularized market exchange he does nevertheless show that there is a necessary connection between market and peace, although in his model a market is capable of generating its own peace.

Benét presents us with a model which raises interesting possibilities for the analysis of suqs in Middle Eastern society. He describes a situation which occurs between members of groups who do not normally carry on co-operative relationships and who may be, in effect, enemies. They, however, do manage to co-operate with one another in order to carry out economic activities that are essential for survival. Benét states:

The fact [is] that in non-centralized societies, where no power structure links the segments, especially where blood feud and tribal clashes are prevalent, markets do exist, but in the absence of government they must rely for the peace of the market on the political device of intergroup truces. . . these truces are usually made to coincide with the seasonal periods so as to make the most of the chances offered for trading (1957:173).

Benét's "market peace" is perhaps akin to the structural phenomenon dubbed "the peace in the feud" by Gluckman and described in his famous paper of the same name. Using the example of the Nuer who inhabit the Sudan region, he states:

The Nuer dwell in the vast plain which lies around the main rivers in the Southern Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This plain floods in the monsoon rains until it is a great lake . . . But the waters drain away rapidly, and the plain then becomes a dry, scorched waste. The Nuer and their cattle in these most arid months have to congregate again at those low-lying spots where water is retained. . . Thus groups of Nuer move in rotation between wet-season and dry-season homes . . . It is therefore essential for these various groups to be on some sort of friendly terms with one another. . . These ecological necessities force people to co-operate; and this helps to explain how the Nuer can be organized in tribes of 60,000 people and more, without any kind of instituted authority (1966: 5).

In this instance, like Benét, Gluckman is also referring to a society which has no form of centralized government. However, there is no reason to believe that similar sorts of "peace in the feud" do not operate within and between centralized states. Indeed, international trade and the interdependency it fosters are often promoted on the grounds of

their contribution to abating international antagonisms. Gluckman himself had previously looked at the relationship between the Zulus and the Europeans in South Africa, which did have a centralized government, and he found much the same situation occurred. In his "Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand", Gluckman defines a social situation as:

. . . the behaviour on some occasion of members of a community as such, analysed and compared with their behaviour on other occasions, so that the analysis reveals the underlying system of relationships between the social structure of the community, the parts of the social structure, the physical environment, and the physiological life of the community members (1940: 10).

This definition, coupled with the idea of market peace presented above, provides a potentially valuable analytical tool with which to analyse markets in modern and developing societies. It was my hunch that in a contested society, the suq would provide an arena within which the buyers and sellers were from separate and opposing communities and that they would suspend the feud between them for economic purposes. In fact the suq may take on sanctuary-like attributes, as a safe refuge away from the feud.

The notion of sanctuary is prevalent in the Middle East and has been discussed by scholars such as Westermarck and Pitt-Rivers with specific reference to Arab societies. In his work entitled Mohammedan Civilisation (1933) Westermarck examines the concept of sanctuary with regard to Islamic shrines; he says:

There is an almost instinctive fear of shedding blood, but of disturbing the peace in a holy place; and if it is improper to commit an act of violence in the house of another man, it is naturally considered equally offensive, and infinitely more dangerous, to do so in the homestead of a supernatural being (1933: 83).

This is not to say that the suq is a holy place in the common sense of the word, although there may be saints who protect the market in Islamic society (Geertz, 1979: 123-307). However, suqs and shrines are similar in that they both possess strong sanctions against violence. This possibly creates a sanctuary-like quality in the suq whereby participants feel protected from the outside feud.

1.2 The suq

An exhaustive survey of the English language social science literature has turned up remarkably little in the way of published studies directly relating to suqs in Israel. However, there is a small body of research done on suqs in other areas of the Middle East and, of course, there is ample literature regarding economic systems in a cross-cultural context (Polanyi, Dalton, Mauss, Bohannan). It is for this reason that, in the next section, reference is made to the Middle East in general and not specifically Israel, which is the focus of this research.

1.2.1 Defining the suq

Willy Frolich (1982) in his Ph.D. dissertation on African markets attempted to conceptualize the marketplace. He defined it as "the existence of meetings between regularly returning groups bound by formal regulations to a predetermined place for the purpose of exchanging goods" (1982: 4). Frolich places considerable emphasis on the regulation of time and area explaining that it is these factors that differentiate market trade from other forms of trade and state monopoly. Without this regulation it would be impossible for market order to exist. Frolich's definition is sufficient for the purposes of this research, although here the emphasis is placed more on individual activity, as opposed to group activity, in the suq.

An important distinction must be made between the two concepts 'marketplace' and 'market'. Karl Polanyi, in his work Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies (1968) implies that this distinction is characterized by, among other factors, a difference in scale. The term "market" refers to the overall economic activities of the society and is a conceptualization of these activities or an analytical abstraction, while the term "marketplace" pertains to one of many concrete and tangible forums of economic activity which characterizes the larger Israeli market.

Marketplaces in the Middle East are diverse in both their cultural and religious components. For that reason a detailed typology of

marketplaces in the Middle East would be interesting; however, it is not a necessity for this thesis. For the purpose of this research marketplaces can be divided into two rough categories: permanent and non-permanent. A visual representation of the difference between the terms market and marketplace, and a simplified typology of the marketplace, as seen below, (Figure 2) further aids in clarifying these important distinctions.

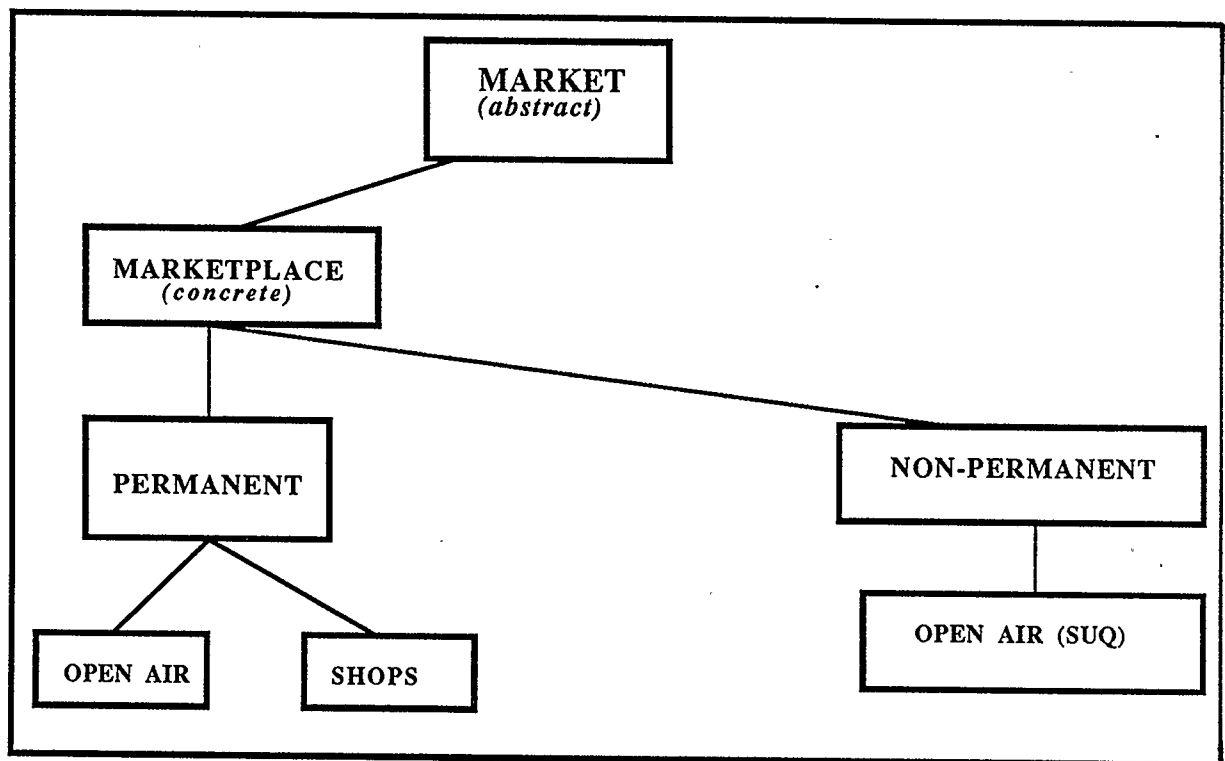


FIG. 1 **MARKETPLACE TYPOLOGY**

Permanent marketplaces tend to be found in the cities while the non-permanent marketplaces are prevalent among the rural people. The most obvious difference between these two types of marketplaces is the regulation of area and time and of course the presence or absence of permanent facilities such as buildings and walls. Permanent

marketplaces, as the term suggests, are open every day of the week at regular places and times, excepting religious holidays of the predominant cultural group which patronizes the marketplace.

Non-permanent marketplaces (suqs) are typically held at the same place, however, they are usually open only one or two days a week. One assumption that can be made is that everyone who is involved in the suq must be aware of the locality and time frame within which the activities will take place.

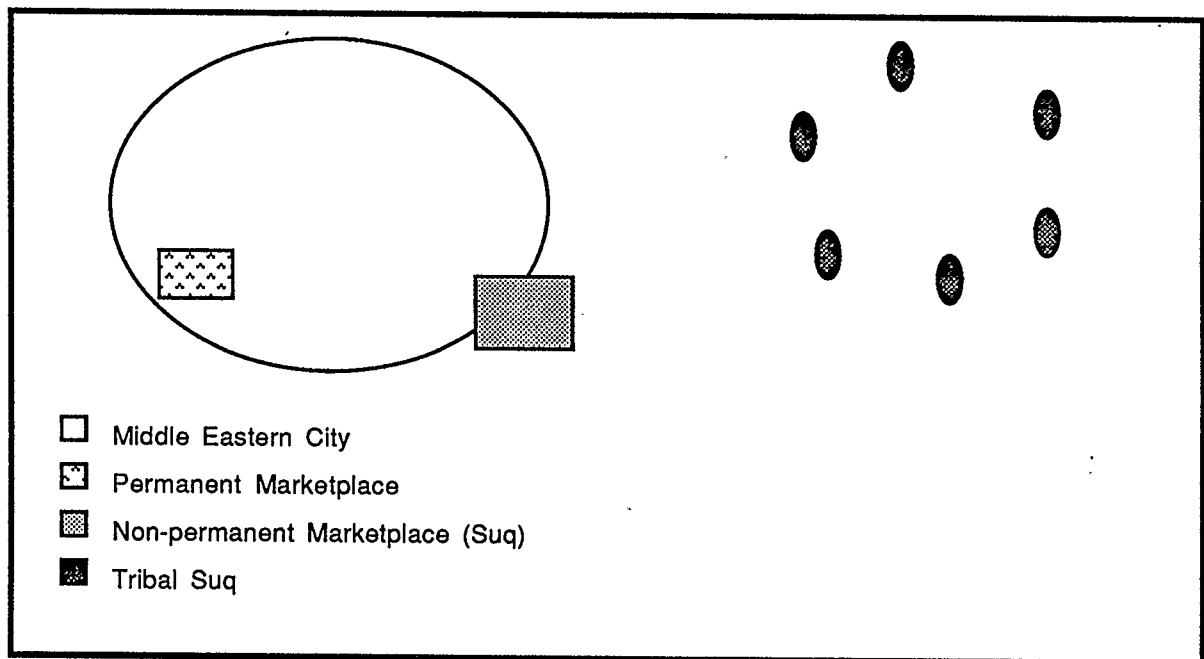


FIG. 2 MARKET TYPE AND LOCATION

Figure 2, above, shows the relationship of each type of marketplace to the rural and urban communities. The residents of Be'ersheba, for example, had a choice as to which marketplace they would frequent depending on the goods they wanted to acquire. Usually the

determining factors are cost, availability, and quality of goods. For example, if an individual wanted to buy vegetables for their meal on any given night, he or she would most likely choose to go to the permanent marketplace because it is open every day, the produce is fresh, and one can buy any quantity desired and pay less for it than at a shopping centre. The non-permanent marketplace, while the goods may be the same price and hold the same quality, is not accessible on a daily basis. The choice of marketplace type will thus depend to some extent upon the urgency of need and the product desired. It must be stressed that this choice is open to the residents of any Middle Eastern City.

The suq, as an institution, has survived for a considerable length of time in the Middle East, through many changes in the traditional subsistence patterns and economy. The suq, according to Bonine and Keddie (1981), traditionally "provided most of the material goods for the inhabitants of the city" and the peasants from outlying areas would travel into the urban marketplace to replenish their supplies every two months (Bonine & Keddie, 1981: 207). Although this point is intended specifically to apply to Iran, it is relatively safe to assume that the suq plays much the same role in the economy of other Middle Eastern countries. Gulick points out that the markets are "not 'living fossils' from the past . . . but they are continually adapting to new conditions" (1967: 100).

Gulick describes the marketplaces of the Lebanese city of Tripoli as a collection of small shops "concentrated by specialty on certain of the narrow, old streets" (1967: 100). The specialties consist of "cloth,

tailoring, woodwork, leatherwork and shoes, metal utensils and gold jewellery"(1967:100).

In his analysis of the suq as an institution Clifford Geertz discusses the essential economic and social parameters of Middle Eastern and North African commerce:

. . . the prevalence of small scale enterprises with an intense division of labour, the lack of standardization of products, weights and measures, the preference for partnership agreements over employer-employee ones, the importance of negotiating skills (which predominate over managerial or technical ones), weak or informal government controls, the lack of hierarchical coordination of enterprises, the exploration of economic possibilities in depth with a few selected trading partners rather than a diversity of them, and the personal contract as the main form of legal relationship (cited in Eickelman, 1981: 187).

Certain information is necessary for an individual to operate successfully once the participants are in the market context. Edward Hall stresses the importance of bargaining for the individual during market activity. He states "bargaining is not only a means of passing a day but actually a technique of interpersonal relations" (1959:129). In other words bargaining is one way in which information about society is conveyed to the participants in the market. The kind of information does not only involve the prices of goods and services but may also include information about the individual themselves, for example their community membership.

The pattern of bargaining is also of prime importance. Hall points out that there are various actions, motions and tones of voice that are used in the bargaining process (Hall, 1959: 129) . Bargaining is "ritualized" in the sense that the outcome is usually known before bargaining actually begins. The pivotal point, or point at which both parties agree to buy/sell, is known by both parties before bargaining starts. However, whether or not this pivotal point is reached by the two parties is still in question because the point of sale is determined not only by the "set of circumstances which are known by both parties", but also by the situation or context of the negotiations (1959: 151). Although bargaining has sometimes been called an inefficient way to buy and sell goods, it must be remembered that other reasons for going to the market include recreation. What can be inferred from this observation by Hall is that in order to participate in the suq and its activities, individuals must also share knowledge of the values in the market.

1.3 The study

Armed with Benét's model and having an interest in ethnic relations in modern Israel, I resolved to investigate whether the phenomenon of "market peace" which he analysed might not be found, not in a tribal society, but in a modern national state. I had been invited to do fieldwork in the Be'ersheba "Bedouin Market" by colleagues and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research at Ben Gurion University, (which carries out ongoing studies in the market) and so I designed a

field study intended to "capture" and document the market peace, if it existed, in the Bedouin Market.

In the tribal society that Benét is writing about, the ultimate mechanism by which peace is maintained in the suq is in effect the threat which violence in the marketplace poses to the economic prosperity of the tribesmen. The specific way in which the threat of violence is lifted is by simply disarming participants in the suq. My hope was to find, if there is indeed peace in the suq in Israel, what the equivalent to "checking guns at the door" might be in the suq in Be'ersheba.

One hypothesis that I had was that, in order to relieve the threat of violence, the participants in the suq might conspicuously downplay their ethnic, or community markers, and perhaps even have evolved a separate suq culture in which people would interact with each other differently than outside the suq. This hunch was based on the writings of Fredrik Barth's Ethnic Groups and Boundaries in which he states that "some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied" (1969: 14). I believed that the suq might crosscut communities and all participants would act according to certain rules which are specific to the suq. All participants in the market might well have a common understanding of the expectations in the market and a blueprint for market behavior. Although the existence of a specific "suq culture" might be difficult to document, I had some hope that, in the time available for my fieldwork,

I might be able to document specific behavioural differences between suq life and life outside the suq.

Israel constituted an interesting setting for this study for several reasons. Israel has a central government whose legitimacy is contested by some of the population, the Arab Palestinians. The people of Israel are thus divided along political lines, corresponding to cultural, ethnic and religious cleavages as well, and in this sense the society can be seen as segmented.

A research project of this nature must employ mainly qualitative methods in the collection of data. These methods would include sitting in the stall (#815) and observing the behaviour of the participants, both buyers and sellers. Being in the suq and attempting to uncover local knowledge were to constitute a substantial part of my work. However quantitative or descriptive methods were also envisioned to be employed in order to , for example, give a physical description of the suq and of the behaviour of the participants.

It is important to understand the suq and to relate it to its wider social context. Therefore it is imperative to look at the historical development of Israel and the modern day cleavages in society. This is the subject of Chapter Two.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO

Equality of access and obligation to the political organization and equality of opportunity for participation in the political process are essentials of national identity and citizenship.

(Aristotle: *Politics* T.H. Marshall, trans)

In this chapter, I shall review the cultural and political cleavages and oppositions of modern Israel, and of the Be'ersheba region in particular, which form the social setting of the Be'ersheba Bedouin market. These cleavages cannot be understood without placing them in historical context, as they are rooted in a past which reaches far before the establishment of the Jewish homeland in 1948. Therefore it is necessary to understand some of the immigration and settlement patterns of the various ethnic and religious groups of the area and their organization into communities.

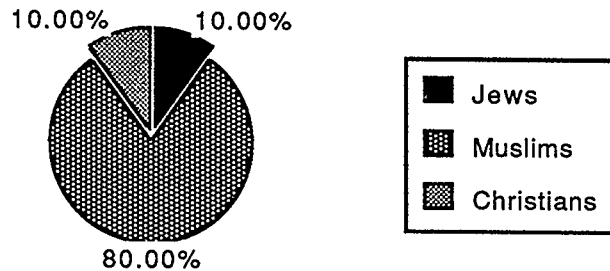
2.1 Historical Context

There are two main historical periods of development immediately preceding Israel's founding as a state. The first was the Ottoman period

which lasted approximately 400 years, from approximately 1514 to 1914, the start of World War I. During this period the land now known as Israel was geographically divided, the north portion being a part of the Beirut province or *vilayet*, while the southern and central regions of Israel formed the district or *sanjak* of Jerusalem. At this time the main language of business was Arabic even though the official language, Turkish, was compulsory in the schools of this area (Samuel, 1969: 6). Numerous minorities (Christians, Alawis, Druses, Circassians and Jews) also lived mainly in homogeneous village communities or quarters of towns, in the sanjak of Jerusalem.

The Ottoman empire was a comparatively sophisticated, well-designed, flexible and, for the most part, tolerant state whose institutions all reflected the primacy of international trade. The various ethnic and religious groups in the population were articulated to the Muslim state through the millet system which allowed a certain degree of autonomy and internal self-government for the community and the Ottoman Turks did not particularly seek to impose homogeneity over the conquered people. Instead they were, on the whole, tolerant of the minority religious groups as far as intra-group relations were concerned. The communities were responsible for their own civil law, while the Turkish government handled all criminal cases, intercommunal matters, and any actions that they perceived as threats to the security of the empire. People thus lived mainly in their small communities, often a quarter of a town or rural village, but had the organizational advantage of a prosperous and far-flung state to protect them and to keep the peace. On the whole, the rulers allowed the

communities to work together through the government and yet remain culturally separate. It was a kind of state-sanctioned multiculturalism of its time.



**Fig. 3 POPULATION OF PALESTINE-ISRAEL
AT THE END OF THE OTTOMAN REGIME**

Figure 3 (above) represents the population breakdown of the area roughly corresponding to modern Israel at the end of the Ottoman empire, when the total population of the area was 650,000. The majority of the population, Arab Muslims, were engaged in a rural lifestyle of farming while the minorities of Jews and Christians were concentrated in the towns and the city of Jerusalem. To some extent, these millets were occupationally specialized, and interacted in the wider society through the exchange of goods in the marketplace. The sug thus represented the integration of society through the principle of exchange of complementary goods and services. By the end of the 19th Century there was a rapid deterioration of community interrelations partly as a

result of military challenges to the, by then, decrepit Ottoman state organization.

By the early 1900s, there was a discernible shift in the ideological and political framework of the Ottoman Empire, due possibly to increased political threat and economic competition from the European Christian colonial powers and their increasing interference in the Levant, particularly in defense of the Christian populations of Palestine and Mount Lebanon.

Following the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, Palestine existed as a British League of Nations Mandate. During the 1920s and 1930s there was a realignment of the communities in the area as a result of the Muslim majority's sense of subjugation in the new colonial context. As well there was much conflict which can be directly linked to the Mandate's inclusion and enforcement of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The declaration encouraged the massive immigration of Jews to Palestine.

Articles 2, 6, and 11 of the Mandate required the British to facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement on the land. In this way, they specifically encouraged a social transformation not anticipated in any of the other mandates [e.g. of Lebanon and Syria] (Miller, 1979: 124).

This social transformation in particular concerned the various semi-autonomous millets which had lived together in relative harmony during the Ottoman period. Following the establishment of the British Mandate

these small communities increasingly tended to aggregate along primarily religious lines, which paradoxically split older alliances which had existed along cultural lines. The peoples of Palestine began to align themselves into two opposing groups. For example the Jews, Christians and Muslims, even though they were all linguistically Arabic speaking and shared a common Levantine culture, at least at the public level, came to be split into the Arab Jews (Sephardis) and the Arab Muslims and Christians. With the beginning of Jewish immigration and the beginning of Zionist organizations in Palestine, two major groups emerged and came to be pitted against one another for control of the land which would, after World War II, be known as Israel. This initial split appears to be at the crux of the evident cleavages in Israeli society today.

2.2 Communities

The idea of community is strong in Middle Eastern society and in fact affiliation with a religious community is often more important than national identity. The two communities in this thesis are the Jewish and Arab communities, with emphasis placed on the Bedouin Arabs. A brief sketch of the development of these two communities is pertinent to the analysis of Israel as a fragmented society.

The solidarity of the Jewish community derived from persecution, not in the Middle East particularly, but in Europe. Anti-semitic sentiments were particularly strong in the early 20th century, and persecution of the Jews as a people was prevalent throughout the

European world. The Jews however, had managed to form cohesive groups in various parts of the world, maintained their cultural and religious ways in the face of adversity, and were ready for the long awaited journey to the homeland. Owing to the massive waves of Jewish immigration from Poland and Russia in the interwar period the Jewish population climbed from 24,000 (approximately 10% of the population) at the end of the Ottoman period to 649,600 (approximately 50%) in 1948 at which time the area was declared a Jewish homeland. The majority of these immigrant Jews (54.8%) were Ashkenazi or European in origin (Weingrod, 1965:14). It was this influx of European Jews which, more than anything, completed the process of communal realignment alluded to above.

The solidarity of the Arab community was also formed out of adverse conditions. These conditions, however, were mainly internal to Palestine. With the threat posed by the quick influx of Jews to the area and the colonial status implied by the British Mandate, the Arab Christians and Muslims joined together forming the Arab community. Although this community was both religiously and culturally diverse, politically its members were united against the perceived threat of loss of power, particularly in comparison to the neighbouring new Arab states which had emerged out of the Ottoman Empire following World War I (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Trans-Jordan Kingdom).

The influx of Jews to Palestine from 1922 until 1975, as shown below (Figure 4), represented a net increase in comparison to the

depletion of the Arab population in 1948, when the land of Israel was declared a state. The population of Arabs dropped from an estimated 1,256,00 in 1945 to 156,000 in 1948 mainly due to the fact that thousands of Arabs fled into Jordan, Gaza Strip Lebanon and Syria (Samuel, 1969: 13). The Jewish population has steadily increased since that time, particularly with the more recent immigrations from both the USSR and Ethiopia. The Arab population has a larger rate of natural increase than the Jewish population, and if it were not for immigration, they would eventually out-number the Jews but they cannot match the immigrants that have landed in Israel every year for the past two decades.

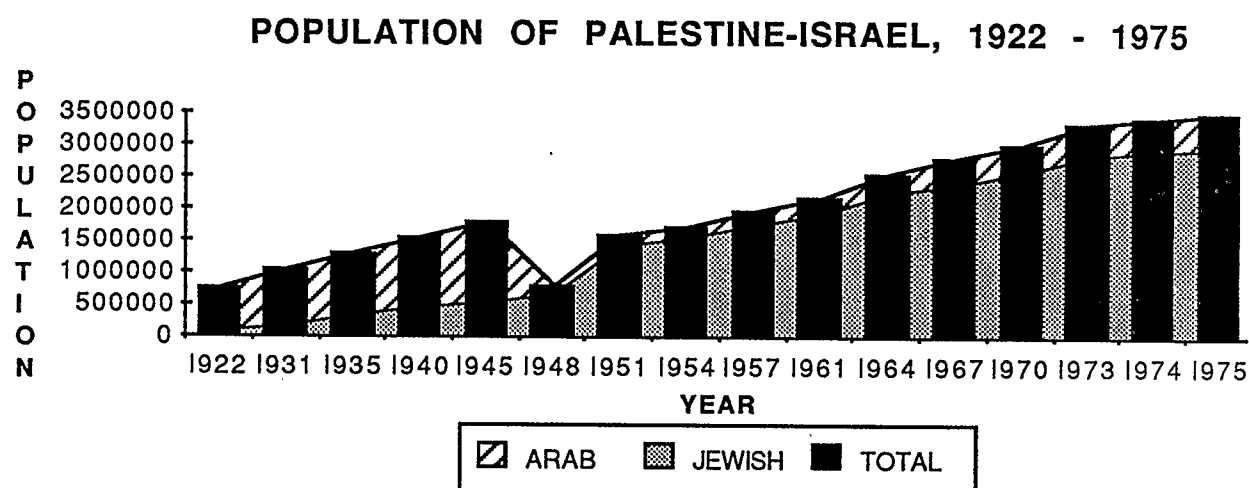


Fig. 4

2.3 Modern Israel

There are numerous accounts of the development of Israeli society (Marx, Weingrod, Isaac, Eisenstadt) all of which take slightly different,

albeit complementary, perspectives. The history of the land that is now called Israel is long and tumultuous. However, the pertinent points concerning the initial declaration and the subsequent immigration to Israel, which I have taken and summarized, are more or less agreed upon by the social historians.

2.3.1 The Modern Jewish and Arab Populations

Following a long struggle for the establishment of a Jewish homeland, in 1948 Israel was declared a state. After the UN declaration of 1948, Israel became the subject of bitter controversy and conflict, a country contested by its own inhabitants and the refugees who fled during the violence which accompanied its establishment.

The intense social and political polarization of the social participants makes Israel a useful case study for many aspects of social and ethnic relations in a segmented or fragmented society. Israel is not 'officially' recognized as a segmented society or indeed even a multicultural country. However, owing to the different communities that co-exist in Israel it takes on attributes of a segmented or even fragmented society. In order to fully understand the cultural diversity of modern Israel, the immigration and settlement patterns must first be placed in historical context. In his work Israel: Group Relations in a New Society, (1965) Alex Weingrod looks at the cultural foundations of Israel through examination of its history, culture and settlement patterns.

The formative period of modern Israel, as Weingrod (1965) dubs it, lasted up to the late 19th Century and saw sporadic Jewish migration (both European and Middle Eastern Jews). However, the real onset of migration can be traced to the birth of modern Zionism in the late 19th Century.

Zionism, a secular, nationalistic movement which grew up in the Austrian, Hungarian and Russian empires in the 19th century, is what is at the core of Israel's social, cultural and political formation and development. The basic tenants of Zionism included the creation of a fully autonomous Jewish Nation, a viable economy including a return to the more simplistic peasant lifestyle (moshavim and kibbutzim) and finally, cultural renaissance in the form of a modern nation, including the rebirth of the Hebrew language. Hebrew, which had been the language of religion until this point, eventually became the everyday language of the Israelis.

Regaining a lost identity takes a particular form in Israel, where the Zionists raised the Hebrew language from the dead and returning Jews often marked the shedding of their Diaspora past by adopting new Hebrew names to fit their new Israeli identities (Isaacs, 1976: 52).

For the Jews, entering Israel at this time meant more than just a new identities as members of the Jewish community of Israel; it was an escape from the endemic persecution which had been prevalent in the Europe. Abba Eban, who wrote an impassioned account of the exodus from Europe into Israel by these Ashkenazi Jews states that "[a]t a time

when immigration to England and America was still free, these men and women had turned to Zion [with an] . . . ambition to create a radical transformation in the basis of Jewish existence (1984: 363).

As previously mentioned, after 1948, the Arabs had experienced a grave decline in their population in Israel. Many of them had fled to Jordan or Egypt. The Arab population remaining in Israel or under Israeli military authority, can be divided into three prominent groups; Israeli Arabs, Palestinians, and the Bedouin. Israeli Arabs are those Palestinians who remained in the UN-mandated territory which became Israel and who accepted the conditions of Israeli citizenship including the vote. The term "Palestinian" refers to the inhabitants of former Arab territories conquered by Israel in the wars of 1960s and 1970s, in particular Gaza and the West Bank (it may also refer to extraterritorial Palestinians, i.e. the refugees)

The Bedouin are traditionally a nomadic people, dwelling not only in the Negev and Galilee regions of Israel but also in the desert regions of the surrounding countries of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia. The Negev Bedouin numbered approximately 55,000 at the end of the Ottoman empire, while the Galilee Bedouin, according to Maddrell, were a considerably smaller group (1990: 4). Over the last 40 years there have been policies and programs aimed at sedentarizing the Bedouin in Israel and as a consequence they have not enjoyed the mobility of previous times. There are many Bedouin moving into the city of Be'ersheba as well as permanent settlements of Bedouin both to

the north and south of the city. Bedouin tend to identify themselves as such for generations after sedentarization.

2.4 Pluralism in Israel

The fact that Israel is a culturally diverse country is neither unusual nor surprising. The important point is that there is also differential legal status of the several different groups described above. Eisenstadt, who studied social change in Israel in the early 1960s states that:

The trends and developments . . . indicate that a double process of change has developed in the social organization of Israel. One such process of change was the multiplication and diversification in the structure of different groups and the widening of emphasis on different status criteria. The second change was the development of new principles and mechanisms regulating inter-relations between these groups and their problems. These changes constitute the major framework of development in the country, forming new patterns of social organization and structure (1967: 227).

The most significant cleavage is that between the Israeli Arabs and Jews. Sandra Anderson Garcia, in her poignant study of the status of Arab Israelis in the pluralistic society entitled "Arab Israelis: Partners in Pluralism or Ticking Time Bomb?" (1980), focuses on the following five pertinent points:

- (1) Israeli Arabs are a non-assimilating minority in Israel.

- (2) Israel is a Jewish state which is democratic and pluralistic but which does not accord the rights and obligations of full citizenship to Israeli Arabs.
- (3) The birth rate among Israeli Arabs is much greater than that of Israeli Jews, this natural increase is not being offset by Jewish immigration and there may someday be an Arab majority in the Jewish state.

[Note: In 1980 the extent of Jewish immigration was unknown to Garcia. The natural increase is not as significant as she may have anticipated due to the massive immigration movement of Soviet Jews.]

- (4) Israeli Arabs have made substantial gains in economics, education, and political sophistication. [and,]

[Note: Compared to the populations of surrounding countries this statement is accurate; the gains, however, have been relatively slow when compared to the position of the Jewish immigrants to Israel]

- (5) There is growing outward expression of disaffection among Israeli Arabs with regard to governmental policies throughout the country.

(Garcia, 1980: 16)

These five points sum up the dilemma that face Israeli Arabs. The first two points made by Garcia are of major concern when discussing the participation of Arabs in Israeli society and can be elaborated on; namely that (1) Arabs are denied the rights of of full citizenship in

Israel and that (2) they are therefore a non-assimilating minority in the society, who retain the ideal of a Palestinian state much as the Jews retained an ideal of a Jewish homeland during their diaspora. So the Arabs and Jews, thus defined, are not only distinct communities, they are diametrically opposed to each other in their ideological understanding of the political representation of the land called Israel. The two communities are thus different and even opposed, not so much at a religious or cultural level, but rather at a political level.

Israel may thus legitimately be considered a "plural society" in the sense of M.G. Smith, for whom the defining criterion is "a condition in which members of a common society are internally distinguished by fundamental differences in their institutional practice" (1969: 27). The condition of pluralism can be problematic when one is dealing simultaneously with social integration and differential laws and regulatory devices in a society. Smith explains this phenomenon as follows:

In a plural society the state is the representative political organ of the ruling section organized as a corporate group, its exclusive and ultimate instrument for the internal domination and corporate control of the institutionally distinct subject population (ibid. : 33).

If we understand this to mean that there is differential incorporation of Israeli Arabs and Jews both on a social and political level of interaction then it would follow that certain subgroups while remaining

interwoven in the fabric of society, are politically and ideologically alienated from it.

Another point stressed by Weingrod is that the immigrants to Israel tend to form inclusive groups, meaning that they become introspective and inward looking to the point that sometimes cities, towns and even villages are divided into sections which are relegated to a particular community. However, because it would be virtually impossible for communities to be totally inclusive there are arenas which serve as important points of articulation and interaction. One of these arenas is the suq.

2.5 Intercommunal Relations

In all societies, even those which are segmented, fragmented or contested, there is some degree of intercommunal relations. Interdependence may take many forms in a complex society such as Israel, however, it is most evident in the points and arenas of articulation. By looking at the mechanisms of articulation one can begin to see the dynamics of the relationships between these social participants.

This interdependence usually surfaces in its most evident form at the economic level, particularly the microeconomic level. This is certainly exemplified by the suqs in Israel including the "Bedouin Camel Market" in Be'ersheba. The "Bedouin Camel Market" can be looked at as such an articulatory institution within a pluralistic society insofar as it is a

"standardized mode of co-activity" which "transforms an aggregate into a distinct collectivity in the absence of any inclusive common organization"(Smith, M.G., 1969: 30) .

Intercommunal relations between groups who are opposed to one another in a political or social sense is not unusual. It is important to note, however, that groups may still maintain their differences despite relating to each other in, for example, an economic arena such as the suq.

When culturally different communities reside in close proximity to one another it is likely that they will carry on some form of economic interchange. When the discourse of exchange is established then the cultural differences can grow more disparate, but the groups can still co-exist. Fredrick Barth points out that :

. . . ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (1969: 10)

In other words, cultural differences are mediated through the suq.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE

Now that so much of the world is filled with corporation directors and advertising men, the bazaar is the nearest thing to be found in reality to the purely competitive market of neoclassical economics, the one place in the world where isolated, interest-rivalrous, profit-maximizing sellers still actually confront isolated, nonpropagandized, utility-maximizing consumers on equal ground, deterministic actors in the cosmic drama of supply and demand.

(Clifford Geertz, Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society)

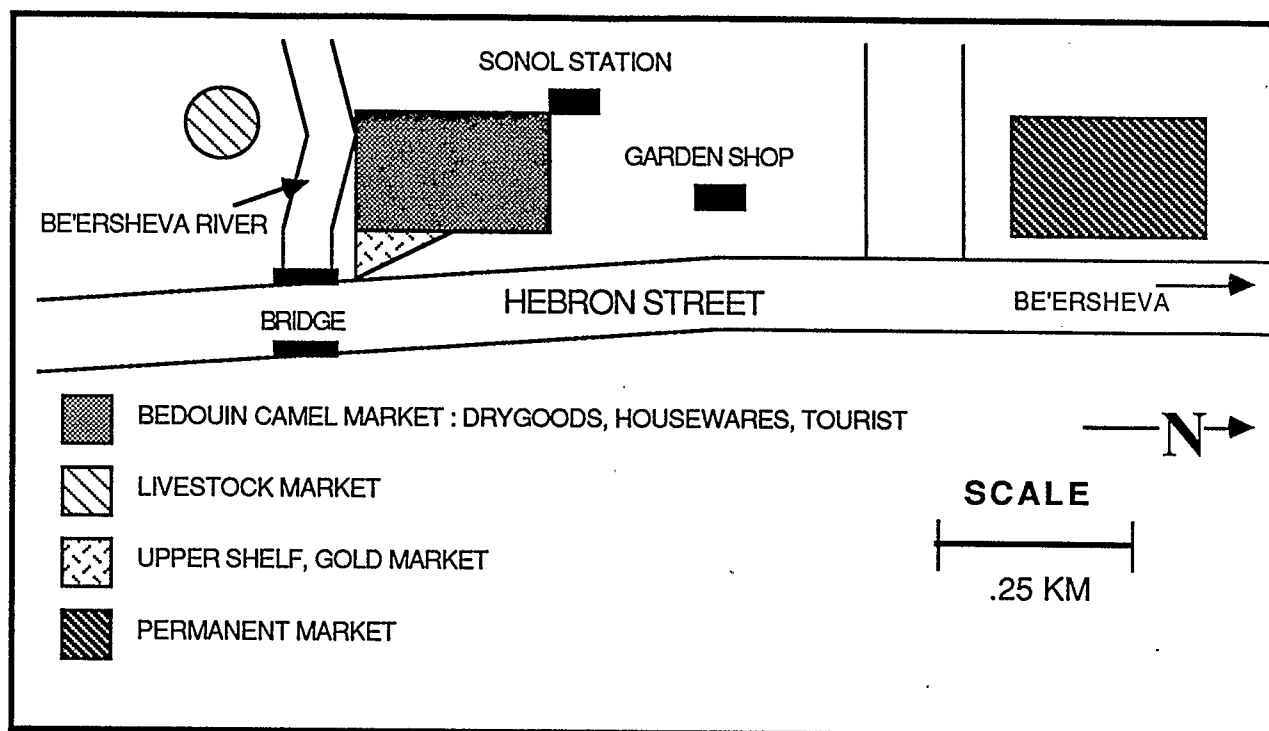
In this chapter the salient physical, structural and temporal characteristics of the Be'ersheba Bedouin Camel Market will be described. These data were collected in May and June of 1990 in the marketplace itself. This marketplace is also known as the Thursday market or the suq. This chapter is divided into two parts. The purpose of part one is first to place the suq in its geographical context and second to give a description of the physical attributes of the suq. Part two consists of a description of the various participants in the suq and the way in which they relate to its overall composition.

3.1 MARKET DESCRIPTION

3.1.1 Geographical Location

The geographical location of the suq is important to the market peace hypothesis. The first assumption that was made regarding the location of the suq is that it would be on a physical boundary between two (at least) communities or social universes, thus structurally bridging them. The suq is located on Hebron Street, which is the main highway running north and south through Be'ersheba. Be'ersheba, is considered the "capital of the Negev", and is the centre for business in the southern part of Israel.

Surrounded by the city on one side, the rural centres, including Bedouin settlements, on the other, the suq is at the southernmost outskirts of town. The market is thus equally accessible to both the Jewish and the Arab populations of the surrounding areas. This locality is imperative to the hypothesis that the market's location be on or near a cultural boundary (see Map 1).



MARKET LOCATION
MAP #1

When the market is not active, the space is a dirt lot with a gas station (SONOL) marking the northern boundary and the bridge marking the southern boundary. The bridge overpasses the Be'ersheba River which, except for the rainy season, does not contain water. Up the hill from the suq area is a garden supply store and further up the road stands the permanent covered market or bazaar.

3.1.2 Physical Description

The Bedouin camel market takes place every Thursday between the approximate hours of 0600-1700. When the Thursday market is not in Be'ersheba many of the merchants in it operate in the Ashdod market on

Monday, Lydd on Tuesday , Ramla on Wednesday, and Raffa on Sunday moving from one temporary market location to another by truck or car. Of course no market takes place on the Sabbath (Saturday). The larger marketing system of which the Thursday Be'ersheba market was a part could not be investigated within the scope of the present research. My work has taken a piece out of one particular suq and frozen it for the purposes of research.

The market stands are made of metal pipes with a tarp thrown over the top of them and rope to attach them to the metal pipes. Clothing is hung from the pipes on hangers. Jewellery is displayed on something that looks like a flattened lawnchair. The stands are easily collapsible (see photographs #1, #2 and #3). The participants pick up and move on at the end of the day.

From all outward appearances, the suq is temporary and the materials (poles, canvas tarpaulins, cots, folding tables tents etc.) which are used to assemble the market signal its transient status; however, the suq does not have a makeshift or provisional character when it is in operation. After the market has dispersed and only the empty space remains, one can clearly observe the pattern of the suq, written on the pavement and gravel which underlies the suq activities. Marked on the pavement, in ink, is the layout of the stalls, exactly where they should be located in relation to one another. When the participants leave, there is no longer a market; rather there is a large open space which is used as a parking lot. The untutored eye may see only the chaotic nature of the market; however, there is structure in the chaos.

The suq is divided into several sections: 1) livestock 2) the "upper shelf", which, as the name suggests, is a narrow strip of land which is physically higher than the rest of the suq, 3) tourist section 4) dry goods 5) housewares 6) gold. These last five sections are all in and around the place which is designated the "Bedouin Camel Market", while the livestock market is located away from the other five sections (Map 1). Another section which is not specific to any one location is 7) peripheral activities. These seven sections are discussed below in more detail.

The livestock (1) section of the suq, which some vendors indicated to me was where the "real" suq activity was located, opens earliest, at 0600. The livestock area is run only by men, and very seldom do women step foot in it. It is a gathering of stock raisers and traders who bring their livestock, primarily donkeys, goats and sheep for sale or trade. Occasionally participants will bring other articles here to sell, for example I observed one participant who brought a truck full of watermelon to sell in the livestock section. The livestock market tends to start early and end earlier than the rest of the market activity, so that sellers of livestock who live in the rural areas may do their marketing and get an early start to return to their homes.

The gold market (6), likewise, occurs in the early hours. It is run by Ethiopian Jewish women. The gold market area is at the north end of the "upper shelf" and is held from approximately 0800 to 1000. The reason is apparently that this is a very specialized market activity

oriented to local female investment by Sephardic Jews. It in fact functions as a sort of women's cooperative investment bank. The gold jewellery and other items seem to be beyond the price range of the tourists.

The drygoods market (4) which includes the sale of clothing , material, shoes, cassette tapes, sunglasses, jewellery etcetera is located in the central region of the suq, and is run mainly by the Jewish vendors in the suq. Most of the goods in this part of the suq are manufactured as opposed to being handmade. The Bedouin run the large stall of linens and materials and they also sell clothing in the tourist part of the suq which appears to be mainly handmade items.

In the housewares market (5) the goods range from dry foods such as spices and vegetables to the sale of hardware items such as irons, screwdrivers, car parts etcetera. Stalls here are run by both Jews and Bedouin and according to my observations are usually frequented by the locals of the area.

The so-called "upper shelf" (2) is run exclusively by Bedouin women and it handles various small items. The women all sit on blankets on the ground surrounded by their goods which include jewelry, clothing, cloth, chickens, rabbits and other small animals, perfume, nail polish, and other basic "drugstore" goods. It is asserted, especially by a few of the owners of permanent shops, that the latter goods are stolen.

It appears, however, from patient observation, that the main activity in the "upper shelf" is not selling; but rather socializing. It is a possibility that women who are separated from their families because of the new integration movement, which moves the Bedouins out of their settlements into the cities, will come to the suq to sell a little and visit a lot.

Included in what is termed peripheral activities in the suq (7) are the vendors who sell cold drinks, bagels and falafel, among other things; the unlicensed vendors who sell from briefcases; and, those who sit outside the physical boundaries of the suq and sell their goods, or ask for money.

There are several activities which the buyer engages in while he or she is in the suq. One of these activities, which is most readily observable in the suq, is that of economic activity, particularly bargaining. The following is a transcript of one transaction which I observed in the suq between the owner of stall #815 (which sold clothing and jewellery) and a tourist man and woman.

A man and woman walk into a stand - they are admiring a shirt

-

Buyer:(the woman) "oh it is very nice, how much?"

Seller: "120"

Buyer: "No, too much"

Seller: "You name the price"

Buyer: "40"

Seller: "55"

Buyer: "No, too much" - they begin to walk away from the stand, the seller follows them with the shirt in his hand.

Seller: "You put the price to it"

Buyer: "45" (holds up 4 fingers)

Seller: "50"

The seller sells the shirt for 50 shekels.

Bargaining takes place in all parts of the suq but is most prevalent in the tourist section. In the Jewish section of the suq, however, extensive bargaining is rare.

It is interesting to note that bargaining is done more noticeably in the tourist part of the suq. This would seem to suggest either that bargaining is done more efficiently with the locals, owing to their common understanding of price and pivotal point, or that bargaining is, to some extent, a show for the tourists.

However, bargaining is not the only activity which the participants engage in while in the suq. Some are merely there to browse the stalls and look at the goods, while others comparison shop for specific items. Participants have various reasons for choosing to go to the suq. For some, the very sight and smell of the suq draws them back to it every week. The most frequent reason that I was given by the locals is that the suq is "cheaper" than the alternative shopping places.

3.2 Who's who in the suq

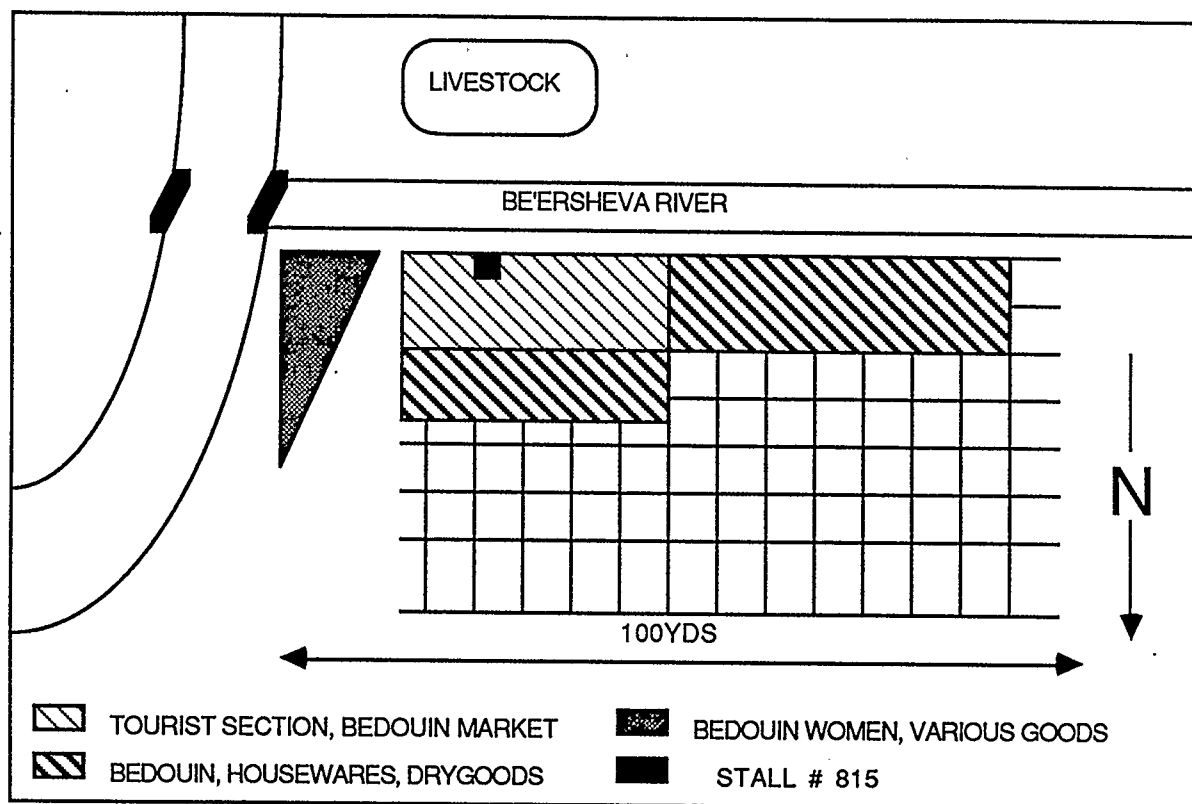
3.2.1 Sellers

Holders of stall permits in the suq can roughly be divided into four groups for the purposes of analysis: Israeli Arabs, Israeli Jews, Bedouin and Gaza/West Bank Palestinians. The Israeli Jews are of diverse origins and can be further divided into Soviet, Ethiopian, Moroccan, Yemeni and Sabras (native born Israelis). Despite the name, the Bedouin Camel Market, the sellers in the suq are predominantly Jewish. Jewish merchants control over half the suq space while the Bedouin constitute a minority of the sellers and occupy a relatively smaller fraction of the total space.

In addition to the stall merchants there are West Bank and Gaza Palestinians who do their selling from briefcases. This is technically illegal and considered to be slightly deviant, however, it is obviously tolerated to a considerable extent. As one source revealed to me, the people from the West Bank and Gaza are not legally permitted to do business outside the occupied territories. In the Be'ersheba market these vendors seem to be allowed to operate by the civil authorities, although it was my impression that their presence was limited by the tolerance of the licensed Arab merchants.

3.2.2 Buyers

The buyers basically can be broken down into four groups: Bedouins, Israeli Arabs, Israeli Jews (including army personnel), and tourists. Time spent in the suq differs for all of the above categories. Bedouins can be seen in the suq from the time it sets up in the morning until it closes in the early afternoon, while the local Jewish and Arab Israelis may either be in the suq all day or they may just make sporadic short visits depending on their relationship to the suq and what they plan to accomplish there. The tourists are the only visitors to the suq who have strict and visible time constraints. The tour buses arrive between approximately 0900 and 1000 and they have left the suq by 1200 to 1300. The tourists do not appear to purchase large amounts of goods in the suq, however, they usually spend time looking around and are clearly caught up in the experience of bargaining and observing the suq in action.



**MARKETPLACE LAYOUT
MAP #2**

3.3 The suq and society

In order to establish whether the applicability of the concept of "market peace" in modern society, the suq must be viewed within the context of the larger society to see if the behaviour of the participants towards each other in the suq is different than their behaviour towards each other outside the confines of the suq. Time constraints prevented me from carrying out a rigorously systematic comparison of suq and non-suq behaviour patterns, but I did endeavour to observe what I could in the time I had available.

The best vantage point from which to observe some of the same suq participants outside the suq was at the Central Bus Station in Be'ersheba and on the street leading to the bus station. Here I found that members of the different communities who appeared to relate to each other in the suq did not relate outside the suq. For example, while army personnel would speak in an easy-going manner to a Bedouin man in the suq during a transaction, I never observed this type of interaction in the bus station, or on the street. I believe a more systematic study along these lines would reveal distinct differences deriving from the suq's neutrality and the "license" which members of different communities apparently feel to deal with one another on the basis of an easy-going familiarity, even though outside the suq they treat one another with discernible formality and avoidance behaviour.

Another important component to the 'market peace' hypothesis involves the strong sanctions against violence in the suq. I spoke to several suq participants to inquire whether they could remember any violent outbursts in the Thursday suq. All of the informants stated that they could not remember anything violent happening within the suq. It is unlikely, however, that this can be interpreted as self-imposed sanctions against violence in the suq as there is a watchtower in the suq with an armed soldier in it at all times. (See photograph #4). None of the participants that I spoke to could remember how long the tower had been there; just that the tower had 'always been there'.

However, the suq's sensitivity to outside political disturbances was evident during my stay. There was a national incident which affected

the 'market peace'. This incident, which occurred near Tel Aviv, involved the shooting of six Israeli Arab workers by a lone Israeli Jewish gunman, and occurred on a Tuesday. On Wednesday when I visited the permanent market I noticed that there were a few shops closed that had previously been open. On Thursday at the suq there was a considerable decline in the number of stalls there. While it was very difficult to measure the extent to which the market was affected by political turmoil there is no doubt that it is. There is no reliable way of knowing if the suq has ever been affected by actual internal acts of violence.

The important point is that the entire suq is not affected by this political disturbance. Therefore I cannot say that the suq as a whole has sanctions against political disturbances. The people missing from the suq were Israeli Arabs whose political representatives had called for a national strike after the incident.

The suq is where members of different communities interact. The suq interaction indicates an interdependent relationship of these communities; however, it also reflects the cleavages between communities in society. For example, the sellers in the suq are designated separate areas to set up their stalls. The stalls themselves look different depending on which community is running them. The stalls are all made up of poles and tarps but the Bedouin have very few trimmings on their stalls while the Jews have colourful umbrellas, loud music playing and megaphones. The Arab Israelis from the West Bank

and Gaza don't have stalls at all, reflecting their "non-existent" status in Israeli society.

From the above, it seems that there is a glimmer of the model of market peace that Benét has observed in the Berber groups of the Atlas Highlands operating in the suq in Be'ersheba but, I must admit, my documentation of "market peace", as a substantive phenomenon remains inconclusive. As some of my observations have indicated, there is a degree of easy-going interaction, cooperation and a sense of common interest among the participants of the suq which suggests that members of opposing communities may interact with each other in an economic arena though they may not in the political arena.

Even though my observations suggest that there is an element of market peace, there are barriers which prevent me from making a conclusive statement regarding the existence of Benét's version of market peace in a modern suq. These barriers include a) inadequate documentation of the activities inside and outside the suq; and, b) the existence of the watchtower in the suq. Documentation of the levels of interaction both in and outside of the suq became problematic due to the time constraints of the period of observation in the suq.

Even if it had been possible to document the movements and interactions of people in and outside of the suq and to find that, beyond a shadow of a doubt, market peace existed in a substantive form, the mechanism of control would still have been questionable. It is unlikely that market peace could be interpreted as self-imposed sanctions against

violence in the suq as there is a watchtower in the suq with an armed Israeli soldier in it at all times.

This thesis is inconclusive with regard to market peace in the sense that Benét described, however, there was an unanticipated version of market peace which might be as significant as the sort of market peace that Benét had in mind. This was a vision of peace that was presented to the tourists, who, I gradually came to realize, were not incidental visitors to the suq, but, in a very real sense, its raison d'être.

4.0 CHAPTER 4

When ethnic exoticism is sought, then a distinct form of tourism can be identified - "ethnic tourism". In ethnic tourism, the native is not simply "there" to serve the needs of the tourist; he is himself "on show," a living spectacle to be scrutinized, photographed, tape recorded, and interacted with in some particular ways.

(van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984: 345)

In Chapter Three I treated the suq in almost exclusively economic terms. Now I will step back to widen the focus on the suq, redefining it as a tourist destination, and showing that many of the observations which I made at the suq make sense only in the tourist context. The first part of this chapter deals with tourists in the suq, in greater detail than I treated them in the previous chapter and the second looks at the suq as a tourist attraction.

4.1 Tourists in the suq

During my research an interesting pattern began to emerge, in the Bedouin section of the suq, which I began to investigate further. Tourists would arrive at approximately 10-11 am and stay in the suq anywhere from 50-60 minutes. Buses carrying the tourists parked at the Bedouin end of the suq and this is where most of the tourists did their shopping. During the time that the tourists were in the suq, it was a flurry of activity. After about 1:30 pm, however, the sellers would

tend to lay back in their shops and relax, smoke, drink and eat lunch, and business slowed down considerably. The women were either weaving, peeling vegetables, shopping, tending to the children and much time was spent talking to one another.

When they step off the bus, the first area that the tourist comes in contact with is the upper shelf, which is run by Bedouin women, clad in traditional black garments. By the time the tourists usually arrived, however, the gold market, situated on the upper shelf and run by the Ethiopian Jewish women, has closed. The tourist does not experience the gold market, nor does any of the touristic literature mention the gold market to the tourist. The next location the tourist finds in front of them is the 'traditional' suq where the Bedouin men, in their traditional dress, bargain and barter for goods. Here they find the rows of stalls containing products that the tourist is interested in, such as clothing, jewellery, pottery, and camel bags all of which are deemed, by the touristic literature, to be traditional Bedouin crafts. This part of the suq is set up for the tourists and is even called the "tourist market" by the locals. The Bedouin shopkeepers draw the tourist in to bargaining situations by calling out to them and approaching them in the aisles between the stalls. The layout of the stalls (ultimately controlled by the Israeli authorities) presents the tourist with a maximum variety of available tourist goods. Vendors in the Bedouin market do not sell exactly the same items as their neighbour (in contrast to the Jewish side of the market). Goods are arranged by types in rows; thus one might sell jewellery and clothing while another may sell pottery or rugs,

candle holders, or camel bags. But no two vendors are selling exactly the same product.

The conclusion is inescapable that the Arab part of the suq is, in effect, primarily a tourist attraction rather than a viable traditional economic institution in its own right. The goods for sale in it are almost exclusively tourist goods and observations of actual transactions showed that the patronage is overwhelmingly on the part of the tourists rather than the locals. The local suq is the Jewish side of the suq where goods can indeed be purchased more inexpensively than at supermarkets. European and North American tourists find little to interest them in the Jewish side of the suq and so patronage of the tourists and locals is markedly divided between the two sections, which together, constitute the Be'ersheba Bedouin suq.

4.2 Tourism in Israel

Studying the tours available in Israel from Egged tours, (see Appendix 3) the largest tour company in Israel, I found that all of the southbound tourist buses from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv stop at this market on Thursday. The "Bedouin Camel Market," as it turns out, is a very popular stop on the tours of Southern Israel. In fact it is written up as a tourist market in all of the guides available concerning holiday making in Israel. At this time I then began to make other observations regarding the suq as a tourist attraction and found that there were other tell tale signs that the Bedouin may be there mainly as a tourist attraction.

According to one source in the suq, the numbers of Bedouin as well as the size of the Bedouin space at the "Bedouin Camel Market" are beginning to dwindle. At the same time, however, the "Bedouin Camel Market" is one of the largest tourist pulls to the Southern part of Israel and specifically to Be'ersheba. The Bedouin themselves are the vehicle by which this suq is marketed to the tourist population.

4.3 Touristic Literature

After realizing that tourists play a very substantial role in the suq I consulted the literature available to the perspective tourist before going to their destination and found that the Bedouin Camel Market is a major attraction on the tourist circuit of Israel. The descriptions found in the touristic literature varied but all played up the exotic character of the outdoor market. Some of the authors described the suq in terms of the *ancient and nomadic Bedouin* while others gave the tourist "inside" information. The following description, which was found in Fodor's Israel (Moore,1990), accentuates the idea that the tourist will be party to a ritual which is the meeting of the ancient and the modern people of Israel as well as see the immigrants, Bedouins and farmers do business together. This version also gives an insider view by stating that the market now exists for the tourists as well as the locals.

For a taste of the ancient and the modern, visit Beersheba on its regular Thursday morning Beduin market - it's worth making a special effort to see. The market now exists as much for the benefit of the tourists

as for the locals, and everyone is very much aware that they are putting on a show. Nonetheless, it remains a vital part of life in the region, with Beduins and farmers congregating to conduct their business and to exchange gossip and news. Plastic kitchenware, ancient coins, the latest in brass trinkets and of course, camels, all feature prominently among the goods for sale. The Beduins mingle and haggle, with more recent immigrants from Soviet Georgia or veteran immigrants from Romania or Morocco chipping in for good measure. The language of trade is Hebrew, with a generous mixture of Arabic thrown in.

The following description likewise gives the impression that the market is the meeting of the old and new, or ancient and modern, however, it also contains the stereotyping of the Bedouins as an "ancient nomadic people" who are as curious about the tourist as the tourist is about them. This presents the tourist, who may harbour some apprehensions about encounters with Palestinians, with an opportunity of meeting the "tame" Arabs in a controlled environment and having contact with an "ethnic".

Every Thursday, starting at 6 am, a most curious assemblage of what is old and what is new takes place in a special area near the municipal marketplace, at the south eastern edge of town. The Bedouin has been a fixture and a weekly event in Beersheba for as long as anyone can remember. More than a bazaar or a flea market it's a chance for the Bedouins to pause from their nomadic ways, set up their stalls, sell their wares, trade and barter for livestock, and get as good a look at us as we're getting at them. . . ." (Greenberg, Israel On Your Own, 1988).

Other descriptions present variants on the same theme:

Don't leave Be'ersheva without shopping at the Bedouin Market, held every Thursday from 6am-2pm (sometimes trading stops earlier) and located just south of the municipal market and the bus station, on the road to Eliat. Hundreds of Bedouin, both the semi-settled from around Be'ersheva and the nomads from deep in the desert, gather in the area around Hebron St. to sell camels, sheep, goats, clothes, cloth, jewelry, and even digital watches. By all means get here early and bargain vigorously, or bring some jeans to trade. Try to wade through the plastic garbage and trinkets and seek out some of the beautiful Bedouin crafts such as beaten copperware, embroidered camel bags, and handwoven rugs. The name of the market is somewhat misleading, since Israelis and Arabs can also be seen selling T-shirts that tout American pop culture (Benor, Let's Go Israel 1990).

Every Thursday morning, there is a Bedouin Market on the southern edge of town, for which a special structure has been built. The Bedouin still trade their camels, sheep, and goats here; but in recent years it has become primarily a tourist attraction providing opportunity for the purchase of rugs, cushions, camel saddles, keffiye headresses, finjan coffee pots, clay drums and other Bedouin arts and crafts. (Melrod, Insight Guides: Israel, 1986)

The Bedouin Market itself, where camels and camel meat, wool, eggs, and other products are sold and bartered for modern gew-gaws deserves a visit.

Bedouin women, heavily garbed in black, their faces veiled, foreheads covered by threaded coins, squat around the stalls while the menfolk do the bargaining. Be sure to get to the market early. Trading begins at sunrise, and by noon most of the Bedouin have gone home (Fischer, The New Holiday Guide to Israel, 1988).

These accounts tend to exoticise the Bedouin as an "ancient people" and even overemphasize the role of the camel market in their lives. Descriptions such as the ones above shape a perception of the Bedouin Market as a place where the tourist can see these ancient peoples in their traditional role of barterers and traders, co-operating with Israeli and Arab buyers and sellers. The literature suggests that the tourist will have a window on the ancient and spontaneous form of life in the region. It indicates nothing of the way in which government policy has contributed to making the Be'ersheba market what it is.

The image conveyed - and which we must assume helps to shape the tourist's experience - is of a meeting place of diverse cultures, whose members come to exchange the products that make them distinct. People who may otherwise be antagonists, but who find themselves in the situation of buying and selling a way of accommodating to the other cultures represented in the land, in other words, a "market peace".

Therefore peace in the market is not a model for the participants but rather for the many outsiders who are briefly in contact with the suq, and, rather than the participants being unaware of this process, a la

Benét, they are instead astutely aware of the fact that they are creating this image. Most of these outsiders and the ones I have focussed on, are the many busloads of tourists who are present in the suq. The suq helps to create a touristic image of Israel. More importantly the suq creates an idyllic image of peace, and successful co-habitation of the many varied ethnic groups in a country replete with intercommunal tensions.

5.0 CHAPTER 5

In the tourist's consciousness, the attractions are not analyzed out . . . they appear sequentially, unfolding before the tourist so long as he continues his sightseeing. The touristic value of a modern community lies in the way it organizes social, historical, cultural and natural elements into a stream of impressions. Guidebooks contain references to all types of attractions, but the lively descriptions tend to be of the social materials. Modern society makes of itself its principal attraction in which the other attractions are imbedded

(Dean MacCannell, 1976: 48).

My shift in focus from the behaviour of the sellers and customers in the suq to the tourists derived from the realization that the tourists were not, as I had first assumed, an incidental feature of the Bedouin suq, but rather they were central to its function as it presently existed. I came to see the suq, not as a pristine folk institution, but rather as a part of our modern designed world. In the previous chapter I suggested that the market peace model may well yet (with more detailed comparative research) be demonstrated to be a substantive property of the Bedouin Camel Market. Nevertheless, this particular suq has shown itself to be a model of peace in a way which was initially unanticipated. Although there is no conclusive evidence that market peace exists as a mechanism for peaceful co-existence there is documentable evidence that it exists as a powerful vision of peaceful co-existence, which is present in the

minds of people outside the suq context, particularly those who write travel literature.

5.1 Shift of focus

I went into the field to study what I assumed to be a traditional folk institution deeply rooted in the history of the region, the suq. After arriving in the field I began by looking at the suq as a tradition meeting place between the diverse communities in the region in order to discover whether the suq might be shown to serve as a sanctuary away from the contested society in whose interstices it was situated. There were indications that the suq was indeed a vital and enterprising centre of economic life for the participants. Jews and Arabs did, indeed cooperate and coexist in the suq in a more overt and intensive manner than in many other arenas of social life, and there was manifestly peace in this market. I viewed the suq in this light for the first two weeks of my stay which constituted two visits.

After being introduced to Abu Ziad, a vendor, I was invited to sit in his stall (#815) and observe the suq. Sitting in a stall in the Bedouin part of the suq, I began to document the interactions between the various buyers and sellers and began to accumulate data suggestive of market peace, in keeping with my proposed research. I watched as the people streamed by the stall, some stopping, some buying, and others just looking around. During these early visits, I must admit, I tended to view the tourists as an unnecessary obstruction in my otherwise clear

picture of the suq. However, it proved impossible to "bracket" the tourist. Having tried hard to ignore them for some time, I finally focussed on them specifically and their centrality to the purpose of the market became clear.

Thus I underwent a methodological revelation and came to the conclusion that the tourist was in fact the main buyer in the Bedouin suq (see photograph #5) and that rather than trying to eliminate the tourists from my picture of the suq, I should focus on them as a central component of the suq. In other words the suq had been, to a large degree, constructed as a tourist destination in the Negev and, when I consulted the tour guides I found this had interesting implications for the market peace hypothesis. The market peace was not embedded in some deep structure within the market activity, which I had, somehow, to bring to the surface. It was already, so to speak, at the surface. Being an activity put there for tourists to behold, the peace of this market was the image it presented to the tourist, (for whom these were likely the only Arabs whom they would encounter during their stay in the Holy Land), an image of peaceful and prosperous co-existence of the Arabs and Jews.

Even when anthropologists are looking at institutions which are deemed to be "traditional", one point must be understood: in the modern world and especially in a nation state, all public institutions are creatures of the state. Whether or not the institution goes back hundreds of years, there must be an attempt to understand that it has most likely undergone a change in function to adapt to the needs of

people in society. The suq is an obvious example of a institution which appears to be ancient but is, in actuality, there for the purposes of the modern nation state. This is further evidenced by the indisputable economic fact that individuals who live in and around Be'ersheba do not have to rely on the suq for anything material, as stated in the previous chapters, they have many other places to acquire necessary goods and services.

Institutions in the modern world have the structure they do largely because they have gone through the process of what Giddens call "structuration" (Giddens, 1984). Structuration of the suq cannot be understood solely as the passive evolution of an institution, but the conscious design of the function of this institution by the powers-that-be.

This is not to say that a traditional suq did not exist or that the individuals in the suq did not have a common sense of the function of the suq, the traditional suq pre-existed the structuration of the Bedouin Camel Market. It is not our job as social scientists to discover whether or not a modern institution has structure but rather to elucidate the processes surrounding the structuration of particular institutions and indeed, to grasp the structuration itself particularly when it is embedded in institutions which present themselves in the guise of spontaneous, traditional, or "folk" customs.

5.2 Anthropology of Tourism

In the scope of anthropological research, tourism as a focus of study is a relatively new perspective. In the edited volume entitled Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism (Valene Smith, Ed., 1977) articles written by D. Nash, N. Graburn and T. Nuñez discuss how the community relates to the tourist.

Anthropologists traditionally have been concerned with the impact of tourism on host communities, whereas studies which focus on the tourist's choice of destination and the images created for the tourist, by the community, are scarce. One assumption that is often made by anthropologists studying tourism is that the host population is homogeneous. In Israel, where the society is comprised of different, even conflicting communities, this is not the case. The suq is a representation of the various communities in Israel, and I argue, presents a ritualized image of the co-existence of these groups in the wider context of society.

Dean MacCannell has done a comprehensive study of tourism in his work The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (1976).

According to MacCannell's model, most tourism is not spontaneous. There is a concrete itinerary which the tourist follows in order to realize the desired touristic experience. The distinguishing criterion between tourism and other types of travel is that the touristic experience involves a considerable amount of expectation and, for the most part, the extent of these experiences is known in advance. Moreover,

touristic experiences are quite specifically cultural experiences.

MacCannell says:

Even though a given 'experience' . . . may not be influenced by a cultural model, there are usually several models available for it. For example one might have a drug experience, a sex experience - some might go so far as to claim a religious experience - seemingly independent of cultural models and influences. On the other hand, many recipes for very similar kinds of experiences originate on a cultural level (1976: 27).

The tourist's experience is, in other words, contingent upon the experiential cues which the prospective tourist receives in his or her own culture. Tourism is, after all, an industry in which success hinges on the marketing of a tourist destination. It then follows that the tourist destination and experience is constructed. The suq in Israel is no different than any other tourist attraction. As shown in the previous chapter, hundreds of tourists make their way to this market every Thursday. They do this because they are on a tour and that is where the bus takes them. The tourists who tend to select Israel as a tourist destination are overwhelmingly historical-pilgrimage type tourists. Historical tourism is described by Valene Smith as:

. . . the Museum-Cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the past Favoured destination activities include guided tours of monuments and ruins, and especially light and sound performances that encapsulate into a brief drama the lifestyle and key events that textbooks record. Historical tourism tends to attract many education-oriented visitors, and tourism is facilitated because the targets are either in or readily accessible to large cities. An institutionalized tourist industry, or 'tourist culture,' usually exists to cater to a

stream of visitors, and host guest contacts are often impersonal and detached, and primarily economic rather than social... (1977:3).

Tourism to Israel is, thus, a sort of ritualized historical journey through time; however, there is a slight twist to this mainstream type of tourism which is more readily observable in Israel, or the Holy Land, than anywhere else. The types of tourists who are most numerous in Israel, or at least in the suq, tend to be individuals who are from a fairly strong religious tradition. For example, religiously-oriented Jews and Christians (such as German Catholics) from North America and Europe.

Among the background knowledge which any tourist takes to Israel is the fact that Israel is a contested land, where two groups claim the same territory and seem incapable of peaceful co-existence. The media serve to heighten the prospective tourist's knowledge that Israel is a place where violence is endemic. This tension which pre-exists in the mind of the tourist concerning the possibility of violence in Israel is part of the context in which his or her visit to the suq takes place. This tension, at first heightened by the prospect of confronting the Bedouin, is, so to speak, resolved by the pleasant and fulfilling experience of engaging "the other" first hand in the bargaining experience.

The suq might also be interpreted as a ritualization in the sense that Victor Turner describes it in The Ritual Process (1969). Turner puts forth the idea that certain rituals take place in order to reconcile the contradictions in societies. The rituals which Turner refers to are, he

feels, implemented to resolve everyday conflict. He states "there is a close connection between social conflict and ritual . . . a multiplicity of conflict situations is correlated with a high frequency of ritual performance"(1969: 10).

5.3 Theoretical Models

As social scientists we tend to impose models or versions of social interaction on certain phenomena in order to find means of organizing them into categories that we can understand. These models are also known as social structure, and both the "natives" in a society and the ethnographers seeking to understand it must have recourse to models. Structure is not inherent in social life, it is imposed. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss in his essay "Social Structure":

The term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it. This should help one to clarify the difference between two concepts which are so close to each other that they have often been confused, namely those of *social structure* and of *social relations*. (1952: 524)

The main difference between these two concepts is that while social relations can be observed, the true nature of the interaction is known only to the individuals who are engaged in it. When an explanation of the social relations is sought, or a description is applied to the relations then this imposes social structure. Social structure, thus, is a **model of organization** rather than the "reality" of organization.

Models too often become a reality in the minds of the researcher, as in Benét's case with the model of market peace. However, Benét treats market peace as though it is the real social relations, external to himself, when in fact it is a model of social structure which he had in his mind, and imposed upon the social relations of the suq. There is of course nothing wrong with that, and in so doing he helped us to grasp important information about how Berber markets relate to Berber society.

5.4 Summary

This research was an attempt to understand the suq as a sanctuary from the feud in a society with a centralized government and in doing so investigated the market peace hypothesis which is put forth by Benét in his study of explosive markets among the Highland Berbers. It was found that, while this particular suq, located in Be'ersheba, Israel did show various signs of market peace or sanctuary, the research itself could not conclusively show that the market peace hypothesis was evident in the suq in any substantive form.

The second part of this thesis turned away from the notion of market peace as a substantive phenomenon in and of itself and asked whether market peace might not be relevant in another way: not a model for peace in which the participants themselves have strong sanctions against violent activity in the suq but rather one in which the participants were more or less consciously aware of the image of peaceful co-existence that they were portraying to the visitors to the suq.

5.5 Conclusions

The market peace claimed by Benét is an analytical model which is imposed on suq activities to account for observable interactive behaviour patterns between participants who are culturally, socially and/or politically opposed to one another. It is present in the mind of the researcher, whereas the participant is oblivious to the imposed meaning of their behaviour.

Another type of model, well known in anthropology, is the "folk model" (Levi-Strauss, 1952). In the context of tourism, however, in which social institutions are as much designed by rational planning as by the spontaneous activity of their participants, we need to think increasingly of a third type of model - a model which creates folk institutions to convey political messages to consumers of tourism.

My analysis of the market peace of the Bedouin Suq of Be'ersheba is not intended to imply that this is an insidious event. What we have here is the substance of the modern world - this is who we are, as much as the more traditional sense of market peace indicates who and what the Berbers are.

Both senses of the market peace model, however, Benét's and mine, depend, nevertheless on the same intellectual nexus, namely the indissoluble linkage between trade and peace.

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PHOTOGRAPH #1
STALL LAYOUT
(ref. pg 33)



**PHOTOGRAPH #2
STALL LAYOUT**

(ref. pg 33)



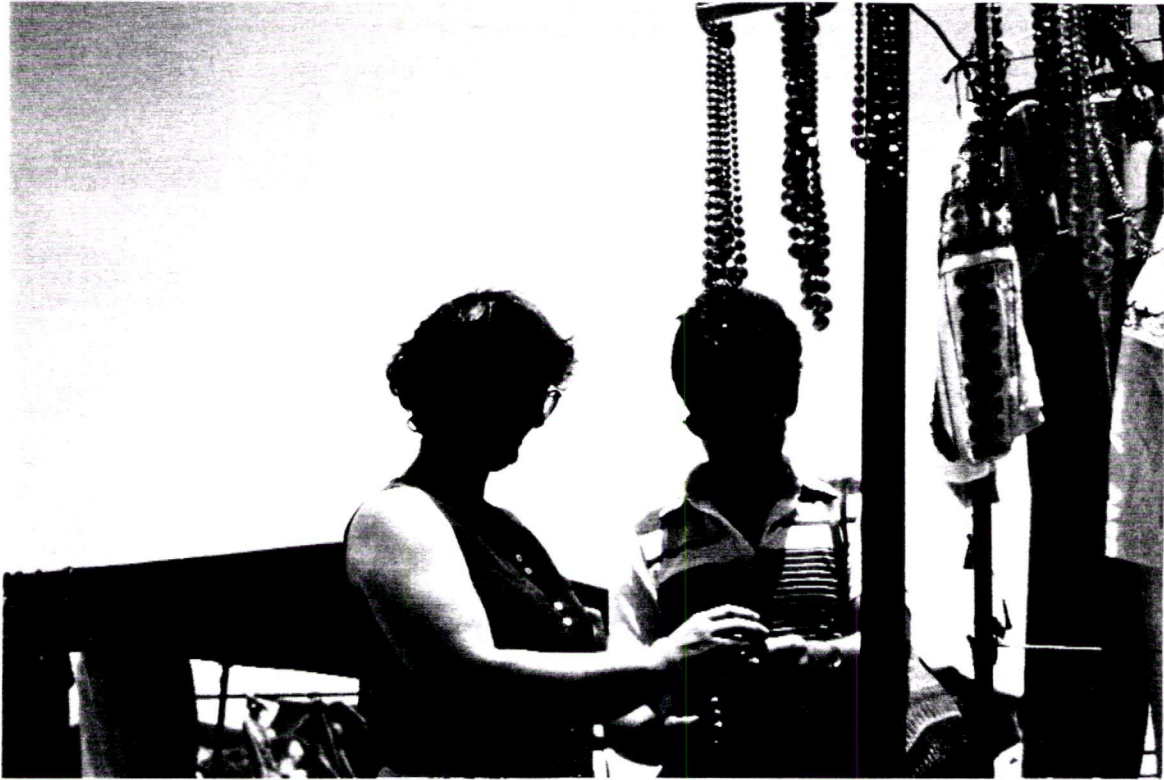
PHOTOGRAPH #3
STALL LAYOUT

(ref. pg 33)



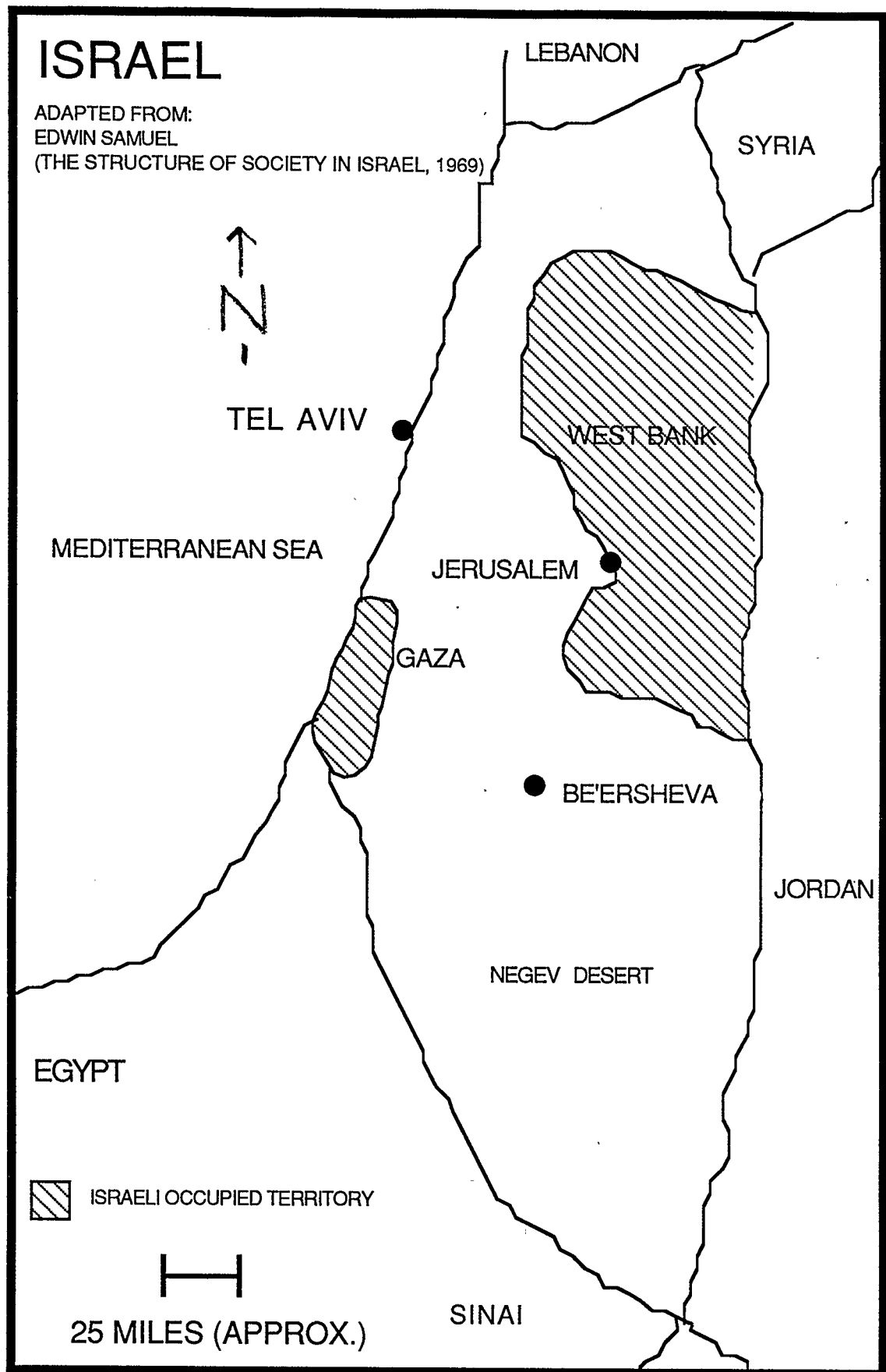
**PHOTOGRAPH #4
WATCHTOWER**

(ref. pg 40)



**PHOTOGRAPH #5
TOURISTS**

(ref. pg 53)



132 BEDOUIN MARKET METSADA**DEAD SEA****1 Day Price: \$44**

Departures: Thursdays 8:00 am

The area south of Jerusalem and Beersheba, gateway to the Negev, via the Judean Hills and the biblical city of Hebron; the colorful Bedouin Camel Market; a tour of the ancient Herodian stronghold of Metsada and a "swim" in the Dead Sea, lowest point on earth.

HIGHLIGHTS

Judean Hills; Hebron; *Beersheba -
*Bedouin Market; Arad; *Metsada; *Dead
Sea.

**APPENDIX #3**

Descriptions of tours from
Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
as printed in the EGGED TOURS
travel guide.

**229 BEERSHEBA - BEDOUIN
MARKET - AIR FORCE MUSEUM -
BETHLEHEM**
1 Day Price: \$40

Departures: Thursdays 8:00 am.

The Negev area: Beersheba, featuring its weekly camel market, and the Joe Alon Bedouin Folklore Museum, the new Air Force Museum; a tour of Bethlehem - rich in a history reaching back to the Old and New Testaments.

HIGHLIGHTS

Negev; *Joe Alon Bedouin Folklore
Museum;
*Beersheba - *City Tour, *Bedouin Market;
*Air Force Museum, Etzion Bloc;
Solomon's Pools; *Bethlehem -
*Church of the Nativity; *Rachel's Tomb;
Jerusalem.