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Tribalism Versus Community Organization: Geography of a Multi-Tribal Bedouin Locality in the Galilee[*]

Currently the Bedouin community in Israel is in very advanced stages of transition from a traditional to a modern society. The intersection between a traditional nomad population and a country with a modern Western lifestyle is a basic and material point of conflict. The Bedouin tribes that settled in the rainy and densely populated Galilee area were affected by their economic, social and geographic proximity to the surrounding agricultural rural region. This geographic proximity also directly affected the relatively rapid transition from nomadism to settlement. Beginning in the 1960s, Israeli government policy began regulating the Bedouins' spontaneous settlement. This step was designed to encourage trends toward social change and modernization in Bedouin society by means of urbanization. The initiative also stemmed from the desire to prevent spontaneous Bedouin settlement that was characterized by broad spatial dispersal and to concentrate the Bedouins in a limited number of towns. The transition to permanent residence forced the Bedouins living there to cope with cultural and social difficulties. On the one hand, the Bedouin tribal and clan structure strives to preserve itself, while on the other the selection of local leadership requires relinquishing tribalism in favor of the community structure. This research focuses on Zarzir, a Bedouin locality in the Galilee region of northern Israel comprising five tribes. The research revealed that the residents of this multi-tribal community demonstrated they were able to bridge between traditional values and modern values, contributing to the process of their adjustment to living in an urban residential environment. They slowly overcame their tribal pride and mutual suspicion and began to understand that it would be more beneficial to promote an independent municipal organization based on democratic elections according to candidates' management skills rather than based on tribal traditions.

Keywords: Bedouin settlement, Galilee tribes, Israel's Bedouins, planned settlement, spontaneous settlement.

1. Introduction

All the countries in the Middle East have programs to sedentarize and urbanize nomadic populations. In their view, the sedentarization of nomadic tribes helps achieve stability and governability in the border regions that are

mostly occupied by these tribes. Moreover, urbanization promotes integration into the structure of the modern state and makes it easy to supply services to people concentrated in a limited area (Kissinger 2013). These programs have created dramatic changes in society, culture, economics and traditional politics in the entire region. The research literature contains abundant information and insights on topics related to the interdisciplinary implications of the settlement and urbanization of Bedouin society and on the reciprocal relations between society and space (Salzman 1980, Jakubowska 1985, Dinero 1996, Abu-Saad and Lithwik 2000, Kressel 2003, Marks 2005).

Urbanization had an impact upon Bedouin identity. In the past the Bedouins were known for their unique way of life based on herding and nomadism, while their identity derived from the tribal origins of their forefathers. Today the term Bedouin is considered less a way of life and more a tribal identity, with the Bedouins attempting to preserve tribal values and norms for the coming generations. Nevertheless, there does not yet appear to be a research answer to the question of when the urbanized Bedouins stop being "Bedouins" and turn into ordinary urban residents (Salzman 1980a).

The move to permanent settlements entailed the loss of the Bedouins' way of life and of social arrangements that had influenced their lifestyle for generations. A Bedouin who moved to a town experienced a revolutionary change involving the erosion of the culture of herding livestock, nomadism and working the land. The traditional tent and its concomitant lifestyle disappeared, replaced by a stone house. Urbanized Bedouins were exposed to Western culture and modernization and globalization processes, and to differing extents they became integrated into the society, economics and politics of the national state. The urbanization process created a spatial-social dynamic with opposing forces. Friction between the different tribes increased due to the relative proximity of the tribes living together in urban communities with common public spaces and institutions. In Bedouin culture, this inter-tribal mix forced upon them by urban residence was still seen as potentially involving some degree of threat. Therefore, in view of the mixing and friction resulting from living together in heterogeneous urban communities and the introduction of public institutions intended for all the residents, a great deal of tension emerged. This tension found expression in violent conflicts between the residents, particularly those with different tribal origins. Therefore, the need grew for territorial differentiation between the tribes by means of separate neighborhoods in the towns (Ben Israel 2013).

This research focuses on Zarzir, a Bedouin locality in the Galilee region of northern Israel. The locality is a confederation of five Bedouin tribes. Each tribe arrived or emerged in the region during a different period. The decision to live

together in a joint multi-tribal community was forced on them by the planning policies of the Israeli government. The research hypothesis is that the diverse origins of the tribes, their competition over tribal pride and their inter-tribal suspicions (tribalism) will have negative consequences on the functioning of the joint community (communalism). Zarzir is unique in that the joint locality was built on private lands owned by Bedouin tribes, as opposed to on state lands as was the case in other multi-tribal localities. This private ownership of the land made it possible to preserve territorial tribal differentiation within the joint locality. The research methodology is primarily qualitative, involving field studies and interviews with residents and officials in the locality that took place over a period of time. The professional literature was used to enhance and back up knowledge regarding processes occurring in the locality.

2. The Bedouins in Israel

Bedouin society in Israel is considered a minority group within Arab society. It is a unique society in the context of its culture, history, economy, residential patterns, politics and social patterns. Currently the Bedouin community in Israel numbers around 300,000, constituting approximately 20% of the Muslim-Arab population and approximately 3.5% of Israel's overall population. The Bedouin community is divided into two main groups: 220,000 Bedouins living in the Negev and 78,000 in the Galilee.

Approximately 60% of the Negev Bedouins live in seven state-built planned towns and in ten tribal settlements that arose spontaneously and were later recognized as official localities. The other 40% of the Negev Bedouins still reside in a large number of spontaneous settlements that are not recognized by the state and are known as the Bedouin Diaspora. In the Galilee, 65,000 Bedouins live in 20 recognized Bedouin localities, 12,000 live in Arab villages (usually in separate neighborhoods), and only about 100 families still live in unrecognized spontaneous settlements.

Similar to the Negev Bedouins, the Galilee Bedouins emerged from the same desert culture that characterizes all Bedouins in the Middle East. Their origins are in the Arabian Peninsula or in nomadic groups that came into contact with the Arabian Peninsula's Bedouins and were influenced by them. Due to recurrent droughts, population density and tribal wars or internal tribal conflicts, they were forced to leave their natural habitat (Ben David 2004).

There are physical, historical, social and political differences between the Galilee Bedouins and the Negev Bedouins. The Negev Bedouins live in a desert environment whereas the Galilee Bedouins live in a rainy region. This fact has

influenced the size, power and nature of the tribes, and has also produced differences in the methods by which they support themselves. Bedouins in the Negev raised livestock in desert conditions that required migration to overcome changes in grazing conditions due to drought. The Galilee Bedouins did not have to deal with precipitation variations. Yet they lacked rights to use pasture areas, which were either state owned or held by Arab villages dating from before the Bedouins migrated to the area (Ben David 2004). The Galilee Bedouins were much more influenced by the agricultural-rural environment than were the Negev Bedouins. In the Galilee, the farm culture and the Bedouin culture were in close economic, cultural and geographic proximity. This geographic proximity also directly affected the process of transition from semi-nomadism to permanent settlement.

The nature and intensity of the struggle against government policy towards the Bedouins also differs significantly between the tribes in the Galilee and those in the Negev. Land ownership is still the main issue in the relationship between the state and the Negev Bedouins, whereas the issue of civil rights is the main focus for the Galilee Bedouins (Barkai and Ben David 1996).

The Bedouin community in Israel is at a very advanced stage of transition from a traditional to a modern society. The intersection between a traditional nomad population and a country with a modern Western lifestyle is a basic and material point of conflict („Haaretz" 1999).

The Bedouins underwent a process of transition from nomadism to permanent settlement that undermined social, cultural, familial and economic foundations and social conventions. From a traditional Bedouin society based on tribal clan structure with desert values, mentality and customs and on traditional leadership, Bedouin society has become a transitional society attempting to cope with extreme changes in lifestyle. Permanent settlement generated conflict between the traditional tribal leadership and the members of the young educated generation who are demanding a material change that requires replacing the traditional leadership. The permanent settlement in towns and villages has generated social processes such as adaptation and integration difficulties, economic difficulties and the kind of poverty that the Bedouin community has yet to experience. State-initiated urbanization, progress, expanding education and modern employment have forced the Bedouins to abandon their traditional economic industries and gradually change their lifestyle. This transition also changed the fabric of social relationships within the tribes and sharpened the differences between rich and poor. The change in lifestyle also changed the social order and consequently reshaped the components of Bedouin identity (Elbedour et. al. 2009). Some of the Bedouin settlements have become centers of

distress, with residents attributing their frustration and bitterness to government policy (Abu Sa'ad 2000).

The Galilee Bedouins, who reside mostly in independent Bedouin villages and in a few separate neighborhoods of Arab villages, have essentially become a minority within the Arab minority in the State of Israel (Grifat 2015). Their process of settlement has generated a double identity: On the one hand, the Bedouins are Muslim Arab citizens of the State of Israel who are committed to the Arab and Islamic world, while on the other hand as Israeli citizens they are required to fulfill their civic duties and be loyal to Israel's laws. The Galilee Bedouins have chosen to be loyal to Israel. They express this loyalty by volunteering to serve in the army, despite the objections of the Galilee Muslim Arab community, which strives to preserve its Arab Palestinian identity as much as possible (Ben David and Barkai 2012).

Bedouin tribes and partial tribes began entering the Galilee as early as the Arab conquest in the seventh century and continued up to the 20th century. The migration processes of these tribes were connected to local factors related to their region of origin, such as tribal wars, blood vendettas, droughts and more. The weak or defeated tribes were forced to leave their original area of domicile and migrate to the mountainous area of the north (Kouzli 2007). Over half of Galilee's Bedouin tribes migrated to the region over the last three hundred years from the desert in Syria, primarily the Hauran region and the Golan Heights, as well as from western Iraq and northern Jordan (Ashkenazi 1938). For the most part, the Bedouins settled in uninhabited areas or rural areas of the Galilee with low population density. Analysis of the 1931 British census indicates that only a few Bedouin tribes settled in barren or semi-barren areas, whereas many tribes migrated to rainy areas. Those tribes that did settle in barren or semi-barren areas had large populations. In contrast, those that settled in rainy and already populated areas were small tribes or partial tribes that could squeeze into limited areas between existing settlements (Golani 1966).

3. Israeli Government Policy on Bedouin Settlement

Government policies in the Middle East as a whole and in Israel in particular for settling Bedouin tribes, often against their will, stemmed from governmental objections to the nomad lifestyle. Each Middle Eastern government had its own reasons for meddling in the lifestyle of the Bedouin tribes. A review of how various governments and regimes treated the Bedouins throughout history indicates that they all had similar objectives: to limit migration, to settle and rule the Bedouins and force them to obey the law, to cause them to give up their

weapons and to stop their tribal wars and their harassment of the permanent agricultural settlements (Ginat 1998). The policy for settling the Bedouins in urban localities is based on planning logic (locality ranking, advantages of size, building density) and severs the traditional economic, cultural and social ties between the Bedouins and their historical and geographic surroundings. The Bedouins' radical encounter with urban culture involved not only a rapid cultural change but also the loss of their sense of hegemony in the space, the loss of their lands, a change in their lifestyle and changes in sources of employment (Ben Israel 2013). Different governments adopted diverse ways to achieve those objectives. These methods generally ranged from coercive methods based on destroying tribal frameworks and forcing the tribes to move to permanent localities to compensatory methods that encouraged the Bedouins to move by means of economic incentives and communities planned according to tribal needs (Fabietty 1982).

Government policy towards the unrecognized Bedouin settlements has been an issue of concern to the State of Israel since its establishment. The Bedouin community was perceived through two conflicting approaches: On the one hand, the Bedouins have demonstrated identification and loyalty to the state, mainly through the great number of Bedouins serving in the security forces and in the IDF, making it a community worthy of reward and investment. On the other hand, the Bedouin community was perceived as a nomadic society that threatened the territorial jurisdiction of the new state. Their identity as Muslim Arabs was also perceived as a hidden threat to state security (Kouzli 2007).

Against this background, the evolution of government policy toward the Bedouins is understandable. The government's policy of gathering the Bedouins in recognized planned settlements defined at the beginning of the 1960s stemmed from a desire to prevent continued formation of small unplanned settlements that constituted a potential threat to state control over the sensitive areas of the Galilee and the Negev. This policy dictated that all the Bedouin tribes (in the Galilee and in the Negev) would be directed to a limited number of large planned localities. Government authorities would supply essential services to the Bedouins in these localities, such as water, electricity, sewage, education, healthcare and public institutions as customary in all other localities in Israel (Medzini 2012). A number of researchers have noted that in its policy of gathering the Bedouins the state set some hidden objectives, such as the creation of available empty areas in outlying areas earmarked for Jewish settlement, distancing the Bedouins from main transportation routes and encouraging them to enter the workforce as unprofessional salaried employees (Khamaisi 1990, Sibirski and Chason 2005, Boymel 2007).

A 1963 government resolution determined that three to four planned localities were to be built in the Galilee. Each of these localities was planned as a regional center located at the geographic midpoint of spontaneously built Bedouin settlements. The planned locality was meant to be populated by gathering the surrounding Bedouin settlements that had arisen spontaneously (Medzini 1984).

Despite the obvious advantages of living in an urban locality as opposed to unrecognized villages from the perspective of availability of services and level of infrastructure, this settlement model did not attract all the tribes living in the spontaneously built tribal settlements. The Bedouins did not comply with the government's plans to move them to permanent settlements. They viewed the plan as a means of expelling them from their land and moving them to closed settlements where the government could supervise and tax them. Many Bedouins believed that living in towns was not suitable for their ancient traditional lifestyle. Many saw the move to towns as relinquishing their Bedouin identity, which was their source of pride and differentiated them from other Arabs, mainly those in the farmer population (Ben David and Gonen 2001). The Bedouins adopted a policy of clinging to the land at all costs, hoping their patience would eventually prove fruitful and the state authorities would be forced to recognize the situation on the ground. Their patience ultimately paid off and the Bedouins won this struggle. Contrary to the initial plan of gathering the Bedouins in a small number of planned settlements, the government of Israel decided to recognize the tribal settlements spontaneously formed on private tribal lands as permanent settlements.

The Zarzir locality, the focus of this paper, belongs to this category of settlements: a spontaneously created settlement finally recognized by the Israeli government in 1970.

4. Zarzir – Geographic Background

The Bedouin locality of Zarzir is located in the Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am region, and its population in 2015 was approximately 7,200 residents. The locality's residents belong to five tribes residing in spontaneously built tribal localities. Following their municipal unification in 1970, these localities were recognized by the government. In 1986 the locality was declared an independent local council.

The relations between the area's physical structure and its historical attraction for Bedouin tribes can be explained by a meaningful set of circumstances. The Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am area is characterized by rounded hills separated by broad valleys. The area's geological composition is mostly soft chalk (calcium

carbonate deposits) characterized by a broad distribution of hard rocky crust covering the chalky rock (Niv 1964). The hard rocky crust affects the area's limited amount of agricultural land and the small number of springs. The shortage of land appropriate for raising crops and the shortage of drinking water to a great extent explain why historically there were not many permanent agricultural localities in the area.

Most of the region's land was previously owned by Arab agricultural villages located at the region's margins. These lands were scantily farmed due to their limited agricultural value and difficulties in cultivating them using simple technology. In addition, these villages owned agricultural lands that were closer, of better quality and easier to cultivate. Another unique geographical feature of the region is the scarcity of permanent localities. The agricultural Arab localities were concentrated in a circle surrounding the hilly area without penetrating it (Ben Aryeh and Sofer 1964). The shortage of springs in the area, the small plots of land, the difficult farming conditions, the risks involved in agricultural farming of areas far from the villages and the shortage of roads all contributed to diluting the agricultural population.

The relatively high annual precipitation, the favorable temperatures and the sparseness of population caused the hilly area to be covered by natural forest that is not suitable for agriculture, but is appropriate for herding livestock (Golani 1966). The particularly high carrying capacity of this region was very suitable for the Bedouin lifestyle, which was economically based mainly on raising livestock. This explains why a relatively large number of Bedouin tribes settled in the region.

5. Emergence of Zarzir Tribes[1]

As mentioned, the Bedouin locality Zarzir comprises five Bedouin tribes that chose to settle in the region, mainly toward the end of Ottoman rule. As time went by, they moved from tents to houses, thus forming spontaneous tribal settlements. These tribes have diverse origins, with each tribe arriving or coming into existence in the region during a different period. Their varied origins have had implications on the way the locality functions.

The Arab al Grifat Tribe. The Arab al Grifat tribe originates in the Arab El--Mawali tribe today situated in Syria. In the mid-eighteenth century, the members of this tribe provided guards to the son of Daher el-Omar who controlled

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[1] Note that the history of the Bedouin tribes in the Galilee has never been documented and the historical knowledge is based mainly on stories handed down from father to son.

the Galilee and entered into a defense treaty with him. Over time their numbers grew, leading to the creation of a new Bedouin tribe in the Galilee. Toward the end of Ottoman rule, the tribe's mukhtar (leader) purchased lands in the Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am region, where the clans comprising the tribe made their permanent home. Today the population of the tribe is 2,000 and it is considered the most unified tribe in Zarzir (Grifat 2015).

The Arab al-Heib Tribe. The Arab al-Heib tribe originates in Iraq. During the Ottoman period, the tribe migrated to the Golan Heights region and finally settled in the Hula Valley. Around a hundred years ago, the Ottoman government divided the tribe in order to weaken its vast power, which it had used to subjugate the neighboring farming villages in the Hula Valley. As a result, some of the tribal clans moved to a number of geographical regions in the Galilee. One of these clans came to the natural forested areas of Zarzir in 1943. Today this tribe has a population of around 1,200 Zarzir residents.

The Arab al-Guamis Tribe. The Arab al-Guamis tribe originates from the Guamisin tribe (apparently herders of gu'amis buffalo) from the Golan Heights and the region of the city of Zarqa in northern Jordan. Two hundred years ago, this tribe migrated to the Jezreel Valley region, where they remained for around 50 years. They came to the natural forests around Zarzir together with families from the al Hajajira Bedouin tribe. Members of these two tribes had intermarried, and the tribes shared the same mukhtar. Over time the tribe's original name, al Ju'amis, became garbled into Guamis. Today 1,100 Zarzir residents belong to this tribe.

The al-Mazarib Tribe. This tribe includes three main clans: Hnahna, Ubeidat and Azab. Each clan in the tribe has a different origin. Over time these clans united and together they form the al-Mazarib tribe.

The Hnahna clan derives from the Uqba tribe from the area of the city of Salt in northern Jordan. At the end of the eighteenth century, a family from this tribe was forced to flee following a murder and concerns about a possible blood vendetta. They fled to the Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am region. Due to his charismatic personality, one of the tribe members became the founding father of the clan and was nicknamed Hnahna (merciful and generous). His custom of accepting sanctuary-seeking Bedouins from other tribes into his clan in effect turned him into the sheik of a new Bedouin tribe. Those who had broken relations with their tribe of origin due to its bad name emphasized that they belonged to the Mazarib forest, thus explaining the name of the tribe.

The Ubeidat clan originated from the Arab El-Morisat Bedouin tribe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, one of the tribe members was forced to flee due to a blood vendetta and found sanctuary with the Hnahna clan. Thus he

joined the Mazarib tribe. Because he married a woman of African origins, their children were referred to as Ubeid or Ubeidat in the plural.

The origins of the Azab clan were apparently in the Mahdawi Bedouin tribe in southwestern Iraq. This is also a case of a member of the tribe who at the beginning of the twentieth century was forced to flee in the wake of a murder and fears of a blood vendetta and found sanctuary with the Hnahna clan.

Thus we learn that the al-Mazarib tribe is not an organic Bedouin tribe with a common historical past, but rather is composed of individuals or families forced to flee at different times from their original tribes. Over time they gathered together in the Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am region, which was suitable for a Bedouin lifestyle based on herding livestock. Therefore, the al-Mazarib tribe does not reflect a common ethnic origin but rather refers to the geographical name of the region in which they live (Diabat 2016). Today 2500 residents of Zarzir belong to this tribe.

The Arab al-Heib Tribe. The al-Heib tribe originates in the Bedouin tribe Arab al-Aramshe in the northern Galilee close to the border with Lebanon. This is also a case of a tribe member forced to flee his tribe due to murder. At the beginning of the twentieth century, tribe members began intermarrying with members of the Mazarib tribe. In 1975, the Israel Ministry of the Interior recognized them as an independent Bedouin tribe. Today 700 Zarzir residents belong to this tribe, and their homes are adjacent to those of the Mazarib tribe.

6. Changes in Tribal Economic Structure and their Impact on Community Development

During the period of Ottoman rule, the Bedouins living in the Galilee supported themselves mainly by raising herds of sheep, goats and cattle. The rich natural vegetation in the Zarzir region precluded the need for them to wander far away with their flocks, and the spring water provided them drinking water and water for the livestock. Towards the end of Ottoman rule, a number of the families in the tribes also began engaging in agriculture, mainly as tenant farmers for landowners. A few families even engaged in manufacturing coal using wood from the natural groves that were abundant in the region.

Towards the end of the 1880s, the security situation in the region improved. This enabled the farmers from the Arab villages in the area to cultivate plots of land that were relatively far from their villages and that they had not cultivated during the time of regional insecurity. This reduced the area in which the Bedouin tribes could migrate with their livestock. Their grazing areas were further limited during the British mandate period due to afforestation of these

pasture lands beginning in the 1930s. During this period as well, Jewish agricultural settlements began to be established in the region, and their residents also began cultivating the Bedouins' grazing lands.

Because the natural grazing areas available to the Bedouins continued to shrink, they were gradually forced to reduce the size of their herds and consequently to seek alternative sources of making a living. One such source available during the British mandate period was salaried employment. The Bedouins quickly learned that they could earn more money this way than through their traditional sources of income.

6.1. Influence of Economic Changes on the Transition to Permanent Residential Localities

The high carrying capacity of the Gvaot Alonim – Shfar'am region compared to the Bedouins' living areas in desert regions precluded the need for wandering over great distances. This explains the tendency of the Bedouins in the region to live in large permanent tents and to amass a large amount of personal belongings. That is, the size of the tent and the extent of personal belongings are inversely proportional to the length of the migration routes.

The gradual reduction in migration areas during the British mandate period, which led to reduced herd size and transition to salaried employment, supported the gradual transition to permanent residences. From the economic perspective as well, this shift was worthwhile for the Bedouins because the price of a new tin shack or a used shed was significantly lower than the price of a tent made of goat hair. Permanent places of residence had another advantage over traditional tents in that they did not have to be renewed or rebuilt each season. Hence, from the beginning of the 1930s the Galilee Bedouins began purchasing sheds and tin shacks and moving from tents to permanent structures. By the 1950s the tents had completely disappeared, having all been replaced by houses made of hard building materials. Note that this transition to permanent residences did not change the residential distribution of the residents' homes. The permanent residences were built in exactly the same place that the temporary tents had been (Medzini 1984).

Ultimately, then, the spontaneous move from living in tents to living in shacks, tin sheds and stone houses created certain facts on the ground: four Bedouin tribes living in permanent homes spread across an extremely broad area, without any local planning, construction permits, infrastructure or services. This existing situation presented an extremely complex planning challenge to the planning authorities in the State of Israel.

The hundreds of permanent homes built by the Bedouins were built illegally, without building permits. The solution proposed by government authorities for coping with illegal construction on such a broad scope was to amalgamate the four tribes into a single locality – Zarzir – and to recognize this joint locality as one of the localities included in the government plan to settle the Galilee Bedouins. This plan aspired both to protect government-owned lands from illegal appropriation and building and to provide the Bedouins with the customary level of basic services, such as electricity, water, roads and education. These services could not be provided to spontaneous localities that emerged without any spatial order. The broad geographic distribution of the houses constituted a difficult barrier to planning in that it raised the costs of infra-structure, transportation and services.

Because the initial government plan for concentrating the Galilee Bedouins in a very limited number of planned localities did not succeed, from the early 1970s the government began recognizing localities that had arisen spontane-ously. Zarzir was one of these localities, receiving government recognition in 1970. The locality was included under the jurisdiction of the Jewish Jezreel Valley Regional Council, which began providing services and effective super-vision to prevent ongoing illegal construction in the region.

6.2. Influence of Tribal Structure on Planning the Locality

The first master plan for Zarzir was intended to unite the four spontaneous tribal settlements into a single planned locality (Ben David and Barkai 2012). Hence, the plan underscored the need to reduce the area in which the tribes were distributed from 4000 dunam[2] to 1500 dunam. The objective was to create a new locality marked by reasonable building density from the perspective of modern planning. To this end, the plan included moving all the homes of the two southern tribes closer to the tribes situated at the north of the planned locality (fig. 1).

This master plan was drawn up without any input from the Bedouin residents. Hence, it did not consider the variations in their needs, nor did it consider their character and the sensitive relations between the tribes destined to be included in the joint locality. As a result, the Bedouin tribes that were supposed to relocate totally objected to the proposed plan. They refused to leave their lands, claimed that the plan did not take into consideration their lifestyle, which called for maintaining a large distance between the tribes, and contended that sending their

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[2] Dunam is 1,000 square meters: 0.10 ha.

children to a joint school would lead to disputes and conflicts between the tribes. They decided to adopt any means possible to foil the proposed master plan. After appealing to every possible political body, from the prime minister to ministers to senior army officers (with whom they had relations because many tribe members served in the army), they eventually got help from Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who was closely associated with members of the al-Mazarib tribe. Dayan recommended a new master plan based on establishing a multi-tribal locality while leaving all the tribes in their original location (Ben David and Barkai 2012).
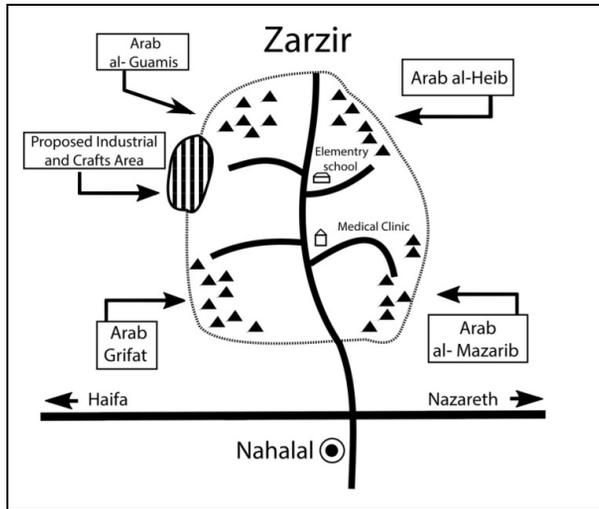

Fig. 1. Theoretical planning map of Zarzir
Source: I. Mantsur (1977)

In the original plan for Zarzir, the planners allocated an area of 1500 dunam. After Moshe Dayan's intervention, the locality was allocated an area of 3600 dunam. The intervention of the most senior political leadership was what forced the planners to change the master plan.

6.3. Influence of Multi-Tribal Structure on Locality Operations

An elementary school constructed in 1975 was intended to serve the children of all the tribes in the locality and to replace the four tribal schools. This school was located at the geographic center of the locality between the four tribes as determined in the 1970 master plan (Mantsur 1977). Yet as a result of the subsequent change in the master plan, the school was actually closer to the two northern tribes. The residents from the southern tribes had ultimately remained

in their original locations and therefore refused to send their children to the school, demanding to return to the old format of tribal schools. Eventually a compromise was reached, according to which all the children in the locality went to tribal schools up to the sixth grade and began studying at the consolidated school only in the seventh grade (Diabat 2016).

In 1990 a regional high school opened in Zarzir, the first in the Bedouin sector in the Galilee. This time it was located at the true geographic center of the locality: equidistant from all the tribes in accordance with the new master plan. This location enabled the school to serve as a multi-tribal educational institution. Other services located at the geographic center of the village function well, among them the postal services, the well-baby clinic and the local HMO branch. In contrast, a number of public services in the village have not managed to overcome the tribal barrier. For example, the master plan allocated land for a joint cemetery, but the tribes did not accept this idea and have continued to use four different cemeteries based on tribal affiliation. The mosques and the water companies in the village also operate on a tribal basis.
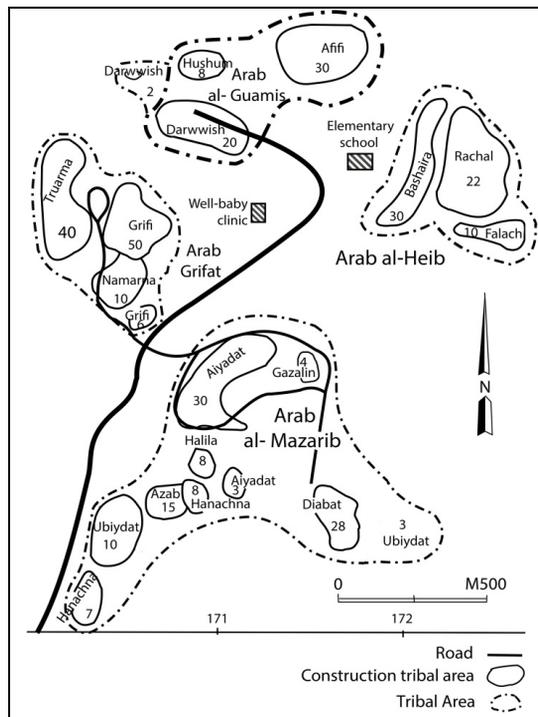

Fig. 2. Map of Zarzir residential structure
Source: A. Medzini (1984)

Another example of the impact of the tribal structure on village operations can be seen in the tribes' inability to elect an agreed-upon delegate to represent them on the regional council. The distrust among the four tribes caused objective difficulties in finding one delegate acceptable to everyone (Diabat 2016). Only in 1988, almost 20 years after the locality joined the regional council, did the Ministry of the Interior force the village residents to hold democratic elections to choose an acceptable delegate for the regional council. The election results indicate that the tribal barrier can be overcome. The candidate from the Arab al-Heib tribe was chosen by a large majority and won the confidence of most of the residents.

The construction of the homes in the village strictly maintained the principle of tribal separation. The extremely large geographical distances between the tribes were maintained. The various clans comprising each tribe built their homes closer together, and the homes of those within each clan are even closer (fig. 2).

Until recently, the principle of tribal separation has been preserved. Nevertheless, demographic growth among the residents has necessitated building a new residential neighborhood. This neighborhood was built on state-owned lands and residents from all the tribes live there, a first for Zarzir.

6.4. Influence of Tribal Structure on Local Council Operations

In 1996 the village was granted municipal independence. The struggle for this independence began with local young people, who felt the regional council was discriminating against the village in its investment of development resources. In 1981 this group petitioned that the village be separated from the regional council administration and be granted municipal autonomy. As a result of their struggle, in 1985 the Knesset Internal Affairs committee recommended establishing an independent local council in the locality. The regional council objected to this out of fear of losing funds that were earmarked for the village but were actually swallowed up in the council's budgets. The residents of Zarzir continued their efforts, appealing to Knesset committees, ministers of the Interior and prime ministers. In 1991, the Knesset Internal Affairs committee again recommended acceding to the residents' request and establishing an autonomous local council in Zarzir. In 1996, the Ministry of the Interior held a referendum among the residents, asking the following question: Do you want the head of your local council to be a resident of the locality, or do you want an external local council head who is not a local resident? Most of the residents supported the notion that the head of the local council should be a local resident.

As a result, the village was declared an autonomous local council independent of regional council administration (Ben David and Barkai 2012).

The election results indicate that the residents overcame their tribal pride and inter-tribal suspicions. They understood that it would be preferable to promote autonomous municipal organization based on democratic elections that evaluated the candidates' governing abilities rather than on traditional tribal considerations. The Ministry of the Interior appointed a resident of the village to head the local council – a senior army officer from the Arab al-Heib tribe who made sure to appoint council members representing all the tribes in the village (al-Heib 2016). The local council head used his good connections in the government echelons to obtain major development budgets for the locality and to promote development projects, making sure these benefitted all the tribes on an equal basis. As a result, he won the confidence of the residents, winning the elections for local council head three times by a large majority, even though his tribe was third in size in the village.

7. Conclusion

The urbanization of Bedouin society as mandated by the government, as well as progress, expanded education, modern employment and limitations stemming from governmental laws and decrees together forced the Bedouins to abandon their traditional sources of income and gradually change their lifestyle. Bedouin society changed from a traditional society based on tribal and clan frameworks with desert values, mentalities and customs and traditional leadership to a society attempting to cope with extreme changes in lifestyle.

Tribal and clan pride, the identifying mark of each individual in the society, has given way to the limited family structure. Urbanization and autonomous municipal government in effect put an end to traditional sheik rule, and today the village's municipal leaders are elected based on their abilities and on the balance of political power among the contenders. The emergence of local councils in a number of Bedouin localities in the Galilee reflects the fascinating process of transition from tribal to municipal organization. Recognition of a Bedouin locality constitutes the physical basis and the first condition for municipal organization. The transition to permanent residence forced the Bedouins to cope with social and cultural difficulties. On the one hand, the tribal and clan structure aspires for continued existence, while on the other hand it is difficult for the municipal organization to adapt itself to the traditional organizational structure. There were concerns that the Bedouin tribal society had not yet internalized the concept of democratic elections and that no tribe would be willing to be ruled by

outsiders. Another concern was that the resources of the local council would be used only for the benefit of the council head's tribe of origin and his cronies.

The Bedouin town of Zarzir is a unique case of a multi-tribal locality situated on private lands belonging to Bedouin tribes. For almost twenty years, tribal pride and inter-tribal suspicions prevented electing an agreed-upon delegate to the regional council. Yet ultimately the Bedouins understood that they were the injured party. As a result, they agreed to accept the concept of democratic elections. The results of the local council elections indicate that the residents preferred to vote according to the candidate's administrative abilities and not on a tribal basis. A new neighborhood in the town that houses young people from all the tribes also demonstrates the weakening of the tribal structure in favor of the community structure. Nevertheless, this process first and foremost requires local leadership that places the public good over that of the tribe.

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Plemienność kontra organizacja społeczności: geografia wieloplemiennej miejscowości beduińskiej w Galilei

Streszczenie

Beduini w Izraelu znajdują się obecnie na bardzo zaawansowanym etapie przejścia ze społeczności tradycyjnej do nowoczesnej. Zderzenie tradycyjnej wspólnoty wędrownej z krajem o nowoczesnym zachodnim stylu życia jest fundamentalnym i materialnym punktem zapalnym. Plemiona beduińskie, które osiadły w obfitym w opady oraz gęsto zaludnionym rejonie Galilei, odczuły gospodarczą, społeczną i geograficzną bliskość otaczającego je regionu rolniczego. To geograficzne sąsiedztwo spowodowało także względnie szybką transformację z nomadyzmu do osadnictwa. Począwszy od lat 60. XX w. władze izraelskie regulują spontaniczne osady Beduinów. To przejście do stałego pobytu wymusiło na zamieszkujących te tereny Beduinach radzenie sobie z trudnościami natury kulturowej oraz społecznej. Z jednej strony starają się oni zachować swoją strukturę plemienną i klanową, z drugiej jednak wybór lokalnych przywódców wymaga od nich porzucenia jej na rzecz organizacji społeczności. Niniejsze badania koncentrują się na miejscowości Zarzir (lokalnym samorządzie w rejonie Galilei w północnym Izraelu), w której zamieszkuje pięć plemion. Badania wykazały, że mieszkańcy tej wieloplemiennej społeczności stopniowo przezwyciężyli swoją dumę plemienną oraz wzajemną podejrzliwość, a także zrozumieli, że bardziej korzystne będzie promowanie niezależnej organizacji opartej na demokratycznych wyborach spośród kandydatów posiadających umiejętność zarządzania, a nie na tradycjach plemiennych.

Słowa kluczowe: osady Beduinów, plemiona Galilei, Beduini w Izraelu, planowane osadnictwo, spontaniczne osadnictwo.

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