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Walking the Line: movement, culture and politics on the Jordan Trail

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines the intersections of movement and cultural politics along the Jordan Trail, a 650km long-distance walking trail in the Middle East. It aims to reorientate political geographical accounts of Jordan to the everyday, intimate, and embodied scale through an exploration of the Jordan Trail and the bodies who walk it. This thesis argues that walking bodies on the Jordan Trail capture intimate and embodied accounts of place that speak back to state-centric accounts of Jordan. This thesis proposes a politics of movement that steps away from Eurocentric and Anglo-American accounts of movement and brings political geography and cultural geography into conversation. By exploring cultural practices in Jordan, this thesis foregrounds and analyses accounts of place that have been neglected within current explorations of Jordan and within cultural geography as a discipline.

Through 12 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Jordan and around 2,000 hours on the Jordan Trail, this thesis syntheses and innovates cultural politics and movement in three ways. First, this thesis explores the production of the line of the Jordan Trail and how movements that challenge those of colonial border drawing are captured by the Trail. Second, by interacting with bodies that walk on the Trail I explore how embodied and intimate relationships with land challenge territorial nationalist claims and capture alternative and indigenous narratives and relationships with place. Third, I argue walking creates moments for new political communities to form. It creates moments for Jordanians, Bedouins, and international tourists to touch. These moments of touch bring bodies, objects, and animals into proximity to create meaningful interactions. This thesis concludes that examining a long-distance walking trail brings together political and cultural geography to speak back to state-centric and colonial narratives, explore a non-Eurocentric politics of movement, and capture intimate, indigenous, and embodied relationships with place.

Front cover shows:

Figure 1: Walkers on the Jordan Trail (Author)

Title Page

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Statement of Copyright

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Durham or any other institution.

Figure 2: 'Thru-hikers' on the Jordan Trail approaching Wadi Rum (Author)

Acknowledgments

This journey was rarely a lonely one, for that I am grateful. Although most of the journey presented in this PhD is one on foot, it was much more than that. Many of the miles passed beneath my feet on the Jordan Trail, in Palestine, on walks with Meadog in Glasgow, and the corridors of the Durham Geography Department were walked in the company of friends, old and new.

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Apologies if I've missed anyone, I am new here.

Prologue

January, 2016, Tel Aviv Airport.

A room. I've been here before. I am showing them documents, I keep bringing them out: another, and another. Letters from Durham, from academics in Israel, insurance documents, flight tickets, summaries of my research. 'If I could help you I would,' she says. A man stands behind her. In his hands a large gun I do not know the name of, but it looks serious. He looks serious. She looks serious. Another woman comes in. 'What are you really wanting to do here?', 'We know you're lying,' 'We know everything about you' I am speechless. I am scared. I motion back to my documents, as if paper can help. I am told to leave the room.

I wait outside the interrogation room. My mind returns to last time. I waited outside a different interrogation room, this time not at Tel Aviv airport but the Allenby Bridge Crossing between the West Bank and Jordan. I had spent three months in Palestine and Israel carrying out my PhD research when my three-month visa ran out, I crossed to Jordan for a few days to then re-enter Israel and purchase a new tourist visa. As I crossed back to Israel, with another researcher, we were instantly summoned to a room. Then I was called to another room. Another very serious man. Apparently, I was in the room for an hour. At the end he lifted his arms in the air like an old-fashioned set of scales. 'So let me see,' he said, 'you have spent three months studying Arabic in Bethlehem and in that time you have only travelled to the Israeli towns of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Yafa.' 'Do I know what story I think you have heard, what the Palestinians have told you?' 'You know there is no such place as Palestine, don't you? No such thing as the Palestinian people?' He continues, he presses how I help people, specifically how I help Palestinians. He persists – he wants to know why I am *really* here. Yet despite my reasonable answers, they will never be sufficient. My crime has been committed already in his eyes – I have seen 'things'. I have seen the place he wants to deny: Palestine.

I wait outside the interrogation room, my body slumped on the floor. A Palestinian man came over to me. 'Please let me find you a chair,' he insisted. I accepted, I had already argued too much. My body sat rigid and not quite attached to my thoughts. Nine hours he had been kept so far, his family waiting for him across the border.

Summoned back into a windowless room, my fate however, was decided. The Israeli interrogation officer held a document. My passport was taken and stamped.

> *'Today you have been denied entry to Israel. You must return to Jordan.'*
>
> *I gasped, I cried, I trembled. I don't remember what else he said.*

Two months later I returned to Ben Gurion. It was worse.

'You have been denied entry to Israel and banned from entering again without prior consent from the Government.'

The next steps are a blur. All I can remember is a desperate version of myself, pleading, begging. A full search. Confiscation of all my possessions. An armed vehicle. A locked cell. A sandwich. One phone call. Waiting. An armed vehicle. A flight marshal. An escort. Istanbul. My phone back. A wait. A negotiation with Turkish Airlines. An airport room. Manchester Airport. Ross. A drive to Glasgow. My bed.

Immobility…

Movement again….

June, 2016, Glasgow.

'Can I exchange these Israeli shekels into British pounds please?' I'm at the Bureau de Change in Marks and Spencer. 'Yeah sure', the guy working there replies, 'but you know the buyback rate isn't so good.' He checks. 'Ok it's bad – you're going to lose about £80 by exchanging them back, that's quite a lot.' His colleague walks over; she agrees. 'It's quite a lot.' I chip in, 'yeah it is quite a lot.' He thinks. 'Are you sure you're not going to go back to Israel soon, you could use them again there perhaps?' I think for a millisecond. 'Exchange them please.' 'Oh OK' – he's intrigued but I'm not going into *that*, 'maybe you could sell them to someone else going, do you know anyone else going?' 'OK I'll have a think'. My mind races to images of me standing on the Durham University campus flogging Israeli shekels to students. 'I'll leave it today then. Right now though, can I exchange some pounds into Jordanian dinar?'

It is with my Jordanian dinar my story continues.

This thesis…

This thesis, in moving from Palestine to Jordan, engages with a central question: how is movement entangled with politics? It asks how movement is restricted and enabled, who can move, why different practices of movement are important, and why movement at the everyday and embodied scale is important. This thesis from the outset offers a different type of political engagement with the Middle East. That is to say, I elaborate an alternative account to those one most frequently finds in political geographical accounts of the Middle East. An engagement with the ways in which politics permeates everyday life and how an attention to cultural and mundane practices can illuminate and highlight alternative narratives. This is about questioning what counts as politics and how political decisions shape everyday actions. My moment of denied entry can be linked to wider processes of movement and non-movement, culture, and politics in the Middle East. This thesis, as

a result, is about how a long-distance walking trail - the Jordan Trail – can explore the relationship between movement and politics. By reclaiming the importance of everyday narratives and movements, I argue that the Jordan Trail can be a space to explore representations of the Middle East that are frequently erased. In Jordan and the wider Middle East, movement is restricted. Entry is denied, borders are closed, visas rejected, and refugees held in camps. Of importance is that this movement is concentrated at the state level. It is movement centred around borders, refugee camps, and immigration. State controlled movements as a result become the dominant narrative of Jordan, particularly through images of war, conflict, and refugees circulated by the media. Tourist numbers to the Middle East decrease and even when tourists do travel to the Middle East, it is frequently on coaches which shuttle passengers from one tourist site to another with no time to pause. As a result, everyday, prolonged, cultural, and intimate encounters are missed. This thesis addresses this omission by exploring the relationship between politics and movement that moves beyond state-centric accounts to everyday and embodied narratives of movement that reclaim everyday experiences with the politics of the Middle East.

Figure 3: 'Reema stops to take a photo near the Dead Sea wadis (Author)

Introduction: Placing a foot on the Jordan Trail

> *A group of thirty of us gathered in a circle. Walking boots are tightened,*
> *backpacks slung onto our backs, water bottles filled, packed lunches handed*
> *round. Excitement and nerves mix in the air. We're about to walk the Jordan*
> *Trail from its start to its end. We're in the very north of Jordan, five miles south*
> *of the border with the occupied Golan Heights, Israel five miles to the west,*
> *Damascus a three-hour drive away. In contrast to the proximity to conflict, we*
> *stand in our coloured waterproofs, grasping walking poles, sun hats on our*
> *head. The Jordanian Minister of Tourism and Antiquities spoke the first words:*
> *'This is a beautiful dream come true,' she said, 'Today we are making history in*
> *Jordan. This is something for all Jordanians to be proud of' (Field diary:*
> *31/03/17).*

This thesis is about Jordan and the Jordan Trail and the way in which entanglements of movement and politics on the Jordan Trail offer a different type of political engagement with the Middle East. One which attends to sites of everyday movement and culture in which to understand the politics of the Middle East through a different lens than mainstream political geography accounts. This thesis is about attending to the everyday cultural politics of movement.

I never intended to walk the Jordan Trail. I arrived back in Amman in the summer of 2016, after being denied entry to Israel, not sure whether I wanted to continue with this PhD, to do fieldwork overseas. I found out about the Jordan Trail through a desire to walk myself, even though I was not sure I wanted to be back in Jordan. To move again. I felt trapped, silenced by my experience at the Israeli border. I came across the Jordan Trail by chance, a Google search in the dead of night. I went on a few organised walks in Jordan, I got in touch with some contacts in Jordan, and I went to meet with those who were involved in the Jordan Trail. The more I explored the Trail, the more excited I became about the importance of this walking trail for the questions of politics, culture and mobility I was concerned with. I asked if I could volunteer and found myself in the small office of the newly formed Jordan Trail Association (JTA), a registered Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). USAID had recently offered the Jordan Trail a large amount of funding, which enabled the formation of the NGO, rental of an office space, development of a website, and the means with which to develop an actual trail.

The Jordan Trail at this point was still mostly a series of GPS coordinates and developing the physical trail was crucial to its development. I found myself sat in the JTA office answering emails

from people all around the world who wanted to come and walk it, writing press releases, website content, and providing information to journalists wanting to write about the trail. Around this time, two Bedouins became the first people and Jordanians to walk the trail. It became an important project for Jordan, as Lina Annab, the Jordanian Minister of Tourism in 2017, said in a speech, it was 'something for Jordanians to be proud of'. Suddenly this trail, that I had joined to walk, became about far more than just walking. Articles in international newspapers stated that this trail provided a way to 'traverse some of the oldest continually used paths in the world' (Pearce-Higgins, 2017), a trail that reinvigorated the importance of walking on foot (McCarron, 2018), and a trail not just for tourists but Jordanians: 'who'd embraced this means to explore the remarkably varied country on their doorstep' (Simmons, 2017).

This thesis explores the relationship between movement and cultural politics on the Jordan Trail, to ask how this gives an alternative account of cultural politics and the Middle East. I elaborate this alternative account through three central aims that map onto three empirical chapters.

First, through the line that composes the route of the Jordan Trail, I explore how an emphasis on calculation within political geography has privileged the border, the state, and territory. Through paying close attention to how the Jordan Trail captures alternative movements and lines from throughout history to form its route, I argue that the Jordan Trail captures a history of the Middle East that moves beyond the delineation of borders. By understanding lines as movement and connectivity, the Jordan Trail is able to capture how previous bodies have moved through Jordan but also how modern-day walkers walk the line. These movements re-orientate the politics of the Middle East from state level accounts to everyday narratives. From maps to spatial stories.

Second, I explore the relationship between the nation and territory. The Jordan Trail is about tourism and economic development but also about connecting Jordanians to their land as they walk the length of it. A territorial nationalism connected to the nation-state arises. However, through my focus on walking as a cultural, embodied, and everyday movement I destabilise understandings of the value of land as bound to nation building and economic, and instead consider value in relation to emotional and embodied accounts of place. In this chapter I therefore move beyond political accounts of territory that value 'terrain' and 'land' to cultural geographical accounts of 'landscape', 'surface' and 'ground'. As such I explore how the act of walking engages with the embodied materialities of place in ways that political geography has failed to do. How walking accounts for indigenous knowledge and more relational accounts of place that move beyond state-centric narratives of place to how people might be connected to place differently. In doing so I interrogate the relationship between homeland and territorial nationalism, what it means for different groups and individuals to be at home in the land, the relationship between indigenous relationships with land and the nation-state, and risk and land. Each of these discussions unpacks and critiques through everyday and embodied accounts of place the problems with the territorial nation-state, particularly in Jordan and its postcolonial past.

Third, I suggest that within political and geographical research more attention must be paid to the moving body as a means for bodies to encounter one another differently. I argue alternative understandings of place and one another are created through encounters on the Jordan Trail. I use touch to suggest how walking bodies create important moments of encounter in which the physiological aspects of touch enable conditions of response, vulnerability, proximity, and responsibility. I explore how through touch, walking bodies are brought into proximity, made vulnerable, and as such moments are created for walking bodies to be responded to and hospitality to be extended to the other. I discuss touch between humans, humans and objects, and humans and animals to query what the different ways in which touch is enabled on the Jordan Trail. This is crucial in Jordan as touch is frequently erased as fewer tourists travel to Jordan and increasing numbers of refugees entering Jordan are either located in refugee camps or else move to Amman. As Amman grows as a city, there is an increasing disconnect between urban dwellers and those living in rural areas in Jordan. The Jordan Trail enables different bodies to touch on the Jordan Trail and this raises important questions about ethics, responsibility and vulnerability.

These three chapters, offer three ways in which I examine the relationship between movement and cultural politics in this thesis. I argue that the relationship between politics and movement needs to be considered through the everyday scale, through greater attention to cultural difference and cultural geographical accounts of place, greater exploration of practices of movement such as walking, and the capturing of non-Western and indigenous accounts of movement. In the following section I outline why the Jordan Trail is an important case study in which to explore these arguments.

Situating the Jordan Trail

Figure 4: Schematic map of the Jordan Trail

(With permission from the Jordan Trail Association)

Figure 5: Political map of Jordan and its neighbouring countries

(© OpenStreetMap contributors)

The Jordan Trail is a 650km (450 mile) walking trail running almost the entire North-South length of Jordan. It begins in Um Qais near the northern border with the Golan Heights, Israel, and Syria and runs to the southern border at the Red Sea and Saudi Arabia. It follows very closely the land border between Jordan, Israel and the West Bank, that follows a geological fault line that now comprises the border between Jordan, Israel, and the West Bank. The history of the Jordan Trail depends on who tells the story but what is mostly agreed on is that in the late 1970s and throughout the 80s and 90s, a British couple from Manchester, Tony Howard and Di Taylor with funding from the Ministry of Tourism, were given permission and funding to create a series of walking trails and to develop climbing in Wadi Rum. Eventually with the development of these trails numerous Jordanians – notably Hakim Tamimi and his team, Muna Haddad, Mark Khano and his team at Guiding Star and Experience Jordan, Osama Cori, and numerous local guides including Eisa Dweekat, Eid, Abu Saif, Mahmoud Bdoul – alongside Tony and Di came up with the notion of creating a singular long-distance walking trail running the length of Jordan.

As I became more involved in the Jordan Trail, I became part of discussions within the JTA and Board Members of the Jordan Trail about what the Jordan Trail should be and how the limited financial and labour resources it has should be used. Should the focus be on increasing the numbers of walkers, developing the materiality of the Trail, developing the GPS technology on the trail, or supporting local community development along the Trail? These conversations occurred alongside conversations about for whom the Trail is intended: Jordanians or international tourists? Should it become a national project or a hiking club for Jordanians? These questions resulted in the creation of a branding strategy and marketing plan. It was decided by those in the JTA and among board members of the Jordan Trail that the Jordan Trail could do all these things. Its long term plan would be to become an international Trail attracting international tourists but it would also become an important domestic tourism project, partly because Jordanian and regional tourists were a more reliable market within the political situation of the region in 2015.

The forming of the Jordan Trail Association in 2015 enabled the Jordan Trail to start work to meet these objectives. At the same time it received one of USAID's largest ever grants for a tourism project. USAID's interest in the project was its ability to reach a large percentage of the country.. The 40 days of walking that the Jordan Trail offers and the 52 towns and villages it passes through outline the potential for development in areas not usually visited by tourists or indeed Jordanians living in Amman.[1] The Jordan Trail, its website writes: 'traverses the diverse landscapes and vistas of the country, from the rolling wooded hills of the north, the rugged wadis and cliffs overlooking the Jordan Rift Valley, the rose rock of Petra, the dramatic sands and towering mountains in Wadi Rum, to the crystal waters of the Red Sea' (JTA, 2018). It is a journey that enables a chance to explore the varied cultures that compose Jordan, encounter locals, and spend time in family homes. It is a chance for the history of Jordan to be intimately experienced and encountered. Such possibilities are important in a country in which there are large divides between the rural and urban populations, large diasporic communities, and decreasing tourist numbers (Massad, 2001; Buda, 2016). Tourism is one of Jordan's largest employers and source of economic income. However, Jordan's proximity to war and conflict – Iraq to its East, Syria to its north, and Palestine and Israel to its West – has severely impacted on its tourism industry. Despite the UK foreign office declaring Jordan a safe country, its place within the often-homogenized region of the 'Middle East' renders it within a Western imaginary of fear and danger. In an article in the Guardian newspaper, for example, Gentleman (2016) asks when Jordan is so safe why there has been a decline in tourists. Gentleman (2016: no PN) remarks on the frustration felt by many about 'the fickle nature of the global tourist market. "A bomb goes off in Turkey and people think 'We shouldn't visit Jordan,'" a jewellery seller said'. The relationship between trail and the place in which a trail is situated is therefore crucial. The political and cultural contexts within which the trail sits are

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1 Jordan is often called a one city country and over half of the population live in its capital, Amman.

important to exploring the relationship between movement and politics. As such, in the following section I situate my research in the Jordanian context.

Situating Jordan

'Eighty-five years after its establishment and later independence, the polity, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan still attracts relatively little scholarly attention compared to neighbouring countries,' writes Alon (2007: 1). Jordan was noted by many to have been a neglected site for researchers over the years since its independence.[2] Over the ten years since, this has changed dramatically and recent events have seen a resurgence in interest in Jordan. This is partly due to the current situation in the Middle East. It is becoming increasingly difficult for researchers to spend prolonged periods of time in Israel and Palestine.[3] Throughout the course of this PhD I have met many others who have been denied re-entry into Israel and this issue has also gained heightened awareness in the media. Since the outbreak of the Syrian war in 2011, Jordan has also become a base for many researchers investigating conflict in the region and the resulting refugee 'crisis'. Jordan has accepted 1.4 million Syrian refugees since the war began (UNHCR, 2018). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) also estimates there are half a million Iraqi residents in Jordan as an result of the 2003 invasion of Iraq and subsequent Iraq War (UNHCR, 2018). There are also 2 million Palestinian refugees in Jordan, most have full Jordanian citizenship but around 370,000 live in refugee camps in Jordan (UNHCR, 2018). Significant numbers of refugees from Yemen and Libya have also been displaced to Jordan.[4] The result of these political events is that Jordan has become one of the few safe and accessible places to do research and is an important place for those interested in conflict, refugees and migration. The Arab Spring of 2010 – a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed rebellions – that started in Tunisia and spread across the Middle East and particularly to Libya, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain - resulting in upheaval and repression, illustrated in the murder of the Cambridge University PhD Student Giulio Regeni in Egypt in 2016, have also resulted in concerns about doing research in these countries. Many integrated language courses who had often sent their students to these countries to study Arabic now are also choosing to send their students to Jordan.

As a result, Jordan is placed in the middle of contemporary politics of movement in the Middle East. Jordan becomes an important place to explore the relationship between politics and movement; however, I argue that few studies have investigated this relationship at the everyday scale or through cultural practices. The lack of focus on everyday lived experience privileges certain forms of movement, particularly state centric forms of movement. The relationship between politics and movement I explore in this thesis is about movement that is resistant to state centric narratives and instead captures relationships with place that are rooted in embodied cultural

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2 Anecdotes that included being able to count on their hands how many other researchers they met.

3 Israel does not issue research visas and student visas are only available to those with an affiliation to an Israeli institution. Those wishing to work in Palestine without affiliating themselves with an Israel institution, which many who are part of the BDS (Boycott Divestment and Sanctions) movement do not, must enter on a 3-month tourist visa. This means that anyone wishing to do research for a period longer than 3 months must leave Israel and re-enter. This is a practice Israel is clamping down as researchers using this route are more likely to be pursuing research interests in Palestine.

4 While I was in Jordan, the military-coup in Turkey also resulted in researchers being forced to leave.

accounts of place. As Jordan has often been neglected within research, until very recently, so too have conceptualisations of what it means to be Jordanian. Little research has explored identity, land, and movement within the current political climate. This is particularly important because within Jordan many relationships with place and histories of movement do not map neatly into the current borders or state-centric narratives. As the next section outlines, the creation of the Jordanian state was the creation of a country where one had never existed.

Furthermore, many Jordanians I spoke to were keen to disentangle themselves from an association with conflict. This links in with feminist geopolitical work in the region (Secor, 2001; Harker, 2009a; 2011; Fluri, 2009; 2014; Cook, 2018; Clark, 2017; Culcasi, 2018; Gökarıksel and Secor, 2018; Griffiths and Repo, 2018) that argue the need for everyday narratives from the region to emerge to reduce the risk that the region becomes a place stereotyped by only violence. However few studies have engaged with cultural practices to do this. The relationship between politics and movement I argue is about understanding how specific locations and practices shape this relationship. By attending to more localised accounts of place in the Middle East, that are grounded not just by scale but in the ground itself and that attend to movement as linked to cultural geography and not just political geographical accounts, this thesis offers more nuanced accounts of movement in the Middle East.

Little literature has explored movement and mobility at the everyday scale and amongst Jordanians themselves, as opposed to refugees or migrants. The result of the concentration of work on migration and refugees is that it often focuses on non-movement and while experiences of non-movement do dominate the everyday lives of many living in Jordan in a wide variety of ways – through the experience of my Jordanian Arabic teacher waiting for her visa to travel to a friend's wedding in Russia,[5] or the long queues of Jordanians waiting outside the Israeli embassy in Amman to get a visa to Palestine, or the Syrians waiting in refugee camps in Jordan, or my own experience sitting on the Jordanian side of the Israeli border waiting to hear if I will be allowed back into Jordan. These accounts are the ones that political geographical accounts of Jordan and the Middle East frequently focus on. Therefore, to privilege these non-movements run the risk of perpetuating political geographical stereotypes. In Wagner's (2017: 107) research on Syrian refugees in Jordan she argues that: 'contrary to common depictions of refugees as immobilized and passive, I found young Syrian refugees in Mafraq, to be surprisingly busy with studying English, Quran and IT, sewing and hairdressing courses, even a wedding photography class.'

Wagner's more nuanced accounts of non-movement reanimate movement by seeing what Bissell (2007) describes as the rich times that weave through multiple temporalities and bodily experiences of duration within moments of non-movement. Furthermore, it also asks how movement itself can provide agency. In research into Palestinian theatre by Ramos (2015: 108) she

5 A Jordanian passport is ranked 73 out of a scale between 1 and 92 in the passport power rankings. https://www.passportindex.org/byRank.php

uses Palestinian theatre to explore the 'dynamics of immobility that locate Palestine in a marginal position, marked by the exclusion from the patterns of global mobility, the impact of the Israeli occupation and the disruption of Palestinian socio-political life.' Ramos (2015) argues that the bodies of performers through an infinite range of movements can be used as an aesthetic choice to confront immobilization. Immobility by the actors confronts the Palestinian audience with the lack of movement present in their daily life while simultaneously distancing them from it. Mobility in Palestine is often a key marker of difference and identity and a relational understanding of 'relative im/mobilities' can emphasize that the mobility of some is always in relation to the immobility of another (Harker, 2009b).

Jordan provides an important site to investigate movement and non-movement within a situated political context that is often stereotyped as immobile. These representations in turn have an impact on movement of tourists to Jordan as tourism, safety and conflict are intimately connected (Buda, 2016). Jordan is described by Buda (2016) as 'the Switzerland of the Middle East': relatively untouched by terrorism and the political turmoil of the region. Yet Jordan is still very much touched by the wider geopolitical events as the Middle East is increasingly defined as a place of homogenisation. The politics of individual countries are dwarfed by the wider geopolitics. Pain (2009:466) uses the term 'globalised fear' to give a name to post 9/11 events in which metanarratives of fear shape the politics and patterns of fear at an everyday scale. This extends similarly to Jordan, in which globalised accounts of the Middle East extend to Jordan, a country in which war is not taking place. The result of these globalised and homogenising accounts of conflict for Jordan is that it remains a place represented often as static and further that is not investigated in its own right but always as part of broader questions of conflict and security in the Middle East.

Lisle's (2016a:8) book 'Holidays in the Danger Zone' argues that 'even the most benign and well-meaning tourist experience is structured by antagonistic "geopolitical forces"'. Lisle (2016a) draws on Shapiro's (1997) work exploring how geopolitical productions of domestic, interior, homelands are contrasted with distant, foreign, outsides. In this sense it is geopolitical imaginaries of place which shape tourism practices particularly in the case of Jordan. Tourist numbers visiting Jordan have declined since the outbreak of the Syrian war.[6] Anecdotally, many tourist guides described to me the impact this decline has had on their businesses and furthermore that packaged tourism is the most popular choice as tourists do not want to travel independently. This has a huge impact on the way tourists move through the Middle East even when they do travel as they have little chance for everyday encounters as they are shuttled on coaches between major tourism sites.

For all the reasons outlined above, Jordan provides an important geographical site with which to explore the relationship between politics and movement because everyday movement is restricted,

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6 This is based on anecdotal evidence and figures from the World Travel and Tourism Council. https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic-impact-research/countries-2018/jordan2018.pdf

movement and non-movement are linked to the political context of the Middle East, and finding ways in which movement can be captured at the everyday and not just the state-level is important for alternative narratives of Jordan to emerge. This is true in three important ways that this thesis wishes to draw on. First, political geographical accounts of Jordan focus on non-movement and movement primarily of refugees and migrants. Second, tourism movements are restricted which further perpetuate Jordan as a site of non-movement. Third, few studies have explored a cultural politics of movement. The historical context of Jordan is also crucial to this relationship between politics and movement.

The following section therefore outlines the postcolonial history of Jordan in order for me to argue that we need ways in which to investigate how everyday experiences of Jordan are still shaped by this history but through movement along a long-distance walking trail can also resist it.

Postcolonialism and Jordan

The postcolonial history of Jordan is crucial to understanding it in today's context and specifically the relationship between politics and movement that is central to this thesis. This is because I argue the relationship between movement and politics must be understood in relationship to the situated politics of a place. Second, movement has often been theorised primarily within Western contexts which erase ways in which movement has been conceptualised in non-Western contexts and historical accounts of movement in the Middle East have been neglected in favour of a focus on contemporary geopolitics. I will argue throughout this section that the colonial history of Jordan and particularly the drawing of its borders has shaped the way in which individuals move throughout Jordan now. As Massad (2001) notes, although Jordan is not unique in the postcolonial world, it has several characteristics which do make it an unusual case:

> [P]eople whose roots within existing memory lie outside of the new borders of
> the country ruled and continue to rule it; its population consists in its majority
> of people whose geographical 'origins' within living memory are located
> outside the borders of the nation-state; the country has a large dependence on
> foreign money to support its resource poor economy; and claims are put forth
> by neighboring (sic) powerful states on its very identity, or on parts of it
> (Massad, 2001: 15).

Before 1921, there was no territory, people or nationalist movement that was designated as Transjordan (Massad, 2001). Transjordan was a word given to the creation of the area by the British after World War I. A state defined by the British and the British appointed Hijazi Amir 'Abdullah through the creation of a government structure, an army, a police force and bureaucracy (Massad, 2001). A consolidation of power that involved coercion and co-option of local elites. Important for this thesis, and its discussion of the relationship between movement and politics, is the sedentarising of the Bedouin population, a mobile population, who in 1921, comprised almost half of the country's inhabitants (Massad, 2001). This Alon (2009) argues stands in contrast to other

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cases of state formation in the Middle East, in which there was not a large Bedouin majority. Bedouin tribal groups therefore had an important role in the formation and survival of the Jordanian state. Alon (2009) suggests that within the formation of the Jordanian state tribalism was central to Jordan's present state and its legitimacy. Massad (2001) however is more critical of the ways in which Bedouins were integrated into the Jordanian state, particularly through means of co-option and control. Massad (2001) argues that Bedouins in Jordan were forced to simultaneously bridge the gap between modernity and tradition in ways which erased their identities in order to form new ones. Massad (2001) draws on Bhabha's work on hybridity:

> *People are not simply historical events or parts of a body politic. They are also a complex rhetorical strategy of social reference where the claim to be representative provokes a crisis within the process of the signification and the discursive address. We then have a contested cultural territory where the people must be thought in a double-time; the people are the historical 'objects of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse on authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin or event; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principle of the people as that continual process by which national life is redeemed and signified as a repeating and reproductive process (Bhabha, 1994: 297).*

A process of ongoing strategies and representative practices create new and hybrid identities within the nation-state, identities which are politically organised (Bhabha, 1994). These identities do not even have to represent the histories of present day 'subjects' and can even erase prior imaginaries in order to create new imagined forms of identity (Bhabha, 1994). What is created, Massad (2001) argues, in Jordan as a result of this is an identity in double time, a creation of identity that is simultaneously modern and traditional (Massad, 2001). Modern in its creation of a unique Jordanian identity that reflects a progressive state, and traditional by emphasising the Bedouin history and the sense that Jordan is a historical place. This hybrid identity and the question of what a Jordanian identity might be is further complicated by the large numbers of Palestinian Jordanians living in Jordan. The creation of the Jordanian state in 1948, was also the year that Israeli independence was granted and many Arab Palestinians living in Israel were exiled in a moment called the Nakba by Palestinians – Arabic for catastrophe. Jordan at this time accepted many of these Arab Palestinian refugees and full Jordanian citizenship was promised to them. Further to this the Palestinian side of the divided city of Jerusalem and the West Bank was put under Jordanian control.

The 1950s, 60s, and 70s were marked by anti-colonial uprisings in Jordan as well as conflict with neighbouring Palestinians and Israel. The 1967 war with Israel, lost Jordan the West Bank. The coinciding rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964 also challenged the Jordanian government's claim to speak for the Palestinians. With the PLO increasingly recognised

as the only political representative of the revolting Palestinians, Jordan's King 'disengaged' from the West Bank in the 1980s (Massad, 2001). As a result of this, Massad (2001) argues, that the 1990s saw a period in which identity came to the forefront of the state agenda in Jordan. Many called for a more exclusive Jordanian identity, with Jordanian exclusionist movements questioning dual identities, including the Jordanianess of the Jordanian Royal Family itself (Massad, 2001).

With the creation of an exclusive Jordanian identity, there also emerged conflicting opinions about what this might mean given the unique positioning of Jordan outlined above by Massad (2001). Identity formation as a result became a key agenda in Jordan. Anderson (2001) has explored this identity formation within state textbooks in Jordan. History, Anderson (2001) argues serves to explain people's connection to the land on which they live. In the case of Jordan, the leaders constructed a reality they wanted the new Jordanian citizens to accept. Textbooks served such a purpose through four key components:

First, the writing and 'recovery' of a linear narrative became a primary goal of the new nation-states in this period…Implicit in this process is the idea that the nationalist liberation movement or the new state government served as the inevitable culmination point of that narrative…Second, states around the world use the vocabulary of 'modernity' and civic responsibility to describe their nation…Third, the process of compiling and constructing a national history has often proved problematic for new states because of the different definitions of identity utilized by the people already used by the people living within and outside their boundaries. In the case of Jordan, the Hashemites had to find ways to accommodate the larger Arab nationalist narrative that served as the accepted historical, ethnic, and linguistic bond in the region prior to World War I and the subsequent division of the region into Arab nation-states. Fourth, new leaders, like the Hashemites, could not completely ignore the means by which people already living within the boundaries of the nation define their own identity and their own history prior to the state's construction (Anderson, 2001: 6).

Anderson (2001) explores here the processes of state creation that became crucial to the creation of a narrative around Jordanian identity. In particular how identities and a Jordanian identity specifically dealt with the problem of movement. Bedouin identities proved a problem for the Jordanian state as their lifestyle was traditionally nomadic, and crossed current borders. Exploring Bedouin identities, relationships with land, and movement are therefore important to this thesis and why Jordan provides such an important site to explore politics and movement. For Bedouin tribes, the important landmarks were not towns nor did the space of abstracted grids matter but boundaries of individual tribes so that: 'each tribe had its own territory (its bilad or dura), its own history, and its own set of genealogies that link it to the past and to the physical space it now occupies' (Shyrock, 1997: 40). However, this history was not often one that was included in textbooks outlining the history of Jordan (Anderson, 2001). The Bedouin origin of many Jordanian people is not identified as an intrinsic root of the nation. In this research the means by which Bedouins have been excluded from identity formation and the Jordan state is uncovered.

The Bedouin population challenged the formation of the Jordanian state by highlighting the arbitrary nation of borders through their nomadic movement and having embodied relationships with place including indigenous knowledge that were not seen as important to the modern nation-state. Their narratives and histories were not included in state textbooks nor in maps of the Middle East which privileged borders over Bedouin tribal lands. While official maps provide important insights into official state territorial discourses, they only tell a partial story, Culcasi (2018) argues, and miss the complexity of how people imagine a relationship with territories (see also Smith et al, 2016). Culcasi (2018) argues that imaginations of the Arab homeland extend beyond delineations of borders and thus, link in with broader geopolitical processes. A key aim of this thesis is how walking

the line of the Trail is not the same marking of a line as the delineation of a border, nor the creation of a state territorial narrative, and is capable of capturing broader and more embodied understandings of the political geography of Jordan. This thesis, through the specific site of the Jordan Trail, captures identities rooted in the emotional and embodied experience of place.

The Jordan Trail's historical approach, through the generating of the line of the Jordan Trail and the different histories of the region, alongside the modern-day practice of walking the Trail present a unique way in which to capture historical movements and present-day relationships between culture, movement and politics. First, by exploring the postcolonial and the cultural through the modern-day act of walking and how a cultural imperialism is imposed and resisted by those walking the Jordan Trail. For instance, I will explore the contention that Jordan is a country in which people do not walk. Walking, I argue is not a universal process but one rooted in the cultural and colonial history of a place. Second, I explore how through the generating of the line of the Jordan Trail, the violence of line drawing, primarily through borders in the region, is subverted by the Jordan Trail but also risk imposes new neo-colonial lines. In other words, the generation of the route of the Jordan Trail captures Nabatean trade routes, Bedouin grazing routes and Roman roads amongst others which present a history of Jordan beyond its current borders but at the same time risks generating another line of imposition on the land.

This is also how I bring the political and the postcolonial together. Woon (2017:249) suggests that political geographers are well placed 'to locate and expose the rhizomes of colonialism's historical reach'. Political geographers, Woon (2017) argues, can reorient ethical norms, reconstruct Western knowledge formations, alter power structures, and refashion the world from below (Woon, 2017).[7] This links specifically with Spivak's (1985; 1988) ethico-political project concerned with the least powerful, whom she refers to as subalterns. Spivak (1985; 1988) argues that Western ways of knowing have been deemed the only legitimate ones, and in doing so negate other forms of knowledge. This results in the necessity of subalterns adopting Western thought, language and reasoning (Spivak, 1985; 1988). As such, 'the subaltern must always be caught in translation, never truly expressing herself, but always already interpreted' (Briggs and Sharp, 2004: 665). Issues such as identity, race, ethnicity and gender are being ignited in current postcolonial debates and also 'the agency of marginalized/subaltern groups in articulating, reclaiming, and celebrating their cultural identities' (Woon, 2017: 251). Work in political geography exploring questions of identity, citizenship, borders and nationhood I argue should engage more with postcolonialism and cultural geography.

My focus on bringing more cultural geographical accounts of place into conversation with political ones is that while political geography has always offered a located assessment of its themes (such

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7 These aims, I will also argue, align with feminist geopolitical work.

as territory, sovereignty, heartland, and shatterbelts) they have often been focused on state building, expansion, and control (Sidaway, 2008). The outline of state building within the Jordanian context I offered above directly reinforces this as much work has focused on the state level. It is why this thesis explores the need for embodied understandings and everyday experiences of both territory and the state. Woon (2017) argues further that area studies is often problematic as it arises from colonial goals to gather information about a place and classifications and orderings of the world. However, there has been a move in recent years to rethink area studies as no longer about 'trait geographies' but 'process geographies' (Woon, 2017:256): 'in other words on the forms of movements, encounters and exchanges that confound the idea of bounded world regions of immutable traits.'

Such a move also questions knowledge production and what counts as important sites of knowledge about the world. For instance, the dismissal of the walking body or a long-distance walking trail as an important site of political geography in Jordan amongst larger geopolitical concerns is one I aim to speak back to throughout this thesis. I argue for the need to explore situated, mundane, and everyday accounts of place and sites and to use these to speak back to geopolitical accounts of the Middle East and challenge the sites in which knowledge about the Middle East are commonly constructed. Jazeel and McFarlane (2010) argue for an understanding of dwelling in place as way in which to disrupt knowledge production. Dwelling being a term used by Ingold (2000) to indicate how a fixity in place can harness new forms of knowledge and understandings. It is therefore taking Ingoldian approaches to place along cultural geographical accounts that I seek to capture the everyday, embodied, and small scale accounts of Jordan that emerge from the Jordan Trail but also link to debates within political geography.

In sum, this thesis is about Jordan and the Jordan Trail and the way in which the entanglements of movement, culture, and politics on the Jordan Trail offer a different type of political engagement with the Middle East. It offers a politics of movement that is attentive to the cultural politics of Jordan. Furthermore, it elaborates how cultural practices can capture important relationships between identity, everyday politics, movement, embodiment and postcolonialism that have capacity to speak back to state centric narratives of the Middle East. As a result I argue three points: First I argue that within studies of movement and politics, and especially walking as a form of movement, the relationship between culture and politics has been little explored. This extends particularly to a lack of studies exploring movement and politics historically and through non-western sites and practices. Second, I argue that explorations of lived experiences of movement at the everyday scale and through cultural practices have been neglected within studies of the Middle East. Third I argue that the possibilities of alternative political narratives to emerge through these everyday and culturally divergent forms of a movement such as walking have not been explored.

Thesis aims and structure

This thesis was motivated by one central curiosity: what could the cultural politics of movement along a long-distance trail mean for understandings of Jordan and the entanglements between movement and politics? This introduction has outlined the historical and present day accounts of Jordan which highlights the importance of investigating movement and politics in the context of Jordan. First because the creation of the Jordanian state drew borders where none had previously existed and a mostly nomadic – moving – population of Bedouins were sedentarised. Second, the current day politics of Jordan is one in which movement is highly politicized through refugee displacement – mostly Palestinian, Syrian, and Iraqi refugees but more recently also those from Yemen and Libya – due to war and conflict. Fewer tourists are travelling to Jordan, Jordanian citizens increasingly find it hard to move due to closed borders around them and visa restrictions, and everyday movements such as walking are not investigated and not valued as important sites of politics. As a result following on from the introduction **Chapter 2** situates my thesis in relation to a broad body of literature on political geography, cultural geography and movement. I explore first the literature on mobilities and movement, before concentrating on how political geography has explored mobilities, then how cultural geography has explored mobilities, before finally focusing on the relationship between embodiment and movement to understand politics.

Chapter 3 details how a **qualitative methodological approach** was used. Continuing with a description of the first day on the trail, it explores the methodological approaches which inform this project. This is discussed through an engagement with grounded, and everyday methodological approaches, and the need to take positionality, translation, and ethics into careful consideration. As I spent prolonged periods of time in Jordan and Palestine, 18 months in total, I outline the ethnographic approach that I adopted: the importance of volunteering with organizations, walking, spending time in Jordan, and the use of visual methods. It is important to consider how mixed methods can be used, especially within ethnographic research. My interest in movement and politics informed by the previous chapter informs the critical approach to method in this chapter. I move beyond simply describing the methods to focus specifically on walking itself and the need to broaden walking as a method. I focus on walking as both a cultural and political practice and a methodology and suggest my research on the Jordan Trail can expand on literature on walking in three important ways: first a greater focus on temporality, on the pauses, stillness, immobilities and durational qualities of a long-distance walk.

Second, I focus on the cultural and postcolonial aspects of walking. Walking, I argue, is linked to the cultural norms of location, and can mean and represent something different depending on where it takes place. Third, I seek the development of a greater understanding of the embodiment of walking.

Before a series of three empirical chapters, I introduce why the concept of a line is so important to this thesis. I explore movement through walking a line and drawing a line to argue that a practice

such as walking is more than simply the act of placing one foot in front of the other. Too often in the Middle East, I argue, lines are understood as marks that delineate border, divide space, and as thus are stark reminders of its colonial legacy. Drawing on the work of Ingold (2011a), I argue for the need to find ways to engage differently with movement, lines, and ground. By rethinking the line differently, alternative narratives can emerge. I therefore outline a history of the Jordan Trail that is attentive to the generation of the line itself.

In **Chapter 4,** I then turn to Ingold's (2011a) work on lines to suggest how lines can also be imagined through the movements of bodies and as such connect to space differently. I focus on different ways in which the Jordan Trail captures past and present movements that challenge how bodies make territory. The Jordan Trail repossesses the land instead of possessing it. When the GPS coordinates and the foot on the ground did not succinctly meet, when the foot gained a blister, when animal tracks were followed, when we paused to escape the sun. In all of these moments the body matters. As such by thinking through the temporal and durational movements of bodies and movements that go beyond materiality, bodies help to conceive of place as something also experienced.

Chapter 5 asks what the Jordan Trail means as a project creating **territorial-nationalism**. I open with the story of Mohammad and Mohammad, the first ever Bedouins to walk the Jordan Trail. They became symbols of the success of the Jordan Trail in its potential to connect Jordanians to their country. They became a source of national pride, conducting interviews and making television and radio appearances across Jordan. Through Mohammad and Mohammad I change the story from the generation and movement of bodies along the Jordan Trail to ask what the Trail means for Jordan and Jordanians. Drawing on 'blood' and 'soil' narratives, I question how Jordanians connect to land as both imagined and material and why territorial nationalism is important in Jordan. In territorial nationalist narratives value is bound to territory as nation-building and the economic value of land.

Building on the history of Jordan I have outlined above, I destabilise the value of land as bound to nation building and economy and instead consider value in relation to emotional and embodied relationships to place. It is here I draw particularly on work by Ingold and cultural geographers. I ask what a homeland might mean in the context of the Middle East and how this destabilises bounded territory connected to the state. Particularly drawing on how different cultural groups, such as Jordan's Bedouin population understood the material properties of landscape differently. Finally I explore this relationship with land through risk and relations to the Trail as embodied and individual, so that meaning between individuals and place cannot be dictated by homogenising narratives from above but arise as the body walks. This in turn helps to bring together cultural and political work on place.

A **politics of touch** is the focus of **Chapter 6.** I focus primarily on encounters on the Jordan Trail with objects, other bodies, and non-humans through a politics of touch. Drawing on the work of

Erin Manning, Judith Butler, Karen Barad, and Sara Ahmed, I explore what touch means. I argue that while touch can be understood as the physical touch of another, it is primarily about response, ethics, responsibility, and relationality with the stranger. Touch, I argue, through work on encounter (Wilson, 2017a), is about the coming together of others. I therefore explore three moments of touch on the Jordan Trail: human-human, human-object, and human-animal. First, through human-human encounters I focus on touch as something that questions who the other is and how self is altered through such encounters. I return to the politics of movement to query how different movements and non-movements bring bodies into relationality and cause them to touch differently. Such differences I argue can be uncomfortable but within this discomfort moments that alter self and otherness emerge. Second, I draw on Manning's work and human-object encounters to think about the body in excess and beyond its physical limits. To consider how we can extend the body through equipment and technology along the Jordan Trail that question again narratives to limit risk but also enable bodies to be more risky. Finally, animal-human encounters challenge ourselves as bodies respond to the presence of animals. Animals are able to offer new ways of exploring and understanding ourselves (Franklin, 1999; Whatmore, 2006) but also help understand 'other presences and bearers of meaning within our own cultural spacings and placings' (Buller, 2014: 311). I therefore relate touch here to ethics and responsibility.

Figure 6: Wadi Rum (Author)

Chapter 2: Rethinking movement, culture, and politics

I was now following the 'Jordan Trail' which, in its entirety, traces the rocky spine of the country from north to south. As with the trails that I walked in Palestine, the Jordanian endeavour was not a new one – the landscape here mirrored that on the far side of the river, and for thousands of years it too was etched with trade routes, pilgrimage roads and agricultural paths…Thousands of miles from home, hobbled by language and cultural barriers, it felt wonderfully natural to travel like this – with my life on my back and a small notebook filled with the names of friendly people that I could meet along the way (McCarron, 2018: 107-108).

These are the words of Leon McCarron, author of 'The Land Beyond', a tale told of his journey on foot across the Middle East, from the West Bank, to Israel, down the Jordan Trail, and to Sinai. Within academic literature, work on long-distance walking trails has received limited attention, while long-distance walking trails in the Middle East have received as to date no academic engagement. McCarron's (2018) book is one of an increasing number of engagements within travel writing and reflects on the history of the region captured by the Jordan Trail but also the present day act of movement by foot along the trail. A reason why there has been a lack of academic engagement with walking trails is I argue a failure to engage with walking trails as an important site of cultural politics. Therefore while the next chapter – Chapter 3 – outlines walking literature itself and the methodology of this thesis, here I engage with the relationship between movement and cultural politics. First I outline literature on mobilities and movement, before exploring literature on movement and first political geography, then cultural geography. I then draw another distinction between cultural geography's and political geography's approaches to movement through embodiment. Finally I outline literature on embodiment and touch. In sum these sections together outline how literature on movement, culture and politics can be brought together to explore the Jordan Trail.

Mobility and movement

In recent years, mobility has become a central concept across the social sciences and humanities. In 2006, Hannam, Sheller, and Urry launched the journal 'Mobilities' and simultaneously the notion of a 'new mobilities paradigm'. 'A 'mobility turn', Hannam et al (2006:2) wrote 'is spreading into and transforming the social sciences and putting into question the fundamental 'territorial' and 'sedentary' precepts of twentieth-century social science.' The new mobilities paradigm they argue

could engage: migration, tourism, travel; mobility nodes and spatial mobilities; and materialities and mobilities (Hannam et al, 2006). It is their call in particular for more consideration of uneven power relations, the relationship between immobility and immobilities, and moorings that are most informative to this thesis. 'New places and technologies enhances the mobilities of some *and* heighten the mobilities of others,' argue Sheller and Urry (2006: 207). All places are tied to a network of connections that extend beyond each place (Sheller and Urry, 2006). A new mobilities paradigm for Sheller and Urry (2006) is one which considers the fluid independence of different mobilities, different places, and different people.

Mobility therefore has been a term which has investigated all forms of movement from the small scale of the body to infrastructural and transport movements, to global flows of finance or labour (Cresswell, 2011). Cresswell (2010) argues that the development of a more finely tuned understanding of the politics of mobility must be attuned to immobility, as much as the forces, speeds, rhythms, routes, experiences and frictions that compose mobility. Bissell's (2007; 2010b) work has explored the relationship between mobility and immobility, to argue that human experience is enmeshed within mobilities. Different mobilities have different relationships to the world and we should not privilege movement over non-movement (Bissell, 2007). Inaction and action, Bissell (2007) suggests, might be better ways to conceptualise these relationships and by considering periods of waiting, immobility and inaction are rich times that weave through multiple temporalities. Bodies, Bissell (2007) argues are highly attuned through stillness. This links with a move to consider temporalities and rhythms within everyday life and experiences of both movement and mobilities.

Berlant's (2008) work for instance on the impasse and crisis ordinariness maintains that most of social life happens in modes of lower-case drama, as we follow the quotidian rhythms of the day. Berlant (2008) uses the impasse as a way in which to reorientate and to draw attention to the present and these moments of lower-case drama as a means of analysis and particularly actions which stick us in the present. I will argue in this thesis that such periods of stasis are found throughout the Jordan Trail. As Berlant (2008: 6) suggests: 'stopping to think puts on minor breaks, making alternative agency and affectivity imaginable but not yet achieved within the shared world of the present that is in intensified suspension.' This intensified suspension is part of the unfolding of a historical moment in which the past is experienced in the present. This moment has the potential to rethink one's own agency, the limits to their sovereignty, and the crisis of ordinariness (2008). For instance, Berlant (2011) also uses the term 'cruel optimism' to describe a crisis ordinariness in which individuals are constantly striving for the 'good life' – an optimistic ideal – which can never be achieved and results in both feelings of failure and a time spent in both the future and past.

This relationship between mobility and immobility is also one which is important to understand uneven mobility. Ahmed (2004: 3), for example, critiques mobile forms of subjectivity and argues

that the 'idealisation of movement, or transformation of movement into a fetish, depends on the exclusion of others who are already positioned as not free in the same way.' Blunt (2007) has explored the growing relationship between work on mobilities, transnationalism, and migration. Drawing on the burgeoning literature on migration, Blunt (2007:686) argues that: 'legal frameworks that facilitate some mobilities while restricting others are themselves inseparably bound up with the embodied politics of difference.' While work on diaspora, citizenship and transnationality has asked if new spaces have been created as a result of the movements of people, and the relationships that arise between mobility and locatedness, the nation and transnationality (Blunt, 2007). This has extended more recently to work on refugees and mobility (Gill et al, 2011; Gill et al, 2013; Mason, 2011; Mountz, 2010). Sheller (2018) has also argued that accounts of mobilities must capture non-western and indigenous mobilities and relational understandings that can speak back to fixed nation-state perspectives. Sheller (2018: 21) calls in particular for the inclusion of 'historical time horizons drawing on global indigenous, non-western, and postcolonial experiences'.

The work on movement and mobility highlighted above begins to outline the relationship between mobility and politics. Cresswell (2010: 17), for example, in his call for a politics of mobility argues that mobility can be thought of as 'an entanglement of movement, representation, and practice.' In his book 'On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World', Cresswell (2006: 21) asks 'how the fact of movement becomes mobility. How, in other words, movement is made meaningful, and how the resulting ideologies of mobility become implicated in the production of mobile practices'. The notion of a 'new mobilities paradigm' is also drawn into caution by Cresswell (2010:18) who notes he is sceptical of the use of the world 'paradigm' as it implies 'sudden revolutions where what went previously is unceremoniously tipped into the junkheap of academic history'. As such I draw not just on the 'mobilities turn' but wider understandings of movement, to consider what movements mobility literature has focused less on. Therefore, my contribution is a consideration of how everyday movements in Jordan and the cultural practices along a long-distance walking trail can add and expand this literature on mobility and politics. In particular I argue for the need to consider mobilities outside of Western perspectives, that include indigenous accounts of movement, and consider more carefully why certain movements have been privileged within the mobilities paradigm. Cresswell (2010) argues that there is little detailed account of various aspects of mobility that have the capacity to make it powerful. The next section therefore details the literature on movement, mobility, and politics.

Movement, mobility and politics

Cresswell (2010:19) considers three aspects of mobility: 'physical movement – getting from one place to another; the representations of movement that give it shared meaning; and, finally, the experienced and embodied practices of movement.' These aspects for Cresswell (2010), begin to outline what a politics of movement might be concerned with. Physical movement of course being something that for Cresswell (2010) can be directly related to the politics of the state. This includes

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the state's control of physical movement through border controls, visa restrictions, and citizenship rights but also the infrastructures within the state. For instance, road and rail networks but also control of clock changes, time zones, and working patterns. With this control, mobility is also uneven and differentiated. Adey (2006) argues that the politics of mobility revolves around two main ideas. First, movement is differentiated and second that it is related in diverse ways. It means different things to different people, particularly related to distinct social circumstances. In this way mobility and immobility are profoundly relational and experiential (Adey, 2006). This returns to Creswell's (2010) argument that movement is also represented and embodied through experience. However, as I will argue later in this chapter, studies of the politics of movement that engage with embodiment and experience still often fail to engage with non-Western contexts, indigenous bodies, or the materiality of place.

Adey (2006) argues that mobility can be a way in which to transgress power structures. Edensor (2010: 71) argues that '[p]eople must fit into…multiple rhythms but…there is a continual tension between conforming to the regulations which are imposed upon the walking bodies, and the incipient tendency to wander off score.' These entangled notions of control of movements and how people move against them are important to consider how mobile bodies are able to transgress power structures but also the ways in which structures confine and contain bodies. The right to mobility is also a fundamental aspect of modern Western civilisation argues Cresswell (2010) and this opens up crucial questions about the frameworks in which movement and the right to movement have been conceptualised. My argument here is that a focus on mobilities has often been conceptualised within Western frameworks and academic paradigms which often neglect historical and postcolonial accounts of movement.

Another aspect within my call for considering non-Western and postcolonial accounts of movement is understanding how cultural practices can offer new perspectives on work on mobility. For instance, the Jordan Trail I argue can query how practices of walking and the generation of a long-distance walking Trail are also linked to Western knowledge production and Eurocentric understandings of place but also transgress this and enable different bodies and their differential movements to count. As my point of departure from current work on politics and movement, I argue for more work which considers the intersections of politics, culture, and movement. Through these intersections I argue the possibilities to explore movement in non-Western locations are possible. I argue for the bringing together of work in political geography and cultural geography in two ways. First through approaches to place, second approaches to embodiment. The following sections therefore outline where political, cultural and mobilities work meet and can be expanded.

Movement and cultural politics I: territory, terrain and land versus landscape, ground and surface

The formation of (...) territory is one of emergence. It has no essence, and its trajectory is not linear. Rather, it is formed and reformed by the elements that add to the assemblage (reterritorializing it) and leave the assemblage (deterritorializing it). Key to an assemblage is that the parts that compose it are heterogenous and independent, and it is from the relations between the parts that the temporary, contingent whole emerges (Steinberg and Peters, 2015: 255).

'Far from being uniform, homogenous, and pre-prepared, the ground is variegated, composite, and undergoes continuous generation. Moreover, it is apprehended in movement rather than from fixed points. Making their way along the ground, people create paths and tracks. These are made, however, through the impression of footprints rather than gestural inscription. As footprints are made in soft ground rather than stamped on a hard surface, their temporality is bound to the dynamics of its formation. These dynamics are a function of the weather, and of reactions across the interface between earth and air. Breathing with each step they take, wayfarers walk at once in the air and on the ground (Ingold, 2010a: 121)

In these two quotes one from two political geographers - Steinberg and Peters - and one from a social and cultural anthropologist - Ingold –-I offer ways in which to suggest how political and cultural geographers have approached movement and place differently. One in which movement and territory are linked to practices of the nation-state and in the other movement is created through individual bodies and their relationship with the materiality of ground and surface. It is these different approaches I draw on.

Territory, terrain, and land

The quote from Steinberg and Peters (2015) is from one of the first papers in a body of work which explores the relationship between territory and movement.[8] Their argument is that territory is

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[8] It is important to note that a large amount of recent work in Political Geography has begun to engage more critically with territory. Peters, Steinberg and Stratford (2018) for instance write that Elden's (2010) choice of terms land and terrain, and their assumed meanings, limit his perspective. Their focus on advancing understandings of territory beyond the geophysical limits implied by conventional understandings of land and terrain is important and returns to the relationship between movement, dynamism, emergence, formation, and assemblage the initial quotes detailed. The assumed relationship between territory and land they suggest is problematic (Peters, Steinberg, and Stratford, 2018). Hence their edited volume begins with a challenging of the elemental aspects of territory. Nieuwenhuis (2018) uses the transient and the visual materiality of sand to challenge 'solid' earthliness. Other chapters space the atmosphere through a concentration on air rights (Lin, 2018), the territories of deep-water oil production (Phillips, 2018), and fire (Clark, 2018). The final section 'Edges' outlines the importance of paying attention to scale and boundaries, drawing on Newman and Paasi's (1998:200) work on boundaries in which there must be an understanding of a wide range of boundaries: 'from the physical and territorial to the social, personal and symbolic'. Thinking beyond territory Stratford (2018) argues involves thinking beyond solid surface. Within political geography this has

always in a process of transformation and is never static (Steinberg and Peters, 2015). This goes some way to more critical approaches to territory within political geography and the ways in which different processes and practices make territory. Territory being one of the most crucial terms for political geography's engagement with place and space. Elden's (2010) 'Land, terrain, territory' has been influential in re-igniting interest in territory as a term for political geographers. An interest lost due to political geography's association with the territorial imperialism of the colonial period. The work of political geographers such as MacKinder, Ratzel, Kjellen, and Haushofer in the 19th and 20th centuries saw political geography used to understand how states can expand and use physical geography features for strategic advantage.

The end of World War II saw the decline of political geography as a discipline associated with the wars of the 20th century. Painter (2010:1091) argues territory as a term became 'something of an embarrassment' to progressive geographical thinkers. However, the early 21st century has seen a resurgence on work on territory in political geography. Territory, Elden (2010:799) argues, 'needs to be understood in its relationship to space, itself a calculative category that is dependent on the existence of a range of techniques.' Elden (2010) makes the distinction between territory and territoriality. The neglect of territory, Elden (2010) suggests is in part its association with territoriality and a focus on conventional notions of territory which more recent post-structural approaches have unpicked (Painter, 2010).

Second the biological drivers associated with territory have restricted its uses and application in political geography. Elden (2010) suggests territory must be reformulated and re-understood. He does this in relation to understandings of land and terrain. In which land is a spatial organization shaped by the concept of property, 'a finite resource that is distributed, allocated, and owned, a political-economic question' (Elden, 2010:804). Terrain is in relation to power, especially military power. It is related to terror and to the legitimate use of violence (Mann, 1986). It is about control, a political-strategic question (Elden, 2010). Territory is no longer merely static terrain or an economic object but a vibrant entity (Elden, 2010). Territory is a political technology.

As I came to write this thesis, political geography's accounts of territory, even those accounts I have outlined above that explore more fluid notions of territory, failed to account for the relationships with territory that emerged from my fieldwork. Movement of bodies over territory and how that altered relationships with it were omitted. However, as work particularly that of Ingold and other academics exploring indigenous relationships with place (see Bawaka County et al, 2016) argue, the capturing of everyday movements across territory and embodied engagements with place can reorientate 'dominant, ocular-centric western perspectives of place' (Bawaka County et al, 2016). It was instead work in cultural geography that I took my inspiration from to speak back to the

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been explored by Williams' (2013; 2011) work on verticality and drones, Adey's work on levitation (2017), aerial life (2011), and air (2013), and Elden's (2013) work on volumetric geopolitics.

preoccupation with territory as the most important political scale. A preoccupation which has dominated political geography and this has often defined what counts as political geographical engagements with place. Further there is a concentration within this on Western ways of knowing and engaging with territory, limited work has engaged with postcolonialism and territory within postcolonial theory.[9] These conceptualisations are important because this thesis is ultimately about questions of postcolonialism and the nation-state and understanding how place is created through movement. However, a focus purely on the territorial goals of the nation-state is also problematic. It erases other ways in which people have engaged with place and moved. It is here therefore that I return to Ingold.

Landscape, surface, and ground

Ingold's (2010a) quote is concerned with the everyday movements of people, animals, and weather systems. Ingold (2010a) is less concerned with the political goals of territory but instead the ways in which territory is created through embodied movement. Both Ingold (2010a) and Steinberg and Peters (2015) are interested in the processes which create place; yet their terminology is different. This relates to the differing ways that cultural and political geography have approached place. Political geographers have favoured terms such as terrain, territory and land which focus on the calculation, economic value, strategic role of place, and its relationship with the nation-state. Cultural geographers have instead favoured terms such as landscape, surface, and ground. Terms which unpack relationships between cultural processes, movement, and bodies which invest place with meaning and, as Ingold (2010a) argues, physically alter its materiality. Bringing both such approaches together through movement is really important to this thesis to consider how movement on the Jordan Trail can create conversation between both.

Amongst cultural geographies, for instance, landscape is a term used to describe practices that inscribe land with meaning. In recent years, there has been a move away from more traditional approaches to landscape concerned with regionalism (Sauer, 1925), humanism (Meinig, 1979), vernacular aspect of landscapes (Jackson, 1997a, 1997b) and landscapes as a way of seeing (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993) to landscapes as a product of practice (Ingold, 2000). This work has suggested the ongoing practices and relationship with the formation of landscape and the relationship between human and non-human movement. The 'dwelling perspective' for Ingold (2000) is the provocation that there is no world 'out there' but rather 'it is through being inhabited…that the world becomes a meaningful environment' (Ingold, 2000: 183). Ingold (2004: 329) argues that throughout history there has been a 'detachment of persons from the ground'. He suggests that

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9 This is also a criticism waged at cultural work on landscape, I explore this more in Chapter 5. For instance Tolia-Kelly (2007) suggests the landscape of the Lake District is not for everyone a culturally valorized site of national sensibility but a site of exclusion, and alienation. Tolia-Kelly (2007:334) writes that: 'The Englishness embedded here [The Lake District] is not representative of the history of the site, or the flows of values, memories, narratives and histories that it embodies.' The cultural lenses in which the term landscape has been used are rooted within art history and aesthetic appreciation and composition, an elite cultural lens that excludes every day, embodied and emotional engagements with landscapes.

adopting a more grounded approach to human movement, sensitive to embodied skills of footwork, opens up new terrain in the study of environmental perception, the history of technology, landscape formation and human anatomical evolution (Ingold, 2004:315).

Work in cultural geography on landscape has been crucial in challenging fixed notions of place and understanding places as in constant relationship with its stories (Lorimer, 2014), its absences and hauntings (Wylie, 2009), as a place of loss and mourning (Lorimer, 2018; Jones, 2015) and performance (Wylie, 2003). A transcript from a panel entitled 'Landscape, mobility, practice' from the RGS-IBG[10] annual conference in 2008 printed in the Journal 'Social and Cultural Geography' suggests the importance of mobilities in exploring how we inhabit, apprehend, move, and encounter through landscapes. There is something useful, Merriman et al (2008: 192) suggest: 'by interrogating how landscape/landscaping is practised, emergent through mobile and material practices, and how mobilities animate landscapes and places.' Cresswell for instance argues that the use of the term 'landscape' is one he finds unhelpful: 'once practice is introduced into landscape...what is to be gained from using the concept of landscape, rather than, say, place?' (Merriman et al, 2008: 194). Wylie (2008) argues that landscape is about the tensions between subject and object, self and world. These discussions suggest that approaches to landscape have focused on the practices in which subject formation occurs in ways neglected by political geography. However, the terminology through which place is understood needs more exploration.

A further question this panel raised, which is important to this thesis, is that landscape is often rooted in British or Euro-American contexts (Merriman et al, 2008). It is for exactly this reason that I am also hesitant to engage with the term 'landscape'. Therefore while Lorimer (Merriman et al, 2008) points out that landscape can move as a concept or cultivation, there are still limited accounts that develop conceptualisations of landscape that emerge from a variety of places. As a result as well as using the term landscape throughout this thesis, when I engage with work on landscape, I also argue that thinking more broadly about place and the relationship between terminology and where and on what movement occurs is important. To return to Cresswell's (2010) arguments around politics and mobility, he argues for six elements of a politics of mobility, one being that the route that movement takes is important. He writes:

> *[M]obility itself is 'channeled' into acceptable conduits. Smooth space is a field*
> *without conduits or channels. Producing order and predictability is not simply a*
> *matter of fixing in space but of channeling motion – of producing correct*
> *mobilities through the designation of routes (Cresswell, 2010: 24).*

This discussion of routes therefore broadens up the conversations about the place in which movement occurs, by considering the ways in which movement is carried. This thesis is about a line, as a channel of movement, and thinking about the relationship between lines and movement and what these 'acceptable conduits' of movement might be. I therefore follow Ingold (2011a) in arguing that Eurocentric lines of movement are often privileged (such as the infrastructural lines of roads, railways, and pavements) over non-Western forms of movement. Ingold (2011a) argues for instance that modernity and Western culture is about following prescribed lines from A to B, in which movement itself is not important but instead the destination. However in other cultures and particularly amongst indigenous populations, movement itself forms lines (Ingold, 2011a).

Ingold pays attention to three types of lines to illustrate his argument: threads, traces, and ghostly lines. Threads, usually woven by human hands, are one of the most ancient of human arts through which buildings, textures, and materials are made. They also emerge in natural environments, in the form of roots, rhizomes, and fungal mycelia (Ingold, 2011a). Traces are any enduring surface left on a solid surface by continual movement and are usually one of two kinds: additive or reductive. Lines drawn with chalk or charcoal the former; while lines scratched, scored, or etched onto the surface the latter. Like threads they adorn the non-human world and are often left by humans. It is revealing, Ingold notes, that the verb 'to draw' is the same verb in English that refers to the activity of the hand in the manipulation of threads and the inscription of traces. Finally, ghostly lines are those which do not bear any physical mark on the surface but are instead created in our imagination, through stories or on charts (Ingold, 2011a).

These distinctions between lines are crucial for Ingold, for how they entail changing relationships with surfaces. It is the joining of threads that make surfaces and the dissolution and disappearance of traces that dissolve them that Ingold argues distinguishes each in its relationship with surface (Ingold, 2011a). For Ingold (2010a), an embodied engagement with surfaces through practices such as walking is one in which surfaces are created. These surfaces are created as the walking body continually breathes, steps, and interacts with the ground materially and ephemerally (Ingold, 2010a). This offers a contrary understanding to the relationship between land, terrain, and territory outlined by Elden (2010). A relationship in which territory is an amalgamation of both the resource of land, and the field of power linked to terrain, however not something related to embodied movement. This relationship is explored by MacFarlane's (2012) book on trails, 'The Old Ways' in which he writes:

> *We think of paths as existing only on land, but the sea has its paths too, though*
> *water refuses to take and hold marks. Sections of the Icknield Way may have*

been first trodden into the chalk 5000 years ago, but the sea will not record a
journey made on it half an hour previously. Sea roads are dissolving paths
whose passage leaves no trace beyond a wake, a brief turbulence astern. They
survive as convention, tradition, as a sequence of coordinates, as a series of
waymarks, as dotted lines on charts, and as stories and songs (MacFarlane,
2012: 78-79).

The traditions, charts, stories, songs, conventions, and waymarks MacFarlane (2012) writes of conceptualise lines as changeable, movable, and individually experienced. It also emphasises that ghostly lines and lines themselves can take different forms relating to our own experiences. For Ingold and MacFarlane these lines are important because of how they make and unmake surfaces. These discrete categories of lines are important for Ingold (2011a) because of the way each creates different surfaces. Threads, through the weaving and iteration of them, similar to crochet, create surfaces; traces mark surfaces in a way which creates new ones. MacFarlane's (2012) lines, he suggests, enable a reimagining of the history of Europe. Blank out the land interiors of Britain, Ireland, and Western Europe, MacFarlane asks, consider them featureless, as you might have previously considered the sea: 'Instead, populate the western and northern waters with paths and track a system that joins port to port, island to island, headland to headland, river mouth to river mouth. The sea has become the land, in that it is now the usual medium of transit,' MacFarlane (2012: 93) writes. As a result national boundaries are shown differently and nations that once had coastlines have a continuous territory of their own.

I am not arguing here for a reimagining of Jordan nor a turning of sand into water but that through alternative ways in which to conceptualise movement, place can be understood differently and outside of territory and its connection to the nation-state. MacFarlane is suggesting here, in much the same way as Ingold, that what is important about these lines is how they enable us to imagine land, space and surfaces differently. As a result these lines can also create relationships with territories that move beyond the a concentration on the fixed and calculative aspects of territory. Territory through lines and surfaces can be fluid not just within the constraints of borders but outside it too. Therefore while borders create territories, lines create surfaces. These surfaces as opposed to territory can be movable, they can be altered by movements over them, new surfaces can be created and current surfaces undone. In the same way as lines incorporate a wide range of different material and immaterial meanings; surfaces for Ingold (2011a), capture a wide range of understandings and relationships with place.

To conclude this section, my argument here is that politics and movement can be understood through considering the difference between political and cultural geography's approaches to place. For political geographers, while recent work has begun to explore the relationship between movement and territory in important and fascinating ways, that highlight the changing ways in which states are controlling their territories and their populations, the dominant focus in political geography and its calculable properties has also limited the ways in which political geography engages with place. Cultural geography in contrast to first outline connections with place that move beyond territory and borders and illustrate how movement can alter relationships with place through the creation of surfaces, discussions of ground and work on landscape. Within the context of Jordan such an attentiveness to relationships with place that focus on alternative histories and narratives that do not move beyond the territory of the nation-state are crucial to this thesis. It is such bringing together of cultural and political geography that the following section continues to explore. In the following section I continue my discussions about political and cultural geography and their approaches to movement through embodiment.

Mobility and cultural politics II: embodiment

To return to Cresswell's (2010) 'politics of mobility', alongside his six elements of a politics of mobility, are the ways in which mobilities are differentially accessed and this is fundamentally about how mobility is embodied: 'how comfortable is it? Is it forced or free? A man and a woman, or a businessman [sic] and a domestic servant, or a tourist and a refugee may experience a line of a map linking A and B completely differently' (Cresswell, 2010: 21). As a result for Cresswell (2010) an approach to mobility must consider the representations, meanings, and experience of movement. This is an attentiveness to speed, rhythm, immobility, and feeling (Cresswell, 2010). This next section therefore is about this relationship between embodiment and movement in both political geography and cultural geography.

Political geography and embodiment

> Embodiment and territory are also connected by the ways in which particular racialised, gendered, and sexed bodies construct territory. Embodied relationships to territory are thus also negotiated by power relations and geopolitical violence, inseparable from the production and maintenance of territory (Coddington, 2018: 192).

Work by political geographers (see Smith et al, 2016; Mountz et al, 2013; Paasi, 2012) argues that bodies are central to compositions of territory. Through the maritime (im)mobilities of asylum seekers, Coddington (2018) in the above quote maintains that bodies can be both territory and that experiences of territory manifest through the body, through her examples of asylum seekers using boats to gain asylum in Australia, and women in labour at the Palestinian-Israeli border. Bodies make territory here because it is only the 'right' bodies that are admitted and can be part of territory. As Coddington (2018) writes above this embodiment involves understanding how different bodies experience territory and furthermore the power geometries within these relationships. Smith et al (2016: 258) write that:

> Bodies challenge and subvert state control of territory, become vulnerable to violence due to state bordering practices, and experience and produce smaller-scale forms of territory in the refugee camp or hospital.

It is at borders, Smith et al (2016) argue that bodies are particularly vulnerable to state control and the body becomes a territorial agent in border making and territory making (Smith et al, 2016). The territorial extension of the borders of the nation-state is experienced by asylum seekers entering the water of a country in boats (Coddington, 2018). Therefore while feminist scholars have argued (see Smith et al, 2016) that Elden's (2013) work on territory is useful in its genealogical delineation of territory, it fails to investigate embodied and bodily material manifestations of territory. Borders become sites where bodies are often reduced to what Agamben (1998) would term 'bare life' as they are represented through their gender, race, ethnicity, and class. Bodies can also become and act upon territory, they can resist and challenge state authority by mobilisation and their physical

presence in a place (Smith et al, 2016). Embodiment as a result is a key concern of this thesis and of feminist scholars as through the body, the ways political actions are experienced and unevenly so across differently situated populations is possible (Massaro and Williams, 2013). In other words, political processes are connected in ways that make it impossible to consider macro levels, such as the state, without also considering the micro level, such as the body (Pain, 2009). Relating this to power, Painter (2014) argues that power filters through our mundane and ordinary relationships, suturing everyday frameworks in such a way that to understand political processes needs to involve as much emphasis on sites of formal politics as everyday politics.

This is further related to recent work on the global and the intimate within feminist geopolitics (Pratt and Rosner, 2006). Smith (2014) has looked for instance at the role love and desire play in the Leh District of India – a border land between India and Pakistan – to illustrate that even the most intimate aspects of our lives – love and marriage - are shaped by, and, in turn shape geopolitical processes. Intimacy-geopolitics is a term used by Pain and Staeheli (2014) to investigate the entangled scales of geopolitical relations. They define intimacy as a set of spatial relations from proximate to distant, a mode of interaction from personal to distant/global, and a set of practices connecting the body and that which is distant. As such intimacy is an important tool to think about relations, practices, and interactions across a variety of scales and sites (Pain and Staeheli, 2014).

This work argues that for the valuing of everyday stories, lives, and bodies but to trace their intertwined mobilities and immobilities (Lee and Pratt, 2010). Feminist work has focused on the mobile geographies of migrants and refugees to argue that: 'the narratives of mobility and travel across borders that we have been told are characterised less by 'freedom' and 'choice', as by loss, fear, deprivation, and pain' (Lee and Pratt, 2010: 227). This work has asked for an examination of the consequences of restricted travel on those who cannot move. For some, Lee and Pratt (2010) argue mobility spawns immobility. Mountz (2010: 255) argues in relation to the refugee that while contemporary existence is characterised by increased global intimacy and mobility, immigration controls and 'the policing of national borders connects the policing of identities and subject positions within and beyond the state.' Refugees and asylum seekers, as persons seeking refuge, have their mobilities made visible in ways that highlight that the mobility of a body depends on whose body it is (Mountz, 2010). Refugees also become fundamentally related to the state and their identities became detached and attached to territory in often paradoxical and contradictory way through 'graduated zones of sovereignty' and legal practices (Mountz, 2010: 257).

This all helps to outline why bodies matter to political geography and particularly why moving bodies matter. The proliferation of work on political geography and embodiment in recent years Mountz (2018: 765) argues challenges concepts which are fundamental to political geography such as: 'scale, territory, sovereignty, jurisdiction, identity, and power.' Mountz's (2018) overview of current work in political geography on embodiment outlines the plethora of engagements with the

body and performance (Butler, 1993), inclusion of women's bodies in power and politics (Staeheli et al, 2004), women's dress (Gökarıksel and Secor, 2014), scale (Dowler and Sharp, 2001, intimacy (Pratt and Rosner, 2006; Pain and Staeheli, 2014), conflict (Hyndman, 2003; 2008), trauma (Coddington and Micieli-Voutsinas, 2017), detention (Martin and Mitchelson, 2009), borders (Anzaldu´a, 1987; Smith, 2013; 2014; Long, 2011), race and indigeneity, and colonial violence (McKittrick, 2006; Ybarra, 2016; De Leeuw, 2016), and death and grief (Butler, 2004; Mbembé, 2003). This work has all been important within political geography to move away from studies which focus on the state level, territory as political technology, and ignore embodied, emotional, everyday, gendered, and racialised accounts of politics.

However, I argue that engagements with cultural practices, such as walking or a long-distance walking trail, within political geography have been limited. Furthermore, as I argued previously, particularly in Jordan accounts of mobilities outside of work on refugees and migration is limited. When mobility is conceptualised in the region it is through the bodies of refugees, or else primarily through the lens of immobility: borders are closed and international tourists no longer travel there. My bringing into conversation work on political geography and cultural geography is to suggest how alternative accounts of Jordan might be gained, particularly through the embodied practice of walking. A method and site which has been neglected in political geography. I suggest that through exploring cultural sites of production, indigenous accounts of place, and ones which contrast bounded territory are possible. This in turn can be brought into conversation with state narratives of territory. Such as my exploration in Chapter 5 of the Jordan Trail as promoted as a site of territorial nationalism while simultaneously capturing the embodied narratives of international walkers and Bedouins that speak to relationships with place that contest territorial nationalism.

In the following section I outline ways in which the cultural anthropologist Ingold and cultural geographers have explored embodiment and movement through walking. Such conceptualisations I use throughout this thesis to build on feminist work on territory to explore other ways in which to understand place outside of nation-state territorial associations, in relationship to the materiality of ground, and to capture indigenous knowledge. Cultural geography has been an important sub-discipline in capturing embodied elements of movement, ground, and environment. This is really important because this thesis is interested in examining relationships with place that are embodied, everyday, and experienced. The next section, therefore outlines work on cultural geography and embodiment.

Cultural geography and embodiment

Work across cultural geography has engaged with the practices of movement that enable bodies to experience place as Cresswell and Merriman (2010: 5) write: 'mobile, embodied practices are central to how we experience the world, from practices of writing and sensing, and walking and driving. Our mobilities create spaces and stories – spatial stories.' Therefore while work in political geography I have outlined above has been crucial in outlining how bodies are differentially altered

by movement and how political decisions unevenly alter movement, a focus on practices and experiences of movement has instead been the focus of cultural geography. In Cresswell and Merriman's (2010) edited volume on 'Geographies of Mobilities' they include five practices associated with movement: walking (Lorimer, 2010a), running (Bale, 2010), dancing (Dewsbury, 2010), driving (Laurier, 2010), and flying (DeLyser, 2010). These practices, they write, are often associated with different ways of thinking, being, and different ethics, aesthetics, and ecologies (Cresswell and Merriman, 2010). As a result I argue that understanding how particular practices are formed within the politics of a region is important to emphasizing the importance of cultural practices to politics and also offering embodied, quotidian, and experienced accounts of politics. It is therefore through walking, as the central mobility of this thesis, that the following sections outlines literature on walking and cultural geography to illustrate how walking might be an important medium through which to explore the politics of the region. Walking importantly being a practice which has been largely neglected in political geography (see Sidaway, 2009).

Lorimer (2010a) argues that a proliferation of recent work on walking has moved walking from a form of transport, destination orientated, and shaped by economic choices and restraints to one about the walk as an event, the walker as a subject, and walking as an embodied act. Walking, Lorimer (2010a) argues, is a product of the places in which walks take place, they can be features of understanding everyday life, they can be means to understand one's own body, and willful and artful walks. As Lorimer (2010a: 27) writes:

> *Walking, we now understand, need not always, or only, derive function or purpose from movement or motive leading towards destination, say between two significant points, or, the goal of returning to the same place. Walking can be a mode of being that wills itself, creating purposes of its own, which emerge (and just as easily pass away) during the experience of travelling on foot.*

Lorimer (2010a) outlines here that the practice of walking itself and not just how it connects places is crucial to a new walking paradigm. It is from this that I take my point of departure to ask how walking alters experiences with places, and what it means as a practice in itself. What it can tell us about the politics of a place. Solnit (2001: 250) describes walking as an "indicator species", which, for ecologists, signifies the health of an ecosystem: '[w]alking is an indicator species for various kinds of freedoms and pleasures: free time, free and alluring space, and unhindered bodies' (Solnit, 2001: 250). In this sense, walking, as one type of cultural practice, is linked to the cultural norms of location, and can mean and represent something different depending on where it takes place. Therefore, while the next chapter on method, outlines in detail walking as a method, here my interest in expanding its use in uncovering the relationship between movement and politics through walking.

In walking we give ourselves a rhythm allowing it to control the body like an involuntary movement. So, as the heart beats consistently and the breath draws in and out, the legs take measured steps. Yet walking is not a naturally involuntary act, it seems to lie halfway between what can be willed and what can direct itself. We learn to walk but it also seems natural. People develop individual and characteristic walks and manage to move about without conscious thought. Yet the intermediate status of walking is affirmed when we need to mind our step over rough or unfamiliar terrain. The walk may be familiar but new terrain must be mapped (Slavin, 2003: 4).

Slavin (2003) outlines two ways in which he considers movement and the body through walking. First that walking is a way to understand one's own rhythm in relation to one's body. Second, it offers an important connection between body, environment, and ground, one moves depending on one's relationship with the terrain. One's mind and body relationship, Slavin suggests changes as we encounter 'rough or unfamiliar terrain.' This is also echoed by Wylie (2005a: 239) on a day's walk on the South West Coastal Path in which he describes: 'Limbs and lungs working hard in a haptic, step-by-step engagement with nature-matter.' Such a haptic engagement for Wylie (2005a: 239) results in a 'close visual, tactile, and sonorous relation with the earth, the ground, the mud, stinging vegetation.' The rustling of his own rucksack and the sound of his breathing against this proximity to earth, creates for Wylie (2005a:239), 'an anonymous soundtrack through which movement is realised.' Lee and Ingold (2006: 78) write:

[T]here is an even greater directness in the relationship between the routes of walkers and their environments. Each footstep may leave a mark, plants pushed out of the way, and trodden earth and stones leaving a record of the linear movement over and through them. The route becomes embedded in the landscape in a way that is usually not possible in urban areas (Lee and Ingold, 2006: 78).

Emphasised by Lee and Ingold (2006) is that the ground itself can be imprinted by the movement of the body. There is a relationship with the ground that is crucial to embed walking in engagements between self and environment so that a 'multi-sensory' understanding emerges (Lee and Ingold, 2006). Lorimer (2010a: 59) argues that 'having a fascination for walking can result in favouring the quest for underlying meaning, and thus, a temptation to avoid the sheer physicality, the actual undertaking, of the action of 'getting along.' Walking therefore as a practice in which to engage with aspects of place that alter one's own relationship with it and oneself. Therefore political questions about one's own identity in relationship to the nation-state could be uncovered by walking. For instance, the physical qualities of the territorially bounded state become experienced by the walking body. Ingold (2010a: 14) writes that as a result the ground is perceived, in movement – 'if we say of the ground of a hill that it 'rises up', this is not because the ground itself is on the move but because we feel its contours in our own bodily exercise'. More nuanced

conceptualisations of the surface of the earth, Ingold (2010a) suggests, can perhaps be understood through the body of the walker. So that variations of the earth's surface are not just through contours but also substance, colouration, and texture so that the ground appears infinitely variegated (Ingold, 2010a).

Transformations of the air, such as weather, further engage with the constant regeneration of the earth's surface – 'thanks to light, moisture, and currents of air – to sun, rain, and wind – the earth is forever bursting forth, not destroying the ground in consequence but creating it,' (Ingold, 2010: 126). The walking body is able to engage with the earth's surface to experience and be part of such regeneration, the earth is not static but fluid and in a constant state of flux, as opposed to those who travel by car over surfacing, practices which form the creation of roads for instance. Ingold (2010a; 2011a) argues that those who engage with surfaces rather than surfacing is the distinction between different ways of configuring movement; wayfaring and transport. This distinction for Ingold is about how each moves through the earth: the traveller moves following a series of fixed points in which destination is more important than journey; the wayfarer, however, is their movement and inhabits the world moving through it, not across (Ingold, 2011a). The wayfarer sees movement as knowing, the ground is, 'infinitely variegated, composite, and undergoes continuous generation for them,' (Ingold, 2010a: 134). For the traveller, a Kantian world view is instead apprehended in which the ground 'is uniform, homogenous, and fully laid out in advance,' (Ingold, 2010a:134). To move like the wayfarer for Ingold is to walk as oppose to get the bus so that walking 'is not the behavioural output of a mind encased within a pedestrian body. It is rather, in itself, a way of thinking and knowing,' (Ingold, 2010a: 135). To use the words of architectural theorist Rendell, quoted in Ingold (2010a), 'walking along':

…provides a way of understanding sites in flux in a manner that questions the logic of measuring, surveying and drawing a location from a series of fixed and static viewpoints. When we walk, we encounter sites in motion and in relation to one another, suggesting that things seem different dependent on whether we are 'coming to' or 'going from' (Randell 2006: 188).

This lends itself to an understanding of the ground's surface which is infinitely variegated and also comprises a domain in which the lives and minds of human and non-human inhabitants are comprehensively bound up in one another (Ingold, 2010a). In his work on weather-worlds, Ingold (2010a: 122) argues that experiences of weather lies at the roots of our moods and motivations: 'as we walk, we do not so much traverse the exterior surface of the world as negotiate a way through a zone of admixture and interchange between the more or less solid substances of the earth and the volatile medium of air.

It is in this zone that all terrestrial life is lived.' Ingold's (2010a) argument is that while we move we are engaging constantly in a movement with this volatile medium that affects our moods and motivations and as a result changes our formation of knowledge. As a result what we take to be the ground is formulated by our experiences of ambulatory knowing, pedestrian movement, and temperate experience. The formation and transmission of knowledge is ultimately affected by movement and an ongoing relationship with ground.

This final point about walking illustrates that walking alters not only our relationship with the materiality of ground and surface but also the way in which we formulate knowledge and engage with others. It is this aspect of embodiment and place through movement that this thesis is interested in because of how it alters relationships between bodies and place but also one another. This offers a different relationship between bodies and place than the territorial accounts of bodies I outlined through feminist geopolitical literature and therefore my point of departure from feminist geopolitical accounts of territory. It is where I suggest more embodied accounts with the materiality of ground and embodiment through walking can offer alternative political accounts of the Middle East. In the final section of this chapter I want to outline a final body of literature that I use to consider movement and cultural politics, that of touch. Through literature on touch I argue that what makes the Jordan Trail important is the connections between different bodies. As such I outline literature here on touch, encounter, and the moving body.

Movement and cultural politics III: touch

Touch is important to this thesis because it is the sense I argue that is restricted in Jordan. In Chapter 1, I told stories of restricted movement, denied entry, and non-movement. This results also in the restriction of moments of contact between bodies. Jordan is left to be represented by images, photographs, and the media. This links to work in political geography in which across visual studies and security literature, the sovereignty of the visual reigns over touch as a sense. Amoore

(2007) argues that the watchful politics of state security is premised on the sovereignty of sight, so that one must 'look, but don't touch'. This is related to the specific context of the Middle East, in which sovereignty of the visual has geopolitical consequences. These oppositional forces create geopolitical imaginations that inscribe places with certain values. They also restrict moments of touch and encounter – moments when bodies come together.

Through touch I consider how different bodies are brought into relationality through movement and how these offers moments for different political accounts to emerge. Touch when considered physiologically is 'a combination of data primarily from receptors responding to pressure (mechanoreceptors), temperature (thermoreceptors) and pain (nociceptors)' (Paterson, 2009: 770). Walking, I argue, produces a heightened experience of touch – the exposure to temperature and weather, alongside pressure and pain on the body from walking. These are arguments I develop in Chapter 6. Ahmed (1997) argues that touch has a dualistic resonance as it can mean the physical contact of one's body with another surface but it can also describe the sensation of being affected or moved by something. It is the relationships between movement and touch that this thesis is interested in. Touch I argue is not always about the physiological aspects of touch but instead about response. Touch is therefore linked to the culture and politics that surround it that enable conditions to respond differently. For instance, if someone is in pain, this pain is made meaningful by how those around respond to the person in pain. As a result I argue that touch is an important aspect in relation to walking as a form of movement because walking creates heightened physiological touch: pain, pressure, and exposure to heat. However, by also understanding touch as about response it also places touch within social and cultural practices. This relationship between physiological embodiment and the social conditions that respond to that touch are important to the ways in which I combine politics, culture, and movement through walking. I ask particularly how walking on a long-distance trail can create moments to touch differently.

Touch and response

In an important sense, in a breathtakingly intimate sense, touching, sensing, is what matter does, or rather, what matter is: matter is condensations of response-ability. Touching is a matter of response. Each of 'us' is constituted in response-ability. Each of 'us' is constituted as responsible for the other, as the other (Barad, 2012: 215).

Barad (2012) describes here why I am interested in touch because it constitutes as in relationship to other bodies that demands a response. In Chapter 6, I use empirical evidence to explore how the Jordan Trail creates moments in which to touch, I detail encounter literature and how bodies are brought together and I discuss the vulnerability of the walking body. Here, however I want to outline the foundational bed on which this argument lies and also connect this particularly to another way in which to rethink how culture and politics come together through movement. As Barad (2012) argues above, there is an intimacy produced by touch and within this intimacy moments to consider ourselves within the moment of how we touch. This intimacy and abolition of

distance is a key tenant of feminist geopolitical work which I have outlined above. Here, however touch through the walking body adds another element to this argument:

> "Being touched" does not over-come the distance which separates others (as
> discreet beings). Being touched suggests becoming closer to each other in
> which movement across the division of self – other may take place, but a
> movement does not abolish the division as such (Ahmed, 1997: 27-28).

Touch for Ahmed (1997) is about a movement, it is about moving physically closer but as Ahmed (1997) argues does not necessarily overcome distance. This discussion of distance I return to in Chapter 6 because even when divisions are not overcome, they still produce moments of meaning on the Jordan Trail. To link this to Wilson's (2017b) work on encounter, for encounters to be meaningful something must be left open. My argument here is that touch even when it might bring bodies physically but not emotionally closer, still produces meaning. This meaning is also produced through the cultural political conditions in which touch takes place. Johnston (2012) suggests touch is about the social norms around which touch is understood. Touch for Johnston (2012: 92) is 'context specific, fragmentary and even mundane' and 'not simply one body's interaction with another, but involves a tactile perception of bodily contours for both bodies'. While touching 'engages the object...it also invites an interrogation of the self and the other' (Johnston, 2012:96). Johnston (2012) extends on the work of Grosz (1994) and the ways in which bodies and places are mutually constituted: 'Bodies that touch places, places that touch bodies, and bodies that touch each other' are able to create responses that 'assert or subvert bodily and spatial boundaries' (Johnston, 2012: 91).

A cultural politics of touch emerges here through the intimate movement of the walking body that helps to understand ourselves and others and also the cultural political norms of a place. Manning (2007) argues that touch is a decision to move forward and interact with something unknown. To touch is therefore based on an invention, it is based on a risk of the unknown and how the other will react (Manning, 2007). Within this response therefore is a question of ethics. It is when we do not know how we might respond that we confront who we are:

> Living compassionately requires recognising and facing our responsibility to the
> infinite of the other, welcoming the stranger whose very existence is the
> possibility of touching and being touched (Barad, 2012: 219).

Responsibility is crucial here. To touch with the desire to claim the experience of the other can never be ethical (Spivak, 1996). Therefore, there are problems with the touch being a means in which to understand the other. In Butler's (2015) 'Senses of the Subject', she examines how the body's materiality, which conditions the formation of subjectivity in such a way that to become an 'I' is to be in a position of proximity, dependence, and vulnerability, is also the condition of possibility for ethical response and responsibility. The other on whom our subject depends is the

other that we cannot avoid and who may provide affection but potentially also harm. Ethics, is therefore a response to someone or something that is unwilled and unchosen. She writes: 'it is only on the condition that a body is exposed to something other than itself, something by which it is affected, that it becomes possible for a sentient self to emerge' (2015: 36). It is within the touch, for Butler that we learn about the body's corporeality and the formation of the self as corporeally constituted. The fleshiness of the body, is partly realised through the condition of possibility of touch and its tactility and it is through such relations that we acquire a sense of ourselves. Through touch and the response to our touch, we also become aware of our own bodies.

This is all crucial to explore the ways in which walking on the Jordan Trail can create conditions through which to touch, be touched, respond, and be responded to. These are moments that overcome the sovereignty of the visual, produce a different narrative of the Middle East, and offer a different embodied engagement with place than the majority of accounts emerging in political geography. It is also the means through which to explore the importance of collective forms of being outside of nation-state sovereign narratives. For Kelz (2016: 136): 'if we understand humans as non-sovereign, relational, and singular beings, this can inspire a positive normative evaluation of more fluid practices of political association, which are not based on shared social identities.' This asks us to question what political associations people connect to and how these might challenge those political associations connected to the nation-state. Such fluidity of political association necessitates a rethinking of community and suggests the tensions between territorial sovereignty and the decline of sovereign states (Kelz, 2016). In Chapter 5, for instance, I query the extent to which national identity is linked to physical terrain and the nation-state. An Arendtian approach to the collective, Kelz (2016) argues, seeks to provide a model of the political sphere of the nation-state as a community which emerges from the creation of a common space through action. These common spaces can also challenge the nation-state as people work together to equal spaces and not unified, homogenous identities such as the 'nation-state' or 'the working-class'. This connects to those who claim that new global social movements are created new forms of citizenship which are not connected to a nation-state but instead to shared identities and values (Erhkamp and Jacobsen, 2014).

These new forms of communities of political association extend to new ways of considering communities of walkers, the outdoors community, and those 'thru-hiking' the Jordan Trail in the current political climate – discussions I expand on in this thesis. In sum through the act of walking as a cultural practice, how can new political associations be formed, through moments of touch and the abolition of distance, that challenge current political geography accounts. It highlights the problems with political communities that matter only at the nation-state level. These new forms of political association also query recent work on welcome and hospitality (see Gill, 2018). How people are included and welcomed into these communities. For instance, using Derrida's conceptualisations of hospitality, hospitality cannot be possible within current nation-states as 'only people of the same national origin could enjoy the full protection of legal institutions' (Kelz, 2016: 145). New forms of identity movements outside of the nation-state therefore query how alternative political associations can create different opportunities for hospitality than the nation-state can offer.

To return to touch, I have offered a final way in which to consider movement and cultural politics on the Jordan Trail. I have argued that through touch as both physiological and response, understanding how walking on the Jordan Trail can bring bodies together in ways that can both highlight and overcome distance are possible. This ability to rethink distance, allows us to consider ourselves in relation to others, and in the breaking down of distance the cultural politics

surrounding touching are highlighted. Furthermore, the change for non-sovereign political assemblages are possible which can create new political associations that once again challenge current political geographical accounts of the region focused on the nation-state. Political agency for Kelz (2016: 162) should not be restricted to one political sphere or tied to a membership in a specific community but instead is about 'taking responsibility for how our forms of living and political organisation influence others.' It is following such lines of enquiry that Butler seeks to react to global violence in ways that do not trigger circles of revenge or further violence but build on experiences of shared precariousness (Kelz, 2016). This therefore asks that we find such moments for shared ethics, for shared experiences, moments to touch differently.

Conclusion

This chapter has brought together literature on movement and cultural politics to situate this thesis theoretically. I began by outlining the emergence of movement and mobility as a discipline. I explored how movement has been conceptualized in relation to political geography, in which a focus has been on movements of refugees and migrants. I linked this also to a focus in political geography on the calculative aspects of territory, terrain and land. I argued that this work in political geography often felt insufficient to describe the relationships with place that emerged in my research. Terminology used by Ingold and within cultural geography – surface, landscape, and ground – felt more adequate and accounted for the ability of movement to rethink place and emerge in relationality to it. I argued that work in feminist political geography has been important in exploring the intimate aspects of territory – that bodies are intrinsically bound and make territory. However, I argued that this work is still bound to territory as linked to the nation-state and furthermore does not engage with how cultural practices of movement engage with territory and political geography. My final focus on cultural geography's attention to the walking body illustrated how the practice of walking can create moments of connection with the materiality of ground and reclaim narratives and experiences not produced by the nation-state. My final focus on touch, asked how the movement of the walking body can bring bodies into proximity to one another in ways that prompt a response and to be responded to, an embodied account of cultural political conditions that bring together or distance bodies, and new forms of political communities. These arguments form the backbone of this thesis and the claims it makes. It must be added that each chapter to follow will also introduce other aspects of literature which enable this thesis to tell a fuller story, and offer a deeper understanding and broader appraisal of a long-distance walking trail in Jordan.

Chapter 3: Walking as method

Introduction

It was Day One. We must have numbered almost fifty bodies, all gathered in a circle. Making last minute adjustments to our packs, tightening our shoes, taking selfies for social media. Packed lunches were handed out, inspected closely before they were stashed into rucksacks, along with water bottles – 'make sure you have at least 3 litres of water'. It felt oddly like a school trip for adults; I felt comforted by this and the shared apprehension and excitement of the group – 'I don't know if I'm going to manage this,' 'I only bought my boots yesterday,' and 'This is so exciting, I can't believe I got the time off work.' The Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, Lina Annab, dressed for the occasion in solid walking boots and carrying walking poles, spoke to our group. Her speech was brief and to the point: 'This is a beautiful dream come true,' she said. 'Today we are making history in Jordan.' With that and a few screams of 'yalla' [let's go] we were off. Amongst the fifty of us, only a few were choosing to 'thru-hike' – to walk the entire 650km of the trail in one consecutive go – while others were choosing to join as 'day hikers' or else to walk sections of the trail. What made this day momentous, however, was that this was the first time such a journey had been attempted. It was the first ever organised 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail.[11]

There was excitement amongst the group as, for many, this was their first 'hike' in Jordan. It was spring and, as we were starting in the north, the surrounding nature was wonderfully lush and green. I was mesmerised by the abundance of grass, trees, and plants growing. Many of the Jordanians in our group had never been to this area of Jordan and the shared astonishment was enjoyable. As I began the journey, I started talking to different walkers. I relished sharing in the discussions others were having and realised quickly that depending on my speed and rhythm I could talk to different groups. I continued to walk and eventually found myself at the same pace as a young Jordanian woman called Mara. Once we were walking at the same rhythm, I asked her a bit about

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11 This 'thru-hike' was organised by the Jordan Trail Association for the purpose of fundraising and awareness raising. The 'thru-hike' was sponsored by USAID and MOTA amongst others, with subsidised places given to Jordanians.

herself. She told me she was Palestinian, both her parents were born there, but she was born and grew up in Amman. I asked her if she had ever been to Palestine; 'no', she replied. We walked in silence for a while. 'How long are you going to be walking with the group?' I eventually asked. 'The whole first section,' she replied, 'I couldn't get any more time off work but I am excited to be able to join for the first week.' Mara had an infectious laugh and clearly loved walking and the outdoors; I was grateful for her positivity. Mara told me that she had recently graduated from university and was now working as an accountant. She in turn asked me about myself and what I was doing on the Jordan Trail. I told her about my life and my research. 'You are doing research on "walking in Jordan?"' she asked, with vague suspicion in her voice. I nodded. 'I've never heard of anyone doing that here before. That's nice.' I smiled in response and agreement – yeah, it is nice. Especially a day like today. Hiba's response was quite a common one – suspicion and surprise that I was doing research on walking in Jordan, but also an appreciation that it was a 'nice' thing to be doing.[12]

The morning was interspersed with several small breaks, so water could be drunk, food eaten, and to allow slower members of the group to catch up. At around 12pm we stopped for lunch. I got there a little bit quicker than the rest of our group to find some of our guides had rushed ahead to prepare tea. They had been collecting small sticks throughout our morning walk in order to make a fire and on top of the blaze sat the largest tea pot I had ever seen. The tea was made Bedouin style, adding plenty of sugar to the boiling water at the start, to ensure maximum saturation. My shock was met with laughter from our guides – 'normally we put in far more, this is for the 'ajanib أجانب [Arabic for foreigners].' Once the water had boiled, tea leaves were added and the hot, sugary, black chai poured into small paper cups that were passed around. We had only walked 7km but a few members of the group were already complaining about blisters and sore feet; some removed their boots so their feet could air. Other members of the group were complaining about the different paces of the group, especially how slow others were; conversely, others grumbled about why some walked so fast – 'what's the rush?' There were mutters about whether people who had never 'hiked' before should be allowed on the 'thru-hike'. Others reasoned: 'not everyone has the time to walk

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the whole trail, we need to make sure there are opportunities for anyone to join for short times.' Most agreed. It was a walk for everyone.

Getting going after lunch was tough, with many moans and groans as stiff muscles contracted and were forced to work again. The post-lunch fatigue hit and I regretted eating so much. One thing I had learnt throughout my time in Jordan was that Jordanian lunches and walking do not mix well. I began chatting to two American students who were living in Amman to learn Arabic. One of them had 'hiked' a lot back home in America, while the other had only really started 'hiking' since living in Jordan. 'It is so nice to get out of Amman and see other bits of the country,' they told me, 'it's so beautiful here, I was so surprised when I first started hiking, it is not how I imagined.' I walked on this first day of the 'thru-hike' with a feeling of overall positivity and excitement for the walk ahead and the experiences, conversations, and encounters I would have over the next forty-four days.

This first day on the Jordan Trail 'thru-hike' captures the ways in which my walk on the trail was negotiated through different movements, cultural backgrounds, and embodied dialogues between myself and others. On this first day, the ways in which I explore walking in this chapter emerge. First, walking is altered depending on who walks, where they have walked before, and their cultural background. Second, walking is linked to the politics of place, a walking trail I will argue can be a source of territorial-nationalism while the intimacy of moving on foot brings the proximity to conflicts in the region into sharp focus. Third, walking creates meaningful encounters with others that are intimate, embodied and overcome distance. I never intended to do a PhD about walking in Jordan. The unintended nature of this project therefore resulted in research avenues that emerged from my own experiences and from spending time in Jordan. Unintended research shapes method as appropriate methods arise from the situated context of this research. I chose walking as a method in which to carry out ethnography and conduct interviews because it gave me everyday engagements with place and particularly walking as means with which to capture situated and embodied accounts of mobility and cultural politics.

After being denied entry to Israel, I had spent three weeks in Jordan trying different means to re-enter, waiting for a cheap(ish) plane ticket, and re-thinking my plans for my PhD. One day, in the midst of this period of limbo, a friend took me 'hiking' to a wadi in southern Jordan. We hired a car and drove in search of fresh air and escape from my stress and the bustle of Amman. I returned revived and inspired, with a new appreciation for the beauty of Jordan and an interest in the development of walking there. This trip showed me the potential of walking in Jordan but also some of the difficulties. Little information was available; there was no infrastructure, and no mapped and signed pathways. I trawled the internet, spoke to friends, and eventually chanced upon the Jordan Trail website. Some conversations, interviews, and research later – a change in project was underway. A project which captured the intimate and embodied politics of the region

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through the practice of walking down a line. A line which runs at times a couple of miles from Jordan's border with Israel and the West Bank; a couple of miles south of the border with the occupied Golan Heights in the north; and a couple of miles north of the border with Saudi Arabia. This gave me a proximity to sites of conflict in the Middle East but through a cultural practice – the practice of walking on a long-distance walking trail. The relationship between a cultural practice - such as walking - and the political context of the Middle East is one which has not been explored in academic literature nor have cultural sites received attention in political geographical accounts of the Middle East.

In this chapter, I will focus on the methods that I used throughout my research on the Jordan Trail to explore how a relationship between cultural politics and movement emerges. This project is ultimately about the people who have in some way been connected to the trail in the past, present, and future; and the themes which this thesis discusses – lines, nation, touch – arose through my in-depth engagement with the Trail. The emphasis in this chapter is on the mobile methods, particularly walking, which form the core of this project. While walking may seem to be the method of this thesis, my aim throughout this chapter is to show that the process of separating the method from the rest of the thesis through a traditional methods section often fails to link critical theory to method. While my first day on the trail was centred around the process of walking, other mobilities were also occurring – sitting, waiting, eating, and sleeping – that did not just fill the gap around walking, but were indeed central to the walk itself. Walking was also shaped by the wider cultural politics of Jordan; and the assumptions about different bodies and the different mobilities and freedoms granted to them. The proximity to Palestine and Israel, for instance, was present physically – at some points we were only 5km for the border – and emotionally through Palestinian walkers such as Mara. Yet, for many of my fellow walkers, I was 'just walking' when there were other pressing matters of politics at stake elsewhere.

This methods chapter will elaborate on what I did throughout the research. This chapter is therefore a methods section in that it details what took place; however, I aim to go beyond this by thinking critically about how methods are used throughout the research process. As Megoran (2006: 626) argues, 'data are not simply waiting in the 'field' to be merely 'plucked': they are fashioned and influenced by the research methods that we use.' First, I consider ethnographic approaches to the Middle East, examining why they are often neglected and, even when used, need more critical consideration. This in turn leads me to discuss walking as a form of ethnographic method used in this thesis but also to provide an understanding that this too must be considered more critically. I argue that those using walking as method have often not explored its cultural politics in postcolonial and non-Eurocentric settings. I further argue that walking as method must consider more carefully and critically the embodied aspect of walking. Third, I suggest that temporality and movement can be carefully understood through walking practices by taking into consideration long-distance walking trails and 'thru-hikes'. The subsequent section explores visual methods and walking, before I finally discuss ethics and positionality.

Ethnography and walking in Jordan

Megoran (2006) has written that critical political geographers can profitably make use of participant observation to help build a fuller understanding of geopolitics. Ethnography, Megoran (2006) argues, has not traditionally been used much in political geography and geographers have not engaged with its use in the same way as anthropologists. Ethnographic research can help to interrogate power and meaning within political geography and overcome the dichotomies between discursive studies of the state and the everyday lives of communities; in other words, to overcome discrepancies between elite and local geopolitical visions (Megoran, 2006). Nations and states, as well as their institutions, are composed of people who cannot and should not be reduced to the images that are constructed about them (Megoran, 2006). The immersive and extended process enabled through ethnographic methods can help to explore the everyday lives of those who are studied by observing and participating in their worlds (Megoran, 2006). In the words of Crang and Cook (2007: 4): '[t]o understand parts of the world as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of the people who actually 'live them out'. As a result, ethnography enables the events, cultures, and experiences that this thesis is interested in to emerge. Ethnography attempts to remove power relations and patiently listen and take part in social interactions that he/she has created and does not control (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998). Furthermore, it is the everyday experiences that ethnography enables that are so crucial to this thesis.

In line with such methodological concerns, I spent a sustained period of time in Jordan and the Middle East – over fourteen months in total. Six months of this time was spent on two intensive Arabic courses. One was funded by the ESRC through a 'difficult language training' grant, which I undertook at Bethlehem University in Palestine. The second, in Amman, was funded by the Centre for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) at the Qasid Institute. I also attended private lessons throughout my time in Jordan.

My language training is significant because it is becoming increasingly difficult to gain funding to undertake such training. I was fortunate to be funded by the ESRC who do offer difficult language training. However, the maximum time I was given was five months – certainly not enough time to speak the language fluently. I was once again fortunate to be given further funding by the CBRL.[13] Considering the increasing pressure on PhD students to finish within their funded time (for example, there have been recent discussions about shortening the period of PhD funding to two years only and some about the necessity to lengthen the PhD), there is little time given to learn a language such as Arabic proficiently. This is in stark contrast to the North American PhD model, in which a PhD can take upwards of five years; and, for many of the North American PhD students I met in Jordan and Palestine, greater emphasis was placed on foreign language training.

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13 I have been informed since that this funding is under threat due to budget cuts.

Such language skills are essential if more research is to be undertaken in the Middle East which attends to the everyday and the mundane (see Watson, 2004). With the long term ethnography I have proposed, speaking Arabic was crucial to my capacity to understand people's experiences. This was particularly the case with encounters outside of tourist routes in both the city and urban environments. As I mentioned above, walking is as much about moments of stasis as it is about movement. It was during such moments of stasis – sitting in the shade away from the sun, eating lunch – that we would often encounter Jordanians who lived in that area. Jordanians who live outside of the main tourist routes did not speak English and as a result speaking Arabic became a crucial means for me to communicate with a broader spectrum of Jordanians. In many of the rural homestays I spent time in along the Jordan Trail, while the senior men of the household would speak English to a decent level – especially near tourist areas – women and children did not speak good English or were unconfident in speaking it. I found that my basic Arabic enabled connections with people I met in Jordan whom I would not have been able to speak with using just English. To rely solely on English, and to presume that English is a dominant language which others should understand, is to further reinforce colonial asymmetries into the landscape. It would also have limited whom I could speak to by privileging the voices with a command of English. The prolonged engagement I had in Jordan and particularly my time on the Jordan Trail meant that taking a translator with me at times would have been neither financially nor practically feasible.

My methodological style was therefore a commitment to staying and, through this staying, a commitment to prolonged encounters. This, I argue, is an important aspect to understanding the cultural politics of walking and to further expanding walking as method. Through over a year and a half of fieldwork in the Middle East, and equipped with my Arabic language training, I was able to speak about walking and the Jordan Trail in a wide variety of different spaces and places. I also spent six months volunteering for the Jordan Trail Association, an NGO which promotes, maintains, and protects the Jordan Trail. I took on numerous roles within the JTA including: translation, writing content for the website, answering emails, and scouting of the trail. Speaking English, rather than Arabic, became an advantage here, as I was the only native English speaker in their small office and could provide a lot of translation work. Working at the Jordan Trail Association gave me access to a large amount of documents containing grant information, funding information, branding documents, and promotional material amongst other things. I was also able to attend board meetings of the Jordan Trail Association, attend meetings between USAID and the JTA, and attend marketing meetings. Spending time in the office also gave me access to everyday conversations and negotiations. Volunteering for the JTA came from an ethical imperative to ensure I was offering my time in return for the help given to me by the JTA. However, it also blurred my relationship between volunteer working for the organisation 'insider' and a researcher 'outsider'. As a result, very little of these conversations in the office are included and those which are mentioned have been checked with the JTA.

For those eleven months in Jordan, my life and the life of my research became one. While my research was centred around a walking trail, the process of walking became only one element in a wider arrangement of movements, processes, cultures, and politics around the Trail. It further meant that conversations around my research and the Jordan Trail drifted into a car journey home from the climbing wall, a meal with friends in a restaurant, a coffee break with colleagues, a discussion with a family I was living with, a conversation with a taxi driver, and discussions with the ex-pat community at a party. My research in sum became informed by a multitude of moments while living in Jordan. Such immersive experiences also inform the data that is collected and the form in which it is gathered. The 'research material' for this project as a result included one-to-one conversations with other walkers both while we sat down and walked; sometimes these conversations were recorded and transcribed or sometimes noted down later. The 'research material' also included photographs, videos, and audio.

The immersive nature of a 'thru-hike' was also crucial to my project, as time was spent in homes, under canvas in tents, cooking, eating, and sleeping – which all generated important 'material'. The intimacies involved in this project, and the moments of care, sharing of stories, and support shaped this research. It also forced me to rethink the meaning of method for me and the encounters between others, objects, animals, and place, which I go on to explore in more detail in Chapter 6. Through becoming part of the 'hiking/walking community' and 'climbing community' I was able to have numerous informal and formal conversations with both ex-pats and Jordanians about walking and the Jordan Trail. Before my fuller discussion of walking as method, I therefore offer a brief discussion of interviews and how these took place.

Interviews and walking

Across the research process in Jordan I conducted over 60 interviews. These varied in length and many were conducted while walking. Data was further gathered throughout numerous conversations which composed the ethnographic method at the heart of this thesis. Interviews were used in this project to highlight that 'words, stories, narratives [do indeed] matter' (McDowell, 2010: 156). As those who have written about methods have noted, for researchers interested in the impact of place on the lives of individuals, social groups and cultures, talking to people and having a personal interaction with those who use the Trail is clearly an obvious method of collecting 'data' (McDowell, 2010). This is also further explored the importance of talking while in place. Conducting interviews whilst walking was therefore an important part of this thesis. Evans and Jones (2011: 851) argue that: 'a distinction should be made between the broad category of mobile methods and what might be described as sedentary methods in motion.' As a result, mobile methods have considered movement in relation to forms of place, stopping, stillness, and relative immobility and how a wide variety of things – including humans, ideas, and objects – move in interconnected ways (Cresswell, 2011). Evans and Jones (2011) argue that there is a distinct difference between the experience of interviewing participants on a train, where movement is

often a visual flow through windows or else the haptic sensation of background vibration (Bissell, 2010), compared to the exertion of cycling up a French mountain pass (Spinney, 2006). How the researcher moves with or against the participant is therefore crucial (Evans and Jones, 2011). Walking along, for Ingold (2010a: 135), is not 'the behavioural output of a mind encased within a pedestrian body. It is rather a way of thinking and knowing.' Lee and Ingold (2006) suggest that walking with interviewees encourages a sense of connection with the environment, which allows researchers to understand how, for example, places are created by the routes people take:

A place through walking is made by the shifting interaction of person and environment, in which the movement of the whole body is important rather than just an act of vision outwards from a fixed point. In walking we are on the move, seeing and feeling a route ahead of us and creating a path around and after us. We can often explore a new place most fruitfully by walking through and around it. For the anthropologist, this in turn leads to the realisation that we have to understand the routes and mobilities of others (Lee and Ingold, 2006: 69).

In this account the relationship between movement and place is mediated by the body. By acknowledging the relationship between body and place, the moving body can also be examined and the way in which the moving body can alter place and be altered by place. These ideas find their root in the work already explored in Chapter 2 on movement, culture, and politics. Evans and Jones (2011: 849) compared walking and sedentary interviews to conclude that 'walking interviews generate richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment and are less likely to give the right answer.' The advantages of the physiological movement of the body through place enabled Anderson (2004) the opportunity to literally and metaphorically wander from plans to recollections to observations. He continues that the practice of talking while walking is also useful as it produces not a conventional interrogative encounter, but a collage of collaboration: 'an unstructured dialogue where all actors participate in a conversational, geographic, and informative pathway creation' (Anderson, 2004: 258). Such acknowledgement of the walking interview's relationship with place has made it of particularly interest for geographers. In urban contexts, Pierce and Lawhon (2015) argue that walking is particularly geographic among the ethnographic methods, offering an opportunity to engage in the spatiality of everyday life of the city. In a further study of urban walking, senses of belonging negotiated by asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants in the English East Midlands were explored in walking interviews conducted by O'Neill and Hubbard (2010). A walking event they argued can be used to explore different sensate, embodied, relational and collective notions of being-in-place there and elsewhere.

As a result, interviews, and particularly walking interviews, became another element of the ethnographic element of this research. Sometimes these interviews were recorded with an audio recorder or else I took notes on my mobile phone. The interviews were often unstructured and arose naturally as I fell into rhythm with another walker. A conversation would begin and, upon seeking permission from my fellow walker, I would take notes on my phone or record the interview. The interviews therefore bridged the gap between engagements with walking in academia and the methodological approach of this research: walking as method versus walking as a practice to be explored in itself. For instance, many interviews were conducted with those whom I had walked with for several days, or talked to numerous times before. Some interviews were conducted with those who were also walking for forty days with me on one of the 'thru-hikes' I joined. Some interviews were conducted in cafes in Amman; however, these people were those I

had met on walks and interviewed afterwards to clarify information or to expand on a previous conversation. These interviews in cafes, however, often involved looking at photographs of walks or mapping out a walk we had been on, illustrating the clear connection between walking and the place a walk takes place. Importantly, my walking interviews were also *about* walking which also enabled me to consider walking as a method but also walking as a practice in itself with individual meaning. It is moving on from the walking interview that I want to talk about walking itself as a practice and why there is a need to think more critically about the ways in which we engage with walking both as a method but also as a practice. I argue the two are far more interconnected than current literature which often separates the phenomenological act of walking from walking as method.

Walking beyond its use as a method

There has been a growing interest within geography on walking as a practice itself and not simply walking as a method. It is this aspect of walking that also enables an exploration of the cultural politics of movement. For me this is engaging with walking as a cultural and political practice and, in doing so, acknowledging what it means as a practice in place. This exploration of walking brings together how walking can produce cultural and political geographical accounts of place. Walking, I emphasise, is not universal – a walk in one place is not necessarily the same as a walk in another, it is further linked to the political geographies of place. This acknowledgement, however, has been picked up seldom within accounts of walking within cultural geography, while political geography has failed to engage substantially with walking.

This is illustrated in a conversation in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. In an issue in this journal, Wylie (2005a), argues that walking is a means with which to engage with landscape, subjectivity and corporality. In his account of walking a single day on the South West Coast Path, Wylie (2005a: 235) discusses the heterogeneity that can be associated with the practice of walking to suggest that walking is 'irreducibly multiple and complex'. This research, Wylie (2005a: 234) is keen to argue is not concerned with the actual practice of walking but more how walking is 'an experimental approach to the performative milieu of coastal walking […] as creative and critical means of discussing the varied [emergent] affinities and distanciations of self and landscape.' As a result, through his accounts of walking, Wylie (2005a) explores broader issues concerning how we experience and understand landscape. This work has however been criticised by Blacksell (2005: 518):

> 'The whole focus seems to be overly self‑centred and introspective and, thus,
> omits some crucial elements of what it is that influences the appreciation of
> such a walk.'

Three areas are suggested here that Blacksell (2005) suggests need further attention in Wylie's (2005a) account of walking. First, the topographical and geographical descriptions of coastal landscape. Second, the 'real-politik' of walking and that coastal landscapes are manufactured and manipulated. Third, the health and safety considerations of walking. I am very much in agreement with Blacksell's (2005) 'real-politik' of the walking's engagement with place; however, I also draw influence from Wylie's (2005a) poetic, introspective, and subjective account of landscape. Wylie (2005b: 522) offers a response to Blacksell (2005) suggesting that:

> 'Perhaps landscape offers a more supple and ductile epistemology of subjects
> and objects now intertwined, now stretched far apart, sometimes invisible to
> each other, sometimes facing each other directly, but across an abyss:
> distinctive topographies of inwardness and outwardness.'

Inward approaches between subject and landscape, Wylie (2005b) worries, can side-step some common approaches of landscape and consider memory and biography. I argue as such there is a place for both. In one of political geography's few engagements with walking, Sidaway's (2009) discussion of walking an urban section of the same coastal path walked by Wylie, he offers such considerations of the 'real politik' of a walking trail. Sidaway (2009) weaves a narrative that combines the historical, political and military hauntings that produce the landscape with the contemporary practice of walking. My study of walking is concerned with both the introspective and the political and historical relations in which walking as a practice sits. This is where the cultural and the political once more come together in ways this thesis draws inspiration from.

Continuing on my case for political and cultural accounts of walking to have space to share the same page, within walking literature there is also a failure to focus on what walking means in

different political or cultural contexts. The postcolonial and cultural aspects of walking within literature on walking as method or else walking as a practice itself are often ignored or given a footnote. A minor point in a study by Stevenson and Farrell (2018: 6) of leisure walkers on the South Downs Way reports: 'We noticed that walking on this trail has a white identity – almost all walkers on the path were white and 90 of our 93 interviewees were white and Northern European'. They quickly move on, in alignment with many studies I have read, but do acknowledge more work is needed that explore cultural and social barriers to walking (Stevenson and Farrell, 2018). A fixation on walking methods often neglects critical engagements with 'how' and 'why' people walk which include the 'material, embodied, affectual, political, and social dimensions of moving on foot' (Middleton, 2010: 91). While Lee and Ingold (2006: 67) note that: 'we cannot simply walk into other people's worlds, and expect therefore to participate with them.' Questions therefore that need more exploring are how we walk in relation to the politics and culture of the place in which we walk; how the meaning of walking alters depending on place; and how who walks is altered by place.[14] Of importance to these questions is also an acknowledgement that few studies of walking in academia have explored walking in non-Western contexts. This gap is where this current study can make a significant addition to the literature.

Following these provocations, this chapter now considers in depth three ways in which walking as method and practice could be expanded. An exploration of walking in Jordan became not just about the physiological process of walking, nor the methodological benefits of a walking interview, but instead about understanding the situated cultural politics of walking. If walking is to increase with fervour within geography it is important that such situated and individualised understandings of walking are able to emerge. Furthermore, greater diversification of what a walk might include is necessary; a walk through a city, a 40-day 'thru-hike' on the Jordan Trail, and a day walk near Amman are all different. Therefore, in the following section, by drawing on empirical material, I outline three directions that walking literature and methodologies might move. First, how walking can engage with the cultural politics of place. Second, I introduce a 'thru-hike' to suggest that a greater attention to the mobilities of walking, the different types of walking that take place and non-movement. Third, I argue for more attention to the embodiments and touch that compose a walk. I am arguing that a walk is never simply just a walk. In other words, walking is a multi-faceted practice that cannot be separated from the cultural and political contexts in which it lies.

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14 MacPherson's (2016; 2017) work on disability and walking is a notable exception to this. I do acknowledge the focus within this study on 'able-bodied' people, however a study of disability is not within the scope nor arguments this thesis is concerned. Questions of 'who walks' still concern this thesis but I explore this through non-Eurocentric accounts.

Rethinking walking as method

Walking as cultural politics

I grew up on the outskirts of Glasgow and did not come from a particularly walking centric or 'outdoorsy' family. It was quite clear, however, that I enjoyed being outside. I was lucky, too. I lived in a house with a garden and behind it there were fields. My parents divorced when I was young and while my mum was definitely not a walker nor hiker, my dad took me, and sometimes my younger brother, out for occasional hikes in Loch Lomond where he had moved to. At school, I joined a mountaineering and climbing club and I spent most weekends somewhere in rural Scotland. At sixteen, I was part of an expedition to Greenland; whilst there, I gained a love for travel and exploration. When I started university, I joined both the Fellwalking and Mountaineering Clubs and often went away on trips. Walking became a way for me to connect with others who had a shared interest in the outdoors, and I made many friends as a result. It became an escape from my routine and a means to reset from work and studying. I feel happiest, most connected to my body, and relaxed while out walking. I mention these details about myself because, as I spent my time in Jordan asking others why they liked walking, I was frequently asked in return why I liked walking. Despite devoting a lot of time throughout this PhD to an exploration of walking, it was a question that at first took me aback. It further became a question I reflected on a lot myself and with others. It was a question that often created dialogue between myself and others. In sum, to walk is an intrinsic part of my positionality as a researcher and writer.

This returns to the question of what I was doing in Jordan and what are deemed important questions and research practices. Many asked me if I was really "just" doing research on walking in Jordan. Others joked I was a spy. However, as I have argued above, it is the mundane and everyday experiences within a place that can present a fuller understanding of the politics and culture of a place. The exploration of walking practices became an important means for me to understand the questions outlined in my introduction about the relationship between people and place within the postcolonial context of Jordan. A walk is never simply a walk but is also rooted in the history, culture, and politics of a place and therefore thinking more broadly about the practice of walking – rather than merely focusing on the walk itself – is important. What one even means by walking is rooted in one's own history, mine being a Scottish cultural heritage, and my own individual relationship with walking. This leads to responses from two walkers I interviewed as to why they hike:

> To explore new places, to get rid of my stress from work, normal life and enjoy. (Salma)

> Since we left camp this morning I have not thought about anything – no work. I can't here I escape from everything. I have such a busy job and a busy life back home that it's hard for me always to escape from it. (Serhat)

Two views emerge from Salma and Serhat: free time and freedom of mobility. Salma and Serhat detail how walking breaks them from their routine, busy lives and jobs. Another reason I walk is because I can. I am physically able, I can do it anywhere and I enjoy that freedom and the places it takes me. This is, however, a mobility of privilege. I have the knowledge and experience of how to walk in unfamiliar and rural environments, I have leisure time, and I can afford to spend this time walking. This also relates to a particular type of walking. Walking as a leisure activity and not simply as a means for which to get from one place to another. This translation of word to practice is important, as unconsciously and consciously we ascribe meanings to certain words often without realising. For instance, in one interview I asked the following question to a Jordanian, Anwar: 'When did you start walking?' He replied, laughing: 'about 1 or 2 but I can ask my Mum.' My choice of the word 'walking' in this interview was for three reasons: first, we were walking on the Jordan Trail at the time of the interview, so I felt that was apparent. Second, I was attempting to move away from 'hiking' as a term. Third, I was associating walking with my own cultural associations. Such slippages in translation are important, as are the word choices used.

In Amman, alongside my time spent walking on, working with, and researching the Jordan Trail, I also spent time researching Friday walking groups. These walking groups have been growing rapidly in popularity in recent years as more and more Jordanians are choosing to walk for leisure. These groups are not for tourists but are run as non-profit and self-managed with money paid just for transport. They are therefore affordable and inclusive with different groups offering different levels of 'difficulty' and purpose. Some groups, for instance, are more focused on the social aspect of a 'hike', and have more in common with a picnic – they are 'hicnics', as one Jordanian told me. Other groups are more 'extreme', featuring canyoning and walking over steep terrain. These group walks always take place on a Friday as this is the only day many Jordanians have off in the week. These groups reclaim leisure walking and landscape for Jordanians as, until five years ago, much of the leisure walking in Jordan was exclusively done by tourist groups which cater for international tourists and often exclude Jordanians by being very expensive, not on Fridays, and offering only a high difficulty level – long days, difficult terrain, and long distances. I attended fifteen in total of these Friday day hikes. Five of these with the group 'Jordan Trampling Team'; five with of these with a group 'Explore Jordan'; and five with the group 'Walking Jordan'. I further attended two 'hikes' with a tour company called 'Stronger Team' who were given USAID funding to promote walks on the Jordan Trail, and five day 'hikes' with a tour company called 'Experience Jordan' who were also promoting walks on the Jordan Trail.[15]

By taking part in these groups, they also became important ways not just with which to understand walking as a practice but the culture of Jordan. For example, traditional food dishes were often cooked and explained to me; I was told about plants and animals; and, furthermore, people told

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15 Details of these walks can be found in Appendix 3.

me about their own lives and cultural practices. I also had discussions with many Jordanians about why they walk and I would frequently hear the phrase: 'Jordanians don't walk', as well as surprise and often laughter when I told both Jordanians and international tourists and expats that I was doing research on walking in Jordan. 'Arabs don't walk,' was a phrase I heard often and one which I wanted to unpack. Predominantly to uncover the meaning of the word 'walking itself' but also why people in Jordan 'do not walk'.

People in Jordan I began to realise do not just not walk in practice but on paper it would seem they did not walk either. Amongst the studies on walking, few explore walking in non-Western contexts. This I argue has also resulted in important questions being under researched. For instance the translatability of the term 'walking' into other languages and other terms such as 'hiking'. 'Hiking' as opposed to walking has colonial and Western connotations, which are emphasised by the untranslatability of the word into most languages. In Arabic, alongside many other languages, the English word 'hiking' is used. Walking, however, does translate into Arabic. Understanding the phrase 'Arabs don't walk' therefore is important to contextualise within the terms of walking and 'hiking'. 'Hiking' denotes an association with a leisure pastime rooted in a European and North American legacy and the European Romantic era of the 18th and 19th centuries. In these traditions, walking has often been associated with a closeness to nature and relationship with the environment that have often been lost in everyday life (Wallace, 1993). For instance, Thoreau (1862: 659) wrote: 'When we walk, we naturally go into the fields and woods: what would become of us if we walked only in a garden or a mall.' Walking is often understood, as a result, as an activity which acts as an antithesis to modernity (Lee and Ingold, 2006). The environmental organisation, The Sierra Club, was founded in California as a reaction to the loss of community and the growth of urban and suburban cities (Dummitt, 2004). Solnit (2001) suggests that walking clubs are a turning away from the growth of gardens and inner city parks to the outdoors and, through this, a rejection of mainstream culture and sovereign control. This discussion, and its relationship to land and landscape, is continued with greater depth in Chapter 5. However, such relationships between walking and modernity do not necessarily translate internationally, as echoed by an interview with Martha:

> I mean I can only say what I've heard. People say hiking isn't part of the culture here. That it's a very new idea. I've heard people say that here. From personal experience, I guess that you know when people have to walk a lot for work they don't see that as a leisurely thing for them and I can relate that to the trek that I went on early on, we went up this little hill thing and we got to the top and people were like why would you do that. We have motorcycles, there's a road, we didn't used to have a road and then we had to do it but now we have a road, you could have just taken a motorcycle. They thought we were kind of funny. But at the same time, I had students who were really cute, one of their activities was a journal type thing where they had to talk about their favourite

form of exercise and a lot of them talked about how they would like to walk

and they would just go out for walks in the evening. (Martha)

Martha, an American ex-pat living in Amman, describes here that walking in Jordan is something linked to the past, a time without roads, cars and motorcycles. This association with walking as linked to the past and unnecessary now there are motorised vehicles also creates important entanglements of tradition vs modernity and work vs leisure. For instance in Wadi Rum Bedouins now drive 4x4 cars[16] and leave walking for the tourists. The result is that children as young as eight drive the 4x4s around the desert as their preferred means of transport. Several walkers (international and Jordanian) also told me that they would frequently be stopped to ask if they needed money, as it was beyond the Bedouins' comprehension as to why anyone would choose to walk. This is important within the context of Jordan because of the tension between modernity versus tradition, I outlined in the introduction. Jordan is keen to emphasize its Bedouin tradition, to place the country historically within the Middle East, while simultaneously appearing as a modern state. Furthermore, for many walkers from Amman on the Jordan Trail, a time where they had to walk is often several generations away, while for Bedouins it is within their lifetime.

 A desire to 'return to the past' and for walking to be leisure and not work is also related to class and status. Therefore, Thoreau's (1862) comment about the mall is striking because, in Amman, I walked one week with a women's group who met in a mall in the early morning before it opened, solely to walk. They walk in the mall because they feel safe and comfortable here and it fits in with their schedule. One of these mall walkers, a Jordanian woman in her 60s, Aziza, told me in an interview that when she was in her 20s she would walk all the time in Amman. She felt safe and everyone knew who she was. However, as Amman grew in size, her neighbourhood diversified, she did not know all of her neighbours anymore and felt it was neither appropriate for a woman to walk nor safe. Narratives such as hers also begin to nuance what walking means, what counts as walking, and why 'Jordanians don't walk'.

The phrase 'Jordanians don't walk' was repeated to me frequently. However, the slippage between meanings within the term walking also expanded. To return to Martha, she conflates the terms 'hiking' and 'walking'; both are used. Such linguistic slippages are important; for instance, some interviews I conducted in Arabic and the word 'hiking' had to be said in English. The word jars on the tongue; while speaking Arabic, it sounds out of place and reminds us this word is not from here. It creates a means of walking which also has the potential to alienate. Through the Jordan Trail, the terms 'thru-hike' and 'hiking trail' are being brought to Jordan and come into conflict with the term 'walking' and what walking means. This is a form of cultural imperialism, as the adoption of these

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16 In Wadi Rum, Bedouins have special dispensation to use cars which are not legally road worthy in the desert. These cars are available very cheaply and replace practices that were once carried out on foot.

words erases different histories of walking in Jordan. For instance, I include a conversation with Lara and another friend Sami:

Olivia: 'Why do you think Jordanians don't walk?'

Lara: 'They do walk'

Olivia: 'Really you think that a lot of Jordanians walk?'

Lara: 'My Dad when he was younger used to walk all the time. He was always walking to work or to see friends, his whole childhood was outside.'

Olivia: 'Yeah but that's an exception, on the whole do you think it's part of the culture here to walk?'

Lara: 'Yeah I think it is.'

Sami: 'Really, come on people don't like walking here.'

This conversation raises two important points. First, the assumptions I made about walking and which are normalised here through my initial question. Second, the fact that Lara was the first person I spoke to who challenged these assumptions. Lara became very defensive and slightly annoyed that I was making these assumptions as a foreigner. Sami, as a Jordanian, agreed with me. In an extended part of this conversation, Sami also queried whether how Lara's Dad walked was the type of walking we were discussing. This discussion gets at how practices of movement have individual and embodied meaning. The differing uses and adoptions of and slippages between the terms 'walking' and 'hiking' illustrate how movement is politicised in ways that can often erase these individual and embodied meanings. This politicisation of movement is fundamentally about how we understand practices of movement in relation to cultural politics. What Ingold (2004) outlines this:

What is of interest here is the way in which, in Britain and Europe from around the 18th century onwards, the business of travel came to be distinguished from the activity of walking. For most people in the British Isles, before the days of paved roads and public transport, the only way to get to work was on foot. Walking was a mundane, everyday activity, taking them to work, market and church, but rarely over any great distance. Walkers did not travel. But by the same token, as Anne Wallace (1993) has shown in her fine study of the place of walking in English literature, travellers did not walk. Or rather, they walked as little as possible, preferring the horse or carriage even though neither was much faster, in those days, or any more comfortable. Travel was an activity of the well-to-do, who could afford such things. They considered walking to be tedious and commonplace, a view that lingers in the residual connotations of the word 'pedestrian'. If they had to walk, they would do their best to blot the experience from their memories, and to erase it from their accounts (Ingold, 2004: 321).

Here, Ingold (2004) makes two points. First, that walking before the 19th century in Britain and Europe was for a purposeful activity in relation to everyday practices of working, trading, or going to church. Second, that walking was a class-based activity to be distinguished from the travelling of the aristocracy. Walking to travel is something that you do only if you have no other option. It is these exact class-based assumptions that are important in Jordan today. The increasing use of the term 'hiking' in Jordan is notable because it brings a new form of walking that has not traditionally been part of the culture. In a survey I conducted with 100 Jordanians who identified themselves as 'hikers', only twelve said they felt 'hiking' was part of the culture in Jordan.[17] In Jordan, most of the Friday walking groups I mention use the term 'hiking' somewhere in their name and description, proving that this term is being privileged over the term 'walking' in Jordan. In sum, to return to Ingold (2004), there is an important distinction to be made between walking for leisure and walking for work and each relates to the historical and political context of a place.

Further what walking means is not universally applicable to a country. Although, for instance, Britain is a walking country – illustrated by its network of walking trails, national parks, and nature writers – not all British people enjoy walking or indeed feel it is part of their British identity.[18] These cultural, individual and political nuances within experiences of walking are important for this thesis' exploration of walking and particularly national identity which I expand on in Chapter 5.

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17 For many of those I interviewed they identified numerous barriers to 'hiking'. First financial, the cost of a guide and equipment mainly. Many identified that they would not feel comfortable or safe to hike without a guide. Second, many said that there was not a good infrastructure, lack of clear trails, maps, and information centres.

18 Rebanks (2015) describes this in his book 'The Shepherd's Life'. He details growing up in the Lake District from a farming family and his feelings of alienation from the landscape described to him by Romantic poetry and hillwalkers.

This relationship between landscapes of work and leisure emerged throughout my time walking on the Jordan Trail. One day on the Jordan Trail, I was walking with one of the Bedouin guides, Mohammad, and we passed a heard of goats. We were on top of a large, flat plateau and it was visually striking, especially against the goats. I asked Mohammad if I could take a photograph of him and the background. He obliged; however, he also asked me not to put the photograph on Facebook or any other social media. I asked 'why' and he replied, 'I'm not a farmer anymore'. I was slightly taken aback because him being a farmer once was of little importance to my photograph, it was simply a nice background, and I always prefer people in my photographs. However, for Mohammad, this photograph signified something different, a wish to be disassociated from his past relationship with land. Mohammad has walked his whole life, mainly herding goats, however, this connection is one which Mohammad does not want to be connected to anymore. The walking he used to do was different from the walking he does now.

Another Bedouin whom my group met in the south of Jordan laughed when he heard that we were 'thru-hiking' and said that he used to walk a route similar to that of the Jordan Trail every year. However, he had done so not for leisure but to take his camels from Um Qais in the north (where the Jordan Trail begins) to Wadi Arabia (near the end of the Jordan Trail) to find them grazing ground in the summer. It took him twenty days from north to south, he told us. Other Bedouins laughed upon hearing we were walking the length of the country – 'you know we have cars now?'

To return to Ingold, however, it is not straightforward to say that such reactions have not existed in the UK in the past or that they do not exist now. Solnit (2001: 113) argues that 'walkers in the garden', notably Wordsworth, created an identity for themselves as 'hikers'. This 'hiker's' identity was intentionally different, Solnit (2001) argues, from those who had 'walked it for necessity' or worked the land.[19] This terminology is important because of how these different words for walkers – ramblers, hillwalkers, walkers, hikers – denote different practices of walking and different relationships between individuals and place. Each word often denotes a different way in which someone might walk and can even refer to particular clothing styles.[20] In Jordan this disconnect, at worst, creates hostility towards walkers and is one of the largest fears facing the 'outdoor community'. My own experience of walking in Jordan is full of stories of Jordanian hospitality; however, I also witnessed numerous incidences of hostility. In one village stones were thrown at us as myself and a group of mainly Jordanian walkers walked through. Another time I was climbing with a group of mostly Jordanians and rocks and ashes from a fire were thrown at us from above.

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19 This alienation can also be seen in Western locations such as the Lake District. In his autobiography, farmer James Rebanks (2015) recalls a moment in school: 'But she [the teacher] talked about it [the Lake District], in terms that were completely alien to my family and me. She loved a 'wild' landscape, full of mountains, lakes, leisure and adventure. Lightly peopled with folk I had never met. The Lake District in her monologue was the playground for an itinerant band of climbers, poets, walkers and daydreamers [...] people whom, unlike our parents, or us, had 'really done something."

20 The physical appearance of groups of walkers is also something noted by Rebanks (2015). I also conducted an interview with a walker on the Jordan Trail originally from the Lake District and she described to me that she and her friends would go out in the hills in their trainers and school clothes and laugh at 'ramblers' wearing full 'hiking' gear in the very same place.

These experiences are echoed by numerous walkers, climbers, and bikers I interviewed in Jordan. One Jordanian walker I interviewed, Abbas, told me that very often when 'hiking' and biking in rural parts of Jordan he experienced stones being thrown:

> Never once in the 4 years since I started hiking with the BATS [a biking and hiking group in Jordan] has anyone spoken to me in Arabic, always English. People often throw stones at us. People are scared of what they don't know. Biking is a foreign thing to them, and they presume we are foreign too. I think they throw stones because they want to attract our attention in some way but they don't know how. (Abbas)

In this interview, Abbas does not necessarily see the stone throwing as hostility. Instead an effort to engage with something or someone perceived as 'other'. When Abbas notes that he is always spoken to in English, it emphasises that 'hiking' and biking are something that are not seen as Jordanian or Arabic ways to engage with the land. It also shows a complete disconnect between Urban Ammanis, of which Abbas is one, and Jordanians living in more rural areas. Each group engages and chooses to engage with the land in contrasting ways. As a result, this creates a sense of alienation from the land, in which Abbas feels alienated from the land by those living in it and those living in rural areas feel alienated from the activities for which Abbas uses the land.[21] The terms 'hiking' and 'walking' are at odds with one another and create a disconnect within the relationship between movement and land. In other words, certain practices of movement, such as 'walking' and 'hiking', have specific terminology and performances associated with them, rooted in specific cultures. Walking does not therefore mean the same thing in every cultural context. Certain ways of moving over and through the landscape have been privileged. A growing body of work within popular culture and landscape studies has therefore sought to explore alternative histories of landscape, walking, and race. One such example of this in popular culture is a theatrical performance of a play by the playwright Testament about race and landscape entitled 'Black Men Walking'. Below is an excerpt:

> We walk. Though we are written into the landscape you don't see us. We walked England before the English. (Testament, 2018: 3).

These words begin the play supported by British Eclipse Theatre that aims to write black voices into the landscape of the UK and present an alternative history of walking. 'Black Men Walking' contrasts modern day attitudes to the sight of black men walking in the Yorkshire Dales with historical accounts of black history in the UK. The play recounts, for instance, the story of the Roman Emperor, Septimus Severus, who travelled to Britain in 208AD, and tales of African

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[21] Alienation can also be a philosophical concept. Olwig (2005) uses the words of Bloch (1961): 'When nature becomes landscape – e.g. in contrast to the peasant's unconscious living within nature – the artist's unmediated experience of the landscape (which has of course only achieved this immediacy after undergoing a whole series of mediations) presupposes a distance (spatial in this case) between the observer and the landscape, for were this not the case it would not be possible for nature to become a landscape at all.'

princesses, black Yorkshire businessmen, and 'coloured' English 'well-to-do' gents. The play argues that black bodies have always existed in the landscape of the UK and that through walking a claim to land is made and identity explored. 'We're claiming this land as ours,' says a character Richard, to which another responds: 'It's [walking] a political act' (Testament, 2018: 49).

These arguments around race and landscape are also made by Tolia-Kelly (2007) and her work in the English Lake District. She argues that the English Lake District has been culturally embodied as a memorial to a sense of Englishness which alienates and excludes multicultural history. However, she also unsettles this by arguing that landscape evokes emotional and affective registers that challenge a sense of bounded culture. Tolia-Kelly (2007) contends that there is a lack of access to knowledge, as well as minimal research investigating how emotional registers and social contextual power geometries within rural spaces exclude black people, ensuring the countryside is a 'white' space but also how other cultures might connect to landscape outside of nationalist narratives. This is evidenced in a piece of dialogue from the play 'Black Men Walking':

> *'Ayeesha: Um…Black people really live in the cities, innit though? Countryside's not for us. I don't get it…*
>
> *Matthew: It's a safe space you see?*
>
> *Ayeesha: Safe space? I wouldn't like to go in a pub around here.*
>
> *Matthew: Oh I think you'll find it's not like that anymore. Not round here anyway. We're just black men…Walking in the countryside –*
>
> *Ayeesha: Walk into one of those pubs and you'd be black men walking.*
>
> *Richard: What you need to understand, is some people think we're the group who are most likely to be involved with crime and drugs…when in actual fact, we're out here on a walk bettering ourselves!*
>
> *Ayeesha: Black on black walking?...Genius. Sounds…like you're achieving a lot! You get badges yeah?*
>
> *Richard: Y-Yes. Exactly!*
>
> *Ayeesha: Walk out our what? What's that meant to mean?*
>
> *Richard: Our identity! The only way to be who you truly are, is to be true to yourself, yes? You see, Malcolm X said: 'There's a new type of black man who wants to speak for himself, stand on his own feet, and WALK for himself.' It means WE define who we are. We walk.' (Testament, 2018: 43-44).*

In this extract from the play, Matthew and Richard explain to a sceptical Ayeesha why they walk. They walk to define themselves, to reclaim their identity, and to challenge stereotypes. For

Ayeesha, these goals are idealistic; the rural, for her, is a white space where they will only face racism and not acceptance. This reinforces the fact that certain cultural practices are also wrapped up in certain bodies and in certain places. To return to Tolia-Kelly (2010), dominant narratives of place and emotions that should be linked to them are often privileged so that other registers of meaning are not possible. Therefore exploring the relationship between cultural politics is not simply about who is excluded and included but how are these bodies excluded and included. The accounts of walking in Jordan I have given above illustrate that practices of walking are bound up within the culture and politics of a place, so that walking always means something different depending on who is walking and where they are walking. Therefore walking in Jordan must be understood from a variety of perspectives and embodied experiences with place so as to ensure that alternative narratives are included. It is with this discussion of the body therefore that I next explore the relationship between walking and embodiment to argue for the need to explore more nuanced accounts of walking.

Walking and embodiment

To return to the question of 'why we walk?':

> *I walk because I was in a bad place and walking helps make me feel better, puts me in a better place. (Ben)*

> *Walking is, it puts me in a very good mood, it's a magic and different way to stay fit and the weather is nice the panorama is great here in Jordan and the colour green is so comfortable to the eyes. Pretty much I love hiking. (Noor)*

> *'I like walking, because (she smiles) even when I do not feel like walking as soon as I start I can't stop smiling. It is just for me to be outside that is important. It's good for your soul.' (Aisha)*

What walking means for each person above is individual and related to their own bodies and emotions but similar sentiments emerge. First that of the wellbeing gained by walking, the 'soul' for Aisha and being 'put in a better place' for Ben. Walking here brings together embodiment and place, a 'different way to stay fit', and an appreciation of the beauty of Jordan. These link to the mind/body dualism that has become a focus of walking in recent years in academic, nature, and walking writing (see, for example, Crane, 1997; Solnit, 2001; MacFarlane, 2012; Armitage, 2013; and Bryson, 2015). This is clearly demonstrated by the frequent use of Solnit's[22] (2001: 6) quote: 'The rhythm of walking generates a rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape

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22 Solnit's (2001) 'Wanderlust' is a wonderful anthropology of walking and it does detail well the relationship between culture, political movements, and walking. Parts of her book in particular which engage with women and walking and walking's relationship with political movements such as 'Reclaim the Night' are moments that beautifully outline the relationship between culture, politics, and walking. However, these are parts of her work which have been engaged with far less and also highlight major flaws in her work in its omission of race and histories of walking that are not rooted in Western or Euro-centric narratives. Almost every academic article on walking uses a version of Solnit's writing on walking and particularly her prose writing describing the relationship between mind and body while walking.

echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts.' Walking is an embodied practice, a practice that brings us closer to our bodies and minds. Literature on walking has frequently focused on the individual embodied experience or, as the previous chapter on movement and place outlined, walking's ability to connect environment, body, land, and surface (Wylie, 2005a; Ingold, 2004; 2010a; Lorimer, 2006; 2010a; Lee and Ingold, 2006). However, here I want to consider how walking might be a method in which to connect different bodies not just as a means in which to explore one's individual relationship with their mind and body but with other bodies and the relationship between bodies and place. This also relates to the discussion in the previous chapter on the importance of touch; little academic research has considered how we might use the movement of walking to touch differently or else as a means through which to engage with others, things, and indeed the non-human. It is here therefore that I suggest how walking might be used as an embodied method. In other words, while walking is without doubt an important means through which to understand oneself and place, it is also an important way to engage with another and others. This is also how I bring feminist accounts of the body together with accounts of movement and its relationship with place.

Since the 1990s embodied methods have received increasing academic attention particularly within feminist theory (see McDowell, 1992; Nairn, 1999; Longhurst, 2001; Parr, 2001; Sharp, 2005). Crang (2003: 494) asks, however, 'whether methods derided for being somehow soft and 'touchy-feely' have in fact been rather limited in touching and feeling?' This limited 'touching and feeling' for Crang (2003) is an inability of methods that engage in people's lived experience to move beyond the production of 'wordy words' (Crang, 2003: 503). This leads Crang (2003) to a discussion of the need for methods that have the potential to move beyond words and that their expressive possibilities offer much for geographers. Paterson (2009) agrees with Crang (2003) in suggesting that a major lacuna in studies of embodied methods has been means through which researchers 'reflexively [learn] through the bodily sensations and responses that occur inevitably as part of the embodied experiences of the researcher within different spatial contexts' (Paterson, 2009: 767).

Embodied methods as a result can enable us to learn, be and experience differently in ways that are important to this thesis – what Paterson (2009) would term 'haptic knowledges'. The usefulness of walking for such 'haptic knowledges' for Paterson (2009) is of note. This returns to touch, because I argue that touch can produce such haptic knowledges and also the means through which to interact with others differently. Lund's (2005) ethnographic fieldwork in the Scottish mountains, for instance, argues that touch has been under-explored within ethnographic research in comparison to the other five senses. Touch for Lund (2005: 28) can be used to explore 'how the body moves in different contexts'. Touch becomes not simply immediate skin contact and the movement of muscles but instead perception through a muscular consciousness (Ingold, 2004). Touch as a result becomes not simply about the moment of touch but as I argued in Chapter 2 about a response, a relationality, and a breakdown of distance. For instance, I will suggest in Chapter 5 that pain caused from repeated touching of the ground from walking and the resulting

blister, is made meaningful through the ways in which others respond to my pain and indeed the situations created by my own response. Finding ways therefore to understand how touch as a sense can be methodologically explored is important.

To methodologically explore touch I argue is to explore moments of response but also the physiological aspects of touch. 'Touch' is a combination of recepters in the skin responding to pressure, temperature, and pain (Paterson, 2009) therefore to explore how touch is produced on the Jordan Trail physiologically must explore these in combination with moments of response. This places sensory methods within cultural politics. Ingold (2004: 330) writes: 'a more literally grounded approach to perception should help restore touch to its proper palace in the balance of the senses', since 'it is surely through our feet, in contact with the ground (albeit mediated by footwear), that we are fundamentally and continually 'in touch' with our surroundings.' Touch in this way becomes meaningful through walking because there is a heightened sensory engagement through exposure to the natural elements but also, I argue, through the relationship with others that occurs alongside this exposure. Such exposure, in a similar way to Ingold's (2010) arguments about weather, is made meaningful through the social relations in which it occurs.

Relating this to heat – one of the physiological aspects of touch - Oppermann and Walker (2018: 98) argue that, through closer understandings of heat, such haptic understandings of ourselves and others is possible. Heat is always present and in motion, yet it is often only conceptualised or seen as important when there are excesses or deficits of it (Oppermann and Walker, 2018: 98). Heat has dynamic qualities that should not simply be added to a list of material 'elements' that are integrated and held together in and through the performance of social practice; instead, it is better understood as dynamic energy in which all social practices are immersed, transgressing the human/non-human distinction and inherently both productive of practices and produced by practices. The entire universe is composed of heat and the earth is altered through its relationship to heat (Oppermann and Walker, 2018). Human bodies have, as a result, also evolved with heat and the direct relation between the skin and its ability to absorb and retain heat and the thermal radiation arriving on the planet from the sun (Oppermann and Walker, 2018). As such there is a dynamic relationship between bodies and environment. Heat is used but it is simultaneously also a product of practices. Bodies also produce heat, therefore bodies are both affected by and affect the environment through their social practices (Oppermann and Brearley, 2018).

Oppermann and Walker (2018) draw on the example of work practices in the Australian outback and the ways in which patterns of work change in relation to heat. For example, workers may re-schedule and have work practices that deal with heat such as working at night: 'here rather than rotating staff within a job, it is the rotation of the earth that enables regular relief from the constant 'topping up' of bodily heat from solar thermal flows,' (Oppermann and Walker, 2018: 105). The social practices and practising of heat, they argue, can result in changes to how the body deals with heat. This is also true of humans, animals, machines, and plants, which all have thermal

ranges and equilibriums which in order to function must be supported. In sum, this thesis engages with heat as a physiological aspect of touch by exploring its social aspects alongside its physiology. This means methodologically noticing moments of physiological touch – someone being too hot, in pain, or the pressure of the foot rubbing against a walking boot – but also noticing how this alters relationships with other people on the Trail as a result.

Therefore, I bring together the physiological aspects of touch into conversations with the conceptualisations of touch I illustrated in Chapter 2 to argue that touch is about relationality, proximity, response, and ethics. For Hetherington (2003), touch is a proximal and performative form of knowledge. Dixon and Straughan (2010) argue that we must connect emotive aspects of being in touch/out of touch with the 'exterior' work of sensation. These sensations are aspects of touch that express prevailing socio-cultural conditions (Dixon and Straughan, 2010). They argue importantly: 'Touching has the capacity to dissolve boundaries, to make proximate that which was far away, and in doing so not only rearrange our metaphysics of intimacy and distance, but pose a danger to any and all systems of order that reply upon distinction and separation' (Dixon and Straughan, 2010: 454). Importantly, Dixon and Straughan (2010) note that to prioritise touch, one must also be open to touching and being touched.

Walking is a method through which to explore the embodied relationships with oneself, place, and others, within this thesis through considering touch. Through a greater concentration on how touch might be harnessed as a method that goes beyond simply the physical touch is a key element of how I use walking as method. First, through understanding how moments of touching occur on the trail through examining touch as receptors in the skin responding to pressure, temperature, and pain. I therefore noted down people's relationship to heat, pressure points through friction, and moments of pain. This involved an attentiveness to the little things, and being able to notice these physiological responses was only through my prolonged time spent on the Trail.

Second, if touch is about response and proximity, I paid attention to moments when others responded to another person and, furthermore, how proximity and distance were negotiated on the Jordan Trail. Such moments of touch therefore return to the ethnographic possibilities of walking as a method because of the sustained relationships enabled. On the 40 day 'thru-hike' for instance, I was with some people for forty days and on each of those days at least sixteen hours a day. This gave me the opportunity to engage with aspects of touch on the trail through my prolonged time on the train but also through sustained periods of time with others. It gave me the opportunity to interview people multiple times and also to witness moments of response. Unlike a brief period of time spent with someone on a short walk, in which the exposure to heat, pressure, and pain might be ignored until they return home in the evening, touch could not be ignored. I witnessed how people responded to their own exposure and how others responded.

As many pointed out, rest days on the Trail were really important for group bonding because these were points when many had time to care for others but also when the touch created by pressure,

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pain and heat when walking were finally felt by the body. I therefore took time to both photograph these moments of care but also to write meticulous field diaries and to conduct interviews around these moments. These findings compose Chapter 6. Dwelling on these notions of stillness and rest, the final way in which I suggest exploring about walking as a methodology is through staying. As the previous chapter outlined, an important way in which I consider the relationship between mobility and politics is through movement and non-movement. In the following section I detail how the relationship between movement and non-movement was methodologically explored on the Trail.

Walking and staying

I want to return now briefly back to the first day of the 'thru-hike', and towards the end of the day…

> *Our end point for the day was a homestay in a tiny village just off the trail. We had been slow today and we reached our end point a bit later than planned. My limbs were tired, I felt a little burnt from the sun, and I could feel a blister starting to develop on my left little toe. My mood contrasted noticeably with that of the village when we arrived. It felt like the whole village had come out to see us – 'Hello', 'hi, hi', 'welcome'. Yusuf, whose house we were staying at, came to greet us with coffee. This is a traditional Jordanian when very strong coffee is given to each guest in tiny ceramic cups which are then refilled and passed on. Bags were released from backs and some of my group leant against walls while others sat on the ground eating leftover food and drinking the last dregs of water from water bottles. Buses arrived, weaving slowly through the tiny streets, to return the 'day-hikers' to Amman. There were long good-byes, despite some friendships only being formed over the course of a day. Phone numbers were shared and promises to return. We waved the buses off and there remained just a dozen of us, alone in what felt like the middle of nowhere. We were welcomed into the house and shown to the rooms we would be sleeping in for the night. The house was laid out in a traditional Bedouin/rural style, with cushions laid around the edges of the room which were used to both sleep and sit on, rearranged depending on function, so that the centre of the room remained clear for serving food. Apart from these cushions, the room and the house was empty; the family had all moved upstairs to stay with a relative.[23] This was partly for space issues, partly to ensure that the women in the family would not be sharing the same house as unmarried males. I was told this was often a problem with Muslim families opening up*

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23 It is very common in housing in Jordan for children to be given space above the parents' house to build on.

their homes for homestay guests – 'it can be difficult for some families to have young males coming into their homes, people in the village might talk,' a fellow walker told me. I wondered if I could speak to some of the women as I lugged my bag into the main living room along with everyone else. Our bags and various belongings instantly filled the room and made quite a lot of mess as we each 'reserved' a small bit of space to call our own for the night.

There was some discussion about separate rooms for men and women, since there were Jordanian Muslim women amongst our group who, understandably, did not want to share a room with men. Splitting the group between the three rooms – one large, and two small – caused a bit of confusion, disruption, and irritation. Everyone was tired and some people were asked to move when they had already unpacked their belongings. Eventually it was all sorted. I opted to sleep in the women only room too, I felt more comfortable there. I found a spot and finally unpacked.

For the next half an hour I just sat, too tired to move again even to wash my face. After a short while dinner arrived. Huge plates of the Jordanian national dish, Mansaf, were brought in ceremoniously by Yusuf, with his young children following him closely, peering around his legs to look at us. Yusuf showed us the traditional way to eat the Mansaf – with the right hand, balling up the rice with a yoghurt sauce poured over, and eating the meat from the bone. My emotions were mixed with awe at the amount of food and disgust, as a vegetarian, at the sight of so much meat. I ate a little plain rice and enjoyed, instead, the communal act of eating and conversations about our day and plans for the next – 'did you see the baby lamb?', 'I took so many photos', 'I hope we don't need to get up too early'. In one corner, several people were huddled around a book someone had of Jordanian flora and fauna – comparing photographs they had taken today with those in the book. I listened to this conversation, while messaging my family back home to let them know I was OK. Eventually people started to migrate from the main room towards the other rooms to get ready for bed. I joined them, packing my bag for the next morning – we were getting up early – and brushing my teeth before finally squeezing into my sleeping bag.

In this continuation of the first day on the 'thru-hike', I have moved beyond the physical motion of walking itself. It is here therefore that I expand on another way in which walking must be considered methodologically different – through practices of movement and non-movement involved in 'thru-hiking'. This account in the homestay of Yusuf gets at the richness of experience a 'thru-hike' enables. 'Thru-hiking' has taken off as a practice in recent years with record numbers of people walking long-distance trails such as the Appalachian Trail, the Pacific Crest Trail, and the

Camino De Santiago, and numerous books written about experiences of walking these trails.[24] 'Thru-hikes' offer something more encompassing than simply walking. Yet they have often been neglected within studies of walking. When such studies are done, they are often quantitatively based, such as den Breejen's (2007) of the Scottish West Highland Way or Collins-Kreiner and Kliot's (2017) of the Israel National Trail. Little research has followed a 'thru-hike' with a group of walkers in an ethnographic or participant-observation study. This has instead been relegated to the realm of travel and nature writing with a whole host of authors and films and TV shows dedicated to long-distance walks.[25] However, I argue that, as a method, 'thru-hiking' can be an important way in which to explore questions of movement, non-movement, culture, and politics. Slavin (2003:2) who walked the Santiago De Compostela explains:

> *'Walking the route myself seemed a good method of research as it offered a good pace for speaking with people along the way as well as taking notes and recoding interviews. Importantly, assuming I matched their pace, it also enabled me to track a group of pilgrims along the whole length of the route and follow the development of their ideas in relation to the journey, thus demanding a conceptualisation of the field site as mobile. Finally, apart from anything else, I considered myself a good walker and always suspected that walking and thinking were especially fine companions.'*

Through Slavin's methodological approach, he is also able to do something different in his paper. Slavin's (2003) paper does not focus on the material outcomes or the futures of the pilgrimage, he instead focuses on the present and the process of the pilgrimage, the journey itself. This, Slavin (2003) argues, is the limitation of many studies of pilgrimage and I would argue studies of long-distance walking which prioritise the rationale or mechanics of the trail over the process of walking it. However, notably Slavin still neglects to focus on moments of non-movement. Although academic work has explored aspects of walking along a long-distance trail – Wylie (2005a) on the South West Coast Path, Sidaway (2009) on the different section of the South West Coast Path, den Breejen's (2007) study of the Scottish West Highland Way – none of this work has explored a continuous walk along a trail or the concept of 'thru-hiking'. My contention is that, if we are to consider more carefully the many movements involved in walking, then future work needs to

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24 This is partly about spirituality, the notion of finding oneself, particularly as a response to the pace of modern life (Solnit, 2001). This also explains why pilgrimages have gained so much popularity in recent years, as this meditative state and search for spiritual awakening has reached mainstream culture as an antithesis to capitalism and fast paced 21st-century life. However, the increasing numbers of walkers are in contrast to decreasing numbers of people who count themselves as belonging to a religious order (Slavin, 2003). Many of these trails, however, do have their routes in pilgrimage. The Camino de Santiago, has a more explicitly religious aspect to it, as the way of St James to reach his burial place in Santiago de Compostela. On the Jordan Trail, the proximity to Jerusalem, as well as the high number of religious sites along it, also add a pilgrimage element. My experiences on the trail, however, did not indicate that religion was important to many of the walkers on it, and as a result I do not explicitly focus on it. Furthermore, the Jordan Trail and the walking groups I joined do also not convey religion as important aspects.

25 See Crane, 1996; Fletcher, 2010; Strayed, 2013; Bryson, 2006; MacFarlane, 2013; McCarron, 2018.

explore long-distance walking trails. This approach is necessary to consider movements more clearly in relation to politics and place, culture, temporality, non-movement, and touch.

As a result, while some of my walking on the Jordan Trail was as day walks, a large part of it was by joining two 'thru-hikes'. The first 'thru-hike' I joined for only half, at roughly the half way point, (walking for 15 days – with 1 rest day – and 350km) and was a 'technical thru-hike' in which a walking 'trail expert' was hired to check the Trail and to assess the condition of it. The second 'thru-hike' I joined from start to finish (walking for 40 days – with 4 rest days – and 650km) was the first ever official 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail Association. This 'thru-hike' is an annual event (two subsequent 'thru-hikes' have been organised since I finished my fieldwork) to market and to raise awareness and money for the Jordan Trail Association.[26] These 'thru-hikes' and day trips therefore amounted to over eighty days or 1920 hours on the Trail. Of these 1920 hours, I estimate at least half of that was spent not walking. I spent time sleeping in a tent, sleeping in homestays, sharing food, staying in homestays, waiting for others to catch up, waiting under a tree to escape the midday sun, sitting drinking tea with Bedouins we met on the way, stopping to chat to locals, buying food in a local shop, attending to a blister, applying sun cream, fixing a broken strap on a rucksack, stopping to take a photograph…

A 'thru-hike' is not just about walking because it also involves moments of non-movement, eating, sleeping, and conversations and encounters with others. The engaged attentiveness to movement on a 'thru-hike' also examines the relationship between movement and non-movement and highlights that within the practice of walking are periods of stillness, which Bissell (2007) describes as the rich times that weave through multiple temporalities and bodily experiences of duration. Furthermore, movement itself, as I have argued, is intrinsically bound up in the cultural politics of movement. Moments of movement and non-movement on the trail also highlight which bodies are moving and not moving along the Trail. Although the 'thru-hikers' stop to drink tea they are continually moving down the Trail while those who are encountered remain in place; instantly highlighting differences in movement.

To illustrate further this relationship between moving bodies of walkers and those we encountered along the Jordan Trail I use an example in a homestay, run by a local Arab Women's Group just outside of Amman. Three Jordanian women – Lara, Yasmine, and Maha – who were walking the Jordan Trail with a mixed group, were questioned by the Arab Women's Group as to what their families thought about them walking, particularly in a mixed group, as they did not think it was appropriate. This shocked Lara, Yasmine, and Maha as so much scepticism arising from men; they were upset to also lack support from women. Throughout their time on the Trail Lara, Yasmine, and Maha encountered conversations such as this. This highlighted to them the mobilities not commonly granted to women from Bedouin communities or in rural areas. Bedouin women in

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26 Outside of this annual 'thru-hike' the Jordan Trail Association (a registered NGO) does not organise walks on the Jordan Trail.

Jordan have traditional roles that require them to stay at home. Even in wider Jordanian culture, it is still largely men who are seen in public spaces, who do the shopping and work. It is often not seen as appropriate for women to walk.[27]

Freedom of movement, however, as I have already argued, is limited not just by gender but by race, class, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. However, women are still more likely to be worst affected and have a double restriction of movement placed on them. In the Muslim context of Jordan, Alexandrian (2006) argues that in popular culture, Muslim bodies are frequently portrayed as restricted and constrained. Representations which in turn influence attitudes to the sight of Muslim bodies in public. As a result, there is a clear immobility of Muslim, gendered bodies, and the statement, 'Jordanians don't walk' means something different for women, as often this translates as 'women should not walk'.

In Jordan, however, through the Jordan Trail, these mobilities are being challenged as different bodies are brought into contact. For instance, Abu and Um Omar – in whose home we stayed and whose house is on the route of the Jordan Trail – are a traditional and conservative Muslim family. They, however, saw the financial benefits of opening up their house for walkers on the trail and, although they did not often host guests in their house, they often served lunch and dinner. Abu and Um Omar never came walking with us, and their daughter along with her mother was expected to prepare the food for guests. However, upon seeing women in walking groups, their daughter asked if she could walk with them. She came walking with my group on the trail for several days and said that she would like to become a guide one day. While the instance of her saying this is rare, and currently there are no female walking or climbing guides in Jordan[28], it does indicate a change in women's mobilities. It also suggests that, in different cultures, staying and moving for women present different challenges. This emerged in an interview with Semra:

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27 Solnit (2001) suggests this is a gendered struggle faced by women across the world, as women often lack freedom to walk the streets, reinforced by the rise of 'Reclaim the Night' and 'Moon Walks' amongst others. This sexualised element of women who walk in the city is crucial to prove why and how walking is gendered. Solnit (2001) argues women are removed from public spheres, and walking in them, due to the sexualisation of the walking female body. The English language is rife with phrases that sexualise women's walking: 'women of the streets', 'street walkers'. While women who have violated sexual convention are said to be 'roaming', 'wandering', or 'straying' (Solnit, 2001). Further to this women's walking is seen as a performance; women do not walk to see but to be seen. In accounts of mountaineering, climbing, and hillwalking; women's voices are rare, with some notable exceptions: Nan Shephard, Gwen Moffatt, Gertrude Bell, Alison Hargreaves, Julie Tullis, and Lynn Hill. However, rather than being venerated, they are often heavily criticised. Julie Tullis, the mother of two young children, died on K2 in the Himalayas, and in contrast to the respect paid to male mountaineers, received hatred and backlash before and after her death. As a mother, she was deemed loveless and irresponsible to put herself at risk and leave her children motherless. A criticism which has rarely been waged at fathers placing themselves in similar positions. The spaces of mountains, and the risk associated with walking them, has often deemed them a masculine space for the proving of human endurance and capacity.

28 There are now 2 female outdoor guides in Jordan at the time of writing November 2019.

Olivia: Do you see more women hiking or have more female friends hiking now?'

Semra: Yeah, because there are so many one day hiking options it is very easy for a woman to go and hike. Sometimes a sleep over is a bit harder. Convincing a woman to go into a camp is way harder.

Semra says 'hiking' is a lot easier for women now, which suggests a changing culture towards women walking. However, Semra - unlike Abu and Um Omar's daughter - is an English speaking Ammani woman. It also indicates that one's own different bodily experiences are shaped through movement and non-movement. In this case, movement is acceptable, however non-movement and stasis present problems. To return to my first day on the trail, the separating of men and women into different rooms emphasised the gendering of movement. In most homestays men were required to sleep in one room while women in another. In most of the homestays we stayed at, female relatives moved to another house.

In sum, to understand the relationship between politics and movement is to rethink the way in which certain movements are methodologically explored and what sites of movement to explore. I have suggested an ethnography of movement by focusing not just on the act of walking itself but the wider practices surrounding walking. I have made three points to do this. First, that walking is related to the cultural politics of place and as thus it is not a universal act but one that should consider more carefully the context in which it takes place and the bodies who walk it. Second, that walking as an embodied act is not just about introspection and a mind/body dualism but how the embodied elements of walking enable alternative engagements with people and place. I have argued that through the sense of touch an ability to combine the physiological and the cultural politics of response is possible. Third, that methods engaged with walking should consider not just movement but non-movement and 'thru-hiking' should be given more academic attention as a means to do this. The result is that the politics of movement on a walking trail can emerge.

Gathering 'data'

With a focus on walking as a method and a prolonged ethnographic approach, the 'data' I collected, interpreted, and presented in this thesis is crucial. As the vignettes throughout this chapter have illustrated, such prolonged engagement on the trail resulted in meticulously written field diaries (see appendix 4). These were written at night in my tent on my laptop which accompanied me on the trip, at lunchbreaks on the notes section on my phone, in field diaries, or else recorded notes to myself on my phone as I walked. This resulted in a thesis length collection of field diaries once all were collated and transcribed, which added to over 50,000 words of interview transcripts, 2000 photographs, and a hard drive full of material from the Jordan Trail Association, all of which amounted to a large amount of collected 'data'. Although at times overwhelming, I also found that I had a spatial relationship with my 'data'. Upon listening to an interview, looking at a

photograph, or reading an abstract from my field diaries, I could instantly return to the moment and circumstances in which my data took place and at times connect the place, the photograph, and the interview transcript. My methodological approach also connected me to my data.

In writing up this thesis, I also drew upon the importance of telling stories. I therefore drew inspiration from work in geography that pays importance to stories (Lorimer and Parr, 2014). Methodology is combining with ontology, and the argument that this thesis makes that alternative narratives can be shared through alternative practices such as walking. My work therefore emphasises that stories matter and 'writing matters' (MacDonald, 2013). The vignettes I include allow a closeness to the subject and immersion that goes beyond description and places the reader in Jordan (Lorimer and Parr, 2014). Chapter 5 also engages with the story of two Bedouins, whom I met on the trail, Mohammad and Mohammad and their story in relation to the Trail. In Jordan, storytelling and poetry are also important aspects of Bedouin culture and tradition. These stories and poems capture histories, relationships with land, and sometimes I was told describe directions to places. Stories and poems are often associated with different tribes, and are important identity markers between tribes and place.[29] I therefore made an effort to collect as many of these Bedouin poems, stories, songs, and sayings as possible and to include them in this thesis. This also returns to Ingold's (2011a) work on lines in which he argues stories are similar to lines on a map:

> The storyline goes along, as does the line on the map. The things of which the
> story tells, let us say, do not so much exist as occur: each is a moment of
> ongoing activity…To tell a story, then, is to relate, in narrative, the occurrences
> of the past, retracing a path through the world that others, recursively picking
> up the threads of past lives, can follow in the process of spinning out their own.
> (Ingold, 2011a: 90).

Storytelling for Ingold (2011a) is similar to wayfaring, the movement from place to place in which the end point is not predetermined. A story similarly weaves a line that has no end point and knowledge is integrated along a path of movement. Ingold (2011a) compares reading to wayfaring and the surface of the path to an inhabited landscape. To move is to remember the path and to tell a story is to remember how it goes, to retrace a trail through the text (Ingold, 2011a). Stories I share throughout this thesis, therefore, also compose another line and understanding of the Trail. These stories and poems were shared with me through moments sitting with Bedouins at night around the campfire on the Trail and once again reinforce the importance of situated accounts of walking that enable these indigenous and embodied accounts of place to emerge. These stories became part of the everyday, experiential and ongoing accounts of movement and place I

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29 These poems and stories are often in Bedouin Arabic dialects that fluent Arabic speakers cannot understand. I did not have the resources in this project to capture and translate Bedouin stories and poems with enough depth to make them an element of this thesis. This could, however, be an area for future study.

captured. The next section explores another way in which I captured relationships with place on the Jordan Trail, through visual research methods.

Visual research methods and walking

It is often most easy to convey, particularly in conference presentations, the visuality of the Trail. I spent much of my time on the Trail totally immersed in the beauty of my surroundings. The overwhelming visuality of my surroundings was also apparent in discussions with others. During the 'technical thru-hike' I described above, the main aim was not an appreciation of the scenery but instead checking the route and GPS coordinates. The consultant was on a tight schedule, and moved quickly and for long, exhausting hours each day. Bashar, one of the Bedouin guides walking with us, reflected on the pace of movement: 'I like speed moving but sometimes in a nice place I just like to walk and see.' He expanded by telling me that when he has to walk fast he can only look at the ground, to keep up the pace. When he is able to walk slowly, he can appreciate his surroundings, he has time to look around. I mentioned what Bashar had said, to the consultant, Sam, and an expression of sadness came over his face: 'I do like to walk slowly too and enjoy the surroundings, here, however I have to work.' This tension between moving quickly but equally having the time to appreciate the visuality of the surroundings was felt by many, especially the 'solo thru-hikers' – those walking independently without a group - I spoke to. Many 'solo thru-hikers' had time restraints and, for one in particular, the endurance aspect of the trail was important to her, a decision she too reflected had perhaps caused her to miss some of the scenery.

This relationship between walking and the visual is therefore important because it presents an embodied relationship with the visual, through the notion of seeing 'in the flesh' and the speed at which one's body moves and how one consumes the visual. Rose (2014) comments that one of the most striking developments across the social sciences in the past decade has been the growth of research methods using visual materials. Rose (2014) suggests that visual research methods are especially effective in generating evidence that other methods – especially interviews – cannot. Visual methods can 'reveal what is hidden in the inner mechanisms of the ordinary and taken for granted' (Knowles and Sweetman, 2004: 7) and can allow the researcher to reflect on their own relation to the field (Emmel and Clark, 2011). They are also collaborative because researchers taking photographs must communicate and negotiate a relationship with those being photographed (Banks, 2001). Rose (2014) suggests that, as a result, the close attention paid to the role of the researcher and their relationship with the researched is influenced by feminist, postcolonial, and queer scholarship.

Rose (2008: 151) further argues that, amongst the visual methods used by human geographers, photographs are often the most commonly used because 'they are perfectly situated in helping us answer the eminently geographical question, what is this place like?' Rose (2008) continues that many discussions of research findings use photographs, often taken by the researcher themselves,

accompanied by short descriptive captions. However, these photographs are rarely discussed in the body of the text. This is problematic as this conveys the message that photographs are representations of a truth. However, increasingly geographers are thinking about the ways in which photographs can be active players in the construction of a range of different kinds of geographical knowledge. Instead of photographs as windows into places we could otherwise not see, photographs are instead prisms that refract what can be seen in quite particular ways (Rose, 2008). Photographs can affirm dominative narratives and can carry particular ways of seeing the world that reflect and support certain visions and relations (Rose, 2008).

The role of photographs plays a huge part in the experiences of myself and others walking the Jordan Trail. The selfie culture has hit Jordan and taking photographs of oneself on the Trail is an important part for the experience for many. This does convey the cultural capital of walking on the Trail – which relates back to the previous arguments about class and access to walking. However, I would also suggest it is about how we translate and convey to others our experiences. It is crucial to note that having access to a camera and the ability to upload those photographs onto social media or else send them to others requires knowledge and financial means. However, I would also argue that many in Jordan do have mobile camera phones and having access to the internet is generally a basic provision. For instance, for Mohammad and Mohammad, two Bedouins who were the first to walk the whole trail, taking photographs became really important to them and their experiences of walking the trail. They set up Instagram accounts and increasingly took photographs throughout the trail.

Photographs were therefore related to one's sense of place and one's own role within this. I began following the Instagram and social media accounts of others walking on the trail to see what they were sharing, and would often like these photographs, while mine were liked in return. Sometimes by someone walking right beside me. Photographs on these social media accounts, far from reinforcing dominant discourses, offered another representation of Jordan. They were able to embody a place, mainly for international audiences, with accompanying stories about the people whom we met. Many wrote long descriptions underneath the photograph. They also showed the beautiful scenery and landscapes in Jordan that produced remarks under photographs by both Jordanians and international tourists and ex-pats, such as 'wow, is that really Jordan?', 'so beautiful, I want to go there.' Photographs here are evocative and, although still riddled with representations, also carry a powerful descriptive charge as they can convey elements of truth and qualities of materiality that are both strange and enlivening (Rose, 2008). The posting of photographs on social media by those walking on the Jordan Trail is therefore also a participatory production of meaning, through the following, liking, commenting and viewing of these photographs. These photographs perform meaning. Photographs are constantly negotiating the capturing of traces of what was visible when the shutter snapped and what was not captured

(Rose, 2014).[30] Pink (2007) suggests this is the relationship between the viewer and the photograph:

30 The ability to inscribe and trace meaning are explored more in Chapter 3.

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Visual images are made meaningful by the subjective gaze of the viewer, and that each individual produces these photographic meanings by relating the image to his or her existing personal experience, knowledge, and wider cultural discourses (Pink, 2007: 82).

Therefore, understanding the relationship between the visual, the sensory, and culture is really important for how different people and bodies experience place. My sharing of photographs, for instance, was an important part of my experience on the Trail and how I communicated my experience to others. However, the ease through which photographs were able to translate my experiences to others, through social media, sending them to friends and family, and also in presentations further emphasises the risk that the visual becomes the dominant and sovereign sense. The visual, as I have argued particularly in relation to representations of the Middle East, becomes the dominant sense and an important way in which touch is restricted and distance maintained in the post 9/11 period (Amoore, 2007). However, through using visual methods alongside walking I argue that the visual works alongside other sensory methods. I follow Pink et al's (2010) call for the visual to be understood as a multi-sensory site, in which the visual is being re-situated as an element of the multisensoriality of everyday contexts. Therefore, when we study visual forms and practices we need to account for the other senses involved in taking and sharing a photograph and when we study corporeal practices we need to account for how vision and visual forms are inextricable from these experiences. Jay (2002) for instance argues that the visual is 'nested' in the senses. Through this, he argues that the visual can be understood as analogous to the various forms of life that have become distinct cultures (Jay, 2002). This is why the haptic can help to reclaim some of the ways of engaging with alternative and non-western ways of knowing. Regarding the potential of photographs to represent walking, we can therefore start to understand images not as visual objectifications of experiential realities, but as texts that suggest or invite routes through which other people's multisensory ways of knowing through movement might be imagined or imaginable. Likewise, this signifies a change from the idea of privileging vision or visual knowledge, and instead recognising that the production and viewing of images happen in multisensory environments and are experienced in ways that are embodied or multisensory.

Throughout my time on the Jordan Trail I took photographs both on my phone and on a digital camera. These photographs, I was aware through both my practice of taking them and also sorting through them once they were uploaded onto my computer, were taken with great frequency. My phone was always in my pocket and my digital camera on a strap around my neck enabling me to take these regular photographs without disrupting my walking rhythm. Taking photographs therefore was an important part of my time on the Trail and also an important performance. Taking photographs became an important shared practice as members of the group I was with all stopped to take the same photograph, we looked at each other's photographs on our devices and computers, and shared and liked each other's photographs on social media. This therefore links to work on performance and photographs within tourism studies. Larsen (2005:416) argues that: 'embodiment and performance have been crucial in destabilizing the visual hegemony of images, cameras, and gazes in tourist studies.' In other words by considering the taking of photographs alongside work on performance and embodiment, the hegemony of the visual is challenged as photographs also have embodied meaning through performances. These photographs therefore become part of a larger experience on the Trail and they only make sense presented with an explanation, their caption, and my description of the story around the photograph. These photographs do not therefore represent solely my experience of walking on the Trail but become just one sensory method amongst others. Therefore although I use photographs throughout this thesis, I use them within my broader aim to think about how we experience place, embodiment and movement, and the relationship between mobility and cultural politics.

Ethics and positionality

Although ethics are discussed last in this chapter, they are at the forefront of the methodological approach I have employed in this research. Every project has ethical issues; however, they take prominence in intensive methods, in which 'the legitimacy of the work stands on the transparency of the 'stories' told' (Kitchen and Tate, 2000: 35). This is even more important within the postcolonial context of Jordan, in which I found myself surrounded by other researchers for whom access to the countries they intended to research was also a problem. Researchers who could not enter Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Turkey, Israel, Palestine, Saudi Arabia… A politics of denied or restricted access began to emerge. I started a reading group in Amman to discuss issues of access amongst researchers. We focused, as a group of early career researchers, on the specific ethical issues that emerged in Jordan, why ethnographic research was so important in the Middle East, and why access was being increasingly denied. I was also part of several sessions at conferences and workshops on denied access. Alongside such questions, research debates also opened up around the ethics of doing research and the question 'why are we [t]here?' (Rutazibwa and Griffiths, 2015). Such ethical questions have also produced a large amount of recent work on ethics and the 'global south'.

There is a direct link between ethics and postcolonialism. One of the most important debates on represented 'postcolonial Others' is the work of Spivak (1985) and her famous question: 'can the subaltern speak?' Spivak (1985; 1988) details the indigenous and colonial patriarchies which have silenced female and subaltern voices, arguing that 'there is no space from where the sexed subaltern subject can speak' (1988: 307). This extends to knowledge production and the ongoing silence through colonial power structures which privilege academic institutions and English as sites of knowledge. This has also resulted in engaged discussion within geography around the ethics and politics of subalternity (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2010; Noxolo et al, 2012; Griffiths, 2017a; 2018; Jazeel, 2007; Sidaway, 1992; McEwan, 2001; Radcliffe, 1994; 2006). Briggs and Sharp (2004: 673) have argued for an anti-essentialist account of indigenous knowledge that stresses the importance of other ways of 'knowing and doing'. McFarlane (2006: 45) advocates for geographers' 'attention to ethical considerations around learning, which involves an attempt to listen and to (un)learn […] through interactions with subalterns'. Griffiths (2018) argues that such engagements within geography involve the heterogeneous experience of subalternity while also acknowledging the privilege that gives voice to geographers and development actors who speak about postcolonial subalterns.

However, Griffiths (2018) argues that there remains little work which engages with critical theory on speaking and representation. Griffiths (2018: 300) as a result argues that Spivak's work has often been used in ways that implore further silencing and instead 'we must apply her work on the ground towards an ethical engagement with subalternity that rests on a mode of speaking for and about in an anti-foundationalist and hyper self-reflexive manner.' Griffiths (2018), for instance, addresses the issue of ignoring incidents in third world contexts. Is it better to ignore something than to speak up and risk highlighting colonial asymmetries? Griffiths (2018: 307) offers an example in his research in India of eating separately:

> *[eating separately] is not dismissed in and of itself, it is critiqued only where men are perceived to directly impose on the women, and related to similar gender divisions in similar places. As such, for a women to negotiate and express agency […] By contextualising gender relations in this way there is a marked move away from the colonial-era 'assumption of women as an always-already constituted group […] labelled powerless, 'exploited', 'sexually harassed', etc (Mohanty, 1985: 338).*

This is crucial in breaking down automatic binaries of 'us' and 'them' and in understanding that difference and similarity are nuanced not homogenous. Furthermore, that a 'struggle everywhere is not consonant with 'sameness'' (Griffiths, 2018: 307). For Griffiths (2018: 308), the subaltern cannot speak because 'representation has a violent history where silence is an accomplice of colonial and patriarchal domination'. Furthermore, the contemporary politics around this results in a postcolonial politics of not speaking for the other. What Griffiths (2018) therefore argues is that questions around postcolonial ethics are more nuanced than simply binaries of 'us' and 'them'.

Griffiths (2017a: 2) discusses this in relation to his own positionality in a paper on the 'privileged western researcher'. Griffiths (2017a: 2) reflects on his own class history to argue for a 'more heterogeneous conceptualisation of Western postcoloniality that accounts for the varied experiences of the British working classes.' In other words, class and gender can rethink power imbalances between researcher and those researched.

Such arguments I posit as points of departure for this project to think more critically and in more nuanced ways about positionality and ethics within the research process. This also addresses some of the concerns within geography that positionality and reflexivity are either over-reflexive, apologetic, or ironically under-reflexive (Crang, 2003). I follow Smith (2016: 137) who argues that reflexivity and positionality are a starting point but not a solution: 'Reflexivity can act as a shallow form of legitimation and a back door for the god trick claiming to understand not only the lives of our research participants but even our own relations and limitations within the field' (Smith, 2016: 137). There is a need to go beyond simply acknowledging the process of being reflexive and that one's positionality is important to the research process to thinking more carefully about the entangled power relations in which this fits. Smith (2016: 138) further writes of a wariness of deploying self-reflexivity in public settings, not wanting to engage in what Sharp and Dowler (2001: 15) describe as 'egotistical diatribes or naval gazing'.

In relation to my own positionality and ethical concerns, one of the points I would like to make is that ethics and how research is approached ethically is a central part of this thesis. The decision to explore the Middle East and relationships between people and place through everyday experiences such as walking is also an acknowledgement that research itself should come from an ethical personal desire to translate stories often neglected, using the power of one's own voice. Following Griffiths (2018), to neglect to share stories of everyday accounts of places can evoke a further silencing, and, while this thesis is not about the gendered violence Griffiths uses as his examples, it is about stories of being and living in a place that is often ignored. This is a portrayal of everyday life in the Middle East that does have consequences on how many of the people I engaged with in my research are portrayed. I have grown weary of, after telling people in the UK that I do research in Jordan, being asked: 'is it safe?', 'have you heard bombs there?', 'is it not all just war?', 'is it not all just terrorists over there?'. This is not just the wearisome for me but an everyday reality for those who live in Jordan and the wider Middle East. The abundance of misinformation and misrepresentations of Jordan is astounding. The story of the Jordan Trail I believe is therefore an important one to tell. It is also a story to tell that was unintended, an unintention that also embeds ethics within my research process because, as opposed to dictating a narrative gained through the literature review gathering of the first year of my PhD, this was a situated narrative emerging from place.

The ways in which I carried out my research was therefore nested in everyday experiences and the question of what studying Jordan should be. What does it mean for something not to go right and

what are the opportunities after that? My research into movement and non-movement arrived as a result of my own experiences in Israel and I therefore became attuned to the politics of these movements and non-movements. A Palestinian friend remarked to me that through my denied entry 'I had been through the most quintessential Palestinian experience.' An understanding therefore of how we become attuned to the politics around movement is also intrinsically based on our own experience of movement. An experience which for me before then had been one of the privilege of a British passport holder and is now one in which passport control fills me, as it does for many around the world, with a feeling of dread and unease.

I am also aware that my ability to do research is based on my own privilege. I have an interest in walking on trails because my upbringing was one in which I went to a private school in Glasgow where there were opportunities for me to go on weekend 'hiking' trips away and my Mother could afford to pay for them. This also translated to my time in Jordan. I spent much of my time in Jordan as the only 'white body' amongst Jordanians. In the JTA office, in board meetings and on the Trail itself. However, although the Jordan Trail hopes to be an international walking trail, currently it is mostly Jordanians and ex-pats who are walking it. Following Griffiths (2017a), what became more prominent therefore through my research were the class divides surrounding walking in Jordan. For instance, many of the Jordanians I walked with spoke English fluently, had attended private schools, and many had been educated in UK institutions and/or had travelled to popular walking destinations in Europe and North America. In many ways, we shared similar cultural experiences. Whereas, Bedouins whom we encountered on the trail were as culturally dissimilar to me as they were to Jordanians living in Amman. I remember, for instance, having a conversation between myself, my Jordanian friend, Zahra, and two Bedouins. The two Bedouins, Mohammad and Mohammad – whose story is told in Chapter 5 – worked as guides on the Jordan Trail and as a result had met Zahra and myself and numerous other Jordanian Ammanis, ex-pats, and foreigners. Zahra asked them how they felt about women walking on the Jordan Trail. They told us that they still believed women should remain at home and it was not appropriate for women to be walking.

While their response shocked us, it illustrates the tension between tradition and modernity which still plays a large part in Jordanian culture. Another Jordanian friend – Suliman – told me of how walking entrenches these divides within Jordan between tradition and modernity. He became a walking guide much to his parents' disapproval – partly because walking involves spending time with both foreigners and women. Suliman also described to me that, when he walked with just females, he was asked many questions by locals. It was out of the question for him to be walking with friends, as locals would find this appropriate, and he instead could only walk in a guiding capacity. This tension therefore is one in which walking highlighted in Jordan. This also relates to the place in Jordanian society in which myself and Zahra fit as women. For instance, throughout my research, I was part of both male and female spaces. I was allowed as a foreign woman to be part of male spaces (sitting around a Bedouin campfire, climbing with a group of Bedouin men) and also female spaces (the inside of the house, the kitchen). This, as I have illustrated, also highlights the

movements and non-movements associated with different bodies. This in turn produced a lot of uncomfortable situations as, although allowed in both male and female spaces, I always felt an outsider in each by moving between them. I at times reflected on how some of my own decisions, driving a car for instance, highlighted my foreignness even more prominently. In sum, simply to say my positionality as a foreigner places me in direct opposition to those in Jordan and that is the only binary which exists is problematic, I have demonstrated it is much more nuanced than that. Furthermore, following Griffiths (2018) not speaking can be a further act of silencing.

I dealt with my anxieties in the field, following Smith (2016), by being transparent about my position and politics, including points of disagreement and my ongoing research. I also made sure to share my research findings along the way in informal settings with those who had been involved. Moreover, all who took part in my research were competent adults (over the age of 18) and I did not work with any groups described as 'vulnerable' in a legal-ethical sense (as not necessarily able to give or withdraw consent). This research has followed all standard Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) – the funding body for this PhD – and Durham University approved guidelines, including gaining full and informed consent from all participants, with anonymity offered and care taken to be overt in all research proceedings. Almost all names have been changed with the exception of those whose anonymity cannot be kept and I have full consent from them to be included in my research. It was made clear that participation was entirely voluntary and it was reiterated that participants could leave the project at any time and remove their contributions from the data generated. Along the trail, verbal consent was gained; and, although on days when I walked with groups of nearing fifty it was not possible to gain consent from everyone in the group, I gained consent from everyone I spoke with about my research.

I finish this section on ethics with a final quote from Smith:

> *The field has been thought of as away, but can also be home (Katz, 2009) – it escapes its bounds. Regardless of your place within the field, fieldwork lingers with you as you write, wondering what those who made your work possible would think of your words (Smith, 2016: 142).*

Although Jordan was never my home, in many ways it now feels like one and many of those I met are now lifelong friends. Furthermore, for many months after leaving the field I was still answering emails for the Jordan Trail. I continue to follow the Facebook groups for many walking groups and have friends on Facebook and Instagram who still walk. In this sense, the field is never gone but always there. This research is instead a snapshot of a period of time in a place which is constantly changing, something I will reflect on in the conclusion of this chapter. Another important aspect of the ethics of this research is that my findings and write-up are still very much in conversation with those in Jordan. Researchers must also ensure they produce findings that reach and interact with those who have been an intrinsic part of the research process. In sum, engaging with positionality should not be an apologetic diatribe but instead an opportunity to be open to uncomfortable

discussions and moments of understanding and unlearning. It is for all these reasons that I believe political geographers should be more engaged with the everyday ways in which to investigate issues of movement and politics.

Conclusion

> *Only in such complete absorption in the present does a trace of history and thought remain. I could not return to that place several years later and almost certainly retrace my steps on the very same rocks I used before […] In such action as leaping down the riverbed, the landscape is mapped by becoming part of my inner landscape and it is through presence of mind and self that I lay down such memory (Slavin, 2003:16).*

I use this quote from Slavin (2003) because it resonated with my own experience with my research 'material'. To finish this methods section, I must confess I am something of a bad researcher. I have not yet properly written out all my notes, I do not have piles of beautifully coded transcripts, and my filing system is not as 'neat' as it could be. However, I do feel I have an embodied connection to my research that renders this inconsequential. All the 'research material' used in this PhD is real, yet to recount each element, I did not always necessarily have to go through all my notes, as I could often remember, visually and viscerally, where something occurred and from that memory, how to find it in my research notes or transcripts. I can still remember exactly where I was standing when Mahmoud told me about the fast pace of the walking and that he was forced to look down at his feet. When I listen to interviews with interviewees, I am transported back there, walking along a path with them, sitting on a rock, or in the living room of a homestay. I can smell what was being cooked, what conversations were being had, what the walk was like that day, what my body felt like, and who was there. This is particularly significant to me because I do not have a particularly good memory. Therefore, there must have been something about the pace of the walk, the sensory engagements, the visualities, and the types and means of encountering that was significant. Throughout the methods I have described above, I would argue that more work considers the relationship between movement and non-movement within walking practices and also the need for methods that have sustained ethnographic engagements with walking. A commitment to staying and having such an immersive fieldwork experience can be tiring, as Fletcher describes on his hike on the Israel National Trail:

> *I was finding it hard to combine the physical effort of the journey with the intellectual effort of talking to people and investigating their stories. I felt I could handle one or the other, but not both at the same time. I would return to the area later when I had finished the trek and had more time and energy to research the story (Fletcher, 2011: 154).*

However, in this fatigue, as I will explore throughout this thesis, possibilities for support, emotion, and connection are also possible. By keeping going through discomfort, a different political engagement might be possible.

Moving on

In this section, as well as outlining what I did methodologically, I have also opened up what might be possible through using walking as method. I have argued that walking as method can be broadened out. It can be a means to explore movement and non-movement, to capture engagements with place, and to explore temporality. I have also challenged the notion that walking has often been understood through Western lenses and suggested that walking be broadened out to include how other cultures and groups of people have moved by foot. This includes the infrastructures, routes, and non-movements that support the walking body. Further to this, I have shown how the gendered, embodied, and cultural aspects of walking have a lot to offer cultural political geographers. Moving forward in this thesis I will draw on research material that was generated using walking as method, as well as the immersive ethnography of the 'thru-hike', and time spent volunteering with the Jordan Trail Association, to consider movement, land, and embodiment along the Jordan Trail. I do this through three empirical chapters.

In the first I concentrate on the line of the Jordan Trail itself, how the Trail generated and what does it mean to move down the line. How do histories of movement come against movements of modern walkers? Understanding historical accounts of movement in the region is as important as those who move along the line today. In the second empirical chapter I explore the relationship between territorial nationality and those walking on the Trail. I argue that while the goal of the Jordan Trail is to connect Jordanians to their country, the process of walking the Trail and the histories is captures also challenge the modern territorial nation-state. I bring in accounts of homeland, land as value, and risk to suggest that bodies that move challenge territorial nationality. Third, I explore a politics of touch on the Jordan Trail. I argue that bodies come into contact with others on the Jordan Trail to create meaningful encounters and these encounters produce new understandings of others and how others relate to place. I use touch to suggest that walking bodies create important moments of encounter that in turn create conditions to consider response, proximity and responsibility.

Before these three empirical sections, however, I offer a description of my line, the Jordan Trail. The line of the Jordan Trail is hugely important to this thesis and, in the following chapter, I outline how this line was formed to consider the politics of movement involved in generating a line.

Interlude: Situating the line of the Jordan Trail

Trails and lines

I begin with a line. The line of the Jordan Trail, a 650km (450 mile) walking trail running the length of Jordan. In Arabic is it called darab al urdon, درب الردون, translated as the 'Path of Jordan'. This line situates the three empirical chapters that follow, therefore outlining why a line is important to this thesis and how it came to foreground what comes next. Walking Trails are increasing in number across the Middle East: the Abraham Path Initiative; the Trans-Caucasian Trail across the Caucasian mountain range; the Israel National Trail; the Lebanon Mountain Trail; the Sinai Trail; and the Maser Al Ibrahim in Palestine. However, while studies have examined the nationalist goals of these trails or political goals connecting to peace – such as on the Trans-Caucasian Trail and the Abraham Path Initiative – no studies have looked at the actual process of creating a walking trail and focused on the line itself. It is therefore by setting up the importance of the line of the trail that I situate this research more deeply in the context of Jordan and the ways in which this thesis examines the relationship between politics and movement. Following Cresswell (2010) a politics of movement involves exploring the conduits of movement but also understanding how different historical movements inform present day understandings of movement.

Lines are important to this thesis because while walking is increasingly regarded as an important cultural practice (Wylie, 2005a; Solnit, 2001; Lorimer, 2010a; Ingold, 2004), walking trails and the linguistic and material distinctions between line, trail, and path have been neglected. I suggest that these distinctions matter. The line itself and the different movements and material and immaterial traces it captures deserve greater focus. I therefore delve further into what the line means, as a path, trail, way or otherwise, and examine the relationship between the line, movement and embodiment, and ground: a line of enquiry which is frequently neglected within studies of long-distance walking trails. This discussion is especially important in Jordan where lines have been historically violent (Carter, 2009). As I outlined in Chapter 2, drawn in 1921, Jordan's border lines have little connection to the ethno-territorial history of the region. Further, Jordan is a country in which grounded and embodied geopolitical accounts are often neglected in research on Jordan and movement itself is highly political as borders are closed across the region and refugees confined to stalled spaces such as camps (Wagner, 2017). Following Ingold (2011a), I use the term line to signal a move beyond materiality and border lines to the relationship between knowledge and doing. Ingold (2011a) critiques the linear ways in which Eurocentric accounts of knowledge have comprehended the passage of history, generation, and time. Through the notions of lines, threads,

and traces – aspects of lines significant in Ingold's work – I tell a story of one line, the Jordan Trail, that is attentive to the movements of people, animals, and transport, throughout Jordan's past, present, and future. I suggest that the line, and as I will argue multiple lines, of the walking trail can capture alternative and postcolonial movements, that contest the lines of border making of the Jordanian state, and demonstrate how an attention to lines can also reveal how they are experienced through the walking body.

The Jordan Tail is contained within the territorial borders of Jordan. It begins at Jordan's northern border with the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights and continues in an almost vertical line, parallel and at times only a few miles from Jordan's Western border with Israel and the West Bank, until its southern border with Saudi Arabia at the Red Sea. However, the concept of a line running the length of Jordan is not a new one, and further to this, lines have not historically been contained within Jordan's state borders but have moved beyond them. The Jordan Trail was at the centre of trade routes, significant parts of the Jordan Trail were used by Nabatean merchants and their camel caravans, and the Roman and Ottoman Empires continued to use their routes until the 20th century. Movement through these routes is a practice just as old – for thousands of years, movement, mainly through walking, served as a means of conducting business and communicating with distant people.

As Robin's 'A History of Jordan' illustrates, Jordan's history is one of recent Middle Eastern geopolitics, but is also one of Islamic, Judaic, and Christian significance and one that dates back to Neolithic times and incorporates significant periods of Greco-Roman, Nabatean, Ottoman, and Umayyad rule. The Nabatean Kingdom built Petra, one of Jordan's most famous contemporary classical sites, as its capital. The Nabatean Empire was incorporated into the Roman Empire which extended to Jordan on its Eastern edges. The well preserved Roman city of Jerash, sits on the Jordan Trail, and was an important centre of trade in the region. It was positioned on the incense and spice trade route from the Arabian Peninsula to Syria and the Mediterranean region. Its popularity began to decline partly due to new movements in the region, as trade over sea began to take precedence over land. With the decline of the Roman Empire, the next substantial period was the Umayyad Empire, one of the first Muslim dynasties, of which present day Amman became a major town in the administrative district of Damascus. The Crusader period followed Ottoman rule when Ottoman forces invaded the Levant in 1516 and gained control, ruling until World War I when Jordan came under British Mandate. Walking on the Jordan Trail in the present, therefore, presents an opportunity to create understandings of Jordan that are embodied by current day walkers but also capture the movements of previous bodies, animals, and objects.

I set the scene here therefore for movement by first outlining literature on lines and the generation of the Jordan Trail. I want to emphasize how a walking trail can be an important way in which to understand how lines have been divisive in the Middle East and how lines following Ingold (2011a) can capture different approaches to movement. First therefore, I outline the ways in which lines

have been divisive and violent in the Middle East. Second, how following Ingold (2011a) lines can capture movement. Third, reflections on how the line of the Jordan Trail was generated.

Lines as violent

> *Boundary lines and maps are particularly important in the Jordanian case because it is a state that clearly came before the nation, and when that nation was defined it was devoid of people outside of the Hashemite leadership. 'Arabs' lived in Jordan, but Jordan itself did not have an otherwise unique ethnicity or culture (Anderson, 2001: 13).*

The creation of the modern borders of Jordan was a violent, colonial act that created states along lines where none had previously existed (Anderson, 2001; Massad, 2001; Culcasi, 2018; Alon, 2009). As Anderson (2001) notes, the drawing of the lines of the Jordanian state was also a forced creation of a sovereign identity which many did not identify with. While in Chapter 5 this is discussed through territorial identity, here I explore how the Jordan Trail, as a line, can reclaim and contest the violence of lines as bordering practices. Massad (2001: 11) explains: 'before 1921, there was no territory, people, or nationalist movements that was designated, or that designation itself, as Transjordan.' It was a state created by Britain and other colonial powers after the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was partitioned by France and Britain, resulting in the creation of what was then named Transjordan in 1921, under British protectorate (Massad, 2001). In 1946, Jordan became an independent entity, and was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. In 1948, after the capture of the West Bank from Israel, it was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (commonly shorted to Jordan). The West Bank was lost to Israeli in the 1967 Arab- Israeli war, redrawing the lines of the Jordanian territory once more (Massad, 2001). The result is that Jordan is a country in which borders have been redrawn continually and have severed populations in ways that are contested and experienced in the present day though: 'diverse, multi-layered identities and complex connections to different places' (Culcasi, 2018: 147). A bordering and line drawing that I will discuss later as particularly violent for the majority Bedouin population whose tribal links extended beyond the boundary of the current state (Culcasi, 2018; Massad, 2001; Alon, 2009). As a result, lines are important, particularly in Jordan because of their role in creating a bounded sovereign territory.

Lines and their link to sovereign territory emphasises the relationship between lines and the calculative goals of territory. Lines, Biggs (1999: 374) argues, are: 'a spatial form modelled on the map's linear boundary and homogenous space.' Lines have been important elements of colonial space making and the creation of the modern territorial-sovereign state. This is particularly emphasised through map making. Official maps, construct, categorize, and naturalize territories by fixing borders and maps on to specific places (Elden, 2005; Crampton, 2009). Bruun (2018), in reference to mapping techniques, argues that by reducing the world to a series of fixed geometrical

properties and lines, geographical space could be represented as a continuous and homogenous plane that is divisible and governable. It is such understandings that enable state space and territory to free territorial sovereignty from its former focus on occupying bodies on the ground (Bruun, 2018). Through cartography, it became possible to move from a social definition of territory to a territorial definition of society (Soja, 1971). Map making is therefore both a destructive and productive practice, with the abstract notion of the border one of the most stark reminders of the productive powers of the map (Carter, 2009). Carter (2009) writes that the lines of architecture and planning reinscribe a symbolic right-angled, straight and continuous design on the world. These lines also fail to notate forms of movement that relate to our intersubjective experience. Carter (2009) argues, they can be compared to the rectangular grid imposed on the earth's surface by the imperial survey. For example, the geometric territorial divisions of land illustrated by the straight line boundaries of the states within Australia, the division of Africa, and the Mason-Dixon lines in the USA (Elden, 2013). Carter (2009) argues that what is left out of these lines is the body that writes. Bodily movement has been immobilized, its pre-inscriptions erased, and its corporeality dematerialized (Carter, 2009). In her research into mapping representations of the Middle East, Culcasi (2018: 138) argues that:

> *Though analysis of official and cartographic discourses remain important areas*
> *of study, a focus on maps tells only a partial story that can miss the complexity*
> *of how people imagine their relationship with the territories.*

The relationship between cartography, lines, and colonial violence is one shared by Krishna's work in India on cartographic anxiety. Cartography, Krishna (1994) argues is more than the technical and specific mapping of the country, it is also the representational practices that insribe countries such as India with a history, meaning, content, and trajectory. Peteet (2011), Neocleous (2003), and Shaprio (1997) all use the term violent cartography to describe processes of border drawing within postcolonial settings and mapping which erase lived experienced. Importantly in all these cases the line is important, as a particular device of violence. Krishna (1994) writes that daily life is bisected by lines on the map that discipline and abstract those living close to borders. Neocleous (2003), Peteet (2011), and Shapiro (1997) further suggest cartographic violence is carried out by lines themselves that divide and lineate. It is not just cartography that is violent but the violence as a result of the line as a point of demarcation.[31] Naficy (2001: 31) notes: 'in recent years no region in the world has bourne deadlier sustained clashes over physical (and discursive) borders than the Middle East.' This clash between the physical and discursive is also a clash between the political and the cultural, which have often been treated as separate realms of enquiry within Middle Eastern studies (Ball, 2012). Work on borders often fails to explore embodied relationships

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[31] This is also demonstrated by road building and anti-road protesting (McNeish, 1999), such as that of the M74 motorway. Nimegeer et al (2018) from a health perspective have explored the severance and experience of dis-connectivity as a result of the building of the M74 motorway in Scotland.

between the border and cultural political meanings. For instance, following Amoore's (2006) biometric border argument; on the Jordan Trail the body not only carries the border, but the border becomes embodied in ways that exceed the calculative and bordering practices of the state. In other words, by failing to explore how bodies have been involved or dismissed in the drawing of state borders, and ignoring practices of line drawing beyond cartographic accounts, relationships between bodies, lines, and movements outside nation-state borders are erased. I argue through my discussion of lines, that a concentration only on the border as a type of line continues the erasure of realms of enquiry that capture embodied, experienced, and cultural political engagements with place.

Following this, I next explore the ways in which lines can capture embodiment and movement. Lines themselves are not the problem but the way in which certain lines and narratives around lines have been privileged (Ingold, 2011a). In other words, lines do not merely delimit, demarcate or border, they are also experienced, carried in and embodied, and therefore more contestable than political geography currently understands, so that it is not just maps and lines that have erased subjective experiences but certain ways of conceptualising lines and the politics of Jordan.

Lines as movement

> *To be a place, every somewhere must lie on one or several paths of movement*
> *to and from places elsewhere. Life is lived along paths, not just in places, and*
> *paths are lines of sort. It is along paths too, that people grow into a knowledge*
> *of the world around them, and describe this world in the stories they tell*
> *(Ingold, 2011a: 2).*

Following Ingold, I suggest it is the movements, knowledges and lives lived along lines that can offer another way of understanding lines than those of the border and its demarcation of territory. For Ingold (2011a), lines are about knowing and inhabiting the world and as a result it is his work that I use to make connections between the cartographic practices involved in creating the Jordan Trail and the practices of movement that make these lines sensed, experienced, and formed. For instance on modern maps, the only lines presented are the human-made lines of roads and borders. However, numerous other lines have existed on the land but their formation is often ignored. This is evidenced particularly through the sedentarising of the Bedouin population and the stopping of their nomadic way of life when the Jordanian state was created. The means in which these movements can be recaptured is therefore an important way in which this thesis queries politics and movement within the postcolonial context of Jordan.

To consider how we can capture movement and consider lines differently, Ingold suggests that first, we need to rethink the relationship between movement and lines and second, what a line is. In the former, Ingold conceptualises this as the difference between the wayfarer and the traveller. The wayfarer is continually on the move, they are their movement, while the traveller moves solely

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to destination, which is a terminus and every port a point of entry into a world from which they have been temporally exiled whilst in transit. Ingold (2011a) argues that lines have gradually been shorn of the movement that gave rise to them. Once the trace of a continuous gesture, the line has been fragmented – under the sway of modernity – into a succession of points or dots. This fragmentation has taken place in the related fields of travel, where wayfaring has been replaced by destination-orientated transport, and mapping, where the drawn sketch is replaced by the route-plan (Ingold, 2011a). For Ingold this is related to indigenous versus Western knowledge and ways of movement.

Ingold's (2011a) second point is that there are three types of lines: threads, traces, and ghostly lines. Threads, usually weaved by human hands, are one of the most ancient of human arts through which buildings, textures, and materials are made. They also emerge in natural environments, in the form of roots, rhizomes, and fungal mycelia (Ingold, 2011a). Traces are any enduring surface left on a solid surface by continual movement and are usually one of two kinds: additive or reductive. Lines drawn with chalk or charcoal the former; while lines scratched, scored, or etched onto the surface the latter. Like threads they adorn the non-human world and are often left by humans. It is revealing, Ingold notes, that the verb 'to draw' is the same verb in English that refers to the activity of the hand in the manipulation of threads and the inscription of traces. It is also, I would note, the same verb that is used in the marking of territorial lines. Finally, ghostly lines are those which do not bear any physical mark on the surface but are instead created in our imagination, through stories or on charts (Ingold, 2011a).

These distinctions are important for Ingold (2011a) and for this thesis because of how they alter relationships with places – or to use the word Ingold (2011a) chooses surfaces. Threads, through the weaving and iteration of them, similar to crochet, create surfaces; while traces mark surfaces in a way which creates new ones. This further emphasises that individual bodies, such as those of modern day walkers or those who have previous walked in Jordan have the potential to alter meanings related to place and the materiality of the surface and move beyond fixed territorial delimitations. For Ingold (2010a), an embodied engagement with surfaces through practices such as walking is one which has the possibility for bodies to change the ground in which they walk. These changes occur as the walking body continually breathes, steps, and interacts with the ground materially and ephemerally (Ingold, 2010a). This offers a contrary understanding to the relationship between land, terrain, and territory outlined by Elden (2010). A relationship in which territory is an amalgamation of both the resource of land, and the field of power linked to terrain, however not something related to embodied movement. This is a relationship with ground that relates more to embodied work of feminist scholars and their arguments that individual bodies can alter, carry, and create territory (Smith et al, 2016; Ball, 2012; Anzaldu´a, 1987; Paasi, 2012). In sum while borders create territories, lines create surfaces. Surfaces which offer an understanding of place that includes but moves beyond territorial-sovereignty.

My argument here therefore returns to the distinction I offered before on the ways in which the calculable aspects of territory and its terminology – terrain, land, and territory – come into conflict with ways of relating to land that do not necessarily correspond to territorial-sovereignty – landscape, surface, ground. The line of a long-distance walking trail, I am arguing here can be a way in which the politics of the region can be considered differently through a cultural practice. It becomes a storytelling device to share different narratives but also uncovers how lines might be important ways to rethink the relationship between culture and politics and movement and politics. A walking trail, I argue, is an important line in which to query these relationships within the contemporary geopolitics of the Middle East by highlighting the violence of border drawing. Ingold's (2011a) provocations open up opportunities to consider the relationships between lines and places.

The Jordan Trail, for instance, is not just one type of line. The Jordan Trail can be called: a trail, a path, a way, a set of GPS co-ordinates, or a route. In each of these terms I argue a different meaning of what the Jordan Trail is evoked. This is important because in Arabic and English a different term is used, *darab* (most commonly translated as way) and trail. The word 'trail', for instance, as in the Jordan Trail 'is a mark or a series of signs or objects left behind by the passage of someone or something'; 'a beaten track through the countryside'; 'a long thin part of line stretching behind or hanging down from something'; 'a route followed for a particular purpose'. While the verb 'to trail' means to 'draw or be drawn along behind someone or something.' In the UK and Ireland, 'trail' is the preferred term for a walking trail. A 'way' as in *darab al urdon*, the Jordan Way, is a 'method, style or manner of doing something', a meaning which can be cultural. Or a 'road, track, or path for travelling along,' 'parts into which something divides or is divided.' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2012). A different materiality is offered by each linguistic association; the physical presence of something being dragged and trailed versus how something is done a certain way. By using the word line, I encompass all these linguistic variations, but also the possibility to consider that the way we value these different forms relates in turn to how different systems of knowledge and embodied movements are valued. This further suggests that our understandings of these linguistic terms to indicate lines are also based on our own cultural knowledge[32]. In the following section, therefore, I outline in detail how the Jordan Trail was generated to illustrate why a long-distance walking trail is an important way in which to query intersections of movement and politics.

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32 For instance, in Jordan the word 'way' being used to signify a walking trail is totally new. Therefore telling many Jordanians in Arabic – such as Taxi drivers and not those in the 'hiking community' that you are walking the darab al urdon – the Jordan Trail offers to them no indication that you are discussing a walking trail. This might extend too to many parts of the UK, if you were to tell someone on the street you were doing the 'West Highland Way' or the 'South West Coast Path', they might have no indication you were discussing a 'walking trail'. As a result how we understand lines is based on a cultural knowledge.

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Generating the line: Creating the Jordan Trail

There are various different accounts of how the Jordan Trail came to be. What is mostly agreed on is that in the 1970s, two British climbers, Tony Howard and Di Taylor, arrived in Wadi Rum after watching the film 'Lawrence of Arabia', of which large parts were filmed in Wadi Rum. Tony told me an interview: 'While I watched the film, I thought to myself there might be a lot of good rock there.' Tony and Di applied for funding from the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and over the next three decades were given financial and logistical support to first develop climbing routes and then walking trails throughout the country.[33] With support from Queen Noor, who was the Queen Consort of Jordan from 1978-1999, Tony and Di were given a car with a driver to reach remote parts of the country and also access to military restricted maps of the country. Unlike the ordinance survey mapping of the UK and widely accessible maps for walkers, in Jordan there are no maps available to the public. This I have been told is partly for security reasons and also lack of demand. Detailed maps of the country considering its location in the Middle East are not widely accessible because they could be used by terrorist organisations or enemies of the state to gain intelligence. Furthermore, maps are not in demand, the general public have little need for them to be used for walking or route finding. Anyone using the land, knows it in a way maps do not.

Tony and Di, therefore stated that these maps were important to them in showing old Nabatean, Roman, and Ottoman roads marked on maps. Furthermore by using these maps, possible sites of interest could be incorporated, places with water found,[34] and walks down old river beds, or in valleys, which are often flat and picturesque. Tony and Di Taylor, however, also spent time asking locals what routes they would take and scouting for routes with them. While the concept of a walking route that was primarily picturesque and enjoyable to walk was new to them, locals – especially Bedouin – are adept at finding easy ways to navigate the landscape for hunting, to gather water, collect food or herbs, or else to move their animals throughout the year. In Wadi Rum, Tony and Di told me that they told the Bedouins living there that in publishing their walking and climbing guides more people would come there. The Bedouin, Tony said, wanted more tourists and visitors to come.

From the 1990s, especially after the publication of the guidebooks, walking and climbing steadily increased in Jordan. This is where the idea for the Jordan Trail also began. Tony and Di said it was sitting around a campfire one evening that the idea of one long-distance trail connecting all these smaller trails. Others also told me that within Jordan, the growing outdoors community had also

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33 This was at the same time period in which the Royal Conservation for Nature in Jordan was established in 1966 by the Jordanian Royal Family with the mission to achieve 'biodiversity conservation' and manage 'some of the finest natural landscapes in the country to safeguard Jordan's natural environment and biodiversity.' (RSCN, 2015: website no PN). This involved the establishing and managing of walking trails and the creation of nine protected areas (RSCN, 2015).

34 Water is a very important element of the Jordan Trail as Jordan has one of the lowest levels of water available per capita of any country in the world (USAID, 2017). Water does not occur naturally in many places meaning that ensuring the route does pass through water holes is very important.

been considering a national walking trail to promote Jordan as a walking destination and also in response to the growth of walking trails in the region. Within tourism this is also related to a rise in interest in tourism corridors that link different tourism, heritage, or cultural sites (see Dowling, 1993; Shishmanova, 2002; Wang and Sun, 2001). Connecting these existing trails and creating one long-distance walking trail then formed the beginnings of the Jordan Trail.

The 2000s therefore saw a group of Jordanians with the support from USAID and tourism agencies in Jordan begin the process of mapping the Jordan Trail. Here the Jordan Trail became a story of trial and error, while some parts of the Trail were set in stone. For instance old Nabatean trade routes around Petra in which repeated footprints have worn down the stones, or else parts of the Trail which were once Roman roads; or else sections used by local farmers in which a worn path is followed. At other points the Trail did not obviously connect to other existing lines. The Jordan Trail, for instance, unlike these other lines was not just for practicality but it needed to be a line which encompassed sites of interest, was aesthetically pleasing, and physically doable. No such line had ever been needed in the region. At many points on the Jordan Trail, therefore it follows roads because they seem the easiest lines to follow or else there is nothing on the surface of the earth to suggest a walking trail. The Jordan Trail at these points therefore exists as a series of GPS coordinates. GPS stands for Global Positioning Service and is a satellite-based radio-navigation system owned by the United States government. It was originally developed as a military system by the U. S. Department of Defence in the 1970s to fulfil U.S. military needs. However it was made available to civilians and now has dual use by civilians and the military (El-Rabbany, 2002). GPS provides continuous positioning and timing conditions anywhere in the world under any weather conditions (El-Rabbany, 2002). Due to it serving an unlimited use of users, it is a one-way system, therefore users can only receive the satellite signals (El-Rabbany, 2002).

These GPS coordinates therefore form an important part of the Jordan Trail because with online mapping software a line can be created online and downloaded onto GPS devices which are then followed on the ground. This relationship between body, GPS device, line, and ground is one I explore in my first empirical chapter – Chapter 4 – which follows this. Here, however, I want to dwell on what this means about the line itself and how this relates back to the line detailed by Ingold (2011a). The GPS coordinates, I argue are types of threads. These threads creating surfaces through the weaving of different bodies who walk them, an argument I develop in the following section.

To return, to Tony and Di and why they originally came to Jordan, it was in search of geographical imaginations based on the writings of T.E. Lawrence (1935), Gertrude Bell (2015), and Mark Twain (2018 [1869]) – amongst many others. A geographically imagined landscape of desert that has been described famously by T. E. Lawrence (1935: 360) as 'vast, echoing, and God-like'. Such imaginations helped to produce many of the colonial understandings of Jordan, and still bleed into the present day. What Ingold (2011a) calls ghostly lines; lines of the imagination, lines which

capture stories, emotions, and memories. The act, for instance, of retracing a route one remembers from childhood. For Ingold (2011a) ghostly lines are important because they can capture non-Western and non-linear histories and understandings of place. This is true in the case of the 'songlines' of Indigenous Australians, who through song, stories, dance, and painting celebrate paths across the land which mark the routes of 'creator-beings' (Chatwin, 1987).

Alongside 'ghostly lines', the Jordan Trail also incorporates another type of line, one made from traces. The form that traces on the Jordan Trail take are important because they are able to link to different forms of movement. For instance, some of the Trail follows the reductive marks of other's embodied movements scored into the land – polished rock, worn down by footsteps. Other times the traces are newer, the traces of camels, donkeys, and goats. Or else it follows the additive paint of way-marking (see Figure 13). These forms of movement capture the presence of others and remain important reminders of a history of movement in which the Jordan Trail is placed. To consider the traces of a walking trail is thus to place it within a process of spatial and temporal movement through ongoing presences and absences made possible through the trace. To concentrate on these traces thus also helps to understand difference and identity in relation to others, to remind us of the presence of others upon ourselves. While some walking trails such as the Icknield Way[35] in South East England follow a distinct mark – in its case an ancient chalk escarpment – most trails do not follow any physical trace. This lack of trace allows also for a lack of fixity. For instance, 99% of the 2,200 mile Appalachian Trail has been re-located or re-built since the trail in its first iteration was completed in 1937 (Appalachian Trail, 2018). As a result, the traces a trail follows are also moments of decision, what traces to capture.

Further, the drawing of the line of the Jordan Trail did not just involve pen and ink and the manipulation of the hand - in the way that border lines have been historically drawn - it was one that captured a wide variety of lines and movements. This intersection between past and present is particularly important on the Jordan Trail because of its postcolonial history, intersections between western and non-western accounts of movement – particularly walking – and the current geopolitics of Jordan. The Jordan Trail is not one type of a line but a way of capturing and exploring the entangled history and present negotiations with movement in Jordan.

In sum, this interlude has introduced why lines are important for this thesis. They offer, I have argued, an important intersection in work in political geography, which has explored the violence of lines through postcolonial line drawing and border marking, and cultural geography, which has explored the lived and experienced movements that create lines. I have further offered a background to how the Jordan Trail was generated and why a long-distance walking trail is an important means through which to query the relationship between politics and movement. The Jordan Trail I have argued has the potential to capture movements and lines that offer different

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35 The Icknield Way is an ancient trackway following a chalk escarpment in South East England.

narratives of the Middle East and its history than a preoccupation on its modern history. The following chapter, and the first empirical chapter, is about walking the line. While I have outlined in this interlude how the line was generated, I turn next to the process of walking it. I argue that paying attention to how bodies move along lines we can move beyond delineation and recapture other narratives of place and Jordan. The empirical chapter that follows this one, Chapter 5, outlines the relationship between nationalism and the Jordan Trail, to argue that blood and soil narratives that connect citizen to nation are challenged on the Jordan Trail through querying what it means to be Jordanian and how the history captured by the line challenges this. The final empirical chapter, Chapter 6, concentrates on the moving body, touch, and encounter. I suggest that through the walking body on the Trail important encounters and moments of touch that go beyond the physiological suggest how walking trails can create ethical and responsible political encounters. In other words, through the ways in which different bodies are brought together through walking on the Jordan Trail, distance with the unknown other can be broken down and moments for understanding created.

Chapter 4: Walking the lines of the Jordan Trail

Introduction

This chapter is about how bodies move along the Jordan Trail. In the interlude I outlined how the Jordan Trail was formed and the ways in which the drawing of the line of the Jordan Trail both illustrated and contested line making practices in the Middle East. The Jordan Trail imposed another line on the land but at the same time created a line that contested the violence of cartographic line making practices by producing a line that captured movements. However, what makes a long-distance walking trail so important as a site of cultural politics I argue in this chapter is that it is a line that is meant to be moved along. As a result bodies and movement matter to this line and make up the line. Through walking as a cultural practice I argue that the way walking engages place, body, and movement presents important ways of understanding how territory is embodied but movement on the line also acts as a process of deterritorialization. This chapter therefore draws on empirical data gathered from my time walking on the Jordan Trail to explore why moving bodies matter to understandings of place.

'I'm keeping to the line': what lines matter
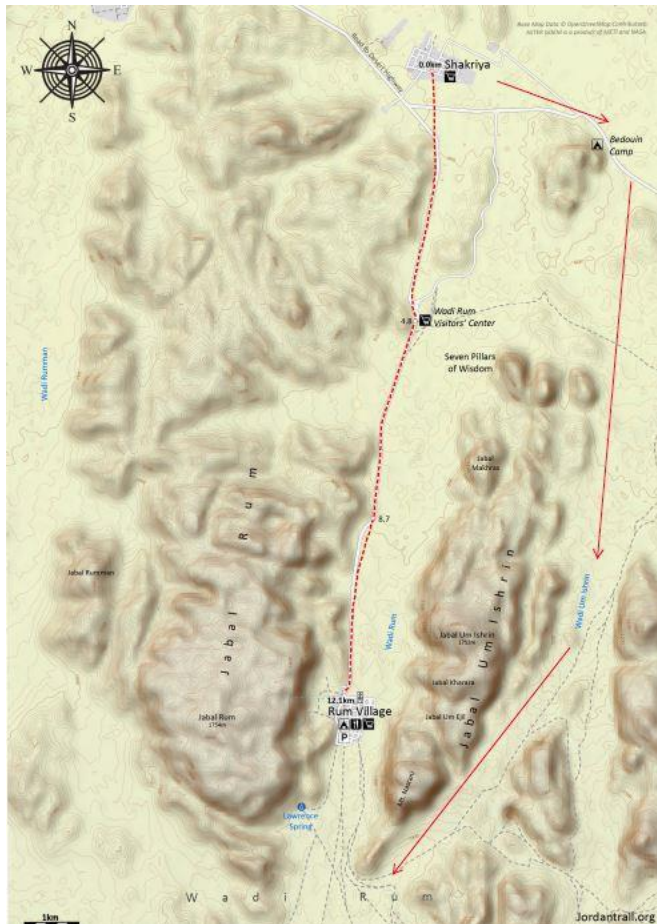
Figure 7: Map showing planned re-routing of the section between Shakriya and Wadi Rum, at the southern part of the Jordan Trail. Source: The Jordan Trail (With permission from the JTA)

> *We are sitting in the carpark of the Wadi Rum visitor centre eating ice lollies we*
> *have just purchased in the shop. I am also wearing some new sunglasses, I lost*
> *mine on the trail and it's the first tourist shop we've passed in a week. Both the*
> *sunglasses and the ice lollies are welcome luxuries. I am talking to Salam who*
> *has joined us for the day. Salam is a Bedouin friend I know from climbing in*
> *Wadi Rum and wants to know more about the Trail. He's confused. Why are we*
> *going this way, along the main road. It's not very exciting and means walking*
> *close to all the cars driving at high speed along the dirt highway [indicated by*
> *the dotted red line on the map]. Why doesn't the route go instead behind Jabal*
> *Um Ishrin [indicated by the red arrows]? 'It is much more beautiful that way*
> *and so much quieter, no people or cars*
> *(Field diary: 01/05/17).*

In this extract, the practice of moving along the line by walking came against the cartographic mapping techniques involved in generating the line. This occurred because this part of the Jordan Trail was mapped online, it therefore followed the simplest route that could be seen online, a road, indicated by the dotted line. This is cartographic laziness, acknowledged by some of the members

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of the Jordan Trail Association. As the Jordan Trail Association was running out of time and resources, it became easier to use lines shown on maps (a road) than to spend time and resources finding alternative routes and different lines, those used by Bedouins for example. As such the map becomes the territory; the Trail corresponds to the map and as such corresponds to state conceptualisations of place. The arrows in Figure 7 show the alternative route, to that of the route that follows the road, the Bedouins suggested. The rock formations the alternative route would navigate are beautiful and silent, in contrast to the road, unspoilt by 20th and 21st century construction. What the movement of walkers on the Jordan Trail emphasizes is the importance of the Jordan Trail in highlighting the politics of movement.

For instance, the road to Wadi Rum was also built as an access point to the newly created village of Wadi Rum. Wadi Rum was built as part of the colonial project of creating the Transjordan state in 1921, after the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire. The newly formed government under the British mandate faced what Massad (2001) calls 'a problem', almost fifty percent of the population was a Bedouin population which had tribal affiliations beyond the borders of the current state. This was a problem for the building of a state, as a population must be sedentary to pay taxes, attend school, and access welfare provisions (Alon, 2007). Therefore the Transjordanian Government imposed measures on Bedouins to ensure they remain fixed in place. This was enforced through of laws requiring children to attend school and only providing essential items such as healthcare, water, sanitation, and electricity to those living in fixed locations (Massad, 2001). These colonial line drawing practices through such moments on the Jordan Trail are highlighted. This is further emphasized in another vignette from my field diary:

> *'I was a bit behind the rest of the group keeping to my own slightly slower*
> *rhythm. Ahead of me I could see that instead of keeping to one line, it was*
> *splitting in two. A fork heading in a straight line and another fork veering off to*
> *the left. I sped up towards the point at which each line began to veer. Unsure*
> *who to follow I saw that Sam had continued in the straight line and was*
> *stopped ahead with Simon and Abeer. I caught up with them to see Sam with*
> *his GPS device in hand and a map in the other:*
>
> *Me: 'What's happening?'*
>
> *Sam: 'Nasir has gone off the route nearer the mountain, Sam announced, he*
> *says it's a better way.'*
>
> *Me: 'Why didn't you follow him?'*
>
> *Sam: 'We are keeping to the line' (Field diary: 20/11/16).*

I remember this moment vividly, first because it was so visually striking – watching two lines of bodies diverge at a single point to form one divide creating two divisions on the land. Second, it illustrated the disconnect between two different ways of configuring movement: one in which a line is a way of placing power on a place and the other in which the line is movement itself. This contingent moment of decision, made in the relationship between lines and the body, is a moment when the line is generated in and through movement. The line is not fixed but can move and alter through bodily movements. This is important if we are to understand the experiences of lines and how processes of demarcation are felt and understood in grounded ways. Furthermore to capture understandings of colonial violence is not just to focus on borders but instead how colonial violence has been created by stopping movement and privileging certain forms of movement. The vignette above also illustrates a problem in how we privilege the bodies of certain people and how they move. Sam moving along a line that was pre-plotted and as such his movement should be along that line. Whereas Nasir moved with the land itself and that told him which way to go.

This returns to Ingold's (2011a) difference between the wayfarer and the traveller. The wayfarer (Nasir) who is continually on the move, who is there movement versus the traveller (Sam) who moves solely to destination, which is a terminus and every port a point of entry into a world from which they have been temporally exiled whilst in transit. Ingold's (2011a) argument that lines have gradually been shorn of the movement that gave rise to them, into a succession of points or dots, is illustrated perfectly here. What I argue through this is that in these moments of confusion and disagreement conversations are opened up about different relationships to place and also how movement relates to place. This is also a process therefore of decolonising movement.

For instance, Edensor and Kothari (2018) on their research into Indian tourists travelling to Europe argue assumptions about movement exist which centre the European tourist, as a traveller who

moved to places where the inhabitants were immobile. Edensor and Kothari (2018) argue instead that travel across and between colonial realms was multi-direction and varied in purpose. By focusing on non-European travellers, other forms of knowledge produced by them are enabled that destabilise the Eurocentrism of travel narratives. In sum, paying attention to globally constituted post-colonial networks can bring together disparate parts of the world to alter place and identity (Edensor and Kothari, 2018).

> *While the ability to become mobile is hugely unequal, there is a danger in acknowledging these iniquitous power-geometries, there is a tendency to assume that the Western subject – and in the context discussed here, the Western tourist – is hypermobile, while others continue to be moored in place, unable to travel (Edensor and Kothari, 2018: 12).*

These perceived mobilities versus immobilities are crucial to understanding how a focus on the Jordan Trail can use movement to rethink place. The ability of the Jordan Trail to capture movement is also a way in which to reinscribe indigenous, Bedouin, and non-Western movements within the history of Jordan. A movement which has been lost in current cultural and political practices in Jordan and the colonial creation of Jordan. The loss of these movements, often results in a failure to capture the nuanced history of movement in Jordan, as certain non-movements are privileged. It returns to my earlier discussion about the history of Jordan and the creation of the Jordanian state as a breaking down of the movement of its large Bedouin population and the creation of state borders in 1921 (Massad, 2001). The Jordan Trail has the ability to rethink movement in a region in which movement itself is highly political and often centred around refugee and migrant movements. The Jordan Trail challenges the taken for granted mobilities and immobilities in the region to ask how mobility changes understandings of place for different groups. For instance, I was told by one Bedouin I met, that the route of the Jordan Trail was not new at all and that he used to walk a route similar to move his sheep to different grazing sites. A route however that took him beyond the current borders of Jordan and a movement that he now does not make as a result of the Bedouin sedentarising practices of the Jordanian state. I continue this argument through moving to think about ghostly lines on the Jordan Trail and how these relate to movement.

> *While the Jordan Trail is brand new, crossing Jordan by foot is one of the oldest adventures in the world. Travelers (sic) and traders have wandered up and down the King's Highway as far back as the Old Testament. Jesus, Elijah, and Mohammad walked these paths and camel caravans carried frankincense along these same ancient spice routes (Evans, 2017: blog post no PN).*

This extract is from a blog post written by an American blogger Andrew Evans who I walked the Jordan Trail with as part of the organised 'thru-hike' by the JTA. Evans is a travel blogger who was paid by the Jordan Trail but he was also brought up as a Mormon which also connected him to the

Trail spiritually. As Evans emphasises, these ghostly lines can evoke strong connections to place, and can be productive in capturing of other narratives. As Evans illustrates, amongst those walking on the Jordan Trail, references are often made to the Holy Land and the symbolic value that these places have in individual walker's cultural references and imagination of the region. This is of particular importance within tourism practices in the Middle East in which guiding practices and organised tours (which form a large part of the tourist market of the Middle East) constitute visitors as pilgrims and a claim to the landscape is made by the guide who is granted place-making authority as the 'native' and professional voice (Feldman, 2007). Feldman (2007) further argues that the isolating environmental bubble of the guided tour encourages both guides and pilgrims to affirm faith and suspend scepticism.

The Bible becomes an embodied text, Feldman (2007: 367) argues, and 'the guide's narrations trace paths that make Protestant and Zionist claims to territory and significant history nature.' These claims to territory through the tracing of paths illustrate the politically important potential of the generating of trails. Feldman (2007) suggests that the link between Biblical narrative and territory in the Holy Land can place even disputed territory beyond political discussion. Vogel (1993: 7) writes that: 'The fascination with the Holy Land, thus, had little to do with the reality of the actual place as it existed in the present. Rather, it was the mystical, religious link to the past that made it a priority on any traveler's [sic] list.' Thus the journeys being made on the Jordan Trail are also ghostly in relation to the hauntings of a past that enters the present. The decision to re-route the Jordan Trail past Mount Nebo, an important site in the Bible and the Torah as it is where Moses was shown the 'promised land, despite this being a far steeper route, was a response to an acknowledgement that for many the Jordan Trail will be a religious and spiritual journey for which the inclusion of Biblical sites is important to the recreation of their pilgrimages through the Holy Land.

As a result, here ghostly lines capture geographical imaginations. Tony Howard and Di Taylor, for instance, walk the Trail inspired by T.E. Lawrence; Andrew Evans walks with passages from the Bible in his head; and Bedouins walk with understandings of place that do not necessarily correlate with the lines of the Jordanian state or those of the Jordan Trail. This also offers a political dimension to Ingold's (2011a) ghostly lines, in that these ghostly lines do not only capture indigenous knowledge hidden from the materiality of borders and roads, but that ghostly lines can and do capture colonial imaginations which in turn shape place. For instance, Notfors (2018) recent article in the journal *Cultural Geographies* demonstrates the importance of examining cartography alongside literary narratives. Notfors (2018: 581) examines the travel accounts written by T. E. Lawrence and Gertrude Bell in the Middle East: 'to explore connections between the authors' textual depictions and the maps that they authored, using close readings of their travel narratives and their maps to arrive at a more profound understanding of how these processes of authorship resulted in the production and mediation of 'Arabia' as an imaginative geography.' Notfors (2018) argues that these geographical imaginations are not simply imaginative but through the inclusion

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of maps in these literary books also alter relationships with real grounded space. Notfors (2018) uses Harley's (2001) term 'cartographic silence' in which the exclusion and inclusion of particular narratives in maps privileges certain narratives at the expense of any other. However, what I argue here is that the Jordan Trail does not allow these cartographic silences to occur. When the Trail is walked a repossession of the ground through the line takes place as opposed to the imperialism imposed on it by the lines of mapping and cartography. This is illustrated by the moments of confusion and disagreement above and in the following section by how lines force us to consider our relationships with surface versus territory differently.

Lines, surface, and territory

> *Today has been beautiful, we walked out of the magnificent carved rock facades of Petra and into a valley coloured with red walls and steps cut out the rock from hundreds, thousands of footsteps before me. For a moment, I stepped back in time, walking in the traces of traders and caravans of frankincense many years before me. A little further on we climbed a hill and stumbled upon an archaeological dig. A team of German scientists and students meticulously sifting through layers of earth. Their purpose was to look for evidence of human migration. The patterns of human movement in the Bronze Age would help to understand how they lived. These archaeologists were looking for mineral waste deposits (discarded material from weapon building primarily), for evidence of human settlements, for evidence of movement and non-movement. We were told that our ancestors walked an average of 100km a day without stopping, mainly following animals to hunt (Field diary: 02/05/17).*

In this vignette, I was no longer simply in Jordan, I was in a place that opened up beyond its borders. I was in a place where territory existed at the level of the family and not the sovereign state. I was in a place in which humans moved in a region that would have involved travelling beyond the borders of the current nation-state, perhaps daily. In the ethnographic vignette above, past movement, present movement, and a line converged. The Jordan Trail is the ancient paths of traders and caravans; the hunting lines of Bronze Age people; donkey tracks; camel tracks; goat tracks; GPS coordinates; way marks; biblical passages; Roman roads; Ottoman roads; Nabatean trade routes; Bedouin hunting routes and Bedouin trade routes – to name just some of the lines that adorn the trail. This further returns to this distinction between surface versus the bounded territory of the nation-state. Such movements offer what Lorimer (2006) terms a 'sentient topography.' By exploring the relationships between reindeer and their herders, Lorimer (2006) observed the creation of an earthbound geography that animates the lived culture of the herd. Such ongoing connections between movement, body, and ground at the intimate scale are important for Lorimer (2006) because the herd's movements challenge territory as they move following the land. Movements that often take them between different nation-states, thus linking the intimate and the transnational.

The 'sentient topography' of interest to Lorimer (2006) is about the 'delicate placement of back feet…allowing the reindeer to move efficiently on snow-covered or saturated ground' (pg499), 'sensed experience of an environment' (pg500), and 'a complex web of relations emerging within a landscape of features, forces, acoustics, and objects.' (pg500). This is the relationships between body and surface altered by weather-systems which saturate the ground through rain and thus absorb our bodies into the surface in turn altering it (Ingold, 2010a). For Ingold (2010a) meteorological conditions alter how our bodies interact with the ground and in turn how

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knowledge through walking is constantly in relationship with environment. This suggests the importance of surface and their relationship with movement; through movement they are understood differently.

On the Jordan Trail, the capturing of such 'sentient topography' is the ability then to rethink territory. To return to the quote from my field notes, this is the ability of my own movements to rethink how I understand place, particularly its relationship with the territory of the nation-state. I was able to rethink how my current movements on the Trail intersected with the movements of those who have been there previously. It places my foot physically and intimately on top of the traces of others. So that the ways in which bodies mark the ground and often contrast the making of territory goes further than work which suggests how bodies make territories to also argue that bodies can unmake territory. The moving bodies of modern-day walkers come foot to foot with bodies that moved in ways which challenge the relationship between the control of bodies that move – border restrictions – and bodies that challenge our view of the Middle East and its modern day borders. It is for exactly these reasons that MacFarlane (2009) praises the work of the artist Richard Long and his thousands of photographs that record walks and sculptures in the landscape. Long's images capture the marks he has made with his body: 'footprints in river mud, paths scuffed through leaf litter, stones aligned or piled' (MacFarlane, 2009: no PN). His most famous image being that of 'A Line Made by Walking' (see Figure 8) in which Long walked back and forth over a field until 'the flattened grass caught the light such that it was 'visible as a line'' (MacFarlane, 2009). For MacFarlane (2009: no PN), Long's work is so important because it records 'the traces of an unspecific human body moving through space and time, causing temporary sight-dents in the skin of the world.'

Figure 8: 'A Line Made by Walking', Richard Long (1967).

The realisation through walking of how one marks the world, as we notice our own footprints on the sand, the mud, or in imprints on grass, is therefore also a realisation of the way in which surface is marked by individual movements. 'A walk is just one more layer, a mark' to quote Long in 1980. A footprint as thus is a mark in space but also a mark in time as one places themselves amongst the movements of others. The different coloured lines – shown in Figure 9 – are my own GPS coordinates and if I were to impose multiple similar and individual journeys the iteration of them would create a surface. It would create a surface on my GPS device and a map that captured my movements or if I was to combine these with other walkers our movements. The movements of walkers create new surfaces on the land. Their footprints story the territory through their movement. These lines made differ from those of cartography as they are only formed by movement and as a result the person has to have physically walked through the place. Each of these walkers can describe how they moved through the surface, their footprints might remain dried in the mud for several months, they might have dropped an item on the ground. Each of these walkers will have photographs, memories, stories of who they met and what they saw. As a result these stories give lived experience to the map, the line is lived. Through a consideration of these multiple movements, relationships with place become multifaceted and the stitching together of each movement creates different surfaces (Ingold, 2011a). As a result, when the Trail is walked a repossession of the ground through the line takes place as opposed to the imperialism imposed on it by the lines of mapping and cartography.

This therefore illustrates how the Jordan Trail is able to connect to recent work in political geography on bodies and territory. Work which illustrates the ways in which bodies are integral to understandings of territory at the everyday, embodied, and emotional scale (see Coddington, 2018; Smith, 2014; Smith et al, 2016; Mountz, 2018; Stratford and Murray, 2018). Bruun (2018) writes of the scientific expeditions led by the Danish Government in Greenland in search for uranium. The means by which they used scientific equipment often came into opposition with the ways in which their inexperienced bodies came against the steep mountain surfacing. Their untrained bodies found negotiating such uneven terrain difficult. Bruun (2018) argues therefore that to explore relationships between bodies and territories is therefore also to understand that territories are understood through bodies and contested by them. In other words, when the bodies of Bruun's untrained scientists or else my walking bodies come against territory these moments illustrate that territory can never be abstract Kantian space and is instead shaped by bodies. With this understanding the ability of a walking body to rethink and challenge the territory of a nation-state emerges. With this provocation I therefore want to expand on this argument by arguing that different bodies make territory differently, not all bodies are the same. Not all bodies move through territory in the same way. As I argued in the methodology chapter, walking as a cultural practice does not mean the same thing everywhere, furthermore there needs to be an acknowledgement of how different bodies challenge territory. The next section therefore returns to Ingold's arguments around the wayfarer and the traveller and contrasts my own movements with that of Bedouin movements.
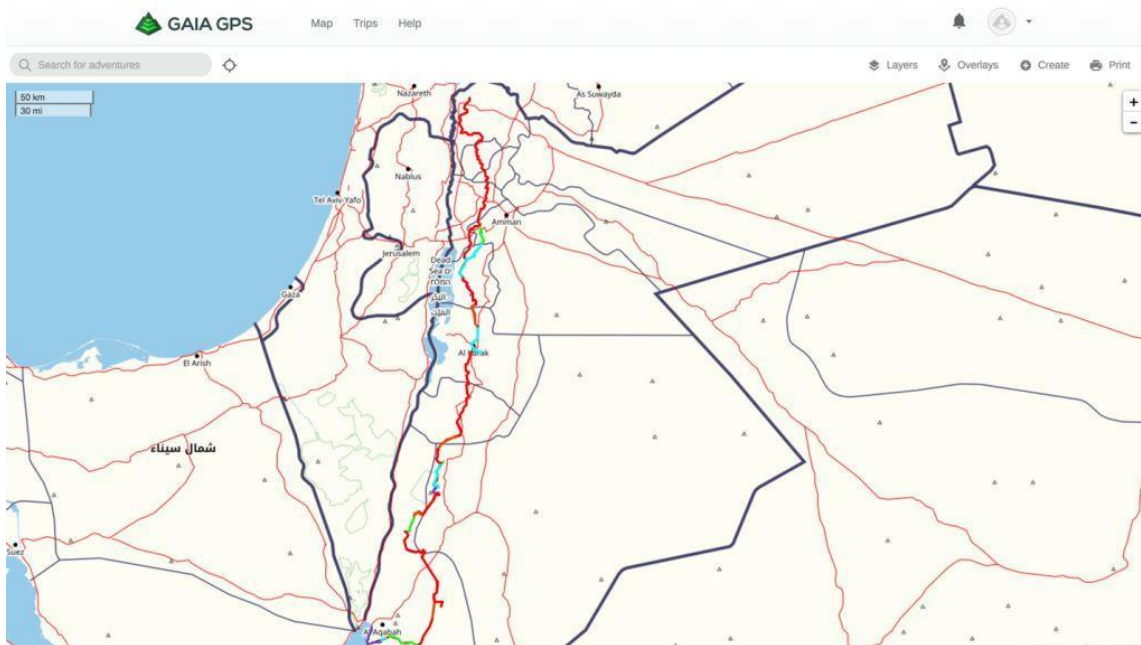
Figure 9: My GPS tracks gathered on my phone. Different colours indicate different days.

Figure 10: Example of a GPS used on the trail and the line on the screen which is being followed (Author)

Figure 11: Example of re-routing practices (Author)

Figure 12: Example of re-routing practices, checking the map against local knowledge (Author)

Figure 13: The waymarking process of the Jordan Trail (Author)

Bodies matter: Olivia, Ruby, and Moradi

Figure 14: Stills from a video of my footsteps on the trail (Author)

The images in the stills are taken from a video I made of my feet walking the Jordan Trail. As my feet crossed onto different surfaces I would film them moving on my digital camera. On returning back to the UK I used video making software to combine these multiple clips into one video. In the video the camera never moves beyond my feet and instead the focus is on the placement of my foot on the ground. I produced this video for three reasons. First, to emphasise the differences in surfaces of the Trail. Second, to illustrate that there is no clear material Trail on the ground. Third, to illustrate the changes in my body and a sense of the longevity of the Trail. In several presentations I gave I played this video on a loop and several people commented on the connection with movement it gave them – for some even motion sickness – and the longevity and endurance aspect of walking. Others commented on the changing terrain, my footwear choices, and how

frustrating it was that the camera never moved up to show the horizon. My argument here that is the importance of a line and how one moves along it, offers important ways in which one's own body connects with place. One must have a very intimate and close engagement with the surface of the ground and the relationship between one's own body and the ground.

My feet in all of these stills are following the line of the trail and the movement of my feet is crucial to the way in which I move down the line. My feet must be placed evenly over uneven terrain, I must walk more softly over sand so as not to sink in. No other can experience how my body walked the line, how my feet felt on the ground but I can describe and record my experiences. Through such descriptions I can emphasise that I had an embodied relationship with the ground. The impact it took on my body – my leg pain, and the blisters on my feet. Furthermore, the stills from the video illustrate the constantly changing surface under my feet but also the lack of an actual physical trail to follow. In contrast to trails in Europe and North America, the lack of a well-marked or well managed Trail meant that the ground was uneven and towards the southern end of the Jordan Trail sandy. This took its toll on my body as my feet were not placed evenly leading to imbalances felt in the hip and the back, and knees needing to offer more support to the body. My shoes also change throughout the stills, this was partly due to shoes wearing out quickly, the need to wear sandals after the build-up of sand in my shoes caused blisters, thus requiring me to change my footwear to adapt to different terrain, and the benefit of different shoes for giving my feet a 'break'. This also related to my inexperience walking across such terrain, particularly across sand and hot conditions in which my feet became swollen.

These embodied experiences offer a relationship with place that a long-distance Trail can offer. So that the line itself is experienced by the body. This was also evidenced by navigational difficulties in following the line. A woman Ruby, I interviewed who 'thru-hiked' on her own, described that at moments when the line was difficult to follow due to nothing on the surface of the ground to indicate the Trail – on steep rugged terrain for instance – she became transfixed with following the line on her GPS device. She found this difficult as it meant she could not concentrate on her feet and their placement. Other times she could see the point in the distance she was aiming for and could put her GPS device away, she was able to see how she could make a route through over the surface of the ground to her end destination.

Another walker I interviewed Moradi, printed out physical maps alongside using her GPS device as she found maps easier to follow as she could connect maps more clearly to her physical surroundings. Many of the GPS devices simply show a line on a screen and an arrow representing one's location in relation to that line. This is partly because topological maps of Jordan are not built into many GPS devices as a standard backdrop. Moradi also carried detailed directions alongside her map. When the Jordan Trail was devised, maps were drawn out with funding from USAID and alongside these maps directions were also written out. These have since been deleted from the Jordan Trail website as many found they were found too difficult to follow. Moradi alongside these

directions also annotated them with information to use to follow the Trail. In Figures 16, 17 and 18 Moradi's notes outline how the Trail was experienced through her body. Her notes contain a mixture of names of contacts with their phone numbers, detailed directions, and information about accommodation, water, and food. The line as a result for Moradi is more than simply a connection between body and surface but is understood by the infrastructures around it which make her movement possible.
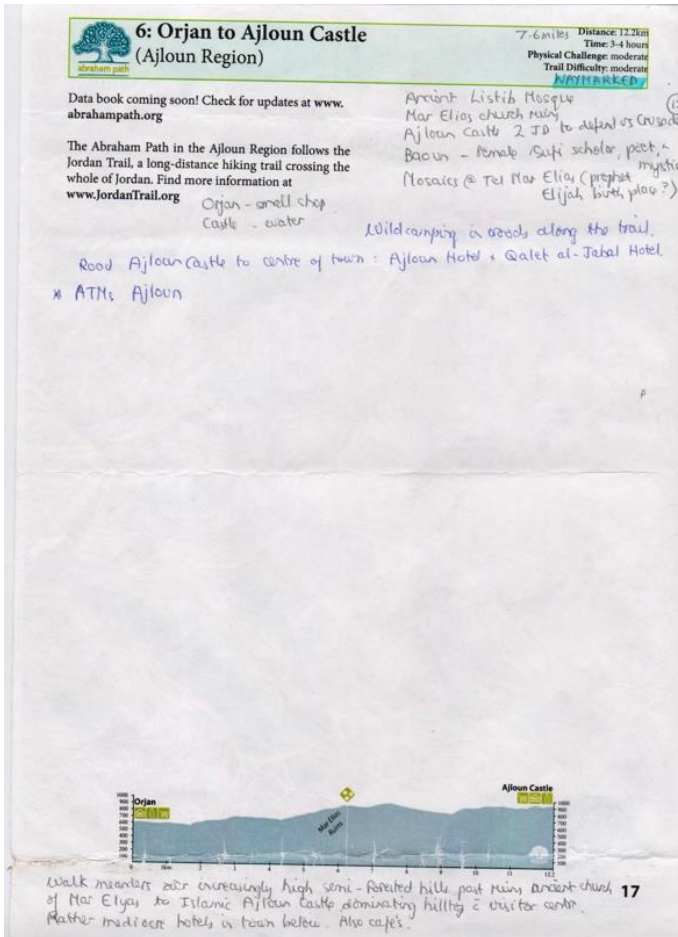
Figure 15: Moradi's Map. Scanned with permission.
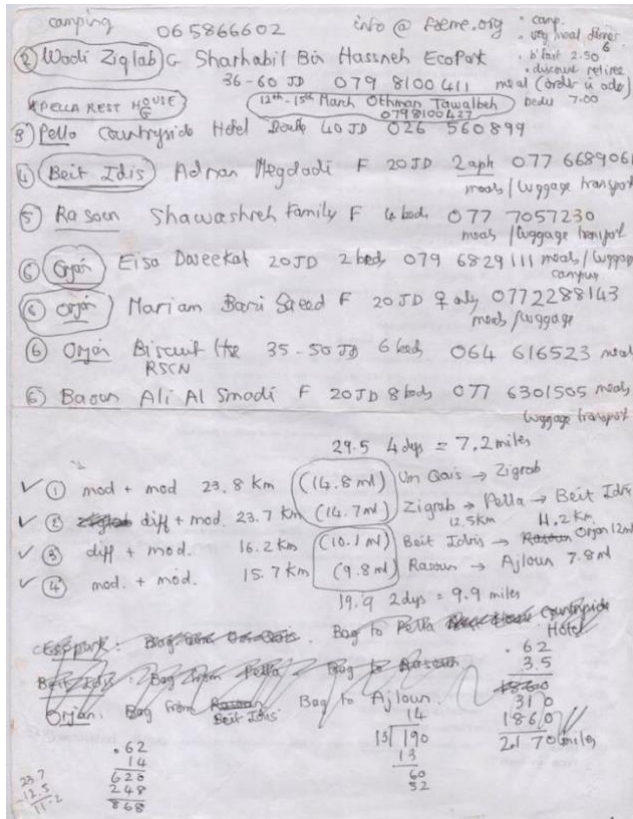
Figure 16: Moradi's Map. Scanned with permission.
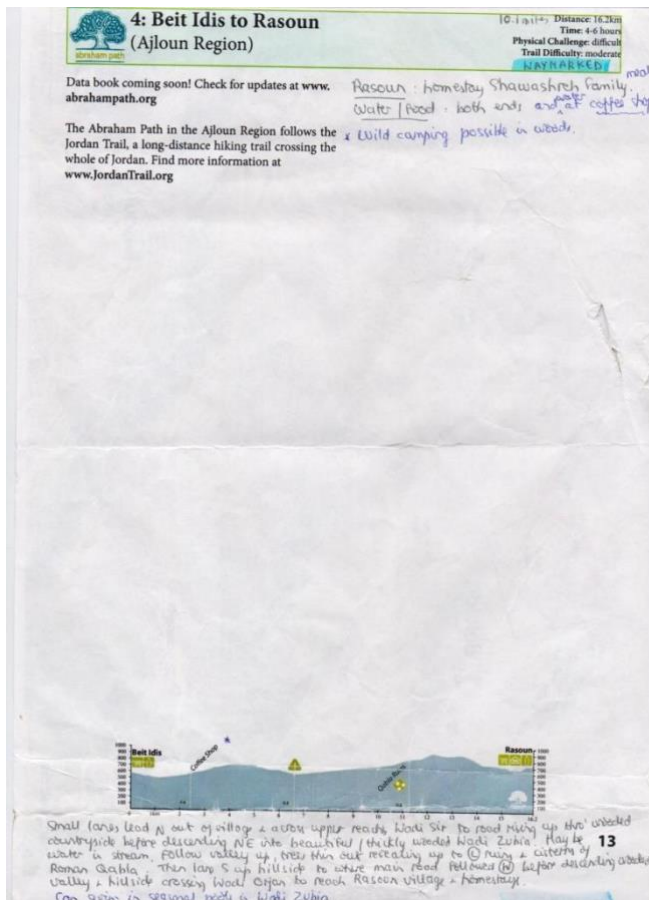
Figure 17: Moradi's Map. Scanned with permission.

Moradi celebrated her 65th birthday on the Trail and when she was walking on the Jordan Trail was the oldest person to attempt it solo. She worried about whether her body would physically be able to walk the Trail but also ensuring she would be able to have access to enough food and water and, as a solo female traveller, find a safe place to sleep at night. Moradi's decision to walk as a solo female and as well as her 'old school' approach of using printed our maps drew attention to her – walking around with maps was an odd occurrence in Jordan and especially for an older female. This made her body more distinct and visible and at odds with her surroundings. Moradi, despite her meticulous planning, found the trail physically difficult. In the end she joined a group I was walking with, despite her determination to do it alone. While Moradi was one of the first woman to walk the Jordan Trail, she is often not included in lists of those who had achieved it. Moradi's walk instead opened up questions about whether women should be allowed to walk the Trail on their own and what qualifies someone to walk the Trail. Moradi is a very experienced walker, the daughter of an Antarctic explorer, and spends much of her time on countryside walks in her home town of Kent in the UK. However, while Moradi has extensive knowledge of how to walk she lacks knowledge of how to walk on the Jordan Trail. This returns to my argument in Chapter 3 that walking is not the same thing wherever one walks. This therefore suggests that cultural practices such as walking must be considered carefully within the politics and cultural context in which they are practiced. Furthermore, what ways in which these cultural practices are carried out are privileged.

In sum, in this section through my footprints and the experiences of Ruby and Moradi, three points emerge. First, that individual bodies come against surface and territory in different ways. Second, that one's relationship with surface is also linked to our own cultural knowledge. Third, that one's relationship with the line is connected to one's own relationship between surface and movement. I argue that an attention to how different ways of understanding movements within their cultural and political context can be important to challenging Eurocentric accounts of movement. This I will argue in the following section is possible on the Jordan Trail.

Bodies matter: Ayub

Figure 18: Ayub looking for the line (Author)

In Figure 19, Ayub is looking for a line. Ayub is a local Bedouin from Wadi Rum and he is standing in front of a rock face in Wadi Rum looking for the line of a climbing route drawn in the guide book he is holding. Wadi Rum is an area in the south of Jordan and one of the few areas in Jordan with a completely Bedouin population. Bedouins have been living in Wadi Rum since the 14th century. Wadi Rum is furthermore the largest sandstone Wadi (Arabic for canyon) in Jordan and is one of the most iconic landscapes in the Middle East. It has been used as a film set for numerous films including Lawrence of Arabia (1962) and is often used as stand in for films set in Mars: such as Red Planet (2000), Prometheus (2012), and The Martian (2015). It is also famous for climbing. The

Jordan Trail passes through Wadi Rum and during a research trip there to ask Bedouins about the Jordan Trail I came upon a climbing group called the Shebab Sahra. The Shebab Sahra are a group set up with funding from an NGO called Operation Mercy to support community development in Wadi Rum through climbing. Operation Mercy has supported them through supplying climbing equipment and providing guiding training for them. Although many Bedouins are trained as tour guides, none are trained to guide climbers. Therefore, the hope is the Shebab Sahra earn money from taking clients climbing. There are clear discussions around community development projects and sustainable tourism to be made here[36].

However, my interest is instead on the relationship between movement, politics, and lines. As I have used Ingold's (2011a) work to argue, lines take different forms relating to movement along them. As a result, by acknowledging this relationship between movement, lines, and politics, a long-distance walking trail – such as the Jordan Trail – can be understood differently. It becomes not just a walking trail but instead a way of capturing movements throughout history that challenge the territorial sovereignty of the modern Jordanian state. My argument in the previous section was furthermore that considering the ways in which people walk along the Trail also emphasises how individual bodies connect with surface in ways that show bodies make surface. It is this argument I continue through Ayub and the movements of Bedouins.

This returns to Ayub and his search for the line. The line he was looking for can be seen in Figure 20, the climbing route we were about to climb called 'Tangerine Dream'. What I want to draw attention to is the way in which this line is pushed up the rock face in the climbing guidebook and the difficulty Ayub, my Bedouin climbing partner, has in interpreting this line on the actual rock. This guidebook was written by Tony Howard, who I introduced along with his wife Di Taylor in the previous chapter. Until the formation of the Shebab Sahra, almost of the climbing was purely by Western climbers, who since the 1980s have been setting lines up the rock faces of Wadi Rum. 'Tangerine Dream' is one such climb. The first two people to climb this route in 1992, or as the guidebook usually writes 'first recorded ascent' was by Hornby and Sammut who stated 'the intention was to climb a direct line to the summit'. The author describes the route: 'The initial black groove is obvious and pleasant, then come the mandatory Burdah slabs. The real meat starts at the big terrace where a cute 5+/6A curving crack followed by a bulge leaves you stuck below a blank wall. To the right is a pure crack overhanging at the top which should go free at 6C but where aid was used on the first ascent. Above, a pleasant rake leads to the summit. Really enjoyable,' it finishes (Howard, 1997: 173-174). This speaks another language, a language of grading '6C', of

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36 Sustainable and eco-tourism is becoming increasingly important in Jordan, especially in Wadi Rum, as tourism camps are increasing, the eco-system is fragile, and an indigenous group live there. It was made a UNESCO Protected Area in 1997 and as a result the area is overseen by the Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA). However the relationship between the Bedouins, tourism and ASEZA is often at odds. Issues of who benefits from tourism initiatives in the area is a current area of concern and projects such as the Shebab Sahra could be further explored from this angle of sustainable and eco-tourism.

cracks, of aiding. So that returning to the photograph, Abdullah stands in front of a rock face he has climbed, walked, seen almost every day of his life, and suddenly it becomes alien.

Both Bedouins and rock climbers look at a mountain and see lines. Rock climbers I spent time with in Wadi Rum constantly refer to 'the best line', 'the hardest line', a 'nice line'. Bedouins are also concerned with lines, however lines for them have a purpose – for hunting, finding medicinal plants and water. These lines with a purpose are about reading the rock faces to find the easiest route. Although some of the first climbing routes do take into account Bedouin routes rock climbing in Wadi Rum is most often at odds with Bedouin relationships with the surface of the rock. For instance, a Bedouin laughed when I asked him if he would ever climb as in rock climbing – 'why would I do that?, we already know a different route to the top, why do you need a harder one?', he responded. This also links to Lorimer's (2006) suggestions that different 'mentors' alter readings and understandings of land. If you were to ask a Bedouins how long they have been climbing for, they will tell you since they could walk. But if you were to ask a Bedouin how long they have been climbing with ropes (the term I used to mean rock climbing as a sport) they will most likely tell you never or only very recently.
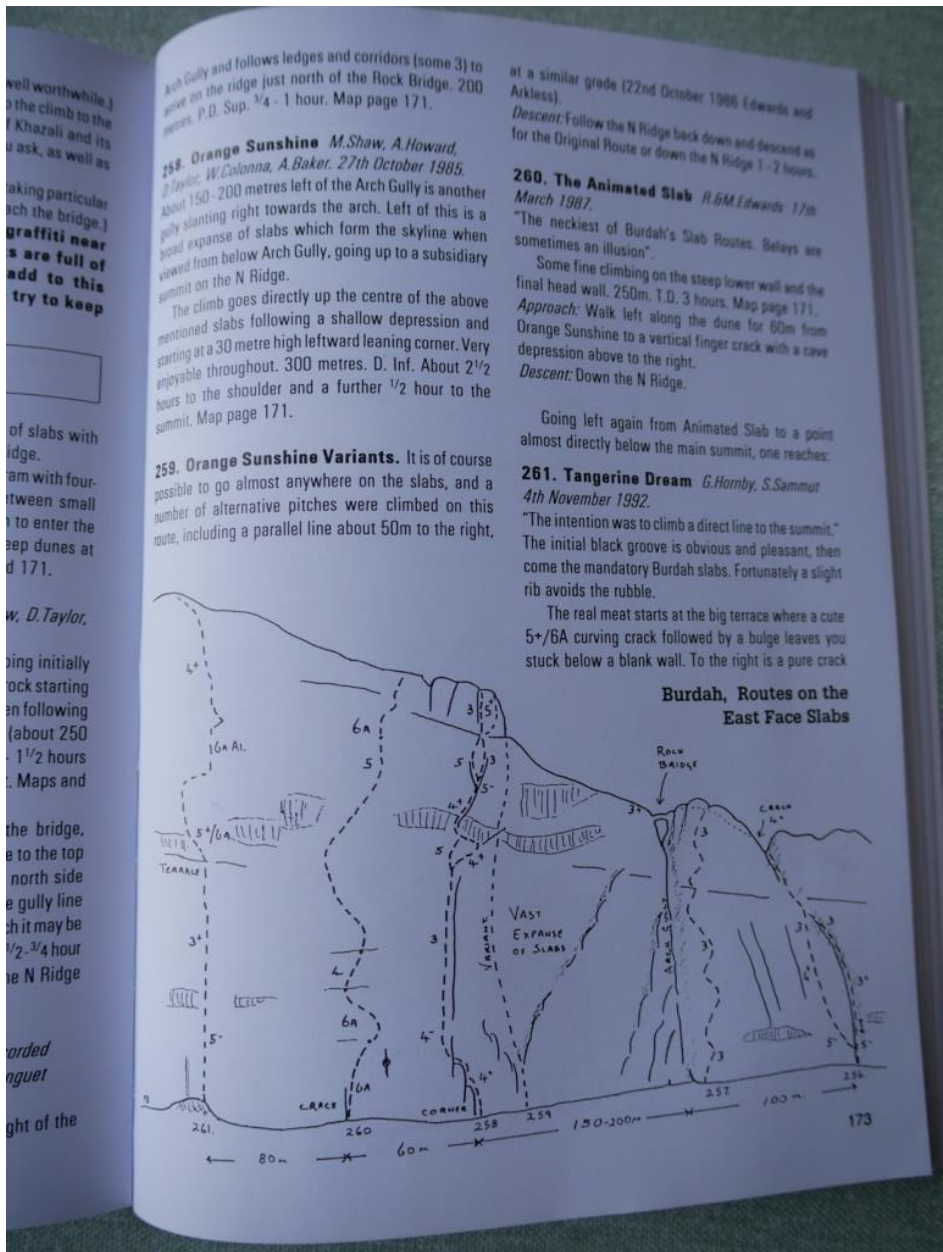
Figure 19: Diagram from Climbing Guide Book.

Ayub makes up a small minority of Bedouins who 'climb with ropes'. Most others do not trust ropes, they climb barefoot using their feet and feeling and touching the rock. For rock climbers it is this same connection with rock they seek. Rock climbing is a form of embodied awareness, a decision to feel and touch an environment (Lewis, 2000). It is a sensory communicative practice argues Jenkings (2017: 149) and an 'intercorporeal enaction of knowledge'. Jenkings (2017) explores the ways in which climbers translate guidebook descriptions to bodily movements, communicate movements to one another on the route before, during, and after the climb, and use technology such as climbing shoes. Jenkings (2017) argues therefore that rock climbing is an engagement of the whole body in mobility and is an important practice in understanding the relationship between body, mobility, communication, and knowledge. This is further summed up by Solnit:

> *[S]ince good climbers climb with their legs as much as possible, climbing could be called the art of taking a vertical walk. In the steepest places the steady semiconscious rhythm of walking slows down, every step can become a separate decision about direction and about safety, and the simple act of walking is turned into a specialised skill that often calls for elaborate equipment…A supremely hard climb can be less than a hundred feet long, and a single move can become a famous 'problem' to be worked out by intense application and training…[c]limbing puts one face-to-face with the rock, with a wholly different kind of engagement. Perhaps tactile encounters, sensations of gravity (and, sometimes, mortality) and the kinaesthetic pleasures of one's body moving at its limits of ability are and equally valid if less culturally hallowed experience of nature. With climbing, sometimes scenery disappears altogether, at least in the rapidly proliferating indoor climbing gyms. Too, walking fosters one kind of awareness in which the mind can stray away from and return to the immediate experience of traversing a particular place; rock climbing on the other hand, is demanding enough that one guide told me, 'Climbing is the only time my mind doesn't wander'. Climbing is about climbing (Solnit, 2001: 134).*

Solnit (2001) describes here a relationship between climbing and the body in which the scenery and environment itself disappears. Movement is about the limits of one's own body against the rock face, in which surface is understood as a series of movements or 'problems' in which the body must work out. This Solnit (2001) contrasts with the movement of mountaineers who as well as climbers must be attuned to weather systems, the environment, and mountain hazards. As a result Solnit (2001) gets to the realisation that how we move as either climbers, mountaineers, hikers, walkers is therefore strongly linked to our subsequent relationship with place. To return to climbing, it has been a practice understood for its risk taking, rejection of modern life and resistant and politically motivated behaviour – aspects I will return to in the following chapter – (Kiewa, 2002; Lewis, 2000). Climbing as a result can be seen as a paradox between intense haptic and sensory engagements with place and a practice in itself. Guidebooks for rock climbers have been compared to the 'MacDonaldization' of culture (Hardy, 2002; Kiewa, 2002; Ritzer, 2009). The argument being that grading of rock climbing, abstract diagrams, and similar formatting of guidebook companies standardizes the rock climbing process so that place becomes superfluous. Climbing guidebooks impose order on a rock face through lines. In a diagram in a climbing guidebook – such as that in Figure 20 – one rock face can have hundreds of lines, each with a different difficultly. These impose a way of moving therefore that follows a pre-determined line, in a similar way to the Jordan Trail.

To return to Ingold (2011a), this is also the distinction between travel and transport. Lines are an essential part of both Western and non-Western knowledge systems for Ingold. Inuit populations, to use Ingold's (2011a) example, to hunt for animals, lay tracks on the expanse as they move, the

whole country becomes a mesh of interweaving lines rather than a continuous surface. Whereas, to use Ingold's (2011a) comparison, the British Royal Navy's search for the North-West Passage, they set sail on a course predetermined by the latitude and longitude of successive points en-route to the intended destination. To offer this comparison to my lines, the Bedouin move laying tracks and creating surfaces, while climbers set off on a course pre-determined. Rock climbing as a result could be compared to the movement of the traveller. Bedouins see lines of access, ways of getting to the top, while 'rock climbers' instead look at a rock face and are attracted to blank walls, apparently unclimbable slabs. The moment therefore when Ayub looks at the guidebook and cannot work out the line is also a moment with different relationships between movement, surface and place come together. In sum my argument here is that how we move and the name given to that movement is crucial to how that movement engages us with place. There is a risk therefore that certain types of movement are privileged over others and erase indigenous and non-Eurocentric forms of movement.

To continue on my climbing trip with Ayub, we decided after some debate that we had found the correct starting point and begun our climb. Although some parts of Wadi Rum are bolted,[37] many of the climbing routes including the one we were climbing involve 'traditional climbing' in which we carry gear with us which is placed by us into the rock to secure us. While I was the more experienced climber, Ayub's knowledge of the rock of Wadi Rum placed him at an advantage. Ayub knew better than I what solid rock felt and looked like and how to best move over that rock type.

Wadi Rum is sandstone, a rock I had not climbed much upon. We moved up the rock face together until we were nearly at the top before we were stopped. It was not clear what way to go. I had brought the guide book with me and scrutinized the route description and diagram carefully. Ayub meanwhile was less interested in the instructions and was carefully studying the rock. He insisted that he knew a way to the top. His way was, however, in the opposite direction to the one I thought the guidebook suggested.

My way was an attempt to follow the line, a way based on my own relationship between movement and the ground. A relationship based on Western knowledge systems, climbing with guide books, walking with maps and following walking trails. In all these cases I am following a pre-

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37 Bolting is a newer technique within climbing which is associated with sport climbing. In bolting metal loops are cemented or drilled into the rock face and climbers are able to secure themselves into the rock face by attaching themselves to these bolts. Traditional climbing in contrast involves the first climber bringing up pieces of 'gear' which are fixed into the rock face by the climber and then clipped into. 'Gear' takes the form of mechanical or wedge-shaped devices which wedge into cracks in the rock, so can secure only where natural features exist. The seconder then follows up the first climber and removes them. Traditional climbing is often seen as a cleaner form of climber as nothing is permanently left in the rock. However, as climbing becomes more challenging, the 'blankness' of walls means that there is nothing natural for a climber to fix 'gear' to. Sport versus traditional climber are arguably different ways of engaging with the rock face too; in which sport climbing is more about pushing the body's limits and traditional climbing involves also an understanding of how to fix 'gear' into the rock and thus a more intimate relationship with the rock. This debate is illustrated well in Tony Howard's (1997) book on climbing in Wadi Rum.

given line. For Ayub, he was less concerned with following an exact line and instead used his knowledge and intuition to guide him.

This relationship with the line and how one moves along it, is important to understand different relationships with place. The line matters for climbers because the line has a name (the route), a grade (a difficulty level), and instructions (details about the route). The line therefore creates a knowable surface on the ground. The line only has meaning and a relationship with the surface when it is named, graded, and detailed instructions and diagrams included. Lines alter how we view place. Another example of this is a week I spent with a climber from France, Wilfried Colonna who was in Wadi Rum for a week to train the Shebab Sahra. Wilfried used to live in Wadi Rum training horses and had also set up many of the first climbing lines there. On the first day of the course, Colonna, myself and the Bedouins drove through Wadi Rum and Wilfried pointed at every rock formation and told us the climbing routes that went up it. Further to this, Colonna pointed out old Bedouin hunting routes which younger Bedouins, of which the Shebab Sahra are composed, do not know. How we move through place and the conduits that enable movement – such as a climbing route or a long-distance walking trail – is strongly linked to how we understand place. The way in which we move and form these conduits of movement is also linked to culture and politics. To continue this argument, I return to climbing with Shebab Sahra and a day we spent training with Wilfried Colonna:

We had started quite late so time was not in our favour as we scrambled to the top of our route on Ghazaleh [the name of the mountain] to find the anchor points to abseil back down. Wilfried had sent Atik and Leith off first to try and find them – they had walked down a little bit and said they found them but just rope anchors [older style anchors]. Not the new anchors Wilfred had made with Hakim. A little bit of scrambling around later and Ayub found one. A sigh of relief from all. We abseiled down, the sun fast setting. Atik and Leith had caught up with us at this point, so we were together now but numbered ten so progress was slightly slow. The next belay wasn't obvious, we all spread out around the mountain side to find it. Atik racing ahead 'I know it's this way, I just know'. It was an amazing experience watching the Bedouins navigating the mountain side, their feet now wearing basic sandals, gripping impressively to the rock. The dark was almost fully engulfing us now making their fast movement all the more impressive. 'Found it' – Ayub shouted! I just knew, 'I could smell it'. I laughed, 'You could smell it, what do you mean. 'Yeah it's our skill we can always find the route, we just know, we can smell it' He was partly joking, partly not. One by one we all went down the belay, Ayub and Atik stylishly with cigarettes in hand. Leith said he would go last, as it was getting darker with me second last 'I have wolf's eyes I can see.' By the time we got to the bottom of the abseil it was pitch black, we couldn't see very much. The Bedouins had all taken their shoes off their tight climbing shoes too and were bare foot. Wilfred and I had brought hiking boots up with us to change into. I handed round chocolate and water. Atik announcing he hadn't eaten since breakfast and it was down half 5. No one seemed to have thought to bring water or food. With no one possessing a head torch we used the lights on our phones to light the way somehow as we navigated the final rocky passes down to the floor (Field diary: 07/03/17).

It is once more in the moments of uncertainty above that the ways in which different bodies move over the rock is illustrated. The comments made above referring to smelling the rock and having 'wolf's eyes' were partly in humour – something Bedouins are famous for – but were also important references to the relationship Bedouins have with the rock. When I climb, I do so with a knowledge of the route in my head, memorized from a book, and with a knowledge of how certain types of rock features should be held for the best effect. What is similar therefore is how the rock is understood in relation to our body. However what is different is the way in which our movement is understood. Many of the Bedouin routes up and down the mountains take the form of lines, lines of desire up the rock face that form the easiest route. These lines in turn take purchase on the rock face, as hundreds of years of human movement down these lines have worn down the rock. In rock climbing terms, this is often referred to as the 'polishing' of the rock. These lines capture and show these years of movement and how humans have used and engaged with the rock for their various

practices. These lines have stories about hunting and the Bedouins who first discovered these routes. Now through line making practices created by rock climbing and the Jordan Trail, these lines are also re-explored and present entangled and more deeply embodied relationships with the ground and surfaces of Jordan.

Lorimer (2006) argues that 'surfaces matter' through the ways in which different bodies move over surfaces. Lorimer (2006: 501) writes for instance that: 'for herders and herd the landmass is a territory. That territory is known by its margins and bounds, by places to eat, to bend down, or to linger, by muster points, and according to a network of paths.' This offers a level of territorialisation that focuses on the level of animal and human territorialisation over that of the territorial nation-state. This also returns bodies to territory because territory is understood at the intimate scale and through individual movements. A richer history of Jordan emerges through practices such as walking and climbing because the bodies of international walkers and climbers come into conversation with indigenous/Bedouin ways of moving. These conversations illustrate the cultural politics of line drawing and the need to uncover other lines than those of border drawing, map making, and road building. Different kinds of lines to those of the border are captured the way in which bodies make territory and are intimately bound to it.
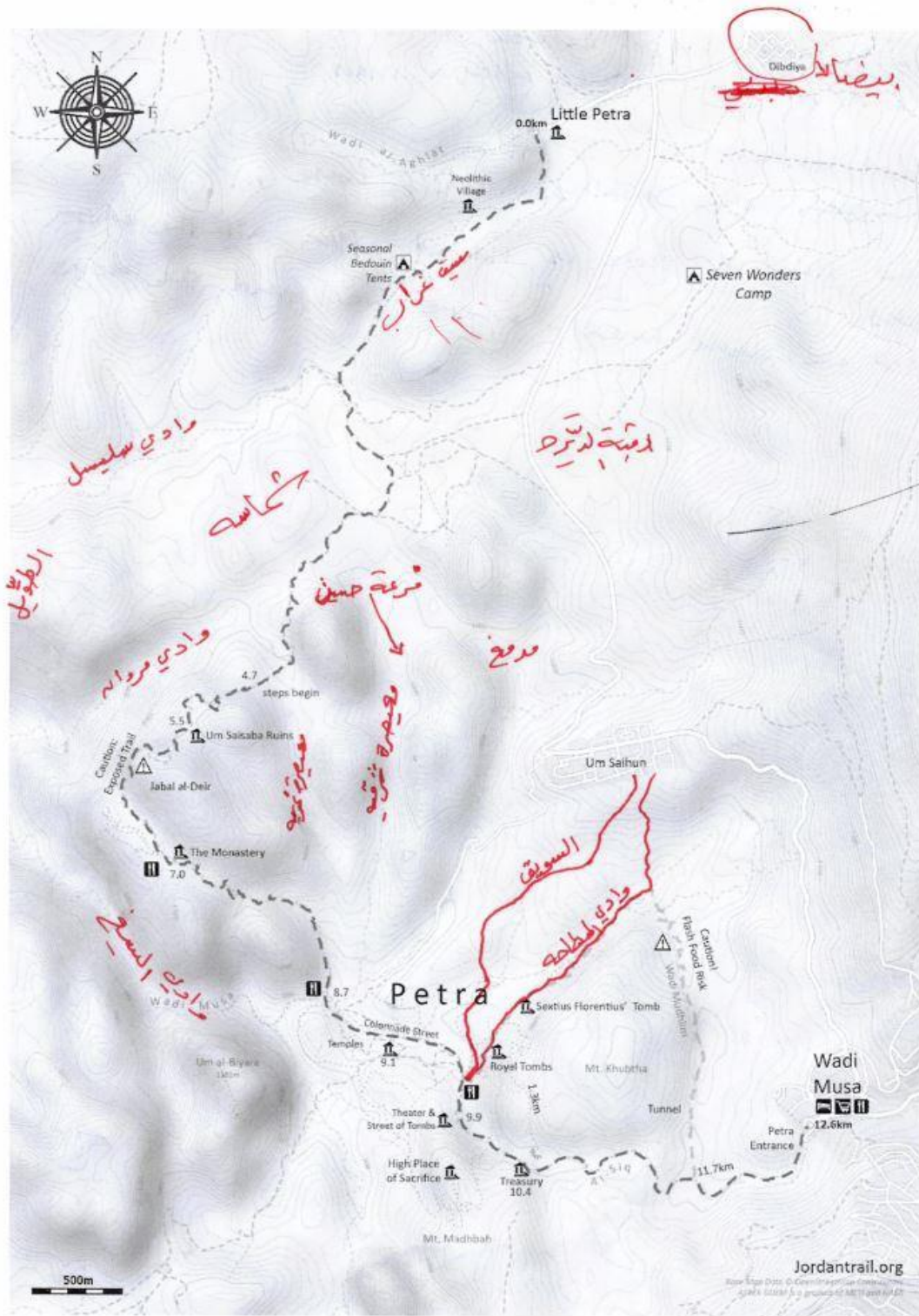
Figure 20: Annotated Bedouin Map.

To return this to the Jordan Trail, although it could be argued that the Jordan Trail imposes a line that must be followed point to point in a similar way to the movements of Ingold's modern day traveller, the intimate and embodied act of walking means that the line is always challenged. It is in these challenges that other ways of understanding surface and movement are uncovered that challenge understandings of place. To offer a final example of this, the Jordan Trail has produced maps of different sections of the route. These maps are centred around the line of the Jordan Trail and mark other lines which intersect with movements along the Trail. On one of these maps, for the section of the Jordan Trail near the Bedouin village of Um Sayhoun and Petra, I asked one of the Bedouins to annotate the map with Bedouin names (see Figure 21). The Bedouin names contain experiential ways of knowing. Valleys are named for the wildlife associated with them, such as 'Valley of the White Bird' or the Ibex or else descriptive words such as the 'Valley of Peace', or the 'Red Valley'. Some places, however, are named after people. This is the case with 'Mohammad's Corner', named after a Bedouin who sat there looking after his sheep.

Bodies matter to understandings of place because through the movement of bodies intimate accounts of place are uncovered. This once again extends meaning to lines, and how lines can also capture alternative narratives and histories of place. What makes the Jordan Trail an important line within the Middle East is not just the histories of movement it captures but also the movements of different bodies it captures. Moradi and Ruby's bodies came against surfaces they were not familiar with and that following a line on the surface of the earth is never the same as a line on a map or a GPS device. Ayub illustrated that lines on maps are not the only lines that exist. Understanding the surface of the earth is an intimate act of knowing and the surface is formed and understood by those who have moved before. The most important territorial scale therefore on an everyday and embodied level is that of human territoriality. This can be understood through Bedouin tribes, our prehistorical ancestors and Nabatean traders. These different experiences, imaginings and practices of territory intersect with the modern day territory of the nation-state. This connects with recent work in critical and feminist geopolitics introduced in Chapter 2 that rejects traditional understandings of territory as a clearly defined and delimited area of earth that is exclusively administered. Territory is multiscaled, hybrid and always evolving (Culcasi, 2018).

Conclusion: the beginning of the line

In Jordan lines have been violent, colonial, and divisive – most clearly demonstrated in their role in the creation of the Jordanian state. Through the Jordan Trail, however, I have argued that lines can be different and through practices of walking, and knowledge generation during the formation of the Jordan Trail, alternative narratives and histories of lines can emerge. I have argued that understanding the Jordan Trail as a line in which alternative understandings of movement and embodiment can emerge is crucial to challenging our current conceptualisations of lines and movement in Jordan and the Middle East. As the first section argued, the line as cartographic and mapped, imposes a cultural imperialism that echoes the power of mapping and border making.

Lines which have no connection to the physical geography of the world and impose order on the world (Carter, 2009). Drawing on Ingold's (2011a) work on lines, I suggest a different worldview than the Western lines of demarcation, boundary making, and separation is possible. For Ingold (2011a), a consideration of lines is about knowing and inhabiting the world. Building on this work, I have thus argued that while some practices of drawing the line of the Jordan Trail can be connected to Western line making processes – imposition of a fixed line – it can also be a way of capturing other relationships with lines and uncovering broader processes of movement in the Middle East. Movements that in turn, acknowledge alternative line making processes and relationships with movement.

I distinguish therefore between the cartographic practices involved in generating and mapping a fixed line and the practices of movement that make these lines sensed, experienced and formed. Bodies matter to explorations of territory. This is an argument which has been made by feminist geopolitics although not through cultural practices. By bringing together cultural geographical work on surface, movement and lines with political geographical work on territory and borders I have argued that the practice walking can be an important site of understanding cultural politics. I have suggested how the Jordan Trail can capture movements that uncover indigenous and Jordanian histories and how moments of indecision open opportunities for different relationships and history with ground to open dialogue. Even when GPS devices are used, moving on the ground is always different. As thus the trail can repossess the land. I argued that bodies matter by contrasting the movements Western walkers with Bedouins to show how relationships between bodies, movement, and ground are created. Not all bodies walk, move and engage equally.

Figure 21: 'My group of 'thru-hikers' finish the first section of the 'thru-hike' at Ajloun (Author)

Chapter 5: Mohammad and Mohammad: nationalism, territory and citizenship on the Jordan Trail

Figure 22: Mohammad and Mohammad (Author)

Figure 23: Mohammad and Mohammad at the end of the Jordan Trail (Author)

On 11th September 2016, two Bedouins – Mohammad and Mohammad – decided to walk the Jordan Trail. On that afternoon, with minimal preparation or planning, without a rucksack of high-quality 'hiking gear', they started walking. They carried with them no maps, no GPS devices, instead relying on the way-marking of the first 80 km and gut instinct to guide them. 'Were you at all scared?', I asked them later. 'Of course not,' they replied. 'We're Bedouins.' Mohammad and Mohammad became a sensation amongst the outdoors community in Jordan and nationally, appearing on Jordanian TV shows and in newspaper articles. Armed only with flour, cigarettes, and their non-smart phones they became the first two people, and the first Jordanians, to walk the entire Jordan Trail. Some were sceptical at first, the notion that two Bedouins could walk the entire

trail without any knowledge of walking nor the Trail seemed impossible. It was only when they arrived at the 80km mark they were finally deemed serious. To go further on their journey, they were given GPS devices to follow the line, tents, and 'hiking' shoes. The rest of their journey involved a learning of how to use a GPS device, and navigation of parts of Jordan they had never travelled to before. Mohammad and Mohammad had until the Jordan Trail not left their home region of Wadi Hidan and their knowledge of their country was limited. This made their walking of the Jordan Trail all the more important – a chance to connect Jordanians to their country. Yet while Jordan as the modern nation-state it is today is where their home is physically located, and is their nationality; home to them is a relationship with the land. They knew how to navigate the land, how to, in Mohammad's words, read the mountains, how to find water in a desert, find the route up a rocky mountain, and through a canyon.

Mohammad and Mohammad's walking of the trail poses important questions concerning the relationship between the Jordan Trail and the territory of the nation-state. Mohammad and Mohammad have become a success story of the Jordan Trail because their walking of the trail was able to prove that the Jordan Trail could connect Jordanian citizens to Jordanian territory. The Jordan Trail as a result has nationalist goals and creates a nationalist narrative. So far in this thesis I have suggested that the Jordan Trail is important because of the line it draws, a line which connects embodied relationships between movement, politics, and place. However, another line is also drawn by the Jordan Trail - that of a narrative, a story. Storytelling for Ingold (2011a) is similar to wayfaring, the movement from place to place in which the end point is not predetermined. A story similarly weaves a line that has no end point and knowledge is integrated along a path of movement. Ingold (2011a) compares reading to wayfaring and the surface of the path to an inhabited landscape. To move is to remember the path and to tell a story is to remember how it goes, to retrace a trail through the text (Ingold, 2011a).

Storytelling as such is also a line which is created and weaves a certain narrative through history that is then followed. Papadakis (1998: 158) argues that grand narratives are used by nation-states to: 'create their own mythologies to justify and glorify their pasts and to promote their future aims.' Local and personal histories are often deflected as politically charged state level narratives merge with them (Papadakis, 1998). People's individual and local histories become understood in relationship with state level narratives. This occurs through the presentation of history to the citizens by the state through political speeches, school textbooks, and nationalist symbols (Papadakis, 1998). These narratives are promoted and conveyed by the state to justify its own actions and to create binaries of us and them. In the context of Jordan - a colonially created nation-state in which many of its citizens have family ties and tribal links outside of the boundaries of the Jordanian nation-state - finding a way in which to connect citizens to their country is an important political objective. Yet, unlike Papadakis (1998) who writes in relation to the 'Cyprus problem', in Jordan this nationalist narrative is about nationalist cohesion and the creation of a Jordanian identity which until 1948 did not exist.

Unlike state speeches and school textbooks, the narrative created by the Jordan Trail Association is challenged by its very nature of being a walking trail. The narrative is not simply a speech act - it cannot be separated from the bodies of those who walk it. This also uncovers the relationship between identity, nationalism and territory. A long-distance walking trail that will unite Jordanians and bring them into close proximity with their country could be seen as a nationalist goal explicitly linked to territory. A nationalism that connects sovereign rule, through the creation of a grand narrative, with territory through a long-distance walking trail. However, similarly to how I suggested the Jordan Trail contests the drawing of lines, in this chapter I suggest how the Jordan Trail contests the drawing of state narratives.

This chapter questions what the nationalist goals of the trail are, and considers how they come into conflict with understandings of territory that do not fit in a nationalist narrative – as home, or embodied knowledge – and the relationships between the individual and risk. My argument is that territorial nationalism can be used by the state but can also be challenged by bodies that walk that territory, reinforcing that scale is crucial. I ask in this chapter what walking trails do mean in the context of the Middle East? Why is there is a growth of trails in the Middle East – Lebanon Mountain Trail, Sinai Trail, Israel National Trail, Masar Ibrahim al-Khalil – and how do trails within the context of the Middle East offer particular geopolitical understandings of the relationship between trail, narrative, and nationalism?

In the first section of this chapter, I will explore the ways in which the Jordan Trail is able to link nationalism and territory. I do this through exploring cartography as territorial nationalism and the relationship between walking and citizenship. I also explore work on nationalism as everyday, atmospheric, and embodied, to query the relationship between nationalism and the body. In the second part of this chapter I unpack and query this territorial nationalist narrative. I do this by considering the problem with territorial state nationalism and how territory is given value within state narratives. Land as an aspect of territory, Elden (2010) reminds us, is used by states for political means as it is exploited for political-economic gains. Territory for Elden (2010) is about calculation and cartography as the previous section argued. However, such economic value given to land, Elden (2010) argues, and the notion of land as taxable asset arose with the birth of the territorial nation-state. It is with this notion of value, that I query how the Jordan Trail is able to capture value systems related to land that move away from it purely as economic gain. I use the term homeland, to consider emotional relationships many have to land, that also value connections between land outside the borders of the modern nation-state. I also consider how walking produces connections with land that value embodied knowledge. In the third section, I offer a different way of thinking of the relationship between land and territory through engagement with risk. Risk, I argue, is embodied at the individual level, therefore by exploring the ways in which the state attempts to control risk I also explore how walking bodies once again critique nationalist narrative around territory.

The following section begins with a discussion of how nationalism is narrated on the Trail and the ways in which this has become an important narrative. I explore how the Trail is marketed and detail speeches from those talking about the Jordan Trail. I then explore how the relationship between nationalism and long-distance walking-trails, particularly through discussions of territory, to then ask what does this say about the exclusive and inclusive nature of citizenship. Who is included in this political community and who is excluded?

Nationalism on the Jordan Trail

> *This trail crystallises our love for Jordan. It speaks about our history, culture,*
> *and heritage. It was a trail made by dreamers. To me the Jordan Trail is the trail*
> *of love, it combines people who have goodness and love in their hearts. It gives*
> *visitors the chance to touch the compassion of the visitors here (Lina Annab,*
> *Minister of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities [MOTA], speech at the*
> *opening ceremony of the Jordan Trail 'thru-hike' 31/03/17).*

Lina Annab was one of the first Jordanians to rush to meet Mohammad and Mohammad on the Jordan Trail. A proud Jordanian[38] and the Minister for Tourism and Antiquities, Mohammad and Mohammad walking the Jordan Trail was, she told me, 'a dream come true'. She even delayed their finish until a date on which she and other high profile officials were able to attend the closing ceremony. This was a lavish affair, with a famous Jordanian band performing, dancing, excessive food, and endorsement from USAID (United States Agency for International Aid) and MOTA. Mohammad and Mohammad were presented with ceremonial GPS devices and numerous people gave speeches in Arabic praising their achievement and thanking them. It was a wonderful moment. I had only recently begun volunteering for the Jordan Trail Association and was invited to this closing ceremony as well as experiencing the excitement in the Jordan Trail office. Bashir, the Manager for the Jordan Trail Association, was excitedly planning to have them on the front page of every newspaper in the country. I came in to the office the next day after the closing ceremony to find Mohammad and Mohammad sat there, waiting to head to a TV studio, Bashir excitedly making calls to various news outlets. It was excitement centred around the discovery that this trail was something that everyday Jordanians, and more importantly, Bedouins, wanted to walk. I asked Mohammad and Mohammad why they decided to walk the trail and they told me that their area – Wadi Hidan – was a popular tourist destination for walkers and those wishing to explore the canyon [Wadi is Arabic for canyon]. It is also on the route of the Jordan Trail. They increasingly met people coming to explore routes for the Jordan Trail and exploring the canyon and thus had heard about the Trail. They were encouraged by some guides to walk it and were eventually put in touch with the Jordan Trail Association.

Lina Annab's words above were spoken at the opening ceremony for the first official and sponsored 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail in Spring 2017 - almost six months after Mohammad and Mohammad finished their 'thru-hike'. She speaks as a Jordanian and captures the emotional connections created through the Jordan Trail between Jordanians and their country. This 'thru-hike' was organised by the Jordan Trail Association (JTA) and encouraged Jordanians to take part. After the success story of Mohammad and Mohammad, a greater effort was made to encourage Jordanians

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38 Through numerous conversations with Lina Annab, mostly while walking on the trail, this proud identity was reinforced to me through her love for Jordan and the Jordan Trail.

to walk the trail. This was helped by various sponsorships and a patronage from the Jordanian Royal Family. Queen Rania of Jordan even walked with us one day. MOTA offered subsidized places to Jordanians who wanted to walk the trail, sponsorships from media companies enabled Jordanians to win free places to join via competitions, and USAID offered large amounts of funding. It is now the tourism project, in Jordan, to which USAID gives the most money, through its $36 million project Building Economic Sustainability Through Tourism (BEST). In 2015, the newly formed Jordan Trail Association (JTA) was given its first major grant from USAID which enabled it to rent offices, hire staff, improve the website, create GPS co-ordinates of the trail, and finish scouting and re-routing parts of the trail. USAID BEST's interest in the Trail is largely economic because of the Trail's ability to benefit local communities and places away from the main tourism attractions. However, USAID's interest in the trail is also its ability to connect Jordanians to their country and strengthen Jordanian identity. These sentiments are captured by a statement made by USAID in the same opening ceremony:

> *The trail will make the legends of the Jordanian landscape come true. It will remind Jordanians of the beauty of their country (Lewis Tatem, USAID Deputy Mission Director, speech at the opening ceremony of the Jordan Trail 'thru-hike' 31/03/17).*

Lewis Tatem speaks here of the Jordan Trail's connection for Jordanians. This is a reason for USAID's involvement with the trail. This involvement is the belief that the trail could help with national cohesion through a connection between Jordanians and their country. This is also a political objective, since most of USAID's operations in the region are controlled from Jordan, it is important that national cohesion and unity is strong to prevent civil unrest. This promotion of national cohesion is demonstrated through the marketing materials for the Jordan Trail. USAID has been instrumental in much of the branding, marketing, and promotion of the Jordan Trail, including a booklet outlining the branding statement for the trail, containing key messages for different groups.
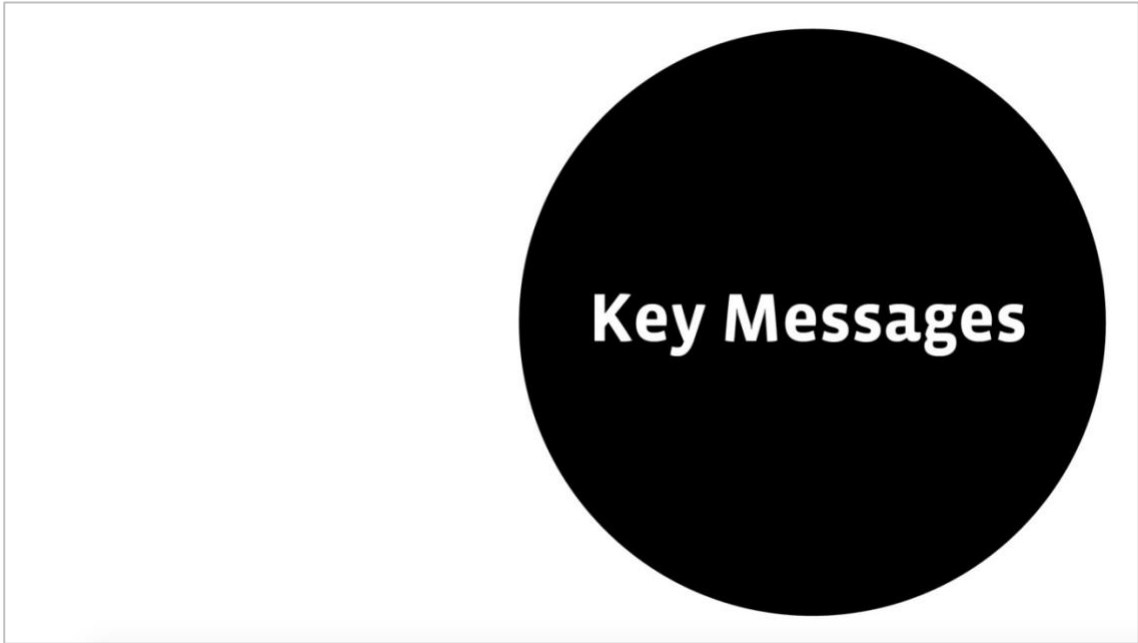
Figure 24: Opening page from JTA Branding Document. Printed with JTA's permission.

Key Messages: to Jordanians

Our land is beautiful and there is much to see in Jordan. Peek into the many **gateways** of the **history** of the Jordanian land through its many **wadis** along Jordan's Great Rift Valley.

Explore the **heights and depths** of Jordan's wonder, and delve into its rich **history and heritage**. The outdoors can mean many things to different individuals; the Jordan Trail offers you **alternatives** and a **flexibility** to accommodate your different **preferences**, so **break** your **routine** and wander through Jordan's **hidden treasures** from the **Fertile Crescent** to the edge of the **Arabian Desert** and the Red Sea.

Rediscover Jordan and connect with it and its people. Get in touch with our minor **differences,** but more importantly with what **unites us as a people**.

Figure 25: 'Key Messages: to Jordanians' from JTA Branding Document

(With permission)

The key messages to Jordanians promise connection, re-discovery with 'our land' and to get in touch with 'what unites us as a people'. This is terminology that connects land to nationality and echoes the ethno-territorial aims of the JTA. The 'heights and depths' of Jordan's wonder alongside the trail itself running the length of the country explicitly link the exploration, physicality and geology of territory with nationalism through connection to a country. These 'heights and depths' are clearly contained within the borders of the Jordanian nation-state. This is a territorial nationalism, it is connecting Jordan as a territorial entity with its citizens to discover what connects 'us a people'. Massad (2001: 16) argues that 'Jordanian nationalist discourse has a more difficult time stabilizing the terms of essences it posits than the nationalist discourse of other postcolonial nation-states.' National cohesion becomes a political objective.

Here emerges an everyday, ethno-territorial geopolitics of Jordan that connects 'blood and soil' narratives. Blood and soil narratives have also often been linked with extremist nationalist views (Wylie, 2016). This, Wylie (2016) argues, is an ontological position based on nationalisms that seek 'to handcuff people, culture, time, and land together' and this thinking can be seen 'across a range of scales, both below and beyond the level of the 'nation,' (Wylie, 2016: 409). Traditional views on statehood have often been shaped to be 'inherently geographical' (Kaplan and Herb, 2001: 15), with many describing statehood as 'independence and supremacy over territory'. Historically, control over territory has been the essential factor in defining statecraft (Roeder, 2007). Over time this definition has developed to incorporate other factors and throughout the late 20th century there have been claims that the nation-state is in decline as people are becoming increasingly part of a single homogeneous society, which transcends borders and is linked together through globalisation (Sassen, 2002). As a result, the nation-state has lost one of its primary functions of containing economic processes (Taylor, 1997). Traditionally the power of the nation-state comes from a common sentiment of 'nation' to unify the people, however the homogenisation of society has weakened this sentiment (Taylor, 1997; Painter, 2006). Territory which was once so vital to traditional state theory is now becoming irrelevant as borders are transcended by culture, economy, and people.

These ideas of the nation-state are connected to the way in which nationalism is conceptualised. Traditional concepts of nation revolve around primordialism, the idea that 'nations are ancient' and as such, national identity is based on ethnicity and language, two perennial qualities which are seen to define a nation (Spencer and Wollman, 2002: 2). The communist partisan and then president of Croatia, Tudjman (1971), described national identity as based on 'ethnic community' and a 'basis of blood, linguistic and cultural kinship'. Those leaders that focus heavily on blood and soil nationalisms are often also associated with extremist views and traditions and cultures invented by the ruling elite (Billig, 1995). In recent years nationalism has increasingly become synonymous with racism and xenophobia as a result of globalisation (Smith, 1999). In this critique, states create national identities. Grand narratives promoted through school text books and state speeches create nationalist views that meet state goals (Papadakis, 1998; Hobsbawm, 1990). However,

others have critiqued the extent to which states can control nationalist feeling (Rapport, 2000; Vincent, 1980). Closs-Stephens (2016: 182) argues that 'nationalist identity is mostly experienced as a feeling'. Billig (1995) coined the term 'banal nationalism' to explain how everyday symbols such as flags are the building blocks that produce a national identity. Therefore, it can be understood that national identity and territory are separate entities but do 'enrich one another' (Dodds, 2007: 94).

A further aspect of territory and the nation-state is that of citizenship. Citizenship has a strong historical connection with the modern nation-state as it is often defined as 'membership of a political community' (Painter and Jeffrey, 2009: 88). The borders of the nation-state and territorial sovereignty are therefore built to both exclude and include by defining who is included within the nation-state and who is not (Painter and Jeffrey, 2009). The nation-state's existence relies upon categorising individuals into citizens and non-citizens (Painter and Jeffrey, 2009). Painter and Philo (1995) argue that citizenship is fundamentally exclusionary and is based on created binaries between us and them, with inclusion also a decision as to who to exclude. However a growing body of work on global citizenship suggests that the nation-state is in decline as individuals feel connected to issues at a global scale and not a national scale (Painter and Jeffrey, 2009). Others suggest that citizenship as linked to the nation-state is becoming increasingly exclusive due to globalisation. Since the 1990s there has been a growing focus on immigration by the media and general public, portraying migrants as a problem (Gullestad, 2002; Brooke, 2018). Recent work on citizenship attempts to rethink citizenship as 'acts' rather than simply status given by a nation-state (Closs-Stephens, 2010).

Citizenship, remains central to Western political thought as it is: 'a right to being political, a right to constitute oneself as an agent to govern and be governed, deliberate with others and enjoy determining the fate of the polity to which one belongs' (Isin, 2002: 1). Modern citizenship assumes that this right to being political can only be realised within a nation-state (Closs-Stephens, 2010). Closs-Stephens (2010) asks however what politics and citizenship might look like if it does not take place within a bounded space. If citizenship is instead formed through acts then it enables a focus on 'those moments through which identities, allegiances, and associations are formed, and what takes place when we encounter, engage with and attach ourselves to others' (Closs-Stephens, 2010: 32). This work on citizenship therefore unpicks the relationship between citizenship, nationalism, and territory and supports the central argument of this chapter that walking bodies always exceed territorial nationalist narratives.

To return to the Jordan Trail, thus far I have outlined the grand narrative of the Jordan Trail - one that is about connecting Jordanians to their country. I have illustrated this through the official marketing documentation of the Jordan Trail, and through speeches by USAID and the Jordanian Minister of Tourism. These narratives Papadakis (1998) argues are promoted by states to justify their actions, glorify their pasts, and promote future aims. They are as a result also about inclusion

and exclusion. States through narratives are able to make decisions as to what to include and exclude. In the same way in which the previous chapter on lines illustrated how different movements can be captured or erased, the decision of the Jordan Trail to remain within the borders of the Jordanian nation-state illustrates the way in which nation-states through borders and narratives ensure the nation-state is the most important territorial scale.

This is especially crucial in Jordan because it is a country in which many of its inhabitants have tribal links outside of the borders of the Jordanian nation-state and many of those currently living within its borders do not have full Jordanian citizenship. Citizenship is also not granted to everyone in Jordan. The UN estimate there are 89 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants of Jordan, many of whom do not have Jordanian citizenship (UNHCR, 2018). It is only Palestinians who entered as refugees before 1948 that were given full Jordanian citizenship (Massad, 2001). As a result citizenship becomes a particularly contested subject with Jordan and its postcolonial history. It is therefore understanding the relationship between nationalism, territory, and citizenship that this chapter continues to explore. In the following section I unpick the nationalism narrative by first exploring how long-distance walking trails and nationalism are connected, before considering critically what this says about political communities and citizenship - who is included and who is excluded?

Walking, everyday nationalism, and citizenship

Walking as a nationalist project has its links to the 19th century and the birth of the territorial nation-state (Löfgren, 2004). Löfgren (2004) argues that this was partly in reaction to the newness of some of these nation-states. A newness that resulted in fewer cultural heritage sites such as castles and a consequent focus on nationalizing nature and wilderness.[39] This was the beginning of the link between national identity and domestic nature tourism in which walking played an 'important medium for learning the geography of the homeland: in this way people could learn its nature' (Löfgren, 2004: 142). Walking thus became one of the most important means in which nationalism connected to territory arose. The tourism pioneers of early mountaineering and walking clubs saw their task as a patriotic one, as 'bringing wilderness tourism to their fellow citizens was a way of producing a deeper and more emotional attachment to the nation' (Löfgren, 2004: 143). This period was also the beginning of national tours within numerous countries which reflected a changing foci in domestic tourism. These pilgrimages encompassed a tour of the entire homeland and suggested that national sceneries and sites could best be appreciated by the nation's own citizens (Löfgren, 2004). The citizen as a result became in communion with not only nature but the entire nation (Löfgren, 2004). Such territorial nationalist goals through walking are

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[39] Löfgren (2004) explores this through the growth of nature tourism and appreciation in Sweden. The natural historian Gustaf Kolthoff wrote in 1899, in reference to Sweden: 'Few countries are richer or more glorious in nature than our own. The knowledge and love of this nature must greatly assist in increasing the love of our native land – one of the noblest of feelings'. This romanticism of the 19th century also extended to the UK where landscape painting and poetry referring to the nature grew in this period (see Wylie, 2013).

not just historical but continue into the contemporary era. For example in Palestine and Israel, as Stein describes:

> *The act of walking the land and establishing personal contact with its topography was a richly ideological practice. By bringing the Jewish hiker into intimate contact with the homeland, such travelling practices were thought to foster a powerfully tactile sense of national awakening, affording the Jewish walker with first-hand knowledge of both land and homeland (2009: 335).*

For both Palestinians and Israelis, their national identity is rooted in a specific location which embodies their histories, memories, cultures, religions, and desired futures. Walking thus becomes an embodied way in which to experience such emotive links to land. A person is able to physically walk through places they have been through before, read of or been told about. Stein (2009) describes the 'intimate contact with the homeland', the 'tactile sense of national awakening' and a 'first-hand knowledge of both land and homeland'. These place the body of the hiker firmly within the formation of the nation, but most importantly in a way which is about awakening nationhood and forming, in the Israeli case, imagined notions of it. Tactility with land becomes a political process of nation formation. Stein (2009) argues that 'hiking'/walking became such an important political tool that in the 1920s it became institutionalized through a new field of education called Yediat ha-Aretz or 'knowledge of the land' (Stein, 2009). In this education, an important aspect was the use of walking to physically take students and engage them in sensory methods to understand the history of their land. In recent years, in the decades after 1967 and continuing into the present day, the 'hike' has been used to advance Israeli political claims to the Occupied Palestinian Territories (Stein, 2009). This extremist linking of citizen to land in Israel/Palestine is a highly ethno-territorial process in which the struggle over land is strongly related to nationalism (Yitfachel, 2002).

This embodied form of nationalism therefore produces two points about both nationalism and its relationship to citizenship. First that nationalism can be embodied, and walking trails as a result can be important sites to explore this relationship. Walking trails, I argue, are important sites of everyday nationalism and furthermore through the body, territory becomes intimately experienced through the body. The walking body intimately experiences territory and its contours and geological and biodiversity of the territory. Second, it is an everyday relationship with the nation-state. Nationalism is not conveyed through state speeches, text books, or official discourse but instead through an embodied connection. This was expressed in numerous interviews I gathered out with Jordanians walking on the Jordan Trail:

> Olivia: 'What meaning does the Trail have for you?'
>
> Abed: 'For me, I think it will strengthen the bond between me as a person and the country, you know? I mean, for years, here and there and everywhere we

go, but we actually say, okay I'm going to the Trail when you are effectively travelling the whole country, from north to south and south to north. I think it's going to be very symbolic of your attention to the land.'

Karim: 'Long walking sure, yeah, I've done quite a bit. But it has a different taste to it. One part because it's Jordan. I've never walked, done something similar within Jordan, which is my country. Which is weird you know you go outside you travel everywhere, you explore all these different countries, and have all these activities and adventures. But you know I've never truly explored Jordan this way, that was significant to me.'

Mansour: 'I mean we have a small country, Jordan is a small country, with a diversity of things. I think it's a must for all Jordanians to do it, to appreciate their country and to look after it.'

I interviewed Abed, Karim, and Mansour while we were 'thru-hiking' together on the Jordan Trail. These interviews were conducted after prolonged periods of time spent walking together on the Jordan Trail. This is important because their narratives emerge while we were physically walking. What Abed and Karim speak of is a connection with their country which they previously did not have; a relationship and an attentiveness to their land that the Jordan Trail and a 'thru-hike' of it enables. For Abed and Karim, they describe a previous desire to travel outside of Jordan and explore. It is only through the Jordan Trail that they considered walking in their own country. For Abed, someone who admits he travels a lot, this as he says seems 'weird'. Mansour stressed that this is 'a must for all Jordanians to do', further suggesting that he feels all Jordanians should have such a connection. There is both an intimacy with Jordan they all describe and an everyday nationalism. Many others I interviewed described not realising 'how beautiful Jordan is', 'how diverse the landscape is', and 'how green it is'. These appreciations gave these Jordanians a renewed sense of pride and an understanding of the physical territory of their country and its landscape they did not previous know. Many Jordanians I spoke with had not spent much time outside of Amman and have little concept of what their country looks like. In schools I was told that little attention is given to taking students to explore their country or else teaching them about its biodiversity and geology. As a result many Jordanians felt they understood and knew their country better through walking the Jordan Trail.

Walking the Jordan Trail therefore contributed to a greater sense of nationalism for many Jordanians and a nationalism that took place at the everyday level. As recent work on nationalism has explored, nationalism is increasingly understood as a feeling (Closs-Stephens, 2016). Nationalism, Closs-Stephens (2016: 182) argues cannot be traced back to a single sovereign source but instead emanates: 'from multiple constituencies as part of a nebulous, diffuse atmosphere.' National affective atmospheres for Closs-Stephens (2016: 183-184) helps to understand how national feelings are 'felt through bodies', and that the seemingly banal forms of nationalism are

laden with power. Affective atmospheres also help Closs-Stephens (2016) to break down binaries between 'hot' and banal nationalisms. Billig (1995) for instance has often been criticized for his focus on 'hot' forms of nationalism connected to the state. However, the Jordan Trail once again emphasizes that through understanding nationalism as connected to the body, binaries between 'hot' state nationalism and the mundane and everyday are broken down. The Jordan Trail I have argued is a state centred narrative, however it is also something experienced, embodied, and felt by those walking it.

However, one point I want to make now and begin to tease out in more detail is the relationship between exclusion and inclusion within these narratives. I began with the story of Mohammad and Mohammad as evidence of the inclusive possibility of the Jordan Trail. The possibility that two Bedouins who have tribal links outside the borders of the current nation-state, have never walked a long-distance walking trail before, and have no knowledge of walking trails nor the equipment required to walk them could walk the Jordan Trail. The Jordan Trail connected them with other Jordanians they would never have met and taken them to parts of Jordan they might never have gone. The closing ceremony held for Mohammad and Mohammad once they completed the Trail was of the buzz and 'extraordinary' atmosphere described by Closs-Stephens (2016: 182) at the 2012 London Olympic games. There was an optimism and collective feeling of joy in the air. A famous Jordanian band played, we danced traditional dances, ate Jordanian food, and laughed. The Jordan Trail was celebrated at this ceremony as a success, the Minister of Tourism arrived and the Jordanian Royal Family sent a message of congratulations.

It becomes easy, Closs-Stephens (2016) argues, to congeal around and hang on it these collective feelings. However, they loosen 'the grip of the language of identity, essence and belonging' and replace them instead with 'currents and transmissions that pass between bodies and which congeal around particular objects, materials and bodies in specific times and spaces' (Closs-Stephens, 2016: 192). The problem is a model of the political as anchored in the nation and then takes hold at particular moments and times to achieve political goals of the nation-state (Closs-Stephens, 2016). What I argue beyond this is that this also uncovers important questions around inclusion and exclusion and who is included or excluded within such moments. I want to explore this in three ways. First, the problem with tying a particular act such as walking to nationalism. Second, the problem with linking nationalism with territorial sovereignty. Third, the problem with focusing on political communities as most importantly linked to the nation-state. It is these questions that the rest of this chapter explores.

The wrong citizen?

Walking as a practice I have argued is an important way of embodying territory and furthermore an act of everyday nationalism. It challenges what might be an act of nationalism and furthermore what citizenship means. Citizenship instead of being about legal status, also involves everyday

practices and everyday deeds (Isin and Nielsen, 2008). These practices in turn challenge what it means to be political and what a political act might be. They alter the scale at which one can be political. However, the embodied nature of walking as such a practice is problematic because it ties certain bodies to the nation-state and the ways in which bodies should move. Not all citizens can walk, not all citizens might want to walk, and furthermore it links bodies to state control and narrative. Mohammad and Mohammad for instance were not initially believed to be able to walk the Jordan Trail as they had no 'hiking' equipment and no experience of walking a long-distance trail. At that point they were not the right bodies.

Matless (1997) conceptualises the various ways in which the landscape in the United Kingdom was used in the 20th century to reinforce notions of citizenship and creation of a national landscape. Nation Fitness Campaigns in the 1930s used walking as part of a dietary and environmental bodily regime which countered the 'depressing thought…that there must be millions of people in England to-day who have never experienced the exhilaration of a thoroughly good drenching, and whose individual coefficient of rurality must be practically nil,' (Stapledon, 1935: 4). Country walking connected the bodies of England to a physical culture of landscape (Matless, 1997). While in America, founding fathers in order to colonise land built trails and today trail building is offered as an activity for American youths to take part in. For instance, the Student Conservation Association in the U.S.A. has been involved with numerous projects working with the land, and of which trail building is an important one, to inspire younger populations to enhance the environment (Birkby, 2005). This narrative of the healthy body building the nation bolstered the idea of the good and healthy citizen. In turn this created new forms of embodied inclusion and exclusion:

Various stock images emerge; thoughtless middle-class 'motor-picnickers' not clearing their litter, working-class charabancers making a racket and leaving their empties, anti-citizens against which the right leisure user could be upheld. A discourse of citizenship mixing rights of access and obligations of conduct depended for its self-definition on an unworthy Other. An inclusive national landscape emerged through exclusion (Matless, 1997: 143).

The anti-citizen emerged as the loud and littering user of the countryside. Promoting landscape as a public space was also about promoting embodied ways in which people should act in these landscapes. Walking one's country was important but how one walked was equally important. As Matless (1997) argues an inclusive national landscape was created through exclusion of others. For instance many of the National Parks created in the UK were in traditional farming areas of the UK. The act of walking creating a practice at odds with traditional ways of living in the land, something I explore more in the following section. Batsford (1940) describes his shock that 'country folk' are astounded by the production of a map in an English village pub as it appears to be something of black magic. This was a class based division which extended throughout the nineteenth century and linked to questions of inclusivity and political confrontations around access particularly in Sweden (Löfgren, 2004). For instance, everyone should be able to love Swedish nature but there were also narratives around who knew how to experience it in the right way. As neither the peasants nor new workers knew how to do so, it was a knowledge that extended only to the ruling conservatives (Löfgren, 2004).

In Jordan, as Chapter 3 illustrated, walking is class based and cultural. Walking for leisure on walking Trails is not part of the cultural history of Jordan, in the same way as it is not in the cultural heritage of any countries. As a result, while walking trails can offer important ways for individuals to connect with their country, and illustrate the link between embodied cultural practices and state territoriality, they can also exclude. I want to continue this argument about exclusion through the concept of 'homeland' a term that has particular importance within the postcolonial context of Jordan. The creation of the Jordanian state was one of displacement and breaking of tribal links through the drawing of borders and as such the 'homeland' I will argue is an important term within discussions of nationalism and territory.

Homeland

Mohammad and Mohammad are originally from Beer Sheva, a town in the Negev, the southern desert in what is modern day Israel. As with many Bedouins from the Negev region, the formation of the Israeli state, resulted in their exile to Jordan. However, despite having Jordanian citizenship, Bedouins originally from the Negev such as Mohammad and Mohammad, will tell you they are from Palestine and speak of it as the watan وطن – Arabic for homeland. The songs and poems they sing will reference Palestine, and in so doing, identify them with Bedouin communities in Palestine

but also across the Arab Peninsula and Mashriq.[40] While they are Jordanian citizens, their identity is first and foremost Bedouin and this identity and its tribal links transcend borders of the modern Jordanian nation-state (Massad, 2001). An important aspect of this Bedouin identity is an embodied knowledge of the ground. As Mohammad and Mohammad's 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail demonstrated, they know how to find paths up rocky mountains, how to find underground water sources, how to cook bread in the ground. This embodied knowledge adds another element to the relationship between the Jordan Trail and place; a move from territorial sovereignty to land as lived and having embodied value. The problem with linking territory and nationalism is that it ignores relationships with land outside the narrative and borders of the nation-state. This is a cultural political question that adds extra meaning to walking trails and further suggests they can be important political devices in allowing other meanings and entangled relationships between land, territory, and identity to emerge. Homeland as a term has often been co-opted by nation-state narratives. This also complicates recent work on homeland and landscape by suggesting the term 'homeland' must be understood beyond nation-state narratives of estrangement and alienation (see Wylie, 2016). I suggest that through exploring value systems related to land, a more nuanced understanding of the ability of the Jordan Trail to be a nation-building project is possible.

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40 The Mashriq is the eastern part of the Arab world, comprising the modern states of Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Kuwait, UAE, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Iraq.

In Jordan, the problem with territorial sovereign identity is that many of its citizens have identities outside of its borders. Before 1921, Transjordan did not exist as a territory, group of people or nationalist movement (Massad, 2001). At this time nearly 50% of the population was Bedouin. This was problematic, Massad (2001) writes, in that this was a mobile population. Blood ties, therefore, had to be superseded by territorial contiguity and residency. In a country where the inhabitants had tribal links that crossed the invented national boundaries, the reorganization of identity has to be territorialized, especially in the case of the Bedouins who has little respect for the nation-state jurisdiction (Massad, 2001). So while Mohammad and Mohammad's story can be seen as evidence that Bedouin identity has been used by the nation-state to fit its own narrative.

The term 'homeland' queries the territorial goals of the nation-state. The Arabic term وطن 'watan' is used frequently by Mohammad and Mohammad to refer to Palestine. It is a term which has become synonymous with Palestine for Palestinian diasporic communities across the world. The linguistics of the word 'watan' are also important. To present a brief linguistic background of the Arabic language, almost all words are derived from a three letter root word of three keystone consonants. This three letter word has a meaning and adding extra letters alters the form of the word but not its connected meaning. For instance book and library share the same three letter root word with added consonants. This is important, because the way in which homeland, citizen, nation, and national are formed in Arabic and translated into English offer ways in which to explore the relationship between identity, land, and territory outside of the dominance of the English language. How one uses language to understand land, homeland, and territory is culturally and linguistically produced. This also suggests that relationships with land are culturally and politically produced through acts, narratives, and language.

وطن 'watan' in one of its first iterations, 'means to reside or sojourn in a place; it also means to choose a place of residence or to settle in,' (Lewis, 1991: 524). Over time 'watan' slowly became to be connected with sentimental associations with land, through Islamic literature, poetry, and prose, to the love and devotion people had for their birthplace or homeland (Lewis, 1991). Lewis (1991: 525) writes that 'one of the themes of ancient Arabian poetry is the nostalgic sentiment evoked in the poet by the traces of an abandoned camp, where he and his tribe had halted at some time in the past.' 'Watan' as thus became much more about sentimental, affection, and nostalgia but less about loyalty and identity (Lewis, 1991). 'Watan' as a term for homeland has also tended to be about a very localised territory. However, over time, the term has begun to take on more ideological goals. For instance, the term 'vatan' was used by the Ottoman Empire to describe its sovereignty and create patriotic loyalty (Lewis, 1991). This then translated into writings by the Young Ottomans, an important Ottoman opposition group, in which their leader, Namik Kemal (1873) wrote:

> *The vatan does not consists of imaginary lines drawn on a map by the sword of*
> *a conqueror or the pen or a scribe. It is a sacred idea, sprung from the union of*

many lofty sentiments, such as nation, freedom, welfare, brotherhood,

property, sovereignty, respect for ancestors, love of family, memory of youth…

This reinforces the tension between relationships between citizenship, nationalism, and territory. Through homeland, the problem with linking emotional sentiments to land with the scale of the nation-state is problematised. Homeland is a term related to emotion, unity, identity and not territorial sovereignty. However, others have argued that 'watan' is strongly related to territory and its derivative 'wataniyya' means territorial nationalism (Ali, 2016; Brand, 2014). 'Watan', Ali (2016) and Brand (2014) argue, directly contrasts with the term 'qawmiyya' derived from the root 'qaym' - translated as people of a nation. 'Qawmiyya', Ali (2016) and Brand (2014) stress, relates to an ethnic nationalism, a sense of people not defined by territory or borders. 'Qawmiyya' has been the term used to signify a pan-Arab nationalism that includes all Arabs (Brand, 2014). 'Watan' in contrast refers to a sense of loyalty to a particular area and 'wataniyya' evolved to express the affiliation Arabs may have for the political entity with which they live, usually state based or territorial nationalism (Brand, 2014). What is significant, Brand (2014) argues, is that the root for citizen 'muwatin' and citizenship 'muwatina' both come from this root. Given the different types of belonging each imply both 'wataniyya' and 'qawmiyya' operate simultaneously but with differing salience for many Arabs (Brand, 2014). As a result Lewis (1991:530) notes, 'the idea of country – of the national territory as the basis of identity and the focus of loyalty – has had a chequered history in the Middle East.'

In cultural geography, the term 'homeland' has also been of interest in relation to landscape (Lorimer, 2014; Wylie, 2016). Wylie (2016) asks if a landscape can ever be a homeland and Lorimer (2014: 583) uses homeland to consider the intimacies of landscape: 'according to memory and emotion, attachment and estrangement.' Homeland for Lorimer is a way of telling intimate stories about landscapes. Much work on landscape over the past 20 years, Wylie (2016) argues, has set forth from an assumption that landscape is a homeland, that human life and practice have always occurred through engagements with the landscape. 'Homeland' can be used to explore a relationship with land that is always becoming and created, a relationship that is never already there. Through this Wylie (2016) suggests a landscape can never be a homeland because they are no original inhabitants. Landscape as a result 'must unsettle ideas about identifiable communities, regions, nations and worlds,' (Wylie, 2016: 409). The term 'homeland' is in itself also a term that evokes ideologies of the nation-state:

'Referring to the nation as a home, as a domestic space through familiar

metaphors, is commonplace, probably as old as the nation form itself. Yet

although homeland has the ring of ancient loyalties, it is in fact a recent term in

the American lexicon…Perhaps homeland was evocative of the German

fatherland and the sinister identification of Heimat with fascist ideologies of

racial purity, and the German home guard and homeland defense (Heimwehr,

Heirmatschutz). Homeland did not enter the cold war vocabulary either, despite the obsession with the communist menace within' (Kaplan, 2003: 85).

Homeland for Kaplan (2003) has only come into use as an ideological term and political tool, as a result of changing positions on home and abroad, notions of the other in particular. The nation as home, Kaplan (2003) argues, is structurally based on its intimate opposition to the notion of the foreign. Here domestic has a double meaning that links the space of the familiar household to that of the nation, by imagining both in opposition to everything outside the geographic and conceptual border of the home. A sense of the foreign is therefore necessary to erect the boundaries that enclose the nation as home. Homeland conveys native origins, or birthplace, and birthright. It appeals to common bloodlines, ancient ancestry, and notions of racial and ethnic homogeneity (Kaplan, 2003). In the context of America, Kaplan suggests that American national identity, while always linked to territory, now has a territory that is bounded and self-enclosed instead of boundless and mobile. It also moves away from identity as shared heritage or memory to identity as ingrained in the land itself (Kaplan, 2003). Homeland as a result does not cement a nation to a land but creates an ideology of a nation-state. It further builds on work on homeland and its connection to the discourse of diaspora and exile, to a sense of loss, longing, and nostalgia.

'In this sense, the homeland is created not only out of unbroken connections to a deeply rooted past, but from the trauma of severance and the threat of abandonment. A homeland is something a larger power threatens to occupy or take away, and one has to fight to regain. The word homeland has a kind of anxious redundancy, home and land, as though trying to pin down an uneasy connection between the two that threatens to fly apart,' (Kaplan, 2003: 89).

Homeland, Kaplan (2003) suggests, can refer to a nation not yet in full existence, an aspiration. The homeland as a result is not fixed but insecure, and this insecurity evokes a sense of the uncanny and the unhomely. This uncanniness is enabled because the homeland is haunted by the unfamiliar yet strangely familiar foreign spectres that threaten to turn it into its opposite (Kaplan, 2003). Here the homeland connects to broader political conditions of insecurity and instability, conditions which have been exacerbated by the current popularist movement. In particular, Hard Right popularist sentiments such as the hardening of borders and immigration laws is the response to the perceived threat of the 'other'. However, it is of note that Kaplan's discussion of homeland within the context of the US, does not necessarily translate to homeland in the context of the Palestinian diaspora in Jordan. The term homeland in reference to the homeland of the Palestinian diaspora is not created in response to a fear that the homeland might be taken away but instead in response to a homeland, and a way of settling in the land as a way of life, which had already been taken away. Homelands in Jordan have been replaced with the new nation-state of Jordan, and territorial-sovereignty has replaced - and in the case of Palestine erased - the possibility of the homeland. For Wylie (2016), homeland is connected to landscape because, in a similar way to landscape, the homeland is something constantly becoming and created. While this does resonate with the political objectives of the homeland as a term, it does run the risk of ignoring the deeply rooted connections diasporic and Bedouin communities have to homeland as a term for something lost but also something in a state of becoming. In the creation of modern nation-states, particularly in the Middle East, the loss of homeland and how that might alter territorial nationalist sentiments is something that needs more exploration. Walking trails I argue can be means with which to uncover such relationships with land that do not fit in with territorial sovereignty. It is with this comment, therefore that I suggest that ground itself might be home. That a homeland might be ground and through this understanding connections between identity, ground, and land unsettles notions of territorial sovereignty. Furthermore such insights are a strength of the Jordan Trail, and understandings of relationships between identity, land, territory and nationalism.

Land as value: embodied knowledge on the trail

There is a story from Mohammad and Mohammad's 'thru-hike' on the Jordan Trail that has been narrated to me multiple times. In the story Mohammad and Mohammad have reached the southern end of the Jordan Trail between Petra and Wadi Rum (see Figures 23 and 24). This section is one of the most challenging as no water is easily available for about 80 km and the Ttrail passes

through no towns or villages.[41] Mohammad and Mohammad reached this point and continued to walk, carrying no extra water with them and little extra food. They carried no extras because they knew that there is water in the desert if one knows where to look, there are underground water stores, where water often sits underneath the surface, and is hidden by sand. Knowing where it is located is based on existing knowledge or else a situated knowledge of how to read the surface of the earth. Physically, the sand changes colour on the surface when water is underneath, or else the sand can feel slightly wet to the hand. It is such attentiveness to the surface of the land, and their embodied knowledge of the land that Mohammad and Mohammad used to find a reservoir.

This story has been told to me several times and each time becomes more dramatic. In the last version I heard, water gushed out in a manner similar to a geyser. Mohammad and Mohammad have a video they proudly showed me and while it is definitely not a geyser, the reality is still impressive. 'Memory, lest anyone be mistaken, is a fissile material,' Lorimer (2014: 599) reminds us. However, the story itself, accurate or not remains important. This story details an embodied and intimate knowledge of land Mohammad and Mohammad have. This demonstrates a way of valuing land that is linked to embodied and intimate knowledge. Valuing the intimate and storied aspects of place is one of the key strengths of recent work in landscape research and cultural geography (see Lorimer, 2014; 2019). However geopolitical accounts of territory are still predominantly concerned with the territorial scale of the nation-state. Land, Elden (2010) argues, is about value and how that value of land can be exploited for political-economic gains by the nation-state. In recent years, feminist political geography in particular has explored the intimate aspects of territory (see Smith, 2012; 2016; Smith et al, 2016; Mountz and Coddington, 2013; Mountz, 2018). Such work has helped to unpick narratives of territory that remain solely at the state level.

However, this feminist political work still remains concentrated on accounts of territory at the level of the nation-state. While this is important, I argue it is also important to find accounts of connection to place that challenge the territoriality of the nation-state. Agnew (1994) calls this the 'territorial trap' while Closs-Stephens (2013: 6) argues that many of the most pertinent questions regarding politics and nationalism 'cannot adequately be addressed from within the studies of nations and nationalism'. Challenging the nation-state as the most important territorial scale in which to understand political identity helps to uncover other forms of meaning. It is this argument I draw out through an intimate engagement with Mohammad and Mohammad and their intimate knowledge of place.

To walk with Mohammad and Mohammad, for instance, there is no doubt they have a connection with the land which I, as a British foreign woman, do not have. It is also a relationship Jordanians from Amman do not possess. Mohammad and Mohammad know which plants can be used as

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41 Other 'thru-hikers' have dealt with this problem in numerous ways; first, by dropping water off in advance at points that can be gained with a short walk from a 4x4 track; second, taking a donkey; third, by combining days and surviving on limited water. All of these options require planning and most people undertaking these sections plan for weeks or months.

herbal remedies, which plants to eat, and as the previous chapter outlined, which animal tracks to follow. Mohammad can 'read the mountain' he told me in an interview, he can see from looking at it from a far, the best routes up it, and lines where others had travelled. Mohammad and Mohammad know how to make food with limited resources and using the natural resources in the land. It is this knowledge of the trail, not just as lines, but its connection with the land, that resulted in Mohammad and Mohammad being hired as guides for the 'thru-hike' I joined. To walk with them for forty days was a privilege and an insight into how to see, read, taste, smell and understand the land differently. In Figure 30, Mohammad is making a traditional Bedouin bread – arboud. A dough consisting of flour, salt, and water is mixed, kneaded, and rolled flat. This dough is then placed on the embers of a fire, covered with more embers and left to cook. Another similar Bedouin similar cooking method is called zarb. A deep hole in the sand is dug, a fire made at the bottom of it, and food placed in a sealed container on top. More sand is placed on top and the food slowly cooks. Small cups of sugary chai (Figure 29) are an essential component of every rest.

As we walk, Mohammad and Mohammad gather small sticks, and rush ahead to shady spots they know on the trail. By the time we arrive warm, sugary chai is ready to drink. 'Bedouin whisky' it is called and it does the trick. The 'Bedouin whisky' is drunk alongside balls of dried salty yoghurt which Mohammad and Mohammad carry with them, to create a traditional alternative to modern sporting 'energy gels'. On a rest day, I watched Mohammad and Mohammad playing a game using a board drawn in the sand and rocks found around our camp (see Figure 32). Knowledge of plants was taught to me as we walked. Casper لصف (Figure 33) is a plant whose seeds can be eaten and are nutrient rich. Stomach pains amongst walkers in our group were frequently treated by boiling herbs found along the trail with water to make herbal teas. A list of herbs and their medicinal purposes was given to me by Mohammad:

Arabic	Arabic transliteration	English translation	Use
مريمية	Maramia	Sage	Stomach pains
شيح	Sheat	Wormwood or artemisia	Stomach pains
قيسوم	*Gaysum*	Lavender	Stomach pains
بعيفران	Ba'yefaran	Similar to wormwood	Colds
يانسين	Yansun	English equivalent unknown	Good for wind

Walking along the Jordan Trail, became an important way for this knowledge of land to emerge. As we walked past different plants Mohammed and Mohammad described their uses to me, as we needed bread it was cooked, sugary chai brewed when it was necessary to replace lost energy, herbal remedies steeped in hot water when required for sore stomachs. Through the ongoing

movement of walking, we would also pass locals using traditional methods with the land, which Mohammad and Mohammad would explain to us. Two women are in the early stages of making a clay oven for bread in Figure 28 and in Figure 27 a woman is making a traditional, thin, pancake type Bedouin bread called shrak, cooked over a hot curved griddle pan. Experiencing these practices through movement also mimics the movement of the nomadic lifestyle of Bedouins that many of these embodied knowledges of land emerged. Without the presence of built architecture and the built structures of homes, Bedouins had to use the land for shelter, food, water, and to cook with - the land became their home. This is important because it is such relationships with ground that were used to delegitimise Bedouin rights to land by the Jordanian nation-state. Massad (2001), for instance argues, that Bedouins have been understood for their rootless character and as lacking the fundamental and constructive bond with the soil that marks the transition of humans in nature to humans in society. Bedouins do not fit in with the narrative of the modern Jordanian nation-state.

This is true in other nation-states with Bedouin populations. In Israel, Bedouin claims to land were deemed invalid because of the ways in which they worked the land (Shamir, 1996). The process of sedentarising them and ignoring their rights to own land was in response to arguments made in court that 'found desolation, ancient ruins, and nomadic Bedouins, who did not particularly work the land, did not plough it, and did not engage in agriculture at all,' (Shamir, 1996: 259). Here a relationship between body and land is one dictated by the nation-state. The choice of the word 'land', is also important. Land, Elden (2010: 804) suggests is 'a relation of property, a finite resource that is distributed, allocated and owned, a political-economic question. Land is a resource over which there is competition.' This distinction is important, Elden (2010) argues, because of the relationship between territory and terrain and how each is used differently by nation-states for political means. Land is therefore about value which can be exploited for political-economic gains. This is, however, a link and understanding between land and its economic value rooted in Western knowledge systems:

> Conventional Western perspectives on spatial organisation are powerfully
> shaped by the concept of property, in which pieces of territory are viewed as
> 'commodities' capable of being bought, sold, or exchanged in the market place
> (Soja,1971: 9, cited in Elden, 2010: 803).

Elden (2010) expands on this by arguing that only through capitalism and the emergence of the modern nation-state did the notion of land as a taxable asset emerge. Therefore to say that Bedouins did not work the land is also a comment about their value within the nation-state. It is to say they do not work the land in ways that are productive for the nation-state. This is a comment about modernity versus tradition that is true of most postcolonial nation-states. Jordan as a recently created nation-state is a state in 'double-time' (Bhabha, 1994). This 'double-time' is the need to emphasize the historical origin of the state in which the 'nation-people' must demonstrate this history but at the same time the nation-state wishes to demonstrate its modernity (Bhabha,

1994). Many of the Jordanians I interviewed, including Bedouins, described to me this exact tension: on one hand remaining close to the traditional values of the nation-state of which Bedouin culture is an important aspect and equally being a modern liberal and more Western state. This I argue can be evidenced through the politicisation of relationships with land. Shamir (1996) argues that Bedouin culture is seen as part of nature alongside vegetation in a way that removes their agency and active relationship with land. This constructs Bedouins as part of the land in ways that delegitimises their right to land and views the land an empty and uninhabited space.

Figure 26: Woman making shrak (Author)

Figure 27: Women making a traditional clay bread oven (a taboon) (Author)

Figure 28: Mohammad making tea (Author)

Figure 29: Mohammad making arboud (Author)

Figure 30: Kamil showing us fresh chickpeas growing by the side of the road (Author)

Figure 31: Mohammad and Mohammad playing a traditional Bedouin game (Author)

Figure 32: Casper (صف). A plant which can be used as a food source (Author)

This delegitimization of Bedouin rights to land is an aspect of colonial violence within the postcolonial setting of the Middle East. As Elden alludes to, a Marxist account of land suggests that the taxable properties of land are also related to colonial violence: 'the relation to the earth as property is always mediated through occupation of the land and soil, peacefully or violently' (Marx, 1973: 485, cited in Elden, 2010: 805). Such occupations and values given to land echo the formulation of the Jordanian nation-state and the violent cartography involved in the drawing of its borders[42]. This is not just about creating borders of the nation-state but also about forcing certain values upon the surface of the ground. The Jordan Trail acknowledges indigenous relationships with land as part of the sovereign - territoriality and identity of the Jordanian nation-state.

These more nuanced relationships between territory, identity, land and value are in contrast with many heritage projects in the region. Daher (1999) argues that most heritage projects in Jordan follow approaches in which heritage is a means of capital accumulation and few conservation projects prioritise the conservation of indigenous ways of life and heritage. This was particularly prominent in the case of Umm Qais, the town which marks the beginning of the Jordan Trail. Umm Qais is a village dating back to the Greek and Roman era and has been inhabited by waves of civilisations since then, with each significantly altering the use of its land. The Ottoman government in particular aimed to achieve an increased level of state control in the region. It did so by initiating a land code in 1858 that made it mandatory to register all lands under cultivation and that land left unattended for more than three years was to be taken over by the government. A land use system to ensure land was state controlled and to increase productivity was implemented through controls that changed the political, cultural, and economic context of the village by altering the self-sufficient lifestyles of many villagers (Daher, 1999).

With the formation of the Jordanian State, such means of controlling land continued. In 1967, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities proposed to evacuate large sections of the ancient city of Gadara – a Greek part of the city. This resulted in a 'Legal Order' confiscating the houses and lands of the villagers. This, Daher (1999:37) notes: 'reflected a decision to privilege the heritage of one period (Classical Roman and Byzantine) at the expensive of the continuity of another (the Ottoman-derived culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).' Further to this after the evictions, villages were not allowed to build new houses of their own, and were instead forced to inhabit dwelling units. These dwelling units did not fit the life style of most inhabits (Daher, 1999). Umm Qais since the Ottoman period was now a town in which many of the inhabitants lived a farming lifestyle, keeping domestic animals, growing crops, and with water wells in their courtyards. Their

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42 Such colonial value systems linked to land extend to debates on colonialization and nature in Australia and North America. The colonialization of Australia in the 19th century redefined land in Australia as a pastoral idyll, that in turn naturalized the British presence (Taylor, 2000). This definition of nature enforced by European settler culture legitimised their presence by excluding, erasing, and ignoring aboriginal culture and identification with land and ground. These settler-colonial relationships with nature were also an important part of the building of National Parks in North America; in which native Americans were taken away from their homelands in National Parks to ensure the parks were pristine (Cronon, 1996). Soper (1995) claims that landscapes are increasingly about fitting in with certain (non-indigenous) ideas about what nature is. Resulting in a consequential erasure of indigenous claims to land and valuing of land.

old houses had proximity to their agricultural lands, however in the new dwelling units, such culturally-embedded practices became impossible (Daher, 1999).

In Jordan, the eviction of residents also occurred in Petra, another site on the Jordan Trail. In Petra, the Bdoul tribe of Bedouin living in the ancient city, who are said to be descended from Nabatean tribes, were evicted in 1985 when it was made a nationalised tourism site. Until 1985, Massad (2001) writes, the Bdoul tribe lived peacefully in the caves in Petra, with visiting tourists who saw them as part of the attraction. This living museum was also the main source of income for the Bdoul who gave tourists tours, cooked food in their caves for them, and sold archaeological items found in Petra (Massad, 2001).

Despite years of resistance to their eviction, with Bdoul claiming Petra as theirs and the Nabateans as their direct ancestors, they were forced to move out in 1985, with the Jordanian government building a new home for them in the village of Um Sayhoun, outside of Petra's boundaries. In resisting their eviction, the Bdoul differentiated themselves from modern Jordanian nationalists who claim Petra and the Nabatean for all Tranjordanian, Massad (2001) argues. Understanding how heritage projects often fail to understand different value systems to land, is important here, because it also emphasises how the Jordan Trail can do this differently. The Bdoul are still able to work in Petra, just not live there or stay overnight. They are able therefore to maintain their economic income from tourism, and in fact tourism numbers and their profits have increased since Petra became a national tourist site. What is lost is their physical attachment to land. Many of the Bdoul I spoke with have visceral and living memory of the time they lived in Petra and this loss of a way of life, living in the caves of Petra, they describe as also a loss of their identity. It is therefore important than new heritage projects such as the Jordan Trail are able to capture these different relationships with land. Daher (1999:44) argues that this can reverse the 'schizophrenic separation between the contemporary inhabitants of such places and their cultural heritage.'

The Jordanian nation-state is at a crossroads of modernity and tradition. It must create a national identity in a country which was only recently 'invented', while simultaneously having both a large Bedouin population with tribal links outside its borders (Massad, 2001); and one of the largest refugee populations in the world (UN, 2018). What I have argued is that the relationship between place and individual is hugely important within this context and who controls these narratives. The Jordanian government's approach to Petra and Umm Qais illustrates that enforcing relationships between individual and place to fit a nation-state narrative is problematic – other narratives are erased. What the Jordan Trail is able to do is resist these narratives and enable moments in which every day and lived narratives come against those dictated by the nation-state. The Jordan Trail is able to capture identities and relationships with land that do not fit in with nationalist narratives and have connections with a homeland and land beyond the borders and before the creation of Jordan. In the final pages of this chapter I want to unpick another way in which the Jordan Trail challenges a concentration on territorial nationalism and the nation-state as the most important

political scale. I argue that first the Jordan Trail creates connections between individuals and place that challenge what the term homeland might mean and the state's adoption of the term. Second I argue that risk and community create political communities that suggest the nation-state is not always the most important political scale.

Feeling at home in the land

Mohammad and Mohammad unquestionably feel at home in the land and the land itself, as for many indigenous communities, is their home. I have argued that this challenges the use of the term within nation-state narratives. What ways, therefore, do people connect to territory outside nation-state narratives and how can we understand these acts as political? Isin and Nielsen (2008) focus for instance on the concept of 'acts of citizenship' as an alternative way to investigate citizenship. They argue that through the concept of acts, citizenship is not just about legal status but involves practices and everyday deeds. These practices in turn challenge what it means to be political and what a political act might be and where it might take place. Walking on the Jordan Trail also reclaims the rural as an important site of everyday politics. Jordan is often called a one city country and with 4 million of its 9.5 million population living in Amman, the population dispersal of the country echoes this. What results is a disconnect between urban Jordanians and those living in rural areas. This again reinforces the disconnect in Jordan between tradition and modernity in which Amman is a modern capital city and rural areas are traditional and static. This extends to work more generally on rural geography in which it is often considered 'slow, static, and altogether dull' (Hunt, 2018: 220). Amidst these conversations is an acknowledgment that everyday life is political (De Certeau, 1988) and to return to Isin (2002: x) there is a lack of work that focuses upon 'those moments of being political'. The term 'home' I have argued is one that has been used by the nation-state to exclude and include and to politicise belonging. In contrast, I argue it is also a term that can also be used to reclaim belonging outside of nationalist narratives. This was evidenced in conversations with walkers on the Trail:

> I feel very passionate about promoting the Jordan Trail. For me having the opportunity, because I grew up doing like lots of hiking and being in Africa and camping and sort of like the outdoor life, it's like there where I feel very much at peace. Coming on the Jordan Trail kind of felt like coming home in a strange kind of way (Moradi).

> I was introduced first to hiking. I don't know I used to always go out with my family and I loved spending time outside, hanging on trees or stuff. I didn't know anything about outdoor sports in general but I knew that I wanted to do something outside and then my brother's friend used to always do trips to canyons and I just joined one trip with him to a canyon called Wadi Hasa. So that was the beginning, I just went there and maybe it was the best day of my life. It felt great, it felt like home. So I wanted to do more and more and then I

The notion of feeling at home by Yacoub and Moradi is related not to a particular land but being in land itself. Both Yacoub and Moradi mentioned this feeling of being at home to me and as opposed to others who felt the Jordan Trail connected them to their country, it gave them a connection and meaning not tied to nationalism. The problem here with nationalism is it captures a feeling connected to a certain state, whereas for both Moradi and Yacoub, their connection through the Trail is a feeling with place which can be transported from Africa to Jordan. Jackson (1994) describes being at home as 'a mental and spiritual condition.' While Simmel (1911: 93-94) writes 'home is an aspect of life and at the same time a special way of forming, reflecting, and interrelating with the totality of life.' Jackson (1994) comments how for many, house or shelter has little to do with home as a particular place but a feeling. Home links into Tuan's (1974) ideas of how people organise and attach meaning to space in their lives. Tuan (1974) claims that what begins as undifferentiated space evolves into place as we come to know it better and endow it with value. Moreover, emotion links all human experiences, so that place can acquire deep meaning through 'the steady accretion of sentiment,' (Tuan, 1977: 33).

Similarly, Heidegger's (1971) work on 'dwelling' describes a way of being-in-the-world that extends beyond one setting, and even the built environment. Manzo (2003) uses the example of the truck driver feeling at home on the highway despite not having his shelter there. Home and the sense of feeling at home then becomes about individual relationships and place attachments to landscape that are developed rather than inherent. Home becomes something that is related to a feeling of being in land but not a particular land. Homeland becomes as contestable as a term as landscape. This challenges the inevitability of nationalism as an organising level of community (Closs-Stephens, 2013). The line of the Jordan Trail becomes ungovernable by the state, its narratives and meaning cannot be controlled by the state. In return this also questions the ways and scales in which the Jordan Trail is political and that by looking at the everyday scale, place become contestable and in a constant state of becoming. I have argued that both attention to landscape and homeland on the Jordan outline how contestable place within Jordan is. In the following section, I continue this argument about place as contestable through considering the relationship between community and risk.

Risk and community

On the 25th October 2018, almost a year and a half after I finished walking the Jordan Trail, 18 people – mostly school children – were killed after flash floods swept away their school bus. The children had been walking in a canyon near the Dead Sea (Guardian, 2018). Following this incident, heavy rain continued, and there were more reports of flash flooding in the Dead Sea region and in the canyons near Petra. These are areas which the Jordan Trail runs through. The Ministry of

Tourism and Antiquities consequently made the decision to ban anyone walking anywhere in Jordan, including trained guides, as a safety precaution and to mourn the death of the children. On social media sites this move was praised by some and prompted discussion around the safety of walking with many cautioning against outdoor activities in Jordan without a trained guide. However, others felt differently, and the decision generated debate amongst many trained guides in the region. Many guides, for instance, argued during the ban that they were trained guides and therefore in a position to assess the risks of walking in such conditions. One guide wrote on Facebook, in response to another arguing the decision was made for everyone's safety: 'I'm a tour leader for top ten adventure tour operator in UK…I know what is good for their safety…' and others questioned what expertise those in the government who made such decisions had. Another wrote:

> Authorities [referring to the Jordanian government] do not have much clue how to handle matters like this. Since they have no clue of trekking criteria, it's easier for them to put a complete lock down on all sites whether threat is there or not. That of course has tremendous negative economical [sic] impact and is disturbing the whole tourism industry without proper justification.[43]

This debate links to the problem with nation-state narratives centred around territory. Territory, despite attempts of the nation-state to ensure it is calculable, always exceeds calculation. I explored in the previous section the idea of homeland and how different bodies feel at home in the land, and have connections to tribal territories which suggest territorial scales of embodied association that contrast those at the nation-state scale. Relating this to narrative here, I want to specifically explore the relationship between territory, community and risk. The comments above query the ability of the Jordanian government to assess risk and restrict movement of individuals, but it also suggests that risk is something individually assessed and understood. In the same way as narratives and relationships with land always exceed state control when individual bodies move, risk too is carried by bodies and this movement challenges calculation. As I have argued throughout this thesis, moving bodies challenge state control.

Walking on the Jordan Trail and throughout Jordan is a risky activity as the story of the school children demonstrated. This incident prompted discussions within the Jordan Trail Association about risk and responsibility. Around this time, a British woman walking the Trail solo was also sexually harassed, a couple lost their way, and several people were hospitalised from heat stress. Someone who was previously on the Jordan Trail Board told me that they left as they felt the risk to individuals was not being taken seriously enough by the Jordan Trail Association. This is also the problem with a nation-state controlling a cultural practice. As I argued in Chapter 3, walking is a

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43 The two comments were posted in English on a public Facebook group called: 'Jordan Hiking Society'.

practice that connects many to place at an individual, embodied and emotional level (see Solnit, 2001). The surface of the earth can be understood through walking as an embodied connection to environment and not necessarily to nation-state territory (see Ingold, 2010a; Lorimer, 2006). This can also be understood through risk: the relationship between state controlling risk narratives and the individual's relationship for risk - especially for enjoyment in the case of extreme sports.

Baker and Simon (2002) use extreme sports to question the relationship between individuals and the nation-state in relation to risk. Writing from a law and insurance perspective, they ask how risk in outdoor activities is governed by both states and individuals. Baker and Simon (2002) write that in the industrial world of the twentieth century, reducing risks to life and limb and distributing the economic costs of risks was a primary concern of government. However, a new rationality of government has emerged that emphasises the link between risk and the well-being of both individuals and society, in which individuals rather than collective bodies should assume responsibility for and control over risks (Rose, 1999; Baker and Simon, 2002). However, this move to individual responsibility is at odds with the promotion of a narrative by the nation-state connecting individuals to territory. The territory as a calculable entity, becomes ungovernable and beyond calculation when individuals walk it.

Territory as calculable has also been linked to the calculable properties of biopolitical governance (Foucault, 1978). For Foucault (1978), a biopolitical governance is the statistical, demographic, and informational registers which govern the 'basic biological features of a population' but also the cultural, therapeutic and psychological registers that lend meaning, fullness and value to those lives deemed worth living. Therefore while for Foucault (1978), biopolitics is fundamentally about the nation-state's ability to control life in addition to death – a move from juridical to biopolitical power – it is also about the regulatory methods that control bodies. This control is in turn ensuring that bodies fit the 'norm' and live well. In Foucauldian terms, modern subjectivity requires that we take ourselves as objects to be worked on, trained and perfected not through disciplinary power (i.e. 'you must do this'), but rather through 'techniques of the self' that turn us into self-managing agents (i.e. 'I want to do this – it is good for me'). In such a way the modern nation-state has control over our lives. These modern forms of governmentality for Foucault are the birth of the modern territorial nation-state. A move from despotic, sovereign power to forms of power based on control through calculation and regulation of the population. In this argument, the nation-state has the ability to control not just who dies but who lives and which lives are valuable.

However, as I have argued throughout this thesis moving bodies contest this calculability. The regulation of bodies under biopolitical control through the regulation of the norm, the reduction of individuals to 'bare life' – their biological status – and institutionalisation of control can also be resisted (see Agamben, 1998). Those critiquing biopolitics, argue the state's reduction of people to 'bare life' through spaces such as the 'camp' does not account for the 'complex, multiple and hybrid sovereignties of the camp' nor see it as 'an assemblage of people institutions, organisations,

the built environment and the relations between them that produce particular values and practices' (Ramadan, 2012: 65). Paying attention to the multiple sovereignties governing the camp challenges the nation-state as overall authority, while the way in which people produce values through practices further challenges state authority. Feminist critiques of political geography work on the state similarly challenge state-centric accounts that erase everyday practices, stories, and embodied and emotional narratives (see Secor, 2001; Pain, 2009; Smith, 2012; Closs-Stephens, 2013).

A practice such as walking can be used by the nation-state as a nationalizing project to connect individuals to the territory of their country. Walking can be a means furthermore of biopolitical governance, an argument I will expand on in the following section. Yet bodies, through their individual movements and emotions are also beyond calculation. For instance many walk for reasons against the state and the importance of paying attention to individualised accounts and not just the population level of state governance is important. This returns to the question of risk and why individuals choose to walk. Baker and Simon (2002) argue that in outdoor activities such as mountaineering, risk taking is not just a by-product but a very source of pleasure and the marketing of these opportunities emphasizes the direct experience of risk in varying degrees. This risk taking can be connected to biopolitical regimes of control under modern forms of governance in which the nation-state promotes narratives around healthy eating and exercise that create forms of self-regulation. The valorization of extreme sports by advanced liberalism emphasises the individual and the individual's accomplishments.

Key Messages: to the Outdoors Community

The Jordan Trail is **rural and wild**, and makes its way alongside **one of the greatest valleys on Earth**—the Great Rift Valley.

We provide you with the necessary **information**, such as **maps**, **GPS**, and **contacts**—should you need them—so you can get your hiking boots on and **experience** the full range of **adventure** the **Jordanian outdoors** have to offer.

40 days of **trekking** across more than 600 kilometers that **connect** Jordan's entire length from north to south take you through **varying landscapes**, **climates** and **cultures**, much of it possible **all year long**.

We **invite** you **partake** in the development and maintenance of the trail, **building** a strong **community** around it and the Jordanian outdoors.

Figure 33: Key Messages: to the Outdoors Community' from JTA Branding Document (with permission)

Many of those taking part in long-distance walking trails are part of social media groups or else are part of online groups sharing tips on equipment. This returns to the question of a political community, the acts that make one political, and the problem with concentrating on nationalism and the nation-state as the most important political community and scale. New forms of community and citizenship are being made through globalisation and together with new forms of

identity outside of the nation-state (see Desforges, 2004; Valentine and Skelton, 2007; Monforte, 2016). This is illustrated in marketing material from the Jordan Trail Association which speaks to the 'outdoors community' (see Figure 34). This material targets a community that is not aligned with nationalism nor with an identity connected to a nation-state and consequently differs from the key message to Jordanians. For many of those on the Jordan Trail what connects them is a shared love of the outdoors and this is often a critique of modernity. Many who walk the Jordan Trail are doing so as an act against modernity, against fast paced modern living and capitalism. This 'community' walks the Jordan Trail to 'find oneself', to 'escape from it all' and 'concentrate on the present'.[44] The Jordan Trail brings together walkers from all over the world who seek a slower life, to rekindle with nature, and escape from their routine. Many walkers have walked on many Trails across the world, while for others I met on the Jordan Trail this was their first Trail. What connected each individual was a shared identity formed through walking.

The 'imagined community' of nationalism therefore can also be challenged by new forms of identity formation. Furthermore a connection with the grounded territory of place that has meaning through the encounter with it not necessarily as a citizen of that country but a citizen of the world. These relationships with place I argue are 'moments of being political' but not a politics of citizenship associated with a nation-state (Isin, 2002: x). However, citizenship and community is always about exclusion. I argued above that promoting walking one's country as an act of citizenship connected to the nation-state is about dictating the right way to be a citizen and also a biopolitical regime of control. I continue these arguments in the final section of this chapter by considering these debates in relation to postcolonialism.

Risk and postcolonialism on the Jordan Trail

In the Jordan Trail's key message to the 'outdoors community' it mentions that one must get their 'hiking boots' ready and the Jordan Trail will provide the walker with 'the necessary information'. However, this requires knowledge about outdoor environments which often requires owning equipment and attending courses - which are often expensive. The 'outdoors community' furthermore is a mobile community who walk for leisure. Therefore while this community is one that is able to offer a way to rethink sites of political engagement outside of the nation-state, as with all political communities they become defined by who is included and who is excluded within that community (Painter and Philo, 1995). This is especially pertinent within the postcolonial context of Jordan. Closs-Stephens (2013) argues that in the post 9/11 climate 'the imaginative geographies of 'us' and 'them' are becoming increasingly prevalent and form ways of establishing distance.

The relationship between individuals and risk is culturally rooted in Western and often colonial relationships with identity. The relationship between nation, fitness, and colonialism is one studied

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by Lisle (2016b) in a paper on Morocco's Marathon de Sables (MdS). The MdS negotiates the tension between the recasting of colonial asymmetries in which runners test their resilience, strength and endurance against an 'extreme' Saharan landscape and the ways in which biopolitical governance produces an 'idealized ascetic physiology' that stands in opposition to the 'bloated masses and the relativity of modern life.' (Lisle, 2016b: 273). On the MdS, Lisle (2016) contrasts the way in which Moroccan bodies and those of international runners come into conflict, often erasing indigenous knowledge:

> *'Unlike some forms of colonial encounter in which indigenous knowledge is valued and then utilized in the service of conquest, the colonial imagination mobilized by MdS participants so comprehensively empties the Sahara that is largely ignores…the local bodies that have always existed and thrived in the desert landscape.' (Lisle, 2016b: 266).*

Lisle (2016b) continues by adding that traditional associations with land are not understood to offer an advantage for many of those walking it. This writing out of indigenous bodies enabled participants to import Western training techniques and fitness regimes including: water bottles, GPS watches, lip balms, energy bars, specialist shoes. This is equipment that will prepare them 'for their impending battle against nature' (Lisle, 2016b: 266). To return to Figure 34, there is also a narrative around the 'outdoors community' which denotes a particular relationship too with objects. One must have walking boots, be able to use a GPS device, and hike for over 600 km of land over 40 days.

The Jordan Trail unlike the MdS, however, is not necessarily an endurance race[45] and is more inclusive as one can 'walk' it in a number of ways. It can be walked through different temporalities, as day trips, in sections, or in one continuous 'thru-hike'. It can also be walked, it could be rode on camel or donkey, it can be a running trail, and a Jordan bike trail has just been completed. I would add that on the Jordan Trail such binary and exclusive narratives are challenged as Bedouin knowledge is valued on the trail. However understanding how political communities exclude and include is important, especially within postcolonial contexts. I argued in Chapter 3 that having the free time to be able to walk, the knowledge of walking for leisure, and the ability to buy the right equipment is also ultimately one of privilege. The view of the rural as static and bounded is complicated by the transgressive power of movement, however the ability of walkers to move in and out of rural spaces puts them at odds with rural populations who remain there (Hunt, 2019). The movement of the walking body itself reinforces difference and otherness.

In Jordan this is exacerbated further by the setting of Jordan. The vast majority of visitors to Jordan travel on organized coach tours which keep them in hermetically sealed containers but also ensure

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45 Several runners however have now set speed records (see Pearce-Higgins, 2017).

a distance and separation between body and land. This works to deepen the notion of the land as fearful and other. Risk taking, Elsrud (2001) suggests, rests within a grand narrative of travel in which travelling to places described as 'Third World', 'primitive', 'poor' or 'underdeveloped' can be seen as risky or rewarding. Risk taking is thus not a material, physical fact but a device used to construct a story, an identity marker for a certain way of travelling and engaging with the world. Risk can also be experienced differently depending on place, for example, a bus ride in India is often experienced differently (and as riskier) than of a bus-ride in England or Germany, regardless of the risk and danger involved in a bus ride itself (Elsrud, 2001). This once again returns to the notion of imagined risk versus real risk. To return to the MdS, Lisle (2016b) also argues that portrayals of Middle Eastern and African countries are used to add further elements of meaning for those who choose to run the MdS and construct divisions of 'us' and 'them'. She writes:

> *One of the most prominent ways that MdS participants write over the Saharan desert is through essentialised categories of nature as uncontaminated, immutable and primordial. Thus, Morocco's harsh, threatening and unforgiving landscape is fetishized as 'the end of the earth' – a 'sun-scorched lunar landscape…where it was hot enough for rocks to explode' and where ultramarathoners can 'cross some of the most arduous terrain on the planet, battling sandstorms and scorching temperatures over 50' (Lisle, 2016b).*

Colonial narratives of Morocco as an empty and harsh environment are thus used by participants to bolster their own achievement in conquering it. Similarly narratives of Jordan's harsh, empty and hostile desert landscape are often promoted too. It also illustrates how two understandings of risk come together on the Jordan Trail: imagined risk of Jordan and its location in the Middle East versus risk of land itself and walking through it. This was emphasized during an interview I conducted with the person responsible for adventure tourism at the Jordan Tourism Board, he told me that promoting Jordan as an adventure tourism and 'hiking' destination is a two-pronged approach: first in international arenas persuading tourists that Jordan is safe; second, in the domestic market ensuring Jordanians feel that 'hiking' itself is safe. Two very different interactions with land itself take place here. Negotiations such as this with risk and the multiple entanglements and guises it takes are littered throughout the Jordan Trail. The branding for the Jordan Trail makes this explicit with a side note on the branding booklet stating: 'do not directly communicate the safety of Jordan as a country. Rather, communicate it in a subtle manner that would imply safety.' This reinforces that while communicating the safety of Jordan is crucial, it is important that this does not become the focus of such discussions. This also relates to the difference between imagined risk and felt risk and how that plays out on land. I include an interview with a 'thru-hiker' named John:

> *Olivia: What was people's reaction when you were walking in the Middle East?*

John: My mother [laughing] she said you can't go, you can't go. Americans, most my friends they have a...I don't say it's warped but they have a very limited knowledge of the Middle East, they think it's all bad. I've lived in the Middle East so I know what the Middle East is like, so my mother was adamant that, my whole family, and a lot of my friends well they couldn't understand why I would wanna go there because of the problems, but they don't understand that Jordan in particular is a very safe country from what's happening generally in the Middle East. I am well versed enough to know I would never go to Syria, obviously, but I would never do the Sinai Trail now either.

O: But you know, do you ever feel, were you ever worried about safety?

J: I didn't really research it enough to know but I knew that when I came here that I would find out, and when I found out I guess my biggest concern is running out of water in the middle of nowhere or I've never used a GPS before so I was worried about running, you know, I have no batteries, what happens if I fall and drop it?

O: So, it's more logistical worries that you're concerned about than the regional, the hike, the like geographical location?

J: Right.

John here describes an imagined risk versus an embodied and physical one. This is a relationship that constantly comes into conflict through the ways in which different groups negotiate their individual and embodied experiences with risk. For a British walker I met, Moradi, this created a double frustration as back in the UK friends were concerned about her being in the Middle East but confident in her walking abilities. While in Jordan, her being alone on the Jordan Trail as an unaccompanied female proved problematic. This returns to the question of narrative - who controls and creates the state narrative of the Jordan Trail and how can it be challenged by moving bodies. Bodies in motion on the Jordan Trail reposition the scale of the narrative. The narrative moves from one at a state level to one at an everyday level. For John, walking the Jordan Trail is fundamentally about the challenge between himself and land.[46] However, this is challenged by narratives related to place formed through global imaginaries in which 'The Middle East' becomes a homogenised 'other'. Gregory (2004) outlines in 'The Colonial Present' that the 'imaginative

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46 Relationships, Dummitt (2004) argues that are about identity building of the individual. Responding to risk should enable an individual to show a strong character and putting oneself through risky situations is therefore not always about enjoyment, and indeed in many cases may be about suffering, but is about proving foundational characteristics and identity markers of selfhood (Elsrud, 2001).

geographies' of 'us' and 'them' produced during the 'War on Terror' affirm and reactivate colonialism.

These 'imaginations' are the means by which the U.S. and its allies pursue domination and are thus narratives dictated from the state to pursue its goal (Gregory, 2004). Such imaginations are based on categorisations, and I have argued narratives, that seek to ascribe certain values to place that dictate from the state how the individual derives meaning from it. Places themselves can get symbolic value through being ascribed risky and adventurous qualities so simply to be in a certain place is to put oneself at risk (Elsrud, 2001). Such values in turn give meaning to the individual. Closs-Stephens's (2013: 5) point about the need to 'situate nationalism as part of a broader imaginary, one that relies on the assumption of nation-state sovereignty and involves a particular way of seeing the world' leads us towards different ways of understanding political community. One that is understood in relation to nation-state state sovereignty but that speaks against it and the need to find ways in which people are constructing their identity and politics outside of nation-state narratives.

In sum, risk here develops an understanding of the relationship between the individual and the nation-state. If the state is to promote walking the Jordan Trail as an important nationalist narrative, the state must decide whether it is willing to be responsible for the risk that those walkers take. I have argued, however, that such narratives erase individual relations with risk and also individual and embodied reasons for walking the Jordan Trail. Understanding therefore the scales of territory in which meaning is derived by individuals can also help to understand what a political community is and the relationship between the state level and the individual scale.

Conclusion

I have argued for the importance of a cultural practice, walking, to understandings of the politics of the nation-state. I opened by outlining the grand narrative of the Jordan Trail, a nationalist narrative that connects Jordanians to the Jordanian state by walking it. However I have queried this territorial nationalist narrative throughout this chapter. I have argued that despite state attempts to make territory into a calculable asset in which value is bound to nation building and economy, value is instead in relation to embodied and emotional relationships. I argued that a feminist political critique of a nationalist narrative proves that other scales are important than the territorial national scale. Through empirical findings I evidenced how citizens relate to territory in novel ways.

First through the concept of homeland and how through the embodied act of walking, while it can connect individuals to their country it also nuances the ways in which individuals are connected to territory. I argued that territory can feel at home in ways that nuance homeland as a nation-state loaded term, and that homeland can challenge the current borders of the nation-state. Second that the everyday embodied scale of territory can also be understood through the lens of risk. Risk I

argued exceeds the calculative aspects of territory as individual bodies moving across territory exceed calculation. Those walking the Jordan Trail create different levels of meaning depending on their own reasons for walking it and the ways in which they embrace and minimize risk. This once again shows that the everyday scale of the walking body challenges nation-state nationalism. A larger question also arises as to how we can find ways to make individual bodies matter to geographical imaginations and political accounts of place such as the Middle East.

The next and third empirical chapter of this thesis, continues to consider the embodied scale but moves away from the nation-state narrative to an exploration of 'touch'. I develop the question of why one walks to consider possibilities to gain meaning from 'touch' - touch being both a physiological act and a response to the presence of another. I therefore ask how walking the Jordan Trail can produce moments in which bodies matter and meaningful encounters are created.

Chapter 6: The politics of touch on the Jordan Trail

Introduction

> *I'm walking and I'm not sure why anymore, each leg feels heavy, my left foot
> has become one big blister. But, there's a rhythm to my pain, a rhythm that
> somehow keeps me going (Field diary: 27/11/16).*

This chapter inquires further into the reasons why one walks, why one decides to place one foot in front of the other and traverse the earth by foot. However, rather than focusing on the relationship between body and mind enabled through walking and its reflexive qualities – as many of the studies on walking have done – I ask here how walking on the Jordan Trail gives a different account of the Middle East and how it offers an embodied account of movement and politics. I do this through an exploration of touch. Touch, as I argued in Chapter 2, is the physiological response of receptors in the skin to pressure, heat, and pain. Touch as a physiological response, I will argue throughout this chapter, is heightened on the Jordan Trail, when one is exposed to the conditions which touch takes place. This is the pain and pressure that cause blisters, and the heat from the sun that my fieldnotes describe. However, as theorists that I will draw on throughout this chapter – Butler, Barad and Ahmed – argue, touch is fundamentally about response. How one responds when one is touched. This can be how oneself is altered and in turn how they interact with others, or else moments when one is 'touched' either physically or emotionally. Ahmed (1997) argues that touch is a dualistic resonance as it can mean the physical contact of one's body with another surface but can also describe the sensation of being affected or moved by something.

It is this dualistic resonance between the physical aspects of touch and touch being about a response to another that this chapter explores. By exploring this relationship, I argue that walking as a practice offers an embodied account of movement and politics and a means in which to encounter one another differently. Encountering others is especially important in the context of Jordan, where I have argued there are frequent misrepresentations and the sovereignty of the visual has reduced moments of contact. This chapter asks how the movements enabled by walking create different means for bodies, objects, and animals to come into contact with one another.

In doing this, I first explore touch through interactions between human bodies on the Trail. I explore such interactions through vulnerability and hospitality. To walk on the Jordan Trail is to be vulnerable. One is vulnerable through the physiological aspects of touch: one is vulnerable to one's own body and how it will cope under intense heat, pressure, and pain. One is also vulnerable to

others. One comes into close proximity and intimacy to the other but also to how others will respond. Manning (2007) argues that touch is a decision to move forward and interact with something unknown. To touch is therefore based on invention because there is a moment for something new to be formed, for the body to exceed what is knowable; it is based on a risk of the unknown and how the other will react (Manning, 2007). As a result, touch is both about a vulnerability to our own bodies and the testing of their physiological limits, but also about putting ourselves in a position of vulnerability through proximity and intimacy. In doing so embodied and intimate accounts of the Middle East can emerge when one comes across a stranger on the Jordan Trail and responds to them

Through this vulnerability, touch is also concerned with hospitality. If touch becomes connected to a response, there is also a question of hospitality in how one responds. In the words of Barad (2012: 219): 'Living compassionately requires recognising and facing our responsibility to the infinite of the other, welcoming the stranger whose very existence is the possibility of touching and being touched' (Barad, 2012: 219). Derrida (2000) defines hospitality as inviting and welcoming the 'stranger'. However, using Derrida's conceptualisations of hospitality, hospitality cannot be possible within current nation-states as 'only people of the same national origin could enjoy the full protection of legal institutions' (Kelz, 2016: 145). This returns to the need for everyday and embodied accounts of place to understand hospitality beyond the state scale. This in turn offers another way in which walking provides intimate and everyday accounts of the Middle East.

In the second and third parts of this chapter, I move beyond touch between humans, to explore touch between objects and animals. I explore how objects, such as GPS devices, equipment, and social media devices, are used on the Jordan Trail. I argue that these devices mediate the touch, and in doing so offer important questions about whether touch can take place over distance and how bodies can be enhanced through objects to escape their physiological limitations. However, I query whether despite the ability of objects to extend the body's limitations, racialized and gendered norms stop bodies being able to escape their biopolitical status. Finally, I explore relationships between humans and animals. I ask how by including non-human accounts, we can move away from ocular-centric Western perspectives of interactions, to incorporate embodied knowledge and co-becoming as not always human-centred. In acknowledging non-human accounts I consider ethics too within cultural politics and the context of Jordan through animals.

Touch (I): Human-Human: vulnerability and hospitality

> I think it was an awesome experience throughout, there have been some really difficult experiences throughout because I had the misfortune of hurting my knee early on in the trip. It really was a struggle, yani [you know] there was a couple of days that I was truly miserable. But I'm glad that things worked out well and by a change of luck or something I was still able to inshallah finish the whole thing. I've done some day and some overnight hikes and stuff in Jordan but it's very different when you do it all in one go, it just puts stuff into perspective more. I must say that I was truly impressed by the terrain, every part of Jordan was very, very different. My favourite part was the interactions with locals, it was an eye opening. The home stays also, they sort of showed a different part of, like the hidden parts you never normally see when you do day hikes or hike on your own. So that was like very helpful to understand the culture, where people come from, their different perspectives. I was really impressed by how different people around Jordan regardless of their different means and capabilities, they give you the best they can in any way. Whether by giving you tea along the way or by offering shade or by offering water or anything. I was really impressed by the generosity of the people. The tiny bits of wildlife that we've seen were really marvellous, yani my heart skipped a beat when I saw a fox. I'm enjoying it still, I love the south the most I think - it's truly impressive. The space and the distance, the terrain, the mountains, the rocks, everything. It's marvellous. It's been a pleasure throughout (Lara).

Lara describes here both the feeling of vulnerability when her body let her down and the hospitality offered by others. Overall, Lara reflects that – although it was a struggle, at times she was miserable, and she did not think her body would manage – she completed the Jordan Trail. It was only by pushing through this discomfort that Lara was able to encounter animals and wildlife on the Trail, to meet people on the Trail and experience moments of generosity. Throughout my time on the Jordan Trail, I heard comments similar to those made by Lara. Comments that suggested the Jordan Trail connected them to their body differently by testing their physical limits, or else created positive interactions with those they might not have otherwise met. It is such comments that have prompted me to explore what makes a walking trail a way in which to touch and encounter others.

It is impossible to walk a 650km walking trail without experiencing some degree of corporeal discomfort – heat stress, exhaustion, blisters, chafing, dehydration, insect bites. The Trail is a constant battle with the limits of one's body. To return to Lara, she detailed to me how disappointed and let down she felt by her body. Lara told me, however, that in overcoming such pain she impressed herself and what she could do. Pain and discomfort became an important part of her own story on the Trail; it brought meaning and a sense of achievement to her experience. My own experience was itself often coated with discomfort. I would have to stop to empty my

shoes of sand that was rubbing against my skin, my feet would swell in the heat, and my head would hurt from dehydration.

I woke one morning on the Jordan Trail with severe heat stress. I was briefly hospitalized, where I was put on a drip for dehydration. It was in that moment too that I became aware of my own vulnerability. For many people whom I met on the Jordan Trail the acknowledgement of their own vulnerability emerged in and through their walking. For some, they were not sure if their bodies would manage, for others it was an insecurity around encountering others; for some it was cultural difference, for others the unknown. This is once again the way in which a long-distance walking trail offers particular opportunities to understand embodied politics. Vulnerability is not something to be overcome but instead something to stay with, and this vulnerability presents opportunities for others to respond to vulnerability. Moments when someone offers a cup of tea to a weary walker is a response to another's discomfort through an act of care. This vulnerability is therefore both physiological and social.

For Butler, vulnerability can often be based on political grounds. For instance, Butler (2016) argues that women or minorities often seek to establish themselves as vulnerable to a paternalistic set of powers. However, Butler (2016) asks if such vulnerability discounts the political agency of the subjugated or whether there is instead a power to this vulnerability? What, she asks, about the vulnerability of paternalistic institutions themselves? By being vulnerable to power there is also an acknowledgement of said power and in this acknowledgement a realisation that vulnerability can give agency to individuals. A willingness to be vulnerable is powerful. It can reposition agency onto those who are vulnerable. Vulnerability is in itself connection.[47] Walkers on the Jordan Trail therefore through vulnerability are able to create moments of connections, through homestays, offering cups of tea, and re-orientate agency to the individual so that embodied interactions in the Middle East become important and speak back to the sovereignty of the visual.

Walking a long-distance trail is a way in which to explore vulnerability through movement and what Butler (2016) terms 'exposure'. Movement creates pain, movement creates friction, friction that rubs skin against sock and shoe, friction that results in a blister. Movement creates pressure, as one steps down on the ground. The type of surface upon which the foot walks alters this pressure. As one walks on an uneven surface, the foot presses harder to steady the body; as one walks on sand, the foot presses softly so as not to sink into the sand. Movement creates an exposure to temperature, as heat rises from the ground as the foot asserts its pressure on its surface. The rays of the sun beat down upon the walking body, and one's daily rhythms change in order to evade the sun's strength. The walker rests under a tree during the heat of the day and starts walking when the sun is low in the sky. Walking as a result is an intense experience of the physiological elements of touch. However, touch is not simply physiological but also creates meaning and brings other

47 This argument will be troubled later in this chapter by considering which bodies are able to put themselves in vulnerable positions.

people into relation. The means through which other people are brought into relation with the walker was demonstrated to me in an interview with a 'thru-hiker' on the Jordan Trail:

> *Olivia: Why do you think walking is an important means to travel?*
>
> *Ben: Walking makes me vulnerable. I am more approachable and less threatening when I am on foot.*

Ben describes here that he becomes more approachable, others react to him differently when he is walking. When I pushed Ben on why he felt this way he found it difficult at first, telling me it was 'just how he felt' but he also reflected that it breaks down distance. He said he would not have had the same interactions with locals in particular if he had not been on foot. They would have responded to him differently. This is where literature on touch and encounter can help us to understand the ways in which embodied practices of movement can create a different politics of the Middle East. One in which different bodies are brought into contact through embodied movements. The vulnerability of the walking body and the ways that it offers different interactions, I argue expands on literature on encounter. The encounter is the coming together of different bodies and the unknown, the strange (Ahmed, 2000; Wilson, 2017a). Encounters are about the creation of contact zones: 'in which a lack of commonality is assumed or where some form of existing conflict, prejudice, or unease is present' (Askins and Pain, 2011). Unease and particularly prejudice are common sentiments that precondition many encounters on the Jordan Trail. These prejudices are between both international tourists and their perceived fear of the Middle East and also between different groups of Jordanians too.

As I outlined in the introduction, the Middle East often becomes part of the homogenised region of the Middle East in which images of war and conflict dominate perceptions (see Buda, 2016). Even when tourists do travel to the Middle East it is usually on coach tours which shuttle passengers from one tourist site to the other. This view from the window of the coach exemplifies the distancing inherent in many encounters between tourists and locals. This is also true within Jordan itself. Jordan is often called a one city country, with almost half of its population living in its capital Amman. This population dispersal also results in a disconnect between those living in rural areas, who are often living more traditional existences as farmers or Bedouin, and those in the city who experience a more multicultural and modern Jordanian lifestyle.

The view from the coach window or the disconnect between urban and rural Jordanians are also restrictions of risk. For Wilson (2017b), to take the unknowability of the encounter seriously requires that something in the encounter be left open, and this openness is the creation of risk. As a result, to remove risk is also to eradicate the possibility of a meaningful encounter (Wilson, 2017b). I would argue that on the Jordan Trail the risk that makes an encounter meaningful is vulnerability. Vulnerability is what leaves the encounter open as one does not know how that vulnerability will be responded to. One therefore exposes oneself to risk through vulnerability

while walking the Jordan Trail. This vulnerability is through the intimate proximity of touch and its physiological aspects but as I have argued, touch is fundamentally about the response of the other to that touch. It is this response to vulnerability that I explore in more detail in the following section.

Touch as response to vulnerability

I remember one day lying squeezed amongst fellow walkers under a tree, attempting to escape the heat of the sun. We lay as close as physically possible, our hot and sweaty bodies touching one another's, to make best use of the little shade offered. We shared stories, gave foot massages, sang, and handed round snacks. There was a shared experience that brought us both physically and intimately close but also emotionally and socially. Oppermann and Brearley (2018) claim that heat is a fundamentally social practice and, while it is physiologically experienced, it gains meaning through the social circumstances surrounding heat. Wylie (2005a) describes the pain he experienced as a walker as one which alters the body's relationship to its environs: 'new postures and surfaces materialize and new affectual extensions resonate'. Pain thus occurs neither in oneself or in that but instead between oneself and the pain (Wylie, 2005a). Pain, in other words, is a relationality between pain and the body, and this relationality brings other bodies and environments into contact differently. Pain can become a moment of transformation, when one is able to overcome pain or understand one's body differently through pain but it also draws other bodies into relation with one another.

Amongst other things, walking, pain and discomfort create community and a duty of care. In Figure 35, a blister is attended to by our guides, Mohammad and Mohammad, who were eager to use skills learnt in a first aid course. In Figure 36, a rucksack with a broken strap is being temporarily fixed; in Figure 37, my trousers worn through use are being mended by a fellow walker; cars provide shade for us to eat lunch in Figure 38 – a welcome relief from a morning walking under the hot sun with little shade; a bucket of warm water to soak our feet in is given to us in Figure 39 in the home of a local guide who also offered us warm showers. These moments are ethical responses to a moment of encounter that has been left open. To be clear, they are ethical responses intended by Butler (2015) in her account of vulnerability as a mutual exposure that connects us with others. Those walking the Jordan Trail have made a decision to enter into a planned journey; however, many of the individual encounters along the Trail are unplanned. Furthermore, the Jordan Trail enables meaningful encounters through the response to vulnerability. This is the response to the physiological vulnerability of touch – the fixing of clothes from repeated movement and pressure, the offer of shade from the temperature of the sun, water to soak painful feet.

Alongside this physiological vulnerability is also a social vulnerability. This returns to the question of why one walks. For many of those who decide to walk the Jordan Trail, it is to reclaim connections lost in modern life, while the slow pace of life on the Trail gives time and opportunities to speak with people who one would not normally communicate. On the 'thru-hike' I was part of in the spring of 2017, a 'solo thru-hiker', Ben, joined us. Ben had suffered an injury and food poisoning and decided to join my group to regain his strength with the security of the group. Ben walked with my group for over a week, despite intending to walk the whole trail 'solo'. He found the comfort, solidarity, and collective spirit of my group hard to leave. However, he remarked on how his encounters with others were also 'limited' by being part of a group instead of walking solo. He said that, while people might approach the group, he would not be singled out as an individual. Ben is a white British male, and our group was composed of a large number of Jordanians. It was therefore often the Jordanians in our group who would speak to local Jordanians we met on the Trail. Ben remarked that while he was on his own on the trail, he was much more approachable. Although he was not able to speak Arabic, Ben noted that through gestures and invitations of tea he was still able to communicate.

Ben felt more vulnerable on his own, and this he felt enabled him to experience more meaningful encounters with locals; but on the other hand this vulnerability at times became too much, resulting in him joining our group. This also reinforces the politics around vulnerability and who is able to place themselves in a position to walk the Jordan Trail. One must be able bodied, have the time and finances to walk a long-distance Trail, and the knowledge of how to do so. Touch is therefore a way in which to consider also the inequalities of movement by considering who can and cannot move in certain ways and the consequences of this. By shedding light on the practices of movement through a deeper consideration of touch, practices such as walking can be further understood within the cultural political conditions in which they take place. Touch for Johnston (2012: 92) is 'context specific, fragmentary and even mundane' and 'not simply one body's interaction with another, but involves a tactile perception of bodily contours for both bodies'. A touch between two bodies can therefore be understood differently by each body. Johnston (2012) gives the example of drag queens where touch is often encouraged and welcomed but can also be unsolicited and hurtful. The bodies of drag queens become excessive sites in which consent is often overlooked. Johnston (2012) argues that assumptions around touch are often rooted in pre-conceived representations and understandings of different bodies. This is therefore important because the cultural representations of certain bodies can dictate whether we perceive physical touching as acceptable or not. This can come into conflict when pre-conceived representations are wrong.

Understanding how touch takes place within different cultural conditions is important and also to query vulnerability and risk outside of the physiological. In other words vulnerability can also be created on the Jordan Trail in unwilled and non-physiological ways which prompts questions as to who is placed at risk. In one homestay, that of Bilal and Rana, in the north of Jordan, the greeting

with guests presented difficult moments. Rana told me that it was not appropriate for her as a Muslim woman to shake hands with male tourists. While it was appropriate for me to greet Rana and other female members of her family with a kiss, to extend the same to any male members of the family was inappropriate. For many international tourists, they would frequently extend their hand to Rana who felt rude to turn it away. Such moments of cultural difference and misunderstanding are the reason why many families decide not to open their homes for guests. Therefore while intimacy and vulnerability can be conditions for rethinking agency and encounters differently they are not without risk. In the next section, I will explore these risks through the homestay in more detail through understandings of hospitality.

Figure 34: Mohammad and Mohammad attending to a blister (Author)

Figure 35: Tamir fixing Mohammad's rucksack (Author)

Figure 36: Andrew fixing a hole in trousers (Author)

Figure 37: Two cars providing shade for us to eat lunch, during a day when little shade was available

(Author)

Figure 38: Aisha and Reema soaking their feet in the home of a local guide (Author)

Hospitality as response: homestays

Another way in which to understand touch and its relationship with response is through hospitality. To return to the earlier quote from Lara, an important part of the Jordan Trail for her and for others was homestays.[48] For Lara, homestays were moments where she experienced hospitality on the Trail, when – despite being a stranger – she was welcomed. Lara describes the generosity of people, especially the people who did not have much to give. Hospitality is another means through which to consider the response to touch. Touch here is proximity to another but this proximity produces meaningful encounters – encounters which have the possibility to produce change (Wilson, 2017a) - through hospitality as a response. Hospitality is a response of welcome to the other, it is an ethical response to difference (Barad, 2012). The Jordan Trail can create moments of hospitality and welcome because of the sustained intimacy on the Trail. There are conditions for hospitality to take place because of the prolonged periods of time walkers spend on the Trail and the need for overnight accommodation.

Hospitality is therefore a response to the walker enabled by the Trail. As I have previously described, USAID's involvement with the Jordan Trail is partly because of the opportunities they see to develop homestays in local communities throughout the Jordan Trail. What makes hospitality important on the Jordan Trail is its opportunities for intimacy. Intimacy, to use Pain and Staeheli's (2014: 345) conceptualisation, is a set of spatial relations ranging from proximate to distant, a mode of interaction from distant to global and a set of practices that 'frequently traverse the interpersonal, institutional and national realms.'

Homestays enable interactions that break down distance and spatial proximity. As homestays give walkers personal and embodied encounters with themselves and others. Walking is a practice that – as the previous chapter argued – re-orientates the national scale to that of the embodied and the personal. To explore this, I want to focus on one homestay in particular along the Jordan Trail, the home of Bilal and Rana, in which I spent large amounts of the summer of 2016. Rana cooks meals for guests and Bilal is a walking guide on the Jordan Trail. Bilal and Rana were two of the first Jordanians to open a homestay with some financial support from USAID. I was looking for a family to interview about opening their house up as a homestay and was put in touch with Bilal and Rana. Although I initially intended just to interview them, they welcomed me into their home as a young student and I spent multiple weekends at their home. I helped Rana with cooking, played with their children and joined Bilal on his guided tours.

I was therefore witness to multiple tourists entering their house while I was also staying there. Some tourists came as groups to have a meal prepared by Rana after a guided walk with Bilal.

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48 Homestays in Jordan are part of a growing, worldwide practice that enable interactions with the local community and environments, while also promising experiences with local culture and connections to family life (see Gu and Wong, 2006; Ibrahim and Razzaq, 2010).

Other guests wanted an immersive homestay experience and would stay for a week as part of other organised activities. Some guests wanted to learn to cook with Rana or to learn about traditional herbs and spices. Through these practices, the home is not for witnessing or gazing at, but for situated doing, for cooking together, washing up together. While cooking with Rana, fresh lemons were squeezed releasing a strong citrus smell into the room, garlic was chopped and garlicky fingers washed. Chickpeas used to make the hummus were all grown nearby in local farms and for many guests it was their first time touching fresh chickpeas. Time cooking with Rana was also spent translating from Arabic to English the herbs and spices passed around to smell. Senses guided these translation efforts, as a communication through smell, sight, and taste arose. Through the cooking, the intimate connection between earth and kitchen became clear. Rana's grounded and situated knowledge of cooking was shared with guests. The tourist space of the homestay becomes lived, situated, embodied and multi-sensory, and multiple notions of space are created. Food can enable one to think across multiple axes, and create settings for embodied meanings to take hold (Longhurst et al, 2009). In the absence of a mutual language, touch, sight, taste, and knowledge of food take precedence. Despite differences in language, there is an opportunity to interact with the other. Opportunities that otherwise would not be possible in social spaces such as a tour through Petra or an encounter between a Jordanian Ammani and a local in a shop, who may speak the same language but might not have spent time with each other.

For many of those walking the Jordan Trail, homestays were an important part of their experience. This reinforces what movement along a long-distance walking Trail has the potential to do in enabling sustained encounters. Encounters, Wilson (2017a) argues, are often 'fleeting', 'casual', 'undesigned' or 'chance'. There has been a lack of focus in work on encounters which address how temporality and mobility can alter the encounter (Wilson, 2017a). The Jordan Trail is an encounter that enables an exploration of both mobility and temporality: the mobilities of walking and the temporal duration of a 'thru-hike'. This is described by Maha:

> *When you do the whole trail its totally different it's totally different because you know you will be totally disconnected, totally disconnected, with no, you're not going to go back to the city, you're not going to go see all those tall buildings, no technology, you know you just know that you're going to be out just out in the nature for 40 whole days. But when you do like a section or one or two days you know and you depend that yeah I'm going to do a hike now and I'm going to go home and I'm just going to have a nice warm shower and everything's going to go back to normal. But the challenge is that you would know that no you won't go back to something to your comfort zone, you will know that no you have to keep pushing and pushing and see where you reach. You know your limits. And then when you know when you do it at the end you go wow. (Maha)*

Maha describes here the ongoing endurance of walking a long-distance Trail. This endurance is about being outside one's comfort zone, pushing one's body and being 'out there'. Her body is therefore vulnerable but the temporalities that result from walking a long-distance trail also create opportunities for others to respond to that vulnerability. Furthermore, long-distance walking provides moments for hospitality to be granted to the stranger. However, I want to return here to the argument I made above as to who is able to be vulnerable and whether touching can mean something different depending on who touches and where they touch. For Ahmed (1997), touching can never fully grasp the other in its temporality, and this results in touch always being a movement away. For Wilson (2017b), to take the unknowability of the encounter seriously requires that something in the encounter be left open, and this openness is the creation of risk. There is a need to embrace risk but an equal requirement that we ask: 'who or what is it that is at risk? Or rather for whom does risk have the most repercussions?' (Wilson, 2017b: 613).

I argue that walking as a practice particularly within the postcolonial context of Jordan helps to add another element to touch and how it might enable us to touch differently. First because, as I have argued, there is a temporality and mobility through walking that produces particular vulnerabilities and sustained intimacies. Second that, within these sustained intimacies, there is also an opportunity to consider difference and risk. The close proximity enabled by both walking and staying in homestays provides moments to touch the stranger. Within this touch are moments for difference to bring bodies together but also to create moments where differences become pronounced and intimately experienced. The response is not always a movement towards but away as Ahmed (1997) argues and this is important. It is this I explore next through the homestay and a more critical examination of hospitality and the home.

In Jordan, the home has religious and cultural connotations that render it a private space in which encounters with others are generally restricted. In Bilal's home for instance, for some tourists Rana is never seen except for a pair of hands around the kitchen door. The time I spent with Rana in her home was an intimacy that not all tourists are granted. This was partly as a result of my role within their home; I originally went to visit Bilal and Rana as a researcher to ask them about their experiences as hosts. As a young, single, white, female student, I was invited into their home and asked to stay, I had food cooked for me and played with their children.[49] Over the course of the summer of 2016, I spent time staying with their family, always having food cooked for me for free and never being charged to stay overnight. This is important to mention because Bilal is an astute businessman. Bilal and Rana enjoy having guests in their home because Rana loves to cook for

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49 Rana told me later that Bilal had taken pity on me as I was in Jordan on my own and a student who was eager to learn. I was in fact in a long-term relationship (although unmarried); however, I chose not to disclose this as my role as a young woman 'married' to my studies was more appealing to them as a conservative Muslim family.

others, and they think it is good for their children to meet people from other cultures. However, money and the financial gains from running a homestay are important to them.[50]

I remember asking Rana one day what she hopes her eldest son will be when he grows up. 'Maybe a tour guide,' she laughed, 'I mean it's not a bad job is it.' During that summer of 2016, our situation, however, worked out well for us all. I could experience life in their homestay and talk to guests who stayed there, which was beneficial for me. In return I would help Rana with cooking, practice her English with her, and speak with guests. Bilal was a very busy man – he was always driving off to meet someone, conduct business, or do the household shopping – and, as Rana did not like to talk much with foreign guests, I became the perfect figure to mediate and entertain guests. I often found this uncomfortable as guests would arrive to stay with a traditional Jordanian family and have me spend time with them. I felt uneasy as I was not sure of my role within the house. I want to draw on one particular encounter, which I wrote about in my field diary at Bilal and Rana's homestay with a German guest:

> *I am very relieved to be back in Amman and away from Bilal and Rana's home. It has been a really uncomfortable few days. A German woman, who had spent time in Jordan before, came to stay in order to hike and stay with a Jordanian family. As she made me very aware, she had paid a lot for this, and as I was told she did not think she was getting good value for money. Bilal and I do get on but I know that he can be difficult as he is often dominating of conversations and chauvinistic. This German guest found Bilal very rude and further she did not think his choice of hikes was appropriate for her or this time of year. To add to this, she did not find the homestay as comfortable as she would have liked. I felt really awful for Rana, because she became very upset as she could tell that the German guest was unhappy, and felt it was her fault. Perhaps her home or food were not good enough. As the other white woman in the house, Rana wanted me to explain why she was unhappy, as I must be able to understand her. It was difficult because the reasons for the German guest's unhappiness were complex and on reflection she was unfair on Bilal and Rana, however I did agree that she had paid a lot. This was mainly the fault of the tour company, however, Bilal and Rana did get a large amount of money for her. I felt really embarrassed and uncomfortable as I was paying nothing and being fed the same food, I was even allowed to come on the hikes with her and Bilal. Although I only went on one as I found being with her and working as a mediator too uncomfortable (Field diary: 18/08/16).*

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[50] I was told when interviewing a tour company that in his opinion, Bilal charges a lot for homestays. Since I left Jordan, Bilal has built an extension on his house so that he can have even more guests in his house.

Described above is a moment of intimacy, a proximity and bringing together of different bodies; however, following Ahmed (1997), this was a touch which pushed bodies away not brought them together. There were also several levels of discomfort: the home not being comfortable enough; my discomfort in her reaction; Rana's discomfort in her own home. As opposed to the uncomfortable bodies of the walkers and responses of kindness towards such pain I described above, discomfort here pushed away bodies. It emphasised that the home as an intimate space is also a risky space. It is a risky space because emotion and intimacy are at stake. Emotion and intimacy became heightened in the home through the proximity and relationality of different bodies in spaces that held different meanings for guests and Bilal and Rana. I felt embarrassed and uncomfortable in their home, Rana felt uncomfortable in her own home, and the German guest was upset and unhappy. Bilal and Rana, by opening up their home to guests, were therefore also opening up their home to risk. Risks that are heightened by cultural difference, gendered difference, and place.

Tucker (2009) discusses a similar situation between a local woman, a German couple, and herself in Göreme, central Turkey. In the situation described by Tucker, she was required to translate and mediate between a local woman and a tourist couple. This mediation resulted in her describing similar feelings of shame and discomfort when different expectations created confusion. The couple felt they were being forced to buy something and the local woman was confused as to what the tourists wanted from the encounter. The Turkish woman did not understand why the tourists would be interested in her traditional house and not the purchasing of a souvenir. This also urges us to think differently about power imbalances within tourist encounters. Spurr (1993) argues, travel narratives are discourses of colonialism as the representation of one culture is used by the other to dominate and, as a result, fix the tourist and the toured 'other' in a relationship that is always inherently colonial. 'Shame', as a result, is evidence of the need to connect with others and that sometimes such connections fail (Probyn, 2005). Tucker suggests that:

> *Shame, whilst uncomfortable should be seen as positive in its reflexive and self-evaluative role. Indeed, shame in itself has an important worldmaking function in that it is a positive and productive highlighting of our interest and desire to live ethically. In the tourism encounter, shame thus functions as the 'specifically anti- or post- colonial discursive purchase in culture' that Slemon (1991:3) defines as postcolonial (Tucker, 2009: 455).*

Shame suggests a desire to do things differently; it opens up the ability to have 'meaningful' encounters that make a difference (Wilson, 2017a). This is possible, Tucker (2009: 455) suggests, because of the role of the body: 'shame is both a bodily-based effect and, importantly, is shown in bodily expression.' This disrupts the tourist discourse and offers postcolonial potentiality (Tucker, 2009). One becomes aware of one's own positionality. Discomfort can therefore also be positive; it can highlight 'contact zones' and within such brings together subjects previously separated (Pratt, 2007). Frequently, with guests in Bilal and Rana's house, I felt uncomfortable and aware of my own

identity. Sometimes I would be left alone with guests who had come to experience authentic Jordanian culture, only to be sat with another white person. To find oneself brought into uncomfortable situations is important because in that discomfort one reassesses their own privilege, background, and relation to another. To reconsider one's own privilege and assumptions, to feel shamed at times. Such moments within postcolonial relations for Pratt (2007) are important to emphasise how coloniser and colonised were co-constituted through relational events. The homestay as thus is a contact zone, formed through a touch based on movement, that alters the formations of encounter.

Hospitality is therefore a form of welcome to the other but touch alters hospitality because it brings bodies into close proximity and concentrates on response. By considering touch as a response, hospitality is an important way of understanding that response. However, as many have argued, particularly in tourism studies, hospitality is a problematic concept (see Gu and Wong, 2006; Carnaffan, 2010; Buda and McIntosh, 2012). Hospitality is itself socially constructed and never without conditions (Derrida, 2000). Hospitality for Derrida (2000: 77) is about marking limits, powers, rights and duties. Absolute hospitality can never be given for Derrida (2000) because something is always required from the exchange; a power balance is always established. For Derrida (2000) this relates to the nation-state because the nation-state can never offer hospitality, it is always fundamentally about exclusion and inclusion within a political community created by the nation-state. The everyday scale therefore becomes important in creating new communities based on different inclusions and exclusions. Mutual vulnerability for Butler (2015: 2016) makes possible the idea of community.

The Jordan Trail is not about creating perfect encounters nor should it be. However, through moments of vulnerability, shame, and confusion, possibilities to understand the other are granted. Meaningful encounters are not necessarily ones in which the question is whether hospitality is granted or not but ones in which a rethinking of the other is possible. Through exploring the relationship between touch, the vulnerabilities and intimacies enabled, I have argued that hospitality becomes a response to the vulnerability and intimacy of the other and, within this, opportunities to rethink how we live with and through difference. I have suggested that homestays on the Jordan Trail creates important moments of intimacy and touch. These can be moments where hospitality is extended to a stranger and mutual understanding and interaction created. I have also argued that this intimacy can be problematic and as opposed to bringing bodies together can push them away. However, what I have suggested is that these moments can still ultimately be important moments when intelligibility and discomfort force us to reassess our own interactions, experiences, and how we understand others. So that even in pushing away, distance can be broken down.

A note of caution must be exercised, however. When I walked the Jordan Trail in 2017, my group was walking some parts for the first time due to re-routing. Therefore, for many people whom we

encountered on the Jordan Trail, this was the first time they had met walkers. However, this is slowly changing as the Jordan Trail is gaining more and more media attention. Increasing numbers of walkers are joining the annual 'thru-hike' organised by the Jordan Trail Association but also more walkers are doing day 'hikes' on the Jordan Trail or else walking the whole Trail independently of the JTA.

As the Jordan Trail becomes increasingly popular, this raises important questions about how these encounters are managed in ways to ensure that encounters on the Jordan Trail do not create a touch that pushes bodies away but instead brings bodies together. While bodies walking the Jordan Trail have the potential to create meaningful encounters as bodies enter into close proximity, are vulnerable and create conditions when a response is prompted, there is also a risk, as noted previously (see Wilson, 2017b). A lot is at stake on the Jordan Trail: for instance, community development through homestays is hoped to be a social and economic outcome. It is hoped that domestic tourists in Jordan will help to create social cohesion within the country and to modernise the country. It is hoped that the Jordan Trail will bring international tourists and help to rebuild a weakened tourist economy but also promote Jordan as an adventure tourism destination producing a positive tourist imaginary. This dissertation is not about Jordan's tourist sector or about community development; however, the questions I raise in relation to the Jordan Trail could have important implications for considering development as a result of the Trail, who is at risk, and the potential problems with the touch and intimacy enabled on the Trail.

In sum, I have concentrated in this first section on touch between different bodies. I have considered touch as physiological, as the response of receptors in the skin to temperature, pressure and pain. This is an important element of touch on the Jordan Trail because it creates vulnerability. As one walks, the response of receptors in the skin to pressure, temperature and pain create moments of intense touch and heightened sensory awareness. However, I have argued that touching only becomes meaningful through response to the touch. Touch therefore does not simply occur in the moments when receptors in the skin respond but also during the relationship between these moments and hospitality. The vulnerability one places one's body in by walking leads to moments when one requires the care and support of others – to provide shade or water, administer first aid and repair ripped trousers. To reach out and touch someone, to be willing to share proximity is also to risk being uncomfortable and vulnerable. This response is, however, not based on unconditional or absolute hospitality but a hospitality that can be risky and uncomfortable. It is therefore crucial to consider, when touch brings us together, the ways in which this touch also creates risks, and who or what at risk must be acknowledged.

In the following section I move from human-human touch to that between objects. I continue my discussion of vulnerability by exploring how objects can mediate our own physiological vulnerabilities by extending the capabilities of our bodies. I argue these devices mediate the touch but also query whether touch can take place over distance.

Touch (II): Human-object: expanding the limits of the body

water pipe, water bottles, GPS device, mobile phone, GPS application, walking shoes, walking trousers, gaiters (optional), waterproof jacket (sometimes it rains), rucksack, sleeping bag, tent, sleeping mat, cup, plate, spoon, knife, pocketknife, whistle, compass, aspirin, ibuprofen, antihistamine, blister plasters, travel towel, sun-hat, tweezers, lighter, headtorch, sun cream, sunglasses, chargers, walking poles… (Field diary: 28/04/17)

This list illustrates that bodies are never just bodies and that my walk on the Trail was constantly mediated by objects. In this section I ask how objects on the Trail mediate proximity and relationality. Touch, for Manning (2007), is about relationality, which can occur through both objects and technology in addition to physical touch. Objects I argue provide an important means to consider one's embodied difference to other bodies because they are often ways in which bodies overcome their own weaknesses and relate to other differently. Walking poles can help those with weak knees or a bad back. Ibuprofen can reduce the pain in joints caused by repeated walking. Blister plasters reduce the pressure on blisters. Sunglasses, sun cream, and a sun hat protect the body from the heat of the sun. Objects mediate touch and, I will argue, how we touch others and in doing so query whether vulnerability can be overcome and also if touch can take place over distance. However, I argue that rather than objects through mediation expanding the limits of the body, they instead highlight the limits of the body. This section therefore poses two questions. First, how do objects mediate touch? Second, through this mediation, how do objects highlight – rather than erase – the biological and social aspects of the body?

Touch I argue here is about mediation. Drawing from Deleuze and Guattari's (1972) 'bodies without organs', Manning (2007) argues that the more-than body of the human is important within a politics of touch as it reinforces the potentiality of a body, its ability to invent. Touch, for Manning (2007), is about invention, bodies are machinic and always more than their organs. Therefore, to understand touch, one must understand the ways in which the body uses technology and objects to extend its limits and bring things into relationality. As my kit list proved, particularly the items which directly enhanced my body – sun-hat, walking boots, walking trousers, trekking poles, sunglasses, water-pipe, waterproof jacket, sleeping bag, tent. Humans have expanded beyond the limits of their bodies and nowhere is this clearer than on a walking trail.
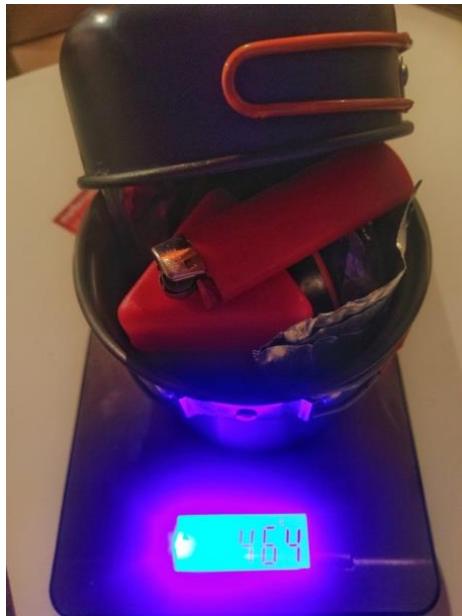
Figure 39: Vix weighing her cooking gear

(Photograph printed from her blog).[51]

Figure 40: John displaying his gear in his blog post

(Photograph printed from his blog).[52]

51 See appendix 2.

52 See appendix 2.

In Figures 40 and 41, taken from the blog posts of two 'thru-hikers', the equipment they will be using on the Jordan Trail is of great significance. In Figure 40, the scales demonstrate the importance of weight. Lower weight equipment puts less pressure on the body while one walks as one's bag is lighter. Both Vix and John explained to me in interviews that comforts such as extra clothing were not included as these were not of vital importance. The importance of certain items is a personal decision and depends on one's own body. For instance, the Jordan Trail has a detailed list on its website with some objects regarded as essential and some optional. There is a disclaimer on the Jordan Trail website stating that those without the correct equipment will not be allowed to walk on the Jordan Trail. With such essentialism paid to equipment on the Trail, equipment also performs a mediating role. For many walkers, their purchase and choice of equipment became an important aspect of their time on the Trail, with many worrying that if they did not have the right equipment they would struggle. When I became severely dehydrated on the Jordan Trail, I was told that it was because I did not have a water pipe. I immediately went out to buy one and on most rest days would buy an item (another pair of 'hiking' socks, energy bars, a better pair of trousers) to make my walk easier.

Material objects can therefore enhance bodies. For Manning (2007), this potentiality for enhancement is a process of invention and a politics of touch. Objects enhance bodies and result in them having machinic qualities that exceed and push the body's limits. Barratt (2011), in a paper on rock climbing, argues that climbers 'are hybrid beings that are co-enabled in their ascents as co-constituent actors amongst a 'climbing assemblage". Climbing assemblage is the term Barratt (2011) uses to conceptualise how the corporeal is inherently integrated with the technological through climbing. The hybridity of the body expands what the body is capable of and its limits. The boundaries between 'body' and 'technology', 'artificial' and 'natural' are blurred (Haraway, 1997). As a result, the bodies of 'hikers', walkers, and most of those engaging in sport are never natural. The foot of a 'hiker' is never just a foot. It is an artificially and technologically mediated object through specialist ergonomic socks, and walking shoes with reinforced soles and waterproofing. This mediation and hybridity of the body also changes how the land and other bodies are related and brought into relationality with one another. For Ingold (2004) for instance, the relationship between bodies and objects is one that is linked to modernity:

> *It seems that with the onward march of civilisation, the foot has been*
> *progressively withdrawn from the sphere of operation of the intellect, that is*
> *has regressed to the status of a merely mechanical apparatus, and moreover*
> *that this development is a consequence – not a cause – of technical advance in*
> *footwear. Boots and shoes, products of the ever more versatile human hand,*
> *imprison the foot, constricting its freedom of movement and blunting its sense*
> *of touch (Ingold, 2004: 319)*

This blunting of touch through footwear for Ingold (2004), is a negative consequence and outcome of modernity's use of objects. He argues that the mechanization of footwork is just one change in
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the onset of modernity that also includes altered modalities of travel and transport, education of posture and gesture, evaluation of the senses, and the architecture of the built environment (Ingold, 2004). Changes which have led to a separation between social and cultural life and the ground upon which life is materially enacted (Ingold, 2004). For Ingold (2004), footwear becomes a means through which to prioritise certain ways of moving that distinguish the man [sic] from the "savage". It is a way of moving which shows human's domination over nature. It is a way in particular of demonstrating the masculine European man as the dominant being: 'could not the technology of footwear be understood, again in some measure, as an effort to convert the imagined superiority of hands over feet, corresponding respectively to intelligence and instinct, or to reason and nature, into an experienced reality.' (Ingold, 2004: 321). The objects used by walkers also have colonial implications and highlight the means by which as a mediation, it is also connected to racialised and gendered histories with such objects.

These debates extend in turn to social media as another form of mediation, further highlighting the links between modernity, tradition, and the political and postcolonial aspects of movement. For many walking on the Trail, their relationships with social media were an important part of their journey. Many of my fellow walkers had personal Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter accounts they would frequently update along the Trail. Others had WhatsApp groups with family and friends in which photos would be shared. Some carried selfie sticks. Despite the common trope that walking is about disconnection from the world and an escape from everything, I would argue that it is also about finding alternative forms of connection. Almost all the 'thru-hikers' I met kept blogs of their 'thru-hike' and frequently posted photos and updates. This use of social media illustrates Ahmed's (1997) contention that touch can also describe the sensation of being affected or moved by something. For Ahmed (1997), this can result in 'intimacy' – a term understood either as emotive empathy or the 'abolition of distance'. The ability to feel 'touched,' without actually physically touching offers opportunities to explore what touch means across physical distance between people. This aspect of touch is one that is evidenced through the numerous comments under blog posts with comments such as 'I feel like I'm there with you', 'I didn't realise Jordan was so beautiful'.

However, this mediation of touch through social media also created moments of disagreement. On the 'thru-hike' I was part of in 2017, while a core group of us walked the whole Trail, many joined for days, weekends, or sections. We were joined for a week by a French walker who was aghast at our almost constant online activity. At the end of the day, we would arrive at camp, where several of us would take out our laptops, which she greeted with disdain. I was defensive, arguing that since I was doing research I needed my laptop and phone to take photos, write in my field diary, and to record interviews. I used my PhD research frequently as an excuse but, the truth is, I did find complete disconnection almost impossible. It was only near the end of the Trail that I put an out-of-office on my emails, and only because it was necessary as there was no phone signal. Our Bedouin

guides even prided themselves on knowing exactly what places on the Jordan Trail had phone signal – even if it did mean a slight scramble off-route.

Sometimes, however, there were days without any phone signal and no opportunities to charge our devices. It was during these days that members of my group commented on how free they felt. Classen (2005: 401) asks: 'Do machines free us from the drudgery of manual labour or do they compel us to conform to their mechanical rhythms and requirements?' This returns to Ingold's 'blunting of touch' through footwear and that, despite footwear appearing to enhance the body, it imprisons and constricts the foot of its true movement. Discussions around objects, technology, connection, and disconnection were numerous on the Jordan Trail. For many who joined for a day, they were glued to their phones. Others who were only there for a day found it easy to disconnect. Others walked for long periods of time entirely disconnected. Others spent the whole 40 days on social media with battery packs and solar charging panels hanging off their bags. This disparity for many caused conflicts; some found it hard to disconnect when others were connected. Others commented that collective spirit felt greatest when we were all forcibly disconnected.

Important questions arise therefore not about whether disconnection nor connection is best, but instead about how we communicate with one another, and how we mediate our touch with others. Many people discussed, for instance, the way that objects enhanced their bodies not just physically but also how their bodies interacted differently with others. Objects undoubtedly mediate touch on the Jordan Trail. However, I argue that this mediation instead of enhancing bodies can also highlight the biological and social aspects of the body. Our bodies cannot escape their biopolitics. The walking body cannot escape its biopolitics because of the conditions created by a body in motion. Movement creates pain, movement creates friction, movement creates an exposure to temperature. These, I have argued, can be mediated by objects; however, in this next section I want to suggest that these objects are still altered by the body that uses them, the gender, race, and religion of that body. In the following section, I explore first gender and then race to discuss the extent to which this mediation can take place. I argue that who walks is still important and not all bodies can extend themselves through objects in the same way.

Inequalities of the politics of touch: biopolitics, race, gender

There is a story of a British woman in her sixties - I have spoken of her already in Chapter 5 - Moradi, who walked the Jordan Trail, that I have heard numerous times. Moradi was brought up as the daughter of a British Antarctic explorer, and spent much time abroad. As an adult, Moradi moved to Hawaii, where she fell in love and converted to Islam. To explore her faith Moradi decided to travel to the Middle East and, with an interest in Bedouin culture, she found an opportunity to volunteer in a Bedouin tourist camp. With a new-found connection to Jordan, Moradi decided to walk the Jordan Trail on her own, and initially unassisted.[53] In her sixties, Moradi felt this was her last opportunity to walk a long-distance trail and wanted the challenge, the connection with Jordan, and felt this would be something her father would have liked her to do. Moradi, however, was worried about whether she was going to be physically able to walk the whole Trail, especially unassisted and with a heavy backpack.

Unlike more established long-distance walking trails, such as the West Highland Way in Scotland, there are no companies available to take one's luggage from one station to another; there are also no hostels or hotels set up along the route of the Jordan Trail and one cannot follow a well-trodden track. Therefore, after exploring various options, Moradi found a pull along backpack. In Moradi's blog she describes that the use of technology and objects enables her to walk the Jordan Trail. In one blog post, she writes that she has 'strong boots, map, and GPS' and is therefore able to complete the Trail. Moradi explained her decision to use the backpack to me at lengths – she was adamant that she wanted to do the 'thru-hike' on her own and without assistance. However, Moradi knew that her body, and in particular her knees, would not be able to physically carry the weight of all her equipment and heard about the 'Dixon Rollerpack'.[54] This object, Moradi explained to me, gave her strength and encouragement to believe that she could walk the Trail.

I walked with Moradi on two separate occasions for 21 days in total. A lot of this time was spent encouraging Moradi and convincing her that she was capable of walking the Trail. This was partly a question of self-esteem, as Moradi worried about her own fitness and physical abilities. However, this was also a result of the response of others to her. Despite her clear determination, experience of walking, and the numerous occasions in which she proved herself physically capable, Moradi was still seen by many as an elderly female lady and therefore not able to walk the Jordan Trail. While Moradi was able to use objects to overcome her physical limitations, some bodies are never able to escape their biopolitical representations – especially representations of gender and race.

If some bodies are reduced to their biopolitical representations it reinforces that vulnerability is socially dictated as I have argued previously. I described earlier that for Ben vulnerability made him

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53 The term 'unassisted' is a contentious one along the Jordan Trail. What it usually means in terms of long-distance hiking, and how I use it here, is to do a 'thru-hike' without human assistance.

54 Abbreviated from now on as 'Rollerpack'.

approachable and enabled interaction. For Moradi, her vulnerability instead made her seem out of place and 'othered' her at times. The means by which Moradi felt vulnerable demonstrated that vulnerability cannot be understood outside social and material relations (Butler, 2016). The physiological aspects of touch on the Jordan Trail I have argued create conditions for vulnerability but I am arguing here that this in turn creates moments to consider the social conditions in which this vulnerability takes place. There are moments in which to consider why different bodies are placed as more vulnerable than others and to suggest vulnerability is not always physiological but socially constructed. Moradi is not more vulnerable because she is older and female but because these categories are constructed within society as vulnerable. To expand on this argument, I return to Moradi and her solo 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail. As I mentioned previously, she became infamous on the Jordan Trail and, as clear evidence of this, was included in a book published by a travel writer, Leon McCarron, who came across Moradi while he was walking across the Middle East.

In an interview with McCarron, he told me that he decided to portray Moradi in a positive light, partly because he admitted he did admire her spirit and determination. However, after this incident, Moradi received a lot of scrutiny. McCarron reported this incident to the Jordan Trail Association who panicked. The Jordan Trail was still very 'new' and as someone on the Jordan Trail Board told me afterwards: 'if a foreign woman had died on the Trail it would have tarnished forever its international reputation.' The southern section of the Trail in particular was decided to be too risky for Moradi as there is limited phone contact, limited water supply, and uneven and rocky ground. At the time that Moradi was walking, the technical 'thru-hike' my group was walking in late 2016 was taking place and a member of the JTA phoned Moradi and asked her to join. In her determination to walk the whole Trail, Moradi agreed. Despite reluctance from my group to allow her to join as she would slow us down, my group permitted her to walk with us. The incident with Leon and the Rollerpack, however, impacted hugely on Moradi's confidence in herself. This was shared in a blog post she wrote:

> REST DAY WHICH HAS TURNED INTO BIG WORRY DAY! Now group leaving tomorrow, a day early, which OK as feel rested. BUT they are combining two days to make 20 miles after tomorrow's 13 miles. I can walk slower than group but finding my own way with GPS takes time, and I have to put up my tent before dark at 6 pm! Will my knees and legs hold up as I tire? There will still be another 9 walking days, including a 14 mile and a 16 mile day! I was already worried about being with the group and sleep issues! Next 2 days crucial to my final success!!!!!!!

Moradi's worry about walking the Trail and, in particular here, joining a group is because of her awareness of her own body in comparison to others. However, I would argue this is a socially constructed vulnerability. A question of whose bodies are allowed to be vulnerable and whose are not. Moradi's story suggests that only certain bodies are allowed to walk the Jordan Trail, and from

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my experience this was very rarely based on physiological or biological characteristics but instead judgements based on race or gender. Moradi told me her version of Leon's story and in hers she was in no trouble at all, instead she was simply so excited to see someone else on the Jordan Trail that she waved from her ledge. A motion Moradi took to be a call of distress. Moradi agrees that the Rollerpack did not function in the way she intended; this is partly because she was given misinformation – and, in some cases, no information – about the Trail itself. As Leon mentions, and as Chapter 4 describes, the Jordan Trail for most of its 650km is not a well-trodden and marked trail. Moradi says she emailed the JTA about the Rollerpack and received no reply.[55]

My main point, however, is that despite the pivotal role of an object here, this story is not about a Rollerpack. Objects, I have argued, enable the body to not simply be measured by its parts, its organs (Manning, 2007). Bodies, Manning (2007) argues, become machinic and engage symbiotically, incorporeally, virtually, thus becoming more than they already seem to be. However, Moradi's body is frequently reduced to her gender and age despite her use of an object to overcome them. Moradi's body, as a "weak", "fragile", and female one, should not be walking a long-distance trail. Therefore, her use of an object as a means of circumventing her bodily barriers was mocked and disparaged. A year after Moradi's story, another woman, this time a very fit Scottish woman in her 30s named Vix, attempted to walk the Jordan Trail solo. Just under a third of the way in, she was sexually harassed by a group of young men. This was once again a worrying incident for the Jordan Trail Association; however, their reaction was slightly different. Worried that Vix would go public with her story, she was put up by the Jordan Tourism Board in an expensive hotel and the incident was investigated thoroughly.

The combination of these two incidents prompted discussion as to whether women should be allowed to walk the Jordan Trail. Are women too vulnerable? Butler (2016: 25) argues that vulnerability 'characterises a relation to a field of objects, forces, and passion that impinge on or affect us in some way.' Vulnerability should therefore not be something that needs to be overcome but instead understood in relation to these things and resisted. Both Vix and Moradi stayed with their vulnerability and both completed the Jordan Trail. Vix also broke a speed record at the time. However, while Butler's (2016) work on vulnerability is crucial to understanding how the Jordan Trail enables touch to create meaningful and embodied connections, I also query whether this

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55 On the website of the Rollerpack, the item is far from a 'suitcase' and instead designed to help: 'walking travellers (sic) more comfortably enjoy the journey they embark upon' (Dixon Rollerpack, website, no date or PN). The information on the website further states that the pack is gentler to a trail than pack animals and that it is based on indigenous travelling techniques pioneered plain Indians: 'This was a frame slung between trailing poles and pulled by a dog, horse or sometimes humans. They used it to move their goods and belongings as they looked for better hunting grounds and warmer weather' (Dixon Rollerpack, website, no date or PN). The website states that the Rollerpack helps people with physical disabilities to walk self-supported on long-distance trails. Reading this the Rollerpack seems in many ways a perfectly logical object. However, it is not an appropriate means of transport in Jordan, her Bedouin family could have told her. Across great plains, the Rollerpack might be suitable, across the rugged landscape of Jordan, camels and donkeys as the next section will explore, are the preferred means.

vulnerability is the same for everyone and that some vulnerabilities are more privileged than others. Vix and Moradi are both British women walking in the Middle East. The following section responds to this through a discussion of race and postcolonialism through an exploration of how objects mediate touch on the Trail.

Race and postcolonialism

I stay with objects here because to understand how different bodies mediate touch through objects helps to understand different approaches to movement and practices of movement. Postcolonial theorists exploring race, bodies and identities argue that experiences and relations to objects are rooted in questions of power and the body (Sharp, 2008; Tolia-Kelly, 2010). This is political and there is a need in geography to 'differently populate the discipline' (Panelli, 2008: 801). Tolia-Kelly (2010: 360) argues for: 'race and racism to be understood in climates in which cultures of 'race' theory are made present in the everyday national consciousness through media news, governance, and local geopolitics.' The Jordan Trail is a site of such everyday national consciousness and a site in which to bring together discussions of race and difference. Particularly through encounters with objects on the Trail and how they expand the limits of the body are also related to power relations rooted in gender and race. Slocum (2008) argues that embodied relations with materiality and particularly objects are generated through activities in place, and place itself is active in the production of capacities and what people do, say, sense, and feel:

> [I]t is in the interactions between bodies and the substances they ingest, the
> possessions they accumulate, and the tools they use to act on the world [that]
> we can really see race being made, and making the society around it
> (Weismantel, 2001: 266).

Bodies are active participants in the material production of themselves and other bodies (Slocum, 2008). On the Jordan Trail, this becomes visible through the way in which different objects take shape and meaning on the Jordan Trail. As I have already suggested, the role of objects on the Jordan Trail can enhance the body, making it easier for bodies to navigate the Jordan Trail. Yet, as I have also argued, this is complicated through the racial and gendered history that different bodies have with place. The encounter with Moradi and her Rollerpack troubled the way in which her gendered and elderly body was not suitable to be enhanced. Another example of this is my decision to use the term 'walking' and not 'hiking'. This is partly because of the Euro-American histories associated with 'hiking' that I have described; however, it is also because 'hiking' denotes a way of moving and particularly a way of moving with objects that risks alienation. This was evidenced frequently through comments particularly from mainly international tourists about Bedouins not wearing adequate footwear or not having the right equipment. Another example is the use of GPS devices on the Trail. GPS devices, as Chapter 4 discussed, are an important and often essential item in the navigation of the Jordan Trail. However, the GPS device also denotes the mediation of touch by producing ways of moving through the landscape that are less about

embodied knowledge than the following of a pre-determined line. To expand, I return to a moment on the Jordan Trail that I explored in Chapter 4:

> I was a bit behind the rest of the group keeping to my own slightly slower
> rhythm. Ahead of me I could see that instead of keeping to one line, it was
> splitting in two. A fork heading in a straight line and another fork veering off to
> the left. I sped up towards the point at which each line began to veer. Unsure
> who to follow I saw that Sam had continued in the straight line and was
> stopped ahead with Simon and Abeer. I caught up with them to see Sam with
> his GPS device in hand and a map in the other:
>
> Olivia: 'What's happening?'
>
> Sam: 'Nasir has gone off the route nearer the mountain, he announced, he says
> it's a better way.'
>
> Olivia: 'Why didn't you follow him?'
>
> Sam: 'We are keeping to the line' (Field diary: 20/11/16).

I described this moment in Chapter 4 as two different ways of knowing the land, drawing lines, and understanding movement along the Trail. Here I focus on the GPS device as an object. The GPS device acts as a mediator between bodies in this story, dictating how bodies can interact and relate to one another and how they can move. It mediates relationality. Vix, a 'thru-hiker' on the Jordan Trail, when asked what she learnt from walking the Jordan Trail replied that she learnt how to 'follow my GPS device very closely'. It therefore changes the way in which her body interacted with land. Vix passes through Jordan as a physically enhanced body, following a line that to everyone else is invisible. It alienates the landscape for others, particularly bodies for whom objects have a different relationship. In the story above, therefore, from Sam's perspective Nasir was wrong because he was not able to see in the way that the GPS device dictates.

This is why, once again, I return to 'hiking' as a term and the ways in which it excludes other ways of walking and further to this what vulnerability might mean for different bodies. I told the story above of Vix and the sexual harassment she experienced while walking.[56] Alongside other incidents of sexual harassment on the Trail, another form of harassment was the throwing of rocks at walkers. I heard numerous stories, and experienced myself on various occasions, rocks being thrown at walkers. This occurred mostly in the northern sections of the Jordan Trail where, in

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56 Vix was happy for me to include this incident; however, I have chosen not to go into detail about other incidents I heard of nor to elaborate on Vix's. This is because many of these stories were told to me outside of official interviews and I have decided not to explore this aspect of sexual harassment in detail in this thesis.

contrast to the less populated and Bedouin areas in the southern sections, is populated with many villagers.

Rocks are often thrown in these rural and traditional village areas of the North, usually but not always by groups of children. On numerous occasions, I asked Jordanians to comment on this; the answer I was often given was that people are scared of the unknown, what Ahmed (2000) would term 'stranger danger'. The unknown in this case being the 'hiker' walking in full 'hiking' gear complete with a GPS device in hand, rucksack, walking shoes, walking poles and a hat. I spoke with one group of Jordanians who told me that they have never been greeted in Arabic by fellow Jordanians, always English – as they are always presumed to be foreigners. This suggests that the use of objects here is related to racialised understandings of the body because objects can make certain bodies appear strange. Saldanha (2006) argues that whether bodies are understood as 'white' or 'brown' in certain places is related to what they do.

'Hiking' is a process therefore that evokes certain understandings of bodies because it is a practice I have argued that is rooted in colonial and Euro-centric histories. Who is vulnerable is dependent on privilege and perspective. So that 'hikers' perceive themselves as able to overcome vulnerabilities but in doing so create new vulnerabilities for themselves when these enhancements are out of place. I have described how objects provide an enhancement, invention, and mediation. The way in which these objects mediate vulnerability is also a comment on the conditions for vulnerability to take place. Which bodies can use objects to mediate and enhance their bodily limitations and which bodies cannot. There is a Western trend to enhance the body, and therefore bodies that perform without these enhancements are often orientalised. Lisle (2016b), for instance, argues that in the Marathon de Sables, an ultra-marathon held annually in Morocco, international runners use a variety of objects to equip themselves for a harsh desert environment. However, as runners test their endurance and strength against an 'extreme' landscape, colonial asymmetries are recast as the race privileges Western bodies and erases indigenous bodies:

> *Writing out indigenous bodies enables MdS [Marathon de Sables] runners to import their preferred Western training techniques, fitness regimes, modes of surveillance and consumer products (e.g. hats, sunglasses, sunscreen, backpacks, water bottles, GPS watches, lip balm, specialist shoes and energy bars) that will 'equip' them for their impending battle against nature (Lisle, 2016b).*

East African long-distance runners who were able to navigate this terrain were idealized as modern day 'Noble Savages' 'whose efficient movements and unprecedented stamina arise from a more direct relationship with the natural landscape' (Lisle, 2016b: 269). The strange local customs such as sucking on green tea leaves were also seen as surprising opposed to energy bars and maximum calorie foods (Lisle, 2016b). To make sense of how indigenous runners are able to compete without modern/Western enhancements is to displace markers of gender and race onto local subjects.

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Local runners are feminized or racialised through their 'exotic' Muslim bodies (Lisle, 2016b). This exoticisation of Muslim bodies was evidenced by the story I told in Chapter 4 of Mohammad and Mohammad finding water deep underground. Or else other Bedouin guides being asked to cook bread underground for new members of our walking group who would gather round cameras, their cameras at the ready to capture this Bedouin magic (see Figure 42). Or else, remarks made about how little water our guides would drink and the strange salty yoghurt balls[57] they ate.

Figure 41: Mohammad making arboud with selfie sticks just out of the photograph (Author)

However, as the numerous stone-throwing incidents demonstrate, there is also an othering occurring from the other side. Nasir, and numerous other Bedouin and local Jordanian guides to whom I spoke, laughed at the thought that a GPS device enhanced the body. For them, the presence of such objects are unnecessary enhancements and render the bodies that use them out of place. For instance, many of the local Bedouin guides wear their normal footwear and clothes; they hike in jeans, and wear flip flops but do not come across any difficulties in doing so. Understanding how objects enhance our bodies therefore is also about understanding the relationship between our own bodies. The vulnerabilities arising from touch therefore provide moments in which to understand how bodies are constructed as physiologically vulnerable but also vulnerable due to essentialised categories based on racialized and gendered norms. Walkers can both extend their bodies through the enhancements of objects but in turn are vulnerable through enhancements – such as the story of Moradi or else rocks thrown at walkers. While Bedouins are

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57 These yoghurt balls are made by Bedouins to solve the problem of no refrigeration. They are made by straining yoghurt into a curd and adding salt for preservation. The yoghurt balls are then left in the sun and a hard lump of preserved yoghurt remains. Perfect for replacing salt lost while walking.

seen as vulnerable and exoticized because of their lack of enhancements. This is important because it nuances work on walking by considering it within cultural politics and furthermore suggests that movement is always politicised as not all bodies can move equally. Further to this I have illustrated that different bodies move through place in different ways.

In sum, I have argued in this section that, through the body-object relationship, a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between individuals and place is possible. Objects enable a touch in which the body can be extended and, in this extension, invention takes place (Manning, 2007). A relationship can occur between bodies differently through the mediating role of objects, particularly the role of social media and how our bodies connect and disconnect through it. However, I have argued that bodies can never escape their biopolitics because of the intimate embodiment of the walking body through touch. On the Jordan Trail, bodies always matter. Moments when bodies are essentialised or reduced to their biopolitics are in turn moments to consider how social conditions dictate which bodies are in-place and furthermore that movement is not equal. A rethinking of how walking as a practice might be understood differently in other cultures is possible and also which narratives and movements are privileged.

In the next section, I explore the final way in which I will explore a politics of touch, that of the touch between humans and animals.

Touch (III): Human-animal: ethics

Figure 42: One of the puppies we found on the Trail, being carried in a scarf (Author)

Near the southern end of the Jordan Trail, my group on the Jordan Trail 'thru-hike' came across three young Bedouin boys with two puppies. The puppies had been tied together with sharp wire

that was cutting through their skin and the puppies looked starved, dehydrated, and beaten by the sun. The three boys were laughing and hitting the puppies with sticks. Several members of our group, myself included, were horrified and angry at the boys. We shouted at the boys, separated and released the puppies from the wire, and gave the puppies food and water. One puppy in particular appeared very ill and very weak. A few of the group, predominantly the international members, decided that we needed to carry the puppies with us and find help for them. Despite the boys not speaking English and most of the international members of the group not speaking Arabic, the boys were shouted at in English. The boys' response was to laugh. Our local Bedouin guide told us that he knew the boys. He told us they were cheeky and mischievous and not from a 'good family'. He too was in agreement that the boys' behaviour was unacceptable. One of the international walkers in our group, however, felt that the treatment of the boys was wrong. The group, he felt, was imposing our (Western) views and values about animals upon them. In response to this, an American walker, Jules, said he would be horrified to see animal cruelty anywhere in the world and that, regardless of place and culture, animal cruelty is universally deplorable.

Despite Jules' assertion that animal cruelty is universally deplorable, how one encounters animals as an 'other' I argue is culturally and place specific. In this section, I explore two arguments in relation to touch and animals. First, I continue the argument the previous section made that our encounters with animals, as with objects, are based on culture, politics, and place. Second, a greater discussion of the ethical aspects of touch and how ethical decisions are enabled by the proximity, intimacy, and response based on the touch. How one responds to animal encounters and acknowledges difference is a crucial element of the ethics of response. As such, the next section first outlines literature on animal geography before exploring the ethical conditions and responses to animals on the Jordan Trail.

Encountering animals

A new animal agenda emerged in the 1990s to explore the 'spatial relations between people and animals' (Philo and Wolch, 1998: 10). Within this was an attentiveness to why animals matter 'individually and collectively, materially and semiotically, metaphorically and affectively' (Buller, 2014: 310). Animals offer new ways of exploring and understanding ourselves (Franklin, 1999; Whatmore, 2006) but can also help to understand 'other' presences and bearers of meaning within our own cultural spacings and placings' (Buller, 2014: 311). Buller (2014: 312) identifies three needs within animal geographies: first, to recognise the agency of animals in our co-habited worlds but also in resistance to them; second, to destabilise dualistic understandings through more 'fluid, turbulent and relational human/animal ontological reconfigurations of social practice'; third, to create a radical politics in which their complexity is included. Of interest here, and returning to the story of the boys and the puppies, is an understanding of how we understand our own ethical response to others. Haraway (2008: 4) contends that 'species of all kinds, living and not, are consequent on a subject- and object- shaping dance of encounters' and therefore interactions with animals constantly shape, form and give meaning to ourselves. This links to work on animal

geographies which argues for the 'entwined biographies of human and subject relations' (Braun, 2008: 674).

These animal-human relations are important because our relationships with animals reinforces understandings of sociality as not just a human-human relationship but one also with the natural world (Ingold, 1983). The first way I wish to explore this through animals is in relation to cruelty and animal welfare. Returning to the story of the boys and the puppies, responses to animal welfare I argue are culturally and place contingent. Each of our responses was also based on our own experiences. For instance, I love dogs; others who do not would feel differently. Srinivasan (2013) compares different laws between the UK and India around animal being and welfare to suggest how humans might share physical and ethical spaces with animals. She writes:

> *In the UK, the legal conception of dogs as property reinforces prevailing ideas of animal wellbeing by which dogs that are unable to live up to high welfare standards are rendered killable. By contrast, in India, the law recognises the independent status of ownerless street dogs and so these animals are not confronted with the stark injunction to live well or die.*

Differentiated meanings of love and the power in human-dog relations contributes to understandings of biopolitics for Srinivasan (2013) and ethics and response. This relates in turn to the growth of animal geographies and the focus on 'autre-mondialisation' – asking and theorising how humans might live with animals in less harmful ways (Haraway, 2008). It is following such work that an interest has emerged in relational theories that have 'played an important role in correcting dualist ontologies that place humans as separate from and superior to animals' (Srinivasan, 2013: 107). Such connections have explored the interconnectivity and co-existence of humans and animals. However, it is without question that, within the contemporary world, decisions on animal welfare and 'necessary suffering' are made by humans, Srinivasan (2013) argues; and that within laboratories this is particularly problematic, as humans have put the animals there. The same dog in the laboratory can also be a family pet; it is human discourse which, for Srinivasan (2013), alters the response to the animal – whether we respond with hospitality to the other (allowing them in our family home) or hostility (placing them in a laboratory). J. Lorimer's (2010) research on human-elephant interactions demonstrates that such relationships are constantly negotiating harm, care, and indifference. One animal can be cherished but another animal in the same place can as equally be out of place, such as stray dogs or pest control (Philo and Wilbert, 2000).

By comparing laws around neutering, euthanasia, and breeding and dog control legislation in the UK and India, Srinivasan (2013) argues that there are possibilities for considering how cruelty and care are related to power in human-animal relationships. Srinivasan (2013), for instance, queries whether decisions in the UK to round up all dogs into shelters, as opposed to India where these dogs can roam free on the streets, challenge the UK's image as an 'animal friendly' country. These ethical decisions help to inform our own subjectivity in terms of who we give agency to within

human-animal relations. In numerous cases of human-animal relations – for instance meat production – human interests are the primary objective (Srinivasan, 2013). However, through looking at moments of intervention, Srinivasan (2013) argues for a greater understanding of how subjectification manifests in human-animal relationships. Such understandings of intervention also require asking who the agent of change is in such relationships. Thus, subjectification takes two forms: self-governance and agential subjectification.

Human-animal relations are also entangled within understandings of sovereignty, the self, and ethics. Human-animal relations move away from framings of the world marked by 'dominant, ocular-centric western perspectives of place' to embodied engagements with other ways of knowing (Bawaka County et al, 2016: 455). This returns to my queries of unpacking place outside of state centric narratives but also understanding other ways of being in place with others. To return to the story with the puppies, it provided moments of asking how individuals understood themselves in relation to animals and how those relations were born out of specific cultural politics. Ethics here is about 'attend[ing] to the world's communicative nature, and to the way humans can both understand and become part of it' (Bawaka County et al, 2016: 467). It is not just about human humans communicate but also how animals are a part of our lives.

Another way in which to consider this amidst discussions of animal cruelty is through the role of animals in relation to labour and capital because such relations help to understand how other cultures value animal-human relationships (Ingold, 1974). Ingold (1974) explores new transformations in hunting, pastoralism and stock-rearing between reindeer herders to connect categorisations of capital with relationships between humans and reindeer in Finland. Humans and reindeer in Finland, Ingold (1974) argues, have long established a relationship of mutual advantage. This relationship is being altered by changing means by which we value animals and capital. For instance, traditionally for hunters 'capital lies principally in hunting expertise' while for the pastoralist 'capital lie in the herd, and in particular in control over its reproductive value' (Ingold, 1974: 526). A clear relationship between capital value as expertise, as land, and through the reindeer themselves emerges. Colonist Finns saw agricultural land as a basic capital resource they sought to accumulate and reindeer as simply additional meat in direct contrast to the reindeer herders for whom capital lay in the herd (Ingold, 1974). A move to predatory pastoralism saw changing relationships between deer and humans, not one of mutual benefit but conditions in which each acted strategically for their own ends.

By exploring changing relationships between people and animals particularly within indigenous settings altered by colonialism, it is possible to in turn consider other ways of valuing land and territory – an argument made in Chapter 5 – but also different forms of human subjectivity and how others, such as animals, become part of, and valued alongside human lives. In another paper exploring the relationship between humans and bees, Ingold (1983) argues for a move away from a Cartesian view of animal existence, a view in which animals are not simply instruments of human

labour but agents of production. The reconsideration of our lives with animals and how other cultures, and particularly indigenous groups, understand animals places us within 'an ethics of co-becoming and demands that we attend to the connections that bind and co-constitute us' (Bawaka County et al, 2016: 469).

I have argued throughout this chapter that walking on the Jordan Trail enables a different engagement with others, our environment, objects, and here too animals because it places the body central to such interactions. The everyday, embodied, and intimate scale of the body allows small stories to emerge that re-orientate agency away from Western understandings to give agency to the non-human and other connections that bind us. These small stories of everyday interactions with animals I expand on in the following section. I first explore how walking the Jordan Trail enables the embodied conditions in which one can have close proximity to animals. I will push this argument further because the act of moving and walking for a prolonged period of time in close touch to the ground also results in animals emerging as part of our place formation. Animals I will show play an important role in the movement of walkers on the Jordan Trail. Understanding the relationships between humans and animals can suggest different systems of values and interactions that reorientate the role of the human within social relations.

Encountering animals on the Trail

Without animals, the life of humans along the Jordan Trail and in Jordan would be difficult. For Bedouins, animals help with trade, food, water, hunting, and navigation. This relationship is a historical one dating back to the Nabatean Empire when caravans of camels carrying items to trade were essential to its growth and success – Bedouins in Petra are believed to be descended from Nabateans. This relationship with camels extends to the current day, as camels are still the best 'vehicles' for desert life. Camels are equipped in a way humans are not to deal with the harsh desert conditions. They (see Figure 45) have two layers of eyelashes to stop sand getting in their eyes, they have a hump carrying a fat reserve which can be converted to water when needed, they have splayed hoofs to spread their body mass as they negotiate sand. They are called desert ships by Bedouins, a poetic term, which describes perfectly their ease in navigating harsh desert terrain carrying large loads, essential for nomadic Bedouin existence.

Donkeys also play an essential role throughout Jordan, unlike camels which are mostly used in the south where it is desert. Donkeys help carry people and water over long distances (see Figure 48). I was told that following the footprints of donkeys is the best navigational strategy. Goats navigate routes too difficult for humans, while the routes taken by camels are often long detours as they cannot navigate difficult terrain. Donkeys also help to drive farm machinery and are an important part of rural life in the north. Furthermore, sheep and goats provide milk, wool, and meat. In Figure 44, goats are being herded to a different pasture, a common traffic jam in the northern regions. They also provide an important protein and nutrient source for Bedouin communities; in Figure 46, they are tied up outside a Bedouin tent ready to be milked.

Figure 43: Goats on the Jordan Trail (Author)

Figure 44: A camel in the southern section of the Jordan Trail (Author)

Figure 45: Sheep held together to milk near a Bedouin tent (Author)

Figure 46: A Sinai Agama - rare lizard found across Northern Africa and the Middle East (Author)

Figure 47: A young Bedouin boy leading his sheep, donkey, and dogs to water (Author)

Figure 48: A fellow walker sharing his lunch with William Shakespeare (Author)

It was through the process of walking along the Jordan Trail that such encounters with animals arose in relationality to our own movements as walkers. These experiences with animals were not

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just described but intimately experienced.[58] Near the southern end of the Jordan Trail, my group was joined by a Bedouin – Mahmoud – and his donkey – William Shakespeare – to carry water for our group. William, as he was commonly called, was a lively donkey who would push us out the way, as we navigated narrow mountain paths too slow for his liking. William fascinated us with his ability to carefully but quickly negotiate steep and rugged terrain, carrying all our water on his back. William often went ahead but always appeared to know the route: in part memory but also a keen ability to be able to sense the "right" way. William's relationship with place, similar to Lorimer's reindeers (2006), is practical, intimate and tactile. William moves where he can sense water, he knows how to use shelter, can negotiate rocky terrain, and find the route. William joined us for ten days and walking with him each day changed our relationships towards him and our relationship with ground. Following Lorimer (2006: 502), when one learns 'to think like a reindeer' – or in this case a donkey – 'an animal appreciation of topography, time, and movement can be shared by humans.' I spoke at length to Mahmoud about Bedouin interactions with donkeys and, despite having seen donkeys on multiple occasions, I had never appreciated their role in human life in Jordan.

Donkeys have left their traces throughout the Jordan Trail, as Chapter 4 outlined, and by walking with the donkeys an appreciation of this history and how Bedouin knowledge of the ground has grown alongside donkeys and camels arose. Mahmoud explained that donkeys help him to find his way and water; without donkeys, exploration, travel, and knowledge of the land would be much different. Another aspect of the entanglement of human and animal life is communication. On the Jordan Trail, I noticed the ways in which Bedouins would communicate with animals through sounds. These sounds formed a language between Bedouins and the animal that was mostly consistent with tribes, so that a Bedouin from near Amman would speak to animals in the same way as a Bedouin from Wadi Rum. One day we were given a lesson and below is a literal translation of some of these words and sounds:

> *For goats/sheep:*
> *hah hi-jah – come*
> *hkh – go*
> *a'aa a'aa – quick*
> *woooiee – stop*
>
> *For goats:*
> *hi-haj – come*
> *For sheep:*

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58 The role that animals play in daily life is a role that alters along the length of the trail. In the north, animals play agricultural roles – horses and donkeys pull machinery over fields, goats and sheep provide milk, wool and meat, dogs protect farmland. Towards the south, their role is less agricultural and animals instead play transportation roles – donkeys and camels carry water, food and items to trade.

rrrreeei - stop

hurri – go

For dogs:

ta'o – come

For donkeys:

heeesh – stop

With these words and sounds there is arguably a return to words to which Buller (2015: 375) suggests is the problem with the anthropocentric and humanist social sciences and their emphasis on 'social facts, social institutions, collective intentionality, and individual reflexivity,' all of which places language as the prerequisite for entry into the social. This, Ingold (1997) argues, maintains the notion that social relations are human relations. However, language is different here in these shared words between animals and humans. A communication takes place without language but enables co-existence and shared understanding. The sound to make a sheep stop – 'rreeeii' – is not a sound I could easily make, never mind translate. It is a sound. These sounds are deeply embodied, as they require deeply visceral means of production. Such sounds are taught to Bedouin children from a young age and become part of their Bedouin identity. Such inter-species communication, Buller (2015) argues, is the potential for animal geography, to engage with others in relation to one another differently.

This also links to the rise of therapy animals – partly as a means for humans who find communication with other humans difficult, particularly verbal communication – to spend time with someone who understands them. Haraway (2006), describing her relationship when playing with her dog, Cheyenne, argues that 'those wonderful, joy-enticing signals like play bows and feints [that] usher us over the threshold into the world of meanings that do not mean what they seem […] the world of meanings loosed from their functions is the game of co-presence in the contact zone' (Haraway, 2008: 240). Haraway (2006) argues through her experiences with her own dog for better conceptualisations of what companionship might mean within species encounter. Within all species encounters, there are subject and object shaping which are formed through interactions.

Recent work on animal geographies argues for the 'entwined biographies of human and animal subjects' (Braun, 2008: 674). Buller (2015) argues that this emerges from the methodological turn in the studying of animals, through non-representation methodologies and ethno-methodologies in which human and non-human alike 'become framed, enacted and constructed through multiple layers of interactional practice' (Buller, 2015: 377-378). Lorimer's work on reindeer herds and herders (2006) and seals (2010b) argues for 'learning by witnessing' by using a wide variety of mixed methods to explore human-animal relations. Lorimer writes: 'if the phenomenological experiment of encounter is pushed far enough, a portrait of shared existence emerges encompassing more-than-human lives and habits, repeatedly emerging into the world' (Lorimer, 2010b: 73). This is also an acknowledgement therefore of how we find sites in which to understand

human-animal relations differently. On the Jordan Trail, for instance, it was not just through experiencing and witnessing human-animal interactions that I began to understand them but also in poems and songs. Bedouin poetry frequently mentions animals, particularly camels but also donkeys.[59] This was a poem which was written on my laptop in Arabic by Bedouins with whom I was walking on the Trail. An Arabic speaking friend translated it for me:

جيتك علي سود المجاهيم حافي ابسالك عقب البطا وش الأحوال

البدو شدوا فوق زينات الاوصاف

سفن الصحاري للحمول الثقيله

اقفوا وانا دمعي علي الخد هتاف

واللي عشقته شد معهم رحيله

جلست اراقبهم علي راس مشراف

لما ضعنهم غض راس الطويله

الا ياليت مزنا تالي الليل ينشاف

لا لاح برقا يسقي الدار سيله

وتربع الديره وتتعاد بالارياف

واهتني بشوفك يا أبو العيون الكحيله

جيتك علي سود المجاهيم حافي ابسالك عقب البطا وش الأحوال

I came to you on my black camel's barefoot to ask how you are after these long times.
البدو شدوا فوق زينات الاوصاف
No translation
سفن الصحاري للحمول الثقيله
Desert ships [camels] are for the heavy loads.
اقفوا وانا دمعي علي الخد هتاف
Travelled with tears on my cheeks shouting
واللي عشقته شد معهم رحيله
And the one I love has travelled with them
جلست اراقبهم علي راس مشراف

I sat observing on a high stand

لما ضعنهم غض راس الطويله

Till the highest head was no longer seen

الا ياليت مزنا تالي الليل ينشاف

Wish that I could see my beauty at night one more time

لا لاح برقا يسقي الدار سيله

No translation

وتخضر الديره وتنعاد بالارياف

The house will become green again to become countryside [when he sees her again]

I sat observing on a high stand

لما ضعنهم غض راس الطويله

Till the highest head was no longer seen

الا ياليت مزنا تالي الليل ينشاف

لا لاح برقا يسقي الدار سيله

Bedouin poetry is filled with human love but often, as in this poem, a love of animals and an acknowledgement of them as part of their life. As noted previously, camels in Bedouin poetry, such as in this poem, are often referred to as 'desert ships' – an affectionate term for the function they play in transporting people and material items for trade. In this poem, it is also camels who are transporting the narrator's loved one away from him and then transporting her back – the camel is the vessel carrying his love. These Bedouin poems date back hundreds of years and are passed down through generations. I heard this particular poem sitting around a campfire near the end of the Jordan Trail. Evenings spent around campfires reciting Bedouin poetry were some of the most memorable parts of the Jordan Trail for me. The Jordan Trail brought together several different Bedouin tribes: one evening we were joined by two different tribes from Wadi Rum, a Bedouin from Petra, and Bedouins from the north of Jordan. These tribes originated from different parts of the Middle East: the Bedouins from the north of Jordan were originally from Palestine; the Bedouins from Wadi Rum originally from what is now Saudi Arabia; the Bedouins from Petra descended from Nabateans. Yet this poetry was a shared language between them; even younger Bedouins in their late teens could recite these poems. These poems connect Bedouins from different geographical locations and through being together on the Trail they are shared. These poems are also helpful to understand the history of Bedouins with animals and the important role that they play in their lives. They illustrate that animals have a role in Bedouin lives that is co-constitutive with their history and their relationship with place.

Touching animals on the Trail

To return to the boys and the puppies – this moment ruptured ethical norms for different groups regarding animal welfare and split the group into divergent factions. This created a rupture in the group dynamic, where each group was required to reassess their own relationship with animals as one based on ethics rooted in culture. This, to return to Srinivasan (2013), also enables us to consider how cruelty and care manifest in human-animal relationships. The decision was made by our group to place the animals in an animal shelter near Petra. Our belief was that the animal shelter would be the best place for the puppies as opposed to them being released back into 'the wild'. This, however, is a decision based on notions of cruelty and kindness contained within socio-political contexts. Srinivasan (2013) questions whether – between 'dog-free' zones and the containment or killing of stray dogs in the UK, and the freedom of roam of dogs in India – it is clear which is the cruel or kind decision. In Jordan, animal shelters are few in number but around Petra a shelter was built partly in response to animal welfare issues, highlighted by tourists. Animals in Petra play an important role in tourism practices, particularly through donkey and camel rides offered to tourists. However, in recent years, questions about the welfare of these animals have been raised. An article on the BBC website (Usher, 2018) reported that PETA had launched an international campaign to end the mistreatment of animals at Petra. The article describes mistreatment of animals including offering them little water and shade throughout the day, and wounds on animals caused by chains and ropes tied around them (Usher, 2018).

The Jordan Trail runs through Petra – an odd moment when one suddenly finds oneself in a large tourist site dressed in walking gear amongst groups of international tourists wielding selfie sticks. However, the contrast between tourists standing, sitting, taking photographs and our fairly steady walking meant the labour abuses of the animals is particularly notable. Petra is built in a valley; however, some of the most iconic sites such as the Monastery are at the top of its steep sides. A long climb is required to reach the summit and it is one of the parts where donkeys are used most often to transport tourists. The climb is felt on our legs as we walk and many of us noted as we felt the pain and pressure on our own bodies an appreciation for the labour of the donkeys.

This shared vulnerability between human and animal created new communities of care. As such, the response we have as walkers to the abuses of the donkeys is one of outrage out of shared experienced, especially when we compared the treatment of donkeys in Petra to our experience with William Shakespeare. William was cared for by our group and became an object of affection. We would stroke his head, feed him water, offer him bits of our lunch, and make sure his saddle was not rubbing. Not all the group shared such sympathy; Mahmoud in particularly considered our behaviour amusing. This was not to say that Mahmoud did not care for William but instead that his care manifested in a different way. He respected William and his knowledge of the land; Mahmoud follows and trusts William. As such, relationships with animals are based on our own cultural experience and the roles animals play in our lives. By understanding how others engage with animals helps to uncover different relationships with place and a more relational understanding of place.

In this section, I have therefore argued that relationships with animals can be understood through touch. It is only by moving on the Jordan Trail and the intimate proximity between other humans, animals, and the ground that the role animals play in Jordan emerges. By living with and alongside animals and valuing their agency, life for Bedouin communities is possible. However, this proximity and intimacy also raised ethical debates. Moments of conflict arose as a result of different ethical relationships with animals – whether they should be allowed to roam free, or else put in a shelter. For Barad (2012), ethics arises when we are faced to reevaluate our own response to a decision. Encounters with animals on the Trail therefore produce questions around ethics – ethics also being for Barad (2012) a response to touch.

Conclusion

At the start of this chapter, I asked the question 'why one walks?' This chapter has addressed this question by exploring how walking gives a different account of the Middle East, an embodied account of movement and politics. I argued that walking creates moments of touch through the intimate proximity between human and human, human and object, and human and animal. Through these different moments of touching, I argued that an account of Jordan arose in which individual bodies were valued. An attentiveness to everyday movement reoriented a narrative of Jordan from state-centric and sovereign visualities to everyday and embodied encounters. By focusing on everyday movements, discussion can return to questions of who moves, how different people move, why people move. These embodied and everyday scale movements help to understand how people relate to one another differently. In doing so, I argue, a different account of Jordan emerges that is attentive to everyday cultural practices. The cultural and social understandings that arise only as a result of movement.

I introduced the concept of touch, as a key term in which to explore how bodies are able to relate to other bodies, objects, and humans on the Trail. Touch, I argued, is the physiological response of receptors in the skin to pressure, heat, and pain. Using empirical evidence from my time spent walking on the Trail, I argued that physiological touch is heightened. This is the pain and pressure that cause blisters and back pain, and the heat from the sun. I argued that this touch creates physical vulnerabilities. However, I expanded on this to then argue that touch cannot be understood outside of the social relations that make the touch meaningful. Touch is therefore about response, ethics, and hospitality. It is the response to the touch of another: a response to the vulnerabilities on the body by walking and also a response to the intimate proximity of another enabled by walking. A long-distance walking trail is a critical way in which to explore interactions with others because of the dualism of physiological impact upon the bodies and questions of response and ethics.

This chapter argued that walking as a practice creates the conditions for touch to take place and be made meaningful. I explored this through three moments of touch. In the first, I demonstrated with

empirical examples how individuals are vulnerable on the Trail through discussions of pain, blisters, and heat exposure. I argued that what made these vulnerabilities meaningful was how they were responded to. I demonstrated moments of care, offering a cup of tea, fixing a broken strap, or tending to a blister, that opened up mutual understanding. I then discussed hospitality as another form of response to the other. I argued that the temporalities and mobilities gained by walking the Jordan Trail in turn create moments of hospitality through homestays. However, I described moments from my field diary in which hospitality was uncomfortable. As a result, touch can bring bodies together through the close proximity enabled by walking but touch also creates risks. Who or what is at risk must be acknowledged but also opportunities within these moments of discomfort must be considered, in order to understand ourselves and others differently. This is an important contribution I have made in this thesis within the context of Jordan, a place I have argued is frequently othered and mis-represented. By considering how practices of movement can create moments of touch and response I have argued long-distance walking trails are particularly important sites to challenge such static views and the sovereignty of the visual over the touch as a sense.

In the second moment, I explored how objects, such as GPS devices, equipment, and social media devices, are used on the Jordan Trail. I argued these devices mediated touch and – through the example, for instance, of someone using social media to connect with those not physically present – suggested touch can take place over distance. However, I also continued my argument that not all bodies are able to touch in the same way. I argued that despite the ability of objects to extend the body's limitations, racialized and gendered norms stop some bodies being able to escape their biopolitical status. I used the example of Moradi and her Rollerpack, as well as the relationships between Bedouins and objects, to argue that these objects – although they might enhance the body – are still constrained by norms. Not all bodies are able to enhance and extend themselves equally and this is demonstrated through moments of conflict: when Moradi was not allowed to walk on the Trail anymore, when rocks were thrown at 'hikers', when Bedouin bodies were exoticized, and 'hikers' were in turn mocked by Bedouins. Such moments create opportunities to also understand difference and the other because these moments are highlighted on the Trail. They become points of discussion and a chance to consider how others are understood in relation to ourselves. Through touch I have considered how movement on the Jordan Trail can also highlight embodied differences and as a result outline inequalities in who can move and also broaden conceptualisations of movement beyond understandings of movement frequently focused on Western bodies.

Finally, I explored relationships between humans and animals. I argued that by including non-human accounts, we can move away from ocular-centric Western perspectives of interactions, to incorporate embodied knowledge and co-becoming as not always human-centred. I argued that it is only by moving on the Jordan Trail and the intimate proximity between other humans, animals, and the ground that the role animals play in Jordan emerges. By living with and alongside animals

and valuing their agency, life for Bedouin communities is possible. However, this proximity and intimacy also raised ethical debates. Moments of conflict arose as a result of different ethical relationships with animals – whether they should be allowed to roam free, or else put in a shelter.

In sum, I have argued that the Jordan Trail creates conditions through touch to encounter others, ourselves, and animals differently. Distance and proximity can be broken down and, although this can be uncomfortable, this discomfort creates moments in which to connect with other ways in which to understand ourselves and others. Even when moments of touch push others away they also provide moments to rethink our relationships with others, the non-human, and place. Through touch I explored the means through which these alternative connections, encounters, and interactions are possible. A rethinking of Western centric conceptualisations of movement is possible, a rethinking of bodies and how they move in relation to the cultural politics in which the movement takes place, how walking can create moments to rethink our decisions around ethics, vulnerability through walking as a means to touch differently, and a chance to offer hospitality towards the other. All of these arguments I have made in this chapter illustrate why walking on the Jordan Trail is so important within the context of Jordan.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

I did not come to the Jordan Trail, it came to me. Amidst a time of uncertainty of non-movement and doubt, came movement and meaning. This journey has been a long one and not without trials and challenges. It is a journey that extends beyond this PhD, and has no beginning or end. It did not start in September 2014 but at multiple indeterminate start points – a geography lesson at school, an undergraduate lecture, asking my Dad aged ten what was happening in Israel and Palestine – neither does it end at submission - in fact it just begins. My journey to the Jordan Trail did not start at Um Qais nor end at Aqaba but at moments throughout my life when walking helped me and will continue to do so. Like Ingold's wayfarer, throughout this PhD I have not followed a set of coordinates, no hypothesis was given or followed. Instead, I have followed stories and narratives as they have emerged.

This thesis has sought to explore how a long-distance walking trail can uncover relationships between culture, politics, and movement. I have narrated and explored complex stories about lines, territory, nation, embodiment, and touch. I have asked how the Jordan Trail can uncover different narratives about the Middle East, query the cultural politics of movement, and uncover more embodied experiences of place. In this concluding chapter, I will summarise my main arguments, outline the main contributions to the literature and elaborate on how this thesis has approached cultural politics and its relationship to movement. Finally, I offer some reflections on the future avenues for research that are opened up through this thesis.

Walking trails, movement, and cultural politics

While this project did not take the precise form that I had intended from the outset, my time on the Jordan Trail soon made it apparent that long-distance walking trails were important sites through which to explore movement and cultural politics. As I spent more time on the Trail, I found myself intrigued by a series of questions: who was using the Trail? What did the Trail mean for Jordanians who were walking it? What was the relationship between the Trail and place? How did the Jordan Trail alter relationships between individuals and place? How could it be understood through broader discussions of movement? What is a walking Trail? What moves matter and have been made to matter? This thesis has sought to answer each of these questions.

In Chapter 1, I situated this project within the context of Jordan. I outlined that Jordan is an important place to research because of its recent colonial past, its large Bedouin population, and colonial imaginations that represent it as an 'other' place. I outlined postcolonial literature to explore the means by which Jordan is othered and how the sovereignty of the visual results in

representations that mean Jordan is a place frequently visualized but seldom touched. This is evidenced by declining tourist numbers to Jordan and a desire by many tourists to remain confined to coaches and organised tours. I also outlined Jordan's relationship with recent geopolitical events that resulted a growing refugee population, and a growing divide between those living in Amman and the rest of Jordan. In contrast to movements in the region which are often restricted and stalled I suggested walking trails are a means with which to explore Jordan differently, to offer embodied and everyday accounts of movement. Chapter 2, then sketched out the framework for this thesis by outlining literature on cultural politics and movement, which formed the foundation for the four substantive chapters of this thesis – Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 3, on methodology, - outlined how walking as a method uncovers every day and embodied accounts of place. I therefore outlined how I employed walking as a method to collect my 'data' – walking as a form of ethnography and my use of field diaries, my use of walking interviews, and photographs taken on the Trail. As walking became an increasingly important part of this thesis I also noted that there were many gaps in conceptualisations of walking-as-method and need for further research. My research on the Jordan Trail for instance was one of few studies I found that explored walking outside of Anglo-American and Eurocentric frameworks or walking on long-distance walking trails. This chapter, in addition to outlining my employment of methods, also argued that a long-distance walking trail is an important site to explore every day, situated, and embodied accounts of politics - the means by which people can be intimately connected to territory and the ways it is contested by moving bodies. As a result my research on walking contributes to more recent work in political geography that concentrates on the relationship between the body and politics. Further to this, I argued long-distance walking trails can help to explore the relationship between movement and non-movement because of the periods of waiting on the Jordan Trail and intersections between different moving bodies. Finally, I started to sketch an alternative history of walking which I weave throughout subsequent chapters. I have described moments of Bedouin and Jordanian walking histories, and I have made an argument for future work that captures alternative histories of walking practices.

An interlude between the substantive chapters moved my discussion of walking on the Jordan Trail to the line of the Jordan Trail itself. Drawing on the work of Ingold (2011a). I argued that the lines that comprise walking trails have often been neglected. I outlined the history of the Jordan Trail paying attention to how the line of the Trail was drawn. Exploring the Jordan Trail as a line, allowed me, to rethink the question 'what is a walking trail?' Lines in the Middle East, I argued, have traditionally been drawn with violent colonial acts. Therefore, by considering other ways in which lines are formed, drawn, and relate to movement, an understanding of relationships between individuals and place beyond state-centric narratives is possible and how colonial and indigenous knowledge systems come into contact. The Jordan Trail captures movements and lines that offer alternative – indigenous and non-Western – and embodied narratives of the Middle East and its history.

In Chapter 4, I moved from the generation of the Jordan Trail to movements of modern day walkers on the Trail. I argued that what makes the Jordan Trail an important geopolitical line to follow is the intersection of historic movements with modern day walkers. As modern-day walkers move on the Trail, they consider their own movements in relationship to those who have moved previously – this was evidenced through numerous vignettes from my research. Throughout Chapter 4 I illustrated moments of incoherence, confusion, and problems associated with mapping a line but also walking the line. When a Bedouin walker knew a different way that differed from the GPS coordinates. When a climbing guidebook presented lines on a rockface that made it suddenly foreign to a Bedouin who has known the rockface his whole life. I argued that a long-distance walking trail highlights the territorial violence associated with line making as walking bodies come against the line to highlight inconsistencies when lines drawn on maps or computers do not align with the physical terrain: the map is not the territory. Drawing further again on the work of Ingold I sought to rethink alternative relationships between movement, lines, and places. Alternative relationships that capture indigenous, every day and embodied accounts of place that speak back to state territoriality.

In Chapter 5, I argued that long-distance walking trails impose narratives and stories. This chapter argued that walking trails are a means to explore nationalism because of the relationship between territory and nationalism that is promoted through narratives that connect Jordanians to their territory imposed on the Jordan Trail. I outlined that as well as an international tourism project, nationalist narratives were also an important part of the development of the Trail. I argued that this territorial nationalist narrative values territory at the scale of the nation-state. Territory becomes calculable not just through bordering practices but also through the control of narrative. I opened the chapter with the story of Mohammad and Mohammad to illustrate how this narrative was constructed as well as an analysis of political speeches, marketing material form the Jordan Trail and also interviews with Jordanians.

However, walking trails because of the bodies that walk them, always exceed calculation. I queried this calculative and territorial nationalism by arguing that nation-state narratives tied to territory and land as economic value run the risk of erasing other connections, interactions, and values to land. I used work on landscape and homeland to illustrate that nationalist narratives need to be understood through explorations of place that go beyond calculation to land as valued not just in its connection to the nation-state but through embodied knowledges and skills. Mohammad and Mohammad's knowledge of plants for medicinal purposes, how to find water underground, and how to cook bread under the ground demonstrated an intimate knowledge with the materiality of ground itself.

I continued this argument, that intimate relationships with place exceed calculation, through an investigation of the term 'homeland'. For the Palestinian diaspora, for instance, of which many live in Jordan, 'homeland' is a term directly relating to Palestine – a defined location in which they hope to return. This directly contrasts some of the other research on 'homeland' that directly relates to the use of the term by states particularly those in the global north. I nuanced the term homeland by exploring other linguistic and cultural associations in order to capture other relationships with place linked to emotion and colonial violence in the region. I continued this argument, that the Trail always exceeds calculation through the embodied and individual bodies that walk it, through a discussion of risk. I returned to Mohammad and Mohammad to argue that relationships with place are also embodied in the ways in which individuals draw meaning from walking. I argued that for many walking the Jordan Trail, there can never be an overarching narrative or value, as meaning is produced at the individual level. I included empirical material outlining the means by which individual subjectivity and neoliberal agendas associated with fitness can be linked to biopower but at the same time contest state led agendas for individual gain. I contrasted risk as connected to geographical imaginations of the Middle East versus risk as rooted in the materiality of place.

The focus of Chapter 6 was the question of why we walk, and the means by which walking could give an alternative account of the Middle East. I returned to walking as a practice and argued that walking a long-distance trail creates different ways in which to explore movement and cultural

politics because of opportunities to touch. Touch can be understood as a physiological response to receptors in the skin to pain, pressure, and temperature, and walking on the Trail creates an embodied exposure to these. However, touch is also about response; the touch is made meaningful by how others respond to the touch of another. The Jordan Trail enables these meaningful moments of response to another. I first argued that bodies are made vulnerable on the Jordan Trail and this creates opportunities for others to respond with care to the pain, or discomfort from blisters, heat exposure, or pain. I argued through homestays on the Jordan Trail that non-movement – resting and sleeping – on the Trail offered opportunities for vulnerability to be responded to with hospitality. Such moments for hospitality were in important in bringing other bodies into conflict, even if at times this prompted discomfort.

I then showed that through objects those walking on the Jordan Trail are able to extend their bodies – the use of GPS devices, walking boots, walking pools. However, while these objects can mediate touch so that touch can overcome distance – social media can be used to phone someone abroad – the bodies capacity to invent is always controlled by social constraints. Not all bodies are able to enhance and extend themselves equally and this is demonstrated through moments of conflict: when Moradi was not allowed to walk on the Trail anymore, when rocks were thrown at 'hikers', when Bedouin bodies were exoticized, and 'hikers' were in turn mocked by Bedouins.

Finally, I explored relationships between animals and humans to argue that by moving on the Jordan Trail and the intimate proximity with other humans, animals, and the materiality of ground that the role animals play in Jordan emerges. By living with and alongside animals and valuing their agency, life for Bedouin communities is made possible. However, similarly to the homestay, this proximity and intimacy raised ethical debates. Moments of conflict arose that were dependent on different ethical decisions towards animals – whether they should be allowed to roam free, or else confined to a shelter.

In sum, throughout this thesis I have shown how movement and cultural politics are entwined throughout the Jordan Trail. I have argued that walking itself as a movement has not been explored in connection with work in political geography and territory or in ways that account for non-movement or the cultural contexts in which walking takes place. I have suggested that movement on the Jordan Trail brings bodies into intimate contact with territory so that walking can be harnessed by that nation-state to create nationalist sentiments linked to territory. However, by engaging with work in cultural geography I also argued that walking bodies always exceed the calculation of the state as embodied, intimate, and emotional relationships with place are created. I evidenced this through the line of the Jordan Trail – using work in cultural geography to think of lines beyond calculation and borders and to explore relationships with place that contrast territorial nationalist narratives. Finally I argued that walking creates opportunities to interact with others different because of the durational temporality and non-movement on the Jordan Trail.

Through touch I explored the means through which these alternative connections, encounters, and interactions are possible.

Implications and contributions

Through the example of a long-distance walking trail this thesis contributes to understandings of movement and cultural politics in three key ways. First, by arguing for less of a stark disciplinary division, especially between cultural geography and political geography. Second, in challenging and working across sub-disciplinary boundaries, I have also argued that the Middle East should not only be studied through a political lens, but also a cultural one. By bringing the cultural and political together, I have suggested how cultural politics should be studied more in the Middle East to bring more nuanced accounts of movement and place. Third, studies of movement, and particularly walking, could prove productive in the exploration of cultural politics in the Middle East. I have therefore contributed to literature on the Middle East, especially Jordan, political geography, cultural geography, movement, and tourism.

Studying the Middle East through cultural politics

In relation to work on the Middle East, I have contributed to the growing number of studies suggesting Jordan is an under researched but valuable place to research. Jordan is an important site of political geography emphasised in particular by the number of studies emerging addressing refugees and migrants in relation to the Syrian War (see Wagner, 2017; 2018a; 2018b; Pascucci, 2018; Lenner and Turner, 2019). Few studies in Jordan, however, have engaged fully with sites of cultural production and politics (see Cook, 2018). Within the larger geopolitical concerns in the Middle East I have argued that sites of everyday and embodied cultural practices have been neglected in favour of concentrating on particular nation-state contexts. It has been my aim to explore these practices and, in turn, to suggest how they have important political implications. In exploring how everyday sites of embodied cultural practices might be understood through political lens, I drew on important work within feminist political geography which explores the relationships between intimacy, embodiment, emotion and territory (see Smith, 2013; 2014; Smith et al, 2016; Coddington, 2018; Squire, 2018; Stratford and Murray, 2018; Mountz et al, 2013). This work has been crucial in highlighting how state level political actions are understood at everyday and embodied scales so that territory becomes something carried and created by bodies. However, I also departed from this work in arguing that it still focuses heavily on state-centric views of territory, how the intimate aspects of life, including love, religion, and marriage, which become wound up in state territorial decisions (see Smith, 2014). What this work does not do is engage with the materiality of territory itself, or else cultural sites of production.

Challenging the divisions between cultural and political geography

Throughout the writing of this thesis and as I came to write about relationships between people and place, terminology became difficult. At times 'territory', 'terrain', and 'land' felt appropriate, especially when considering territorial nationalism, and bordering practices outlined in Chapters 4 and 5. However, this terminology also frequently felt insufficient. It was Ingoldian work on lines and surface that better connected to the interactions between people and place and movements that were described to me throughout my research. As such I have argued throughout this thesis for better communication and conversation between work on place and terminology used in cultural and political geography. Work on cultural politics and place has been explored in indigenous studies (see Bawaka County et al, 2016) and across areas such as film studies (see Rose, 1994). However, I argue that a cultural politics of place needs updating and to engage more significantly with recent work in both political and cultural geography.

This is also where the contributions to political geography and cultural geography overlap. I have drawn heavily on the work of the cultural anthropologist Ingold but also the work of cultural geographers such as Lorimer and Wylie who have engaged more with the materialities and co-becoming between walking bodies and place. Wylie's work on walking, (2005a) landscape (2009; 2013), and homeland (2016) and Lorimer's work on homeland (2014), reindeer herding (2006), and walking (2010a) have inspired the means by which I have begun to think more critically about
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approaches to place and the human and non-human practices that create embodied and intimate means by which to connect the materiality of ground with embodied relationality to place. In Ingold's (2010a: 121) discussion of walking and weather, he argues that 'far from being uniform, homogenous, and pre-prepared, the ground is variegated, composite, and undergoes continuous generation'. The ground is constantly altered by those who walk it, proving the incalculability of ground, and also the marks left on the body by the ground. Thinking through this means of embodied relationality with the ground through the walking body is a way in which I have attempted to unpack nation-state narratives to think through ways in which bodies interact with and in place that contrast value systems imposed by the nation-state. As a result I have contrasted words such as 'surface' and 'ground' 'landscape' used in cultural geography with 'terrain', 'land', and 'territory' often used in political geography to nuance work on place and bring these terminologies into conversation.

In bringing work on political geography and cultural geography on place into conversation, I have interrogated how bodies on the Jordan Trail connect to place in means decentre territory as the most important scale. For instance I have used cultural geographical approaches to lines to outline histories and relationships with place that challenge border drawing and the calculative properties of lines. I have added to this further through my focus on indigenous culture and my argument that understandings of borders, territory, and land must take into account indigenous value systems and knowledge. In doing this I have expanded on work on indigenous relationships with place (see Bawaka County et al, 2016; 2015). This work suggests that by focusing on relationships with place that challenge the current borders of the state, they highlight the violence of colonial actions in the region.

Attending to storied accounts of people and place is an important theme across landscape research which I have drawn on and added to (see Lorimer, 2006; 2014; 2019; Lorimer and Parr, 2014); Wylie, 2005; 2009). But I also suggest that these accounts signal an important contribution to political geography work in the Middle East. For instance I have told stories through Mohammad and Mohammad of relationships they have with their Palestinian homeland, their connections with other Bedouin populations that run across borders, and their intimate knowledge of territory. This focus on embodied, storied and everyday relationships with place has also added to recent work on nationalism (see Closs-Stephens, 2010; 2013; 2016), particularly rethinking the scale in which nationalism takes place, as one taking place at both the everyday but also at scales outside those of the nation-state. This study has added to work which queries territorial nationalism as the most important level of political identity.

Rethinking movement and cultural politics

Through this research I have contributed to literatures on political geography and movement. In particular, I have drawn on the work of Cresswell's (2010) 'Towards a Politics of Mobility' in which he asks for more careful consideration of who and how one moves, the routes movement takes,

how movement feels, and when it stops. Throughout this thesis I have offered answers to each of these questions. I have shown how walking trails can be important conduits of movement but also opportunities to rethink movement as they capture other histories of place. I have queried how movement feels, through a consideration of touch and the means through which touch can reorientate the distancing that results from the sovereignty of the visual, to create moments for the physiological aspects of touch as a sense to allow others to respond differently. I have therefore drawn on and added to literature on sensory geographies and movement (see Jenkings, 2017; Longhurst et al, 2009; Johnston, 2012; Paterson, 2009; Pink, 2015; Crang, 2003). I have thought more carefully about the relationship between movement and non-movement by arguing that the process of walking a long-distance trail is as much about periods of rest, sitting, sleeping, and eating as it is about the movement of walking. As such I have drawn on and added to literature engaging with the debates on mobility and immobility (see Bissell, 2007; 2010).

By considering more closely these relationships between politics and movement, I have also argued for the need to consider walking within different cultural and political settings. This expands on work on walking which has been explored in cultural geography and critical studies within walking literature that ask for greater consideration of who can and cannot walk (see Lorimer, 2010a; MacPherson, 2017; Stevenson and Farrell, 2018; Tolia-Kelly, 2010; O'Neill and Hubbard, 2010; Middleton, 2010). But I also argued that not enough work has explored long-distance walking trails, engaged with the plethora of walking trails across the Middle East, or else walking in non-Eurocentric and different cultures. This argument can be extended to conceptualisations of movement more generally. Edensor and Kothari (2018: 1-2) shared the stories of Indian travellers in the 1950s to contrast a geographical imaginary of mobility that suggests that 'those from the west travel while others are sedentary, anchored in place.' Following their lead I have sought to offer stories that contrast Eurocentric accounts of movement.

Finally, this thesis has also contributed to tourism studies, and specifically to work on homestays (see Gu and Wong, 2006; Ibrahim and Razziq, 2010; Longhurst et al, 2009; Carnaffan, 2010) and tourism in the Middle East (see Hazbun, 2004; Daher, 1999; 2006; Buda and McIntosh, 2012; Isaac et al, 2015; Buda, 2016; Lisle, 2016a; 2016b; Griffiths, 2017b). This research also has a practical application in that my findings have illustrated the importance of walking trails as academic sites of interest but also as important tourist sites. This study therefore could be translated into outputs for the Jordan Trail and funding bids for other long-distance walking trails. I have raised queries as to who walks on the Jordan Trail and how it might have meaning for different groups – Jordanians versus international tourists. I have also suggested that within studies of long-distance walking trails better attention should be paid to the lines themselves and how they tell a story and capture histories of movements.

I have argued that the Jordan Trail creates a territorial identity that has the potential to link Jordanians to their land. I have, however, suggested that the Jordan Trail must be careful in

promoting this narrative as it might erase emotional, embodied, and intimate relationships with territory. Finally, I have argued that on the Jordan Trail there is the potential to touch the other. In this touch there is the possibility to form better connections, show moments of care, moments of welcome, and understanding. As a result, I have contributed to work on encounters and touch (see Ahmed, 2000; Manning, 2007; Wilson, 2017a; 2017b). I have suggested methodologically how walking might be a medium to explore touch through moments of response. Even within discomfort, an ability to rethink our relationships towards and with others differently is possible. This is the potential of a long-distance walking trail, especially one in Jordan.

Future research: avenues and limitations

As I write these closing words, the third 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail has just ended. The Jordan Trail Association has announced that next year (2020) there will be two simultaneous 'thru-hikes', one going north to south and another south to north as demand is too high to run just one. The Lebanon Mountain Trail has already started two simultaneously 'thru-hikes' due to demand, The Sinai Trail has developed two new trails. The Israel National Trail is growing in popularity, as is the Masar Al Ibrahim in Palestine. There is talk of the development of walking trails in Oman and a new walking trail is taking shape across the Caucasian Mountain range. In the Balkans, the Via Dinarca Trail across the Western Balkans began in 2017. It is clear, then, that the walking of trails in the Middle East is becoming a focal point for tourist mobilities. More than this, though, the growth of walking trails is also a political and cultural phenomenon that creates new possibilities for encounter and touch.

This thesis has focused on the Jordan Trail but as the growth of walking trails in the region demonstrates, there is much opportunity for future study of walking trails across the Middle East and Eastern Europe. With each new trail new research avenues are opened up. The Sinai Trail, for instance, is run as a Bedouin co-corporative. Early 2019 also saw the Sinai Trail launching its first female-only trip, thus enabling Bedouin women to be guides. Despite this increase in Bedouin involvement this research did not fully engage with gender nor Bedouin culture. Language would have helped with both, as while time was spent with Bedouins, I did not use a translator, and therefore relied on my conversational Arabic or else Bedouins who spoke English. This did limit the conversations I could have with Bedouin women in particularly because they tend to have less schooling and less contact with foreign tourists. Language expertise would also enable further research to explore Bedouin poetry and songs as means in which to capture their relationships with place, the more than human, and one another. This project could be one that following Bawaka County et al (2016), is in collaboration with local Bedouin communities. The Sinai Trail as a Bedouin cooperative could be such a site to expand this research as such.

The Caucasian Trail and the Via Dinarca Trail cross borders as opposed to the Jordan Trail and many of the other walking trails in the region. The aim of these Trails as opposed to nationalist political

narratives is peace building after conflict and a consideration of cross-border identities. Research on these Trails could therefore explore walking trails and their relationships to geopolitics and peace but also broader questions about political communities. A study of walking trails could therefore move from my argument that moments for touch and connection are possible to how new political solidarities are formed. Many who walk on walking trails for instance are seeking meaning amidst neo-liberal life and an exploration of this could lead future studies. A related limitation to this is the focus throughout this study on able bodied people, while I have highlighted the diverse range of people walking the Trail, this thesis was focused on those who can walk. In attending more carefully to bodies who cannot walk, different ways of thinking through what it means to walk, and the relationship between walking and place could have been uncovered.

Final words

> *It is of the essence of life that it does not begin here or end there, or connect a point of origin with a final destination, but rather that it keeps on going, finding a way through the myriad of things that form, persist and break up in its currents. Life, in short, is a movement of opening, not of closure (Ingold, 2011b: 4).*

This PhD has never attempted to connect dots into a perfect circular line or arc. I hope in undertaking this thesis I have moved like Ingold's wayfarer not his traveller. That I have moved as if I myself am the line, following connections as they come to weave new surfaces of knowledge. I am not the traveller following his pre-determined line. As a result, this PhD has sought to capture stories, experiences, images, quotes as they have occurred. This PhD therefore is a commitment to stay with these stories and to make them matter. It has always been my goal to story and embody a place in which intimate and everyday experiences are so often erased. Perhaps someone reading this might even walk the Jordan Trail. I hope so…

Happy trails

رحلة سعيدة

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Appendix 1: List of participants

This is the list of interviewees and participants I have included in this thesis.

No	Pseudonym	Information	Date of interview
1	Salma	Jordanian female (20s)	16/04/17
2	Serhat	Jordanian male (20s)	02/05/17
3	Martha	American female (20s)	10/02/17
4	Abbas	Jordanian male (30s)	02/05/17
5	Ben	British male (30s)	25/04/17
6	Noor	Jordanian female (20s)	03/03/17
7	Aisha	Jordanian female (30s)	18/02/17
8	Semra	Jordanian female (20s)	20/04/17
9	Abed	Jordanian male (50s)	13/04/17
10	Karim	Jordanian male (30s)	21/04/17
11	Mansour	Jordanian male (40s)	06/04/17
12	Moradi	British female (60s)	28/11/16
13	Yacoub	Jordanian male (20s)	03/02/17
14	John	American male (60s)	15/03/17
15	Lara	Jordanian female (20s)	25/11/16
16	Vix	British female (30s)	02/05/17
17	Andrew	American male (30s)	31/04/17
18	Sami	Jordanian male (30s)	17/04/17

19	Aziza	Jordanian female (60s)	03/07/16
20	Anwar	Jordanian male (60s)	03/05/17
21	Simon	British male (50s)	20/11/16
22	Sam	American male (40s)	21/11/16
23	Abeer	Jordanian male (40s)	17/11/16
24	Bashar	Jordanian male (40s)	16/11/16
25	Mohammad Z	Jordanian male (20s)	13/05/17
26	Mohammad H	Jordanian male (20s)	13/05/17
27	Yasmine	Jordanian female (20s)	15/11/16
28	Maha	Jordanian female (20s)	02/02/17
29	Kamil	Jordanian male (30s)	02/04/17
30	Zahra	Jordanian female (20s)	20/05/17
31	Reema	Lebanese female (60s)	20/04/17
32	Bilal	Jordanian male (50s)	15/07/16
33	Rana	Jordanian female (30s)	15/07/16
34	Nasir	Jordanian male (40s)	15/11/16
35	Tamir	Jordanian male (60s)	06/05/17

Some interviewees have not been given pseudonyms as they have been written about in books or newspaper articles or else I have referred to their online blogs. In these instances consent has been given. They are listed in bold text in the table above.

Appendix 2: List of blogs consulted

Name of blogger	Name of blog	Information	Blog link
Andrew Evans	My Jordan Journey	Professional travel writer. Male, American, 40s.	https://blog.myjordanjourney.com/andrew-evans-blog/follow-andrew-evans-on-the-jordan-trail.
Vix Harris	My Jordan Jaunt	Female, British, 40s.	https://jordanjaunt.wordpress.com/
John Vogel	Family on bikes. Blogged on his family blog.	Male, American, 60s.	http://familyonbikes.org/

Appendix 3: Timeline of walks.

'Thru-hikes'

4th – 26th November 2016: Technical 'thru-hike'. Walked from Dana to Aqaba.

31st March – 12th May 2017: First official 'thru-hike' of the Jordan Trail. Walked from Um Qais to Aqaba.

Day walks with walking groups

Walking group name	Information about group	Dates of walks
Jordan Trampling Team	Friday non-profit walking group attracting predominantly Jordanian walkers.	27th January, 2017 17th February, 2017 24th February, 2017 10th March, 2017 19th May, 2017
Explore Jordan	Friday non-profit walking group attracting a mix of Jordanian and ex-pat walkers.	2nd December, 2016 13th January, 2017 3rd March, 2017 17th March, 2017 26th May, 2017
Walking Jordan	Friday non-profit walking group attracting a mix of Jordanian and ex-pat walkers. One of the first walking groups to start in Jordan.	8th July, 2016 15th July, 2016 4th August, 2016

		7th October, 2016
		21st October, 2016
Stronger Team	Company given funding by USAID to promote day walks on the Jordan Trail.	20th May. 2017
		27th May, 2017
Experience Jordan	Tourism company in Jordan offering walking day trips on the Jordan Trail.	9th July, 2016
		16th July, 2016
		21st October, 2016
		11th February, 2017
		11th March, 2017

Appendix 4: Example extract from my field diary

8th November, 2016

I'm watching one of my bare feet slither into the sand. I concentrate on the ground, very carefully I place the other, avoiding rocks and thorns. I become acutely aware o the precision of my movements – my ability to accurately place my foot in a location split seconds earlier my eyes saw as suitable, my brain translating this to movement. I watch my feet for a while mesmerized.

As I walked I realized that depending on my pace, I would fall into step with the rhythms of different members of the group. Stepping back and forth into pace to have conversations. I became aware of the ways different people liked to walk. Some enjoy to sing, some to listen to music. Others liked to talk.

I talked to Simon a lot today, we sort of fell into the same rhythm today. We talked a lot about our families, our backgrounds. I've only know Simon a few days now but somehow it feels really easy to talk with him and to discuss our lives.

We talked a lot about technology today, about how disconnected we felt from it. I have been on the 'thru-hike' for about a week now and still can't fully disconnect. Simon is on his phone a lot too. We discussed the importance of technology for us to keep in touch with our friends and family back home. The need to share with others and stay connected. Simon also told me that publicizing the Jordan Trail was really important to him. He wanted to use social media to share photos of our time on the Trail and get the word out there. I reflected that it was important to me too.

The Trail really is so beautiful. I think especially for me because it is so different to any other place I have been. When I show friends back home they just can't imagine how diverse the terrain is but also how safe I assure them it is. This question of safety is one I have been thinking a lot about too. I mentioned this to Jordanian friend who was walking too and she said it made her sad too that people just associate this whole country with war and conflict.

It was really blustery when we got to camp so I had a lot of trouble putting my tent up. Simon came over to offer a hand. My tent was blowing in the wind but the sun was rising over the hills. It was beautiful. 'Looks like Trump might win' Simon interrupted my thoughts, 'Sam just got a message over the satellite phone.'

It was strange news to receive in such a remote location. Although most of my group were Jordanians, it created a sombre mood. Sam was worried about his family who were back home in the USA and not being with them. Others discussed what this might mean for travelling to the USA. A few Jordanians noted how difficult it was already for them. Another topic of conversation that came up was USAID. The Jordan Trail as a massive recipient of USAID would be affected but also Jordan as a whole.

I went back to my tent to lie now and read for a bit. After a while I heard voices and lots of laughing nearby. Curious I hurried out of my tent and moved towards the sound of voices and a word I recognized – arboud. I saw Bedouins crouched over the fire making the Bedouin bread arboud. Marwan one of my fellow 'thru-hikers', a Jordanian had never seen the bread being made either. He translated the Arabic: 'they put the coals on first to cover the bread slightly and stop the ash from sinking.'