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Olive growing in Palestine: An Everyday Form of
Resistance

by

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Abstract

Everyday occupations have mainly been studied in the fields of occupational therapy and occupational science within a Western context. Research has mostly focused on individual occupations of people with disabilities, and findings were mostly interpreted within Eurocentric and human-centred perspectives that misrepresented marginalised communities and their daily lives.

Aiming to reduce some of this gap in knowledge, I set out to explore everyday activities of olive farmers in the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt). My 'liminal' positionality of being a Palestinian living and working in the UK enabled a bridging between Palestinians' ways of life in the Global South and occupational science as a Global North perspective. I posed two research questions: How do the structures, policies and practices of Israeli settler colonialism and its military occupation influence the daily activities of olive growing communities in the oPt? What are the means that communities adopt to enable the daily occupations of olive farming to continue? I wished to study the motivations and principles for the activity of olive growing which were used as active responses – or resistance – to occupational injustices caused by settler colonialism.

I designed a study that adopted de-colonial ethnographic methods. Field trips were carried out throughout the olive growing cycle, during which 11 in-depth interviews were conducted with – and observations made of – participant families and individual participants. An iterative (inductive and deductive) thematic analysis and an 'intercultural translation' (Santos, 2014) resulted in identification of themes, which were analysed in relation to Wilcock's 'occupational determinants of health' (2006). *Sutra* expressed the Doing for Well-being principle of olive growing, *A'wna* was identified as the collaborative aspect of the activity, or the Doing for Belonging to land and people, and *Sumud* – as a third principle of action for olive growing – means that olive farmers do this activity for Belonging and Becoming, or as a resistive daily act. *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* were collectively conceptualised as Everyday-Forms-of-Resistance (to occupational apartheid), were found to extend occupational sciences' notions of Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging, and illustrated communal Palestinian ways of knowing and resisting. *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* demonstrated a set of means of action and interpretation that move beyond the individual as the main area of concern, and perceive human communities as a continuation, and in mutual relation to, their environment.

This study provides insights, learned from a Global South group, on specific manifestations of occupational apartheid, a unique collective occupation (olive growing) and an occupational consciousness (*Sutra-A'wna-Sumud*/ Everyday-Forms-of-Resistance) that was employed to counter occupational apartheid. This is hoped to widen occupational science's and occupational therapy's understanding of people, their environments and occupations, which will be useful in other fields of study concerned with humans, their daily activities and their well-being.

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Prologue: The start of the journey

It is an unusually hot day for October and the car thermometer shows the temperature to be 35 degrees Celsius outside. It will vary from 35 to 38 during the journey from my home town southward to Bethlehem where I plan to stay for the next four weeks for my first information gathering trip. According to the New Testament this was a journey made more than 2000 years ago by Joseph and heavily pregnant Mary, taking three days. Today it takes less than three hours by car. It would take me even less if I had decided to take the coastal route or the newly constructed six-lane highway which crosses historical Palestine, swallowing big chunks of nature and cutting Palestinian Arab towns through the middle. I prefer this old and narrow road and its views through the Jordan valley. Early in my journey before reaching the West Bank, the roads had been busy with day trippers returning from a day out in nature, and a few hikers were on the edges of the road. It's *Sokot*, the Jewish holiday when people go out for picnics. The skies are busy with cranes and other migrating birds making their way from the northern hemisphere to the south to spend the winter.

I drive through the first checkpoint with no problems. The Fako'a hills are to my right, the Jordanian part of the valley to my left. I notice barbed wire and single track patrol roads, and signs warning of mines and the dangers of trespassing, along the borders between the Jordanian and the Israeli controlled parts of the valley. As I drive southward the view changes to rocky canyons dotted with dry vegetation. I drive past an Israeli settlement with modern agricultural structures and equipment, next to small Palestinian villages with one-storey houses and fields with narrow plastic polytunnels. Families are picking vegetables with their hands, and shepherds are herding their sheep and goats on their donkeys. An hour or so later I approach a sign that reads "Jericho, the oldest city on earth, situated more than 300 metres below sea level". I pass near the border crossing between the West Bank and Jordan on my left, then turn right to begin a more than 1000 metre ascent to Al Quds [the Palestinian name for Jerusalem]. To the east is the way leading to the Dead Sea. Driving up towards Al Quds I see on both sides of the road Bedouin settlements consisting of tin structures and goatskin tents, surrounded with some vegetation. I can already see church towers on top of the hills ahead of me, and the large Israeli settlement of Ma'li Adomim on the lower hills. On my right I drive past a field of what seems to me to be the trunks of felled olive trees.

I take a wrong turn, as I would normally go through the city centre and pass the walls of the old city towards Bethlehem, but this time I go to what the sign calls 'south Ma'ali Adumim'. I enter an Arab suburb of Al Quds, and the first thing I see is a junk market on both sides of the road. I drive through crowded streets with many cars parked on the sides of the roads. Houses and other buildings are in close proximity to each other. I look for signs directing me to Bethlehem but I can't find any. I ask pedestrians and shopkeepers, and they give me directions to the next checkpoint leading out of Al Quds to the West Bank. I drive alongside the separation wall, a several-metres-high concrete barrier with anti-occupation slogans, peace messages and other graffiti painted on it. I reach the checkpoint and pass it with no questions from the three soldiers who are

sitting and chatting outside of the checkpoint post to my right, machine guns laid on their laps. I begin a steep ascent through Wadi Alnar [valley of fire], which I have heard was dangerously steep and narrow to drive through. Signs indicate that Beit Sahour is seven kilometres away, a few kilometres east of Manger Square, where I am meeting Moneer, who will be taking me to the apartment I am renting in the old city of Bethlehem.

(Field notes, October 2014)

Chapter One: Introducing olive growing in Palestine as an Everyday Form of Resistance

“For the Palestinian, olive oil is the gift of the traveller, the comfort of the bride, the reward of the autumn, the boast of the storeroom and the wealth of the family across centuries” (Barghouti, 2000, p. 58)

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation reports on a study about the daily lives of olive growing families living under Israeli settler colonialism and military occupation in the West Bank of Palestine. It tells a story of a community that has lived under land colonisation since the late 19th century, and which continues to engage in an activity that has been an important source of purpose, meaning and individual and collective well-being since the Bronze Age (Thompson, 2000). This study joins an emerging movement in the fields of occupational therapy and occupational science that focuses on the collective daily activities of communities in the Global South - groups whose ways of life and contexts have previously not been a key concern in these disciplines, and who can teach us valuable lessons about resisting and coping with structural factors imposed on them by outside forces in order to restrict their ways of doing, being and knowing (Hammell, 2015). This research adopts a de-colonial ethnographic methodology to produce empirical evidence and knowledge that can contribute to liberating people in their daily living, rather than compounding the oppression of them. It also strives to take part in de-colonising scholarly work by challenging and adding to Eurocentric hegemonic means of understanding daily activity, and by exploring means by which marginalised¹ human groups can be enabled to maintain their well-being through leading meaningful daily lives.

This study was designed in order to learn from olive farmers about how Israeli settler colonialism have affected their daily lives, and how they responded to the restrictions on their daily activities relating to growing olives, affected by structures and policies that aim to divorce them from their land, trees and their meaningful daily activities . Over the last five years I have been involved in a process of gathering data through observations and interviews, which was analysed through an iterative process that involved extensive and repetitive encoding and thematising of the overall data and specific segments from it. This process resulted in the conception of three themes that have been inspired by what olive farming families told me and by my observations of their actions. The themes that emerged are: *Sutra* as Doing for Well-being - which I understood to mean that they grew olives for their survival and theirs and their families and communities' health; *A'wna* as Doing for Belonging – which I analysed as the collaborative aspect of their daily activities of olive farming motivated by their attachment to their heritage, land and trees, and communities; and *Sumud* – that I interpreted as the Belonging for Becoming principle of their daily lives that enabled them to resist the injustice imposed on them, and to aspire and dream for a better future for them and their families and communities. Further analysis and interpretation led to a synthesis of those three themes into a larger theme expressing what I term Everyday Forms of Resistance, which were

¹ The term marginalised communities in this thesis refers to groups of people who live on the periphery of the mainstream socio-political and economic order anywhere in the world; examples to such groups cited in the occupational therapy literature include: people seeking asylum, women and older LGBTQ individuals (Creek and Cook, 2017; Pollard and Sakellariou, 2017).

enacted through values of intentionality (socio-political and occupational consciousness), relational values (of Belonging to a community), and finally, resistance to occupational injustice.

This introductory chapter will establish the main terms, concepts and definitions used in subsequent chapters. It will introduce olive growing and the context of Palestine, including a brief history of the land and people there. This chapter will locate the study within the disciplines of occupational therapy and occupational science, and will frame it within a de-colonial methodology. It will then outline the motivations and questions of this study, and will briefly discuss the research process. Finally, this introduction will describe how this study will proceed.

1.2 Olive growing in Palestine

The occupation of olive growing is studied in this research as undertaken by native² rural communities of Palestine, and refers to the sum of all, or each, of the activities and tasks carried out by individuals, families or groups of people that contribute to the growing and producing of olives and their products. These activities and tasks include: planting olive saplings, ploughing the groves, harvesting the olives, pruning the trees, fertilising the soil, using herbicides and pesticides, watering the trees, pressing the olives to produce oil, selling the oil, and pickling and preserving the olives for eating. Other tasks that relate to the occupation of olive farming include travelling to and from the groves, accessing the land, travelling to and from the oil presses, and all the human communication, interactions and relations that enable such activities. Traditionally, olives in Palestine have been pressed for oil and preserved for eating, and the pips and waste products from pressing are made into fuel, fertilisers and soap. The dead wood of the olive tree is used to make crafts and tools, and the leaves are brewed to treat ailments. The olive tree is a national, political, spiritual and religious symbol ubiquitous in Palestinian culture (Al-Batma, 2012).

Olive growers, like other communities in Palestine, have been living under ongoing oppressive circumstances that have influenced their daily lives. Since the earliest recorded history, indigenous Palestinian communities including olive farmers have experienced wars, uprisings and military invasions, leading to violence, segregation and displacement (Wolfe, 2006; Said, 1992; Masalha, 2012). Despite these forces having led to large displacements from rural areas, 60 per cent of inhabitants of the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt) still reside in the countryside (Rosenfeld, 2004), and olive growing has been a significant part of the 'Mediterranean economy' pioneered in Palestine since the Bronze Age, as a response to the specific topographical and climatic circumstances (Thompson, 2000). Olive growing remains an important part of everyday life for many: about half of farmed land is planted with 10 million olive trees in the oPt (Oxfam, 2010).

1.3 Palestine

The oPt is a term that refers to the territory invaded by Israel in 1967, containing East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The term Palestine, as used in this study, refers to the historic land of Palestine lying between the Mediterranean coast and the Jordan Rift Valley, including the modern

² The term 'native' refers here to Palestinian communities and their descendants - Jewish, Muslim and Christian (urban, rural and semi-nomadic) - who resided in the land of historical Palestine and were the majority of the population and land owners and workers, before the *Nakba* of 1948 - when mass migration was in the process of causing great changes in demographics and land ownership in favour of settler groups (Said, 1992; Masalha, 2012).

day state of Israel, the military-occupied West Bank, and the besieged Gaza Strip (see map in appendix I). The West Bank is a term created by Israel (Pappe, 2017) to refer to the formerly (prior to the Israeli invasion) Jordanian-administered area that is located on the western bank of the Jordan river (see map in appendix I). Historically, *Palaestina Prima* was the designation the Byzantines – who ruled here between 325 CE and 637 CE – chose for the area between the river Jordan in the east and the Mediterranean in the west, and from Mount Carmel in the north to the desert in the South (Khalidi, 2010). *Filastin* is the name that was given to describe a military administrative region by the Arabs who captured Jerusalem from the Byzantines in 637 CE (Khalidi, 2010). Palestine's history, dominated by invasions and colonisations by outside forces, is also a history of interdependent communities being influenced by the geography and socio-political conditions they live in; their way of life has mostly been land-based and they believed in many gods before such pantheistic traditions were superseded by the monotheistic Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Thompson, 2000). The Romans came and went, then the Byzantines, then came the Muslims, then the crusaders, and the Ottomans. The Ottoman Turks ruled Palestine from the 16th century until the First World War, when the British took over the administration of Palestine, and their colonial project culminated in the creation of the state of Israel upon most of what used to be known as historical Palestine in 1948 (Khalidi, 2010).

Modern Palestine's history has been characterised by the ongoing *Nakba* (catastrophe), which refers to the dispossession of the majority of the native population – between 780,000 and one million people – who became refugees in 1948 when the state of Israel was established on their lands (Said, 1992). Coined by Constantine Zurayk in his 1956 book *The Meaning of the Catastrophe*, the *Nakba* came to be a key turning point for Palestinian identity, which was reconstructed around this event (Masalha, 2012). It ushered in the foundation of a settler colonialist state on approximately 80 per cent of what was then British administered Palestine, the destruction of historic Palestine - as a distinct culture - and the ethnic cleansing of its people (Wolfe, 2006; Pappe, 2006; Masalha, 2012). Until 1967, Israel controlled the area within what came to be known as the Green Line – the declared Armistice border after the war of 1948 (Pappe, 2017), Jordan was given the administration of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Egypt ruled in Gaza (Pappe, 2017). In 1967 Israeli forces invaded the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Egyptian Sinai peninsula and the Syrian Golan Heights and this caused further civilian deaths, ethnic cleansing and refugees (Pappe, 2017). In the oPt Israel appointed a governing body called the civil administration, which managed the daily lives of local society (Rosenfeld, 2004).

The military-occupied populace in the oPt suffered a lack of services and welfare, lack of infrastructure, and a lack of self-determination and most importantly the start of a new era of colony building within the oPt (Rosenfeld, 2004). The military occupation, land colonisation, human rights abuses and the poor living conditions in the oPt led to two major *Intifadas* (uprisings) in the 1980s and early 2000s, in turn leading to further oppression by Israel's occupying forces (IDF), land segregation and restrictions on movement (Zureik, 2016). Moreover, Israeli authorities have been constructing an illegal segregation wall that is annexing more land and separating families from their groves (International Court of Justice, 2004). The first *Intifada* – between 1987 and 1993 – began as a civil disobedience movement and later became to represent in the literature and among activists a model for grassroots organisation and community work (Qumsiyeh, 2011). The first *Intifada* led to the Oslo Accords signed in 1993, a controversial deal that many experts believed disproportionately favoured Israel's interests and objectives (Said, 1995). The Accords created the Palestinian National Authority (PA) (Rosenfeld, 2004), which has been criticised as not being supportive of farming communities, and which many consider to be a proxy tool of Israeli oppression, as when the PA arrests people and tortures prisoners in coordination with the Israeli authorities (Qumsiyeh, 2011).

The Accords created a territorial zoning of the West Bank that ensured Israel's control over 60 per cent of land in the oPt. Area A is controlled by the PA (though ultimately remaining under occupation) and is made up mostly of urban areas. Area B is jointly administered: by the PA for civil matters, and by the IDF for security matters, and Area C is under the full control of Israel, and includes the most fertile land and the West Bank's major water resources (see map in appendix I). There are currently hundreds of illegal Jewish-only colonies in the oPt, with over half a million Jewish settlers residing in them, many of whom migrated from Jewish communities in the West (Pappe, 2017).

1.4 Settler colonialism

Settler colonialism, as defined by Patrick Wolfe (2006), refers to an ongoing structure (rather than a temporary event) that aims to replace a native community with foreign settlers, and to eliminate that community and its way of life. The main contest is for access to territory, but the practice employs discriminatory discourses related to racial and religious differences. Wolfe (2006) distinguished settler colonialism – as it exists in Australia, North America and South Africa, whereby a European community aimed to settle on a land that was already lived on and worked by native communities – from the classical case of colonialism, as when the British state occupied and ruled India and its people but without seeking to replace those people with citizens sent from the 'mother' country. Israeli settler colonialism shares with other settler colonial projects the motive of racial exclusivity which is supported by myths such as colonised territory constituting 'land without people for people without land' (a narrative that ignores the presence of native people), or European genius and industriousness being able to 'make the desert bloom' (thus saving the land from the neglect, backwardness and wastefulness of native people) and the notion of importing Western 'civilisation' to the 'inferior' and 'uncivilised' Orient (Masalha, 2012; Said, 1992).

At the core of settler colonialism there is the "logic of elimination", which might not necessarily mean "the summary liquidation of Indigenous people", but always "strives for the dissolution of native societies" by erecting "a new colonial society on the expropriated land base" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Wolfe cited Zionism's³ colonisation of Palestine as a specific type of European settler colonialism, which he defined as "an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment" and which operates with state-based and other less formal agencies (Wolfe, 2006, p. 393). In the West Bank these include the military occupation's armed forces and fundamentalist settler organisations – all of which have maintained the "Zionist strategy" enforced from earlier colonisation efforts before 1948 (Wolfe, 2006, p. 393). Therefore, the policies and strategies of the Israeli military occupation are seen in this thesis as an arm of the ongoing settler colonialism that began in the 1880s with the first European Zionist settlements, and culminated in the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and the invasion of the oPt in 1967.

³ Zionism was founded by Theodor Herzl in late 19th century Europe; the ideology and practices of political Zionism originated in German *volkisch* nationalism, key principles of which are notions of biological and racial purity, historical roots, and mythical attitudes to land and the connections between blood and soil; political Zionism sought a national home for European Jewish communities, which in addition to Palestine initially explored territories in South America and East Africa; later on the movement deployed religious Old Testament myths to justify its interest in Palestine as the 'land of milk and honey' for the 'chosen people' of the Bible (Masalha, 2012).

Kimmerling, an Israeli sociologist, described Israeli settler colonialism and military occupation as a process of 'politicide', the ultimate aim of which was to annihilate Palestinian society. He wrote:

By *politicide* [italics in original] I mean a process that has, as its ultimate goal, the dissolution of the Palestinian people's existence as a legitimate social, political, and economic entity. This process may also but not necessarily include their partial or complete ethnic cleansing from the territory known as the Land of Israel [...] Politicide is a process that covers a wide range of social, political, and military activities whose goal is to destroy the political and national existence of a whole community of people and thus deny it the possibility of self-determination (Kimmerling, 2003, p. 3-4).

The ideology and practices of Zionism have led to demographic changes in the native communities in Palestine. Traditionally, and until the end of the British Mandate in 1948, the diversity of climates, crops, crafts and trades in historical Palestine had supported three main communities: the urban residents, the semi-nomadic Bedouins, and the rural land-based peasants, or *fallahin*. The land-based peasants living in the country traditionally constituted 70 to 80 percent of the Palestinian population, and they currently number between 50 to 60 per cent of Arab Palestinian society in the oPt (Qumsiyeh, 2004; Rosenfeld 2004; Sayigh 1979; Said, 1999). Settler colonialism, along with other external factors, such as changes in global and local economy and climatic changes, have led many to shift from land-based and self-reliant *fallahi* (peasantry) lives to being wage-labourers dependent on permits, subject to movement restrictions and with little social security (Rosenfeld, 2004; International Court of Justice, 2004; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2013). However, *fallahi* ways of life have not disappeared, as shown elsewhere in this thesis, and olive growing has been a key practice which helped in maintaining this way of life.

1.5 Collective everyday forms of resistance

Olive growing is defined in this thesis as a collective everyday occupation (daily activity), which is undertaken by families and groups – rather than individually – similar to other land-based activities carried out by Global South communities elsewhere in the world, such as in Latin America, South East Asia, and South Africa (Santos, 2014; Scott, 1985; Ramugondo and Kronenberg, 2015). Global South groups are not defined geographically here, but symbolically, to refer to groups anywhere in the world – in the 'East' and 'West' - who are experiencing and struggling against a variety of oppressive political, economic and social forces such as patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism (Santos, 2014). Collective occupations are enacted in both organised and non-organised forms, covertly and overtly, as means of confronting socio-economic and political forces that restrict these groups' ways of life (Scott, 1985). They are shaped by ways of being and knowing, values and beliefs that include an awareness of injustice and an engagement in everyday forms of resistance against it, in order to enable the continuation of communities' daily lives and their collective and individual well-being (Scott, 1985; Ramugondo, 2015). In the case of Palestinian olive growing families studied in this research, the main force of oppression they struggle against is Israeli settler colonialism and the military occupation of their land and communities.

1.6 The study of occupation

In the disciplines of occupational therapy and occupational science, and in this thesis, occupation⁴ signifies the things people do in their everyday life to maintain their health, well-being and way of life (Wilcock, 2006). Examples include self-caring tasks done at home such as washing and dressing, recreational activities such as play, and voluntary or paid vocations done for the economic or social benefit of the individual or groups. Occupation is not meant to refer solely to paid jobs, as it is often used to mean in the English language. Rather, it encompasses everyday actions and processes that are engaged in to provide purpose and meaning and that are sanctioned by the contextual factors within which humans live, such as culture, geography, gender, age and political and economic structures (Wilcock, 2006). Occupational therapy is the intervention, or the practice, that utilises daily occupations as means and end goals for people who seek help as a result of experiencing restrictions from participating in their wanted or needed daily activities (Wilcock, 2006).

Occupational science is an inter-disciplinary empirical and theoretical field of study that aims to inform the practice of occupational therapy and other academic and professional practices concerned with human everyday doing (Yerxa et. al, 1989). Occupational science research employs diverse approaches to its research and theory, and has been increasingly interested in critical and transformative methodologies to challenge mainstream Eurocentric and anthropocentric perspectives; these approaches have included critical ethnographic methods and post-colonial theories aiming to broaden occupational science's scope and make it more inclusive and relevant to the majority of the world population (Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Whiteford and Hocking, 2012; Frank, 1996; 2012).

1.7 Health and well-being

Both terms – health and well-being – will be used in this study to refer to similar phenomena interchangeably. Health and well-being in critical occupational therapy and occupational science approaches to public health, as in this study, do not refer only to the biology, structures and functions of the human body (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). They relate to the environmental aspects of human wellness, and how the social and political contexts can impact individuals' and populations' quality of life (Marmot, 2005). Social and political factors lead to socio-economic inequality between countries and within countries that affect the health of individuals and communities; factors that have been defined as the social determinants of health consist of: social gradient, stress, early life development, social exclusion, work, unemployment, social support, addiction, food and transport (Marmot, 2005; World Health Organisation / WHO, 2008). It has been suggested that the social settings in which people are born, live, grow, work and age – rather than their biological and physiological functions – lead to these inequalities and to ill health (WHO, 2008); *The Commission on Social Determinants of Health* (WHO, 2008) considered health a social justice issue that needed to be tackled by improving the daily living conditions of the disadvantaged and by equitable distribution of resources, power and money.

⁴ References in this thesis to the Israeli military occupation have their own meaning that is quite distinct from the concept of 'occupation' as used in occupational therapy and occupational science.

In Palestine, key determinants of health were found to lie in the structural and political conditions, and more specifically, the domains that influence adult Palestinians' well-being were identified as: economy, education, employment, family relations, personal characteristics, social relations, physical and mental health and religion (Giacaman et al., 2009; Barber et al., 2014; McNeely et al., 2014). Studies demonstrated that the majority of Palestinians constantly live in varying degrees of emotional and psychological distress as a result of present life events related to the military occupation, but also because of the historic collective trauma of the *Nakba*; as a result the assessment of the health of Palestinians was extended to include culturally specific derived measures of health related to the context they live in, in addition to the mainstream focus on trauma-related stress when studying communities living in political conflict; these studies of the Palestinian population's health were important in acknowledging the centrality of the economic, social and political context for the daily lives of indigenous communities, their health needs and their unique perception of their well-being (Giacaman et al., 2009; Barber et al., 2014; McNeely et al., 2014). In the thematic chapters of this study I will show, through empirical examples from this study, how olive farming communities have their own unique conceptualisation of wellness that is holistic and multidimensional. *Al-a'fya*, which will be expanded on in chapter Five, is a concept rooted in the daily lives of communities, and its meanings signify a special way of considering wellness through the doing of daily activities.

1.8 Occupational justice

Social justice approaches to health and well-being in occupational science have proposed the concept of occupational justice, which is a term complementary to social justice, and which addresses the inequalities between groups in society in accessing opportunities for wanted and needed daily activities; it describes how these inequalities are created by factors outside of the control of individuals (Pierce, 2012). Occupational justice approaches to humans' daily activity are concerned with social change through exploring injustices and the lessons learnt from communities about how they adapt, resist and cope (Laliberte Rudman, 2014). More empirical work is needed to provide specific examples of these concepts, and there is a need to explore theories that place collective occupations, communities and their contexts within an inclusive frame (Hammell, 2015; Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b); this study is hoped to contribute to reducing such a gap in knowledge.

1.9 De-colonial ethnography

This study adopts a de-colonial ethnographic methodology that aims to highlight colonised groups' daily living, perceptions and experiences, which are hoped to inform the conceptualisation of everyday activities that have so far been mostly conceived from Eurocentric and privileged perspectives. My research and its findings framed within de-colonial ethnography aim to reclaim knowledge production by shedding a critical eye on prior research and theory through the stories of olive growers and my analysis of them, and by attempting to make the discipline of occupational science and the profession of occupational therapy more relevant to other marginalised global communities. This methodology is termed de-colonial rather than post-colonial, as is often the case in the literature, because the situation in Palestine has been one of ongoing settler colonialism, as

discussed above, and the land, people and everyday life are yet to be liberated from the oppressions and injustices this entails. It nonetheless joins other de-colonial and post-colonial research in other settings, with other groups, and on other occupations, that aims to represent, and learn from, marginal groups and their daily living (Farias and Laliberte Rudman, 2016; Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Whiteford and Hocking, 2012; Frank, 1996; 2012). As will be discussed in the next chapter, ethnography as a methodology has a history of enabling and being enabled by European colonial and imperial ideologies and practices, and it currently suffers from what Edward Said termed “a crisis of representation”, whereby privileged academics, professionals and officials study colonised groups and, knowingly or unknowingly, contribute to their misrepresentation, othering and oppression (Said, 2000, p. 294).

To counter that crisis, this study of the daily living of olive farmers in Palestine endorses a transformative paradigm within occupational science that is hoped to contribute to social and political change (Laliberte Rudman, 2014). This paradigm pushes the boundaries of the discipline by challenging the focus on individual occupations and on the limited scope of common categorisation of occupation that prioritises monetary capital production as a key daily activity in research and therapeutic interventions operating within neo-liberal market-led economies (Farias and Laliberte Rudman, 2016). I term it de-colonial, because in addition to challenging the crisis of representation in mainstream ethnographic methodologies, it also studies and promotes resistive occupations as active processes “through which people experience and organise power, thereby enabling individuals to change aspects of their life” (Farias and Laliberte Rudman, 2016, p. 44). In that way, this study joins other scholarly works that wish to inform the profession of occupational therapy by “learning from the margins”, empowering the profession to be more relevant and effective to contemporary local and global societies (Creek and Cook, 2017, p. 423).

1.10 Writing myself in the thesis

On reflection, this motivation to learn from groups living on the margins stemmed from my personal and professional experiences of living between cultures: in liminal spaces between diverse worldviews and practices. As a Palestinian citizen of Israel and of the UK, I have always straddled cultures and ways of life. I was born in *Al-Nassrah* (Nazareth), the largest town of the Palestinian minority in Israel. My family is of a Christian background, which is a minority among Palestinian Arabs. My extended family had little in the way of university education or of economic and social capital, and I was the first in my extended family on my father’s side to gain a higher education qualification. In my homeland, where the native Palestinian community became a minority after their dispossession during the 1948 *Nakba*, my family and I felt like foreigners in our country of birth, and were treated as second class citizens by the state of Israel⁵. I experienced similar feelings on moving to the UK, where - nearly two decades on - I still find it hard to feel Belonging to the culture, including that of my profession. In the UK I worked as an occupational therapist with adults and children, in hospitals and in the community. As I practised, I became increasingly disillusioned by the Western and medicalised methods dominant in occupational therapy.

Consequently, my intention and purpose in choosing the topic of this study, the methodologies, the methods and tools, the setting and participants, and the means by which I interpreted and

⁵Discrimination against the Palestinian Arab minority, about 20% of Israel’s population, takes a variety of forms, such as: in the legal frame of the state (eg. there are more than 30 laws the state of Israel has legislated that restrict Palestinians’ liberties); in the lack of citizenship rights; in the distribution of resources, education and health services (Adalah, 2011).

presented the findings, were led by these personal and professional experiences. The limited focus on individualistic and bio-medicalised approaches in mainstream occupational therapy has produced models of practice that have proven, in my experience, not effective for those I served in communities in Palestine-Israel and in the UK. My motivation for carrying out this research was my wish to contribute to social and political change through engaged scholarly work that is concerned with the praxis⁶ of transforming situations of inequality that restrict people's doing and well-being. Adopting a reflexive stance allowed me to acknowledge my positionality in relation to the topic and to the families I researched.

I cannot, and choose not to, claim to have been an objective researcher who came to the setting and the people studied without privileges, assumptions and wishes. I came from a more privileged position in relation to the participants of this study: I hold two passports – British and Israeli - that allow me to travel freely; I speak three languages – Arabic, English and Hebrew – that enabled me to communicate with all those involved in the study; I also have a role in academia – as a lecturer and a PhD candidate – that gives me opportunities to inform learning, teaching and practice in the fields of occupational therapy and occupational science. From the outset I recognised and acknowledged my stance in relation to the contest over the land and the activity of olive growing. I side with those who are oppressed and who are struggling to secure their basic needs and rights. I believe that justice and equality can be achieved in Palestine by learning to share the land and by dismantling discriminatory practices and structures (Qumsiyeh, 2004).

This partiality, and this critique of the power dynamics, are key elements of the reflexive and ethical stance within the de-colonial methodology I adopted, and it enabled me to be an 'imperfect ally' (Reynolds, 2011) who can be useful to the situation by witnessing the daily struggles of olive growers and their ways of coping with them; as many of the participants told me, they wanted me to "come and see, and go and tell". My ethical considerations in this study included my openness about the fact that I might not be able to help the families who agreed to be participants in a visible or practical way (apart from offering some help with picking, planting and maintaining trees during field visits). I felt I needed to be open about the fact that I needed olive farmers – in order to complete this PhD – perhaps more than they needed me. However, I acknowledged that olive farmers and their experiences would, through their participation, inform the fields of occupational therapy and occupational sciences, and might contribute models of means of doing and knowing to other communities living under comparable systems of oppression.

1.11 Study's motivations and questions

The concerns that led to this study were motivated by learning about the concrete manifestations of Israeli settler colonialism and military occupation – described as "facts on the ground" (Pappe, 2017, p. 185) – which include land confiscations, illegal colonies built on farmers' land, restrictions on movement, segregation and violence by soldiers and settlers (United Nations Human Rights Council / UNHRC, 2013). A UNHRC fact-finding mission investigated the Israeli settlements' impact on the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Palestinians in the oPt. It reported that 60 per cent of West Bank land was under full Israeli control, and that since 1967 Israeli governments had led the planning, building and development of colonies that are illegal under international law

⁶ I use the term 'praxis', as opposed to practice, to stress the social and political activist stance I adopt which considers occupational therapists and scientist as not only concerned with the physical and mental health of individuals, but also with the collective well-being of communities.

(UNHRC, 2013). The report outlined how Israeli colonies built on occupied land – numbering around 250 settlements and housing around 520,000 settlers – impacted on the rights of Palestinians, and how this was negatively manifested in a variety of interrelated forms, such as: restricting the right of native groups to self-determination; limiting equality and the right to non-discrimination in the application of laws as applied to Palestinians and to Israeli colonialists; enabling settler violence and intimidation; allowing restrictions on religious freedom and related intolerance against native communities; dispossession and displacement of land and property of Palestinians; causing restrictions on freedom of movement, freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, and restrictions on the right to water (UNHCR, 2013).

The report also studied the impact on the economic rights of the native population by addressing the agricultural sector, which has been the cornerstone of the Palestinian economy, albeit in continuous decline since the 1967. This, the report stressed, was due to land dispossessions, denial of access to land and water resources, as well as denial of access to local and international markets. The expansion of Israeli settlements and their related infrastructure caused further erosion of farming assets. The reduction in water resources, the high prices of transport and the shrinking of markets – also impacted by the construction of the segregation wall (illegal under international law) and the segregation of communities – had led to a decrease in agricultural holdings, a move to less profitable and rain-dependent crops, and a decrease in productivity (UNHCR, 2013). These factors were in addition to the recurrent attacks against farmers, animals, trees and water installations, especially during the olive harvest season (UNHCR, 2013). According to another UN agency – the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the occupied Palestinian territories (UNOCHAoPt, 2012), 48 per cent of land in the oPt was planted with olive trees; olive oil production constituted 14 per cent of agricultural income, supporting about 88,000 families. It documented 73 barrier gates that restricted access to groves, 52 of which were closed all year round except during harvest periods – and then only opened for a limited number of hours. In 2011, for example, 42 per cent of applications to access olive groves were rejected, and between January and October 2012, 7,500 trees were destroyed or damaged by settlers. That number was 9,500 in 2011, when only 162 complaints by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) led to indictment, the majority of complaints being filed and closed by Israeli authorities (UNOCHAoPt, 2012).

As for land confiscations, an Israeli NGO used official Israeli statistics to investigate measures used to take over Palestinian land (Kerem Navot, 2013). They outlined various ways in which land was expropriated, including: declaring land to be a closed military zone, declaring land as state land, land expropriation from absentee owners and forcible private takeover by settlers. The report found that the state supported settlers in taking over public and private land, and that during the previous decade tens of thousands of dunums (a dunum equals 1,000 square metres) had been taken over by settlers, mostly from private landowners, in the central and southern hills of the West Bank (where my field work was conducted). Other means of land confiscations employed by settlers were found to include: setting up outposts in former closed military zones or former military-use land in the hope to develop them into colonies, building unofficial and unsanctioned pirate roads leading to colonies which have developed into Jewish-only roads, and taking over panoramic areas to change them into tourist attractions (Kerem Navot, 2013).

My study of occupational science literature prompted me to consider the above daily realities in a specific theoretical frame that helped in formulating the problems I wished to study. Occupational science has provided evidence of the intrinsic human need for daily occupations (Yerxa et al, 1989; Wilcock, 1998; 2006; Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). Humans have been described as “occupational beings” to emphasise the innate need to engage in daily doings (Wilcock, 2006, p. 6). People were

not only born with the need to participate in meaningful and purposeful activity, but they have the capacities and skills to do so. These include body functions and structures, and motor-sensory, cognitive and psycho-social capacities (Wilcock, 2006). Another foundational belief in occupational science relates to the uniqueness of each individual and groups of individuals due to biological abilities and to environmental and contextual factors, all of which enable the diversity of skills, needs and wishes to engage in a plethora of different daily doings that have positive or negative influence on our individual and collective health and well-being (Wilcock, 2006). Finally, human beings are able to orchestrate and adapt their doing and their environment in response to changes in circumstances that limit or restrict their wanted or needed participation in their daily activities; these circumstances can stem from illness – physical and mental – or from socio-economic or environmental factors (Wilcock, 2006).

De-colonial thought and occupational science conceive people as active survivors – rather than passive agents – who seek to maintain theirs and their community's well-being (Rasras, 2005; Ramugondo, 2015). Furthermore, occupational science provided evidence that humans engage in daily occupations for purposes and meanings of Doing, Being, Becoming and Belonging (Wilcock, 2006; Hammell, 2004). However, so far these ideas have predominantly been tested in Western or English-speaking contexts and on occupations of individuals who were diagnosed with physical or mental disabilities, and I wished to explore them in the context of olive growing families in Palestine.

Despite my critique of these occupational science ideas – Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging - which were conceived by Western English speaking academics, and despite my suspicion of their 'universal' application (see section 6.3.1 in chapter Six), I was interested in exploring them within the Palestinian context. I wished to do so because the Epistemologies of the South philosophy I adopted (see section 2.4 in chapter Two) does not seek to eliminate all knowledge created in the Global North. Instead, it is believed that Global North and South ways of doing and knowing should complement each other, seeking to create a 'new universality' that enables co-existence between worldviews and means of interpreting the world (Said, 2000, p. 430). This is hoped to lead to better understanding of the world, humans' daily realities and the injustices they experience (and how to resolve them), such as colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy (Santos, 2014). Moreover, my liminal positionality of living across Global North and South worldviews and ways of life allowed the process of intercultural translation which enabled a bridging between these two worldviews.

1.11.1 Study's questions

These deliberations led me to pose two research questions:

Firstly, I wished to explore how the structures, policies and practices of Israeli settler colonialism and its military occupation influence the daily activities of olive growing communities in the oPt, such as travelling to and from grove and press, accessing land, harvesting, planting and maintaining groves?

I hoped to learn about the specific activities olive growing individuals and families are engaged in: their daily routines, their seasonal and yearly routines, how and why they do them, and what they perceive to be the enablers and barriers to those activities. Those daily realities and facts on the ground created by a powerful outside force, as the above brief review of the literature has shown, would surely have specific impacts on the everyday realities and activities of olive farmers as they went about trying to maintain this important occupation of olive growing. I wished to learn about how these restrictions manifested in individuals' and families' routines, behaviours, relationships

and quality of life. I wished to explore the similarities and differences between individuals and families engaged in these meaningful activities. I also wanted to learn about the effects of the different circumstances of families in terms of where they lived and their family histories and backgrounds, and how these interlinked with the realities and restrictions they had to cope with on a daily basis.

The second research question I posed was: What are the means that communities adopt to enable the daily occupations of olive farming to continue?

I wished to explore what specific practical measures olive growers undertook to allow them to sustain the working of their land and production of olives and oil. I hoped to explore how each individual and family managed, or did not manage, to continue to travel to their groves, maintain their groves and to plant and harvest their trees. I was concerned with the similarities and differences between individual olive growers and between families, and how and why they were similar or different in the ways they responded to those contextual factors.

As the study proceeded, this second concern regarding the means that olive growers adopted and which they believed allowed them to cope with the daily realities they faced in order to continue farming olives, has evolved. I became increasingly interested in studying the means of knowing and doing, and the motivations and values for the activity of olive growing, which are rooted in the specific ways of life and which were observed to be used as active responses – or resistance – to occupational injustices caused by settler colonialism. This expansion in the issues I wished to study was inspired by ideas of occupational justice (Wilcock and Townsend, 2000), concerning differences in access to activities of daily living due to factors such as age, ability/disability, gender, religion, nationality, sexuality or any other contextual or identity dimensions. Moreover, this development in the focus of this study's concerns was influenced by de-colonial scholars' interest in learning from communities that use non-hegemonic means of resisting social and cognitive injustice (Santos, 2014). Santos recognised the value of knowledge and expertise conceived in the Global South by the communities themselves – rather than values and knowledge exported or enforced by privileged outsiders - to counter social injustice, including cognitive and occupational injustices — concepts that are explained in the following chapters.

1.12 The following chapters

The questions discussed above guided the field visits that I conducted between 2013 and 2017 in the West Bank, during which I conducted 11 in-depth interviews and observations with olive growing families. Four of those families were chosen to be the main participants whose occupational narratives have been constructed, and the information gathered from them has been the main data analysed here. However, I met other olive growing individuals and families whose stories and quotes have also been used in the analysis, some of whom I have quoted in this thesis. Subsequently I carried a thematic analysis grounded on my theoretical and epistemological assumptions; this approach aimed to provide an interpretation of aspects of the data that focus on exploring self-conceptualisations and underlying beliefs of participants in regards to the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In Chapter Two I describe the approach to this study, including discussion of the epistemological and ontological issues related to the topic, followed by the methodological considerations of the research. Chapter Three begins with reflections on my ethical deliberations, then outlines the research design and the processes of gathering, processing, analysing and

interpreting the information during and after the field visits. In Chapter Four I introduce the four participant families in this research, and describe their daily lives through their occupational narratives that demonstrate an interplay between three elements: the people, the places and the activities. The chapter concludes with some extracts from raw material I gathered from the field, such as field notes and segments of interview transcripts representing typical and atypical examples of olive growing in Palestine taken from other participants. These stories together relate some unique aspects of each family's daily life, but also show some common features shared by the individuals and families.

The core analytical chapters (Five, Six, Seven and Eight) of this dissertation present the main themes that were formulated as a result of the thematic analysis and interpretation of the field notes and interview transcripts. They form the main argument of this thesis, describing three separate yet interlinked ways of doing, being and knowing that are used by West Bank olive farmers as means of actions driving the daily activities related to growing and producing olives. Chapter Five discusses *Sutra*, conceptualised as Doing for Well-being, which is a principle of action for olive growing that enables the actual engagement in the doing of the activities of olive farming in order to survive economically and physically. *Sutra* also includes the subjective, emotional, social and political meanings for this activity that empowers families to fulfil their roles and well-being, or *Al-a'fya*, as uniquely understood by families in Palestine. Chapter Six introduces the concept of *A'wna* as the collaborative Belonging principle of olive farming. I interpret it in light of the varied solidarities and co-agencies I observed that enable such a means of action, which in turn leads to the continuation of the activity of olive growing. This occurred despite the specific type of 'occupational apartheid' families were observed to experience. As one of the key findings of this study, the experience of occupational apartheid by olive farming families (Kronenberg and Pollard, 2005) stems from the systematic and direct imposition of limits on the activity of olive growing due to Belonging to the native Palestinian rural community, which Israeli settler colonialism and its military occupation aim to eliminate, or to replace with a foreign settling community and way of life. Chapter Seven offers a critical analysis of the daily acts of *Sumud* - a means of resistive action specific to the Palestinian situation. I conceptualise it as the Belonging for Becoming principle of olive farming, which enables farming families to hold onto their land, trees and daily doings, and stubbornly persist in finding creative responses to allow their activity, well-being and communities not only to continue, but also to aspire to collective self-determination.

These three motivators and principles of action for the act of olive growing – *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* – are not seen as separate in the real world; they inter-link to form what I term Everyday Forms of Resistance (see Chapter Eight), examples of resistive means will be offered from the olive farming communities in Palestine to the occupational science and occupational therapy communities, as well as to other groups in the Global South who are struggling against occupational, social and cognitive justices. Chapter Nine offers some final conclusions, implications for practice and theory, limitations of this study and future considerations.

Chapter Two: The study's approach

"This kind of human work, which is intellectual work, is worldly, [in] that it is situated in the world, and about the world" (Said, 2000, p. 375)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the epistemological, theoretical and methodological issues of this thesis, and the style of qualitative methodology adopted. I will critique methodologies in mainstream scholarly works founded on dominant and privileged Western epistemological and ontological conceptions of knowledge, reality and people's experiences in the world. Drawing on works by Edward Said, James C Scott, and Boaventura de Sousa Santos, I will situate such an understanding within an 'epistemology of imperialism'. I will instead frame my philosophical, theoretical, ethical and methodological interpretations within the 'epistemologies of the South' (Santos, 2014), rooted in the daily living of communities experiencing not only social injustice, but also cognitive injustice, which refers to the outcome of the exclusion of such philosophies when scholars produce knowledge. As detailed below, the injustices experienced by those communities are attributed to European colonial ideologies and practices, including other forms of exploitation that are interrelated – all of which have resulted from modern European territorial expansionism and were supported by Western-centric scholars – such as capitalism, the nation-state and patriarchy. Said, Scott and Santos' anti-colonial theoretical and methodological approaches, which I refer to as 'de-colonial ethnography', offered a more appropriate frame for the focus and aims of this study. I will critically analyse some of their relevant ideas, and link them to the topic, setting and participants of this study.

2.2 Qualitative methodologies

My interest in the daily experiences of a particular human community living in a specific place and time – olive farmers living in the West Bank of Palestine in the second decade of the 21st century – and my interest in the ways they interact with each other, the world, and with me as a researcher, led me to explore qualitative methodologies to guide my research approach (Merriam et al., 2002). In particular, because of my interest in the meanings participants give to their daily doing, an interpretive qualitative approach was identified in the literature as it focuses on the meanings and interpretations people give to their experiences and realities, and seeks to learn how people experience their interactions with the social world (Merriam et al., 2002). Additionally, the focus of this study seemed to me to fit well with the critical strand of qualitative methodologies, which is interested in contextual factors and their influence on individuals' construction of their realities, and how social and political factors influence the formation of those realities (Merriam et al., 2002). From the outset I anticipated that the socio-political conditions under which olive growing communities live in the West Bank of Palestine – specifically Israeli settler colonialism and military occupation – would have a large impact on how those communities perceived their reality and how they conducted their daily lives. Consequently, I was also aware that power relations between the

olive farmers' communities and the authorities controlling most aspects of their lives, would have a major impact on the conditions of daily life for them.

Qualitative interpretive methodologies are informed by the assumption that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). In that way, meanings are created by humans as they come into contact with the social world they inhabit. Meaning is formed as a result of humans' interpretation of the interactions between their subjective experiences – feelings, thoughts and values – and the external world they inhabit and which they try to make sense of. In my study this meant that the experiences of olive farmers – what they felt, what they thought and what beliefs they based their actions on – interact with the socio-political world they live in, and this relationship between their subjective experiences and their everyday realities helps them make sense of their experience and determine the way they communicate it. In addition, I was aware that the realities and experiences of the daily lives of olive growers studied in the field, and presented in the following chapters, was a reality I was involved in constructing together with the olive farming families I visited. It was a situation that I chose how to approach, some aspects of which I selected to present and others I chose to omit. However, my developing understanding of the contexts of the communities my study is focused on, as well as my training in occupational therapy and my Palestinian background, and the long term relationships I developed with the farmers, allowed us to collaboratively tell the stories emerging as most significant to them and to me within this context, and within the relevant epistemological and theoretical frames adopted, which will be expanded on below.

2.3 Epistemology of imperialism: Said, Scott and Santos

As I read more critical literature and immersed myself in the everyday of participant families in field visits, I raised and reflected on some questions, such as whose reality is to be interpreted according to those approaches I was choosing to adopt, by whom and for what purposes? Palestinians have struggled against a European colonial ideology and practices often justified by scholarly work framed within Eurocentric disciplines (Said, 2003; Masalha, 2012). These perspectives on truth and reality cannot fully answer the questions the contemporary world is concerned with, and they need widening to include some other means of knowing and being to enable the interpretation and solutions to some of Earth's most pressing troubles. In an essay titled 'The Politics of Knowledge', Edward Said (2000, p. 376) described the "epistemology of imperialism" that emerged in late 18th Century Europe. He referred to a philosophy of knowledge and knowledge production that has dominated many scholarly fields, and which coincided with an imperial perspective that separated races and cultures: between 'developed' and 'underdeveloped', or 'civilised' and 'primitive' ones (Said, 2000). This separation has been dominant in Western-centric philosophies since the Greeks, Said (2000) added, but for the last three centuries (since the start of modern European imperialism) considerable credence has been given to these essentialist separations between cultures and races. What led to this was Western territorial expansion, which caused increased interactions with native populations globally, interactions that were mostly antagonistic in nature. Said (2000, p. 376) claimed that this resulted in a "separation between people as members of homogenous races and exclusive nations that was and still is one of the characteristics" of this imperial epistemology. This 'othering' is founded, according to Said (2000, p. 376), on the notion that "everyone is principally

and irreducibly a member of some race or category, and that race or category cannot ever be assimilated to or accepted by others – except as itself”.

There is a relationship between what Said (2000, p. 379) called the “realm of interpretation” and the “realm of world politics” – each explicating the other, which has real consequences in the lives of people whose experiences are being interpreted. Said (2000) argued that knowledge founded on the confirmation of different identities is directly linked to ideologies and practices such as nationalism and colonialism. This dichotomous logic of Western-centric thought leads to policies of separation based on nations individuals belong to, and deems some groups as the ‘other’ and not worthy of certain rights and privileges, as in the relationship between native colonised groups, who have been portrayed as savages and primitive, and the colonisers who are considered a superior and more advanced race. This relationship, between the dominant political structures and how people’s experiences have been perceived and interpreted, has also manifested in Palestine whereby British, and after them Israeli colonisation, were justified on a claim that native groups, being inferior, could not rule themselves and that it was for their benefit that they be ruled by a more advanced race (Said, 2003).

This epistemology not only separates people and creates hierarchies between European and non-European cultures, but also segregates human from other-than-human elements of nature, and perceives time, history and territory as linear and binary features that can be quantified, reasoned and rationalised to portray a version of history that conserves the elitist, Eurocentric and ‘historicist’⁷ truth (Said, 2000, 2003; Scott, 2012; Santos, 2014; Anievas and Nişancıoğlu, 2015). Eurocentric philosophies, whether critical or not, are grounded in dualism and anthropocentric perspectives that consider nature as the other, distinct from, and existing outside of, human beings (Santos, 2014). Humans are prioritised in this relationship, and thereby this conception considers nature a resource that can be available for people to control and exploit. Examples of the impacts of such modalities are in the policies that encourage “extractivist imperialism” (Santos, 2014, p. 26) across the globe, whereby powerful states or corporations cultivate foreign land, mine their precious metals or fish in their territorial seas – these resources extracted often from so called ‘developing’ ‘Third World’ countries and consumed by so called ‘developed’ ‘First World’ nations. The main features of this modality of reason, according to Anievas and Nişancıoğlu (2015, p. 5), include: “methodological internalism”, which frames European progress and development as endogenous and self-propelling; “historical priority”, which sees civilisation beginning in Europe and establishing a standard for which morals need to be imposed on ‘non-civilised’ regions of the world; “linear developmentalism”, which determines sociocultural distinctions in terms of the supposed linear progress of history, and through which non-Europeans were seen as an image of Europe’s past, and Europe in turn as the image of non-Europeans’ future; and conception of linear and binary geographical space, which led to the creation of artificial territorial borders and to the enforcement of political authority. Examples of these are the borders European states assigned to regions in Africa and the Middle East.

Another example of a practice based on such an ideology is the standardisation, or the institutionalisation, of all aspects of life for people in the Global North and South. In his critique of the social sciences and their foundations in Western philosophies about the nature of knowledge and truth, Scott (2012) described the effects of this European colonial conception of reality on people’s daily experiences. Scott (2012, p.54) described the project of “utopian image of uniformity” that resulted from the universalisation and homogenisation that the European nation states

⁷ ‘Historicist’ truth refers to the historical priority scholars give to European civilisation, which is considered as superior and the first and only truth that everyone from all nations should adopt (Anievas and Nişancıoğlu, 2015).

exported almost everywhere globally, which – in addition to structures associated with it, such as settler colonialism and global market forces – led to a form of “institutional neurosis” (Scott, 2012, p. 79). This overstated belief in uniformity leads to enforcement of standardisation, which is driven by what Santos (2014, p. 63) termed “high modern rationality” – an ideology based on presumed objectivity and rationality, and based on quantified scientific knowledge utilised as a tool to enforce policies on the everyday lives of communities, often authorised by the bourgeois elite controlling the lives of groups on the margins of society. Scott (2012, p. 34) saw the consequences of such a philosophy of knowledge as “order, rationality, abstractness, and synoptic legibility”- goals illustrated and achieved most clearly in the institutionalisation of all aspects of daily lives for people all over the world, including the family, education, the factory and the office. Colonialism, globalised market-capitalism, the nation state and their institutions were based on such instrumental rationality, which denied ‘vernacular’⁸ forms of knowing and valuing that natives and non-European communities had relied on before the arrival of colonialism and the nation state (Scott, 2012).

Such ideology and practice, founded on neo-positivist social science and supported by mainstream scholarly methodologies and methods, are contrasted by the morality and way of life of peasants and farmers living and working in smallholdings and family-oriented farms, who have been less affected than other occupational groups by the rule and control of the authorities because they rely on their land for substance, survival and self-determination, as Scott (2012) demonstrated. Scott (1976; 1985; 2012) observed and analysed everyday forms of cooperative political practices among such groups, and interpreted them within anarchist values, philosophy founded on values of mutuality, creativity and self-rule. He claimed that those values are shared among many communities around the world who may not even have read or heard of those principles advocated by anti-authoritarian thinkers. His observations come from the realities of farmers in the Andes and South-East Asian peasants - those family-oriented smallholders who “are not merely producing crops; they are reproducing farmers and communities with plant-breeding skills, flexible strategies, ecological knowledge, and considerable self-confidence and autonomy” (Scott, 2012, p. 40).

This ‘vernacular’⁹ (rooted in the everyday) knowledge and praxis, or ‘the practice of everyday life’ as de Certeau (1988) termed it, are in constant struggle against European imperial ideologies and structures, such as settler colonialism. Such structures are supported by and inform knowledge production in Western-centric social sciences, which leads to the creation of theories, knowledge and oppressive policies that suppress the knowledge base and praxis of marginalised groups. Peasants’ non-hegemonic ideology, values and actions are rooted in their need to negotiate their environments in order to maintain their collective well-being. Scott (2012) used Palestine as an example to illustrate how Zionism – as one case of a European colonialist project - enforced its ideologies and practices to eliminate native communities’ claim to the land and vernacular lifestyle, for example by removing all traces of their land-naming systems, which were rooted in everyday practices anchored in their natural environment. That erasure of native place names in Palestine was done following fieldwork conducted by Zionist scholars who gathered information from local indigenous communities about their land-based knowledge and daily practices, in order to ‘Hebraise’ places, or replace their names with names presented as empirically tested (Benvenisti, 2000). Scott described how “the landscape has been comprehensively renamed in an effort to smother the older vernacular terms” (2012, p. 30). Other examples of how Western imperialism, capitalism and nation states have contributed to the erasure of such vernacular knowledge and morality characteristic of

⁹ The term ‘vernacular’ in this thesis refers to all forms of knowledge and praxis which are informed by the everyday needs, and the natural and environmental elements with which human groups interact (Scott, 2012).

rural communities are: the near-universal enforcement of a patronymic naming system of families and individuals; numeric measurements versus vernacular measurements informed by natural phenomena; individualised freeholds replacing communal land tenure; and standardised national languages supplanting local dialects – all of which have also been applied by Israeli-Zionist colonialism in Palestine, and some aspects of which have been observed in this study as discussed in later chapters.

There were other practices, like forestry and farming that – informed by imperial epistemology – were homogenised and standardised for purposes of order, uniformity and productivity, while denying the varied nature of humans and non-humans that are often values believed in by peasants or small-scale farmers (Scott, 2012). For example, Benvenisti (2000) described how olive groves in Palestine have been uprooted in order to make way for more productive large scale field crops; Pappé (2006) reported on how European style pine forests were planted by Israeli authorities on the sites of many ethnically cleansed Palestinian villages. Those practices were in contrast to vernacular epistemological and ontological understandings of human experiences and their relation to the land among native groups in Palestine, as well as in other groups in the Global South (Scott, 2012; Santos, 2014). Peasants' daily means of doing, being and knowing – described as peasants' 'moral economy' - rely on principles of mutuality, spontaneity, creativity and self-rule (Scott, 1976; 2012). This morality has helped them confront Western farming methods and practices imposed on them due to the importation of market-led globalised forms of capitalism. They have been applied in what Scott (2012, p. xx) termed "infrapolitics", referring to those non-institutionalised, often non-visible but nonetheless influential resistive means to make sense of people's surroundings and enable their way of life to continue. This peasant moral economy is applied for the aim of the continuation of the subsistence and survival of the peasant families and their communities (Scott, 1976; 2012). Scott (2012, p. xx) thought of the peasantry as a class of their own whose revolutions were ignored, and defined their infrapolitical practices as "forms of de facto self-help [that] flourish and are sustained by deeply held collective opinions". Peasants have not had the opportunity often to organise politically but that didn't stop them from "working microscopically, cooperatively, complicity, and massively at political change from below" (Scott, 2012, p. xx-xxi).

John Berger (1979; 2007), another anti-capitalist thinker, similarly considered the smallholders and family-oriented farming communities as forming a class, whose way of life had been destroyed by dominant capitalist global structures. Berger, like Scott, believed that documenting and exploring such moral economies - knowledge, values and practices - was critical at this phase of world history to inform more sustainable and ecological economies and ways of living. Scott's study of South-East Asian peasants, and Berger's study of farmers and herders in the French Alps, pointed to a similar morality and similar ways of life based on the need for subsistence and survival. Scott (1985, p. xvii) conceptualised acts such as foot-dragging, sabotage or unionising against rich bosses – springing from this moral economy of the peasantry – as "everyday forms of resistance" to market-led organisation of farming (such as large-scale cropping) that help in realising human dignity and freedom. Comparable forms of resistance were observed in this study (see chapter Seven and Eight), and they are hoped to contribute to epistemological and theoretical justice by highlighting those alternative means of knowing and being – all of which are key concerns of the epistemologies of the South described next.

2.4 Epistemologies of the South

In response to the epistemology of imperialism, Santos (2014, p. 15) described the “epistemologies of the South”, which emerged as a movement of thought and praxis from marginal communities’ resistance to injustices imposed on them by forces such as capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy. These groups’ life-ways and value systems offer alternative philosophies about the origins of knowledge created by the dominant Western-centric ways of knowing in the world. Epistemologies of the South act at all levels of experience: the ethical, political, cultural, epistemological and ontological (Santos, 2014). Epistemologies of the South originate from within colonised indigenous groups, minorities, peasants, women and other social movements who are resisting a form of what Santos termed “epistemicide”, which he described as the destruction of means of interpreting human realities that did not suit “the dominant epistemological canon” (Santos, 2014, p. 238). The epistemologies of the South perspective assumes that there are “plural systems of knowledge” founded on a diversity of ways of explaining the world, including the hegemonic positivist scientific method (Santos, 2014, p. 199). This diverse collection of means of knowing are based on the belief that no one method of evaluating human experience in the world is complete, and that there is a need to create new hybrids of ways to make sense of the world. Positivist, neo-positivist and critical paradigms – based on Western epistemologies – cannot fully explain the world, as “the understanding of the world by far exceeds the Western understanding of the world” (Santos, 2014, p. 237).

Human freedom and justice are key goals in forming this constellation of hybrid perspectives, which aim for emancipation and social change and which “may follow grammars and scripts other than those developed by Western-centric critical theory, and such diversity must be valorised [sic]” (Santos, 2014, p. 237). This is particularly needed at this moment of history when we face troubles on many fronts: human inequalities between and within nations, environmental degradation, climatic changes and oppressive effects of market-led capitalism and its value and practice of extractivism. Critical theories, such as the Frankfurt school and Marxism, produced some analyses of problems and their solutions, but were invested too much in European bourgeois modernity based on epistemologies such as the belief in linearity of progress, extractivism and imperialism; above all, the key problem with these Western-centric critical theories was the fact that they did not acknowledge cognitive injustices caused by the denial of other ways of knowing and being, and of their role in interpreting human experiences and realities (Santos, 2014).

What is needed, Santos (2014) claimed, is an alternative epistemology anchored in discourses and praxes that aim to confront oppression and offer a paradigmatic change at all levels of human experience: the ethical – ways of valuing and judging; the political – ways of deliberating and ruling and being ruled; the cultural – ways of providing meaning; the epistemological – ways of knowing; and finally alternatives should be proposed also in the ontological sphere, which conceptualises reality or the ways of being of humans. He called for ‘cognitive justice’, defined as the “radical demand for social justice, a demand that includes unthinking the dominant criteria by which we define social justice and fight against social injustice” and requiring delving into the roots of such criteria and their determinations at all of the levels mentioned above (Santos, 2014, p. 237). This paradigmatic shift, leading to cognitive justice, should be rooted in the experiences of unjust human suffering and the will to confront this suffering, according to Santos (2014). In order to allow this transition from the epistemologies of imperialism, or the North, to the epistemologies of the South,

there is a need for an intellectual process involving two key processes: an intercultural translation and the construction of ecologies of knowledges (Santos, 2014).

Intercultural translation is a process of interpretation of human realities that seeks and compares corresponding phenomena between different ways of being, leading to the forming of new means of inter-communications, in order to strengthen what Said (2003) called co-existence among new collective constituencies that fight for social justice and human dignity. Intercultural translations have to challenge dichotomies between forms of knowledge, such as scientific and non-scientific, and to confront the unequal status of some forms of interpreting the world over others (Santos, 2014). There are, according to Santos (2014), different types of intercultural translations: those which concentrate on translating concepts or worldviews, and those that focus on alternative collective practices and on empowering communities engaging in them to be active agents contributing to the formation of hybrid forms of knowledge aiming at social change. Regarding the translational relationships, there are also two types: firstly, the translation to/from Western from/to non-Western concepts and practice; and secondly, the translations between different non-Western knowledge and praxis (Santos, 2014).

The purpose of creating such ways of knowing lies in the second process within the epistemologies of the South: creating the ecologies of knowledges, which involves stepping back from Eurocentric traditions to allow other analytical spaces that can explain reality (Santos, 2014). This does not mean rejecting Western critical theories and advocating relativism, but rather broadening the possibilities of thinking about human emancipation. Santos (2014) claimed that the novel hybrid of means of interpreting the world “aims to create a new kind of relation, a pragmatic relation, between scientific knowledge and other kinds of knowledge” to allow maximum benefit from their respective contributions towards “another possible world” (Santos, 2014, p. 190). Said (2000), stressing the importance of continuing to work on the goal of widening the area of awareness in the study of everyday realities of people, warned against going to the other extreme by only highlighting the particularity of those diverse means of knowing rooted in the everyday of Global South groups. He stated: “Our point, in my opinion, cannot be simply and obdurately to affirm the knowledge and leave it at that, nor can it be to surround ourselves with the sanctimonious piety of historical or cultural victimhood as a way of making our intellectual presence felt” (Said, 2000, p. 380). Such victimhood doesn’t empower an improved sense of humanity, according to Said (2000). He saw the importance of testifying to a reality of oppression, but this was not sufficient unless it was invested in an intellectual process that universalised the situation to include all of the oppressed in the world. To deconstruct Eurocentrism in the intellectual sphere, Said believed that “ethnic particularity” did not provide the needed intellectual process. He said:

It was never a matter of replacing one set of authorities and dogma with another, nor of substituting one center [sic] or another. It was always a matter of opening and participation in a central strand of intellectual and cultural effort and showing what had always been, though indiscernibly, a part of it, like the work of women, or blacks and servants – but which had been either denied or derogated (Said, 2000, p. 381).

This process should aim to refine and extend the interpretations of realities that have been exclusively seen from a European observer point of view or consciousness. Said named this approach, which links different ontological stances, “worldliness”, which he claimed is the reverse of separatism or exclusivism characteristic of the epistemology of imperialism (Said, 2000, p. 382). Worldliness counters that exclusivism by advocating for a “new universality” when addressing the issues of human rights, dignity and freedom (Said, 2000, p. 430). This new universality requires the will to frame those rights by employing similar language to that used by the hegemonic discourses in

order to challenge their pecking order and tools, and to shed a light on uncovered facts, and to communicate what these dominant ideologies and practices had deemed irrelevant (Said, 2000). Said encouraged the critiquing of interpretations of human freedom, as it is analysed in today's discourse, that relate to a specific national, ethnic or religious identity whose freedoms are restricted within the territory of a sovereign national power that withholds those rights in the name of defending their national identity.

An example of this type of framing of human freedom can be found in Palestine-Israel. According to Said (2000) the international dimensions of the experiences of Palestinians and Israelis require this type of new universality and worldliness for the philosophical and political interpretation of human freedom. He claimed that there is a dominant consensus in world politics today that has been persistent since the Balfour Declaration by the British government in 1917 which promised Palestine as a home for the Jewish communities of Europe. In particular, since World War Two, across the political spectrum of the liberal democracies of the West, there has been a framing of Palestinian rights that perceives Israel as a positive achievement for the oppressed Jewish populations of Europe without acknowledging the consequences and effects its creation had on the indigenous population of Palestine (Said, 2000). This perspective of the liberal West, Said added, "was always very eager to deconstruct the Palestinian self in the process of *constructing* the Zionist-Israeli self" (emphasis in original) (Said, 2000, p. 431). Writing as an "involved Palestinian", Said described Palestine as the "touchstone case for human rights"; He said: "I doubt that any of us has figured out how our particularly trying history interlocks with that of the Jews who dispossessed and now try to rule us. But we know these histories cannot be separated" (Said, 2000, p. 435). Said concluded: "There is hardly an instance when the connection between freedom and interpretation is as urgent, as literally concrete, as it is for the Palestinian people, a large part of whose existence and fate has been interpreted away in the West in order to deny us the same freedoms and interpretation granted Israeli Jews" (Said 2000, p. 435).

So far in this chapter, I have reflected on epistemological and ontological approaches relevant to my study. I have situated my study within an anti-colonial philosophy about the nature of knowledge and reality. The epistemologies of the South emerged as a movement in thought and praxis to counter dominant forms of interpretations in Western-centric social sciences based on neo-positivist paradigms. This critique was offered by anti-colonial thinkers and activists who call for an expansion of such narrow perspectives, confronting not only social but cognitive justice. Cognitive justice involves seeing the world from the lion's eyes, as African hunters say (Santos, 2014). Santos used this saying to advocate for observing and documenting everyday forms of survival based on the perspective of the other and their vernacular ways of knowing and means of action, which can widen the "rendezvous of victory" by including more worldviews and practices to explain the world than just those Eurocentric ones, as Said claimed (2000, p. 403). Santos (2014, p. 240) quoted a Zapatista leader to illustrate the aim of such an epistemology in which "different worlds can fit comfortably" together. An intercultural translation from a non-Western worldview and way of life, into Western-centric disciplines, can therefore contribute to informing and widening ecologies of knowledges founded on multiple modalities of reason, whereby no one way of seeing or interpreting or acting is complete in explaining the world, people and their experiences. I highlighted the link between Western-centric philosophies about knowledge and realities, and the ideologies and practices of states and corporations. States and corporations, acting within the epistemology of imperialism, exploit the weak parts of society by imposing policies of oppression and injustice that are justified by such colonialist ontological and epistemological stance.

Palestine was highlighted as an illuminating context in which such epistemologies of imperialism can be tested against particular vernacular ways of life that can also be informing, and informed by, other Global South ways of being, doing and knowing. By investigating a case of social and cognitive (in)justice in Palestine, I can offer an interpretation of everyday means of confronting an injustice in the hope of survival, but also of self-determination and Becoming. As will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter, de-colonial thought can be enhanced by studying a context such as Palestine, which can be seen as a conceptual space to counter dichotomous thinking in Western-centric thought, such as between human cultures, or between human and non-human elements. The challenge of an intercultural translation between concepts in occupational therapy and occupational science, influenced by Eurocentric interpretation of reality and knowledge, and Palestinian everyday life, will reappear in the thematic chapters of this thesis when concepts such as occupation, health and independence/inter-dependence will be analysed in light of olive growers' values and practices. I will demonstrate how those concepts in Palestine are founded on means and values that do not fit into that separation that Western-based knowledge advocates, between human groups and between human and other-than-human elements.

Said, Scott and Santos' critique of Eurocentric epistemology helped me in reflecting on the conflicts that might have arisen from applying forms of interpretations that are often inappropriately applied to non-Western communities, termed elsewhere as theoretical imperialism (Hammell, 2011). Each of those thinkers interpreted theoretical imperialism in their specific disciplines and settings in which they based their observations. Said was a Palestinian American, and spent most of his life as a cultural and political critic. He attempted to portray the Oriental point of view to Occidental audiences (Said, 2003). His academic background was in comparative literature and he was an activist who advocated for Palestinians by promoting and representing their rights on the international stage. Scott is a US professor of Political Science, Anthropology and Agrarian Studies. His main research focus has been on South-East Asian farming communities, especially in Malaysia, where he lived while studying their everyday struggles. He is also an activist and a practitioner of some of the ideas he discusses in his work, such as family-oriented, smallholder farming. Santos is a Portuguese professor of Sociology, and a legal scholar. His writing and examples focus mostly on Latin America and indigenous communities living there. His activism came in the form of the global organisation he helped set up called the World Social Forum, where native communities, peasants, farmers and political activists gather to exchange ideas and practices in the hope of transforming the world to one beyond a capitalist, colonial and patriarchal structure.

All three thinkers, as shown above, referred to peasants as a distinct class and discussed the ideas and praxes of everyday resistance, based on vernacular means rooted in values of co-existence between humans and between people and their environment. All three called for a new universalism, based on multiple intelligences – diverse means of making sense of the world - that invites the critique of Western-centric forms of knowledge and theory, but does not call for relativism and the denial of the usefulness of some of this knowledge. Instead they called for a world in which plural intelligences and ecologies of knowledges can contribute to each other, and widen the concepts related to human freedom and dignity that can help in theorising phenomena studied in empirical research. However well-intentioned, refreshing and accurate their critique is, Said, Scott and Santos were (in the case of Said), or are (Scott and Santos), privileged Western-based middle-class men, who wrote mostly for Western audiences (although at times Said and Santos wrote for Global South communities, and engaged in activism with them). As they themselves self-reflexively highlighted, their work did not cover enough discussion of gender, intersectionality and feminist philosophies as other ways of being, doing, knowing and telling that can inform our interpretations of human realities. Said, Santos and Scott offered alternatives to current ways of thinking and

practising, but they were still advocating such an alternative within the confines of a centralised state, even though Scott (2012) began to explore an anarchist critique that empowers cooperation and some self-rule, he still advocated this to be done within the frame of citizenship and governmental policies within the nation state. This framing can potentially deny and suppress some ways of thinking and valuing the world belonging to groups living on the margins of mainstream society, such as traveling communities, the homeless and people seeking refuge who might not have citizenship rights in any country.

Finally, despite these gaps in their work, the de-colonial ethnographic methods used in this study, which were based on these thinkers' critiques of Western-centric knowledge production, were demonstrated to suit the aims, purposes, scope, setting and participants of this study. As will be discussed in the final chapter of this study, despite the de-colonial insights being helpful to this study, further exploration of potentialities for anti-authoritarian interpretations of human experiences that go beyond the state or the patriarchal order will be helpful in studying similar communities, or ways of doing, being and knowing other than the Western. I will now proceed to describe the methodological frame adopted in this research.

2.5 De-colonial Ethnography

Palestinian historian Nur Masalha (2012) used the term 'de-colonial' to refer to the need to re-claim history by telling it from the perspective of regular people and their everyday stories, rather than from the perspective of the authorities and scholars. De-colonial methodologies seek to de-centre Eurocentric assumptions that Western social forms and discourses are universal (Anievas and Nişancioğlu, 2015). They place the uniqueness of alternative representations of social experiences in non-Western societies as the core of interpreting these realities. This is done by highlighting the voices of the other, and by disrupting a Eurocentric vision of history (Anievas and Nişancioğlu, 2015). This is to counter the historicism, specifically when considering peasants' way of thinking and reality, and to consider their potential contribution to theory and knowledge production. Peasants are not middle class, secular or modern and their practices existed prior to Western colonialism and capitalism, but their agency is key in explaining the world around us today; they have been silenced, misrepresented and marginalised by the writing of history (Anievas and Nişancioğlu, 2015). De-colonial research methodologies therefore seek to 'provincialise' Eurocentric theory and aim "to demonstrate that concepts and categories that purport to be universal always contain within them traces of the non-universal" (Anievas and Nişancioğlu, 2015, p. 34).

Those traces of the non-universal can be revealed, Said (2000, p. 375) argued, in an intellectual process that must include "historically informed research as well as the presentation of a coherent and carefully argued line that has taken account of alternatives". Due to this intellectual work that contributes to the formation and continuation of human society, the outcome of this process must result in the interpretation of how people are actually engaged in the creation of their realities (Said, 2000). The historical and current contextual conditions in which people live are the main contributors to the lives of people, who as a result of interacting with their specific context, create their own daily lives and culture (Said, 2003). This fits with ideas of occupational justice, within the disciplines of occupational science and occupational therapy, regarding environmental conditions influencing and influenced by the people and by what they do. Communities, in de-colonial thought and in occupational justice, are seen as active survivors resisting injustices and adapting their acts and environment in order for them to continue to live and develop (Rasras, 2005; Rumagondo,

2015). A key assumption of de-colonial thought is that the purpose of scholarly work is to seek human freedom by highlighting and analysing the everyday realities and resistance of marginalised groups, rather than to be a tool for control – as studies in colonial contexts have often been – and that this should be the basis of researchers’ ethical and practical considerations (Said, 2003).

These considerations, Said explained, must involve an intellectual procedure which emphasises how social phenomena are connected, rather than how they are separated. Said’s critique of the Eurocentrism that led to such separations exposes links between power – in the hands of imperial authorities, Western scholars and policymakers – and knowledge production and dissemination (Said, 2003). Said (2000) expanded on the idea of the ‘crisis of representation’ in ethnography – the main method in the discipline of anthropology. He described this crisis as expressing the ‘erosion’ of the medium through which ‘being’, or culture, is interpreted. This medium is language, and it should not be studied as if what people say is a mimicking of reality; rather, language and how it represents reality should be interpreted in light of transpersonal, trans-human, transcultural forces such as class, the unconscious and gender (Said, 2000, p. 294). This conflict in representing the other in research, by interpreting their behaviour and language without paying attention to the aforementioned contextual factors, can lead to problematic segregated notions such as the colonised, the colonisers and interlocutors – referring to the subjects of studies - in research within colonial settings.

Said argued against converting interlocutors into topics of study that portray them as essentialised others, who are fundamentally different from who they really are. He posited that the colonised are a diverse spectrum of people who should be represented in research as inhabiting diverse localities and temporalities. Said stated that the problem in observing and representing lies in the fact that the realities of the ‘other’ are often studied as a response to Western initiatives, therefore study subjects are portrayed as passive objects of study who are dependent on the expertise of scholars and officials (Said, 2000). As for how to perceive the point of view of participants in research within colonial contexts, he believed that we cannot treat it only as an ethnographic fact, or “a hermeneutical construct”, instead it should be represented as “sustained adversarial resistance” to oppression, which can inform scholarly works and praxes among other Global South communities (2000, p. 310). This latter point was a key consideration in how I analysed and interpreted the information gathered in this study, and will be revisited in the next chapter.

2.6 De-colonial ethnographic methods

To witness, learn about and record everyday activities, de-colonial ethnographic methods were used in this study to focus on human culture¹⁰ and relationships, and the power dynamics within them (Madison, 2012). Furani and Rabinowitz (2011) identified four different modes, or phases, of ethnographic engagement with Palestine and Palestinians since the 19th century. The first stage they described as the ‘Biblical’, which relates to the religious rediscovery of Palestine in the late Ottoman period. Writers used the Bible as a supposedly reliable source of knowledge about the native people of Palestine, who were portrayed as passive remnants of the biblical past. This approach led to the

¹⁰ Culture in this study refers to the collective meanings shared among groups of people which are expressed through the patterns of everyday occupations they engage in (Iwama, 2006; Frank, 2011); it is not considered as a fixed phenomenon as it changes through time and place, and is influenced by the multiple identities that intersects within each individual and group according to factors such as: gender, sexuality, age, abilities, ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status, education, religion and other aspects of human identities (Grillo, 1995).

Zionist justification that was used to claim that Palestine was the Biblical land of Israel later in that century. The second ethnographic style and phase of studying Palestine and Palestinians, Furani and Rabinowitz (2011) termed the 'Oriental'. This stage occurred during the early 20th Century, when interest in Palestine became more secularised and scholars adopted new methods, such as the analysis of socio-cultural factors and the practice of living for a period of time among the studied communities. This phase was dominated by functionalist and evolutionary assumptions that favoured differentiations and order. This modality has portrayed Palestine, or the Orient in general, as the source of Europe's beginnings, but still considered people there as the backward 'other' who had not yet reached Europe's level of civilisation. The third phase they termed the 'Absent'. After the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948 and the erasure of it from the world map, interest in anthropology and other disciplines shifted away from Palestine and its native people. Furani and Rabinowitz (2011) claimed that Palestinians' expulsion and their refugee status, scattered as they were across the world, did not interest scholars during that period, reflecting their absence from the global political discourse.

Finally, from the 1970s onwards, in parallel with the emergence of organised Palestinian resistance to the Israeli military occupation, the 'Post-structural' stage of ethnographic studies of Palestine began (Furani and Rabinowitz, 2011). Palestinian scholars, including Said and others cited in this study, turned their attention to the hegemonic state as a topic of study, and the self-identity and anti-colonial discourse were becoming evident in their works. During this stage, which continues to the present day, de-colonial ethnographic methods have been shown to confront the power of hegemonic groups within society (Furani and Rabinowitz, 2011). This style of research has proven helpful in addressing the crisis of representation in studying other than Western groups who have been mainly researched by scholars who have misrepresented them and their realities and experiences for centuries prior to that period (Furani and Rabinowitz, 2011). Additionally it has been shown that ethnographic research about Palestinians has the potential to refresh the critical capabilities of this method by providing a conceptual space in which the epistemic and political dynamics of everyday living — based on a morality free of Western dichotomies like the human-environment separation — can be empirically examined (Furani and Rabinowitz, 2011).

Ethnography, for Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), is a mixture of first-hand experience with the theoretical analysis of social and cultural lives of a group of people. The main features for ethnographic studies, for them, are that they focus on people's actions and accounts studied in everyday contexts. Ethnographic research, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argued, takes place in the field whereby data is collected from a range of sources, principally participant observation, conversations and interviews, while the means by which information is gathered are mostly unstructured. Ethnographic studies are flexible in their design and do not include a fixed and detailed plan from the start, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007). Furthermore, they argued, categories used to interpret what participants do or say are produced via the process of data analysis rather than the use of observation schedules or questionnaires.

In this study, the thematic analysis that I conducted was informed by my awareness that I arrived to the field with specific epistemological and theoretical assumptions in regards to the issues I wanted to explore. Although my immersion in the daily lives of participant families, and my analysis of farmers' speech and action have led to the surfacing of some new and exciting ideas, I did not expect the data to only 'emerge' from the field in a natural way as it was there waiting for me to be discovered. Instead, there was an interplay between inductive and deductive processes which allowed me to explore the overall data corpus, and particular segments of the field notes and interview transcripts which corresponded with relevant occupational science concepts that were not

previously tested in a Palestinian context. This was grounded, as discussed in the first chapter, on the foundational belief that humans are occupational beings who are active resisters of occupational injustice through their daily activities – a philosophy shared by both occupational science and de-colonial perspectives. This method of thematic analysis involved comparing and contrasting theoretical categories in occupational science (formed in the colonial Global North) with ways of doing and knowing among olive farmers (founded on Global South resistance to injustices). This was achieved through the process of interpretation I term here as ‘intercultural translation’ borrowed from the work of Santos discussed above (2014). Although occupational science concepts I compared to were conceived by a Global North perspective, conducting this intercultural translation was aimed at complementing this perspective with a Global South one, in order to enable the formation of ecologies of knowledges, rather than aiming to cancel out all knowledge that is conceived within Global North disciplines.

As for the setting and participants, the focus in ethnographic studies, as in this study, is on few cases, a single setting or a single group of people in order to generate an in-depth study. Ethnographic methods of research, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) further explain, require immersion in the social life of a group of people, whereby the researcher stays for significant periods of time in close proximity to members of the community, as well as necessitating the utilisation of a variety of sources from which information is gathered to allow a deeper understanding of the daily lived experiences of this community. The study of the lives of olive farmers and their experience of their daily activities under the military occupation can therefore be explored within a framework where deep immersion in the lives of those people is possible, and means to seek a variety of sources to gather information about their experiences are enabled. Moreover, a longstanding relationship with the community studied would allow a deeper understanding of their experiences, in particular with the focus being on olive growing, by its nature a cyclical annual activity which makes different demands at different times of the year, as in tree planting or the harvest season. These issues will be expanded on in the next chapter, where I will describe this study’s methods, tools and procedures.

In occupational science, critical ethnographic methods have been used in works that pushed the boundaries of the discipline to highlight global South communities’ activities that focus on the person and how they are an integral part of their context. For example, Frank (1996) studied craft production as a means for women to resist discrimination and the military occupation in Palestine-Israel. She highlighted Palestine-Israel as a unique context for research when conducted through critical ethnographic means such as observing women’s daily activities, interviewing them and analysing the power dynamics they are involved in. More recently Kantartz (2013) explored everyday life in a Greek town using ethnographic methods to highlight the nature and meanings of collective occupations in a context other than the Anglo-American settings that are dominant in occupational science research. In post-apartheid South Africa, Galvaan (2010; 2014) used critical ethnographic methods to study young adolescents’ occupational choices in a shanty town. Features that Galvaan used in her approach were: a small number of cases studied in an in-depth manner, and methods of interpretations of the meanings and functions of human actions and their context. These features resembled methods I selected for this study, for that similar reason of wishing to highlight the means of doing, being and knowing used by communities to enable their survival, and which we can learn from, interpret and translate into the language of occupational science framed within occupational justice concepts. Those studies, their findings and their links to the findings of my research will be discussed further later in the thesis.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I showed how qualitative methodologies situated within the epistemologies of the South were an appropriate approach to my philosophical and theoretical understandings in this study. More specifically, as I discussed in the latter parts of this chapter, de-colonial ethnographic methods were selected to aid the research design and process, which is detailed in the next chapter. I illustrated how de-colonial ethnographic methods not only have the potential to reveal everyday culture, but also reveal the inequalities experienced by marginal groups and their responses that are founded on a value system of resistance and the will to transform their situation.

Those philosophical, theoretical and ethical considerations were revisited at each stage of this study: in the field when gathering data, and in the library when processing, analysing and interpreting the findings. These considerations appeared in the form of: questions asked to guide the initial research proposal and ethics approval stage, questions asked when guiding the process of seeking access to the field and selecting the setting and participants of this study, and finally theoretically informed questions framed the encoding and formulating themes stage – all of which will be revisited in the next chapter. Moreover these deliberations guided my choices for presentation and structure of this written study, and in finding my own voice in effectively communicating those insights, and a coherent overall story that connects all the different elements of the thesis as an inter-related story. In the following chapter, I will outline the steps I undertook that resulted in this thesis, by discussing the methods, design and procedures of this study.

Chapter Three: methods, research design and process

“To represent someone or even something has now become an endeavour as complex and as problematic as an asymptote, with consequences for certainty and decidability as fraught with difficulty as can be imagined”
(Said, 2000, p. 294)

3.1 Introduction

Eurocentric understandings of the nature of knowledge and reality were shown to be unsuitable for the topic, the setting, participants and the purpose of this study, and to be likely to lead to misrepresentations of them. Instead this thesis was situated within the epistemologies of the South, and adopted a de-colonial ethnographic approach to guide its interpretations. Global South groups were shown in their everyday lives to adopt means of being, doing and knowing mostly ignored in mainstream academia. Moreover, these means of action and the beliefs they are based on can contribute to liberating knowledge and de-colonising practice founded on a Western and partial understanding of the world, of people and of their interactions. These were the philosophical and theoretical considerations of this study, and they were key in formulating answers to the questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ I completed at each step of this study, which will be discussed here. In this chapter I describe this study’s design, methods and procedures. I begin by discussing the ethical considerations I reflected on during the process of this study. I critique the formal ethics-approval process, and offer my way of interpreting it, and how it benefited or may have misrepresented the participants of this study, and its focus and the philosophical stance I adopted. I proceed with outlining the different steps I took during the process of this study (see appendix II), including: conducting the introductory visit; conducting the main three field visits; processing and analysing the data; refining the themes and ongoing writing. I conclude with a few words on the evaluation of this study’s trustworthiness and rigour, followed by highlighting the importance of reflexivity to this study, and finally I offer some reflections on the issue of the language used in this thesis.

3.2 Ethical considerations

Throughout this study I have been interested in how I can represent the olive farmers and their daily realities in my writing in a way that will demonstrate how they perceive themselves and their daily realities, while acknowledging my role in co-constructing those representations, and the role of the theoretical lens through which I am experiencing, observing and writing about their realities. The challenge for Said (2003, p. 328) was “to make the study fit and in some way be shaped by the experience, which would be illuminated and perhaps changed by the study”. For him, research – whose aim is to highlight the lived experiences of real people in real places - should be based on the experiences of the human subjects, without denying that their experiences also may be changed as a result of the study. He reminded us that the study of human experience has ethical consequences, such as sensitivity to what is involved in representation. He asked the question: “What better norm for the scholar than human freedom and knowledge?” (Said, 2003, p. 327), and Said argue, that should be the basis for researchers’ ethical considerations. We should also remember, Said stated, that studying humans in society involves concrete human history and experience, rather than

academic abstractions or “obscure laws or arbitrary systems” (Said, 2003, p. 328). He was warning against the negative consequences of imported categories or systems originating from more privileged contexts onto the relationships between the researcher and the participants, which has implications for how participants are represented (such as, in my case here, research methodologies, or the ethical approval process). I didn’t wish in my representations of olive farmers in the West Bank to replicate entrenched Orientalist attitudes that perceive the inhabitants of this area as always the Other to the West (Said, 2003). The relationship between West and East has been, and still is, a relationship of unequal power, and is hierarchical in nature (Said, 2003). Therefore, some measures had to be incorporated into this study, such as member checking, through which I asked participants to provide feedback and comments on my writing, on the stories I constructed of the families and on the themes I formulated, further enabling their voices and interests to be prioritised. Other actions that I took to help in this issue of representation will be detailed below.

These deliberations regarding representation were strongly linked to the quality of relationships formed with olive farmers and their communities. These relationships were based on conviviality and solidarity just as everyday relationships in Palestinian society are usually expected to be founded on friendliness, hospitality and care to your fellow members of the community, as they all share the experience of living under colonisation and military occupation. However, I encountered some conflicts between institutional demands on me as a researcher, and what I believed I should be doing based on my knowledge of Palestinian history and current social and political realities. For example, in my application to the faculty’s ethics committee, I was advised to define the participants of my study as ‘vulnerable’, and that meant that I had to show I was taking the appropriate steps to protect them, the university’s interests and reputation, as well as myself, from ‘risks’ in the field. This designation of ‘vulnerable’ is often given to patients in health and social care settings, as well as children in the UK, to protect them from potential abuse by researchers. That was a challenge for me in beginning to form a relationship with the participants. I risked starting such encounters with an attitude that assumed they were in a weak or disempowered position.

My second concern with the ethics-approval process was around the actions I had to take to prove I was carrying out all the necessary steps to ensure the safety of individual participants, the university and myself. I was required to ask participants to sign a consent form as an agreement between us that they understood the aims of the study, and that they agreed to provide information to me which could be published in the future and that they could withdraw from participating at any stage of the study. I believe that confidentiality should be secured for all people participating in my study, mainly due to the risk of information falling into the hands of the military authorities, and I took extra steps to ensure this, such as digitalising all data and using ‘cloud’ online systems secured by password to store data in order to avoid carrying it with me while travelling through checkpoints and border crossings.

However, I was aware that signing a paper in Palestinian society might be seen as a sign of distrust, and that the occasions when people need to sign papers in Palestine are often when the authorities order them to authorise the confiscation of their land or the demolition of their houses. In a critique of this approach to research ethics, Farrimond (2014) discussed ethics in studies among culturally diverse groups, and wondered why a handshake was not enough, and why our need to have a signature in a box, verifying that we had asked for their consent, should override collective – rather than individualistic – considerations, and whether it would be ethical to insist on it. Farrimond (2014) stressed that research ethics is just one part of the whole research enterprise; that we must not succumb either institutionally or individually to ethical hypersensitivity, but remain alert to ethical issues as they arise throughout the research process. In attempting to resolve this dilemma, I did not

ask my participants to sign the consent form at the start of our first meeting, and I introduced the consent form at a later point when I felt some trust had formed between us (see appendices III and IV). I decided to introduce it as something I had been asked to do by the university as a demand from an authority that manages my research process, just like forms they have to sign as a requirement from authorities they have to deal with. In this way I was expressing a form of solidarity, hopefully contributing to greater trust between us.

Another challenge I faced was that, following my first application, the committee requested that I fully inform the 'authorities' about my intentions and the process of my study. I found this request at best naïve, and at worst potentially dangerous – to the community of olive farmers in particular, but also to myself. Firstly, I was puzzled as to what authority I should be seeking approval from: the Israeli civil administration that manages the civil and military affairs of some parts of the oPt, or the Israeli Ministry of Defence, which is responsible for the military enforcement of the oPt? Additionally, I wasn't sure if the committee was aware that some parts of the oPt are managed by the PA, which co-ordinates with the Israeli occupying forces on matters of military administration of the oPt. Secondly, and more significantly, I was concerned for the collective safety of participants, whose land and trees might be at risk of confiscation and uprooting by the Israeli authorities, as many have been (as shown in chapter One). Informing the Israeli authorities might increase the risk of imprisonment, violence and confiscation of land and other resources by the military and by settlers, and the risk of me being banned from entering the oPt to continue my study.

Champagne and Goldberg (2005) offered a critique of human-subject reviews in Western universities. They argued that universities were reliant on funds from governmental bodies that controlled procedures and determined how universities conducted their research. These procedures included ethical approvals heavily influenced by individualistic medical models and research approaches. This, the authors stated, was not fit for the purposes of conducting research in indigenous communities, where daily life is often collective and where research focus on individual needs could lead to misunderstandings and misrepresentations of their realities (Champagne and Goldberg, 2005). Furthermore, studies often required disclosure of information to researchers, which often posed a risk to the community attempting to preserve its cultural resources for the community as a whole (Champagne and Goldberg, 2005). Examples of such collective issues important to communities, and which could be put at risk as a result of research, were presented from indigenous groups in North America and included: protecting political sovereignty and land rights, community cultural property, ancestral remains, and protecting cultural intellectual property (Champagne and Goldberg, 2005).

In my field visits I encountered activities carried out by olive farming families that were illegal under military law, yet necessary for the preservation of resources – such as water and land – and the continuation of everyday activities relating to olive growing. Some of these activities cannot be detailed in this study because they might lead to imprisonment of participants or their family members, or to the confiscation of their land. Yet these issues were at risk of not being addressed in the ethics approval process of this study, as is often the case in Western university ethical approvals that are often concerned with individualistic matters, for example, the emotional well-being resulting from interviewing an individual participant (Champagne and Goldberg, 2005). Instead, Champagne and Goldberg (2005) claimed, native groups might be more concerned about defence of family or tribal rights, not just those of individual members. Through persistence and determination, in my re-application to the ethics committee I was able to offer alternative measures, for example a letter from the head of the graduate school giving some information about my research, which I could show to officials on border crossings or checkpoints if challenged. Protecting olive farmers'

collective and individual rights was addressed in this way, in addition to individualistic concerns for their well-being. Moreover, the goals and aims of this study include collective benefits for community building and enablement through telling the participant families' stories to the outside world and potentially by influencing some conceptualisation and practices in occupational science and occupational therapy. Such ethical considerations were key in decision-making regarding the study's design and the research process, which will be discussed next.

3.3 Study's design

My study began with formulating my ideas and the research focus in spring 2013. This was followed by a research proposal, and seeking and receiving approval by the ethics committee to enable access to the field. An introductory visit was conducted in autumn 2013 to learn about issues of access to the setting and about selecting the sample and participants, and to test the suitability of the methods and tools to gather data. The next phase, gathering information from the field, started with my first main field visit, which was followed by two more between autumn 2014 and spring 2016. Each visit lasted about four weeks and included interviews and observations that I conducted on the activity of olive growing. Initial analysis of the data followed, which resulted in identifying themes and stories of families. These were reported in a variety of forums: in conferences, poster presentations, talks and lectures. During the final field visit and other informal trips (the latest of which was in the spring of 2017 during the writing stage), and before that during the initial data analysis, I shared with participants the stories and themes I had constructed. I asked them to check for accuracy and whether they felt that the stories and themes fitted with what they had told me and how they felt it should be explained. More analysis followed, and included refining, naming and defining themes. This last stage involved further dissemination of my findings, receiving feedback and engaging in discussions in the form of publications to diverse audiences (Simaan and Sansour, 2016; Simaan, 2017a; Simaan, 2017b – see appendix VI). The final stage of this study has been writing the final dissertation, which took place between spring 2017 and spring 2018 (see stages of this study in appendix II).

3.3.1 Introductory visit

I conducted an initial field visit to talk to olive farmers about the research, and to ask whether they would be interested in participating. Through personal contacts, I approached the Joint Advocacy Initiative (JAI) — a project run by the local YMCA to coordinate olive picking and planting programmes to support farmers — which introduced me to potential participant families. I hoped to meet families who lived on or owned cultivated land in areas threatened with confiscation, or featuring violence or intimidation restricting the practice of farming. As these facts on the ground were found to be the key restrictions on olive farming and everyday life in this area, and talking to families living or working in such areas was hoped to enable answering my research questions about the effects of, and responses to, the Israeli military occupation. The visit took place within rural communities in the southern hills of the West Bank, where many threatened plots of land are located. It was decided to consider the family household as participants because of the family-oriented and collective nature of both Palestinian society and the activity of olive growing, and in order to gain diverse and intersubjective perspectives. During this visit I travelled with the JAI

coordinator, who introduced me to some of the families he worked with. I helped with olive harvest and spent time with the families on their land and in their homes. I began to take notes of observations and conversations with family members, and took photographs of the stages of the activity of olive picking and the tools needed to help me remember. I reflected throughout on my developing focus and questions and on the methods and tools I might use to collect information. I also reflected on the families I needed to select, their number and the areas or settings my research would focus on. As in most qualitative methodologies, I was aware that my choice of participants and setting was going to be purposive and criteria-based, due to the particular focus of the study and due to my aim of in-depth exploration of the issues involved, rather than a quantitative survey of a larger number and randomly selected participants and settings that aimed to generalise the findings on a certain population.

Another issue related to sampling that I thought about during this stage was the number of people to observe and interview, and the number of settings to observe. Hammersley (2015) stated that the number of cases to study often needs to be considered early in the research but the final decision should not be made at that stage, as the research design will be restructured as the study moves on. Hammersley (2015) advised that qualitative studies often require gathering data from a limited number of participants, and from a single setting; as the study proceeded, the researcher would have to make decisions on whether to collect data from more participants or in other settings. Hammersley (2015) critiqued the need to quantify the number of participants and the settings in qualitative studies, by stressing that largely the specification of the sample size is needed for formal bureaucratic reasons when applying for research proposals, and for ethical approval processes. This, he believed, favours positivistic survey methodologies. In regard to the question of how many people to interview or observe in order to generate enough data for identifying the relevant themes, Hammersley (2015) advised that the formulation of relevant themes relies on the data analysis and the continuous refinement of the questions, which has to be done throughout the research process. Because of the methodology I selected and due to the specific aims of my study, I agreed with Hammersley (2015) that effective formulation of themes occurs by looking at 'within-participant' sampling, which involves longer or repeated interviews with someone.

Thematic analysis, the often desired outcome of gathering qualitative data, is not about the frequency of information appearing that fits with the themes, rather it is about how or whether certain segments of the data enable an in-depth and fruitful analysis that can be developed and refined (Hammersley, 2015). As will be shown in a later section of this chapter, themes formulated as a result of the analysis will reveal links between them, and an overall integrated story will emerge from the interlinking between these notions as the analysis and interpretation progress; all of this happened as I was guided by specific and developing research questions (Hammersley, 2015). The size of the sample is, therefore, not a key consideration in qualitative methodology. Instead, the choice of which cases to test, rather than how many of them to collate information from, is important. These considerations were an ongoing process during the next stage of this study: the main phase of data-gathering in the field, which involved field visits, immersion in the everyday culture of the participants, interviews and conducting observations that involved learning about and engaging in the families' everyday activities.

What guided this next step of the research were some different types of qualitative research questions: There were broad research questions, narrow research questions (constituting parts of the broader ones), questions for participants in interviews, questions guiding observations, and finally questions guiding analysis, which will be discussed in the data analysis section of this chapter. The main research questions for this study, outlined in Chapter One, were: How is the military

occupation influencing the daily activities of olive growing? And how do olive farmers respond and cope with these barriers? The narrow questions were: What are the specific consequences of the present and historic colonisation of land on the daily lives of families involved in olive growing? What values and means of action do they employ to maintain this activity and to resist injustice? Questions that guided observations and interviews were: What does the day, season and year of olive farming look like? What are the links between the means of actions families adopted and their well-being? What are the enablers of and barriers to this occupation?

3.3.2 Field trips / collecting data

Three field trips followed, each four weeks long: one during olive picking season in autumn 2014, the next in olive planting season in late winter 2015, and the third in spring 2016. My intentions in these visits were to form long-term relationships with the families as well as to follow their activities not only throughout the year, but repeatedly through a significant period that would last several years. Three field trips were deemed enough to enable this and were sufficient to generate enough data for a fruitful analysis. I also made some informal trips that lasted up to a few days each on other occasions when I was present in Palestine for other purposes, during which I visited participants and discussed my ongoing work with them. During the three main data-gathering trips I revisited the same area, immersing myself in the daily lives of four farming families and others I met, gathering and recording relevant information regarding their activities of daily living, including: olive picking, planting trees, pruning trees, ploughing, making olive oil, pickling olives, traveling between their groves and oil presses. I recorded my observations of their interactions with other farmers, local organisations, nearby Israeli colonies and the Israeli army.

A fourth trip to Palestine was conducted in spring 2017, and lasted for two weeks, when I began to write the first draft of the thesis, during which I revisited the four families and shared with them some of the insights generated from my interviews with and observation of them. This visit, the other informal trips, and the ongoing contacts I maintained with families via phone, email and Skype enabled the process of member-checking, which I engaged in in order to clarify my own constructions of their stories and what they said, to highlight their voices and to portray as accurate a representation of their reality as possible. I had to decide a point at which I had collected enough data to begin the next phase of further processing and analysing the data. I took the decision to end the main phase of gathering data during the second phase of data analysis (see below) and when I saw I had fruitful cases to test and refine, through which I could compare and contrast the themes and stories that were being identified and formulated, and that they had enough raw material to answer the theoretically based questions I was articulating and rearticulating during this stage.

In the first field trip, I conducted four in-depth and semi-structured interviews with olive farmers, each lasting between 45 and 90 minutes, which, like the rest of the interviews in this study, were audio-recorded. During the interviews we discussed farmers' daily activities relating to olive farming within the local context. For Sherman Heyl (2007), the aim of the ethnographic interview is to collect rich and detailed data directly from participants within the social world studied. It differs from other forms of interviews in the larger amount of time invested and the richer quality of the relationships formed. It specialises in seeking the meaning of actions and events for participants, who become our teachers and help us to understand what they know in the way they know it and in the language they use (Sherman Heyl, 2007). When conducting these interviews, researchers should: listen and attempt to develop ethical engagement; be self-aware of their role as interviewers in the co-

construction of meaning during the interview; be attentive to the ways the relationship between interviewee and interviewer, and the social context, affect participants, the interview and the findings of the study; and acknowledge that it is impossible to gain all knowledge needed from interviews (Sherman Heyl, 2007).

Sherman Heyl used the metaphor of a traveller to illustrate the role of the interviewer and their relationships with the interviewees, in which the interviewer embarks “on a journey from which he or she will return with stories to tell, having engaged in conversations with those encountered along the way” (Sherman Heyl, 2007, p. 371). She went back to the Latin origin of the word ‘conversation’, with its meaning of ‘wandering together with’ (Sherman Heyl, 2007). The route of travel might change unexpectedly as the co-travellers – the interviewer and the interviewee – adjust to particular interests along the way, or when the interviewer meets different people choosing to share with her different things (Sherman Heyl, 2007). Therefore, this conversation might change both the interviewer and the interviewee as a result of the meaningful dialogue they are involved in (Sherman Heyl, 2007). I chose to use this metaphor in my approach to interviews, rather than the ‘interviewer as a miner’ metaphor, because the latter fits a neo-positivist conception of the interview method as a place where the researcher can objectively ‘mine’ facts ready to be discovered by a supposed expert (the researcher), which was not my desired outcome in this research.

In the interviews I conducted we engaged in conversations about participants’ daily activities of olive growing: what they do, how and where they do it and why they do it. We talked about their local environments, their families, education, religion, culture, history and heritage, their other jobs, Palestine, Israel, the world, the weather and climate. I arrived prepared with a few possible questions (see above), but our conversations often evolved to cover areas I had not anticipated, such as discussions of farmers’ own values and philosophies about olive growing and life in general. Interviews were conducted mostly in farmers’ houses, some in the olive groves and one in a café, usually with members of the family from different generations present. During these interviews participants also showed interest in me: my personal and professional life, and why I was conducting this study. As with anybody you meet for the first time in Palestine, conviviality and hospitality were the rules of the game. I was offered food and drinks during my visits, and invitations were made for my family to visit the next time they accompanied me to the West Bank. The conversations, however, were focused on the activity of olive growing and its meanings to them and their families. My visits were intentionally conducted during major seasons in the olive growing calendar: picking and planting. Olive growing was in the news due to it being an important event for the local community and because of an increase in attacks against farmers, their land and their trees by settlers from nearby illegal Israeli colonies and by the occupying Israeli army.

On my second trip to the oPt, I revisited some of farmers and met some new individuals and families who had expressed a will to participate in this study. At this stage I had to take decisions over the narrowing of my focus to a small number of families, rather than observing and interviewing all the families I met. There were logistics to be taken account of in interviewing all the families and transcribing these interviews. At this stage I lost contact with others who were not able to continue to help me or did not wish to. My rationale for deciding to work with the four families I chose to include in the analysis of the findings, was based on these practical reasons, as well as interest in more in-depth explorations of some of the issues that were starting to come up as I processed and initially analysed data collected in the first field visit. There was also interest in selecting families according to where they lived: on their land, or in a village or town. My intent was that the selected families, as well as sharing things in common, such as living within Area C, or on at-risk land, would also be different in other ways, such as where they lived or in other activities they did to earn

money. These issues will be revisited in chapter Four when the stories of these families will be presented.

In the second main information-gathering visit, I conducted six more interviews to enrich the data I had already gathered, and I continued to participate in the daily lives of farmers, such as in planting olive trees, and ploughing and weeding the fields. Two of these interviews were elaborations on previous ones carried out with the same families, during which some of the details that I recorded and the stories I was starting to construct were shared with participants. For example, one of the families I revisited and re-interviewed – that of Nada and Abu Kamal – had read the first visit report I had submitted to my supervisors, and they provided some helpful insights into how they perceived my writing and about details they wanted me to correct about their family. The issue of member checking will be expanded on in the next section of this chapter when I address the evaluation of this study. During the final field visit I conducted one further repeat interview with one family – Um and Abu Weehab - mostly discussing in greater depth some of the issues arising in previous conversations, and seeking clarifications for some other issues. The focus in these repeated interviews was on developing some of the initial themes further, so the conversation concentrated on how distinct families, and their everyday means of doing, from others and how they are similar and whether the stories and themes I was formulating do actually represent the family's daily experiences. Overall in this data gathering phase, 11 in-depth interviews were conducted, including a third trip in the spring of 2016 during which more observations and informal conversations were undertaken with participants, in addition to one more in-depth interview I carried out. During this main stage of data collection I met 50 people including gatekeepers, main participants – who numbered four couples/households – and others, such as volunteers and local activists, who were helpful in providing me with relevant information relating to daily life in the West Bank. In order to enrich the data analysis and the discussion, some data gathered from individuals and families outside of the four main participant-families were included to help my interpretations, and some of their stories and speech will be quoted in the following chapters.

My observations, my informal conversations and interactions with olive farmers and their communities, as well as my reactions to these, were recorded in field notes on a regular basis during my trips. For Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011), the purpose of field notes is to transform the researcher's lived experience into a written text. Writing field notes is a core activity in ethnographic research, and what Clifford Geertz termed 'inscription' is at the core of the 'thick description' aimed for in fieldwork research, whose final product, the thesis, is the result of these notes being "reordered and rewritten, selected and modelled to some analytic purpose" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p. xiv). Deep immersion – observing others and experiencing reality by the researcher – is key to enabling this type of writing, and should be sought by the researcher to enable the grasping of the meaningful and the important in the world they are observing. This immersion, according to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011), allows the researcher to experience the ordinary routines and circumstances, but also the barriers and stressors the participants live under. It involves a degree of "re-socialisation", which allows the researcher to learn what is needed to live within such a society and how to become a member of the community she studies (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p. 3).

However, the researcher cannot observe all that is going on in the social field she is studying, and she needs to begin to select which events and relationships she should engage in. This is allowed by a perspective she develops as a result of initial general immersion in the social world that enables her to learn enough about what is important for the actors, and what is significant for the purposes of her study to actively participate in (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 2011). There are, however, some consequences for this deep immersion in the field of study, such as when researcher's presence

leads to “reactive effects” on how actors behave and talk; this is not necessarily a negative thing, but rather it can be used as a source of learning, as these interactions uncover “the terms and bases on which people form social ties” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011 p. 4). The field notes I kept developed from mental notes and jottings that I recorded during or near to the events and experiences I was observing and participating in, into fuller descriptive notes I wrote later on in the day after I had left the field, which were later developed into more contextual and analytic notes that formed the basis of the thematic and narrative analysis I conducted on my return to the UK, which is discussed below.

Another way to deal with reactive effects I might have caused as I participated in the daily lives of olive farmers and their communities, was to keep a research journal, where I noted my reflections and reactions to such issues on a regular basis. Moreover, this journal helped me examine my emotional responses to what I experienced in the field, as well as figuring out what Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011, p. 16) termed “indigenous meanings” – what the experiences meant to the participants within their context – which I later clarified in my informal conversations and in the interviews I conducted with some of them. My reflections helped me to clarify what was significant for the participant and how I could further focus my study. They allowed me to plan where to visit, what to observe, whom to interview next during the field trips. More on this attitude and practice of reflexivity will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.3.3 Processing and analysing the data

When returning to the UK after the main field trips, I listened to the interview recordings, transcribed and translated the interviews, constructed family stories related to their olive growing activities and conducted a thematic analysis based on six stages proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) (see appendix V). Firstly, I simultaneously transcribed and translated the interviews into English from Arabic, which is my mother language. I found it helpful to listen both to what was said within the context of the interview and to the tone and volume of speech and other nuances, which would have been difficult to capture had I transcribed first in Arabic, and then attempted to translate into English from the written transcript. The simultaneous translation was preferable also because of time and resource constraints. Translation was followed by coding the data - which included the transcripts of all the interviews I conducted and the entire field notes in which I recorded the observations from all the field visits I completed - and formulating initial themes and family stories. Before I proceed to outline the thematic analysis process, I first reflect on ideas and practices of occupational stories, which I constructed as part of the processing and analysing of the information stage. Together with the thematic analysis, the families’ occupational narratives – which represent my contextual and in-depth understanding of their daily lives within the environment they live in – provided the key information analysed and interpreted in this study. Below I discuss my understanding of the ideas and practices of narratives in Palestine, occupational therapy, occupational science and psychological therapies, which informed the understanding of stories I heard, the way I constructed them, and how I present them in this thesis.

In English, the term ‘narrative’ originated from the Indo-European root that signifies ‘to know’, and the Latin verb that means ‘to recount’ (Masalha, 2012). In Palestine, there are several terms to describe types of narratives: there is the *hikaya*, from the root in Arabic that means ‘to speak’, which has a mimetic performing element, whereby the narrator acts out in her body language the events being recounted. The closest term in English would be ‘tale’. This type of tale in Palestine is usually

considered a women's art, hence the term *hikayat 'ajayiz*, or old women's tale, and often reflects some magic and supernatural beliefs in the community. Men in traditional Palestinian society narrate the '*qissa*' or story, which is normally told in the *diwan* – a main room in the house where men gather to narrate tales of raids and adventures that deal with stories detailing important current and historical events (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989). In Palestinian folk culture, stories were used as a means to deal with people's relationships with their fellow humans, with nature and with the 'more-than-human'¹¹ beings they live with and have relationships with in their day-to-day lives, such as the animals, weather, water resources, land, trees and crops. Palestinian folk tales were and in some places are still told by farming communities as a social event, but also, and especially among women, as a tool to share life's burdens and responsibilities, such as looking after the land and the family. These stories are not only relative to the specific culture they are told within, but have a universal appeal in that they are "oral products of the creative spirit of the human mind, they belong not just to the Palestinian Arab community but to all humankind" (Muhawi and Kanaana, 1989, p. xiii). Farmers told me about their symbolic and spiritual relationships with the land, the tree and the natural elements. They provided metaphors and analogies giving the tree and the land human and animalistic qualities, and used proverbs and terminology deeply rooted in Palestinian folk life from pagan and pre-Abrahamic eras – some of those will be demonstrated later in the thesis and will be related to other cultures and people cited in the literature.

In occupational therapy practice narratives have been used as means to understand people we aim to help and our relationships with them. Narratives related to daily doing (occupational narratives) can lead to a change not only in the individual, but they have a collective element too. Frank and Muriithi (2015) demonstrated how the narrative structure of engaging in daily actions that we need or wish to engage in is a process of 'occupational reconstructions' that enables communities to transform their surroundings, as a collective occupational dimension of Becoming and empowerment. Frank and Muriithi (2015) provided evidence from civil disobedience actions during the civil rights movement in the USA and anti-apartheid unarmed resistance to segregation and the racist regime in South Africa. People co-construct a plot that focuses on a doing, e.g. a sit-in, and they engage in it from the start until the achievement of their goal, e.g. a boycott or demonstration of anger as tactics used to achieve more equality and civil rights. By doing so they contribute to a collective actualisation that has a short-term aim – the immediate disruption of some oppressive practices – and a long-term aim – the achievement of full civil rights.

These resistive and collective healing elements of story-making and story-telling have also been used in narrative approaches to talking-based therapies. Coms and Freedman (2012) claimed that when constructing stories, the power is on the side of clients in deciding which stories they want to tell, and how they want to tell them. By telling their stories, people can form new meanings about their experiences, and this might lead to new insights culminating in new ways of thinking and acting in their relationships and lives (Coms and Freedman, 2012). Narrative approaches bring to the forefront the rich and multi-layered meanings, or thick description, people give to their experiences (Coms and Freedman, 2012). The job of the listener, co-constructor and co-presenter of these stories (as in my case in this thesis), is actively listening for both for the explicit and for what is absent in people's stories (Coms and Freedman, 2012). This enables looking for the implications of these stories for the present situation, and hence becomes a rich source of preferred alternative stories. Another task in listening in to these stories is to bring the agency of the person to the

¹¹ The term 'more-than-human' was used by the philosopher and ecologist David Abram (1996) to refer to the world that is other than the human world and the human made environment. It refers to the animals, plants and land, and attempts to avoid the anthropocentric term 'non-human'.

forefront, as even in the most helpless situations people respond in small ways that might previously have been unnoticed. Wade (1997) called them small acts of resistance, such as when women respond to acts of domestic violence by self-preserving reactions, for example 'switching off' during the act of abuse by imagining another situation, proving that the abuser can harm their body but cannot control their mind. These may be openings for alternative stories in which the survivor of abuse develops new insights about their agency and gains confidence in thinking and acting in alternative ways about their situation (Wade, 1997).

These notions were applied in the Palestinian context by professionals who worked with adults and children who had experienced forms of oppression and abuse mainly at the hands of the Israeli military, as in prisons where there are thousands of Palestinians, including children, many of them held without charge and in poor living and health conditions, or those who experience the continuing military occupation of their towns and villages (Sehwail, 2005; Rasras, 2005). For example, Sehwail (2005) addressed the ongoing trauma in the Palestinian context from the perspectives of a mental health worker and a human rights activist, and used stories to listen for small acts of resistance in response to oppression, such as when a person stands up to a soldier who is humiliating them or others at a checkpoint. Sehwail (2005) used those stories as a basis for alerting clients to alternative insights about their own agency that might inform actions they and their communities can take to enable living in a more just world. Rasras (2005) used the stories of people who had experienced oppression as testimonies that were helpful not only for the tellers, but also for their society and for future generations; together with the client, the therapist would enable the creation of a story of the client as an active survivor, rather than a passive victim. In this way, the therapist and client seek to create a space for healing and justice rather than for revenge and violence (Rasras, 2005). One purpose was to listen out for how people might be making a stand for other people's human rights, as the author believed that we all play a part in protecting each other's rights (Rasras, 2005). One such example offered by the author as a possible outcome was that such an approach might lead to future testimonies in international courts of justice investigating Israeli state oppression. Palestinian approaches to narrative therapy acknowledge that both therapist and client are experiencing the daily effects of the military occupation, such as violence and restrictions on freedom of movement; these stories are beneficial to both therapist and client, as well as for the wider community, when they are told, reconstructed and shared with therapists, activists and the wider community (Sehwail, 2005; Rasras, 2005).

I saw parallels between the relationships these authors described and my relationships with olive farmers, ie. I could not isolate and discount my experiences of oppression despite being a researcher, and I could not ignore the overlap of my experiences with my participants', which led to my work taking a similar quality of co-construction as that of the therapists with their clients discussed above. I experienced the effects of oppression and of living in my home country as a second class citizen, as was discussed earlier. Furthermore, while traveling to and from field trips in the oPt, I experienced humiliating treatment at border crossings, and other experiences I reflected on in my research journal regarding the general effects of daily living under military occupation, such as when I suffered the effects of tear gas one day when I was traveling in the car near the separation wall. Therefore, in analysing, co-constructing and presenting the stories in the following chapters, this shared experience is apparent. What is also apparent is my motivation to share these stories as a witness but also as an engaging observer living under the military occupation with the olive farmers I visited.

These ideas and praxes about narrative relating to everyday life, from Palestinian culture and folklore, occupational therapy and science and talking therapies, helped me make sense of what I

observed and the stories I heard in the field, and of the stories and themes that were constructed as a result of the analysis of the data. Moreover, they provided models for me to follow in order to present the stories that will be told in the following chapter as co-constructed narratives about the daily lives and struggles of the olive farmers that have meanings for the individual farmer, their communities, myself and the readers of this study. These stories I hope will shed light on the topic of my study, and provide a testimony to the professional and academic communities of the lived experiences of the daily activities of olive growing in the West Bank of Palestine. This is hoped to be a space for those who are living the daily effects of oppression, resulting from the colonisation of their land, to tell their stories not as passive victims, but as active survivors from an occupational justice lens as well as a de-colonial perspective. During and after this phase of processing and analysing the gathered information in which I was constructing and writing stories, I conducted a theoretically-oriented thematic analysis to enable the formulation of relevant themes from the data gathered. This process will be detailed below.

3.3.4 Theoretically-informed thematic analysis

Making further and deeper sense of the data required a thematic analysis of transcripts and notes. This stage was loosely based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step theoretically-informed thematic analysis model (see appendix V). This method was chosen for its flexibility and for its theoretically-informed nature that suited the purpose and methodology of this study. The themes were identified in a back and forth (iterative) process between data and theory, and the analysis occurred at an "interpretive level" whereby I wished to explore participants' contextualised reasoning and values in regards to the research questions (Braun and Clark, 2006, p. 13). I aimed at a fruitful analysis from segments of the data that highlighted similar aspects to Wilcock's (2006) concepts of Doing, Being, Becoming and Belonging. In my reading and rereading of those data sets, I looked for descriptions and terms used by participants in Arabic that corresponded with these concepts. The Arabic themes that emerged and farmers' speech and actions that explained them were then encoded in the overall data corpus to locate more data segments which were then used for further analysis and interpretation. The final themes that were conceived were subsequently compared and contrasted with the aforementioned occupational science concepts in order to extend those constructs (conceived in Global North discipline) from a Global South vernacular (everyday) perspective (see table 3). The result of this intercultural translation will be presented in the thematic chapters of this study (chapters Five to Eight). Below I outline this process of analysis in more detail.

The thematic analysis process started by immersion in, and familiarisation with, the data "corpus": all the information that was gathered during all the field visits (Holliday, 2007, p. 90). This step included reading and re-reading all the translated interview transcripts and field notes to get an idea of the general feel of the data. This involved reading 154 pages of translated interview transcripts and field notes. I started to take notes and use highlighters and coloured pencils to mark data segments of particular interest. I decided not to use software to process and analyse the data, such as NVivo, for two main reasons: firstly, the software does the same as the hand: it highlights relevant segments; secondly, the amount of data that I generated from observations and interviews – 11 interviews and approximately 100 pages of notes – was not so great as to require time-saving measures such as NVivo.

The goal of the second step in the thematic analysis was to encode specific segments of the data by revisiting some aspects of raw data within the interview transcripts and field notes that were

highlighted to be of interest in the previous stage. Some initial codes (see table 1 below) were identified as a result of my focus on searching for segments in the overall data which answered questions including: what are the activity/ies participants were doing – the process of olive farming; why are they doing the activity – the purpose and meanings for them; how do socio-political structural factors interact with this activity and with their well-being, and how are they responding?. As I proceeded with analysing the data at this stage, it became clearer to me that there was a potentially fruitful space for analysis and refinement, testing and comparisons with segments of the transcripts and field notes that point to the multiple dimension of this occupation: Doing, Being, Becoming, and Belonging, and the motivations for action rooted in daily struggle that olive farmers adopt as they try to manage life as active survivors. These theoretical concepts, and their intercultural translation and interpretation, were key in the next steps of my analysis of the data during which I developed the codes to themes, and returned to the entire data set to match some other segments of the data with the themes I was developing.

Table 1 – An example of initial coding of the data

Extract from data	Initial codes
<p>“We bought it because it is in area C where land is usually under the control of the IDF or Israeli settlers, or under threat of confiscation. We bought it, and we knew it was an adventure. Beit-al-nada does not have any vacant land, and also this is about the future of our children.” Abu Kamal, interview October 2014.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The process of buying and cultivating land; 2. The purpose and meanings for the family
<p>“We finished picking the small grove before noon. I offered to help carry the sacks on my back using the only dirt path leading from the trees to where the car was. The path was steep and narrow and could only be used by humans or donkeys. The rest of the field was fenced off by the military. In my final trip to Abu Samir’s car at the top of the path on the edge of the main road to the village, I notice some settlers, whom I could identify by their distinct religious attire, at the bottom of the hill. I was later told they were bathing in one of the last remaining village’s spring. A few seconds later we saw four army jeeps and out of nowhere some half a dozen heavily armed soldiers on foot approaching us and asking who we were, who our leaders were, and where we are from. Their manner was aggressive and made me feel intimidated. We were advised by the group coordinator to board the bus and let Abu Samir talk to them, because if we got involved he may ‘be punished’ for it later when we leave the village. From the window of the bus we watched the soldiers approach Abu Samir with documents in their hands. He later told us it was instructions written in Hebrew, which he couldn’t read, and a map that were used as their evidence that his land was a closed military zone. He said we were lucky we finished picking before they arrived. They could have come in any moment to announce a closed military zone and evicted us from the land. This</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Disruption of, or barriers to, engaging in olive growing activities; 2. Helpful means, or enablers to olive growing: volunteers/ local and international groups

<p>would have stopped his family from benefiting from the harvest this year. He felt lucky because they let him keep his yield this time. Abu Samir thought this may be because of our presence there as internationals observing them.”</p> <p>Field notes October 2014</p>	
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The third stage of analysis aimed to identifying themes, defined as units of analysis, which are broader than codes and in which “the interpretive analysis of the data occurs, and in relation to which arguments about the phenomenon being examined are made” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 18). It involved seeking more generic topics that might include some of those codes generated in earlier stages in the same or different categorises; in other words, I attempted to sort the different codes into broader meaningful categories. These categories were given candidate names and functions that were guided by some principles, the most important of which was to listen to self-knowledge and self-interpretations of everyday life and the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of participants’ actions. During this stage I drew a candidate themes map that outlined the beginnings of formulating meaningful categories that would portray what I heard and observed in the field, but also links to theoretical and philosophical assumptions adopted in this study. Those categories had the potential to be sub-divided into smaller sub-themes that could be distinguished from the others but also combine to tell an overall story, which could be potentially used as headings and subheadings in the thematic chapters of the dissertation. This stage involved ongoing experimentations with forming overall themes, sub-dividing them into sub-themes, joining new sub-themes to them, and dropping others, and at times joining those sub-themes I had dropped from one theme and attached them to the others for the purpose of clarification and refinement, depending on my theoretical understandings and my knowledge of Palestinian culture and the Arabic language.

At the end of this stage I had a collection of candidate themes: Belonging, cooperation and awareness (see table 2 below). At a later stage and after revisiting some other segments of the data and attempting to explore the suitability of those themes to them, I began to search for suitable terms used by participants in their own language that correlated with the categories I had formed. Those were a basis in later stages of analysis and interpretation, whereby I attempted an intercultural translation, not just to/from the literal and practical meanings, but also the conceptual, theoretical, ethical, epistemological and ontological roots of those terms in the everyday culture of Palestinians to/from occupational science discourse. The outcome of this procedure will be illustrated in the thematic chapters, where the headings and sub-headings represent those final themes and their components that were articulated at this phase of the analysis.

Table 2 – List of candidate themes

Candidate themes	Initial sub-themes
Belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belonging to land • Belonging to the <i>fallahi</i> community
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborations with family and village • Collaboration with local and international groups
Socio-political awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purpose: survival • Meanings: social, cultural and spiritual

The analysis at this stage and the following ones was related and compared to Wilcock’s theory of the human need for occupation (1993), which proposed the terms Doing, Being, Becoming, and a fourth dimension - that was introduced by Hammell (2004) - Belonging, as the occupational determinants of health. According to this theory, humans are born as occupational beings who need to undertake activities to survive, and also to provide meaning, development and Belonging to a people, society, heritage or land (Wilcock, 1993, 2006; Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). Wilcock (2006) linked the Doing aspect to actions done to meet essential health needs in communities all over the world, such as: food, shelter, income, education, peace, sustainable ecology and resources, and equity and social justice – all of which are WHO terms adopted to frame Wilcock’s discussion. Being is concerned with how people feel about their daily activities, and relates to the purposeful and meaningful use of time that is part of our body and mind’s need to survive, according to Wilcock (2006). Being requires two ‘high order’ capacities: consciousness, which influences and is influenced by our participation in occupations, and creativity, which helps people to solve “the problems of daily life” (Wilcock, 2006, p. 122). Becoming is about achieving one’s potential to reach her fullest capacity, and it relates to play, fantasy and dreaming as adaptive behaviours creating new ways forward (Wilcock, 2006). Wilcock claimed that individual self-actualisation and health is reliant on community development, though this aspect of collective Becoming, as well as the Belonging aspect, were not discussed in detail in Wilcock’s work or in any work in occupational therapy and occupational science that Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti (2014a; 2014b) reviewed. Belonging was identified with interpersonal relationships, and with connectedness to people, place or culture; It is a multifaceted dimension of occupation, and its continuous evolution relates to the place in which daily activities occur, to stability in nature, to a sense of home, and to the notion of “locatedness”: being rooted in a specific place and time (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a, p. 10; 2014b).

This theory of the human need for occupation acknowledged the importance of contexts and community, but was based on Western ontological understandings of people, their environments and occupations. It did not fully address the Belonging element and its relation to Becoming, which is thought to encompass the collective elements of occupation (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b). More research is needed on these and related notions experienced by communities with and without disabilities around the world, such as occupational apartheid - a form of systematic restriction on meaningful activity against people who belong to a specific group and will be revisited below; there is a need to show more empirical examples to explore these concepts within inclusive and relevant theoretical foundations – all of which were the aims at this phase of the data analysis and in the intercultural translation undertaken from this stage onwards when I interpreted what I had observed in the field (Durocher, Gibson and Rappolt, 2014a; 2014b). I saw the potential of

comparison between the Palestinian way of life and those concepts that were thought of and studied in Western and individualistic contexts. This is where I found this conflict between Western-based understanding of people, their activities and interactions with the environment, and how olive growers were interpreting these through their interactions with me. I began to relate more to decolonial thought about how these categories formed by Eurocentric scholars have 'othering' tendencies, in the way they portray those essentialist notions based on dichotomies between human groups and between humans and their environment. More on this will be discussed in chapters Five to Seven.

The fourth stage of the thematic analysis involved reviewing and refining of the candidate themes identified earlier. During this phase, I reviewed themes at two levels: at the level of the coded data extracts for each theme in order to check if there was a coherent story; and at the level of the entire data set, in order to make sure each theme related to the data set, and to code additional data extracts. Defining and refining the themes involved identifying the essence of each of them, seeking aspects of the data that each of them explained, returning to data extracts and re-ordering them under the themes to check coherence and internal consistency. Defining and refining the themes involved seeking terms in Arabic, descriptions of participants and stories of families that would provide opportunities for the intercultural translation I was aiming for. I identified three comparable terms in Arabic that were used by participants: *Sutra* that compared to the relationship between the Doing and Being dimensions (or Doing for Well-being), *A'wna* which corresponded with the Belonging aspect of occupations, and *Sumud* which correlated with the relationship between the Belonging and Becoming dimensions (or Belonging for Becoming). I drew a final thematic map which highlighted three large themes, and each of these I divided into smaller categories, which enabled further interpretations and conceptualisation. This process continued into the final stages of the analysis in which I was engaged in an ongoing exploration, refinement, definition, and redefinition and naming of the final themes, while continuing to disseminate the emerging findings of this study.

The final two steps of the thematic analysis commenced during spring 2017, and involved finalising the names and definitions of the three main themes, and then writing the first draft of this dissertation. This involved checking that each theme told a story, that they fit into the broader narrative in relation to the research questions, and that there wasn't much overlapping. It was becoming clearer that a fourth overarching theme might be required that would combine the three themes – which were named as *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* at this stage – and provide the main original contribution of this thesis. I began to call this overarching category Everyday Forms of Resistance, and attempted to define and write the concluding chapter of this thesis on this theme (see table 3 below). These themes – which I began terming principles of action enacted by, and motivating, the occupation of olive growing - were chosen as the titles of the thematic chapters of this study. These chapters were divided into sub-headings, some of which represented the sub-themes that I formulated during the analysis stage, and which I termed the constituent values the principles of action were informed by (see table 3 below).

Table 3 – A list of the final themes

Theme / Principle of action	Sub-themes / Constituent values	An example of how it manifested in action	An example of how participants articulated the principle in their own voice
<p>1</p> <p><i>Sutra</i></p> <p>Doing for Well-being</p> <p>Chapter 5</p>	<p>Achieving purpose and meaning in all spheres of experience: physical / sensory / motor, cognitive, emotional, social, spiritual (expressing the relationship between the Doing and Being dimensions of occupations)</p> <p>Al A'fya: harmonious balance in which everyday activities engaged in enable the full exercise of human capacities</p> <p>Humans as an integral part of their environment including the more than human/ natural elements</p>	<p>Abu Kamal and his siblings have been growing olives since they were young despite not having their own land. They did it because they needed some subsistence as they were poor and living in a refugee camp, but olive growing also provided other meanings for them: it was good for their health and well-being, including the social and political aspects of wellness.</p>	<p>Abu Nedal: "The olive tree is an essential tree for us. In addition to being a holy tree from a religious point of view, it is also a tree that gives us <i>Sutra</i>: it secures food, fuel and income. It conserves the land, and it expresses a collective identity for Palestinians by helping in resisting the settlements and the military occupation. It signifies that people are ready to fight for their lives."</p>
<p>2</p> <p><i>A'wna</i></p> <p>Doing for Belonging</p> <p>Chapter 6</p>	<p>Multiple solidarities /alliances, with: ancestors, nature, family, village, nation and world;</p> <p>Socio-political awareness of occupational apartheid;</p>	<p>The story of Abu Nedal's return to living in his village to grow olives, and the situation of his son Nedal who believed that he grew olives because he belongs to a family of <i>fallahin</i> [peasants] are good demonstrations of his Belonging – to ancestors, family, village and land - element of olive growing.</p>	<p>Abu Weehab:" There are many social aspects to this activity. For example, when I finish picking my grove, I will help my brother, then I will work with my cousin who hasn't yet finished harvesting all his trees. Not for money or for any other benefits, but for something we call <i>A'wna</i> [cooperation]. It creates a good social atmosphere between people. If someone needs to rebuild a drystone wall, his relatives and friends will help him. This collaboration is very essential."</p>
<p>3</p> <p><i>Sumud</i></p> <p>Belonging for Becoming</p> <p>Chapter 7</p>	<p>A necessary resistive and creative acts</p> <p>A selfless act</p> <p>An act done for self-determination</p> <p>An action that is informed by socio-political awareness enabling solidarities and</p>	<p>Participants found alternative ways to access land that is fenced, gated or where constructing roads is banned, such as by the use of donkeys or by finding holes in the fence; they looked for alternative materials to build needed structures that the IDF bans e.g. stone already present on the land to construct a</p>	<p>Um Yasin: "growing olives is our greatest <i>Jihad</i>[effort to confront oppression]"</p> <p>Vera: "when you plant a tree you are saying 'I have a future'."</p> <p>Bilal: "For the Palestinian people all</p>

	resistance confronting occupational apartheid	storage space, rehabilitating old wells for storing rainwater, and using caves in the hills for shelter and storage. Other families appealed to the courts and UN organisations to gain their land rights, with some successes. Others accessed confiscated land clandestinely to reclaim it by planting olive groves.	of this goes back to that basic and principal thing: it originates in our relationship to our mother, <i>al ard</i> [the land]. She is our land, our mother, and that's why we need to keep looking after her, protect her, be steadfast and <i>samidin</i> [the plural present tense of the root of <i>Sumud</i>] in it. We can do this by taking care of her and by being creative."
4 Everyday Forms of Resistance Chapters 8	Intentionality in doing purposeful and meaningful everyday activities / socio-political awareness Relational doing of everyday acts collectively, and for Belonging and for community's wellness Resistive everyday acts to confront occupational and social injustices and to enable self-determination/ hope for a more just future	For Nedal it was a conscious decision to grow olives as a result of his political awareness of the situation he and his family live in; he did that for purposes of survival and other emotional and social meanings; he did that because of his relationship to the land and family and history/ heritage; and most importantly to confront the negative effects of the military occupation which aims to deny access for this activity of olive growing.	Nedal: "Because I was born into a family of <i>fallahin</i> , I have to continue with the same lifestyle. The military occupation played a role in the story of work for us here. It was a cause of people leaving their land, and people got greedy for salaries. Even university students left their studies for work. I know a man whose father died, and because he works inside the Green Line [in Israel], he has neglected the trees. Others hire workers to maintain the land for them."

This stage involved an ongoing progress of writing and dissemination, and of finding my voice in the midst of the empirical evidence, its analysis and interpretations, to enable a coherent unified narrative that was meaningful to me, the participants and the readers. As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, throughout this study I was involved in evaluating the rigour and trustworthiness of this research methods and interpretations. Following the initial analysing of the data and after each stage of processing and analysing new data after subsequent visits, I shared the emerging themes and the stories with participants, in face-to-face meetings as well as by email, to check for accuracy and to ensure their views were well represented. Feedback from this correspondence was incorporated into the final construction of family stories, and contributed to the refinement of the themes.

Before I proceed to the topic of evaluating this study, I wish to offer a word of caution on the selection of such a method for thematic analysis. Whilst adopting this well-established and common method, I focused on data extracts, codes and themes that suggested meanings of activities related to olive growing, including the reasoning, values and motivations for actions, which enabled farmers to cope with the adversities they experienced. As discussed in the previous chapter, this focus was founded on the notion that the study's participants' point of view, "despite the way it has often been portrayed [in mainstream ethnography], is not an ethnographic fact only, [and] is not a hermeneutical construct primarily" (Said, 2000, p. 310). Instead, articulations by and conceptions held by participants in the colonial context should be considered as expertise on the "sustained adversarial resistance" to unjust knowledge production and practices forced upon them by colonial authorities (Said, 2000, p. 310). Scott (2012, p. xxiii-xxiv) saw the role of social science as giving explanations for behaviour based on evidence that includes particular explanations of the "purposive, deliberating agents whose behaviours is being scrutinised"; he advised that "we should listen to how they understand what they are doing and how they explain themselves". Similarly, Santos suggested that means of knowing created within the struggle against injustice cannot be separated from the means people employ to intervene in the world, or manage their everyday living. He stated: "Those who cannot live with dignity in the present [...] cannot afford to wait for imaginary futures"; in order for them to experience the world as their own they see it as a set of problems "in whose solutions one can meaningfully participate" (Santos, 2014, p. 289 and 240). Rooted in these insights, I ensured that the themes formulated in this study highlighted participants' voices from their perspective as resisters of injustice and experts in responding to barriers imposed on their way of life, and at the same time acknowledging I had some theoretical and philosophical assumptions, and that I belong to a discipline, within which this research is situated, that has accumulated certain tools to analyse and interpret observed realities.

Another thing to note about this stage of processing and analysing is that it began during the gathering of data in the field, when I started to develop my field notes from mere observation notes to more contextual and analytical notes. There was an ongoing back-and-forth between the raw data, codes and themes throughout this stage. I read the literature and explored theory throughout. Furthermore, I wrote and reported emerging findings throughout this stage of data processing and theoretical thematic analysis. Next I will discuss some issues concerning the evaluation of this study's methods, and the rigour of the interpretations I offer in the latter chapters.

3.4 Evaluating the study

The trustworthiness of this thesis as an academic work that gives some answers to the problems identified throughout the research process has been an integral part of my study. To ensure that my study's findings can be valuable, during this stage I needed to reflect on issues of rigour in methods used and the interpretations offered. Ensuring the rigour of my study also allowed consideration of the potential for applying insights offered from this study to other settings, including readers of this thesis, and any publications, presentations and posters I have done. I was concerned with whether readers would see an overall coherence in the story I am presenting, and whether this story was understandable and offered useful interpretations to them. Writing the previous chapter and this one helped in explaining the stages of my study and the justifications for the decisions I made. As Holliday (2007, p. xii) reflected, such a justification can be made "through careful articulation of who [the researcher] is, what she has done, and how this [who the researcher is and what they've done]

has responded to the particular exigencies of the cultural setting. Writing thus becomes the basis for scientific accountability.” Assessing this accountability will be the topic of this section, where I will address the two main areas where rigour was needed, which are in the method and in the interpretation. This will be followed by a discussion of the attitude of reflexivity I adopted throughout the study and the benefits this had on the overall trustworthiness of the study. Before the conclusion to this chapter, I will briefly clarify a few points regarding the use of spoken and written language in this study, as writing qualitative research is an artefact of language and the society we live in (Holliday, 2007).

In using established, well-documented and well-tested ethnographic methods, I hoped to systematically go about answering the research questions that were continuously articulated throughout this study. The suitability of these methods was reflected on by studying the relevant literature on research methodologies and methods. Queries about how these methods fit with the topic, the setting, the participants and finally the disciplines within which this study was situated, were reflected on and discussed with colleagues and the supervisory panel. The critique of the literature about ethnographic methods, in the previous chapter and in this, highlights the credibility of such methods in my study. In regards to the thematic analysis methods I used, I also showed how it suited this study’s aims and theoretical underpinnings. I demonstrated how I was guided by this method and why I needed to be flexible in applying this method. This method has been well-articulated, especially in the empirical research in the field of psychology (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and in other caring professions, including speech and language therapy, which also proved its utility in their disciplines (Mackenzie, 2017).

One key action I took to ensure the rigour of the methods I used was to test them in a preliminary field trip during which I kept field notes and talked to farmers in an informal way about the concerns of this study. This helped me decide the suitability of methods of data gathering. Another way to maintain thoroughness in the method was deciding to spend enough time in the field to ensure the gathering of adequate information to be analysed and interpreted. The amount of time spent in the field was decided based on the experience I had in the preliminary visit, which lasted just over two weeks and was proven to be the lower limit of the length of time I could spend in the oPt in order to establish relationships and gather the data I needed. I also learnt from this visit that it would be useful to observe daily life at different times of the year, and to maintain long-term relationships with the farmers who decided to help me.

As for the rigour of the interpretations made in this study, this was evaluated by reflecting on the internal and external coherence of these ideas. This occurred when I was analysing the data and formulating themes. The themes I formulated, as discussed above, were sub-divided into sub-themes which proved to interlink and make sense by telling a coherent story within each theme as a whole. Another element which ensured the rigour of interpretation in this study was to construct a coherent story that should link the themes together in an overarching story, as shown in the final chapter of this thesis. The process of writing, and in particular the last stage of refining and reporting my findings, was helpful in making sure the written study in its totality made sense and told a unified overall story that was original and applicable to readers. This narrative will be summarised at the end of this chapter when I will outline how the following chapters link together to relay an overall story. Member checking was a useful tool I utilised to further the rigour of my interpretations, in addition to being a theoretically and ethically informed action regarding issues of representation discussed elsewhere.

This final stage of the research process involved trying my ideas out in different settings and in different areas of study and praxis. I presented the emerging findings of my study in Palestine and in

Europe. I presented my initial findings to audiences of volunteers and activists, both Palestinians and internationals. Furthermore, I presented my ongoing study to occupational therapy students in Palestine and the UK. I also published some stories and some ideas in two publications for activists and readers concerned with land rights and land workers (Simaan and Sansour, 2016; Simaan, 2017a) followed by the publication of my study as a paper in the *Journal of Occupational Science* (Simaan, 2017b – see appendix VI). I also presented papers and posters in inter-professional conferences including one convened in Germany by Occupational Science Europe (OSE, 2017). These activities contributed to the refinement of the stories and themes I formulated in response to my reflections and the feedback that was generated from the audiences. They further increased my confidence that this thesis was coherent, feasible, applicable and valuable for research, education and practice, not only in occupational therapy or occupational science, but also among activists and other fields of study. The rigour of the interpretations offered in this thesis and of the method were further ensured by maintaining an attitude of reflexivity throughout the process of this study, which will be addressed next.

3.5 Reflexivity

Using myself as a research tool in this study required ongoing reflections on my reactions to what I was experiencing, and the roots of those reactions, including during the final stage of writing. During the data gathering phase, those reactions, as discussed elsewhere, helped in offering possible explanations for what I was hearing and observing in the field. Reflexivity, in that way, occurred at three levels: affective, cognitive and moral/values (Thompson and Thompson, 2008). What I thought, how I felt and why I had those thoughts and emotions were continuously contemplated, and at different stages of the research: when I was with participants in the field visits, and when processing and analysing the information gathered.

More than a mere tool for research, my reflexive stance involved inwardly looking at my reactions to all the experiences I had during the field trips and beyond, and this practice was guided by a philosophical and ethical compass. Reflexivity was an integral stance in which attending to structural forces and the power relations was key to the philosophy and aims of this study. Reflexivity helped me pay attention to possible misrepresentations of the participants and their agency in this research. It aided my increased sensitivity to highlighting their voices as active agents and experts in their lives, and avoiding portrayals of them as essentially different from me or others. Moreover, reflexivity helped me in striving to confront gaps in occupational science and occupational therapy concepts and theories. I was guided by the principles and philosophy of occupational justice and decolonial theory, which advocate for strengthening links between knowledge production, theory and practice, and theory formation, philosophy and ethics (Whiteford et al., 2017). This particular type of reflection is termed ‘epistemic reflexivity’ which signifies a process of “critical reflection on the social conditions under which disciplinary knowledge comes into being and gains credence” (Whiteford and Townsend, 2011, p. 69). This process aimed “to interrogate the alignment between occupational therapy epistemological foundations, the stated philosophy, and the profession’s enactment of these foundations in society” (Whiteford and Townsend, 2011, p. 69). In this way, my reflexive stance highlighted the issue of cognitive (in)justice in occupational therapy and occupational science, and allowed consideration of how I could use olive growers’ expertise, their principles of action and their value systems to inform the theories of occupational science and occupational therapy.

Reflexivity therefore supported the procedures of intercultural translation and the enhancement of the ecologies of knowledges.

Finally, my reflexive stance and practice in this study led me to consider my own background and situation and how it affected the research. My liminality, discussed in the introduction, was a helpful position to reflect from, allowing a bridging between different observed experiences and worldviews. It helped in foregrounding my own position as an integral part of this study who influenced the findings and is influenced by them. Reflecting on my in-between positioning helped in consolidating my attitudes of solidarity with participants in their experiences of injustices, and in offering my role as an imperfect ally who acknowledges my partially privileged status relative to theirs (Reynolds, 2011).

3.6 Language

Language is more than a medium of communication; it portrays a co-constructed reality formed in each interaction and society in general (Holliday, 2007). Therefore, in order to demonstrate my role in co-constructing the realities I am writing about here, I use the first person in this written study.

This research was conducted in two languages: mostly Arabic in the field, and mostly English in the library, in the classroom and on these pages. As discussed elsewhere, terms used in the fields of occupational therapy and occupational science were mostly formulated by English speaking scholars, and their translations to, and use in other languages and cultures, have been questioned. This was an issue I had to deal with at the start of this study when I was preparing information sheets to give to potential participants, but also in communicating my aims of the study to gatekeepers and the general public in Palestine. Arabic is my mother tongue and I translated the key concepts such as occupation, occupational therapy and occupational science in line with what is common among occupational therapy academic settings in Palestine, but I engaged in ongoing explanations and elaborations of those concepts every time I had to use them. As is also the case in the UK and elsewhere, and despite English being the dominant language used in occupational therapy, its terms are still not in common usage and are often misunderstood.

When translating terms from Arabic to English I used dictionaries, and when needed I checked with participants who speak English about the meanings of the terms they used. When I wrote Arabic terms in English, such as in the titles of the thematic chapters of this thesis, I have not used a system of transliteration but rendered the words phonetically.

Finally, direct quotes from participants are often not a direct translation word for word from the Arabic, but I have edited them for clarity and to make them more comprehensible to the English-speaking readers whose knowledge of Palestinian culture and the Arabic language might be limited.

3.7 Conclusion

This study's research design is rooted in ethical, philosophical and theoretical insights that confront mainstream individualistic and biomedical models of research in occupational therapy and occupational science. This study began by gaining an approval from the university's ethics committee to commence this study. I conducted a preliminary visit in which I have reflected on issues of access to the field, selection of setting and participants, as well as testing out methods I was planning to use to gather data. This visit was followed by three main field trips in which I conducted in-depth interviews and observations with four participant-families and other individual olive farmers. Data was mainly gathered through the method of ethnographic interviews and immersion in the daily lives of the families, including observations and participation in their daily activities. The data gathered in the form of recorded interviews and field notes were translated, processed and analysed manually on my return to the UK. During this stage of processing and sense-making, I constructed occupational narratives of the families I met based on the transcripts and field notes and representing my thick description of their daily realities within their environment. I then conducted a thematic analysis that involved formulating codes and themes guided by research questions rooted in the ethical and theoretical frames of this study. In this chapter I demonstrated the actions and attitudes that I adopted to help in maintaining the rigour and trustworthiness of this study. I showed how the introductory visit helped in testing out the methods, and how my ongoing reflexive stance and member checking supported the trustworthiness of the interpretations and insights offered. I briefly addressed the co-constructive nature of spoken and written language used in this study, and a few points of clarification on the use of the two languages of this study.

Finally, a few thoughts on how and why I present the following chapters in the way I have in this written study. Chapter Four includes the occupational narratives of the olive growing families, in which the more particular stories of the lived experiences related to participants' daily activities are described. These narratives include stories of the people, the places and the actions they take and how they are unique to each family, but also similar in other ways. These occupational narratives, along with some excerpts from interviews with others, provide some key information required to make more sense of the themes that were formulated as a result of the analysis presented in the following chapters of this study (Five, Six and Seven). These chapters will present the outcomes of the intercultural translation I conducted, as well as a discussion of how they contribute to the multiple ecologies of knowledges that are needed in the disciplines of occupational therapy and occupational sciences. *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* as Everyday Forms of Resistance are the topics of the final four chapters of this written study. They make up three distinct categories of meaning – signifying three principles of action for the occupation of olive growing which correspond with the dimensions of Doing for well-being, Belonging, and Belonging for Becoming – yet as a group of themes they together form a means informed by a value system based on occupational consciousness that enables Everyday Forms of Resistance to occupational and cognitive injustice. This moral code is unique to olive farming families in Palestine, yet as the final chapter will show, it is relevant and applicable to other communities around the world.

Chapter Four: Families' occupational narratives

"The *fallah* is a master tuner; he balances his living with the land, plants and climate."

- Abu Nedal

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the main participant families of this study, what they told me about their activities of olive growing and my descriptions of their everyday lives. The families' narratives described here were based on my observations, conversations and the interviews I conducted with the members of the families, which were recorded in my field notes and the interview transcripts. The aim is to give key information about each family whose stories and experiences will be the base of my analysis in the next chapters. I chose to present these families' stories and not those of others I met because these were the families I got to know most in-depth, and I had the opportunity to visit them on each of my field visits and during the different seasons of the olive growing year. Each family story represents my "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6) of their daily lives within the context they live in. Each narrative divides into three sections: the people, the place and the activities. These are key elements that form the 'transactional' relationships which I discuss in section 5.5 in chapter Five (Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry, 2006). Under the people sections of each story, I introduce the core members of the families and others they interact with. In the place parts of the stories, I discuss the villages, places of habitation, the cultivated lands and the surrounding areas. In the activities sections, I describe olive growing tasks during the four seasons of the year, in addition to some other relevant growing tasks and non-growing daily occupations the families are involved in. In the latter sections of this chapter I will present some more quotes of interviews I conducted with other individual olive farmers I met. These examples highlight segments of interview transcripts which aided in articulating the themes which were later analysed from the data. People and places have been anonymised to protect participants' identities.

The four families I described below, Bilal, Damir and the other participants¹² I met during my fieldwork acted as my teachers in the field, who taught me everything I now know about olive growing as it was done in the past, how it is done now, and how they hope it will be done in the future. In our conversations they talked me through all the different activities of olive growing according to the season of the year, and they told me about other related activities: when they did them, how they did them, who did them and why they did them. They instructed me about the contexts that influence these activities and how they respond to these enablers and barriers to the activity of olive growing, each in their way and according to their circumstances, beliefs and ways of life. Some of their actions and speech presented below have been analysed and interpreted by me as manifestations of the themes of this study: *Sutra* – Doing for Well-being; *A'wna* – Doing for Belonging; and *Sumud* – Belonging for Becoming. They were terms used in participants' speech and manifested in their actions, and were found to be comparable to occupational science concepts (Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging), but

¹² The additional interviews I conducted were with Vera and Amir, whose stories and excerpts from the interviews I conducted with them will be presented in the following chapters. I also had numerous informal conversations, such as with Hilal the former JAI coordinator and Omar the manager at the agricultural committee in Dar-el-Shoke – all were recorded in field notes.

also to challenge and extend them. Throughout this chapter I will briefly point, where relevant, to examples which I understood to represent these themes. These themes will be addressed in more detail in the following chapters.

4.2 Um Yasin and Abu A'ttalah

It is my first time driving alone to visit Um Yasin and Abu A'ttalah. In my last two visits, in November and in the summer of 2014, Moneer – JAI coordinator - accompanied me and directed me to Abu A'ttalah's land. Driving south west of Beit-al-Nada, I go through the town of Al-Qasser and onto the highway which bypasses indigenous Palestinian communities to allow nearby settlers to arrive in Al Quds for their work, leisure and education without having to enter the indigenous communities. I drive south towards Al Khalil [the Arabic name for Hebron], but take the wrong turn and I arrive at a settlement entrance instead. I feel apprehensive, thinking it could be dangerous, for a lone Palestinian man, to enter a settlement, or ask residents for directions. I do a U-turn and head back towards Beit-al-Nada, and turn right away from the highway onto roads mostly used by Palestinians and reach a gathering of taxis waiting on the edge of the road to fill up their cars with locals. I ask a taxi driver for directions, and hand him my phone so Abu A'ttalah can describe to him where I need to go. I reach the roundabout - the site last summer of the kidnapping of three young Israeli settlers, which the Israeli government claimed was the reason for the latest war on Gaza in the previous summer. I notice more army presence than usual, a watch tower with army snipers ready to shoot, and a large Israeli flag on the side of the opposite hill. I also notice more CCTV cameras on the electricity poles on the sides of the road, all of which were not here last time I visited the area. I arrive at the dirt road leading to Abu A'ttallah's land. Abu A'ttalah is waiting for me at the gate, and after greeting me and giving me three kisses on the cheeks, he gets in the car to show me where I can park in front of his house. On the way there I see Um Yasin picking vine leaves from the side of the path. While Abu A'ttalah makes me coffee, I meet Yasin, who's 11 months old now and walking very well: "like father like son, strong and likes nature", Um Yasin tells me. This is the first time I speak with Um Yasin. She stays with us for the interview.

(Field notes, October 2014)

4.2.1 People

I met this family for the first time in October 2013 during my introductory visit when Moneer, the JAI coordinator, took me to meet them at their house, and since then I visited them during every field trip I made, including the last informal visit I made in the spring of 2017. The quotes below are taken from the interview I conducted with Um Yasin and Abu A'ttallah that took place in their house in the autumn of 2014.

Um Yasin was in her 30s, and Abu A'ttalah was in his 50s. The last time I visited them their son Yasin was three years old, and was already able to identify most trees growing on their land and was proficient in climbing over dry stone walls. They lived in Al Rah'a – the name locals gave to the *wadi*

[valley] where the land is located. Um Yasin was born in a nearby village called Soor, located about a 20-minute drive south of Al Rah'a. She moved to live on this land when she married Abu A'ttalah. Abu A'ttalah was born in Beit-al-Nada, which is the nearest large town. His siblings, and his first wife – from whom he is separated – and their five children lived in Beit-al-Nada. The main reason for Abu A'ttalah's separation from his first family was that they were reluctant to move to the land and wanted him to sell it, which was out of the question for him. Abu A'ttalah's mother and younger brother were killed by the IDF in the early 2000s, after which Abu A'ttalah was diagnosed with diabetes, which he attributed to his grief. Abu A'ttalah said that he lost his 'right hand' when his brother died. He helped him set up the land and worked by his side to reach to the productivity levels they wanted. Um Yasin told me she visits her parents and siblings in Soor only when Abu A'ttalah can drive her there, as she cannot drive and is fearful of settlers' or IDF's harassment, which she often heard about happening against people using public transport.

When I asked them about the enablers of the activities of growing olives, Abu A'ttallah told me:

Of course the family, or the persons around you, make it easier: your siblings, your children, your relatives, as manual labour today costs a lot of money; a worker today costs you, including getting here and going home, around 100 shekels and if you do your accounts, you will realise that you lose more money than you will earn by hiring workers. I have family [referring to his previous wife and children from his first marriage] but they refuse to come here to visit or help, so I turn to volunteers. Another thing that makes olive growing easier is when you have financial means, but often the work you invest returns to the land; what you earn is maybe the things you eat.

I understood this statement to refer to the Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*) dimension of daily occupations that are done for purposes of survival: providing food for the family. It also stressed the collaborative Doing for Belonging (to a family) – *A'wna* - aspect of occupations, which Abu A'ttallah perceived as an enabler to continuing to farm olives, but in his case this collaboration was limited due to his specific family circumstance. However, they have found a solution to this, by working with local and international volunteers which I saw as an expression of the Belonging (to nation and globe) aspect of daily lives.

4.2.2 Place

In the 19th century, Abu A'ttalah's family moved from the north of the West Bank to Beit-al-Nada where Abu A'ttalah was born. The family bought 100 *dunums* (25 acres) of land in Al-Rah'a in the early 20th century. Abu A'ttalah began to work the land in the 1970s to prepare it for cultivation. Before he moved to full-time farming, he owned a printing business in town. The printer closed down a decade ago due mainly to the PA, which limited how much he could print and was increasingly monitoring and regulating the industry. In addition to this, more movement restrictions were imposed by the Israeli authorities, which made it difficult to transport his products. The one-bedroom house they lived in was built in the 1970s. The other houses on the land belonged to Abu A'ttalah's cousins, and were built during Jordanian rule that lasted in the West Bank until 1967; one house was built in the 1920s during the British Mandate, which ended in 1948. Abu A'ttalah moved to live on the land all year round after he married Um Yasin a few years ago. Abu A'ttalah and his family used two wells on the land, and a pipe from the Israeli authorities that often delivered water piped out from Palestinian land and then sold back to Palestinian communities at inflated prices. The

water from the wells was used to irrigate trees and vegetables. The water delivered in the pipe was for domestic use and for some of the vegetables.

Bordering Al-Rah'a on one side is what has been termed by locals the 'roundabout of death'. Since the autumn 2015, dozens of Palestinians have been killed by IDF snipers stationed on the roundabout. When I visited the area in my second field visit there was a surge of attacks, or claims – by settlers or IDF – of attacks, by Palestinian youth, who are often accused of carrying knives with the intent to attack. In the early 1990s two colonies were built on the borders with Al-Rah'a. There was already a large colony at the other side of the road from the *wadi*, and since then the area has become a hub for ideologically-motivated settlers, many of whom came from Western Europe and the United States of America. In the past settlers have emptied rubbish and sewage onto the family's land. Um Yasin told me she worried a lot about settlers' attacks, as she heard about acts of violence elsewhere in the West Bank, as when a whole family, including a baby, were burned alive in their home by settlers.

The IDF's civil administration managed the local communities in Area C where the family lived when I met them. The officer who headed the local branch was based in a nearby colony. Since the mid-1990s the administration has offered the family vast amounts to tempt them to sell their land, or to swap it for another plot. Since the early 1990s, when the area containing this *wadi* was designated as part of Area C, all forms of construction were banned in the area and many activities the family depend upon, such as bringing in a water tank, required a permit from the authorities.

When I asked about the barriers to the activity of farming olives, they replied:

Abu A'ttallah: So far, we have never been stopped from farming, whether olive or apple trees or vegetables. Why? Because we are present on the land and created facts on the ground, we exist in this area as our right, and if the military authorities want it or not, we want to live on the land. But when we travel from here to Beit-al-Nada to sell the oil, sometimes there are checkpoints; sometimes they delay us, sometimes they don't, it depends on the situation on the checkpoint. One year we were offered to move, or swap lands, but we refused; this was in 2010, the military ruler came here and said, 'You go to an area called Kherbe, there are asphalt roads, and there are proper houses built there'; I told him, 'All these things are not needed for me', you see I didn't accept it. Other issues we have is whenever I turn the earth I need permission from the civil administration, but I don't cooperate, I dig the earth without telling them. Last year I was building a dry stone wall, and they stopped the workers who were building it. They said that we needed to move 50 metres away from the colony's fence; I kept arguing with the colony's security man for half an hour. After an hour or an hour and a half, he came back to me and told me to go ahead [with building the wall]; he accepted because I was here first. I told him, 'That's right, I am a citizen here and your God in his skies won't get me out of here'. I said that to him, because I am a citizen, not a settler, I have ownership of the land. I gave him *koushan el taboo* [Turkish registration documents] and he couldn't say anything against it.

Um Yasin: My life here is hard, like for example you can't go out, going and coming on the main road is risky because of settlers. Because it's a settlements area here, it is not safe to stand on the road waiting for taxis or buses. If I stand on the road as a woman I might be harassed.

Um Yasin and Abu A'ttallah's descriptions of the restrictions imposed on their daily activities represented a manifestation of a systematic attempt to segregate them from their land and from their meaningful activity of farming it, and which I understood as an example of an occupational injustice termed in the literature as occupational apartheid.

4.2.3 Activities

During the interview, this is how Abu A'ttallah and Um Yasin described a typical day and year working the land and farming olives:

Abu A'ttallah: My day begins at five in the morning, and I work on the land until eight, then I rest, and in the afternoon I work for three hours and that's it; six hours is enough.

Abu A'ttallah: The harvest begins any time after the 20th of October, when the fruit is judged to be at its optimum size. We spread sheets under the trees, and picking is best done by hand, we don't use a machine or a stick, or a comb. We use a ladder or we climb the tree if it can stand a human body weight. It's best for the harvested olives to be laid in the sun, not like the traditional saying 'from the tree to the stone [press]', as today we don't press olives in stone presses, we use modern machines, and for modern machines the olives need to dry in the sun for a bit. In a typical year, it takes us ten days to harvest 365 trees with the help of volunteers. Before we started receiving help from volunteers I used to hire workers. It used to cost me a lot of money which I don't have. As for family help, of course it was me, my mother, my sisters and brothers. Then my mother and brother were martyred, and after that volunteers began to come to help. This year we don't have enough fruit on the trees to occupy the volunteers because of the snow storm that came in December last year. The productive branches were broken.

Um Yasin: After picking comes pressing; most of what we harvest is pressed. We pickle olives only for our family's use, or for friends, and we don't ask for money. As for the oil, we sell it to local families from the same town. They come to the extended family house in Beit-al-Nada and pick it up from there.

Abu A'ttallah: In the autumn there's also pruning. After that the trees are sprayed against pests; we spray them twice, once in the autumn after picking, and once when the trees produce buds in early spring.

Um Yasin: We fertilise the soil in November after picking; we use compost from chickens or sheep; it is known that compost from chickens is better than any other compost.

Abu A'ttallah: In February if there's empty land I will plant it with olive. Some saplings we buy with our personal funds, and some we get from the JAI, but after the snow storm, we decided not to plant olives, but more grapes. In the spring we plough the groves. If we have young trees I water them in May, June and July. To mature trees I don't give water, I leave them *ba'al* [fed by rain]. After three or four years, until the tree

matures, I stop watering it. The tree begins to produce fruit by the fourth year; after its seventh year it starts giving you fruit every year.

These descriptions of the cyclical daily activities of olive farming demonstrated to me that the family perceived this activity as a purposeful and meaningful occupation that maintains their health and well-being, representing the Doing for Well-being principle of daily life (or *Sutra*). This was enabled by collaborating with volunteers, which I understood to illustrate the Doing for Belonging (to the wider world) aspect of their daily lives, or *A'wna*.

When I met Um Yassin and Abu A'ttalah, they relied on farming for their livelihood. Olive growing was just one part of the variety of fruit and vegetables they grew on the land. In the last planting season before my second field visit in 2015, they received support from a local campaign organisation to plant a grove of apples, in the form of saplings and volunteers to plant them. In total there were 365 olive trees on the land: each terrace had between 60 and 100 trees. Um Yassin and Abu A'ttalah owned 65 of them, the rest belonged to Abu A'ttalah's siblings. Abu A'ttalah relied a lot on his tractor, which he maintained in a nearby village. When it broke down or when he needed a new one, which happened twice in the years between 2012 and 2015, he struggled to find funds for it. This worried him as any plot of land that is not being ploughed and planted is noticed by the authorities, who constantly monitor land use in the area. They can then easily expropriate it based on an old Ottoman rule which allows the authority to take from its owners what they deem to be unplanted land.

The family told me that the harvest – by volunteers, activists and some members of the extended family – normally takes up to 10 days to complete. In some years the family picked more than in others due to natural changes in weather conditions. Abu A'ttalah used long-handled shears to prune high branches during picking days. Olives harvested during the day were laid in the front court on a sheet in the sun until the harvest was complete and olives were cleaned from leaves and branches and loaded into the car to be transported to the press. When I joined Abu A'ttalah on a trip to the press it took him 45-minute to drive to the press in a village south of the *wadi*. The olives were unloaded from sacks in the back of the car into the weighing machines, then emptied into the first station of the room-sized machine. At the first station they were rinsed, then moved down the machine to be crushed. Next the good oil was separated from the water and the waste product known locally as *jefet*, which is often used for fuel. Finally the olive oil came out of a tap at the other end of the room, and was filled into seven-litre containers.

Towards the end of spring and the beginning of summer other activities began in earnest, such as growing summer vegetables. At the end of the summer and after most of the produce was harvested, Um Yassin and Abu A'ttalah made *malban*, a local delicacy made of wheat flour grape juice, pine seeds and almonds, and is eaten as a snack. In addition, they made jams and sauces, such as tomato sauces and *dibis* (grape molasses). Some of these products were stored for the family to eat in the winter months, and some were sold to locals.

When I asked them how farming olive affected their health, Abu A'ttalah said: "Health stays good because I work with energy and motivation, and because I am not forced to do it."

This I understood as another example of how olive growing was perceived by Abu A'ttalah as an occupation he decided to engage in because it contributed to his health and well-being, expressing a conscious act he chose to engage in based on an awareness of its health benefits.

As for what motivated them to grow olives and work the land, they replied:

Um Yasin: To protect it so they [military occupation] can't dispossess us. As long as we protect the land we protect ourselves, we will stay on our land; in the past and still today for some people the land was raped and taken by force. Today our land won't be taken by force.

Abu A'ttallah: For me there's this relationship with the land. If you ask me to do any other activity, for example if you tell me 'take this football and play with it', I won't, but if you ask me to go for a walk in the mountain on the dirt road, I tell you, 'Yes it will be a pleasure'. You tell me, 'Take these keys and take the car for a drive', I don't have anything to do with driving, I won't go. I'm in love with the land and trees, but generally with the work of the whole of the land, not only with the olive tree. In working the land there's a great pleasure for me.

When I asked about why their motivation and will to work the land were so strong, Abu A'ttallah told me: "My will is strong because I love the *ard* [land]; it springs from my love of the land."

I understood these descriptions of their reasoning behind doing olive farming to express the resistive aspects of daily lives, Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*), which stemmed from a strong attachment to their land.

Towards the end of the interview we discussed their future as growers of olive and workers of the land, and they said to me:

Abu A'ttallah: I want Yasin to become an agricultural engineer because I want him to stay put and not to abandon the land; this is a kind of resistance.

Um Yasin: It is our greatest *jihad* [effort to confront oppression]; if we are insisting on isolating ourselves to live on this land, isn't this the greatest *jihad*? All the things we needed to compromise on in order to stay here.

Finally, I was interested in other hopes they might have for the future, and Abu A'ttallah told me: "We want to live in our home in security and safety; there's nothing else I want."

These replies pointed to further evidence that olive growing was motivated by principles of resistance, hopeful Becoming and aspiration for a better future (*Sumud*).

4.3 Um Nedal, Abu Nedal, Nedal and family

The journey to Dar-el-Shoke, west of Beit-al-Nada through the town of Al-Qasser, leads past a fence several metres high, a part of the separation wall, followed by a tunnel for the use of locals, and onto an Israeli-built bypass road connecting the nearby settlements to Al-Quds. I pass the gated entrance to the large settlement described as a "huge city" by Heyam, Abu Nedal's wife [at the time of my visit], and pass a new construction site that will expand the settlement. Abu Samir's grove – whose trees I came to help harvest today, and who is a neighbour of Abu Nedal and his family – is filled with rubble from the construction site and rubbish such as plastic bottles and used furniture dumped by settlers. The grove was fenced off by the Israeli authorities a few years ago, I am told, and the main path leading to it is blocked. The only alternative path left is a concrete and uneven narrow track that leads to the grove in a steep and

treacherous descent about which, Abu Samir tells me later, “even a donkey and cart can’t go through to plough and transport tools and olives”. On our way in, one of the volunteers trips over and others, including me, have a few near misses.

(Field notes, October 2014)

4.3.1 People

I met Abu Nedal for the first time during the introductory visit in autumn 2013 when he was helping in looking after Abu Kamal and Nada’s family land (see section 4.5 below). During that same visit I helped the family harvest their olive trees one day in early November, at which time I met his ex-wife Um Nedal and his eldest son Nedal. I have visited them during every trip I made to Palestine since then, the most recent of which was during the spring of 2017. I interviewed Nedal, the son, separately during the winter of 2015, and examples from that interview will be drawn on later in the thesis. The quotes below are taken from an interview I carried out with Abu Nedal in his house in his village in February 2015.

When I met Um Nedal and Abu Nedal, they were in their 60s, and were divorced and Abu Nedal has since married and divorced twice more. Nedal, Um and Abu Nedal’s only son, was in his late 30s and was married to Nahed, with whom he had three daughters and a son. They all lived in the small village of Dar-el-Shoke. Um Nedal lived in a small house across the garden from the ground floor apartment Abu Nedal lived in, which was beneath the house Nedal built for his family. In the vicinity there was a one-room building facing the road which Nedal used as his barbershop and where he worked in the evenings. I was told Nedal has four sisters who lived elsewhere. Nedal was the main breadwinner for the family, which included his mother and father. Nahed used to work as a social worker, but took a break to raise her children. Nedal had a permit to work within the Green Line, where he worked during weekdays. He cut villagers’ hairs in the evenings and at the weekend. Nedal worked either on the land or in the house doing maintenance and building work during the little free time left for him. Abu Nedal’s eldest brother and his family lived nearby in the village. Nahed came from a nearby town and moved to live in the village when she married Nedal several years ago. When I visited, most of the villagers still farmed the land that was left under their ownership and had not been expropriated, but I was told that they all needed other sources of income, which they often found in construction or other menial wage-labour. Um Nedal spent her days either in the garden and the vegetable plot with her grandchildren or with other women relatives and co-villagers. She was also a member of the local women’s cooperative, where they made foodstuffs such wild hawthorn jelly and weaved baskets out of left-over olive shoots.

Abu Nedal returned to live full-time in the village just before I visited them for the second time, before which he lived in the nearest large town. Before that he moved around because of his political activism and his career as a journalist, and spent some time in hiding from the Israeli authorities. He also spent time in jail and several years under house arrest. This was not unusual in the oPt, I was told, where almost half of the men have been in Israeli prisons. For a few years before returning to Dar-el-Shoke, he worked in a community centre in one of the large refugee camps in town, and on land and some terraces belonging to Nada and Abu Kamal’s family (see section 4.4), which owned land in a nearby *wadi*. Regarding his return to living in the village and his occupational history, Abu Nedal said:

I came back last year to permanently live in the village, but even when I lived in town I didn't completely stop coming and working the land here. I moved to Beit-al-Nada because of work, because of my income. I used to work as a journalist at a national newspaper. And besides journalism, I was an activist in a political party. And I worked in Gaza, in secret political work, it's not a secret anymore, I worked there for a long period. When I used to come back here, I lived secretly in a monastery in town. A sympathetic priest gave me shelter until they [the military occupation authorities] arrested me, when they raided the monastery. Some people told on me. The charge was that I was an inciter.

When I enquired who was looking after the land in his absence, he told me:

Abu Nedal: My ex-wife Um Nedal and my son Nedal. After we divorced and Um Nedal returned to her home village, I asked her to come back, I told her 'This is your land, work in it, live in it and build on it, live in dignity and respect'. So she did and of course Nedal helped her, that's why Nedal, unlike most villagers his age and younger, is a good *fallah*.

I understood what Abu Nedal told me as an example of how the occupation of olive farming was an important daily activity representing the Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*) principle: in addition to providing survival for the family, it also provided them with dignity and respect. What he told me also demonstrated that farming was a collaborative activity based on the principle of a strong Belonging to, heritage, land, village and family.

4.3.2 Place

The family told me the history of Dar-el-Shoke, which is a small and an old village of 1,200 residents, who belonged to a few extended families from two *hamoulas* (clans). Their ancestors were thought to have lived in this valley for thousands of years. The village is located near the east side of the Green Line. It was occupied by Zionist militias in 1948, and declared a closed military zone. Most residents fled the village and lived in caves or nearby villages and camps. An international agreement in the 1950s between Israel and Jordan (which governed the West Bank until 1967) allowed the villagers to work their land but not live on it. Several villagers were killed and injured during that period while working on their land. Later the village was attacked by Israeli forces, and most buildings were destroyed. The locals, including Abu Nedal's family, were expelled to the largest refugee camp in the area, where they stayed until the early 1970s when they decided to attempt to return to their village. They formed committees responsible for agriculture, education, construction and water to help resettle the village. I was told, they managed to successfully negotiate their return with the Israeli authorities, which was extremely unusual as about 500 villages had been ethnically cleansed in 1948. Village families shared a system of irrigation from natural springs, whose water was collected into pools from which tunnels transport water to the vegetable plots on the *wadi's* flat plains. This collective water use allowed each extended family a slot of a few hours during the day to collect water in their pool.

Two illegal Israeli colonies were built on villagers' land on the two hills that surround Dar-el-shoke. One of these colonies consisted of tens of thousands of settlers, I was told. Settlers were seen armed and they were protected by watchtowers, fences, walls, private security guards and the IDF. Villagers were worried about the colonies, and they feared that more land will be confiscated in order to expand them. They were proven right when, in 2014, hundreds of acres were confiscated, and

immediately afterwards they began to see cranes in use to extend roads and build more houses in the colony. The larger of those colonies reached very close to the borders of the village. Some of its houses were only a few metres from the village school yard, and pupils were often hassled by settlers on their way to and from school. Villagers often complained of settlers hiking through the village with firearms, which made them feel intimidated.

Abu Nedal reflected on how he saw the military occupation changing the activity of olive growing, which I understood as evidence to a situation of occupational apartheid as manifested in his village:

The [military] occupation firstly is practically trying to confiscate as much land as possible; the focus now is on all land that is planted with olive. It [the military occupation] started targeting all land that doesn't suit anything but olive growing. Secondly, I think, I don't have a proof for this, this needs evidence honestly, but from experience, most of the pesticides and herbicides that are sold to farmers to combat diseases, most of it comes to us out-of-date or ineffective, and that increases the problems and doesn't solve it. They come from Israel, the same happens with the saplings, they cheat us with saplings, they give it to us diseased. But now the settlers are the biggest danger for the olive trees; they uprooted many of our relatives' trees. The most recent confiscation of land suitable for olive growing happened four months ago. The authorities expropriated 4,000 dunums [each dunum equals 1,000 square metres] in this area, most of which from our village.

[He took a pen and started drawing on a paper]: Look, roughly, our village is shaped like the number '8'. This is all confiscated land [indicating the surrounding outer areas]. What's left is the populated area of the village, the cultivated fields and the orchards. They reached the edge of the fields. All of this is confiscated. From all directions, from the north, from the south, and from the west and the east, all of it is surrounded by settlement. The edges of the colony reached the village houses here, the last house here is on the border exactly. Even the road from the right and left, the road you came through, is confiscated. Nothing connects us to Beit-al-Nada but that road on the top; the other one is for the settlement, it's confiscated.

4.3.3 Activities

Abu Nedal spent most of his days in the field, he told me: "I go to the field every day from the morning, and I won't return home until the imam calls for the evening prayer. At the moment [February] I am rebuilding the dry stone walls around our olive grove."

When I asked about the olive harvest in the last season and other olive growing activities he undertook throughout the year, he replied:

We prefer harvesting our trees in early November as I believe the fruit ripens better the longer it stays on the tree. This year it took us five days. We have 35 olive tree. The volunteers from the JAI helped us for two hours on one of those days. There were 22 of them, they came late and had no experience. We didn't benefit from that large number as we were supposed to have benefited. But they did see our situation in the village and the encroaching colonies. This I think was helpful. On the other days the family helped. One of my daughters came to help this year, and Nedal and his uncle from his mother's

side. Another of my daughters came for one day. Our 35 trees produced seven containers of oil this year [49 litres]. The next year and the year after it will be even better since we stopped ploughing with tractors. This is the time for ploughing, in late winter early spring, I often hire someone with his donkey to plough from the village and ask him to keep two metres away from the base of the tree. Earlier in the year, in the first week of January, I mixed some organic fertilisers with the soil under the trees: a bag of organic compost for each tree. I wanted to do more but I got sick. And I also pruned the trees during that week.

This illustrated olive farming as an occupation done for Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*), and that it is undertaken through a careful orchestration with the human and other than human elements of the environment - the soil and the trees – in order to enable humans, land and trees to survive in harmony with each other. Even if international volunteers didn't help much with the physical act of picking olives, Abu Nedal believed that it was beneficial that they witnessed their situation of occupational apartheid and that they expressed their solidarity, which I viewed as further manifestation of the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) aspect of the activity of olive farming.

Abu Nedal returned to the village to work on his land and to spend his remaining years in his place of birth. However, in his absence it was Um Nedal and Nedal who have been the main caretakers of the olive growing and other land-based activities. Abu Nedal considered Nedal a good *fallah*, unlike many of the villagers from Nedal's generation. Many of them sought work elsewhere, mainly in menial jobs or in construction in the nearby colonies – or, if they were lucky, they were given a permit to work beyond the Green Line. When Abu Nedal returned to the village he took over the majority of the growing activities. He spent most of his days on his vegetable plot near a water-collecting pool where he made himself a makeshift shelter and a newly built toilet – the first in the village on or near farming land, he told me.

The family tended not to do much in the groves beyond the harvest season, during which they harvested and pruned the trees, and later they ploughed the ground between the trees. When needed they planted new olive trees, but they had not done so for some time when I visited them last. The grove that I helped them harvest was planted in the 1980s when villagers were encouraged by the agricultural committee to rehabilitate their land to protect it from colonies' expansion. During the winter of 2015/16, the local agriculture committee sent some volunteers to help the family fix some of the dry-stone walls surrounding the grove. The family did not irrigate or spray the olive trees. Organic fertilisers were added in the winter. Abu Nedal did not believe in chemical fertilisers, especially those made by or bought from Israeli businesses, as he feared they might be fatally toxic for the plants. Abu Nedal and the local farmers were also encouraged by the local agricultural committee not to buy seedlings from Israeli nurseries, which were rumoured to sell Palestinian farmers diseased seedlings. In February Abu Nedal and Nedal pruned their grape vines. Other fruit trees were pruned towards the end of winter, or in the early spring.

In the spring, work began on the vegetable plots to prepare them for summer planting. The family had a polytunnel where they planted tomatoes, cucumber, okra, beans and other crops. The polytunnel was surrounded by two plots, the large one often planted with vegetables like cabbage, aubergine or lettuce, and a smaller one used for herbs such as sage and *za'tar*, a local variety of thyme. The plots were surrounded by bushes of almond and pomegranate, and some fig trees, most of which were grown wild. The family had some apricot trees planted at one end of the village which they rarely harvested as they were eaten by workers when walking to and from work. Work on the

summer vegetables continued throughout the summer. At the end of summer, vegetables were picked and grapes are harvested from the upper terraces.

When asked why they grew olives, Abu Nedal replied:

Historically the olive tree and other native species like fig provide the family some food sustenance. Adding these sources to what the family might grow in the field or gather from the wild such as za'tar [thyme], will provide some food security. Plus, the main reason for planting olives in our village in particular is the culture of resisting settlements. Any vegetable you plant, when the season ends and you harvest it, the land goes back to being not cultivated. Grapes and many other types of fruit trees such as almonds, you plant them and after 5, 10, 15 years they die. There has been a targeting of all land in this area of Palestine since the 1970s, and people were encouraged to plant it with olives. Most of the olives in our village were sourced by the agricultural committee. Practically the process of planting more olives started in the early 1980s.

When I enquired about why people were returning to olive growing, he said:

Olive plays an important role in the life of farmers. When you come and uproot trees or forbid people from planting olive you increase the burden on the families. People today live in hard working conditions, the employment market is almost closed in Israel, the value of the currency is low, what's left is the reliance on farming for those who have trees, and when you deprive him [the *fallah*] of his olive, how would he survive? Tell me how can he live? Today there are people who can't work, and only plant olive so they can live from it. So they can produce 100 containers of oil or even maybe 50 or so, so they can sell them, you see? I am currently looking for any dot in the land that is not planted to plant it with olive. Not only me, the whole village. I returned to live here because this is my fate, my life, and there's danger for the village. I don't have a future in the town, my future is here, I have my home here in my land.

On his thoughts and feelings about their future, Abu Nedal reflected:

I am very worried for the village. Nobody knows what the destiny of the village will be. There is talk that our village has already been annexed to the greater area of Al Quds, the land not the people. This means that what the future of the people will be, nobody knows. Are they going to keep us in Israel, or transfer us to the PA areas? Nobody knows, no one can answer the question: what is the destiny of the people of Dar-el-Shoke? An unknown destiny, and a very dangerous and hard one.

When I asked how he responded to this, he told me:

I rehabilitate the land, what for? To renew it and rejuvenate it, so I can plant it and so I and those who come after me can survive. I also keep talking to the media, I spread the word on Facebook, on Twitter, on WhatsApp, everything about the village and its people.

Abu Nedal's answers pointed to an example of how olive growing's Doing for Belonging (*A'wna*) aspect includes a strong attachment to history and heritage. They also further illustrated how occupational apartheid is manifested in his village, and how the resistive principle of Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) motivate, and is enacted through, the doing of olive growing.

4.4 Um Wehaab, Abu Wehaab and family

The drive to Al-Baydar takes us west of Beit-al-Nada through vineyards and groves, then through roads mainly used by Palestinians to the north-west area of Beit-al-Nada. We drive up and down steep and lush *wadis* lined with traditional dry-stone walls marking the terraces on which olive trees are growing. Before we reach the centre of the village, the bus stops and we all get off and walk a few minutes to Khirbet Al-Baydar – the area on the outskirts of the village where the trees we came to help pick are located – carrying with us buckets, ladders and tarpaulin sheets. We arrive at the neatly weeded groves, with well-spaced olive trees said to have been planted in Roman times. The olive groves of Um Wehaab and Abu Wehaab and their family expand over a few terraces, and overlook a view of other terraces extending to the lower *wadi* where I see an Israeli railway line and pine woods planted on the hills opposite us. I am told that on clearer days it is possible to see the Mediterranean to the west, which locals can rarely reach due to travel restrictions.

(Field notes, October 2014)

4.4.1 People

I met Um Weehab and Au Weehab in the autumn of 2014, and revisited them during the winter of 2015, then again in the spring of 2016. I interviewed them twice, in autumn 2014 and spring 2016, when we also discussed my ongoing work on this study and their feedback about how I am representing them in the stories and the themes I was starting to formulate. The segments of interview transcripts below are taken from an interview I conducted with them during the autumn of 2014 in one of the family's olive groves in the village. They were harvesting the trees with the help of a young worker from the same village, whom they hired because their children were not available that day. This interview happened a week after I met the couple and their extended family during my visit with the JAI and some international volunteers to help them pick some of their other groves in a different part of the village.

Um Wehaab and Abu Wehaab were in their sixties. Um Wehaab was a retired teacher who studied in a teachers' college in a city to the north of the village. She worked in schools outside and inside the village but also looked after her children and continued to work the land. Abu Wehaab was a retired engineer who studied in a neighbouring Arab country before he returned to Palestine. He was an elected councillor in their village of Al-Baydar prior to his retirement. He continued to grow olives and other crops all his life in addition to his paid jobs. They lived with their youngest daughter and son in an apartment above that of their oldest son, Wehaab (in his 30s) and his family. Their homes stood in the same spot where Abu Wehaab grew up with his family, and where Abu Wehaab's ancestors lived before them. They told me they have another son who lived and worked in north Africa, and a daughter who lived with her family in north America, where they migrated to seek a more secure life for their children. Um Wehaab often talked of how much she missed them and how much she would like them to return to Palestine where they belong and where they are needed most.

Most of Um and Abu Weehab's extended family lived in the village. Residents of Al-Baydar were very proud of their community's reputation for being the vanguard of initiatives to protect their area's heritage, environment and land. They were famous for valuing education, especially for girls and women. One of the first schools for girls in the area was established here in the early 20th century by a famous local man who was passionate about his community and about education.

However, Abu Weehab told me in a concerned voice that not many young people in the village are currently interested in looking after the olive trees. He said: "You will notice, if you pass more than one grove, basically those people who are older are interested in continuing this activity, the youth have very little interest. In pain and hope that the circumstances improve."

4.4.2 Place

When I visited Al-Baydar it had a population of 5,000 residents, and Abu Wehaab thought that there was approximately the same number of villagers, who were born here or whose parents were, who lived abroad. I was told some of the villagers who lived abroad worked towards improving their community, or sent money to build large and expensive houses, some of which I saw at the eastern entrance to the village. It was a village with pre-Roman Canaanite farming terraces and communal irrigation canals and pools that villagers still used when I visited. Al-Baydar is located a few kilometres to the north-west of Dar-el-Shoke where Um Nedal and Abu Nedal's family lived. Al-Baydar, though, is nearer to the capital Al-Quds (Jerusalem), and used to be called the 'vegetable basket' of Palestine before the villagers were banned from entering it following its occupation by the Israeli army in 1967. Since then, villagers were banned from using the train that passed through their land, where the Israeli authorities destroyed the station in the middle of the last century. During and for a few years after the *Nakba* of 1948, when the village was captured by Zionist militias, the villagers were expelled. They became involved in resisting the occupation, and eventually negotiated their way back to the village, in a process that resembled the experience of Dar-el-shoke, unusual for the majority of the 500 or so villages that were depopulated during and after 1948.

Al-Baydar is located on the Green Line, and some of its land crosses this line. The community managed to negotiate an agreement with the Israeli and Jordanian authorities to permit them to access their land beyond the Green Line in the middle of the last century. There were no Israeli colonies immediately bordering village land, but there was a camera mast and an Israeli security vehicle permanently stationed on the opposite hill constantly watching the village. The Israeli separation wall, when it is completed, was planned to cross and confiscate village land. However, villagers' efforts, such as collaborating with local and international NGOs and UN agencies, have succeeded in postponing this from happening in the near future. Villagers, including Um Wehaab and Abu Wehaab's family, have had some of their land confiscated. Some of them, including Um and Abu Wehaab, have taken the Israeli authorities to the Israeli high court with partial success. This legal process lasted decades and cost the families vast amounts of money.

One of the barriers to olive farming I was told about is the lack of infrastructure in the village including suitable roads that lead to the olive terraces. This situation pointed to another manifestation of occupational apartheid as a systematic attempt to divorce farmers from their land, their tree and their daily activities. When I asked about how they usually reach the grove, I was told:

Abu Weehab: The car can reach some parts of Al-Baydar, other parts the car can't reach. This path is not easy for the car as you saw, we parked the car at the bottom of the hill, then you have to bring up the equipment on foot, and as you saw, it is only Um Weehab and me today. The means of the Palestinian are limited. The Palestinian is an orphan. There's no party that looks after him. There may be a party that aims to sabotage him and his work. For example, this road may be opened, then the Israeli army will come and close it down.

Um Weehab: That happened to us in the 1960s.

Abu Weehab: There was a road that was opened between here and the next town before the Israeli occupation, during the Jordanian rule. So the military occupation came and forbade us from maintaining the road, so nobody can reach their land to cultivate it, so they can confiscate it. That's their aim: the confiscation of the land. There's another road where they [the Israeli military] came and dug out the asphalt even, and I find it hard to drive my car up there.

4.4.3 Activities

Abu Weehab described a typical working day during the olive harvest:

At dawn we wake up, wash, read the Quran and go to the mosque to pray, then we return home to get ready to go out to the grove. After the sun rises, we go up to the trees at about six o'clock. The first thing we do is pick the olives that had fallen on the ground from the previous evening when the sun came down and we couldn't finish picking the fruit.

On what they did when they arrived at the grove, Abu Weehab told me: "We spread the tarpaulin on the ground under the tree and then we start picking with our hands, and when the tree is bearing a lot of fruit, it is easier to do this with the comb." Um Weehab continued: "We fill the sacks, which are supposed to contain 50 kg of flour, to approximately half and we tie them at the top, so it's easier to lift the sacks in this way to transport them on foot to the car. Yesterday we filled four of these sacks."

When I asked them about pressing, I was told:

Abu Weehab: At the end of the day we transport them to the car, and in the house we separate the fruit from the leaves and then we lay it on the ground. The next step would be producing the oil. There's a folkloric saying that goes '*min elshajar lil h'ajar*' [from the tree immediately to the stone/press], but we can't do that as sometimes we produce two hundred kilos and it's impossible to transport all of it immediately to the press.

When I asked about the length of the harvest period, Abu Weehab said: "It depends on the weather and the number of helpers. In general it takes two weeks." As for the activities that were done on the land after the harvest, they said:

Abu Weehab: We collect the pruned branches that we pruned during harvest and burn them, as they might be diseased. And after, it depends, let's be honest, the right thing to do is to plough the land in the month of November in order to open up the earth for the rain. But as hiring a plough is expensive we don't do that every year. We often use a

donkey rather than a tractor, as the tractor digs deep and hurts the roots. In December we're supposed to prune the trees. But we half do that whilst picking, as cutting unwanted branches is helpful for picking the olives from the high branches, and at the same time it opens up the trees for the sun and the air. And plus it may rain in December, and if you place the ladder on ploughed earth, it may sink. In January for whoever is done pruning there's no need to do much. During the rain, if *Allah* gave good rain, a terrace or a dry stone wall might collapse, we will come and rebuild it.

Um Weehab: We also add natural fertilisers in the winter months. The compost we buy is made either from chicken or sheep dung. If we need to plant new olive trees, we do that in January or even December, after it rains when the earth is soft enough to be dug easily.

Abu Weehab: The process of planting olive trees has advanced a lot. In the days gone, they used to cut the new growth, or what is called suckers, from the base of the tree and plant it separately as a new sapling. These days we get nurseries with modern techniques. They cut the heads of branches, they place them in a growth hormone, after a while they place it in a cup with earth, and after a year it becomes a sapling ready to plant

Um Weehab: We buy subsidised saplings, or if there's any party that supports the farmer like the JAI, we apply for some help to receive cheap saplings.

When I asked about other olive farming activities they might engage in, Abu Weehab told me:

Wallahi [in God's name] look, we are not used to the process of struggling against disease and spraying; we can't keep up with spraying each tree and each grove for one reason, and the main reason is: a piece of land needs farming roads, and we don't have farming roads. Not to say that the Palestinian is pathetic, or a victim, but there's a conspiring against him since a long time ago. In order to open a road it requires a lot of money, and even when you build one, there's parties that will come and close it down. As for watering, we depend on the rain, even though scientifically they say there's a need for a supplementary irrigation. In a usual season the average rainfall is 500ml, but if it rained only 350 ml, in order to achieve a healthy harvest I will compensate the tree the 150 ml lacking from the rain. But for us until now, *elhamdulillah* [praise be to God], the water has been used for humans' use, there's not enough water to water the trees.

When I asked what they did with the olives and oil, Abu Weehab said:

In fact, in the past we used to have a shortage of oil. It wasn't enough for us. Of course we planted new trees, and they grew and produced fruit, and we look after the trees well, we got surplus which we're not able to sell. Why we can't sell it? Because there might be competition. It may come from other areas cheaper than our oil, therefore the time passes and it won't sell, but we look after the oil, and make sure it's a good quality and is preserved in a good way, so if we don't sell it this year, we will sell it the next year, and it will still be of good quality.

These replies are further illustrations of how the occupation of olive farming is coordinated with the specific surroundings and the local environment. They pointed to further examples of the creativity of participant families in the way they adapted to changes in their circumstances,

which was an essential skill enabling the Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*) principle of daily lives that ensured people maintained this activity and their well-being.

Um and Abu Wehaab have dedicated their time to growing activities since their retirement, but they felt that they were getting on in years and were not as strong as they used to be. Wehaab was the only one of their children who supported them in land-based activities, though he was not always available due to other paid work commitments. He always tried to find a helping hand, either by contacting organisations who coordinate international volunteers, or by organising some relatives or friends to help. When this failed, the family hired young men to help them in busy times such as the olive harvest. The family normally started their olive harvest from their groves near the centre of the village from where they carried their tools by hand for a 10-15-minute journey on foot from their house.

In the winter months, which is the rainy season in Palestine, the family might plant some olive trees. Each terrace was ploughed to a distance of three or four metres from the dry-stone walls, and with three to four metres between each row. Wooden sticks were then placed three metres from each other on spots intended for the trees. A 30cm deep hole was dug using a shovel. The saplings were placed in the hole alongside the wooden sticks, to which the sapling was tied. Farmers covered the saplings with a plastic tube to protect it from grazing animals. The hole was then filled with earth, after which the planters stamped with their feet to firm the earth. Most of the planting activities in recent years that the family managed to carry out, they carried out on land they reclaimed from pine plantations the Israeli authorities had planted on confiscated land. These pine trees were not native and did not support the biodiversity of plants and animals that native wild trees, such as evergreen oak and carob, did, I was told by the family. The family preferred to keep quiet about these activities, and they were often done with only a small number of family or friends. Abu Wehaab and some other villagers have completed several of these land reclamations in recent years. Um and Abu Wehaab spent the rest of the winter looking after their kitchen garden, where they grew winter vegetables and herbs. Abu Wehaab ploughed his groves during the spring. The family did not irrigate or spray their trees with chemicals. The summer, I was told by the family, was the season for harvesting vegetables, most famous of which in this village is the small aubergine variety that is pickled or stuffed with walnuts or rice. Those who have grapes, figs, cactus and pomegranate harvested them at the end of the summer. Otherwise summer was a quiet month for olive growing.

More examples of the Doing for Belonging (*A'wna*), as well as the resistive and futuristic Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) aspects, were demonstrated in what I was told when I enquired about why the family were interested in olive farming:

Abu Weehab: Look, the first thing, the olive is a tree of resistance which lives a long life, and for me she is a resistance to the [military] occupation. This is more important than anything else. I work in the land and pay for it from my retirement wage, so the land is not wasted, because when the land is not worked that's when the [military] occupation comes and confiscates it. Of course we live here a case of struggle. A powerful occupation. A [military] occupation that looks for any reason to stop us growing olives. There are some people who ask, 'Why are you planting this? If you plant grape or apple, which has a better economic value, it is better for you'. I say to them, 'I am all pain and hope that the future generations will come and continue the work'. But what pains you is that the new generations are moving away from *Al Ard* [land]. So at least I plant the olive even if the next generation don't look after it, or look after it but not much, at least if they only do the ploughing the land remains reclaimed. But if I plant it with apple, or almond, it will live 10 years, 15 years and then die, and the land returns to the

uncultivated condition. And if there's nobody who reclaims it, it will be susceptible to confiscation. Our enemy, on the other side, that is the [military] occupation, by applying a deceiving, malicious policy, is using all tools in order to control the land and take it from us.

Regarding one of these tools used by the Israeli authorities to confiscate land, and which to me pointed to another manifestation of occupational apartheid, I was told this story:

Abu Weehab: I will tell you a story that happened to us here in Al-Baydar. In the year 1983, the military ruler comes and tells us that there is some land, of 700 dunums, that is now confiscated. And pretends to be fair and very democratic, what he does, he said, 'You have 20, 25 days to object to this decision via the court'. We hired a lawyer and we went to submit an objection. The lawyer submitted an objection on villagers' behalf, as the land belonged to some of us in the village. Because when the [military] occupation comes, it doesn't discriminate between families. It [the military occupation] wants the land. We formed a committee that worked on locating the documents that prove our ownership in order to be able to defend ourselves in the Israeli military court. Here we notice that we have a problem in Palestine. Israel considers that proving ownership of the land comes in the form of the Turkish *Taboo* registration, but here very few of us have the documents to prove this. When the Turks ruled they registered all of the land, but I didn't have any paper to show registration. We surveyed the land, marked on the maps our plots, in order for the lawyer to retrieve its registration.

The military occupation submitted maps detailing the plots which are cultivated in one colour, and the parts which are not cultivated in another colour. I tell you, in the 1940s, they photographed the land, and then the percentage of cultivated land was 70 per cent, and the English law [from the period of the British Mandate in Palestine], and before it the Turkish [Ottoman] law, doesn't permit it [the military occupation] to confiscate land with such a percentage of use. After 10 years, in the 1950s, they took a second picture of the same piece of land, showing that the percentage of land use had dropped to 60 per cent. After eight years the use dropped to 50 per cent. After that it was 40 per cent. In the late 1970s, the percentage of land use had dropped to 30 per cent. There's an English law, and before it a Turkish law, which allows them to confiscate unused land within that percentage of use. See how it [the military occupation] uses all the tools in order to confiscate our land? As if they were waiting day after day until the percentage of land use allowed them to claim the land as their right.

The court proceedings took a very long time, eight to nine years: from 1983, until maybe 1991, or even 1992. What happened in the end is that the court, I tell you they are a state who claims to represent democracy and justice! After it lasted four, five years, they ordered this land to be expropriated to the state. We had, as they claimed, an opportunity to appeal to the high court of justice, as if this 'democratic' state is very just! So we appealed to the high court, and the high court of course requires another lawyer, and it requires additional financial resources, and people's financial means are limited here. Despite all of that, we appealed. And after a couple of hearings, it was decided to return the case to the military court. Then the *Intifada* began, and things happened which stopped us from pursuing this case. Then we were surprised to find out that there was a ruling in favour of the confiscation.

When I asked how they responded to this, Abu Weehab told me:

Now I am talking about my personal experience. I know that according to their own law [Israeli law], if there was a 10 year period during which they haven't utilised the land, then the previous owner has the right to utilise it. After 10 years I went to the plot of land that is my own, and dug it and I planted it with olives and other fruits and until now it's used. When I reclaim land, I make sure I build dry stone walls because they [military occupation] rely on taking pictures from the air, and when the plot of land is walled, it shows that it is cultivated. If there were no walls, they will want to say that it's not cultivated. I will tell you, simply, the land in which this tree is planted is saying 'I am utilised, I am planted'. In this way I pull a small rug from under the attention of the military occupation because here my land is planted, you are the occupier, you can bombard airports, you can bombard and occupy anywhere you want, I can't compete with you, but you can't claim you are law abiding and come to take my land.

This is another example of Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*), or what I will later conceptualise as daily acts of resistance that families adopted in order to hold on to their land and occupation of olive growing.

When asked about other meanings they attached to olive growing, Abu Weehab said:

From a social aspect, look, there are many things. Firstly there's the *A'wna* or the collaboration between family members and the villagers, there's also the *tasyeef* which allows people who don't have land and trees to take what is left on the trees after the owners have harvested them. There's also something called *elei'ri* [following the example of your neighbours], when I see my experiment had succeeded and I managed to reclaim land, and no one attacked it, the others will try and do the same. Finally, there's the awareness that we try and implant in our offspring to educate them about the importance of the land and olive growing.

I understood *A'wna* to be comparable to the Doing for Belonging aspect of occupations, which motivated and is enacted through the activity of farming olives. In this instance *A'wna* represented strong attachment to, and collaborations with, family and local community

Finally, I asked about how they saw the recent projects achieved by some of the young people in the village, for example the successful UNESCO application for a world heritage site, or the rebuilding of the old houses to turn them into a guest house or other projects, such as an ecological museum whose team had built walking paths in the nearby hills to maintain their use and thereby limit the possibility of the land being confiscated, or the souvenir factory employing local women. They replied:

Um Weehab: These are simple tools of resistance. People don't have permits to travel and work, so an old abandoned building is made sure to be utilised and provide an income to the village council. And from that they are able to build or make other projects.

Abu Weehab: The plan since 2005 has been to talk about the [separation] wall. From the military court to the high court, Al-Baydar residents went to the high court, which took the decision to halt the construction of the wall on village land for now due to the UNESCO decision, and that was a political decision. This is a ruling that occurred in 2014.

The issue lasted from 2005 until 2014. But we will continue to be watchful and concerned as this enemy [the military occupation] is unreliable.

These are further demonstrations of the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) principle of occupation, and in this case it manifested in other daily activities engaged with by locals for resistance and future hopeful Becoming.

4.5 Nada, Abu Kamal and family

I drive to Al-Akhdar - a cultivated *wadi* on the edges of the Beit-al-Nada region, which is “the only green space left in Beit-al-Nada”, Abu Nedal told me once. I drive through Beit-al-O’la, the most western and highest of the trio of towns in the region, which includes: Beit-al-Anas in the east, whose name means the house of wakefulness, where it is thought the angels descended from heaven to deliver the news of the birth of Jesus to the shepherds who were staying up all night to guard their goats and sheep in the caves. To this day shepherds are seen leading their herds in towns, villages and on the edges of roads, looking for food for their herds on open grazing land; Beit-al-Nada is in the middle, its name, I was told by locals, means the house of bread, though I later discover that it was named after the Canaanite god of the south hills; and Beit-al-O’la, whose name means the house of the heights, is on the most western edge of the region. I pass the checkpoint with the Israeli military camp on my left, and into Area C, down a narrow and steep road, which continues into dirt roads at the bottom of the valley. Abu Deeb, the guard, greets me with a walking stick in one hand, and highly animated hand gestures with the other. The land Abu Deeb guards, with the help of a dog tied to its kennel behind the gate, belongs to Abu Kamal’s family, whom I am travelling to visit. Their land consists of several terraces on both sides of the dirt road at the bottom of the valley. The terraces are mostly planted with olive trees, but there are also figs, grapes, apricots and other fruit. In Abu Kamal’s family land there are herbs such as thyme and mint, and vegetables, such as pumpkins, growing among the trees. The *wadi* feels busier than normal, with families gathered around trees picking the olives and dropping them onto the colourful sheets placed on the ground under the trees. I see donkeys resting patiently under trees waiting to help with transporting the yield. I see and smell smoke rising above the treetops from fires made to make lunch, teas and coffee. I learn from locals that olive branches that have just been pruned are very good for burning, and the food and coffee cooked on them taste better because the fire gives a special aroma.

(Field notes, October 2014)

4.5.1 People

I met Abu Kamal and Nada on their land during my first field trip in the autumn of 2014 when I was helping to harvest their olive trees, and I have visited them three times since then, during which I conducted two recorded interviews with the couple. The interview segments quoted below are taken from the first interview I carried out with the couple in their house in the autumn of 2014.

Nada was in her 30s, and she is a Palestinian who was born in a nearby Arab country. Abu Kamal was in his 50s and was born in a local refugee camp. When I visited them they lived with their two daughters and son in Beit-al-O'la. Their eldest daughter, Heba, was in her early teens, followed by Reem and Sultan, both in primary school. Abu Kamal had an adult son, Kamal, and an adult daughter, Lana, from a previous marriage. Both lived abroad. Abu Kamal studied and lived in Eastern Europe, after which he returned to the camp, Al-Reyad, where tens of thousands of Palestinians live in crowded conditions resembling a shantytown. He left the camp when he married Nada and lived initially in a nearby town before they moved to Beit-al-O'la, where they lived in a spacious apartment. Nada graduated from university and is now a housewife. She hoped to find a suitable job when her children grow older. Abu Kamal worked in a highly-respected job nearby. Some of Abu Kamal's siblings and extended family remained in the camp, while others lived in nearby towns. His eldest brother was well-known for his community work, and together with Abu Kamal, bought some land recently and planted it with fruit and vegetables. One of those plots, I was told, is located in a nearby *wadi*. They bought them from landowners originally from Beit-al-O'la, who migrated to live in South America, joining thousands of others from that town who have been leaving since the late 19th century. Abu Nedal from Dar-el-Shoke, who knew the family from when he lived in the camp, worked for the family to help rehabilitate and plant the land until he moved back to his village.

When I asked the couple what they considered the enablers to olive farming to be, their responses pointed to examples of witnessing, solidarity and collaboration between locals and between locals and international groups. This I understood as further evidence to the Doing for Belonging (A'wna), and Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*), principles of occupation:

Abu Kamal: What helps us is the solidarity of people, especially those who come from abroad to take part in the olive picking; more than anything it is a symbolic act: the person who comes from America or Scandinavia, they might have never picked an olive from a tree before but they see how Palestinians live and work. A woman from Germany told me once, 'What you are doing here is above the ability of any human,' when I showed her the pictures of what the land was like before we worked on it, and considering the circumstances we live under, she was able to witness what we go through.

Nada: When people began to see others on their land and that there is some movement and life in it they feel encouraged and start planting and working their land again. Perseverance and persistence help.

4.5.2 Place

Al-Qala' was the village where Abu Kamal's family originated from. It was a small village of a few hundred people who belong to the same *hamoula*, or clan. It was situated on the western slopes of the southern hills not far from the coastal plains. The villagers planted fruit trees, such as olives and figs on the hills, and had some fields on the fertile coastal plains, which they planted with grain and corn. The village was captured and destroyed by Zionist militias in the *Nakba* of 1948, and the villagers were expelled eastward and settled in a UN-funded refugee camp where most of their descendants and refugees from other destroyed villages still live. The village land is currently occupied by an Israeli Jewish settlement situated within the Green Line. Since then the family has lived without land, relying on UN aid in Al-Reyad camp. Camp residents' lost villages, many of which

are only a few kilometres away from the camp, still have strong meanings for them even for those younger generations who have never seen them. The population in the refugee camp is poor, and suffers from high rates of unemployment. Many are politically active in movements that resist the military occupation, and many are now or have spent long periods in Israeli jails. Despite being in Area A, which is officially controlled by the PA, the camp is regularly invaded by IDF soldiers in night raids. Camp residents are often injured or even killed during these raids. Education and culture, such as music and art, are highly regarded in the camp, where there are a few community centres for learning, performances and other communal activities. However, people have no open green spaces to farm or to gather in as they did a generation or two ago in their original villages. Some schemes have been founded to tackle this, such as planting on the rooftops of homes in the camp. Abu Kamal and his family managed to move out of the camp and now belong to the professional urban classes, though they never forgot their origins and land, as they told me.

The *wadi* where the family grew olives bordered a highway, checkpoint and tunnel – all of which were constructed on private Palestinian land and were built to make it easy for nearby colonies' settlers to drive into Al Quds. The family couldn't reach the capital unless a rare permit was granted. The rubble from constructing the highway was still visible on land and terraces on the slopes of the *wadi* when I last visited. During the rainy winter season, and due to poor drainage from the highway and tunnel, surges of water reached the *wadi* and damaged the crops. Aircrafts were often heard in the sky above the *wadi*, and were thought to be flown by Israeli armed forces to take photographs of the *wadi* to ensure that no construction was taking place, as all building was banned in the *wadi*, located in Area C. Some structures belonging to a nearby restaurant have been destroyed several times in recent years. The family had some of their fencing and electricity wires destroyed. The IDF held the keys to the gate leading to the terraces owned by Abu Kamal's family, and could enter the land as they wish.

When I asked the couple about what they thought the barriers to the activities of farming olives were, Abu Kamal replied: "The lack of infrastructure and the restriction imposed by the military occupation: we are forbidden from digging for water so we have to buy our own water despite the existence of underground sources of water." Nada added: "We had fences, gates and electricity poles being destroyed; more than once they [military] seized our diggers. On the other land we have not yet been able to plant trees as we heard that neighbours have been attacked."

4.5.3 Activities

I asked them to describe the olive harvest season and other olive growing activities they engaged in, and they replied:

Abu Kamal: The season usually falls in the middle of October and it's announced by the [PA] government. This season has a long tradition in Palestine as the olive tree is a holy tree, described as such in the three Abrahamic religions. Olive products have several uses: they used the oil for lighting lamps for example, and today it is a main source of food. Almost no Palestinian dish is made without olive oil, which has many health benefits including being good against cancers. Our family look forward for this season, because they get to meet every day for two or so weeks, especially children are very happy to gather and play in the open space. We have friends and international volunteers who come and help us.

Nada: We begin normally at around eight; we have breakfast at home, and when we get to the land we spread the sheets under the trees and we mostly use our hands to pick the fruit; today there are devices to use, including electric ones, but it is such an enjoyment to pick olives by hand; this year it took us two weeks, each year the yield is different, depends on how much you care for the tree. You need to care for the tree throughout the year: fertilise it, plough and weed the land around it. During olive harvest season schools take children to presses to show them the process of pressing olives and making oil. It used to be that schools took two-week holidays but nowadays they take two days off during the harvest season.

Abu Kamal: We pickle some of the olives to eat, and most of the oil we consume as a family and donate some to the needy in the camp but we don't sell oil.

These are more specific examples of how the activity of olive growing was an occupation that leads to well-being which included physical, emotional, social and collective wellness. These examples show how olive farming was done for collective purposes and meanings. They pointed to the idea that olive growing was motivated by, and enacted the principle of, Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*). In this instance olive growing was shown to be done for the collective well-being of the community.

In addition to the terraces in the *wadi*, Abu Kamal's siblings bought some land in another nearby area in order to plant it and save it from confiscation, as well as an investment for their children's future. They have been trying to fence it off and plant some olive trees, but until the last winter of 2014/15 they were unsuccessful as the nearby colony's settlers attempted to stop some neighbouring landowners from planting olives on their land, and the family were fearful for their safety. The fence they erected lately was destroyed by the IDF. There was no natural source of water on this land, and the family managed to obtain some water tanks with the help of the local agricultural committee, but these were destroyed and removed by the IDF.

During the winter of 2015/16, the family, helped by volunteers, finally managed to plant 200 or so olive saplings on their second plot of land. They hoped that the trees will remain unharmed, as they often heard of nearby groves that have been uprooted. In the spring the family hired a donkey and a plough to till their narrow, steep terraces in the *wadi*. Often tractors were unable to access such land due to the banning of infrastructure building. An international NGO managed to help with the opening of a wide dirt path to allow better access to people's land here. Early spring in the *wadi* was beautiful. The terraces were dotted with white daisies, yellow mustard flowers, poppies and other wild flowers among the trees, and Nada and Abu Kamal often brought their children here in the weekends to picnic and spend some time in the fresh air.

When I asked them to tell me the story of their family's return to olive growing, Abu Kamal told me:

It started in 1998 when we bought this land in the *wadi* and started planting other things in addition to olive. The land had an old house on it and we began to host people and to encourage our children to connect with and love the land. In addition to olive there are other fruit trees such as fig, almond, peach, pear and cactus. So we use it also for recreation, we go in the weekends to enjoy this very beautiful area.

Yet again this was another manifestation of how families persisted in engaging in this activity, and in this case even returned to it many decades after losing their land, pointing to another

unique example of the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) principle. It also demonstrated the Doing for Belonging (*A'wna*) principle, which in this instance expressed attachment to community and the natural environment.

When I asked about their motivation for working the land, Abu Kamal said:

One of the most important factors is that it helps my emotional well-being, especially for those of us who otherwise during the week work in intellectual work; when I do some physical work in the land, it relaxes me a lot. Besides, it strengthens family relations, and our children's relation to the land, because today due to the military occupation and its policies, even since the British occupation, the aim was, and is today, to cause the Palestinian *fallahin* to lose connection with the land. For example, my father once told me that during the British rule the villagers planted some of their land with wheat and barley and other cereals, but the Brits used to export wheat from Australia and sell it almost for free to the people, so the *fallahin* could not benefit from their yield, hoping they will leave their land and look for work elsewhere. Then came the Zionist movement, and it controlled the land with agreement with the British, and the policy of controlling the land continues to this day. It is causing people to leave their land. For example the villagers of Dar-el-Shoke had to look for work elsewhere as labourers in colonies and inside Israel. It is of course a thought-through strategy: restrictions such as cutting water resources is another example, Israel controls 80 per cent of the water resources in the West Bank, and these restrictions are imposed so the *fallah* loses income from unproductive yields, so they look for work elsewhere; so that's how our connection to land and olive growing developed for all of us, my wife and our children. My youngest son, his favourite place is the *wadi*: he plays here, breathes clean air, it remains one of the few open unbuilt areas in our locality for us to breathe.

On other factors that motivated them to cultivate the land, Abu Kamal said: "Our parents are originally *fallahin* and they breastfed us the milk of their attachment to the land and their stories about the land and working in it before the *Nakba*."

These were demonstrations of a historical case of occupational apartheid that is continuing to this day. They demonstrated the notion that farming activities provided well-being through Being in harmony with the natural environment, their community and other activities they were involved in - a phenomenon termed 'occupational balance' (see chapter section 5.4.1 in chapter Five). Additionally, Abu Kamal's awareness of their historical and current circumstances express an occupational consciousness of how settler-colonialism aimed to change people's occupations from self-sufficient farmers to wage-labourers dependent on opportunities to earn money provided by the authorities.

I ended the interview by asking them about their hopes for the future, and their replies pointed to another manifestation of the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) principle. They expressed their own vision for a more just and self-determined future:

Abu Kamal: The ideal thing in this situation is our return to our original land. I want to build my house there, a house that will be a simple house and will fit with the nature that exists there. I would like to spend most of my time in that area, where I will practise the activity of planting and growing food on a daily basis.

Nada: I imagine and dream of living in a village of our own, if *inshallah* we will return to Al-Qala', each will take back their land.

Abu Kamal: So ideally we would return and live in historical Palestine, and will co-exist with all the differences between the different groups of people. This is something we think about and which I feel will be the only solution to the problem we have here; co-existence is possible between people. You look at societies like America, like Australia, like New Zealand: multicultural and multiracial; and they live together within a framework of modern and democratic states.

4.6 Examples from other participants' responses in interviews

Below are examples of some of the conversations I had with two more olive growers who agreed to participate in this study. These examples I edited from the transcripts of the audio-recorded interviews I conducted with them. I chose to present these conversations here because they are typical examples of the kind of topics we covered in the interviews I conducted during my field visits, and they demonstrate the themes that were formulated as a result of the thematic analysis I carried out, which will be discussed in the following chapters. The responses and respondents below also represent instances of individuals or families, who differ from the main participant families, in their religious and socio-economic backgrounds, the way they went about growing olives, the meanings they attached to this activity and the values they based their practices on.

The first example is from an interview I conducted with Bilal, who unlike all other participants I met, worked the land individually, despite co-owning the land with his siblings. He was a single man in his fifties and comes from a Palestinian Christian background but did not practice the religion. Another feature that distinguished him from most participants was that he was a regular employer of workers from the surrounding villages, and the chair of two farmers' cooperatives. It was not possible to take part in these cooperatives' meetings, or to interview any of the other members during my field work despite my asking Bilal to arrange such a visit; this is something that I can pursue in later projects and which might strengthen or challenge some of the findings of this study. The interview took place during one warm October morning under the shade of an old Carob tree in the *wadi* where most of Bilal's family land is located. The second example below is taken from my conversation with Damir, in his 40s, whom I met during planting olive saplings on his family's land in the hills located a few kilometres to the south of Al-Baydar. This family were practising evangelical Christians, which was not common in this part of the countryside. They lived in Beit-al-Nada, the nearest large town in Area A, but owned large lands in Area C that are surrounded with three Israeli colonies. The interview took place in a café in Beit-Al-Nada one late winter morning, a week after I met Damir on his land in the hills. More examples from my conversations with, and observations of, the below participants and others will be revisited in later chapters.

4.6.1 Bilal

When I asked Bilal how he came to be an olive farmer, he told me this story:

I went to university and received a diploma in hotel management, then I left university for political reasons. They were going to arrest me, and my late father told me, 'You either go abroad to study, or work with your sister and brothers in independent work'. My father was a farmer, and I worked with him on the land for two years after I left

university, then we built a textile factory. So I had this factory, and worked in it for 25 years, until the year 2000. All our produce was sold in the West Bank and Israel. Israel opened the import door from China. Israel is interested in destroying the Palestinian economy in the first place. It is a strong and rich country, a country supported by all the strong countries in the world, it doesn't care about us small businesses or the local Palestinian economy. As for our 'Palestinian state' [Palestinian authority and the areas it controls], with respect to it, it and everyone else here, we live on international aid. This is a destruction of the local economy and manufacturing, to make us weak and dependent on aid or low paid jobs. We, as a family, own some land, and after my father's death I wanted to return to work on the land, to look after it and protect it. So I had to depend on myself. I used to help him; now the whole land is my responsibility, as my siblings have their other responsibilities and their families.

Bilal's answer demonstrated that farming and other daily activities, such as studying and doing business, are all influenced by other factors in addition to the military occupation, such as global market-led economy, and the failure of the local political leadership to empower communities here to self-determine – all of which contributed to occupational injustices participants I met experienced. However, in Bilal's case, the return to farming olives and other produce provided an opportunity to confront these occupational injustices.

I then asked Bilal to describe the activities of farming and growing olives: who does them, what they do and how they do them. He said:

Since then [when he left his business] I focused on farming olive, grape, apple, pear, peach and nectarine, all kinds of fruit I have, but the main thing is olive, we have 80 dunums in this *wadi* and 50 in town. I do most of the work in the land myself but I also need to hire workers from the nearby villages in special seasons such the harvest. They would be waiting for me on the road, and I will drive them to the land, and we'll begin our day at around 7am: we unload the ladders and the tarpaulin, and we start picking the olives, and at the end of the day we collect them and take them to my house, we lay the picked olives out on the ground at the back of the house, as whatever I picked each week I take to the press at the end of the week. I also plant new saplings every year. If we want to go by my late father, then we should plant more olives in our semi-arid region, as the olive is not affect by the reduction in the amount of rain; sweet fruit needs more water and more care, but olive tolerates high temperatures and tolerates dryness. I water the saplings in the first year or two. I transport water from my house, as there's no water in the *wadi*, there are small wells and there is not enough water in them. At the bottom of this *wadi* there used to be some springs, they [farmers in the past] used to transport water by jugs on the donkeys. But under the conditions of the military occupation, many of the springs were expropriated with the land, which included the springs, so the springs ended up in the land which is now Israeli. So I have to do this hard job of transporting the water from the house in the car, in tanks, once a week, at times I bring water in bottles and spray the trees to preserve the necessary dampness, or we cover the earth around the base of the tree with stones, so the sun doesn't soak up the dampness; the sun can't penetrate to the roots, and the water doesn't dry up. We use several means to conserve water, the environment, the trees and nature.

The saplings are bought at subsidized prices from the agriculture ministry [of the PA]. Some they give for free, some they take a symbolic price for. For example a sapling that

is 15-20 shekels, they give it to us for 2-3 shekels, less than one dollar. It is a sort of aid to the farmer. As for the varieties of olives we plant, we [in the cooperative] advise the farmers that the olive they plant should be *baladi* [the local variety], because it was proven financially and scientifically that the local olive variety gives more oil; it gives more economic productivity than the other varieties. Our forefathers planted it, and it adapted to this country, and to this area and its nature, and gave oil better than the newly improved varieties.

Bilal's answer provided another illustration of the creativity of participants who were able to problem-solve and adapt to changes in their circumstances to enable the Doing for Well-being (*Sutra*). Bilal's answer also provided evidence to the Doing for Belonging (*A'wna*) principle, which in his case, included learning from previous generations how to orchestrate their living with the natural environment.

When I asked him to tell me what he did with the produce, Bilal said:

I sell most of it and I keep some for the family. We only pickle olives for our family's use, but in the future we want and try as a cooperative to produce and sell local produce if we find organisations to support us. I am looking for an organisation to fund us. The idea is to produce natural things, and to have a small shop. To sell things 'from the soil to the mouth' type of thing, aiming to preserve the heritage of the Palestinian people.

This answer demonstrated the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) aspect of daily lives, which ensured communities here hoped and planned for a better future.

I then asked Bilal about the local farmers he worked with, and he told me:

I am the chair of the local farmers' cooperative and the olive press cooperative. The olive press cooperative was founded before us by our fathers and grandfathers and we continue this path. They founded them for the service of the farmers. The farmers' cooperative was founded in 2000 to provide the farmer with saplings, to provide any other needed services: compost, or pesticides. All of that to encourage the citizen to plant the land so they keep it and protect it from expropriation. At the local level we don't have organisations to support us as olive farmers and olive oil producers. Our financial situation is hard. We today have importers bringing in olive products from elsewhere: Greece, Spain, Tunisia, and even Syria. We should sell the produce we have and if we have shortage we then can import what we need. We also have some issues within the nation, as there are different qualities of oil and all of those get sold at the same price. We need our ministry of agriculture [PA] to categorise the qualities of oil so people can recognise the difference and pay extra for the better quality oil like the one from our region, unlike the oil that comes from the north. We continuously ask this from the ministry [PA] and we don't get much attention. As a ministry they need to take a role and support us, especially in olive growing.

I asked Bilal to tell me how international volunteers supported him, and he said: "European organisations that come here to help, they harvest with us in border threatened areas, close to the wall and in Area C."

On what he thought other contextual and environmental issues influencing his land-cultivating activities, he told me:

Bilal: A very important environmental issue is the dearth of rain. We also have those who insist on herding goats and sheep in the groves, which damages young saplings. But the most limiting thing of all is the restrictions imposed by the Israeli military occupation. I am forbidden from using machines to dig the land for instance, or to dig a well to extract underground water. On the other hand, whenever they [the military occupation] want to build a road or do anything else they do it freely without our consent. They can freely destroy the land and uproot our trees. For example we lost three dunums for the tunnel connecting the Israeli colonies to Al-Quds [Jerusalem] and we can't even use this tunnel. There's no colonies immediately on this *wadi*, but there are rumours they plan to build one between here and Al-Baydar. Also, there is this Road 60 – built on Palestinian land - that we can't use but it causes landslides when there's rain as there is no good drainage, and this affects our land and trees.

Asked why he worked the land and the benefits he gleaned from this work, I was told:

Bilal: By working the land I persevere and ensure I remain in this homeland. From a financial perspective if I work in a different job I might be able to make more money but I challenge the military occupation by working the land and by growing olives. I challenge these hard circumstances in order to protect my land. I won't abandon it. Personally, growing olives affects me positively. It strengthens my Belonging to *Al-ard*, we are from the *Al-ard*, it is our mother, the mother of the human in the first instance, the mother of all humanity in fact. So that's olive growing for you from a psychological perspective, there's also the spiritual connection: whatever you give to the tree it gives it back to you. You bring up the tree like a human child. If it's being uprooted you become mad. Despite all your hard work, when you see the tree is fruiting you forget about all the hard work. Also health-wise, as long as I work the land I stay healthy and in good shape, you breathe clean air while working, you eat natural things from the land, it is also physical exercise that is good for your body. Also, emotionally you remain relaxed. For the social health it is good too, as you build networks of support like the cooperatives I mentioned earlier. You get a role and a dignified status in the community, all thanks to the land and the olive tree.

These answers demonstrated the Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) aspect of daily lives, which ensured communities here hoped and planned for fulfilling their collective potential. They also provided examples of how olive growing as a daily occupation lead to positive health and Well-being that included all sphere of human experience: the physical, emotional, social, political and spiritual.

4.6.2 Damir

When I asked Damir to tell me how the military occupation and the colonisation of the land influenced the activities of olive growing, his reply offered another demonstration of occupational apartheid. He said: "The idea is that they [Israeli military and inhabitants of nearby colonies] restrict you in so many ways and make all effort to make working the land hard for you so that you get to a point when you give up."

I then asked him how his family responded to this, and he said:

Damir: I would call it an alternative response to a reality we are living in. We refused to be victims or hate the 'other', but at the same time we decided not to accept the conditions imposed on us. We saw we had three options: one is violence, the second is to accept the status quo and live as an oppressed and occupied community, or thirdly leave our land. We refused to do all of these, we chose the hard option of non-violent resistance. This is what made the idea of our project possible. We adopted the notion of 'come and see, go and tell'. This educational approach aims to build a bridge between the humans and the land. It is about creative resistance, about fixing things when you have little resources and opportunities. We rehabilitated wells, installed solar energy, renovated caves; we encouraged people to do the same by providing advice for how to manage court procedures in land expropriation cases for example. We founded a farm shop selling olive oil, soap, jams. This response is good for all of the inhabitants of the village as an alternative non-violent approach, as we are located on the first line of defence of village land in the hills on the edge of the village, and we are surrounded by settlements in three directions. People thought we'd lose the land but we didn't; we have little resources but we have been provided solidarity and provide solidarity to others.

I was interested in what their approach was based on, and his reply was:

Damir: I want to respect the human being as a human being, but I want to tell him what you're doing is wrong [referring to the Israeli authorities and residents of the nearby colonies]. Your beliefs play a big role [referring to his Christian background], we are people who believe the sun of justice will be risen again. We walked on the new path which is the non-violent approach, under the slogan, 'We refuse to be enemies'. It is very important that the human being believes that there is hope. To believe in it and not only hope for it. It should be something that is not theoretical, but something you walk and do. Love, faith and hope. These principles we apply in action; not just to sit and wish for it, and say *inshalla* tomorrow will be better. If we don't walk there will be no result. This is very important, we say that we are able to do this in our own hands.

Damir articulated to me how the principle of Belonging for Becoming (*Sumud*) was enacted by his family and what were the values they based their daily lives on. This approach informed their own specific daily acts of resistance and the creativity they employed to allow their farming activities, and communities, to not only continue, but also to prosper.

4.7 Diversity of everyday life

All families described above engaged in olive growing activities in some capacity, like almost every other family in the region, whether living in town or village. All of them have learnt how to master that relationship between themselves, olive growing and the place they live in – as the quote at the start of this chapter states. The main four participant families introduced here shared many experiences with each other, but they were also unique in their own circumstances. Only one of those families relied totally on agriculture to support itself economically. The difficulty of relying on farming as the main source of sustenance is true for many families in the region, whose populations were formerly *fallahi* communities. Their transition, from self-determined communities to ones that relied on wage-labour, occurred for reasons beyond their control. These factors that were explained

elsewhere include the expulsion during the *Nakba*, the ongoing military occupation and the colonisation and expropriation of their land. Other local and global issues come into play here, such as globalisation of the labour market and trade and climate change. The above stories and experiences share other factors, such as heritage, history and geography. These circumstances influence their daily engagement in olive-growing activities, other growing tasks and other daily work they are involved in.

The occupational stories narrated above provide specific examples of mutual relationships between humans, their place and their everyday activities, which I will later conceptualise as challenging and extending the human-centred and individualistic approach in theorising human daily doing that is dominant in the field of occupational science (see section 5.5 in the next chapter). Some of what participants told me, or what I saw and experienced, did not fit with the overall story of olive growing as I have observed and interpreted it. For example, instead of planting new olive trees, Um Yasin and Abu A'ttallah replaced a grove of olives with apricots of a French variety and are planning to plant more grapes on their land rather than olives. In the following year I visited I helped them plant apple trees in Abu A'ttallah's sister grove that was previously planted with almonds which were rarely fruitful and died after 15 years. This can be seen as a contradictory instance to the ones I am presenting in this study, which show olive as being the main crop people have returned to in this area of Palestine for sustenance and well-being, for Belonging and for resistance and Becoming. As this family explained to me, they wanted a variety of fruit they can benefit from all year round, and they felt they had enough olive growing on their land. However, they still sought support from organisations to plant fruit trees on their land in order to keep it workable and safe from confiscation – a common motivation that was shared by all participants in this study.

Another example of a family and their means of doing that might not be representative of the ways of life of families I met, is Damir and his family. They are of Christian, urban and middle class background and are in many ways a privileged family: Damir was educated in a university in Europe, and his brother was the headmaster of a local school. Their main support came from churches and international Christian organisations due to their links with, and membership in, these institutions. When I visited them the farm was dotted with handmade signs about peace and love, such as 'We refuse to be enemies', and it felt and looked like any cooperative farming project I have visited in the West that I would respect and value. Some councillors from the nearby village council were visiting when I was there with the group of international volunteers, and it seemed the family was treated by the political representatives in the village as a role-model for the local farming community. I saw the family's stories and the way they present themselves as a message that was directed to Western audiences and Christian sensibilities in order to receive more financial and human power support from outsiders. However, as showed above, this family has been collaborating with the local Muslim village community by giving advice on how to deal with court proceedings regarding land threatened with confiscation, as well as conducting lessons in English and IT to local women. There are also summer camps they organise for local children on the farm to teach them sustainable and organic farming methods and the values of connecting to land and nature.

4.8 Conclusion

Despite this diversity in participant families' daily lives, I now understand, that the main obstacle to this historic activity is the policy and practices of Israeli settler colonialism and military occupation, such as land expropriations and the restrictions on building roads and rehabilitating wells that Um and Abu Weehab, Bilal and Damir told me about above. This systematic and long term structural barrier is an example of what I will later conceptualise as a specific type of 'occupational apartheid', which olive growing families have been challenging in a variety of ways, such as in the stories of land reclamation, or when participants took their cases to Israeli courts or to international organisations such as UNESCO. As participants advised me above, the military occupation is one main barrier to this activity, but it is joined by other barriers including globalised free market financial policy, and climatic changes, which were not the focus of this study and can be the topics of further exploration in future studies.

As for the common motivators or the principles I found families to base their perseverance in doing olive growing on, the examples above from my interviews with participants show the activity of olive growing is a main way of confronting, challenging and resisting all of these external factors. It not only provides sustenance for the individuals and families, but also leads to positive physical and emotional health, well-being, as well as roles and dignity within the community, Belonging, and resistance to the status quo and hope of Becoming something else, more self-reliant and self-ruling in the future. Um Weehab, her husband Abu Weehab, the other three families, Bilal, Damir and the other participants taught me that olive growing is a historic and collective meaningful activity that is engaged in by families who have developed a consciousness that enables them to persevere in this activity for purposes and meanings I will later relate and compare to concepts such as Doing, Being, Belonging and Becoming.

In local terms these are principles that olive growers called *Sutra* (Doing for Well-being), *A'wna* (Doing for Belonging), and *Sumud* (Belonging for Becoming). The following chapters will present more examples from the daily realities of families and individuals, whose stories were told here, that demonstrate these themes, or what I term here as the principles or motivation for the activity of olive growing. Collectively I term these Everyday-Forms-of-Resistance, which as the examples above show are embedded in everything they do. However, in this thesis and for academic reasons, I will separate these principles into three categories which will be analysed, related to the relevant literature and framed within theoretical concepts. This analysis, shown in the following chapters, will provide additional insights into daily meaningful occupations human groups engage in and how they can be used for the benefits of the community, adding fresh theoretical understanding to occupational science, occupational therapy and other fields of study and praxis.

Chapter Five: Olive growing for *Sutra* / Doing for Well-being

“The remarkable continuity of peasant experience and the peasant view of the world acquired as it is threatened with extinction, an unprecedented and unexpected urgency” (Berger, 1979, p. xxvi)

5.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter with more observations of the daily, seasonal and annual olive-growing activities done by participant families, which represent the aspect of the daily occupation of olive farming that I called Doing for Well-being, or what is known locally as *Sutra*. This concept, and descriptions and stories that I felt represented it, were located in encoded data extracts such as those that I presented in chapter Four and other examples that I will present here (see table 4 at the end of this chapter). This chapter demonstrates the process of intercultural translation of this theme and the sub-themes that were formulated from those data extracts that corresponded with Doing for Well-being aspect of occupation cited in the literature. These segments from interview transcripts and field notes I perceived as providing an opportunity to test the utility of such a term (Doing for Well-being) among Palestinian olive farmers, who were found to use it in a unique way which challenges and extends the Eurocentric frame it has so far been presented within. The overall aim of this chapter is to unpick the term *Sutra* as a way of knowing and doing (a principle of action), which communities here enact through olive farming, and use as a means to motivate them to do olive growing as an indispensable daily activity. I will suggest that *Sutra* is a unique Palestinian contribution to occupational justice theory, in that it expresses multidimensional purposes and meanings of everyday life, it leads to a positive well-being for individuals and families, and that it expresses a non-binary relationship between humans and their environment.

In the next section of this chapter, I will define the concept of *Sutra* and link it to the daily lives of olive farming families and what it means to them. In the third section of this chapter I will draw on relevant research and concepts from the field of occupational therapy and occupational science, such as Doing and Being, to compare and contrast them with the stories of olive farmers in the West Bank. The term ‘occupation’ – as discussed in occupational science and occupational therapy – will be critiqued and an alternative understanding based on my interpretation of this theme will be offered. In the fourth section of this chapter the principle of action for farming olives, *Sutra*, will be linked to the terms ‘occupational balance’ and ‘well-being’ cited in the literature. I will offer a critique of relevant studies and suggest more appropriate concepts for the Palestinian situation. In the final section of this chapter, a challenge to the theoretical foundation of Western-centric thought in occupational therapy and occupational science will be presented in regards to the conceptualisation of the relationship between humans and their environment. Alternative insights from emerging critical works will be explored. They will then be compared with the findings of this study, and a specific conceptualisation of *Sutra* as a means that express a holistic relationship between occupational beings and their context will be suggested.

Um Yasin and her husband Abu A’ttallah harvest their olive trees between the middle and end of October. The season is a big event in the family’s calendar, often described as ‘Palestine’s wedding’, for it is a collective celebration across the country. It begins after the first rains of autumn arrive, when schools announce a two-day holiday so that children and teachers can help with the harvest. The family have a few groves of olives of different varieties, each planted on a different terrace.

They have the *suri* (Syrian), the *baladi* (native), the *neboli* (a local cultivar) and, until recently, the K18, an Israeli cultivar that Abu A'ttallah replaced with apple trees because of its high demand for scarce water resources and its low productivity. Um Yasin and Abu A'ttallah press most of their yield to produce oil for their own consumption, and in a good year they make a small profit from selling what oil they don't use themselves. The remainder of the olives are pickled to be eaten with their meals. Other families make soap from the low quality oil, and use the waste products of pressing as fuel in the form of briquettes. The leaves of the olive trees are traditionally brewed to treat colds, chest pain, fever, joint pain and gum and throat infections.

Abu Nedal remembered his father packing dried figs and olive oil into his traditional fabric bag for eating in the field. He told me about an old saying highlighting the importance of two native species of fruit, olives and figs, which often grow together in this part of the world: "When you have an olive and a fig you never starve". When I asked him why his family grows olives, Abu Nedal replied: "The olive tree is an essential tree for us. In addition to being a holy tree from a religious point of view, it is also a tree that gives us *Sutra*: it secures food, fuel and income. It conserves the land, and it expresses a collective identity for Palestinians by helping in resisting the settlements and the military occupation. It signifies that people are ready to fight for their lives." Um Yasin stressed to me that olive growing is financially and environmentally beneficial, and good for people's health. Her husband Abu A'ttallah relayed a story from when he was young. An elder from the village taught him not just how to prune fruit trees, but also that land-based activities, which require hard physical work, can bring his family self-reliance. With his typical sense of humour Abu A'ttallah said: "The old man told me, 'I am going to teach you, my son, how to work in the shit so you will not need the son of shit in the future'". He was implying that he needs to learn how to become self-sufficient to protect him and his family from reliance on others who may abuse or exploit him. In that way olive growing not only provides him and his family with sustenance, but also with self-sufficiency.

Below are more examples of the other physical, emotional and well-being benefits and the meanings attached to the activity of olive growing I was told about, and which I analyse here as the Doing for Well-being, or *Sutra*, aspect of this activity. Abu Kamal – a scientist and olive farmer – told me about the health benefits of eating olives and olive products from both scientific and folkloric perspectives: "Its health benefits are many, the most important of which is that it is an antioxidant, it is resistant against cancer; we have a Palestinian proverb, 'Olive oil builds the house', you know it maybe?" Abu A'ttallah told me more about the health advantages of farming olives: "Working the land gives me pleasure." Um Yasin, his wife, added: "It is helpful for health, finances and nature. The olive tree is a beautiful tree, Allah blessed it".

Damir told me about the spiritual and historical meanings behind the daily activities of growing olives:

It is a blessed tree, it lives long; it is your address and your identity. Growing olives means you are present here for thousands of years; it means you are rooted in this land, and because you are rooted in this land, you will continue. That's why you want to teach the next generation that their roots are here. To teach them that this tree I planted for you today, which will fruit maybe in 10 or 15 years' time, and in 20 maybe 30 years it becomes yours [the next generation's], not only mine.

Damir added, on the future and hopeful aspects of olive farming:

For me it is the future. Because I believe a person who has no past has no future. Our ancestors planted the olive, it is history; you can imagine this tree has stories; it can speak; I can fill books with stories this tree had experienced; this connection between the past, the present and the future is very important. This young tree that we plant today will tell our story to the coming generations.

5.2 *Sutra*'s meanings and uses in Palestine

The term *Sutra* literally translates in Arabic as: a cover, a shield, a wall or a fence built around a roof. Other meanings for this term relate to chastity, honesty and righteousness (Dar Al-mashriq, 1986). In Islam, *Allah* (God) is the ultimate *sater* (derived from the same root as *Sutra*), meaning the protector of all people. When used in conversation relating to a daily activity that leads to *Sutra*, it signifies securing the sustenance and survival of the person or the family. It expresses a means of action embedded in, and taken by, individuals and communities in order to motivate them to do useful deeds to secure their livelihood. Participants expressed this principle in their conversations with me and their actions which I observed. They felt that olive growing done for *Sutra* leads to fulfilling multiple purposes and meanings, and that it provides positive health for individuals and families.

5.3 *Sutra* as Doing for Well-being

Participants told me that the olive tree provides for many of the basic needs of their families. People here pickle the olives and eat them with most meals in the morning, noon and evening. They press the olives for oil, which is used in most dishes, savoury and sweet. In the past, before the widespread use of gas, olive oil was used to light lamps. Some drink a cup of olive oil in the morning to give them energy to carry out the day's tasks. The proverb says: "If you eat olive oil you will be strong enough to knock over a wall" – a saying that children are taught to encourage them to consume it. Some use the oil to enrich and treat hair and skin. The olive tree leaves are brewed for medicinal uses for humans and animals. The wood is used to make tools and souvenirs. The pips and the waste products from pressing olives are used to make soap, and are made into organic fertilisers and fuel. The olive growing families I talked to during field visits told me that in a good year they sell the oil and olives they do not use to families who do not own land or grow olives. It is important to state that participant families reported that olive growing does not make families rich, and that what they produce is often just enough to feed the family. Only one of the four main participant families in this study relied on farming as their main means of income generation. Abu A'ttallah said: "What we earn is maybe enough for the things we eat. The earnings we take from the land often return to it." He was referring to the resources spent on maintaining the land and trees and on the picking, planting and pressing of the olives.

In addition to the basic physical needs, *Sutra* through olive growing provides emotional wellness, dignity and social protection. The tasks related to olive growing, such as picking, ploughing and pruning, were described by participants as actions that induce calmness and a meditative state of mind. As Abu A'ttallah explained: "Working the land and looking after the olive tree is a pleasure for me. There's a feeling of calm, you understand? It often gives me a mental escape. When I focus on

the task in hand I stop thinking about anything, not about food, or about a drink, nothing.” In addition to this immediate or acute state of emotional wellness, olive growing as *Sutra* gives the family longer-term emotional and social benefits. It is linked to feelings of security and self-confidence, as the family can provide for the needs of its members by growing olives. Abu Nedal told me: “When you have land and olive trees you are respected in the community. You have dignity.” Just like a shield or a fence, which separates the house from other houses and protects it from evildoers, olive growing for *Sutra* leads to autonomy and self-reliance as the family will not need others to help them fulfil their basic household requirements. As a result they feel self-respect and dignity. The family is esteemed by others as it can provide for itself and may even be able to do that for others, either by selling olive products or by allowing those without land to glean the fruit remaining on the trees after the harvest. More on the inter-communal aspect of olive growing will be discussed in the following chapters. However, *Sutra* is one of the essential means of believing and acting among the *fallahi* families I visited. They base their relationships to each other in Palestine on this principle, among others rooted in their culture. *Sutra*’s meanings and functions relate to the term *fallahin*, which describes land-based, peasant and farming ways of life. The noun *fallah/a*, means a person who tills the land, or one who survives and betters her own, and her society’s, circumstances in order to become self-reliant (Dar Al-mashriq, 1986).

Since the Israeli invasion and military occupation of the West Bank in 1967, and the increase in land grab and in colonies on indigenous Palestinian land, *Sutra* in olive growing had acquired new meanings. Participant families felt that in working the land and growing the hardy and long-living olive, they protect their land from confiscation, and therefore farming olives conveyed a new resistive identity. Abu A’ttallah told me: “The land you dig will pray for you, but the land you abandon will place a curse on you,” relaying a spiritual dimension to growing olives in these terraced hills of Palestine. The olive tree is known to live for hundreds and even thousands of years, needing minimal care and irrigation, and as a result of land segregation and colonisation, communities had begun to plant more olives to protect their land from confiscation (Qumsiyeh, 2011; Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014). The olive tree and growing olives came to be symbols of persistence, of staying put on the land and of resistance to violations against land and trees. Moreover, olive growing families had acquired a new role in society as land protectors and resisters against colonisation and land segregation. The theme of resistance, or the daily acts of *Sumud*, will be expanded on in chapter Seven. It is, however, highlighted here to illustrate that the motivator for action of *Sutra* in olive growing is linked to collective political and spiritual meanings and roles for the Palestinian olive farming communities I met during field visits. It is a unique element of daily activities and offers fresh insights into our conceptualisation of those activities for occupational therapy and occupational science theory and practice, as discussed below.

5.3.1 *Sutra* as a specific evidence to the relationship between Doing and Being

At face value, the actions of *Sutra* relating to farming olives might seem to correlate with the relationship between the aforementioned concepts: Doing – a dimension of meaningful daily activity linked to survival and security; and Being – a second factor of occupations associated with meaning and fulfilment of roles in the community (Wilcock, 2006). According to Wilcock (2006) occupations as Doing for Well-being –representing the interaction between the aforementioned dimensions - are considered to fulfil purposes such as providing food, shelter and income, and meanings relating to occupational roles people fulfil within their community. There is a mutual relationship between the

acts and the feelings about them, which causes those who engage in the activity to feel well, and to express individual, social and political meanings and functions (Wilcock, 2006; Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). This was indeed the case for olive growing done by the families I met, observed and talked to in the West Bank. They grow olives to provide for the physical, emotional, social and political needs of their families and communities. They participate in this activity as it makes them feel well and dignified. More specific and unique to their historical and political context, olive growing in Palestine under military occupation, however, has additional political and spiritual meanings and roles for families here.

5.3.2 *Sutra* as an expression of multiple purposes and meanings

For an activity to be considered an occupation in occupational therapy literature and practice, it should have a purpose, e.g. caring for self, working, or recreation. It is also thought to have a subjective meaning for individuals, e.g. fulfilling a carer's role, or being a learner/student (Hammell, 2015). This categorisation is based on able-bodied and Eurocentric ideas of prioritising self-care and economically productive activities over other types of activities, such as those done for spiritual meanings and purposes (Hammell, 2004). This "triad of privileged occupations [self-care, work and leisure] has only partial resonance with the experience of people whose lives have been disrupted, for example by impairment of illness, war, unemployment, bereavement or geographic dislocation" as Hammell stated (2004, p. 297). I add to this list of disruptions: military occupation and land colonisation, and structures and policies of segregation that disrupt the daily lives of families, as is the case for olive growers in Palestine. They are disrupted by policies and practices that lead to segregating land from its owners, land confiscations, and violence against trees and people. Unlike the understanding of occupation in mainstream thought, whereby it fulfils a single type of purpose and role, e.g. providing food or income, olive growing was observed to hold multiple purposes and meanings for each family. Observations and conversations during field work, as shown above, showed that olive growing can satisfy multiple purposes: food, fuel, medicinal, hygiene, tools and fertilising. It was observed that during harvest and planting seasons communities gather to work, eat, sing and rest in the groves (see chapter section 6.1 in chapter Six for an example of a song related to olive growing). During other times of the year, olive groves are used for picnics, hosting guests and for exploration and play for children. Growing olives expresses a diversity of meanings and roles that span the emotional, social, political and spiritual spheres of human experience.

It has been suggested that instead of this division of the three types of occupation, it might be beneficial to consider occupations as meeting 'dimensions of meaning' (Hammell, 2004). These included four dimensions that are 'intrinsic' to the individual and should fulfil internal or individual needs such as self-maintenance, expression and fulfilment (Hammell, 2004). Based on evidence from studies grounded in 'client-centred' values and spanning diverse subjective experiences from around the world, Hammell (2009) identified alternative categories of occupations that address these 'intrinsic' meanings. These were presented as four different types of activities that included: restorative occupations, daily activities done for Belonging and contributing to others, those that are done for engagement in Doing, and those activities that relate to continuity of the past and hope for the future. Although the collective nature of human needs had been acknowledged here, this conceptualisation remains individualistic and based on the experience of occupational therapy clients who have experienced a physical or mental disability. Moreover, the notion of meaning is individualistic as it often addresses a person's subjective experience as separate from other

individuals or their environment (Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry, 2006). This limits the applicability of these dimensions, or categories of doing, in a collectivist society such as in the West Bank of Palestine. In particular its relevance is limited when describing the daily lives of olive growing communities who have not been diagnosed with a disability as those studied in Hammell's research. In such communities, personal meanings are not necessarily separate from those of the family or the community, such as the spiritual significance and symbols that are expressed in the actions related to farming olives, and are mainly conveyed in collective terms.

This holism between the internal and external, or the individual and social meanings, was reported in the study of women engaging in craft production in Palestine (Frank, 1996). In this research it was concluded that the preservation of crafts by women had personal and cultural survival functions for the community, who were fighting for their livelihood and against patriarchal and military oppression. As in other studies with indigenous communities experiencing land colonisation or similar contextual barriers to their daily activities, such as native communities in the North-West USA reported by Frank (2011), for olive farmers the boundaries between their internal subjective experience and their place or external realities seem to be less defined than what is often described in mainstream occupational science literature about the division between the person and their environment. For olive growers I met, Belonging and attachment to their place and their context is integrally embedded into their identity and their daily activities. This also resembles the findings of a study on turf-cutting in Ireland, a nation that has also experienced colonialism and changes to their daily occupations as a result; turf-cutting was judged to be a meaningful daily activity found to be driven by more than just practical concerns; researchers observed that cutting turf expressed tradition, and the preservation and transmission of cultural values and identities (McGareth and Mcgonagle, 2016). Based on these findings and on my observations, it appears that what was beneficial for the family or the community of olive farmers was also beneficial for the individual. The needs of the family, the local community and the general Palestinian population were the priority and they were not expressed as different from the needs of the individual member. The collective protection, dignity and well-being were the priorities when *Sutra*, as a medium for action, was expressed through olive farming. Moreover, participant families' understanding of well-being was unique to their circumstances, as analysed in the next section.

5.4 *Sutra* for Well-being

Olive farming families I met told me about how they perceive olive growing for *Sutra* as fulfilling diverse needs, purposes and meanings, and leads to positive health and well-being. I understood their conceptualisation of their well-being to express a balancing act between all spheres of their experiences, but that didn't mean that for some this balancing act was easy to achieve. In this section I will relate the experience of farming olives for *Sutra* and well-being to the concept of occupational balance, the specific conceptualisation of Palestinian olive framers' well-being, and how it was affected as a result of an occupational imbalance caused by contextual factors.

5.4.1 Occupational balance

Most participants I met were observed to have other paid occupations in addition to farming olives, or if they worked in agriculture as their main paid occupation they cultivated other fruit and vegetables on their land. Prior to Um Weehab's retirement from teaching, she used to work on the land during evenings and holidays. She would fulfil the roles of mother, wife and teacher, and now she was also a grandmother. Um Weehab had recently added a new daily occupation that fitted in with her other work and provided her with personal and collective meanings and positive impacts on her and her community's wellness: she was acting as a community leader in the newly founded seed library – described in chapter Seven section 7.9.2 – where she was teaching young people and teachers how to conserve native varieties of vegetable and fruit seeds. About the relation between olive growing and his well-being, Abu Kamal explained how growing olives gave him a sense of “natural wellness” and that it matched, or balanced with, his other activities and capacities, which in his case included working as a respected professional and his familial roles as a father and a husband. Abu A'ttallah said he was satisfied with working six hours a day on his land. The rest of the day he dedicated to caring for his son, or visiting family.

An activity is considered an occupation if it is found to lead to positive or negative well-being (Wilcock, 2006). Well-being is defined in critical occupational therapy literature as the “overall contentment” or “perceived state of harmony” between the biological, emotional, social and political spheres of human experience (Hammell, 2009, p. 108). Olive growing is an occupation that affects people's wellness or quality of life, and just like other land-based activities in other global contexts it was found to have a restorative and healing nature. For example, Inuit communities in Canada who had experienced long-term consequences of settler colonisation, found healing through traditional occupations, such as hunting (Thibeault, 2002). The study of turf-cutting mentioned above also reported the ‘restorative nature’ of this traditional and collective activity (McGarth and Mcgonagle, 2016). In contrast to traditional occupational therapy and occupational science categorisation of daily occupations and their links to each other and to health and well-being, olive growing as an occupation for *Sutra* is not separated from the other tasks and roles a person has to fulfil. Moreover, it is found to be well coordinated and balanced with other actions and functions participants accomplish in the family or in society, and as a result of this it has positive impacts on their well-being.

The concept of balance between activities, for Hammell (2004, p. 303), refers to a “harmony” between the purposes, or utility of the activity, and the meanings it expresses. For Hammell (2004, p. 303), the right balance should be struck between “choice, purpose, meaning and self-worth” as they are experienced in everyday activities. This harmony through doing an activity is described as ‘occupational balance’ and is usually achieved by not doing too much or too little of one type of activity, or when humans use just the right combination of sensory-motor, mental or social capacities (Wilcock, 2006). Occupational balance implies not being over-occupied or under-occupied, resulting in positive impact on wellness and health (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). Olive farming individuals and communities I met demonstrated a specific understanding of this harmony that leads to well-being, and expresses the Being (well) dimension of occupations.

5.4.2 *Al-a'fya* as well-being

In Palestine this state of balance is named *Al-a'fya* - a term that encompasses more than health or lack of disease. It has more of a social and a spiritual meaning than the word used to describe health. *Seha* (the word that signifies health in Arabic) means a correct bodily state and is a term that is exchanged when people drink and eat together, or when they visit those who suffer an illness. It implies and expresses a wish for someone to attain a state of mental and physical wellness. *Al-a'fya*, on the other hand, refers to healing from diseases, and more importantly it includes other meanings, such as doing righteous deeds that cause the person to be perceived as good. The verb of the root *a'fya* (from which *Al-a'fya* is derived) signifies giving, forgiving of sins, fixing corruption, doing good and chastity (Dar Al-Mashriq, 1986). It is often linked to feelings of well-being associated with getting involved in adequate, socially sanctioned and satisfying work. When people visit each other or when they meet family members, friends or strangers who are engaged in a task such as cleaning the house, making food or fixing something, they greet them with the saying: "May Allah provide you with *Al-a'fya*." *Al-a'fya* relates to *Sutra* in that it implies doing something that is good for the individual and her community and harmonises physical, mental, economic, social and spiritual values and deeds. The term suggests equal worth for all those spheres. This concept is not the same as the phrase 'work-life balance', which is often cited in media or in governmental and corporate propaganda in the West as what people need to aspire to (Clouston, 2014). A study found that occupational therapists experience occupational imbalance due to the demands of their job, based on a dichotomy between paid work and other occupations, the 'social hegemony' of paid work and the culture of taking personal responsibility for performance measured by neoliberal standards – all of which are values embedded in the phrase 'work-life balance' (Clouston, 2014). This term, therefore, gives priority to doing paid occupations for the purpose of producing monetary capital. Furthermore, it is based on the assumption that there are only two types of occupations: paid employment, and the rest of the rich array of human activities grouped under the second category, described as 'life'.

An alternative to this reductionist understanding is the conceptualisation of harmony between personal and communal aspects of well-being achieved through traditional activity, as reported in other global cases. Other indigenous communities have a unique understanding of health and wellness that encompass not only spirituality and cultural identity, but also harmony with the natural environment. For example, in an exploration of Maori health and occupations in New Zealand, Hopkirk and Wilson (2014) found that communities identified connections to, and being part of, the natural environment as essential to sustain and meet their wellness needs. This harmony between the personal and the natural environments was also observed among families who participated in this study in Palestine. When people reported their feelings about growing olives for *Sutra* they associated them with land, trees, soil and other features of the natural surroundings. Abu Kamal told me:

In order for me and my family to achieve the natural balance for our personality, we work in the land and we plant and grow olives. The relationship with the olive tree was transferred to us in natural succession from the previous generation. I believe that the environment and geography are inherited by us. There is a natural relationship between the land and the human being, because the human body is made of the same elements the soil is made of.

More on this connectedness and Belonging to land, nature and other-than human communities will be discussed in the next chapter. It is briefly discussed here because of its contribution to achieving harmony between individuals and nature, and how it leads to Being well through Doing, or *Al-a'fya*. Similar conceptualisations of well-being are increasingly being reported elsewhere in studies with indigenous communities which experience colonisation and environmental degradation in all corners of the world: from Ireland to North America, and to Japan and New Zealand (McGareth and Mcgonagle, 2016; Frank, 2011; Aoyama, 2012; Hopkirk and Wilson, 2014). The experience of olive growing families in the West Bank of Palestine offers further evidence for the need of human societies to feel harmony with the natural environment through what they do.

5.4.3 Occupational imbalance

Occupational imbalance results, as stated in the literature, from contextual factors such as economic and labour policy, or any other political, social or cultural stressors (Wilcock, 2006; Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). For the Inuit in Canada, colonisation, governmental policy and climatic conditions caused changes in the occupational balance between those traditional activities they wanted to engage in, such as gathering and hunting for food, and those that were forced on them such as permanent settlement and Western education. This caused many negative health consequences for the community, for example obesity and addictions (Thibeault, 2002). For olive farming families I met, the historical and political processes of land colonisation and the spread of a globalised neoliberal economy have led members of families either to not find adequate and healthy activities to do, or to having to be engaged in demanding occupations at the same time without much choice. Nedal, for example, works in construction in Israel during the day, and in his family's land and barber shop in the evenings and weekends. He is not able to spend enough time with his family or friends, and for him occupational harmony, or *Al-a'fya* is hard to achieve. Nedal often expressed to me his shame that he works in Israel, and his frustration he could not find other paid work. Nedal was also frustrated that he was not able to get involved in community work as he used to. His father, Abu Nedal, told me that as a result of the first *Intifada* (uprising), when schools closed for long periods of time due to curfews and violence, he convinced Nedal to go to work rather than continue his studies, as the family needed extra income.

Nedal said:

I can't leave the land, I can't leave my job, but the thing that pains me inside is that I work in Israel. You plant a tree to pick the fruit, and if you look after it your children can eat from it. But when I work [in Israel], who eats my fruit? Our brothers the Israelis. The Israelis I work for don't appreciate my work. My boss always makes me feel inferior, that I am an Arab, and he is an Israeli, always and everywhere. When I work for them, nobody praises me for achieving this work. For example, now I plant and I want to feed the people of Beit-al-Nada [the nearest market town], and the people of Beit-al-Nada will say that person planted it and his produce is good. But when I work in building homes for Israelis, they don't tell me 'You the Palestinian, your work is good', they will say to my Israeli boss that his work is good. Practically I am only a saw or a hammer, if I get sick and stay in my home, nobody cares. I will be replaced.

For Nedal this frustration and shame result from the disconnection between what he wishes to do and what he feels he needs to do in reality. He does not, however, feel the same frustration and

shame about olive growing, which he considers an occupation of necessity that he is proud he can still engage in. This was also found among land-based communities in Ireland. Traditional turf-cutting was observed to be an essential and ubiquitous part of life in the countryside, which was “seen as an occupation of necessity rather than an occupation of choice that people felt positive about” (McGareth and Mcgonagle, 2016, p. 312). Despite the consequences of the imbalance between his various activities and capabilities, for Nedal olive growing meant he could provide *Sutra* and *Al-a’fya* for himself, his family and his community. He considered it as an indispensable way of life that brought together all elements of his identity in equal measure: the familial, social, spiritual, historical, cultural and political. His father, Abu Nedal, who returned to his village after decades living in the nearby town where he was involved in several social and political activities, told me as quoted in chapter Four: “I returned because this is my fate, my life, and there’s danger in the village. I don’t have a future in Beit-al-nada [the nearby town], my future is here, I have my family and house here, in my land.” He was referring to the ongoing land grab his village suffers, caused by the nearby colonies, and to the almost daily violence the villagers face from settler-colonisers and the army.

Nedal stated:

Because I was born into a family of *fallahin*, I have to continue with the same lifestyle. The military occupation played a role in the story of work for us here. It was a cause of people leaving their land, and people got greedy for salaries. Even university students left their studies for work. I know a man whose father died, and because he works inside the Green Line [in Israel], he has neglected the trees. Others hire workers to maintain the land for them.

When asked about possible alternatives to farming olives that her family could choose, Nada told me: “We are not placed in circumstances in which we have an option, and we cannot be defeated. The other option we have is to be defeated. I don’t know other choices we can take. Maybe the alternative could be to leave the country, or to provide for our children in another place.”

Olive farming families I met, in engaging in their daily activities for *Sutra*, shed a unique light on the conceptualisation of occupation cited in mainstream occupational therapy and occupational science theory. In such works, doing an occupation is usually associated with individual choice, and it is assumed that there is a personal agency – separated from the environment – at work (Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry, 2006). However, communities in the West Bank reported that they had no choice but to continue with this traditional way of life. If there was a choice for them, then it was taken collectively under adverse circumstances in order to provide for their livelihood, and to protect their families, communities and their dignity. They had no choice but to be well through doing olive growing, in order to express the diverse meanings and roles they acquired from previous generations, and which they were fighting to preserve. This, for them, was a harmonious diversity of functions that spanned all spheres of their existence: the personal, familial, economic, social, spiritual and political. In that sense they further our understanding of occupation, occupational balance and imbalance by offering us their special way of doing through the concept of *Sutra*, and its positive consequences on individual and collective occupational harmony, termed here as *Al-a’fya*.

5.5 *Sutra* as an expression of a non-binary human-environment relationship

Alternative theorisation of occupation and occupational balance have been attempted by critical thinkers in the field of occupational science, adopting an occupational justice prism. They offer a critique of Eurocentric understandings of key concepts that has been helpful in going beyond the dualistic notions of people and their environment dominant in theory and practice. Some scholars have critiqued the term occupation as a characteristic of the person – an individual who is separate from her surroundings, be it human or other than human. Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry (2006, p. 85) suggested the term “occupational domain” to counter the reductionist and individualistic definition of occupation in the literature. They defined it as a process located at the level of the situation rather than the person. They stressed that this understanding of occupation is highly contextualised and inclusive of social groups, processes and history. Their insights on how the process of being engaged in a meaningful activity brings balance or well-being, links to what they called a ‘transactional’ relationship between humans and their environment. For them, the links between humans, their context – place and time – and the activity is not a mere ‘interaction’ but a mutual relationship “through which human beings, as organisms-in-environment-as-a-whole, function in their complex totality” (Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry, 2006, p. 83). This transaction implies that there is no hierarchy between those elements, that humans are part of their environment and that they influence it and are influenced by it through engaging in daily actions in a mutual relationship.

This rejection of the dominant dualism in occupational therapy theory has been articulated by other critical thinkers in occupational science. Frank (2011) discussed this transactional relationship between occupation and place within indigenous cultures in the Southwest of the United States of America. Frank, like Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry before her, referred to place as it was conceptualised by John Dewey, the pragmatist philosopher who defined place or site as a space where culture evolves through people’s actions. The concept of place implies more than just the geographical location and encompasses social, cultural and political meanings, according to this understanding (Frank, 2011). This, Frank explained, is especially relevant to native societies who, as a result of European settler colonialism, have suffered land alienation and its negative consequences on their health and well-being. The transactional relationship for those communities occurs between the place, site or society, and the individuals. In her review of studies on the consequences of settler colonialism on indigenous health and well-being in the Southwest of the USA, Frank (2011, p. 3) proposed “viewing occupations as the sites within Deweyan situations where cultures undergo transformation through the actual doing of things”. Indigenous tribes and individuals who were studied in the studies reviewed by Frank, were “thoroughly shaped by and through the possibilities of his or her language, family, [and] community” (Frank, 2011, p. 6).

This strong mutual association between place, humans and occupations was commented on by Kantartz and Molineux (2012). They provided an alternative conceptualisation of the relationship between humans and their context through their occupation, to that dominant in the English language literature of occupational science. Their evidence came from Kantartz’s exploration of the meaning of occupation in a Greek town. Occupation was described as a process that is purposeful, but its purposes “may be enfolded, interwoven, emergent and complex” (Kantartz and Molineux, 2012, p. 47). Similar to the analysis of my observations in Palestine, they stated that occupations in Greece “tend to arise as a vehicle for significant aspects of life such as sustaining oneself and one’s community” (Kantartz and Molineux, 2012, p. 47). Kantartz and Molineux related this understanding of daily activity to the unique historical and political context of communities living in a specific location in a certain time in history. They based their argument on the concept of activity

proposed by the sociologist Anthony Giddens (Kantartz and Molineux, 2012). He offered an understanding of activity as something that emerges as a continuation between spatial and temporal, and objective and subjective levels, of human action (Kantartz and Molineux, 2012).

5.5.1 A unique relationship with context

This mutual association between place and time, and the external and the internal elements of human experience through action, is illustrated in the experience of Palestinian olive farming families in a particular form of relationship. The historical and political events relating to land colonisation and segregation of communities have played a key role in people's experiences of their daily lives. As a result of ongoing settler colonialism and policies of separation, Palestinian communities experienced dispossession, violence and other economic and social adversities that impacted on their daily realities (Said, 2003). However, this did not stop them from utilising their collective agencies. They have been active survivors of oppressive policies and practices, who through doing this essential activity of farming olives, which leads to positive wellness, added a new layer to their roles. Farming olives came to express a resistive identity and motivation to take part in occupations that sustained their survival, which highlighted the social and political significance of such an act. Palestinian, Arab and Israeli thinkers have theorised the daily lives of families and groups here as a social phenomenon that is highly contextual; they have stated that realities are created by communities themselves who are living in specific historical, social and political circumstances; Palestinian and Israeli scholars studying communities' daily life under military occupation concluded that people make their own destinies through their doing, despite the human-made adversities forced on them, representing a unique 'Palestinian condition' (Said, 1999; 2000; 2003; Rosenfeld, 2004; Zureik, 1977; 2016; Sayigh, 1979).

Displaced Palestinian peasants were studied by Sayigh (1979), who analysed the historical context of their everyday lives in a refugee camp in Lebanon. Her participants lived in land-based and self-sufficient communities before their displacement during the ethnic cleansing of 1948. She pointed to a historical and political consciousness that led to embedding strong links to land and rural ways of life among families and individuals who participated in her research. This inherited awareness, which led to intentionally adopting the Doing for Well-being aspect of daily life, or *Sutra*, was evident in my conversation with olive growing families. It was found to be an enabler to their continuation of doing olive farming to maintain their livelihood and their dignity through *Sutra*. Rosenfeld (2004), an Israeli scholar, analysed case studies of refugee families in the oPt – most of whom were self-reliant *fallahi* communities before the *Nakba* – in regards to their daily occupations, such as wage labour, education and political activism. Her study included quantitative and qualitative data that was contextually analysed and was interpreted on the basis of Marxist theory. She provided helpful historical evidence of stories of refugees uprooted from olive growing villages. The study pointed to a past of dislocation and destruction, and an ongoing 'underdevelopment' and oppression: conditions that may be expected to lead to social ills such as crime, educational failings and despair (Rosenfeld, 2004). The study aimed to make sense of the processes that led to a surprising situation: the development of social and political resources despite this history. Rosenfeld (2004) provided a historical analysis to illustrate the transformations in the fields of education, professional progress and political organisation in families she studied, which were achieved despite the hardships they lived with. Both researchers, Sayigh and Rosenfeld, theorised families' participation in daily activities as being strongly associated with an awareness rooted in history and in the power dynamics in their

society. This consciousness enabled them to go on Being well through doing in order to create their own realities, rather than be passive victims of their circumstances. This intentional aspect of the daily occupation of olive farming, termed 'occupational consciousness, will be expanded on in chapters Seven and Eight.

The specific phases of Palestinian history are particularly relevant to the study of society, whereby each stage typified a unique communal experience (Zureik, 1977). The pre-1948 period was characterised by settler-colonialism, peasant land alienation, class transformation from self-reliant peasantry to controlled proletariat, and the imbalanced power relationships between colonialists and the colonised; while the post-1948 era, when Palestinians became a minority in their own land, resulted in experiences common to minority social identities (Zureik, 1977). Three key concepts were offered by Zureik (2016) to help highlight how Palestinians, wherever they are, go about their daily lives: liminality, colonialism and resistance. Liminality was defined as "the ability to shuttle between contrasting worlds of experience, [and] lies at the heart of these studies that attempt to decode the ways that the colonised and the marginalised cope and make sense of their everyday life" (Zureik, 2016, p. 20). Resistance is another analytical term helpful in understanding everyday lives of Palestinians, and it will be discussed further in chapter Seven and Eight. Both liminality and resistance are key to identifying a certain experience that unified a people through their collective historical and political circumstances, which were helpful in shedding light on everyday lives of olive farmers and how they can be interpreted.

Palestinian Doing for Well-being, or *Sutra*, is seen as multiple, complex, secular (related to the everyday realities of people) and inter-subjective within a historical and personal contexts (Said, 1999). With his style of secular interpretation of human-made realities of everyday lives from an anti-colonial, or anti-othering lens, Said attempted to "demystify everyday Palestinian life" (Bayoumi and Rubin, 2001 p. xxviii). He represented the multi-layered daily lives of Palestinians to help think of their society as living in situations in which they are an integral part of creating their realities through their everyday actions. He wished to explore these realities to confront "all efforts to do away with us politically as a people", and to demonstrate how "we had continued to exist and resist as a people" (Said, 1999, p. vii). For him the key characteristics of the Palestinian experience were "exile, dispossession, habits of expression, internal and external landscapes, stubbornness, poignancy, and heroism" (Said, 1999, p. xi). Said believed that by recognising these complexities we can realise how identities are made: by combining the personal with the collective realities, which are influencing and influenced by the acts of the community. In this way, this understanding correlates with the 'transactional' bond between people, their contexts and their occupations analysed in critical occupational science theory. However, what is unique about Palestinian communities is that they are living under ongoing conditions of colonialism, liminality and are engaged in daily forms of resistance as creative responses to these circumstances.

5.5.2 Occupational beings as integral part of their environment

Despite the seemingly unendurable factors borne out of the specific place and time, and influencing the doing of daily actions in Palestine, communities here went on to create their own destinies. Olive growers demonstrated that they were occupational beings who were actively seeking problem-solving and creative ways to orchestrate their environment through olive growing for *Sutra*. Said was specifically addressing the case of land-based peasantry, who were not passively oppressed people but "the reserve of a force building up out of a long, intense history, frustrated and angry about the

present, desperately worried about the future” (Said, 1999, p. 91). Said saw peasant communities as people who continue to go on working; their daily life is led upon a ‘resistant soil’ that they created in response to the harsh climate they live in; they did so by consistently needing ceaseless effort to persevere in their way of life. What Palestinians do in their daily lives is termed “fragmented dignity” (Said, 1999, p. 145). Said wrote: “Here are people doing their utmost to address the everyday material world with purpose and grit” (Said, 1999, p. 146).

The transactional association between the elements involved in the everyday lives of olive farmers can perhaps be described as a liminal bridging between the time (of day, season, year or period in history) and space (place / society), and the subjective – internal thought feelings and values – and the objective – external circumstances – of human realities. This interplay between those elements can be key to our understanding of olive farmers’ occupations. This mutuality was required due to settler colonialism, which led to resistance, which in turn allowed daily meaningful actions to continue in creative and self-determined ways. This in turn brought dignity, health and well-being to individuals and families. This dignity is perhaps fragmented and incomplete but, as will be seen later in this thesis, olive farmers do and live in a constant process of emerging, or Becoming, aimed at collective self-determination. This dignity, which is achieved through Doing and Being, or *Sutra*, leads to an occupational harmony, of *Al-a’fya*, for olive growers in the West Bank.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that *Sutra*, as a means and principle for action, motivates olive growing communities to continue to engage in this most essential and historic of daily activities. They persisted with this occupation despite the harsh conditions imposed by the military occupation, and the policies of segregation and settler colonialism. *Sutra*, as a principle of action for farming olives which is based on values of collective and multidimensional well-being, corresponds with the notion of Doing for Well-being cited in occupational therapy and occupational science literature. However, it was found to challenge mainstream Eurocentric conceptualisations of occupation, occupational balance and well-being. This chapter showed how *Sutra* furthers these understandings from a unique Palestinian lens. It demonstrated how doing olive growing for *Sutra* signifies the expression of a diverse range of purposes, meanings and roles for individuals and families in the West Bank. This included the biological, emotional, social, political and spiritual aspects of human experience. I hoped to illustrate in this chapter an interpretation and a conceptualisation founded on de-colonial philosophy that challenged individualistic, binary and dominant Western thought in the disciplines of occupational therapy and occupational science. The daily lives of olive growing families in Palestine provide an empirical example of how meaningful daily activities can lead to positive, harmonious experience which combines all the aspects of human experience that sustain livelihood, meaning and identity.

In the next chapter the concept of *A’wna*, another term described by participants in this study as a principle of action, will be analysed in relation to occupational therapy and occupational science’s works through the lens of de-colonial theory. *Sutra*, *A’wna* and *Sumud* – the topic of the seventh chapter – are hoped to advance our understanding and use of occupation as a transformative concept for marginalised communities in Palestine and elsewhere in the world. This latter point will be the subject of chapter Eight, in which those intentional, relational and resistive elements of the collective occupation of olive growing will be synthesised as Everyday Forms of Resistance, which

have implications for the fields of occupational science, occupational therapy, and other disciplines and communities of praxis.

Table 4 – A summary of the theme of *Sutra*

Theme / Principle of action	Sub-themes/Constituent values	An example of how it manifested in action	An example of how participants articulated the principle in their own voice
<p><i>Sutra</i></p> <p>Doing for Well-being</p>	<p>Achieving purpose and meaning in all spheres of experience: physical / sensory / motor, cognitive, emotional, social, spiritual (expressing the relationship between the Doing and Being dimensions of occupations)</p> <p>Al-a'fya: harmonious balance in which everyday activities engaged in enable the full exercise of human capacities</p> <p>Humans as occupational beings are an integral part of their environment including the more than human/ natural elements</p>	<p>Abu Kamal and his siblings have been growing olives since they were young despite not having their own land. They did it because they needed some subsistence as they were poor and living in a refugee camp, but olive growing also provided other meanings for them: it was a positive contribution to their health and well-being, including the social and political aspects of wellness.</p>	<p>Abu Nedal: "The olive tree is an essential tree for us. In addition to being a holy tree from a religious point of view, it is also a tree that gives us <i>Sutra</i>: it secures food, fuel and income. It conserves the land, and it expresses a collective identity for Palestinians by helping in resisting the settlements and the military occupation. It signifies that people are ready to fight for their lives."</p>

Chapter Six: olive growing for *A'wna* / Doing for Belonging

“The image of a path is apt because it is by following a path, created and maintained by generations of walking feet, that some of the dangers of the surrounding forests or mountains or marshes may be avoided. The path is tradition handed down by instructions, example and commentary.” (Berger, 1979, p. xviii)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the second theme of this study – *A'wna* or Doing for Belonging - will be discussed, based on analysing segments of the information gathered during field visits that highlighted the Arabic term, and descriptions and stories that explained it (see examples in table 5 at the end of this chapter). This chapter presents my intercultural translation of this concept from the daily lives of olive farming families into the field of occupational science – a process that was guided by my knowledge of occupational science literature and de-colonial ideas. I will begin with some of my observations from the field, including some material from interview transcripts that represent examples of this second principle of the occupation of olive farming: *A'wna*. In the second section of this chapter, *A'wna* as the collaborative aspect of doing olive growing will be defined, followed by relating it to the concept of Belonging in occupational therapy and occupational science literature. The theory regarding Belonging will be critiqued from occupational justice and de-colonial lenses. Next, *A'wna* as a principle for action is shown to be based on values of Belonging to more-than-human communities, *A'wna* as shaped by a historic and multi-generational bond, and finally *A'wna* as informed by inter-communal alliances, will be discussed. The final section of this chapter will relate the term *A'wna* to the systemic attempt to deny access to, and opportunities for, the activity of olive growing, described as occupational apartheid.

What connects us to the land as a family is our *fallahi* roots. Before their displacement, our parents owned vast lands, and large parts of them were in the hilly areas, and in common with other hilly areas of Palestine, it was planted with olives. After the *Nakba*, an Israeli settlement was built on the land. We loved the olives since we were small, even after our parents were forced to leave our ancestral village. When we were children living in the refugee camp in town, we had no land and we lived in tents. During the olive harvest season, because of the poverty we lived in, we went gleaning to gather unharvested fruit from the trees. Part of the olive picking period we call here in Palestine, *tasyeef*, a word which means that families who own land and trees leave some of the fruit on the trees, and allow those without land to pick them. It is an ancient tradition that continues to this day. My siblings and I used to walk to the *wadi* nearest to the camp to pick olives. One year we gathered enough fruit to produce two full containers of oil [equivalent to 14 litres], and this is something I will never forget. It was a big achievement as we had a large family and needed from six to eight containers of oil a year. We consumed a lot of it. We used to even drink the oil. Our relationship with the olive began in this way. Our dream was that when we would grow up and save money we wanted to buy land, and this actually happened several years ago. My siblings and I were educated, and acquired qualifications in respectable professions that earned us some money. We bought some terraces in that same *wadi* we used to glean olives from. We began to look after this land and we planted other things in it as well. We use the fruit and other produce collectively as an extended

family and we donate the rest for the needy in the camp. It is an adventure to buy land in this part of the world, especially here in Area C. This area is controlled by the Israeli military occupation and all of the farming land here is under threat of expropriation.

This was the story Abu Kamal told me about his family's bond with the land and with olive cultivation which summarises the theme of *A'wna* well.

6.2 *A'wna's* meanings and uses in Palestine

A'wna is a noun derived from the root '*a'wana*' in Arabic. One key meaning of this word relates to giving and receiving assistance, and to cooperation between communities. *A'wna* is also associated with an elder woman who is experienced and wise, and who acquired her knowledge through doing activities and using her skills (Dar Al Mashriq, 1986). When it is used in conversation in Palestine, the term *A'wna* means collaboration founded on solidarity with family, village and community – including land, trees and animals (Al-Batma, 2012). *A'wna's* ubiquitous nature in Palestinian culture is exemplified in its use in poetry and song, some of which I heard being sung in the groves during planting and picking olives. For example, '*dal a'wna*' [a call for *A'wna*] is a folkloric genre of song performed to a melody that people dance *dabke* to. *Dabke* is a group dance often performed at weddings and other important celebrations. Women and men hold hands in a semi-circle while moving their legs and feet in different routines, and while circling around the centre of the yard or dance hall at varying speeds.

The lyrics to one *dal a'wna* song go as follows:

Calling you all to gather and help, for olive is the best our country can offer

Calling you all to gather and help, for my country's olive is the tastiest

Calling you all to gather and help, for my country's olives and almonds

And sage and do not forget the *za'tar* [a local variety of wild thyme]

And dough balls when they rise and ready

Their flavour is the best with olive oil

(Al-Batma, 2012, p. 37, my translation).

6.3 *A'wna* as Doing for Belonging

Adding more on the collaborative aspect of the occupation of olive farming, Abu Kamal told me:

You know, we Palestinians are a hospitable nation. We like inviting friends and neighbours to our homes. When we didn't own any land in the *wadi*, we invited people to our apartment, and in here you can see the space is limited. Palestinian families are large families and when they gather they need a large space. Now we started inviting our friends to our land, so this is a form of influence on social relations.

For Nada, Abu Kamal and their family the olive grove and the doing of the activities of olive growing became harnessers of social relationships and the community's collective wellness. Abu Weehab told me about the social aspects of olive growing for him, his wife Um Weehab and their family:

There are many social aspects to this activity. For example, when I finish picking my grove, I will help my brother, then I will work with my cousin who hasn't yet finished harvesting all his trees. Not for money or for any other benefits, but for something we call *A'wna* [cooperation]. It creates a good social atmosphere between people. If someone needs to rebuild a drystone wall, his relatives and friends will help him. This collaboration is very essential.

The concept of *A'wna* implies a collaboration, which is based on a way of life that necessitates a relationship of solidarity within and between the family, the village, society, the nation and between different global groups. It requires a strong historic bond between generations and between human communities and nature, land, trees and animals. Doing indispensable daily activities, such as those relating to farming olives, requires this means of action to be embedded in society. Families need it to enable their survival, their dignity, their identity and the strong alliances that rural communities have developed throughout their history. Moreover, *A'wna* as a way of life has survived and is still prevalent despite or perhaps because of the ongoing military occupation and settler colonialism rural communities have been experiencing since the 19th century. This motivator to doing olive growing, termed *A'wna*, will be analysed here in relation to the notion of Belonging in occupational therapy and occupational science literature, which has two main aspects: firstly the connectedness people feel to their community, and secondly the contribution they make, through their participation in society, to others' well-being (Hammell, 2004; 2014). Belonging expresses the importance of reciprocity and of relating to a network of social support, which form the basis of the skill or ability to engage in actions, and of the promotion of others' well-being through this action (Hammell, 2004). Belonging as a contribution to well-being through doing has been discussed in the literature studying collectivist societies' values, such as *Ubuntu*, which in Southern Africa means: "I belong, I participate, I share" (Hammell, 2014, p. 41). Furthermore, Hammell and Iwama (2012) defined the notion of Belonging as connectedness to land and nature. It was understood to be more important for those Global South traditions than the Doing and the Being aspects of occupation that are prioritised by modern Western thought and practices in occupational therapy (Iwama, 2006).

6.3.1 Belonging for social and political transformation

Abu Kamal's story presented at the start of this chapter, of how his family have returned to growing olives despite their expulsion from their ancestors' village and despite living in a refugee camp for the most of their lives, points to the transformative aspect of *A'wna*. For Abu Kamal's family their Belonging to their land and community, and their cooperation have led to their lives being improved socially and economically.

This dimension of Doing for Belonging was mostly avoided up until recently in occupational therapy and occupational science writing due to their dominant individualistic theorising of occupation, and the Western-centric binary logic in understanding the relationship between humans and their environment (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b). When it was addressed, the term was studied in research among individuals who sought occupational therapy services for their needs

related to their physical and mental disabilities (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b; Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). Wilcock, for example proposed her theory of the occupational nature of humans in the late 1990s, in which she suggested Doing, Being and Becoming as occupational determinants of health (Wilcock, 1998; 2006). Belonging as a motivator for doing was initially suggested to further this theory by Hammell in 2004. Since then, Wilcock has acknowledged the benefits of Belonging briefly in a paper published in 2007, after which she and Hocking (2015) co-wrote a chapter about it in the third edition of the book, *An Occupational Perspective of Health*. In it they termed Belonging as an aspect of occupation and well-being, which they described as 'belonging through doing'. They portrayed it as a universal need that spans age, gender, income and other criteria of difference. They stated:

Doing and being enable the maintenance and development of satisfying and stimulating relationships with family members and associates and within the community in which people live. Whether our doing engenders a sense of belonging is a matter of health and well-being of the whole planet, because human life is embedded within the global environment (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015, p. 232).

Doing and Being are still, for those Western thinkers, the main aspects of occupation that contribute to Belonging and well-being. Without the Doing and Being aspect, according to this definition, relationships are assumed not to be formed. Although Wilcock and Hocking acknowledged the holistic associations between humans and nature and with the global community, this conceptualisation is still limited. One issue is the claim for the universalistic and essentialist nature of Belonging. The idea that one notion fits all communities in the globe in the same way is problematic, particularly where there is not enough empirical evidence given for it beyond studies conducted with individuals who required occupational therapy services. Another concern with this analysis is its key focus on how Belonging contributes to the health and well-being of individuals, rather than pointing to the transformative social, political and spiritual functions of it. This is a role found in critical research studying marginalised groups – work that is advancing our understanding of Belonging beyond the biomedical and dualistic lens in occupational science. Such studies include those that were conducted with Global South communities: people seeking refuge, colonised native communities, and minorities all over the world (Kronenberg, Simó Algado and Pollard, 2005; Kronenberg, Pollard and Sakellariou, 2011; Sakellariou and Pollard, 2017; Frank, 2012; Hammell, 2015).

I hope that the findings of this research with olive farming families in the West Bank of Palestine will contribute evidence supporting the importance of the social and political roles of Belonging. This Doing for Belonging was observed in this study such as in the story of Abu Kamal and his family who have utilised their love and attachment to their heritage, land and olive trees to motivate them to improve their circumstance, which led to them buying land and farming olives and other produce, despite the historic and ongoing settler colonialism that aimed to divorce them from this tradition. But just as *Sutra* challenges Western-centric understanding of occupation as the relationship between the Doing and Being dimensions addressed in the previous chapter, *A'wna* extends the notion of Belonging from a special Palestinian perspective. *A'wna* among olive farming communities was found to represent an intentional and relational aspect of daily activities based on three main types of associations: that between humans and the natural environment; the historic bond between humans across generations, including ancestors; and thirdly between the different human communities.

6.4 *A'wna* as a bond between people and the 'more-than-human'

A'wna is founded on a relationship of interdependence between people and their land, trees and animals. This relationship was illustrated through metaphors used by participants in their conversations with me - e.g. describing caring for trees as if they were their own children, or relating to the olive tree as a bride being prepared for her wedding. Bilal, for example, told me about maintaining his trees using the metaphor of his beloved woman to refer to the tree:

I see the tree as being my woman whom I want to look after and make look beautiful. I want to prune it, to water it, and make it healthy and pretty. In the same way a woman or a man goes to the hairdresser who makes them look nice. For any person whose nails are long, and their hair is long, you want to trim them. And for the tree that's the same thing. How does a tree differ from a human?

Also on this relationship with the tree, Abu Weehab told me: "I tell you honestly, when I climb the tree, my mood relaxes completely, as if I am looking after my son, and this emotional bond between the tree and me is very powerful." Analogies and metaphors such as these are evidence that families here do not separate the human race from other beings with which it shares the earth. It is a connectedness that spans species, a level of Belonging beyond the human family, and has pagan spiritual origins.

This strong alliance has pre-monotheistic roots from before the advent of the Abrahamic religions. It existed prior to the establishment of Judaism, Christianity and Islam when a belief in one god, rather than a group of gods, became the norm. To enable them to make sense of natural forces influencing their lives, communities strongly related to, and identified with, their natural surroundings. They worshiped gods who provided rain and fertile soil for their crops, and others who protected them from adversities (Nashef, 2002; Masalha, 2013). One of those gods whom the Canaanites, Philistines and other native societies of pre-monotheistic Palestine believed in was *Ba'al*. He belonged to a pantheon of gods and was worshiped for his power to bring storms and rain, thereby controlling food production (Thompson, 2000; Ra'ad, 2010). Today *Ba'al* is a term used in everyday speech and refers to any grain, vegetable, nut and fruit produce that is naturally irrigated from seasonal rains.

Indigenous populations across the globe express this interconnectedness to nature and land through doing wanted and needed activities. McNeill (2016) described how Maoris' spiritual relationship to the natural environment is expressed and maintained through their everyday lives. McNeill's paper described a process of land alienation as a result of a history of colonialism which resulted in losing some of the spiritual aspects of that strong link between humans and nature. These resulted in negative impacts on occupations such as education and employment, and led to negative health consequences. However, McNeill showed how a revival of this spiritual bond between land and people provided a basis for negotiating a deal with the New Zealand government that allowed Maori communities to access their ancestral land. Whereas non-human communities are viewed in traditional occupational therapy theory as resources to be exploited (Iwama, 2006), olive growers and Maori communities consider them an integral part of the community and their destinies as mutually connected. This mutual link is essential for the maintenance of everyday activities of olive growing in the hills of southern Palestine. In these hilly areas with narrow and steep country-lanes, narrow paths between buildings in villages and towns and restrictions on building infrastructure, donkeys have become essential in helping with ploughing, and transporting tools, produce and people to and from the groves. As a result of these circumstances, people form interdependent bonds with animals, as did Nedal's grandfather, who died shortly after his donkey died because, it

was said, of his grief at losing his life-long companion. The donkey and the *fallah* share not a master-slave relationship, but one that relied on mutual connectedness that allowed the two to maintain their lives and Belonging to community and nature. Another example is the strong links farmers develop with their land, such as the story of an elder in Dar-el-shoke who decided to live in a shack on his land outside the village in order to be connected daily to soil and nature until he dies.

Palestinian traditional ways of living in the countryside are founded on a strong link to the natural environment: a relationship of love and ongoing interactions, according to Al-Batma (2012). Writing about the unique qualities of rural Palestinians, Al-Batma (herself from a local *fallahi* community in the oPt) addressed their bond with the natural environment as a relationship leading to the development of theoretical and practical expertise. This knowledge and skills provided information about periods for preparing the land and other key times in the farming calendar, such as those for picking olives. Farmers know when to expect a productive season or a good yield, and when the weather is going to settle after the winter, by watching the stars or the movement of birds (Al-Batma, 2012). For example, *fallahi* families know when the harvest season is approaching by looking at the sky. They look for a star named *eshail* which often appears at the start of autumn. This star has always been associated with the beginning of the olive picking season as it predicts the coming of the first rains, after which the summer dust is washed off the trees, and olives are harvested (Al-Batma, 2012). Communities here associate their daily and seasonal farming routines with spiritual, religious and cultural events strongly linked to natural processes. These rituals and celebrations are all linked to the months in the year and to the movement of stars and birds (more on these celebrations will be discussed in section 6.6). This way of life, and the values it is founded on, such as this important alliance with the more-than-human communities that helped in explaining daily realities, developed and was transplanted into each generation (Al-Batma, 2012). This inherited association is an essential element of the notion of *A'wna* as a means of action and motivation for farming olives, which also has a historical and a multi-generational factor that will be discussed next.

6.5 *A'wna* as an inter-generational collaboration

A'wna has an inter-generational aspect for olive growers. This was demonstrated in the aforementioned story of Abu A'ttallah who was inspired by an elder in his family to love the land, work it and become self-reliant. Nedal described the inter-generational element of olive growing when he told me: "We were brought up to see our grandparents grow olives. When the first rain came people knew it was olive harvest season – a beautiful season with memories of everyone helping and sharing food."

Nedal continued:

I have land which I inherited from my grandfather, and that wasn't planted with olive, but I planted it with olive trees. We reclaimed some other land with the help of organisations who helped us plant olives there. Another one of our plots where the spring water dried up, I planted with olives because they don't need irrigation. People ask why I didn't plant anything else that makes more profit, for example grapes? For me, there's this connection, something in the unconscious happened between me and this tree, it is a historical relationship.

The connectedness to former generations has also been noted as part of the Belonging aspect of occupations that other indigenous societies express in land-based activities. McGrath and

McGonagle (2016, p. 317) found that turf-cutting in Ireland, like olive growing in Palestine, had a “generational consciousness” element in transmitting cultural values. Hammell summarised some research evidence for this “desire to honour and remember loved ones”, which provides a motive for people in many cultures to participate in specific daily activities (Hammell, 2014, p. 43). Examples of activities through which people do this included lighting candles, giving flowers and maintaining skilful activities handed down from previous generations. In Malta, for example, people play certain musical instruments to express solidarity with ancestors (Hammell, 2014, p. 43). In the West Bank, however, the challenge for families is to continue to pass this intergenerational and historical awareness of attachment to community, land and trees to their offspring. Many of the farmers I met told me about how they are worried that “the old will die and the young will forget”, which is thought to be what Ben-Gurion – a leading Zionist who became Israel’s first prime minister – wished the policies and practices of the state to achieve (Winstanley, 2013). *Fallahi* groups believe that there is an attempt to erase their heritage and way of life by the military occupation and the ongoing colonisation of their land – a situation which I understood as an example of occupational apartheid (see section 6.7.1).

Together with the other consequences of human-made problems olive growers complain about, such as climatic changes and globalised capitalism, Israeli policies have caused an incremental degradation of ways of knowing and doing that are essential for their survival. The structural contexts causing *A’wna* as an ancestral and historic bond to degrade, are also paradoxically triggering a revival of this type of relationship between the different types of human communities. Olive farmers told me how they are frustrated by relying on the ‘big powers that be’ to protect their values, daily occupations and livelihood. Even the Palestinian Authority (PA), some of the participants in this study believed, was formed with the intention that it be used as a tool of further oppression. They are, therefore, looking to revive an old way of connectedness to ancestors, heritage and traditions they believe is a key to maintaining their way of life. Examples of such initiatives, such as Bilal’s family farm and the seed library that will be expanded on below. More on how people are coping with this, and on the theme of hope, community aspiration, determination and Belonging for Becoming will be discussed in the next chapter. Before that, we turn to the final type of *A’wna*, or Doing for Belonging, found among olive farmers: the connectedness between the individuals and other human communities.

6.6 *A’wna* as an inter-communal cooperation

Olive growing for *A’wna* requires solidarity and interdependence between communities, including local and international groups. This needed bond is aided by a ‘co-agency’, which provides support that contributes to the wellness of the groups of people involved (Zureik, 2016). This inter-communal aspect of *A’wna* in olive growing was found to occur at three different levels: the familial, including the extended family or *hamoula* at the village level; the local or national domain; and the global sphere.

6.6.1 Inter-familial/ *hamoula* connectedness

Um Weehab and Abu Weehab coordinate their harvest with Abu Weehab's cousin, whose family co-owns some of the olive groves with them. I joined them and some local and international activists one weekend in the middle of October to pick their olives. The atmosphere was celebratory, and there was chatting, singing and drinking of tea and coffee among the branches of the ancient *rumi* (Roman) trees, some of which are strong enough to be climbed for pruning. We learned and applied the use of tools for pruning, and received a tutorial from Um Weehab, Abu Weehab and their cousin on trimming the trees. It was during this afternoon that we talked about the term *A'wna* and about its history in their village and the local area. It was a collective moment in which we were discussing a belief and practising it in real time - a phenomenon that Abu Weehab and most other participants in this study felt was under threat due to the attempt to 'do away with us' as a culture and people. This solidarity between the core and extended family members was an agent or a facilitator to this type of *A'wna*, the one that was performed that afternoon through the doing of olive picking. Families told me that due to their social and political ills and the ongoing military occupation, they felt that this traditional way of living was at risk, and this threat was a key topic of discussion in my conversations with them.

One aspect of this inter-communal attachment is the importance of the core family. Family identity, and its role in the daily lives of rural communities in Palestine, was studied by Tawfik Canaan, a Palestinian scholar who researched local peasant communities, and subsequently in Finnish anthropologist Hilma Granqvist's ethnographies – both published their work in the early 20th century (Nashef, 2002). They described everyday and seasonal activities and rituals in villages in the Bethlehem region. They portrayed them as routines that express the importance of the core family and of the home in Palestinian culture. Most important celebrations studied in those villages were found to be related to the family and home, for example the birth of a baby, especially if it was a boy who would carry the name of the family. Other key events in Palestinian villages were marriage and the building of a house, which traditionally housed both the humans and the animals (Nashef, 2002; Sayigh, 1979)

The *A'wna* between communities here is based on a hierarchy of solidarity, or "layers of kinship" as Sayigh termed it. Sayigh (1979, p. 21) wrote about the differing priorities of Belonging in traditional Palestinian society. She showed that the solidarity of the family is at the top of this scale. A core family, or a household, in Palestine often includes three generations of patrilineal blood relatives: a father and a mother, their offspring, and their sons' families. It also usually consists of the grandparents from the father's side. The second most important type of Belonging is the relationship to the extended family or *hamoula*. A *hamoula* can be described as the clan to which the family belongs, and in some cases the whole village is made up of one or two *hamoulas*. After that, the village identity, and solidarity with fellow neighbours in the village, follow in the scale of alliances. The village was termed by Sayigh the 'family of families'. She illustrated how the peasant family and the solidarity between members of the clan constituted an effective form of defence against oppression forced on them by imperialism, distant landowners and the higher socio-economic classes. Factors contributing to its strength in pre-1948 times were found to be the lack of a strong state, raids by Bedouins, tax collectors and merchants' power. This, Sayigh stated, "formed the structural setting within which the peasants' culture of 'moral familism' developed" (Sayigh, 1979, p. 21). According to this moral code, the family unit, and the Belonging to the *hamoula* and the village, are the bases of Palestinian groups, whereby "all relationships between people of the same village were translated into kinship terms" (Sayigh, 1979, p. 21).

This deeply-rooted morality of family is expressed through terms referring to the home or the *hamoula* in Arabic (Sayigh, 1979). The words used for house - *beit* or *dar* - are often used to refer to the extended family a person belongs to. For example my surname is Simaan, and our *hamoula* is referred to as '*dar el Simaan*' - meaning the house of Simaan. Moreover, names of villages and towns often have the prefix of *dar*, or *beit*: such as Beit-lehem (Bethlehem), which refers to the house of the Canaanite god of the southern hills '*lahm*' (Ra'ad, 2010). This key role the family plays in forming the values and the daily activities in rural Palestine, is founded on the reality that the 'family collective' is both the unit of production and the unit of consumption. According to Sayigh, "its [family] economy was based primarily on its rights to family and communal village land, its labour power, and the social ties that could be converted into material aid when needed " (1979, p. 22). Therefore, "the size and structure of the peasant family collective fitted Palestine's system of agricultural production and land tenure, both of which called for a year-round, medium-sized labour force" (Sayigh, 1979, p. 22).

Women had more activities to do in the house than men, such as domestic and childcare tasks; drying and storing food for winter; looking after the orchards around the village; caring for hens and ducks; but also worked with men in the fields, and collected water and firewood (Seger, 1981; Sayigh, 1979; Rosenfled, 2004). The working 'peasant mothers' are symbolically associated with the home and land in daily language in this part of the world. "Women were its [the home's] basis not only through their childbearing function, but also through their economic contribution. And more than men, it was the women's job to maintain the network of social relations on which village and family solidarity depended" (Sayigh, 1979, p. 23). This strong role that women played contradicts the inferior status they hold in the patriarchal order of the family. The story of Um Weehab in this study, and how she worked outside of the house in schools and how she had to manage her family land duties, testifies to the accuracy of this analysis. Vera, a local woman in her 30s who works with farmers, gave a description of a day in the life of a peasant mother - based on the story of a farmer from Jenin in the north of the West Bank:

Mother *fallaha* wakes up at five in the morning to clean the house, then she goes outside to bake the bread in the oven, after which she does the laundry in the yard in front of the house. The mother of the house then goes down to the kitchen garden and to the field to gather some wild and grown produce. This is called *sarha* [the term used to describe walking in the field to gather food]. If she needs *za'tar* she goes to collect it from the land, and she stays there for a few hours. By then her husband had gotten up. She feeds him breakfast and makes his coffee, and now he needs to go to work, but she needs to prepare lunch, of course. Father goes down to the land by now. The point is that she has already done 100 things and her husband is still asleep, she is so industrious, it's insane. Mother makes the lunch before her children come back from school, and then she helps with their homework. Next she goes to the field for the afternoon, then she needs to prepare dinner for everyone. And she's already done the washing up and everything else. She is ploughing – literally and metaphorically – all day long, you understand me? She does several things: she is the one that picks the fruit, she makes preserves and stores food.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the position of women in rural communities, and their experience of inequality – an experience sadly still shared across the world to a varying extent due to the patriarchal order dominant in globalised capitalist, colonialist and religious institutions (Federici, 2014). The specific roles and experiences of Palestinian rural women are illustrative of the

intersectionality of all forms of identities and injustices that the local communities suffer from (Grillo, 1995; Davies, 2016). Vera often told me about how as a woman in the West Bank she simultaneously faces several forms of control over her and what she does. She told me the sources of this oppression come from the global agribusiness which floods the markets with commercial seeds, chemicals and produce from Israel and denies her and her society the delights of native varieties; the Israeli military occupation and the colonies that restrict land-based occupations and other daily activities; and institutionalised religion and patriarchy – both of which consider men superior to women, and therefore limit Vera’s potential and capacities. However, after studying and living abroad for some years, she decided to return to work with local farming communities to revive old ways of knowing and doing. Vera hopes there can be a collective fight against those types of oppression she identified. Vera began to achieve some of this through the doing of meaningful daily activities related to preserving heritage seeds and working the land in traditional and sustainable ways. Vera called this ‘agri-resistance’, or daily-acts-of-*Sumud* (Simaan and Sansour, 2016), which will be described in the next chapter.

Another fundamental element of the family, associated with growing olives for *A’wna*, is the descendants or the offspring. The value of children is considered key to the future of the peasant family, as they guarantee the care of land and parents in old age (Sayigh, 1979; Rosenfeld, 2004). Sayigh explained the habit of early marriages and rearing large families as phenomena that result from economic and environmental factors: labour force, infant mortality and conscription [as the case was under the Ottomans]. All these conditions led to the central role of descendants in rural society, and “there is also the Palestinians’ profound love of all fertility, natural or human” (Sayigh, 1979, p. 23). The importance of reproduction has always been present here, and is based on pagan fertility traditions that existed in historical Palestine before the advent of the Abrahamic religions (Thompson, 2000).

Familism in Palestine, nonetheless, consists of some aspects that became irrelevant because the connection to the clan, the land and its role in the families sustenance have changed since settler colonialism arrived here. For example the so called ‘code of revenge’, that refers to when a member of a family is killed and whereby the family of the victim has a duty to kill a member of the perpetrator’s family as an act of revenge. Another problematic custom relating to this family consciousness is the notion of honour, according to which women who are suspected of having extra-marital sex are killed by male relatives because they are thought to have harmed the honour of the family. By forming such ‘illegitimate’ affairs women would not be able to find an adequate husband, as this value and practice dictates. Such customs are not the norm any longer, but they still occur in Palestine and civil rights organisations are increasingly seeking to combat the phenomenon (eg. Musawa, Al-Qaws and ASWAT¹³). Other more benign aspects of this solidarity relate to traditions such as helping the members of the extended family in time of illness, or lack of work. There are a few concepts and habits that are still practised relating to this familism, such as the terms of *qareeb* (kin) and *g’areeb* (stranger). The popular proverb states: “My brother and I protect each other against our cousin, and my cousin and I protect ourselves from the *g’areeb*”. Another value relating to this way of life is the concept of duty, or *wajib*, referring to responsibilities individuals have to perform for the family, for example offering gifts on days of celebration. Another one of those values, which can also be negative when taken to its extreme or abused, is the concept of manhood or *roujouleya*, relating to a man’s duty to protect his family, *hamoula* and village (Sayigh, 1979). Family, clan and village associations were the basis upon which the value and practice of *A’wna* has been maintained throughout the histories of groups here. However, as a result

¹³ See <http://musawasyr.org/>; <http://www.alqaws.org/siteEn/index>; and <http://www.aswatgroup.org/en>.

of the displacement and disposition of the *Nakba*, people have sought additional alliances to strengthen their own communities and to feel Belonging and to contribute to the wider world. Their national and international bonds that support, and are supported by, olive growing are discussed below.

6.6.2 Local/ national Belonging

Prior to 1948, *fallahi* families identified themselves and their loyalties mainly with their ancestral village, and this persisted even after many of them were displaced to refugee camps, where they transferred this solidarity to the next generations. Camps, or neighbourhoods within them, for example, are often named after the villages from which the refugees came. According to Sayigh (1979) the solidarity of the village met two key needs: the first was the defence of the communities by the ongoing work of the land; the second was the administrative functions imposed on them during the Ottoman era. Ottoman authorities recruited *mukhtars*, or chiefs, from the village to enact the differing forms of oppression practised upon villagers, such as collecting high rates of taxes on their land and produce; villagers, due to their *hamoula* loyalties to the chiefs, accepted this as their fate (Sayigh, 1979). This continued into the British mandate period to some degree, though they also ruled by British generals and officials who were based locally to these communities. During the British rule the role of money-lending and banks increased, and as a result villagers relied on outsiders for loans to pay their taxes or buy seeds, for example (Sayigh, 1979). In that way the British mandate and after it the Israeli regime led to the increase in dependence on capitalist systems, such as cash and loan masters, rather than on the gift economy and the *hamoula*, which rural families relied on for their survival previously. In other words settler colonialism, which led to the adoption of globalised capitalism, had started to usurp the earlier reliance upon the support of the family and the *hamoula* in the previously self-reliant *fallahi* communities.

In studying former peasant families in a refugee camp, Rosenfeld (2004) showed that as a result of the Israeli occupation and the expulsion and dispossession of whole villages and towns, the role of the family has evolved and people developed links to their local and national community; Rosenfeld found that individuals and the collective community in a refugee camp she studied had created significant social and political resources based on values of interdependence and collaboration; for example, she observed impressive educational achievements, professional skills and organised political activism as a result of newly formed relationships with the local camp and regional communities, such as in forming work committees and joining national political parties. Sayigh (1979) argued that clan solidarity had shifted to a more national consciousness when people here faced an existential threat to the whole nation by the establishment of the state of Israel; for the purpose of resistance people were driven to adopt alliances that expressed and allowed the practice of national solidarity, which is increasingly becoming essential amongst communities here in order to stand up to the Israeli occupation and worsening land colonisation and segregation of land and communities.

My observations of olive growers' local affiliations, which *A'wna* is based on, showed that this local Belonging – to people with whom they share a geographical area – is core for them. For example, the aforementioned story I was told by Abu Weehab about his village of Al-Baydar that had recently been awarded a global protection through a UN organisation. The villagers had worked together with local and national organisations to apply for this status. After a long process, and much opposition from the governments of Israel and the USA against the application, they succeeded in

having their village listed to defend their ancient terraces and collective water irrigation system. They aimed to protect them from colonisation and the segregation wall, the route of which was planned to pass through village lands. Without the collaboration with other local groups based in local towns and villages, and the exchange in expertise and skills this provided, the villagers would not have been able to secure the protected status. There was also outside support received from international individuals and organisations, the topic of the next section. Another example of this local solidarity is the aforementioned agricultural committee that was founded in Dar-el-Shoke. The aim when it was established in the 1980s was to provide support for farmers to maintain their land-based livelihood in the face of the increase in Israeli colonies. This committee proved to be effective in providing experts and volunteers to help farmers care for their trees and crops in an environmentally sustainable way. It continues its work today and has spread nationally, and it currently works with farmers all over the West Bank.

This national alliance is further exemplified in Damir's family farm mentioned elsewhere that provides educational and voluntary programmes for local children and women. The family also advises other local farmers on legal processes as they have been involved in court cases for several decades to try to defend their lands against the military occupation's threats of confiscation. The family have managed so far with some success to hold off the land grab, and their experience has been used to advise local farmers in a similar situation. The custom of gleaning, mentioned above, is another illustration of the strong connectedness *fallahi* communities feel and practise towards other local people. As Abu Weehab reflected:

After I finish these trees, I assume that people come here to look for the fruit that I left on the trees. Why not? This is the nature of life. A bug can find the olive that dropped on the ground and eat it. A bird can come and eat it. In our religion we say: "What you gather for your survival and livelihood is enough, and what is left doesn't belong to you". This is the nature of life. Why would I prohibit someone from their right to survival?

Not all families I met allow their olives to be gleaned by others, as one olive farmer I talked to told me. Hanna is a single man in his 30s who looks after his family's groves with his mother because the other members of his core family have migrated to Latin America. He told me he does not permit people to glean olives from their trees. Nonetheless, when I was helping them pick their olives, he asked me and some other volunteers to go and help his cousins who were harvesting their trees in a nearby grove. For Hanna, his mother and extended family who come from a Christian minority, *A'wna* through olive growing is perhaps practised within the extended family and the smaller community of those who belong to the same faith for protective reasons. Due to belonging to a Christian minority that has experienced emigration and reduction in land and financial resources, Hanna and his family felt less able to afford participation in this tradition of allowing gleaning by strangers. However, all other families I spoke to such as Um Weehab and Abu Weehab, Nada and Abu Kamal, and even Bilal and his Christian family, demonstrated instances of inter-communal *A'wna*.

This shared destiny that moves beyond the family and the village collectives, and includes wider national connectedness, is interpreted by Zureik (2016) according to his post-colonial conceptualisation of human agency. In his research he referred to the technological advancement of human networks through social media, and their use by Palestinian youth to advocate for solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for freedom and justice. He called the enabler of this emergent means of inter-communal communication and collaboration a 'co-agency', which refers to the "empowerment and resistance by marginal groups through a combination of technology-people

networks” (Zureik, 2016, p. 42). Co-agency is a useful analytical term that helps to explain the medium that fuels participation in wanted and socially sanctioned activities done by groups of people who are challenging injustices, such as settler colonialism. This participation – enabled by a collective agency – is “indivisible from both occupation and Belonging”, and is driven by a shared agency located among individuals, families and their community (Hammell, 2014, p. 43). For Hammell (2014) it is a form of a Doing for Belonging, fuelled by a co-agency that mediates between the humans and the task in-hand, to enable engagement in activities essential for their and their society’s continuation. This co-agency within human communities occurs due to the reality of a group sharing a culture, heritage, history and structural forces that the members live in.

This shared sphere of experience creates co-dependence expressed through doing important actions that require collectivism, such as in olive growing. In this sense, farming olives as a daily activity might be described as a collective occupation relying on solidarity, co-agency, and interdependence (Ramugondo and Kronenberg, 2015; Kantartiz, 2017). Collective occupations, as a concept, was informed by the idea of *Ubuntu* as an African ethic, which refers “to human interconnectedness, or how people’s humanity is constantly shaped in interaction with each other, assigning responsibility to both the individual and the community for the other’s existence” (Ramugondo and Kronenberg, p. 496). Based on such a value, the construct of collective occupations links individual and collective, as well as oppressive and liberating elements of occupation as individuals can influence each other’s wellness; it also combines intentional and relational aspects of our daily doing: human beings need to relate to each other, and in order for them to interact they engage in activities together (Ramugondo and Kronenberg, 2015). The intention of these activities is to maintain human relationships and the individual and collective well-being that these occupations are hoped to lead to. It is a concept that combines terms that illustrate the communal elements of occupations, such as co-occupation, co-dependency and interdependency. Such terms are often ignored in occupational therapy and occupational science in favour of notions of independence founded on Western-based philosophies of separation between humans and their context, including other humans they interact with. These assumptions give the human individual priority in any intervention offered. In contrast, *Ubuntu* in South Africa, as *A’wna* through olive growing in Palestine, were shown to express purposeful daily activity done by the family or the community for each other’s wellness and benefit. In that way the main intention for engaging in such an activity is a relational one: people grow olives to stay connected to their family, village, land, nation and globe

The aforementioned study of daily occupation in a Greek town found that collective occupations were essential in maintaining the social relationships and collective well-being on three different levels (Kantartiz, 2017). This included the family, at what was named the micro level; the intermediate or local level, described as meso; and a macro category of social fabric at the global and institutional level. The researcher described the meso level, found to be dominant in the Greek town. Collective occupations in Greece are mediated by a co-agency at a level beyond the family, in common with Palestine, where this interdependence is founded on the value of *A’wna*. The co-agency acts as a vehicle for ‘doing for belonging’, or *A’wna*, in order to enable an “occupation that provided support, information and identity across the community” (Kantartiz, 2017, p. 21). Due to factors explained below, the co-agency in Palestine needed to move beyond the local, or the meso level, to include also the macro level. The solidarity, as a value that *A’wna* is informed by, has been expanding to involve international individuals and organisations, as observed in this research and discussed next.

6.6.3 Belonging to a global community

Since the early 2000s (around the time of the second *Intifada*) there has been an increase in solidarity activism and grassroots support for ordinary Palestinian communities, including olive farmers, by voluntary organisations and individuals who visit the oPt in order to see for themselves the impact of the military occupation on people and their way of life (Qumsiyeh, 2011). Reflecting on the support of international activists who visited his family's farm to help with working the land, Damir said to me:

We felt we're not alone. Solidarity by people from abroad is very important. For example, when we hosted 40 people, those come from 40 families, who come from 40 towns. Solidarity with the Palestinian people is widening, as these people go back home and tell a story [about Palestine] in a positive way. Not the stereotypical picture they see in the news about Palestinians. I tell them about what happened to us, they experience Palestinian hospitality, and these things give an alternative picture of our situation to the outside world. They come and see, and go and tell.

He was referring to witnessing injustice by ordinary people from around the world that many Palestinians believe useful in resisting the dominant narrative that portrays them as 'uncivilised' people or 'terrorists' in mainstream media and academia (Said, 2000). This collaboration between global communities helps in standing up to and resisting the colonisation of their land, by raising global awareness regarding everyday injustices, and by forming bonds of solidarity. This interdependence, between the local and the global, has evolved throughout Palestine's history. Families', villages' and communities' mutual support were the cornerstone of life in rural areas of Palestine before 1948 due to its geography, climate and the small size of the communities (Sayigh, 1979). These types of connections and Belonging continue, as shown above, but as a result of the ongoing colonisation, military occupation and the lack of state welfare or support from the PA, solidarity has evolved to include, more recently, grassroots organisation and international connections sought by local groups. The Joint Advocacy Initiative (JAI) works with international church groups to galvanise support for olive farmers from around the world. *Ta'ayush* (co-existence)¹⁴ is an Israeli-Jewish organisation, whose members I met while planting olive saplings with a farming family. They were present on the land to support the family by monitoring and documenting IDF and settlers' behaviour towards them, to help the family to communicate with the IDF in Hebrew, and to physically assist with the task of planting olive trees. The landowners *Ta'ayush* members were helping that day had been struggling to access their land due to restrictions and violence (against both trees and people) inflicted on them by the IDF and nearby settler-colonisers.

Not all people I spoke to agreed that this aspect of international collaboration in the activity of olive growing will always yield positive results for the farmer. Hilal is a former project coordinator at the JAI and had worked with families such as Abu Weehab's and Abu A'ttallah's. He and other locals who I met, who worked with other NGOs in the area, told me how they felt that these organisations risked making farmers dependent on their support rather than facilitating their autonomy and self-reliance.

¹⁴ See <https://www.taayush.org/>

Hilal said to me:

NGOs make farmers wait for aid in order to reclaim their land rather than be on their land and do it themselves like Abu Weehab does in Al-Baydar. The *fallah* has to have monetary resources to spend in order to be supported by some of these organisations. Some of the farmers take loans and fall behind in debt just to pay their part in aid projects. Alternatively they can be provided with the money and sign a contract committing themselves to working their land. We need to help people defy restrictions rather than add more burden on them. All NGOs work within the system of the Israeli occupation, and they should do everything to defy it. The commitment should be to farmers' needs not to the donors'. Funding from abroad is OK as long as it is used as an enabler. Human and natural resources are more important than financial resources, and a good example I have seen is the Land Research Institute¹⁵ that concentrates on human resources by prioritising humans rather than funds, exactly like Palestinian *fallahi* way of life in the past. The JAI used to do this but fell into the trap of what we term as the 'financial missionary model' which most NGOs work according to; the classic *fallahi* model, on the other hand, is the wanted model. For example Abu A'ttallah can now survive without aid because we worked hard to facilitate his self-reliance. He needed some support in the beginning, and he now has hundreds of olive trees, but started only with 50. One of the causes for my departure from the JAI was the shift in prioritising what's best available naturally to what is economically available. In that way elite organisations including NGOs and the PA serve the top elite, the Israeli occupation, by increasing the financial burden on farmers and making them reliant on aid. After growing for a while NGOs get stuck and then their aim shifts to maintaining the status quo and the salaries of the employees. Good NGOs are those who cease to exist as they fulfil their aim. The best NGO is the one that began yesterday and will close in 2-3 years (Field notes, March 2016).

Hilal articulated well an issue I was aware of from the start of my field work. I saw that the international support which includes funds for projects such as the 'olive tree campaign' at the JAI is helpful in providing subsidised saplings and human power to harvest and plant trees – both of which are needed due to the poor financial situation of most farmers I met, and due to the need of helpful hands as other members of the family might have needed to look for wage-labour or other work elsewhere in order to survive as a family. On the other hand, I also saw that farmers lived under military occupation and a system of segregation, and their land is constantly under threat of being expropriated, and perhaps as Hilal suggested, what is needed is an organisation that works with farmers on all levels of their struggle. Global support through organisation might provide appropriate financial support, some human power to help work the land, and most importantly organisations should also be working to end the military occupation and its policies that are causing the situation of occupational apartheid (see section 6.7). In some respect the JAI and other NGOs have a stated aim to do just that,¹⁶ and what Hilal was referring to was the risk of that becoming a tokenistic aim without proper actions towards it. However, all farmers I spoke to saw the importance of forging these international alliances and solidarities. This importance lay in seeing that people empathised with their cause and were prepared to support them financially, and most importantly by being present on their land during critical times when the risk was highest for violence against people, land and trees, such as in planting and harvesting seasons.

¹⁵ See <http://www.lrcj.org/index.html>

¹⁶ See <http://www.jai-pal.org/en/campaigns/olive-tree-campaign>

On one hand, this global solidarity expressed by having allies from Israel and the world present on the land, is helpful in reducing farmers' vulnerability and exposure to such violence, as I was told by participants. On the other hand, participation in olive growing activities was observed to benefit the international activists who joined olive growing families in their fields. This experience, as many of them told me, was an 'eye opener' which taught them about a situation of global and local injustice, and helped in correcting the dominant narrative they had been given about it by mainstream media. Moreover, it enabled them to feel valued by contributing in their small way to bringing about social and political change. Several of the international activists I met told me that their experience working with farmers made them consider other marginalised communities or situations of injustice in their own countries. Many of them, through their experience of *A'wna*, were able to fulfil the famous idiom, 'think globally and act locally', a phrase I heard used by some of those volunteers.

Solidarity with global communities reflects what Said (2003, p. xxi) termed a "collective constituency"; through these alliances of people who share social and political interests, communities fight oppression of all kinds by employing collaborative means, such as sharing and exchanging ideas and practices connected to how to preserve native land rights and traditional daily activities essential for communities' survival and well-being. The aim of this constituency is the opposite of the 'othering', and of the notion and practices of settler colonialism and nationalism, which Said criticised as an import of Western colonial powers. He saw these as ideologies based on essentialist and xenophobic ideas about race and ethnicity. Said told us that not all is doomed, however, and that global communities share common concerns such as those for the environment, poverty, equality between genders and for minority group, health and human rights. He continued: "No one can possibly know the extraordinary complex unity of our globalised world, despite the reality that, as I said at the outset, the world does have a real interdependence of parts that leave no genuine opportunity for isolation" (Said, 2003, p. xxi). He suggested that instead of the human-made clash between cultures, societies need to focus on the ways cultures, or ways of doing and being and Belonging, resemble each other, share with each other and co-exist "in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow" (Said, 2003, p. xxii). This brings about what Said, and Zureik after him, called worldliness (see chapter Two), an attitude that human groups adopt and which expresses "an appreciation not of some tiny, defensively constituted corner of the world, but the large, many-windowed house of human culture as a whole" (Said, 2000, p. 382).

This sharing and exchanging between world communities has been described as expressing a respect for 'global wisdom' – a phrase that refers to ways of knowing and doing of specific communities of the Global South, and has been recently discussed in occupational therapy and occupational science writing as a useful source for theory and practice (Hammell, 2014). Learning about means of action such as *A'wna*, or Doing for Belonging to a diversity of world communities, can be transformative for all. In particular to this study, this experience can help activists, occupational therapists and occupational scientists to move beyond the Eurocentrism that has produced notions and practices not always applicable to all groups of people. Witnessing and being witnessed through *A'wna*, or Doing for Belonging, can help in decolonising ourselves from theoretical imperialism through learning how communities are resisting settler colonialism on the ground. The ways in which Palestinian olive farmers resist occupational apartheid through their daily lives is the topic of discussion in the next section and the next chapter.

6.7 Olive growing for *A'wna* as means to confront occupational injustice

An incident I recorded in my field notes provides a good illustration of a situation of occupational injustice I observed, and how it was challenged by the principle of *A'wna*:

I joined the JAI to help with the harvesting of Abu Samir's olives from his grove in Dar-el-shoke, a grove which borders the latest construction site in the nearby colony. The grove was dusty because the rains were late in arriving that autumn, and because of dust drifting from the nearby building site in the colony. The grove was littered with rubbish, including unwanted furniture dumped there from the colony. We finished harvesting the small grove before noon, and I offered to help carry the sacks on my back using the only dirt path leading from the trees to where the car was parked. The path was steep and narrow and could only be used by humans or donkeys, as the rest of the field – and the wider paths leading to and from it – had been fenced off by the military. On my final trip to Abu Samir's car at the top of the path on the edge of the main road to the village, I noticed some settlers - whom I could identify by their distinctive religious attire – standing at the bottom of the hill. I was later told they were bathing in one of the few remaining village springs that hadn't dried up or been occupied by the settlers. A few seconds later we saw four army jeeps and some half a dozen heavily armed soldiers on foot, who approached us and asked who we were, who our leaders were, and where we were from. Their manner was aggressive and it made me, and the other volunteers, feel intimidated. We were advised by the group coordinator to board the bus and let Abu Samir talk to them, because if we were to get involved he might 'be punished' for it after we had left the village. From the window of the bus we watched the soldiers approach Abu Samir with documents in their hands. He later told us they were instructions written in Hebrew, which he couldn't read, and a map, which were used as their evidence that his land had been declared a closed military zone. He said we were lucky to have completed the harvest before they arrived; they might have come at any moment to announce a ban on access to the field and to evict us from the land. This would have stopped his family from benefiting from the harvest this year, as had been the case in the past, Abu Samir told us. He felt lucky because they let him keep his yield this time. Abu Samir thought this might be because of our presence there as internationals witnessing the situation.

Participant families were observed to enact the principle of *A'wna* to empower them to cope with the structural and systematic attempts to segregate them from their land and trees, their heritage and communities. They demonstrated how despite the specific occupational injustice imposed on their Belonging, they adapted and found ways to harness this collaborative principle through olive growing, and in order to maintain and even develop this activity further. In this section I will discuss the specific form of injustice, termed here as occupational apartheid, and how it was manifested in the daily lives of participant families.

6.7.1 A particular manifestation of occupational apartheid

Olive growing as Doing for Belonging, or *A'wna*, is systematically restricted by policies of control and segregation that lead to occupational injustices, in particular causing a situation that has been termed occupational apartheid. This study shows empirical examples of constraints on participation, such as imposing closed military zones in olive groves by the Israeli military occupation, that discriminate against the native Palestinian community. Occupational apartheid is defined as:

The segregation of groups of people through the restriction or denial of access to dignified and meaningful participation in occupations of daily life on the basis of race, color [sic], disability, national origin, age, gender, sexual preference, religion, political belief, status in society, or other characteristics. Occasioned by political forces, its systematic and pervasive social, cultural, and economic consequences jeopardize health and wellbeing as experienced by individuals, communities, and societies (Kronenberg and Pollard, 2005, p. 68).

This construct was introduced in 1999 by Kronenberg, based on his work in Latin America with street children who were denied access to meaningful occupations such as education (Kronenberg and Pollard, 2005). This type of occupational injustice was associated with geographical, territorial and social segregation and enforced on groups for a significant length of time (Pollard, Kronenberg and Sakellariou, 2008). It is linked to political forces that include “discourses and circumstances” that prioritise the needs of some groups over the needs of other communities (Durocher, 2017, p. 11). The term ‘apartheid’ was borrowed from the racial segregation system of the Apartheid regime in South Africa imposed from 1948 until 1991, and was intended to enable a liberating stance by providing the language to describe and express a situation of occupational injustice (Pollard, Kronenberg and Sakellariou, 2008). This liberation could be achieved by confronting this injustice and highlighting ‘contributive’ justice - a structure that enables equitable social and collective benefits for all in society (Pollard, Kronenberg and Sakellariou, 2008). Pollard, Sakellariou Kronenberg and (2008) outlined some examples of the phenomenon, including South Africa and Israel, whereby regulations and laws, as well as assumptions and attitudes, discriminated against and excluded some groups from doing what they wanted or needed to do, to the benefit of other groups. Despite the negative effects it has on the oppressed group, this occupational injustice is maintained to preserve powerful groups’ status (Pollard, Kronenberg and Sakellariou, 2008).

Occupational apartheid applies to Palestinian olive growing families whose everyday lives provide evidence to such a phenomenon that can be helpful in substantiating this concept and furthering it from a unique perspective. Due to their Belonging to the indigenous *fallahin*, olive growers have been systematically restricted from participating in the most essential of activities for them. They are limited from gaining access to such an occupation through a variety of tools. Examples of these include policies and practices that allow the confiscation of what the IDF deems as ‘unworked land’, or declaring land owned by native families as a closed military zone, or uprooting trees to make way for the construction of the separation wall or for roads restricted for use by Israelis only (Manor, 2017). Moreover, settler-colonisers – an increasing minority in the oPt and including many recent migrants from Western Europe and North America – can travel and work anywhere they wish within the oPt and inside the Green Line. Palestinian olive growers, nonetheless, were observed not to be passive recipients of these injustices. As shown in the previous chapter and in this, they have acquired and adapted means to allow them to maintain this historic occupation. They were empowered to do so through their principles of *Sutra* – Doing for Well-being – and *A’wna* – Doing for Belonging. As the next chapter will show, they also can teach us how to resist occupational apartheid through their creativity, persistence and hope for self-determination and justice.

6.8 Conclusion

The second concept that was articulated following the analysis of this study’s findings was discussed in this chapter. *A’wna* was defined as a motivator for action that is shaped by values of connectedness to others and that Palestinian communities enact for enabling everyday activities, which are done together and influence everybody’s well-being. Doing for Belonging was described from de-colonial and occupational justice perspectives, and it was suggested that it is based on different types of associations. Alliances that humans form with nature, ancestors, family, village, locality and the globe were linked to stories from the field and compared to previous studies in the literature. The terms solidarity and co-agency were used to interpret this collaborative aspect of olive growing, and were related to occupational science discourse in order to further it from a unique lens. *A’wna* was shown to be a dynamic and adaptable phenomenon that has evolved to embrace new relationships in response to changes in society and changes in how oppression is manifested. This openness that allows the principle of *A’wna* to be applied in new, shifting and overlapping ways with different kinds of allies and in different forms of community, has helped to give Palestinian resistance a kind of nimbleness and agility that has prevented it from being extinguished. Moreover, it was shown in this chapter that the case of olive growers in the West Bank can offer an example of a specific type of occupational apartheid. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this phenomenon is being confronted through a way of knowing and a means of action described here as daily acts of resistance, termed *Sumud* in Arabic.

Table 5 – A summary of the theme of *A’wna*

Theme / Principle of action	Sub-theme / Constituent values	An example of how it manifested in action	An example of how participants articulated the principle in their own voice
<i>A’wna</i> Doing for Belonging	Multiple solidarities /alliances, with: nature, ancestors, family, village, nation and world; Socio-political awareness of occupational apartheid;	The story of Abu Nedal’s return to living in his village to grow olives, and the situation of his son Nedal who believed that he grew olives because he belongs to a family of <i>fallahin</i> [peasants] are good demonstrations of his Belonging – to ancestors, family, village and land - element of olive growing.	Abu Weehab:” There are many social aspects to this activity. For example, when I finish picking my grove, I will help my brother, then I will work with my cousin who hasn’t yet finished harvesting all his trees. Not for money or for any other benefits, but for something we call <i>A’wna</i> [cooperation]. It creates a good social atmosphere between people. If someone needs to rebuild a drystone wall, his relatives and friends will help him. This collaboration is very essential.”

Chapter Seven: *Sumud* / Belonging for Becoming

“The work of *Sumud*, from childbearing and building to testifying and fighting, continues.” (Said, 1999, p. 113)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to address the theme of *Sumud* that was articulated following the thematic analysis of the field notes and the transcripts of interviews I conducted with olive farmers. It will present the process of my interpretation that involved comparing and contrasting this term that was identified in the data, and which corresponded with ideas from the literature. I will begin with more observations from field notes and interview transcripts that I understood to represent manifestations of this resistive means of olive farming, which pointed to the Belonging for Becoming dimension of occupations during the thematic analysis I conducted (see table 6 at the end of this chapter). In the second section of this chapter, *Sumud* will be defined as used in Palestine as resistance to injustice. In the following section, I will relate it to other notions of resistance, followed by a discussion of the changes in its use and meanings throughout modern Palestinian history. In the following section, I will show how it is used in the daily lives of olive growing families I met. Then I will address the different values that inform this principle that drives the daily acts of resistance olive growing families were shown to enact: the idea that it stems from a necessity rather than a purely individual choice; the need for selfless compromises to be made; the socio-political consciousness it requires; and that it aims to lead to communal self-determination. Next I will discuss the daily-acts-of-*Sumud* as further unique evidence to the political and resistive aspects of occupations emerging from critical works in occupational science. In the following section it will be compared to the relationship between Belonging and Becoming in occupational therapy and occupational science literature.

The final section will discuss two examples of daily activities other than olive growing that I came across during field visits and that I saw as representing daily acts based on means of *Sumud*. These other examples will further illuminate the concept and its ubiquity in everyday lives of human groups in Palestine. The examples of producing milk during the *Intifada*, and a recent project of collecting heirloom seeds, will demonstrate that olive growers' daily acts of resistance through *Sumud* are situated within a wider context of other similar yet unique daily occupations, and done by other groups for the purpose of challenging the different manifestations of occupational apartheid present in their lives.

“As for the Israeli state, we exist and live on this land in spite of its will for us not to be here. We are the reality here whether they want it or not. We want to live on this land. For them they would uproot us from our land today before tomorrow”. This was what Abu A'ttallah told me regarding what he saw the aims of the military occupation were. On what he does to counter this, he told me a story about when he was offered an opportunity to join the armed resistance. He contemplated it and weighed it against the other options he had, such as farming his land. Abu A'ttallah told me he sat for three days with the rifle that the organisation had given him, mulling over the dilemma. “At the end of the three days I called the guy from the *tanzim* [organisation], and told him to come to pick up this piece of metal. I don't want to be deprived of my land.” He was concerned that his involvement in armed resistance would provide a reason for the authorities to destroy the family home or confiscate its land as a collective punishment, as in the case of other families in the oPt

(Kremnitzer and Saba-Habesch, 2015). For his wife, his extended family and himself, they decided to stick to farming as a way of responding to and confronting the ongoing consequences of settler colonialism.

Farming olives as a way to resist the military occupation has a hopeful aspect to which Vera pointed me. She told me that for her, what olive growing means is that “when you plant a tree you are saying ‘I have a future’.” In this way olive growing is motivated by an optimistic view of a future collective self-determination. As for the Belonging aspect of *Sumud*, Bilal reflected on why he should fight for the land: “For the Palestinian people all of this goes back to that basic and principal thing: it originates in our relationship to our mother, *al ard* [the land]. She is our land, our mother, and that’s why we need to keep looking after her, protect her, be steadfast and *samidin* [the plural present tense of the root of *Sumud*] in it. We can do this by taking care of her and by being creative.” He was referring to that strong bond discussed in the last chapter between *fallahi* communities and the land. He was also speaking of the conviction that he cannot leave the motherland - which produces everything he and his family need – and instead allow it to be dominated by settler-colonisers from the West or Israel. Bilal in this statement expressed the need for the attitude of *Sumud* and its resistive and creative qualities that are essential for the survival, resistance and flourishing of olive-growing communities. It is a means and a value that farming communities have inherited, and have now revitalised despite, and because of, the military occupation.

7.2 *Sumud*'s meanings and uses in Palestine

Similar to *Sutra* and *A'wna*, and as is the case with most words in Arabic, the term *Sumud* stems from a root of a verb. The root *samada* has several meanings: one, it relates to a person who can be relied on; two, it refers to something that remained as it is, or survived; three, it has a meaning associated with a fight, or a physical confrontation; four, it signifies a cover for a bottle or for a person’s head; five, it refers to a high rock, or seating on a high place; six, it is associated with the process of gradually saving money, or things that are saveable; seven, it means a person who never gets hungry or thirsty in a war (Dar Al-mashriq, 1986). This plurality of the literal meanings of the term mirrors the diversity of its uses and the complexities of its meanings in the daily lives of communities in Palestine. *Sumud*, like the concept of *Sutra* and *A'wna*, is a term that is omnipresent in Palestinian daily lives. It has developed to mean different things at succeeding stages of historical events, and as a result of everyday realities interacting with socio-political conditions. It is a word whose uses have stemmed from the living conditions and the everyday realities and activities of rural communities here.

7.2.1 *Sumud* as individual and collective resistance to daily injustices

Sumud as a principle for action in Palestine has been discussed by scholars and writers from a variety of academic disciplines. Rijke and van Teeffelen (2014) – international development and education scholars – carried out interviews and focus groups with Palestinians from diverse backgrounds, aiming to analyse the complexity of meanings and uses of the concept. As with how it is interpreted in its daily use, *Sumud*'s plurality of meanings, they concluded, made it “almost impossible to develop a strong common definition – even though the concept has a “feel” that is directly recognizable to Palestinians”. It “is not an easy concept to grapple with intellectually, it resonates

within deep layers of Palestinian struggle for freedom, justice, community, and care” (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 96). When used in conversation *Sumud* refers to values and actions through which people persevere, persist and hold on to their land and trees to enable the continuation of their communities, and to express all aspects of their identities: the physical, emotional, social, cultural and political. It is sometimes translated into English as ‘steadfastness’. Shehadeh (1982, p. 6) introduced *Sumud* to English readers in his book based on his personal journal about life in the oPt. He described acts of *Sumud* as the ‘third way’ for “defeating the defeat”: an alternative to hating and to leaving the land. Shehadeh described examples from his personal life and from the lives of others in his community. They included stories of everyday creativity, personal acts and small rebellions, such as when he maintained his fake smile and politeness despite the great anger he felt when passing through a checkpoint one day. He related stories of the *Sumud* of families when their homes were raided in the middle of the night without justification, or of friends who lost innocent loved ones who were shot by soldiers. As a lawyer who founded an organisation to defend land rights, Shehadeh had many stories about the *samidin* (adjective of *Sumud*) of the *fallahi* communities who were resisting the confiscation of their lands, which resembled many of the stories I heard during field visits.

As for Shehadeh’s own personal *Sumud*, he expressed it through the writing of this memoir. Below he explained the inner process leading to this attitude:

Anger gradually, through the years of occupation, [has] given way to despair. Anger fuels memory, keeps it alive. Without this fuel, you give up even the right to assert the truth. You let others write history for you, and this is the ultimate capitulation. We *samidin* cannot fight the Israelis’ brute physical force but we must keep the anger burning [...] It is up to us to remember and record [...] But if my *sumud* as a lawyer is to mean anything, I must at least be able to tell my people’s stories. (Shehadeh, 1982, p. 68)

For him, *Sumud* acts both as a motivator for and as means of actions:

[It] had been practised by every man, woman and child here struggling on his or her own to learn to cope with, and resist, the pressures of living as a member of a conquered people. *Sumud* is watching your home turned into a prison. You, *Samid* [steadfast in the third person], choose to stay in that prison, because it is your home, and because you fear if you leave, your jailer will not allow you to return. (Shehadeh, 1982, p. viii)

The notion of *Sumud*, according to Shehadeh, is born of an internal struggle people face in deciding how to respond to their daily conditions. They have to choose between either “acquiescing in the jailer’s plan in numb despair” or becoming madly hateful of “your jailer and yourself, the prisoner” (Shehadeh, 1982, p. 68 viii). It is from this foundational inner dilemma that *Sumud* “is developing from an all-encompassing form of life into a form of resistance that unites the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation” (Shehadeh, 1982, p. viii).

Said (1999, p. 100) described *Sumud* in the daily lives of workers and peasants in Palestine as “a form of ‘elementary resistance’ that turns presence into small-scale obduracy.” In their everyday lives, Said observed Palestinians continuing to participate in their meaningful occupations “often without much hope or horizon, with the result that alienation from work is now gradually being assimilated and transformed into a prevailing attitude” (Said, 1999, p. 100). This phenomenon was identifiable in the emotions of despair Nedal and his family were confronting through the daily acts of olive growing. Nedal told me: “In the end [my father] returned to farming. He is interested in agriculture, because we have a problem. We have a problem in the general situation here. There are no

prospects, there's no future, there's even no aspiration to think forward, and this is also a problem." Nevertheless, Nedal and his family persisted and persevered in farming olives despite this desperation.

Sumud, in this way, is a mental action taken by the oppressed to stop the abuser from having influence over their minds (Shehadeh, 1982). In the field of talking therapies, Allan Wade (1997, p. 23) described a similar mental strategy. He termed these actions as "small acts of living", or "everyday resistance" (see chapter Three). Wade believed that survivors of oppression such as domestic abuse or racism respond in their own special ways against these injustices. He explained that they are spontaneous and personal resisting acts, as opposed to instructed or prescribed interventions they are advised to take by others. Another quality of these acts is that they are calibrated shrewdly in an effort to avoid causing further harm to the situation the person is in. Determination – the insistence upon continuing with such attitudes and acts to transform their lives - was another quality ascribed to these survivors by Wade (1997). However, according to Wade, the actions were taken despite not being expected to succeed immediately in stopping the oppression. Wade reflected on an Ethiopian proverb that James Scott wrote about in his book, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*: "When the grand lord passes the wise peasant bows deeply and silently farts" (Wade, 1997, p. 29). Small acts of resistance, for Wade, are spontaneous acts that have an immediate effect on the mind of survivors of oppression. One of the instances Wade wrote about as an example of these acts is when abusers are not able to control the mind of their victims as they are assaulting them physically (Wade, 1997). In such cases the oppressed still has an agency in their autonomous mental activities, and in that way they may fart metaphorically in order to feel that the injustice is overturned in that moment.

Palestinian olive farming families, by doing olive growing as an act of *Sumud*, stop the Israeli military occupation from fully dominating their lives, if not physically through the dismantling of fences, for example, but mentally through their determination to continue ploughing their fields despite the fence being built to divorce them from their land. Their land and geography may be dominated and occupied, but not their minds and their agency to go about their daily life in inventive and creative ways, in order to resist that control in their own ways. Their actions are spontaneous and are judged by them to be helpful, or to not cause more harm to the situation they are in. For example, when the path is blocked to their groves and they cannot use a car to get there: instead, they will find creative solutions such as the use of a donkey, or by staying in caves on the land. Some of their actions, such as land reclamations – discussed in chapter Four by Abu Weehab – are not expected to yield immediate results but are hoped to help in the long-term towards self-determination. To sum up *Sumud* as daily resistance in Palestine, Said noted that it is practised by people as they go about their routines day after day. He concluded:

[Palestinians'] cares and anxiety set in nevertheless. The amount of unguarded reflection is also the moment of deepest vulnerability. Will the children be picked up for taunting the settlers? Will 'they' take another piece of land? Limitless worries, for which there is no truly effective antidote except going about your work tomorrow, again, beginning again (Said, 1999, p. 100).

7.3 *Sumud* in comparison to other notions of resistance

Notions of resistance and the diversity of their meanings and utility have developed throughout modern world history. Anti-colonialism has been described as the classic type of resistance, which historically referred to peoples fighting the ideology and practices of imperialism and resisting it in order to replace it with self-rule through nationalism for instance. Later in the 20th century the idea of resistance began to relate to peasants' and workers' rebellions, and to fighting dominant forms of knowledge. Colonialism did not end with the successful fight for a nation state that many peoples achieved, as in India or Algeria. Those independent post-colonial nation states remain under the hegemony of globalised ideas and practices created by Western-educated middle classes, which led to praxes of resistance that include the fight of oppressed groups, such as women, peasants, workers and minorities (Santos, 2014). Those Global South groups aim to free themselves from systems and institutions, as well as forms of knowledge and ideologies, which cause their oppression (Santos, 2014). People's resistance comes in multiple forms, they organise collectively and they adopt selfless principles (Qumsiyeh, 2011). Some aim to lead to a revolution, but all forms aim to negate the foundation of domination. Scott (1985) studied other types of resistance that show new spaces where human agency and action can be expressed in culturally specific contexts, and are led by values rooted in everyday experiences.

This kind of resistance that Scott discussed is an idea and practice exercised in the everyday life of ordinary people. Scott described everyday forms of resistance in the face of adverse socio-economic conditions in his seminal book *Weapons of the Weak* (Scott, 1985). In the case of the Malay paddy farmers discussed in this book, resistance came about as a consequence of the dramatic changes to land tenure and methods of farming brought by the green revolution in the 1970s. This study focused on class struggle rather than settler colonialism – as in Palestine - but both in Palestine and in Malaysia, people responded to a spectrum of forms of oppression by finding space in which external forces of control over their life and everyday ways of doing do not triumph, and where they can confront and challenge their oppressors, such as their bosses and the rich landowners. For Scott, these daily forms of resistance are common in class relations, and “they are not “an outright collective defiance” and they do not lead to a rebellion (Scott, 1985, p. 27). Examples of daily resistance among the Malay rice farmers included activities that were informal, covert and more focused on immediate gains. Such acts included: false compliance, slander, and sabotage against their bosses. Daily acts of resistance consisted also of some more collective and organised forms such as boycotts, or organisation and unionism among the peasants in Malay. As in the Malay case, the acts of Palestinian olive growers are rarely reported or analysed, and it is important to do so as “something of a testament to human persistence and inventions” (Scott, 1985, p. 33).

The daily activities of resistance carried out by olive farmers do not refer in this study to organised and planned rebellions that aim to dismantle the military occupation as their immediate outcome. However, some of these actions require organisation and planning, such as when families decide to go to court against land expropriation. It might be that their ultimate aim is for collective self-determination and self-rule, and that they hope that their resistance will act as another small step towards that goal. However, daily acts of *Sumud*, as analysed in this study, are done with the indispensable attitude of the idiom: “To resist is to exist” – a motto that is often seen drawn as graffiti on the segregation wall in the West Bank.

7.4 The historical developments of *Sumud* in Palestine

Like the other notions of resistance that evolved to signify a variety of activities across the globe, *Sumud* as a means of action has developed throughout the modern history of Palestine to mean a diversity of things. Rijke and van Teeffelen (2014) studied how the concept moved from nationalist symbolism and strategic debate to a way of life. For them, *Sumud* as a national Palestinian notion has been part of the collective consciousness here since the British mandate. By the 1960s, it became more commonly used among Palestinians and was particularly linked to refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon, who despite their exile, held onto their right to return to their land and villages. During the 1970s it became associated with the Palestinians who were living as an oppressed minority within the Green Line, and was expressed in cultural and artistic forms. For example, the poetry of Tawfiq Zayyad from Nazareth, who portrayed the olive tree as a symbol of *Sumud*, “with its deep roots in the land, bearing fruits only after years of growth” (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 87). The olive tree in this way was used as a metaphor for the *Sumud* of the deeply-rooted native communities living within what became to be known as Israel. During the civil war in Lebanon, in the 1970s and 1980s, the term was mainly associated with armed groups defending Palestinian refugee camps there. In the late 1970s it began to refer to those living under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. It was then used as a strategy for action “moving beyond the symbolism of the struggle and the land” (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 87). Grassroots movements began to form committees for farming, for women’s rights and for health, like the story of the agricultural committee formed in Dar-el-shoke I described earlier. This provided *Sumud* with “a more bottom-up and activist meaning” aiming at increasing self-sufficiency and decreasing reliance on Israel (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p.88). This strategy reached its peak during the first *Intifada* in the 1980s, and since then it has acquired a broader strategic role related to tactics including active non-compliance.

Rijke and van Teeffelen (2014, p. 88) provided “prototypical” instances of these deeds of non-compliance that infiltrated popular awareness, such as stories of farmers who would replant their olive trees after their uprooting by settlers or the IDF. *Sumud* also evolved to refer to images of Bedouin families who rebuild their communities after their homes, clinics and schools were repeatedly destroyed by the Israeli authorities. In the 1980s the notion of *Sumud* developed to be used as a “conceptual window to communicate Palestinians’ humanity to non-Palestinians” (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 89). Books and publications began to be written in English to describe the daily lives in the oPt, such as Shehadeh’s work mentioned earlier. A common theme of these books is “the small issues of daily life, a wry humorous sense of the absurdity of life under occupation, and the attempt to cling to basic human values under extremely testing circumstances” (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 89). The Oslo Accords, the so-called ‘peace process’ commencing in the 1990s and the subsequent unhelpful practices of the PA leadership had almost managed to cause the notions of *Sumud*, as resistance and a way of life, to lose its role as daily principle adopted in the everyday lives of communities, according to Rijke and van Teeffelen (2014). During this period, the idea of *Sumud* risked becoming part of an institutional jargon used by political leaders as a justification for neoliberal social and political policy. This was illustrated in the above mentioned paper in the neoliberal programme of Salam Fayyad, a former PA prime minister, who started to form state institutions based on capitalist and consumerist models to portray a government ready to be granted statehood by the international community. These institutions were claimed to be for the good of people and their *Sumud*, while actually benefiting a small elite of ministers and large corporations (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014). In the last ten years, however, *Sumud* has been revived in grassroots discourse and has come to represent a popular resistance struggle against the wall, the expanding illegal colonies, land confiscation and house demolitions. Such renewed ideas of *Sumud*, as a value and means of action for confronting oppression, are illustrated in the movement

for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israeli institutions involved in the military occupation, known as BDS. Civil society organisations and trades unions in the oPt, inspired by the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, argued that people should take matters into their hands and show politicians that they could influence the processes and structures of the military occupation (Davies, 2016).

In this way *Sumud's* meaning has shifted to refer to the struggle for civil rights for all in historic Palestine, rather than a fight for a nationalistic state. These and other non-armed struggles were described by Qumsiyeh in his book *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A history of hope and empowerment*, published in 2011. To 'resist is to exist', for Qumsiyeh, means taking direct actions that intend to accomplish pressure on opponents, decrease their grip on power, and make communities stronger. It requires a positive 'can do' attitude, and will eventually lead to self-sufficiency and a better quality of life. Qumsiyeh (2011) argued that daily forms of *Sumud* are hoped to eventually lead to self-determination and the right of return for refugees. The notion of daily acts of resistance in this sense also includes Israeli and international solidarity, and one of the examples Qumsiyeh used was of international volunteers picking olives during the second *Intifada* in the early 2000s.

7.5 Daily *Sumud* in the lives of olive growers

I observed one powerful instance of an action based on *Sumud* when I was helping a family to plant olive saplings in the winter of 2015/16. Amir, a family member who is a teacher during the day and a farmer in the evenings and holidays, related to me an event he described as "a nightmare come true":

In the night between the 16th and 17th of February I dreamt that something bad had happened to our olive trees. I went to the land on the morning of the 17th of February, and found all of the newly planted olives have been uprooted. The 500 olive trees were donated by the JAI to us and were planted by 40 volunteers on Friday 13th of February 2015. My family own a few hundred *dunums* [one dunum equals 1,000 square metres] in this *wadi* but we come from a village near Al-Khalil [Hebron]. I love this *wadi* and the trees in it as it is my second home. I lived on this land with my parents in a cave for some of my childhood, especially during harvest time. I felt shocked and devastated when I saw the terraces empty of trees in the morning. My family began facing problems from the Israeli authorities and settlers in the 1990s, but we eventually managed to prove we owned our land with documents from the Ottoman, British and Jordanian eras, which we luckily had kept safe. This is unusual as most Palestinian farmers in the area rarely manage to find papers to prove their ownership of their land. Our land is surrounded by two colonies. Settlers from these colonies have beaten up members of my family, and one day my brother had to be hospitalised as a result. The last attack on us took place last autumn. One year we planted apricots, apples, almonds and other fruit trees, most of which died as we were unable to access the land to look after them as a result of settlers' violence. This year we decided to plant the land with olives, and we have been working on the soil for some months to prepare it. We ploughed the land, removed the thorns and weeds and prepared the soil before planting day. On the morning of the planting day we had to park our cars hundreds of metres away as usual, and walked up and down the steep rocky terrain before we arrived. We walked that way because we were worried about settlers or soldiers attacking us if we used the road leading to the

two colonies which also leads to our land. At least a dozen heavily armed IDF soldiers were surrounding us in the nearby hills on the morning of planting day. Shakir, the IDF commander, approached me and warned me: "Next time don't bring with you all these types [referring to international volunteers], they are trouble. You should only come with your family." He also told me that he shouldn't be surprised if our trees were damaged.

On their way back to the bus after we finished planting, some of the volunteers were nearly run over by dangerously fast driving settlers, who shouted at them, "Go back to where you came from" in an American accent. One volunteer noticed their American accent and replied: "You should go back to Brooklyn." This morning when we arrived here, what we found looked like a massacre. What's left of the 500 trees were broken branches, severely damaged saplings thrown out of their holes, white plastic covering laid on the ground, and most of the wooden sticks still standing by the empty holes, looking like a mass grave. Most of the saplings have been taken from the land, and I think it must have taken them a few hours to remove. I think the IDF soldiers manning the checkpoint and the watchtower bordering our land must have seen them and turned a blind eye, or helped them even. I plan to go to the civil administration in a nearby colony to make a complaint, but I don't expect much from them because if your oppressor was also your judge how do you expect justice? We will not give up and we plan to work with the JAI to plant this field again, as we did twice before. We will not despair, no matter how strong they are. It is our right.

Indeed the following year, when I visited and called Amir to ask about how the saplings were, he reported that the trees they had planted the following season were still there. As expected, they had not heard from the civil administration about finding the perpetrators, and the family did not expect any compensation. They simply hoped that the trees they had replanted would grow well and that they would produce good fruit in a few years' time to feed the family and protect the land.

Other examples of daily activities of resistance seen in this study include: finding an alternative way to access land that is fenced, gated or where constructing roads is banned, such as by the use of donkeys or by finding holes in the fence; looking for alternative materials to build needed structures that the IDF bans e.g. stone already present on the land to construct a storage space, rehabilitating old wells for storing rainwater, and using caves in the hills for shelter and storage. Other families appealed to the courts and UN organisations to gain their land rights, with some successes. Others accessed confiscated land clandestinely to reclaim it by planting olive groves.

Not all stories I heard in the field represent examples of daily acts of *Sumud* among olive growers and the farming community in general. This is true in particular among the younger generation, many of whom found no other option but to abandon growing olives for other more profitable opportunities in order to sustain their families. Nedal told me about a man from the village whose father died and, because he works as a wage labourer in Israel, their land and trees had been neglected. Abu A'ttallah's children from his first marriage had also decided not to work the land and wanted their father to sell it and stay in town. Abu Weehab told me a story about a man from a nearby village who used to cultivate very good yields of grapes, and when the neighbouring settlers saw what he was capable of he was offered a job within the colony with a good salary, so he neglected his grapes and his yields became less and less productive with the years. Abu Weehab thought of this story as a parable for the ideology and practice of Israeli settler colonialism that has an interest in native communities leaving their land. Abu and Um Weehab themselves were worried that among their own children only their eldest, Weehab, was interested in olive growing.

I asked Abu Weehab about what was unique about him, Um Weehab and their son Weehab who were able to continue farming olives. He told me that they felt rooted in the land, and that they were fortunate to have some financial means to be able to spend on maintaining the land without expecting profitable yields every year. He also told me that he developed political consciousness as a young man in the 1960s and 1970s when Palestinian resistance against the military occupation became more organised. This was similar to what Nedal told me when I asked why, unlike most men his age in the village, he was interested in olive growing. He told me that as the only son of his father, who had left him and his mother to live in town, he was embedded in an environment of *fallahin* and that he helped his grandfather look after the sheep and grow fruit and vegetables. Nedal also was part of a youth political organisation that campaigned for workers' and farmers' rights before the establishment of the PA in the 1990s. According to Nedal, his involvement in the youth organisation increased his political consciousness and attachment to the land and to olive growing. He believed that the establishment of the PA has led to politicians and political parties seeking financial means as the main motivator for getting involved in social and political activism. Nedal thinks that political organisations have not been helping in developing that sort of awareness among the young that is important for people to maintain their Belonging to the land and their will to resist in their daily life in order to maintain the activity of olive farming. Nedal and his wife, like Nada and Abu Kamal, however, continued to try to nurture this awareness in their own young children by taking them to the land and by getting them more involved in the activities of growing olives and other fruit and vegetables.

7.6 The characteristics of everyday-acts-of-*Sumud*

For those who maintained the activities of olive growing and were challenging the military occupation through the everyday-acts-of-*Sumud*, these means had certain qualities, demanded specific skills and were shaped by a variety of values. These specific characteristics of olive growers' daily acts of *Sumud* will be discussed below based on the analysis and interpretation of the observations of this study, followed by links made to relevant studies on the concept of resistive occupations from an occupational justice perspective.

7.6.1 A necessity

Sumud is a position and an action that families adopt as a necessity in the face of occupational apartheid. *Sumud* allows them to survive, maintain their identity and Belonging, and work toward a future vision of a more just society. Participants talked about a revival in olive growing since the 1970s, calculated to counter the increase in land grab and the expansion of colonies on land owned by native families. Nedal's story of working three jobs reflected the need for *Sumud* in his daily life, whereby he persisted and held on to their land and the other jobs in order to provide for his family. Damir and his family had to be creative and problem-solve in what they could do with their land and how they could use their time as a family doing this – this is another example of how vital this attitude and means of action is. If olive growers are not to lose their land, they do not have a choice but to be on and work their land. Due to Israel's use of the centuries-old Ottoman rule that allows the expropriation of land that it deems unworked by its owners, many families believe that being on the land and working it is essential to reduce the chances of it being confiscated. Therefore, in

adopting the value of *Sumud*, families had no choice but to find means to access and work the land, as when Abu Nedal and his family, with the help of the agricultural committee in their village, rehabilitated a terrace and a well at the top of the hill and planted it with grapes. If Nedal had an opportunity to choose, he might have worked full-time on their land, or he might have opted for working for his own community in the village as he often told me. What allowed him and his family to hold on to their land, and to survive and continue to belong (to their land, family and community) and to grow, were the daily acts of *Sumud* that he could not afford not to adopt.

7.6.2 Selfless efforts

Sumud as a necessity required sacrifices of the families I met. Um Yasin and Abu A'ttallah left their families and moved to their land to protect it. In justifying these sacrifices, Um Yasin said: "As long as we protect the land, we will preserve ourselves. We will stay put on our land." She added: "Staying put on the land is our only *jihad*". The term *jihad* in Arabic originates from the root meaning, to make an effort to fight oppression (Dar Al-Mashriq, 1986). Many of the olive growers stated that this was their way of fighting the occupation, rather than by means of protesting or carrying arms. Damir's family had to find vast amounts of money for legal representation for court cases to challenge the Israeli authorities' attempts to confiscate their land. Abu Nedal left town and other jobs he had had there to return to his village to work and protect the land and his own community, which was at risk of "being swallowed by the colony", as he explained. This effort was selfless, and in some respect was not guaranteed to yield immediate results, but families I met were determined to practise it as their right and duty because they were the owners and workers of these lands, and their ancestors had been doing this activity for thousands of years. They felt they could not afford to not practise this duty, as they would lose their livelihood and ways of life. Qumsiyeh had equated this selfless attitude to the story of Jesus as told in the New Testament, and considered Jesus to be one of the first documented examples of popular resisters to domination (by Roman rule) in these lands (Qumsiyeh, 2011).

7.6.3 Self-determination

These needed and creative selfless acts are oriented towards communities' self-determination, as Damir reflected:

The future will be difficult. I believe that despite these circumstances we should be able to change our own reality. What we can do is a small stone in the large mosaic of liberating the land and ourselves. You add another stone, and we add another one, then we can hopefully complete the whole picture. We need to have a vision for the future, and be realistic at the same time.

His family's land was under threat of confiscation, hundreds of their trees were uprooted and their solar panels and wells were destroyed by the IDF. Their vision included developing an organic farm, educational projects for local communities and a volunteering programme for international activists – a vision they had been working on for the last decade. Their daily acts of *Sumud* were based on a hope that functions as a fuel for the family's daily lives. This can-do attitude was adopted by olive growers seeking a better future in which they could practise a degree of self-rule over their daily

lives and activities, and it was a fundamental factor in contributing to the motivation for taking part in daily means of *Sumud*. This process of Becoming that leads to dreaming about, and planning for, a greater collective self-ruling and self-actualising future will be further explained in section 7.8.1 in this chapter.

7.6.4 Occupational consciousness

This self-determination requires socio-political awareness that olive growers have developed through education and the renewal of traditional practices. Abu Wehaab said: “The future needs social awareness and feelings of Belonging to the land. Because if there is no awareness, everyone will migrate. Those who have it, even if they go away, will come back. We have no life apart from the one in this country, and we need to preserve it.” Um Weehab, his wife, a retired teacher who had always worked on the land, said: “The role of the teacher comes into play here. Teachers with this awareness will engage pupils who don’t read this in books. They will teach the things that the other side is hiding, and this will open their eyes.” She was referring to attempts by the Israeli authorities to monitor school curriculums against anything that is perceived as a threat to their dominance, which includes learning about Palestinian history and heritage (Masalha, 2012). She was worried that Israeli policies, aiming to preserve the status quo of segregation and colonisation, would cause younger generations to forget their heritage and lose their connectedness to their native land and traditional practices.

This type of awareness was described as an occupational consciousness, and refers to a recognition of power relationships of dominance between the colonisers and the colonised, and the awareness that this can be maintained but also confronted through people’s daily activities (Ramugondo, 2015). Ramugondo (2012) discussed this construct as she studied families in South Africa who, as a result of the history of colonisation and apartheid there, needed to negotiate long-term issues of power and find ways to confront this in their everyday lives in order to improve their and their community’s well-being. The term ‘consciousness’ was borrowed from Marxist, post-colonial and liberation thought, aiming to illuminate a situation of ongoing disparities in relationships between groups of people in society; the appending to it of ‘occupational’ signified that these relations “play out through human occupation” (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 422). Ramugondo’s study on intergenerational play within families in post-apartheid South Africa demonstrated some lasting effects of Western forms of colonialism in the daily habits of Black families; these effects were expressed in routines adopted by the youth in shanty towns and found to be caused by feelings of inferiority about their identity in relation to ‘white’ identity (Ramugondo, 2012). This manifested as Black youth favoured imported consumerist occupations, such as watching television all day. This frustrated the family studied, especially the older generation, as it prevented them from continuing traditional forms of play based on mutuality and cooperation - based on their values system of *Ubuntu* (see sections 6.3 and 6.6.2 in Chapter Six). This led Ramugondo to explore the concept of occupational consciousness as “a critical notion that frames everyday doing as a potentially liberating response to oppressive social structures.” (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 489). Framed within an occupational justice approach, this notion can aid in increasing people’s awareness of socio-political and historical influences over their daily occupations, by supporting them to articulate their own situations to enable self-directed activities that lead to their individual and collective well-being (Ramugondo, 2012).

Black communities in post-Apartheid South Africa still experience the colonial legacy in financial and living conditions disparities, and in feelings of inferiority among some individuals. Through her post-

colonial lens Ramugondo was able to illustrate how both the oppressed and the oppressors can reinforce unjust systems; she saw this as “implicit consent” in the family she studied when she observed how the family was prevented from self-determining a narrative about their own occupation (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 492). However, territorial segregation and separation in work and education is no longer the law in South Africa. In Palestine, olive growing families are still living under a segregating structure enforced by the official policy and practice of settler colonialism and military occupation; they are constantly aware of it, which provides the motive to act. Their challenge against this situation of injustice is expressed through values and means of action they have carried over from previous generations, with some contemporary additions, such as the incorporation of global solidarity. Palestinian families I spoke to, unlike the South African family in Ramugondo’s study, were alert to such a situation and continuously articulated this awareness to me. However, it can be argued that some Palestinians might have adopted the othering and self-demoting stance that sees them as inferior. This has led many to leave olive growing and seek some other occupations such as consumerism or professions that led them to leaving the village. This implicit adoption of attitudes of the colonisers can also be seen in the partnership of the PA with Israeli forces or when the PA adopts practices and institutions based on Western capitalist ideologies that proved harmful to native Palestinian communities such as those agri-business policies cited by Sansour and Tartir (2014) (see section 7.8.1 below).

Communities visited for this thesis recognised the hegemony of Israeli policy and ideology over their daily lives. They resisted it by ensuring that acts of *Sumud*, based on their people’s historic experiences and ways of living, were practised despite land colonisation and segregation designed to erase these ways of life. To this end, they engaged the young and found ways to preserve their Belonging and resisting activities to enable their survival and emergence as a unique people who belonged to their specific context but also to the wider global community, by communicating and sharing their own special way of daily resistance, as discussed next. Additionally, the process of intercultural translation performed in this study is hoped to also contribute to this type of awareness raising of this specific type of a Global South occupational consciousness within the discipline of occupational science and the field of occupational therapy.

7.7 Daily-acts-of-*Sumud* as further evidence to the political and resistive aspects of occupations

The stories of the *Sumud* of olive farmers belong to the larger world insofar as they resemble situations in other parts of the globe. The realities of other communities, their occupations and their contexts were presented in the series of books, *Occupational Therapies Without Borders* (Kronenberg, Simó Algado and Pollard, 2005; Kronenberg, Pollard and Sakellariou, 2011; Sakellariou and Pollard, 2017). These volumes were an inspiration for this study, and motivated me to think about my own community through an occupational justice lens. They included a collection of theoretical and empirical explorations of global groups facing adverse socio-political conditions, and how these impacted on their daily doing. Their meaningful occupations were restricted, but despite that or because of it, they have been using these activities as socially and politically transformative tools for their own liberation. The books told stories from all corners of the globe, including Latin America, South Africa and Palestine. Communities studied included ethnic, religious and sexual minorities, people seeking refuge, people with mental health issues and people with physical disabilities. Occupation emerged as a concept that encompasses resistive elements that counter the status quo of domination, oppressions and different forms of injustice. This resisting agency was

expressed through individual and collective activities, and with political consciousness and determination to achieve justice of some kind. These occupations variously had immediate or long term outcomes, but all aimed at changing structures or transforming the community. The social and political transformation aspect of daily activities was evidenced, for instance, by a study of domestic workers conducted by Galvaan (2010), a South African scholar. The women in this study maintained their other occupational roles as mothers and members of their communities, and organised in unions. They managed to participate in all these activities and roles, despite and in response to the harsh working conditions imposed by employers' rigid rules and the long-standing issues of racial and financial segregation (Galvaan, 2010).

The topic of occupation as a tool for social and political change was discussed in Gelya Frank's work (1996). She studied craft production among indigenous Palestinian women and among Israeli women from communities who had migrated from non-Western countries. Women in Palestine have a long history of realising forms of self-determination through doing their daily activities collectively. Documented examples of such acts include when in the 1920s women led direct actions against British rule, such as demonstrations, petitions and letter writing to influential politicians (Frank, 1996; Qumsiyeh, 2011). These collective acts of resistance were done by women aiming to free themselves and society from oppression, and were and still are pivotal in the general struggle for occupational and social justice in Palestine (Qumsiyeh, 2011). Frank (1996) showed how in the late 1970s women established work committees that were restricted and limited by political, social and economic structures, including Israeli policies and patriarchal domination. Such oppressive measures were exemplified in Frank's (1996) study in the case of the closing down of an embroidery workshop by the IDF during the first *Intifada*. Craft production by women in Palestine, it can be argued, is an instance of a daily act of *Sumud*, as it is a collective and a historic occupation done with co-agency and solidarity between local women. It aims to counter the status quo of domination. Its outcome is to maintain and improve livelihood. Craft production is similar to other collective occupations done by other colonised people, such as when Indian producers attempted to be self-sufficient in making their own clothes on spinning wheels rather than relying on imported British supplies, enabling a boycott of British produce to counter the British occupation (Frank, 1996). This aim of becoming more self-sufficient adds another level of resemblance between the cases of craft-making and olive growing – both of which are daily acts of *Sumud* with wider global connections and relevance to other communities who are experiencing historical and political injustices, and seeking ways to resist such injustices.

Frank conceptualised craft making as a resistive occupation and her study was the first and remains one of the few works in the field to append the term 'resistive' to occupation. She wrote that "individuals continue to use crafts to adapt to oppressive situations and groups to mobilize resistance to political and economic domination" (1996, p. 56). She claimed that in these instances the 'lexicon of culture' was contested and she wished to explore what occurs when "naming daily activities and interpreting their meaning becomes a political act" (Frank, 1996, p. 56). She defined culture as the "patterns of meaningful everyday activity", and argued that it was a phenomenon that requires analysing from political and economic perspectives (Frank, 1996, p. 56). In that sense resistive occupations, such as craft making and olive growing, express a culture that is at risk of being disrupted or lost. It is a political phenomenon because it is a communal act and is done for collective self-actualisation, therefore enabling people to fulfil their potential through their daily occupations. This was demonstrated when Damir told me how he and his family decided to adopt the approach of "non-violent resistance" by finding creative ways to enable them to continue working the land, and in that way they "chose the path of hope" (as Damir told me) to become more self-sufficient. They also work with nearby villagers to do the same in order to achieve their collective potential.

Little in the form of empirical work, needed in order to develop the idea of resistive occupation, has been published apart from Frank's work mentioned above. More recently, some have discussed phenomena they called 'wicked problems' from an occupational justice perspective, and came close to terming occupations to counter them as resistive activities (Wicks and Jamieson, 2014; McGrath and McGonagle, 2016). Wicked problems were defined as socio-environmental issues that impact people's wellness, such as climate change (Wicks and Jamieson, 2014). Settler colonialism in Palestine can be classed as a 'wicked problem' given its definition as a major issue without clear solutions (Wicks and Jamieson, 2014). More specifically in regards to land-based occupations, Cabell (2012) studied agro-ecological farming in Canada as a way to counter the status quo and contribute to alternative ways of being. This study came close to describing ecological farming as a form of resistance, and it highlighted the Belonging and spiritual elements of the transformative occupation of growing local and seasonal food using environmentally-friendly methods (Cabell, 2012).

Frank and Muriithis (2015) studied singing and sit-ins in the US civil rights movement and during the fight against apartheid in South Africa. The authors stressed the need for empirical evidence to further the conceptualisation and theorisation of occupations as socially and politically transformative. In this theoretically considered paper, the authors proposed a theory of occupational reconstructions; borrowing Dewey's meaning of 'reconstruction', occupational reconstructions were defined as "what people do together to restore or remake ordinary life in response to a shared injustice or other problematic situation" (Frank and Muriithis, 2015, p. 11). They adopted John Dewey's philosophy of Pragmatism to address how collectives, in this case civil rights and anti-apartheid activists, face a problematic situation that leads to a process of inquiring, experimenting and acting. They offer seven criteria for, or principles of, occupational reconstruction: it should be a shared activity; it is about problem solving to improve a situation; it is an embodied act that people are motivated to do and they personally take part in it; it has a story structure, adopting Mattingly's (1998) concept of narrative with an imagined future that is anticipated, uncertain and unfolds with time and space; it involves creativity; carried out by choice; and finally occupational reconstruction should be an optimistic trial aiming to achieve positive change (Frank and Muriithis, 2015).

All of these criteria can be found in the occupation of olive growing in Palestine. Farming olives is a communal activity, though not with one purpose but with multiple aims and meanings, as shown in Chapter Five. Olive growing is carried out to solve the problem of feeding and financially supporting the family in the context of socio-economic, historical and political hardship. It is an embodied action that is holistically engaged in by individuals in their bodies and minds. It has a story structure – timeline, places and different characters, as conversations with olive farmers showed. In terms of the start, middle and end structure of story that occupational reconstructions have, olive farming, unlike direct actions done for solely political reasons, has not a period of time when people decided to begin it. However, as shown above, there was a particular period in recent history, the late 1970s, when olive growing began to be associated with de-colonial struggle. This points to a moment in time when farmers took a conscious decision to re-engage in such an occupation as a way to confront the military occupation. The creative element of olive growing is illustrated in the skill of problem solving and adopting innovative actions such as in the story of Damir's family. Cultivating olives was not found in this study as an occupation that was forced on individuals and families in the oPt, just like the activities described by Frank and Muriithis (2015), they felt the need to engage in them by their own choice. Finally, olive growing is done with a hopeful attitude despite the negative prospects. People do it to self-actualise and they are willing to trial different things in order to achieve positive change as a result. There is, though, one conflict between occupational reconstructions as analysed by Frank and Muriithis (2015) and olive growing as conceptualised in

this study. Cultivating olives is not an act that is solely done for political ends, as is the case with sit-ins in the USA, or boycotts against South Africa. Olive farming in Palestine, as observed in this research, is a political act, and some of the motivations for doing it are collective, but it was not planned as an act of civil disobedience. It might include some direct actions such as reclaiming land, or protests against the uprooting of trees, or using holes in the fence to pass through to one's land. These direct acts of protest are not the ultimate goal of olive growing as an act of *Sumud*, instead they are done for purposes of holding onto their land, trees and community (Belonging) and to enable them to become more self-ruling (Becoming).

7.8 *Sumud* as Belonging for Becoming

This beginning of a theoretical discussion on the concept of resistive occupation leads me to an exploration of how the daily acts of *Sumud* described in this thesis relate to other theoretical insights in occupational justice, and how the unique act of resistance through olive growing can expand these understandings. The daily occupations of *Sumud* were interpreted in this study in relation to the link between, Becoming and Belonging, as presented in the theory of the human need for occupation (Wilcock, 1998; 2006). In this theory the relationship between these two dimensions of occupation represents the future-oriented determinant interacting with the need to connect and contribute to communities' wellness (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b).

7.8.1 *Sumud* as Doing for Becoming

The first element of this relationship, Doing for Becoming, was mostly ignored in occupational therapy research due to the Eurocentric and individualistic methods that have tended to prevail in this field (Hitch, Pépin and Stagnitti, 2014a; 2014b). The foundation of the concept of Becoming is challenged and extended by the experience of Palestinian olive farmers as interpreted in this thesis. Wilcock based this notion on Maslow's work on the hierarchy of needs and his theory of human motivation (Maslow, 1970). Becoming in Maslow's sense refers to concepts such as change, development and transformation – all drivers and outcomes of what people do in their daily lives (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). It assumes a move from meeting lower needs to satisfying those higher ones, all of which are biological needs humans are born with (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). The lowest of them are the physical and emotional needs of the human body, and at the top is the highest fulfilment of the human potential, termed 'self-actualisation' (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). Becoming is constant, as humans never reach an optimal endpoint of their progress, according to this view (Wilcock and Hocking, 2015). To challenge such ethnocentric and anthropocentric notions, Santos (2014) called for epistemologies that are based on ways of knowing and doing rooted in the daily lives of marginalised communities in the Global South, such as *Ubuntu* in South Africa. Western-centric intellectuals, including those on the liberal left, according to Santos, have provided the wrong answers to the world's troubles (Santos, 2016). Some of those answers, such as 'development' or 'education', 'democracy' or 'human rights', are seen as solutions that fit all societies with no attention to specificity of place and time, and are founded on epistemologies – ways of seeing and knowing the world – that, if imported to groups such as olive farmers, may not help their situation and may even lead to more oppression.

One example of how Western-centric notions of development and progress were imposed on Palestinian farming communities was reported by Sansour and Tartir (2014). In the name of economic development, the PA created industrial zones in the West Bank which allowed it to confiscate land from farmers. These zones have been found to be profitable for agri-business, mainly Israeli companies, rather than for the farmers themselves (Sansour and Tartir, 2014):

Like many farmers around the world, Palestinian farmers are the victims of a top down neoliberal development approach that attempts to dispossess them of their land and seeds in service of banks, multinational corporations, and agribusiness giants. An instrument of this approach has been the Palestinian Authority's creation of industrial zones that will entrench Palestinians' dependency on Israel and sustain the current detrimental economic framework (Sansour and Tartir, 2014, p. 1).

Palestinian rural families, like other Global South communities, are facing a situation of injustice as a result of an idea of progress or development forced upon them. They are also creatively living and resisting under these hardships by using means deeply rooted in living in harmony and mutual transactions with other beings. An alternative term, rooted in the Palestinian experience, was offered by Said, who discussed the concept of 'emergence', or *intilaqah* (a beginning with eagerness and force) (Said, 1999). "In place of some Archimedean magic principle outside history or society", Said suggested emergence as a way to interpret the daily existence of Palestinian communities (1999, p. 125). Palestinian olive farming communities, as observed in this research, are living under a continuing process of land colonisation, land and community segregation and other ideologies and policies that have been forced on them in the last century. Because of and despite this negative trajectory, Palestinian individuals and communities have been responding through their patterns of daily living, or culture (Frank, 1996). They go on doing what they need to do, aiming to collectively self-determine and emerge as more self-ruling and actualising. This ongoing emergence Said associated with workers and peasants, who were a "force of recovery" through their daily doings (Said, 1999, p. 116). Their daily acts of *Sumud* represented a combination of the emergence element – Doing for Becoming – with the Doing for Belonging dimension discussed below.

7.8.2 *Sumud* as Doing for Belonging

The Belonging aspect of this interaction between Doing for Becoming and Doing for Belonging, refers to the duty of all individuals in society to build and harness social relations (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014). These bonds are embodied in family and in local and international relationships, which have a function in keeping the Palestinian way of life alive. Belonging is achieved by mutual alliances creating a situation in which people share each other's burdens and form a community based on solidarity and caring (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014). Evidence to this aspect of daily lives in Global South groups was shown in a study by Kramer-Roy (2011). She used participatory action research to learn about occupational justice issues within families of British-Pakistani background who were raising children with disabilities (Kramer-Roy, 2011). This study highlighted a community's experience of occupational injustice, how their "belongingness" suffered due to negative views about disability within the community, and the positive changes in their beliefs and ways of doing that enabled the acceptance of their children and better caring for their children (Kramer-Roy, 2011, p. 390).

The Belonging aspect of *Sumud* doesn't represent only those who live in the oPt, but also Palestinians who live abroad, Israeli and international solidarity activists who have connections to the nation, culture, and history, as well as to the wider world (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014). *Sumud* relies on this Belonging aspect to act in conjunction with the future-oriented element of Doing for Becoming. "The resistance expressed through *Sumud* represents a way of believing in a better and more human future, and a rejection of the unjust relationship between occupier and occupied", as Rijke and van Teeffelen concluded (2014, p. 93). Olive growers demonstrated this future-oriented determination in their everyday activities, aided by a communal solidarity that resisted land-colonisation. Their daily experiences offer a useful example to the occupational justice movement, by sharing their stories of daily acts of *Sumud* as empirical evidence for Belonging for Becoming as an essential component of human occupations. It was shown that *Sumud* constitutes "the agency of everyday acts that prevent Israel's successful subordination of Palestinians" (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014 p. 92). It places resisting the Israeli military occupation as "part of life for people focused on going forward and keeping their hope in a more just and human future alive" (Rijke and van Teeffelen, 2014, p. 92).

The daily acts of *Sumud* analysed in the stories of olive farmers represent an "unmistakable Palestinian determination" which is founded on "notable stubbornness" deriving from "a sense of accumulated Palestinian history" (Said, 1999, p. 147 and 158). The everyday activities of *Sumud* of olive growers provide a conceptual window onto creative and problem-solving means of actions; they offer insights to world solidarity and to communities resisting occupational injustices, by potentially inspiring these communities to act resistively in culturally specific ways. Daily acts of *Sumud* demonstrated by olive farmers embody a plurality of means of Becoming and Belonging, rooted in daily experiences that can be shared with the world. In that way, olive growing in Palestine offers a unique contribution to global communities by offering insights about everyday acts of resistance to ensure their occupational justice and well-being. Moreover, these collective ways of knowing and doing can be applied and tested in other contexts of injustice within which occupational therapists, occupational scientists, other helping professionals and activists, work.

7.9 Other instances of Daily *Sumud* in the oPt

There are other everyday occupations done by other Palestinian groups as means of *Sumud*, which demonstrate its omnipresence in everyday life here. The first instance I discuss here is not from my observations or from the literature, but from a powerful story about producing milk from cows during the first *Intifada* in the 1980s, based on a film I watched during one field visit and my reactions to it which I recorded in my field notes. The second example is about the daily occupation of preserving and sharing heritage vegetable and fruit seeds – the aims of a recent project that was named the Palestine Heirloom Seed Library (PHSL), founded by Vivien Sansour, whom I met during my field work. The PHSL story below is based on a conversation with Sansour that was recorded in my field notes.

7.9.1 Producing Milk as a political act

The story of the cows of Beit Sahour is almost a utopian example of a daily act of *Sumud*. It has all the hallmarks and the characters of such a concept as discussed in this chapter. The story has been brought back to public awareness by a film co-directed by a local man, Amer Shomali. I saw the film during my time in Beit Sahour, the town I used as a base during field work. *The Wanted 18* (2014) tells the true story of the local community, which sought to boycott Israeli produce in order to be self-sufficient and to produce their own milk. They found a friendly Israeli *kibbutz* that agreed to sell them 18 cows so they could collectively rear them and produce milk for the people of the town. The film tells the story through interviews with women and men who participated in this activity. It also employs animation, reconstructions of events and real footage from the period: the late 1980s at the peak of the first *Intifada*, when the town suffered curfews and closures as well as raids and violence. The community cleverly broke the conditions of curfew in order to milk the cows and deliver their milk to people's houses, guarding the cows in a place of hiding by sleeping with them in the stable. Eventually the Israeli authorities found out about the project and began to search for the herd. The townspeople then had to problem-solve and find other places of hiding for the cows, such as at the butcher's shop and in the butcher's home. Despite the creative and determined fight the town's people put up, they couldn't stand up to an Israeli force equipped with high technology and weaponry. Sadly the town lost one of her sons, who was shot dead by the IDF during this episode, and the cows were all hunted down. This act of daily *Sumud* deeply troubled the Israeli forces, as one of the former generals interviewed in the film admitted. They did not want people elsewhere in the oPt to learn from such a story of creative challenge to the dominance of the military occupation over their lives.

As for why this act counts for an ideal instance of a daily *Sumud*, it demonstrates a mutual association between a specific human group, their context and the daily activities they wish and need to engage in. I start with the people involved. They were women and men who "were exceptional in not only coping with, but challenging great difficulties, and developing strategies to survive with" (Dabbagh, 2015). As one of the interviewees said in the film: "The only thing we controlled was the air that we breathed". The military occupation and its practices "put it into your head that you are subhuman, you are not equal", as another interviewee said. However, still another one of the interviewees said: "It was very clear. Mentally we were superior to them." This mental attitude resembles Wade's small acts of resistance and Scott's story about the wise 'farting' peasant discussed. The people of Beit Sahour, despite the imposition of physical forms of violence and segregation such as the curfew, felt that they still had an agency to act to fulfil their sovereignty over their daily actions and lives. The second element in the story is the environment, both human and other than human. The human made structures represented by the military occupation led to the experience of occupational apartheid systematically limiting their collective self-determination. It led to occupational apartheid through restrictions on the daily occupations of society: curfews and the closing down of schools, for example. An alternative and more liberating dimension of the context was expressed through the heritage and culture that created unique ways of believing and doing, and values of cooperation and solidarity – including cooperation with a sympathetic Israeli community. These values provided a motivator for the people to do the activity. The daily occupation of producing milk is the third element in this transaction. It was a necessary activity for survival, for maintaining and harnessing community roles and meanings, as well as having a collective function of claiming sovereignty over the participants' families, land and daily doing.

That act of *Sumud* succeeded despite the sad ending caused by the Israeli forces. It was completed by the act of telling the story through the film to others. This initiative, as an example of an action

and a value deeply rooted in the community, continues a tradition of this small town of Beit Sahour, a town with a history of resistive collective actions. This was communal activity that originated from people at a grassroots level, and not dictated by any outside force. This town had offered living examples of daily forms of *Sumud* in the past, such as infamous tax boycotts in the first *Intifada* (Qumsiyeh, 2011). Other actions taken by this community included coordinating teaching committees and home schooling during time of curfews and school and university closures. The role of women and people of all ages and backgrounds was distinctive to such actions in Beit Sahour. This collective occupation that was creatively done for Belonging and self-rule was observed, by Berger (1979) and Scott (2012), as a markers of peasant way of life. It have been shown as means of doing and knowing described in the epistemologies of the South, and some constructs conceptualised in occupational science that will be further discussed in Chapter Eight. One difference between the acts of *Sumud* done through olive farming and the example of producing milk in Beit Sahour is that, like the sit-ins and boycotts cited by Frank and Muriithi (2015) as historical examples of occupational reconstruction, the story of the cows was an organised daily occupation done for the purpose of civil disobedience (as well as sustenance), whereas the daily activities of olive farming were not intended as an organised act of civil disobedience.

7.9.2 Collecting seeds as an act of resistance

The Palestine Heirloom Seed Library is a local initiative established by Vivien Sansour. After a few years away, during which she studied and worked with farming communities in the Americas and in other regions of Palestine, Vivien Sansour returned home to find that the familiar smells and sights of local produce sold in her hometown had almost disappeared. She was shocked to see “markets flooded with a monoculture of alien species of vegetables and fruit”. Reflecting on her project, she explained: “The seed library team are operating as seed detectives, excavating elders’ knowledge of the old varieties and the stories that go with them.” The team visits the surrounding villages, meeting elders who collect the seeds of native fruits and vegetables. The library has been collecting and experimenting in planting heirloom varieties, including a disappearing white cucumber forgotten by the younger generations, and an old watermelon variety called *Jadu’i*. The library holds workshops in which local students and teachers learn and recreate knowledge that they gather from their parents and grandparents about native seeds and ways to collect, save and grow them. The seed library aims to empower local communities to preserve indigenous seeds which are suited to local conditions and can grow organically with little artificial irrigation. It is hoped that this inter-generational and inter-communal project will help to overturn the pattern of turning local farmers into being consumers dependent on Israeli and global agribusiness companies. Such companies sell them seeds that are unsuitable for the local conditions, require scarce water resources and deadly chemicals to grow, and erase thousands of years of heritage.

Recalling the acts of *Sumud* of the olive growers who resist occupational apartheid, Vivien reflected on the resistive element of collecting seed: “The mere act of saving a seed becomes a subversive act that generates a sense of resurrection of the spirit of a people buried, and at the same time sprouting hope in the most essential of ways.” The library has plans to collaborate with seed libraries elsewhere in the world, in order to share ideas and practices to strengthen further the food sovereignty of these communities. The story of the PHSL contains all the elements of the daily acts of resistance analysed in this study, however this daily occupation, done for the purpose of resistance is, unlike olive growing, an organised and planned project whose main purpose is enabling and empowering those farmers who have already lost the occupation of seed collecting to revive

this activity; whereas olive growing, as shown in this study, is not a planned project and has already been revived by families here since the 1970s.

7.10 Conclusion

Olive growing as an everyday act of *Sumud* is a phenomenon rooted in the historic and daily realities of Palestinians. It relates to notions and practices of anti-colonial struggles globally, and resembles other everyday activities of resistance studied elsewhere in the world. *Sumud* as daily resistance was translated into occupational science discourse as a principle of action representing the Belonging for Becoming dimension of daily activities: motivating, and enacted by, olive growing activities. *Sumud* evolved throughout modern Palestinian history, emerging during the British mandate in the early 19th century, and since then evolved as a way of life that reflect the phrase: 'To resist is to exist'. Daily acts of *Sumud* carried out by olive farmers were shown to be informed by four values: they are adopted as essential acts for holding on to land and the survival of the community; they are selfless actions done by families who had to make sacrifices in the process; they are hopeful and future-oriented acts that aim at olive growers Becoming more self-determined; and they are based on a specific socio-political, and occupational, consciousness of the dynamic of powers related to settler colonialism and its aim to divorce people from their land and daily activities. Olive growers' daily acts of *Sumud* were analysed as an empirical example of notions of resistive occupations and occupational reconstruction in occupational science. Finally, *Sumud* as a motivator for olive growing was compared to the relationship between Doing for Becoming and Doing for Belonging, as it expresses an ongoing collective attempt to emerge as self-determined and sovereign community. It therefore offers a unique Palestinian contribution to the theory of the occupational nature of humans and the occupational justice movement in occupational science.

Table 6 - A summary of the theme of *Sumud*

Theme / Principle of action	Sub-themes / Constituent values	An example of how it manifested in action	An example of how participants articulated the principle in their own voice
<p><i>Sumud</i></p> <p>Belonging for Becoming</p>	<p>A necessary resistive and creative acts</p> <p>A selfless act</p> <p>Done for self-determination</p> <p>Informed by socio-political awareness enabling solidarities and resistance confronting occupational apartheid</p>	<p>Participants found alternative ways to access land that is fenced, gated or where constructing roads is banned, such as by the use of donkeys or by finding holes in the fence; they looked for alternative materials to build needed structures that the IDF bans e.g. stone already present on the land to construct a storage space, rehabilitating old wells for storing rainwater, and using caves in the hills for shelter and storage. Other families appealed to the courts and UN organisations to gain their land rights, with some successes. Others accessed confiscated land clandestinely to reclaim it by planting olive groves.</p>	<p>Um Yasin: “growing olives is our greatest <i>Jihad</i>[effort to confront oppression]”</p> <p>Vera: “when you plant a tree you are saying ‘I have a future’.”</p> <p>Bilal: “For the Palestinian people all of this goes back to that basic and principal thing: it originates in our relationship to our mother, <i>al ard</i> [the land]. She is our land, our mother, and that’s why we need to keep looking after her, protect her, be steadfast and <i>samidin</i> [the plural present tense of the root of <i>Sumud</i>] in it. We can do this by taking care of her and by being creative.”</p>

Chapter Eight: Everyday Forms of Resistance

“It is not only the future of peasants which is now involved in this continuity. The forces which in most parts of the world are today eliminating or destroying the peasantry represent the contradiction of most of the hopes once contained in the principle of historical progress.”
(Berger, 1979, p. xxvi)

In this chapter, the final integrated theme of Everyday Forms of Resistance will be discussed. This theme was identified in the later stages of this study when it was becoming clear that the three preceding themes of *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* share many aspects in common, practically and conceptually. Here I address this overarching principle of olive growing, along with some examples from the field followed by insights in regards to the ontological and epistemological meanings of this principle of action for olive growing that combines the other themes of this study.

8.1 Everyday Forms of Resistance

When I met Abu Nedal for the last time in the spring of 2017 I asked him what he thought about the themes that were emerging from my analysis. He told me:

As for *Sutra*, Allah is the *Sater*. The word *Sutra* comes from the same root as the word used to mean a protector. It also means dignity: if you grow olives you live in honour and dignity, and there is no need for you to rely on anyone. As the saying I told you about in the past goes, whoever has a fig and an olive tree is rich. I also told you about how father used to take a bag of figs, olive oil and bread to the orchard, and that was all he needed to eat during the day. Another meaning for *Sutra*, which we acquired because of colonialism and the Israeli military occupation, is that growing olive trees protects the land and protects you from your land being stolen. Also it gives you an identity and self-confidence: people respect the one who is *mastour* [the adjective form of *Sutra*], and whoever has olive trees approaches people with a raised head and pride.

A'wna is one of the most important moral values we associate with olive farming. *A'wna* means unity, solidarity, empathy. You are with me in good and in bad times. We collaborate and exchange expertise, we help each other and share our skills and tools for work, and all of that without exchange of pay. People need each other, and *A'wna* for me is a moral behaviour, a value and a cultural heritage passed from previous generations. We have less of *A'wna* today for many reasons, the most important of which is that Israel has destroyed the farming sector. As for *A'wna* as a universal concept, and its relationship to solidarity, I can give an example of university students from Italy who visited us. They advocate for you, support you, empathise with you, so solidarity is wider than *A'wna*. *A'wna* needs solidarity, it is part of it. When people come to support you they make not only a physical effort, but they express also their moral support for the farmers. Even some Israelis are in solidarity with us, they translate this into action in the different forms of solidarity, and one of them is *A'wna* or volunteering to work with us. *A'wna* is based on humane and ethical principles, and on respecting human rights.

Finally, *Sumud* is about if I don't have an olive tree I don't have a living. *Sumud* in life is steadfastness against the military occupation.

(Abu Nedal, field notes, March 2017)

Despite being presented so far as distinct categories of meaning relating to the conservation of the activity of farming olives, these three dimensions – *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* – share some features that co-exist and relate to each other. In abstract thinking and for intellectual purposes we can separate them, but in the real world they were observed to be utilised together: farmers mix and choose what they need to focus on from each of those principles in order to get the task in hand done. The example of the daily activities of Um and Abu Weehab illustrate well this integration between these principles of action: they engage in olive farming activities for their families' sustenance and well-being through picking olives and making oil (*Sutra*), by cooperating with other family members and locals and internationals (*A'wna*), who also support their engagement in resistive acts such as reclaiming land or going to the courts to challenge the occupational apartheid practised against them, and to enable their and their community's Becoming and self-determination (*Sumud*). This synthesis of the overall story told by these three themes will be the topic of the following three section of this chapter, in which *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* for olive growing will be presented as Everyday Forms of Resistance. This synthesis is a further refinement of the intercultural translation conducted in this study, and resulted from analysis and interpretation of the findings, member checking, disseminating the findings and ongoing study of the literature (See table 7 at the end of this chapter).

8.2 The intentional, relational and resistive elements of Everyday-Forms-of-Resistance

In order to enable the doing of olive growing for well-being, individuals and families need to collaborate, and this collaboration is based on a socio-political awareness, solidarity and co-agency, and the need to resist an occupational injustice. These common components of the three principles of olive growing observed in this study are expressed in the intentional and relational aspects of each of them: all of these values that drive this activity include the aim of achieving well-being for individuals, families and communities, including resisting occupational injustice; and all of them are founded on an interpersonal, inter-community and intra-community (including other-than-humans) collaborative approach to the doing of the activities of olive growing. *Sutra* has social and political elements, which were expressed in the identity and role in the community that olive growing provides, as well as in the resistive element that became necessary after the 1967 invasion of the West Bank. *Sutra*, as a protective element of family and community, also expresses the associations between humans and other than human elements in the form of respect for, mutuality with and love for trees, land and animals. Similarly *A'wna* has those environmental, social and political features in the form of connectedness and solidarity at the level of family, village, locality and globe, as well as the bond with the more-than-human that enables the continuation of this activity. This community element – including the natural environment and international groups – and the active awareness of oppression and the need to confront it, are key features of *Sumud*, and are common to the other two themes.

In this way *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* can be combined together in a larger category of Principles of Action which illustrate a unique Palestinian moral and behavioural code. Everyday Forms of Resistance, in this sense, are an empirical example that can be framed by, and at the same time can enrich, occupational science constructs that have been helpful in the theorising of human occupations, though they are limited in their application due to their epistemological and ontological origins in a Global North fields of study. These concepts, which were discussed in this study in relation to the everyday lives of olive growers, are: the notion of humans as occupational beings;

Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging; collective occupations; occupational apartheid; and occupational consciousness. Participant families taught me that for them to enable an occupation (olive-growing) done for individual and collective well-being (a collective occupation), they adopted an occupational consciousness (*Sutra-A'wna-Sumud*) based on their knowledge of inequalities and oppression regarding access to that occupation (occupational apartheid); more than mere recognition of such injustice, this occupational consciousness involves learning about, developing and using problem-solving skills and creative daily responses to confront – indirectly or directly - attempts to restrict the activity.

8.3 Everyday Forms of Resistance as an ontological and epistemological stance

This overarching association between *Sutra*, *A'wna* and *Sumud* is not only a practical and ethical means to allow the maintenance of olive farmers' way of life, but also an ontological and epistemological stance offered to us by the oPt olive growing community. Everyday Forms of Resistance, as studied here, posed a challenge to knowledge founded on a conception of different identities as individual occupational beings with separate agencies, which was conceived within an epistemology of imperialism and might have led scholars to mostly ignore the risk of what has been termed as 'epistemicide' (Santos, 2014). In contrast to such an 'othering' interpretation of everyday realities by Eurocentric disciplines, such as occupational science and occupational therapy, olive farmers saw their realities as interconnected with their context. They conceived their families, land and trees and animals, local and global communities, not as binary features that can be separated, controlled and quantified but instead perceived their daily realities as interlinked and in constant interaction with all those elements of their environment. This mutual connectedness led to their collective well-being and to their Becoming (and dreams of Becoming) more self-fulfilling and self-ruling.

This way of interpreting their world included collective meanings they expressed through their daily lives, and interconnectedness between purposes they aimed to express in all spheres of their subjective experiences. Olive farmers were found to wish to engage in olive growing activities for communal meanings, which encompassed the physical, emotional, social, cultural, spiritual and political roles. These levels of meanings were not isolated when they spoke about, or engaged in actions related to, olive farming. They were observed to farm olives for multiple purposes and not isolate those when engaging in the doing of olive growing: they interpreted the need to do olive growing as combining self and community care goals, as well as for recreational and productive aims.

Everyday Forms of Resistance were observed in this thesis not only as ontological means of interpreting their daily lives. They also expressed an epistemological position adopted by olive farmers. Everyday Forms of Resistance were enacted through olive growers' daily occupations as ways of knowing and producing new knowledge. They were means which led to the development of new forms of relationships, knowledge and skills which empowered them to maintain their and their communities' well-being. In other words, olive growing families were observed to enact *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* as an occupational consciousness which enabled a helpful interpretation of their circumstances and contributed to the development of useful knowledge and skills: they learned about their history and heritage, their natural environment, and their local and global contexts in order to orchestrate and harmonise all these elements for the benefits of individuals and communities, including the natural environment. This unique collective occupational consciousness

led them to be alert to the occupational injustice they experienced; and at the same time they adopted these principles as means of doing (or intervening in the world), being (in the world) and knowing (about the world) to problem-solve and to challenge the systematic and systemic restrictions imposed on them, on their everyday activities and on the expression of their unique means of knowing and believing (values).

This practical, ethical, and ontological-epistemological position can be adopted in occupational science, occupational therapy and by other communities of praxis concerned with human and more-than-human well-being. I suggest that considering such means of interpreting the world, and acting on it, might inspire alternative ways to produce and apply knowledge in occupational science and occupational therapy. In the final chapter I will discuss how such inclusion can contribute to facilitating more inclusive theory development, research and education, and to applying more appropriate models of practice.

Table 7 – A summary of the theme of Everyday-Forms-of-Resistance

Theme / Principle of action	Sub-themes / Constituent values	An example of how it manifested in action	An example of how participants articulated the principle in their own voice
Everyday Forms of Resistance	<p>Intentionality in doing purposeful and meaningful everyday activities / socio-political awareness</p> <p>Relational values in doing everyday acts collectively and for community's wellness</p> <p>Resistive everyday acts to confront occupational and social injustices and to enable self-determination/ hope for a more just future</p>	<p>For Nedal it was a conscious decision to grow olives a result of his political awareness of the situation he and his family live in; he did that for purposes of survival and other emotional and social meanings; he did that because of his relationship to the land and family and history/ heritage; and most importantly to confront the negative effects of the military occupation which aims to deny access for this activity of olive growing.</p>	<p>Nedal: "Because I was born into a family of <i>fallahin</i>, I have to continue with the same lifestyle. The military occupation played a role in the story of work for us here. It was a cause of people leaving their land, and people got greedy for salaries. Even university students left their studies for work. I know a man whose father died, and because he works inside the Green Line [in Israel], he has neglected the trees. Others hire workers to maintain the land for them."</p>

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

9.1 Summary of the thesis

This study told stories from the daily lives of olive farming families in the West Bank of Palestine who are confronting an ongoing occupational apartheid that aims to restrict their way of life. It described an intellectual process involving an intercultural translation of distinct but interlinking means of doing, being, believing and knowing, interpreted from the daily living experiences of Palestinian families, and challenged Global North worldviews and praxis in the fields of occupational science and occupational therapy. This study was grounded in the Epistemologies of the South paradigm and in de-colonial theory, and sought to widen ecologies of knowledges from the perspective of an oppressed human group whose everyday lives and values have not been explored in occupational science and occupational therapy (Chapter Two). To gain insights into the everyday lives of olive growing families, this study adopted de-colonial ethnographic methods and tools to gather data, make sense of it, interpret and present it; these methods guided the formulation of a specific focus, the research questions, the choice of setting and the relationships formed with participant-families (Chapter Three). Field work and making sense of data gathered during research trips led to the construction and presentation of four occupational narratives that portrayed participant-families' transactional relationships with their place and their daily activities relating to farming olives, identifying common and distinct features representing unique ways of living (Chapter Four).

Further sense making of the information collected during field work led to theoretical thematic analysis of those stories, and of interview transcripts and observations in the field, which produced insights about Everyday Forms of Resistance, the topics of Chapters Five to Eight. In these chapters three categories of meanings were conceived that are distinct, but also interlink and form together one overarching theme: *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* as Everyday Forms of Resistance.

Chapter Five presented the theme of *Sutra*, which was compared to the Doing-Being dimension of occupation, and was found to express a principle for action offering a unique interpretation of notions of occupation, well-being and occupational balance rooted in the everyday struggle of a Global South community with a unique ontological and epistemological stance – a position which challenges limited Western-centric modalities in the fields of occupational science and occupational therapy, and which is hoped to contribute to making those fields more inclusive. *Sutra* was shown to augment, benefit and enrich these fields by highlighting an intentional, cooperative and resistive dimension of occupation that sees human occupations within a 'transaction' with other communities, including the more-than-human (chapter Five).

This type of interpretation was also done in Chapter Six, where the second theme, *A'wna*, was identified and compared to the Belonging aspect of occupation in occupational science and occupational therapy. *A'wna* expressed a collaborative value system and means of action aided by co-agency, solidarity and interdependence between groups including the foremothers and forefathers, animals, lands and trees, family, village, nation and other global groups (Chapter Six).

The third category formulated in this study was *Sumud*: another intentional and relational means of doing and knowing, but at its core a resistive means comparable to the Becoming-Belonging' aspects of occupation. In that sense *Sumud*, as Belonging for Becoming, provided another intercultural translation from the perspective of a Global South community rooted in the struggle against occupational, social and cognitive injustices. *Sumud* as a particular notion of everyday acts of

resistance was compared and contrasted to other notions of resistance, and found to have several distinct features: it is adopted for survival; it requires selfless sacrifices; it leads to activities that are done for self-determination as a family and a community; and it is based on an awareness of the injustice caused by occupational apartheid, which motivates creative responses to such injustice (Chapter Seven).

It is this latter point, the resistive aspect of olive growing, combined with the intentional and relational aspects, where the above three themes were found to intersect, forming a distinct category conceptualised in this final chapter as Everyday Forms of Resistance: a further intercultural translation that was offered from the examples of everyday resistance among Palestinian families, and translated into constructs in the discipline of occupational science (collective occupation, occupational apartheid and occupational consciousness), including some comparison to another Global South way of life (*Ubuntu*) in South Africa.

9.2 Everyday Forms of Resistance, and theory and practice

This thesis was driven by the observation that occupational therapy and occupational science's theorising suffered from a "skewed ontological" approach relating to socio-cultural and economic factors; this approach has favoured conceptualisations of meaningful occupation by Western, white, middle-class, heterosexual individuals who interpret the world based on certain privileges and assumptions (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 490). However, the theorising of human doing from diverse cultural perspectives can enrich occupational science's understanding of daily occupations. These diverse perspectives can then be framed in a critical light by employing post-colonial theory, giving useful insights into the dynamics that lead to the unevenness caused by prioritising the ways of life and ways of knowing of one group over those of others (Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017).

While originating in the Global North, Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging as everyday determinants of health and well-being were found to offer an understanding of everyday life in Palestine, where they were observed to have more than the individualistic meanings, but social and political ones. Palestinians' unique expression of such dimensions demonstrated a liberating stance which helped in resisting occupational, social and cognitive injustices (Santos, 2014). This study of Everyday Forms of Resistance of olive farmers, despite being compared to Doing, Being, Becoming and Belonging (and the relationships between them) as concepts that were founded on this 'skewed' perspective, did not seek to delegitimise these concepts. Instead, these terms were challenged and extended, and helped inform constructs in occupational science theory that have been observed elsewhere in other Global South communities' daily doing. These form part of a "construct cluster", meaning "aspects of the world that are not directly observable but can help people organize their thoughts and expand understandings" (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 489). The discussion of these concepts plays a role in occupational science's theorising about occupations human beings engage in; it does so by developing a system of related notions which focus and organise our knowledge about everyday doing of groups of people and their values that are integrated within society, contribute to it, and which have recently been observed and analysed in occupational science (Ramugondo, 2015). Some of these constructs discussed in this thesis were: collective occupations (Ramugondo and Kronenberg, 2015), occupational apartheid (Kronenberg and Pollard, 2015) and occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015).

To further develop the aforementioned constructs, I suggest that research methodologies informed by de-colonial theory, and aimed at allowing the exploration of philosophies from the perspectives of the oppressed, can be adopted. To counter the theoretical imperialism that has so far dominated occupational science and occupational therapy, this type of methodology should aid in exploring occupational consciousness as a means of doing and knowing that highlights the continuity between the individual and her group. Like the exploration of *Sutra-A'wna-Sumud* as a Palestinian stance and as ways of living that bridged the dualism between individuals and collectives, other research might be inspired to employ such aims to interpret collective everyday occupations when studying other Global South communities. This de-colonial methodology has proven helpful in this study, as has Ramugondo's research in South Africa, for example (2015). Her study and mine enabled the refocus of dominant individualistic approaches and expanded them in an attempt to situate them within the epistemologies of the South, which, it is hoped, will contribute not only to occupational but also to social and cognitive justice (Santos, 2014; Ramugondo, 2015; Simaan, 2017 – see appendix VI).

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical and methodological implications, this study's findings can be adopted within different communities of praxis. By facilitating the occupational consciousness of groups of people living on the margins of society, practitioners and activists (including academics and users groups) can support these groups in increasing their attention to their collective active agency in affecting their realities through their daily activities. Practitioners' witnessing of, solidarity with and collaboration with such communities will help everybody involved become more aware of power dynamics, played out in what they can and can't do. In addition to being an enabling tool for those communities whom occupational therapists and others might work with, occupational consciousness can be a concept that practitioners use to explain the resilience and resistance of those groups and their capacities to challenge power inequalities through their daily occupations. Therefore, *Everyday Forms of Resistance* as a contextualised example of occupational consciousness, can be applied as a model for raising awareness, solidarity and advocacy in occupational therapy education, research and practice, and other fields and communities concerned with social change through everyday living.

Occupational therapy practitioners, researchers and academics are increasingly acknowledging the issue of theoretical imperialism, and the problems of applying models and theories articulated from elitist, ethnocentric and anthropocentric Global North perspectives (Sakellariou and Pollard, 2017). They are critiquing the issue of focusing on individual occupations and the individualistic concern for health and well-being within the profession, in which the person is conceived as separate from her environment, and her bodily functions and structures are considered the main contributors to her well-being (Sakellariou and Pollard, 2017). Additionally, occupational therapists have been exploring emerging roles outside the traditional health and social care sectors, where they work with individuals and groups who might not have medical diagnoses, yet experience occupational restrictions and injustice due to inequalities resulting from socio-political forces (eg. Pollard and Sakellariou, 2017; Frank, 2017; and Griffiths, forthcoming). *Everyday Forms of Resistance* as an advocacy tool can be used in working with groups such as people diagnosed with disabilities, LGBTQI service users or people seeking refuge, in the education of occupational therapy students, or in enabling more involvement of BME user groups in making decisions over their health and social care services (Pollard and Sakellariou, 2017; Frank, 2017; Griffiths, forthcoming). This study is hoped to build on such works and join a transformative movement within occupational science and occupational therapy which aims to learn from, and work together with, groups on the margins to counter the occupational-social-cognitive

injustice they experience in their daily lives, and to work towards social and political transformation in local and global communities.

9.3 Limitations and future considerations

There is a risk that this study's representations and interpretations of daily life among Palestinian olive farming families might have led to idealising notions of resistance among this community and the individuals within it, who may be perceived as heroes confronting the injustices imposed on them by outside forces. Such idealisation may lead to ignoring their pitfalls and intra-communal power dynamics. This portrayal might have unconsciously contributed to essentialist ideas about those families which set them apart from other groups of people, in particular the Israeli authorities and settlers – mimicking the 'othering' stance that represents colonised communities in mainstream Eurocentric academia critiqued in this study. However, resistance against unjust structures is part of daily life in Palestine, and is not a choice but a necessity. Observations and analysis in this study have demonstrated the mutual local and global solidarity that olive growing in Palestine contributes to, which counters the separatist 'othering' as well as nationalistic myths. Although this study did not aim to compare two communities, a potential future comparative study, including data gathered from a settler-colony farming community, might challenge, further enrich or refine some of the insights gained in this thesis. Another future study might focus on internal power struggles, for example between land workers and the better-off *fallahin* or large landowners, or the PA officials who may be employing other farmers.

Adopting the epistemologies of the South paradigm and de-colonial ethnographic methods might have contributed to highlighting the voices and ways of living of the particular community I was interested in, which also risks portraying them as essentially different from others, and might have led to limiting applicability to other groups of people. However, as demonstrated in this study, the situation of the olive farming families I have visited has shown that despite their situation being unique due to the specific contexts they live within, they can offer some helpful insights that might be applied in other places and among other groups who have been experiencing similar restrictions on their wanted and needed daily occupations. To substantiate such insights, further research is needed to study olive growing, or other communities' daily lives, such as shepherds or fishing communities, in other regions of Palestine with a difference in climate, topography and patterns of colonisation, such as in the Gaza Strip, Area A or within the Green Line. Additionally, to widen such comparisons with other groups, more research can be conducted on other human groups who are facing comparable situations in different areas of the world, such as people seeking refuge, or migrant fruit-pickers in the UK. Those studies would aim, as in this study, to demonstrate not a relativist perspective on particular communities who are essentially different from each other, rather they would aspire to widen the ecologies of knowledges by adding interconnected perspectives, experiences, truths and realities which complement each other. These complementary perspectives enable a more inclusive epistemology and theory to explain human experiences within their contexts.

This inclusivity might be further enhanced by adopting other stances and ways of making sense of the world, shared among other marginalised groups who may shed a different yet applicable light on human doing within context. I suggest that feminist and intersectional perspectives on the subject of this study would enrich the analysis by including more diverse inter-subjective ways of interpreting the daily lives of human communities. Similarly, analysing, comparing and contrasting with another

Global South community's stance and values system, comparable to what was attempted theoretically in this study with *Ubuntu*, would potentially highlight another people's way of confronting injustice to contribute to social and political change through their daily lives.

This study did not aim to generalise the findings to the overall Palestinian *fallahi* population, or even the olive farming community within the West Bank of Palestine. Instead this research aspired to be an in-depth analysis of families' occupational narratives and means of doing and knowing that enabled olive growing to continue despite the specific occupational apartheid they live under. Therefore, it was decided from the outset to focus on one setting and a few families. The theoretical focus of data analysis sought to explore segments of the data which answered some questions guided by a particular epistemological and theoretical stance, rather than seeking general characteristics of the population. This produced, I hope, an in-depth and rich exploration of means of Doing, Being, Becoming and Belonging that are comparable with experiences elsewhere and could be applied to them and be influenced by them. Another issue with the design of this study can stem from choosing families as a unit of analysis, rather than deciding on considering individuals as participants, which may have led to ignoring some unique individual needs and characteristics, and might have left intra-familial dynamics unaddressed in the analysis of observations and interviews. As the focus of this study was on collective occupations, and due to the nature of the analysis which led to exploring relational and intentional elements of daily life, gathering information from families as a collective made sense, and my use of some data collected from individuals may have contributed to diversifying such information used. Further studies might aim to focus on individuals' needs and ways of doing, and perhaps compare them to collective means offered in this study, and for such research individual participants may be more appropriate than families as collectives.

Due to pragmatic reasons field trips were decided to last up to four weeks, and to deepen the insights from this study future research design could include longer periods of field trips, or longer-term study to follow fewer cases, for example one or two families. This design would potentially lead to richer data and analysis of changes to Everyday Forms of Resistance through time with families considering the changes in individuals, families and the contexts they live within. Such a study would potentially allow further refinement of the themes and the stories presented in this thesis. For example it may generate data and analysis to enable exploration of the Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging dimensions of occupations in more of a relation to each other than has been presented in this study. More exploration of the dynamics between two or more of those dimensions might prove useful in further informing those notions in the hope of refining our understanding of components of human doing and their link to well-being. Further studies on different communities inside and outside of Palestine, and their occupational dimensions of Doing-Being-Becoming-Belonging, might provide fruitful analysis to compare and contrast the utility of such dimensions of occupation, and therefore aid in refining them.

Finally, further work is advised to compare and contrast Everyday Forms of Resistance among olive growing families in Palestine with the other constructs Ramugondo (2015) addressed, which emerged in what she termed as occupational science's politics of human occupations discourse. Those concepts include 'occupational possibilities' and 'occupational choices' (Galvaan, 2014) that can be compared and contrasted with notions of Everyday Forms of Resistance generated from this study to further enrich, or challenge, such insights and contribute to further theorising of human daily doing from a Palestinian perspective.

Epilogue: Honey of resistance

Jolene looks troubled at the bar this afternoon. She had an accident in the rented car a few days ago, and needs to pay a heavy penalty for the damage. A day before the accident she had been held for three hours with a Palestinian friend while they were taking photographs of the landscape near the apartheid barrier. Jolene is a young French artist who tells me she is sure she will be banned from entering the country again, as the soldiers had taken down all of her details. They had also joked in a macho way, asking if she had a date for Valentine's Day.

She wants to travel south of Al Khalil [Hebron] to take a picture she plans to publish at the end of a book she is working on about the apartheid barrier. Her plan is to take a series of photographs of the landscape with the barrier in the background along its entire route from the north of the West Bank to the most southerly point. She invites me to travel with her.

We drive south of Beit Lahem [Bethlehem] onto road 60, which connects the illegal Israeli colonies to occupied Al Quds [Jerusalem]. It is starting to rain, and 'Jana', the anticipated storm, is approaching from the north and west. Dark clouds and thick fog gather on top of the hills. From time to time the clouds break and allow a ray of sun and a hint of blue skies. The sun rays make the recently pruned vineyards and fruit trees look golden. The lush grass is splashed with yellow, purple and white wild flowers. Almond trees are dressed in glorious pink and white blossom. I feel at home.

We eventually arrive at the top of a hill we think leads to the checkpoint we can see on the horizon, which is near the end of the part of the barrier Jolene wants to photograph. She parks the car at the side of the road near an entrance to a Bedouin encampment, and we walk in muddy, rugged terrain a few hundred metres, the icy wind in our faces. A dog barks at us and from one of the three structures making up the encampment two women emerge. A man covered from head to toe with the *a'baya* - a traditional Bedouin gown - follows the women and approaches us to ask what it is that we need. We tell him our purpose and ask him if there's a way to get to the barrier - which at this point of its route is made up of a patrol road with metal fencing - without having to pass near to the checkpoint and its watchtower. He tells us the only way to see the barrier is from where we are standing, so Jolene takes her photographs there, and the man invites us for tea.

We enter the structure, which is built from low stone walls and a tarpaulin roof, covered on the outside with black goatskin. Inside it is warm and cosy. Two wide open eyes stare at me from the floor of the home where Nour - a one year old toddler - sits. Nour means 'light of the prophets', A'mer, her father, tells us. There are two single beds, and a stove in the middle of the small room, the floor covered with rugs. The older woman tells Jolene the young woman is her husband's daughter, and asks where we are from. A'mer tells us they have been on this land for 60 years, and that their grazing grounds are shrinking because of the closed military zones the Israeli army keeps extending. He tells us that the army destroys most of the structures the family tries to build.

We walk back to the car feeling pleased that we made it without facing any trouble from settlers or soldiers, as we know some of the most extremist colonies are situated on these ancient hills. Just before we reach the car, a hooded man asks us if we can give

him a lift to his village near Al Khalil. Salem is returning home early from a working day in construction on the other side of the barrier, which – not having a permit - he crosses every day away from the eyes of the soldiers. He tells us love is the most important thing in life, and education is essential for his three daughters, for whom he feels the need to earn his living. He tells us he studied agricultural engineering in eastern Africa, where he met his south Asian wife. He is returning home because of the coming snowstorm and he wants to help his wife look after one of their daughters, who has just been through an operation.

Salem has a beehive in the village and made one tonne of honey last year. He tells me proudly that his bees fly across the barrier to Israel to suck the nectar from the blossom there, an act of resistance by the bees in defiance of the barrier that doesn't allow the humans in the West Bank to cross without a permit. He asks me if I can help him in finding out what the immigration rules for Canada are, because he wants to travel there to secure a better future for his family. Salem asks me what I do here, and tells me about a family he knows whose land "has been eaten away by the barrier"; they are now separated from their olive trees and unable to access their land.

After we drop Salem off, my thoughts keep turning back to the bees, returning with their nectar from across the barrier, from flowers planted by the occupiers, enjoying a freedom not possible for their human keepers, to make the honey of resistance to benefit the occupied. I regret not exchanging numbers with Salem so we can later take up his invitation to visit his house, meet his family and taste his honey, but we are in a hurry to reach home before the weather worsens. I think of the other communities in Palestine whose everyday lives are worth highlighting, such as wage labourers and Bedouins. I wonder perhaps if in the future I or others can tell the stories of these groups' forms of daily resistance, which I am seeing everywhere even in the way of life of Salem's bees and the honey they make.

(Field notes, March 2015)

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Appendix I: Map of the oPt, the West Bank and of area C
(OCHAOPT, 2011)¹⁷

¹⁷ For this interactive maps, more maps and some demographic information visit <http://www.ochaopt.org>

Appendix II: Stages of the research process

(Based on Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and Holliday (2007):

1. Formulating ideas and the focus of the study – Spring 2013;
2. Completing research proposal;
3. Seeking and receiving approval by the ethics committee;
4. Introductory visit/ access to field and setting;
5. Gathering information from the field/ field visits;
6. Initial analysing of the data;
7. Initial reporting of findings;
8. Final field visit/checking with participants;
9. More analysis: Refining, naming and defining themes;
10. Writing towards final dissertation – Spring 2017 – spring 2018.

Appendix III: Participants' information sheet – English

Olive growing as a meaningful daily activity under military occupation in Palestine

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET*

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Juman Simaan

Background

I am interested in learning about olive growing as an activity that keeps you and your family healthy. I would like to learn from you what, how and why you do the activities relating to olive growing, including ploughing, planting, fertilising, pruning, and harvesting. Also I would like to learn how you benefit from the products the olive tree provides.

I want to learn from you the effects of the military occupation on this activity, and how you and your family manage with regards to the restrictions imposed by the military and any issues with settlers.

What will you be required to do?

I may ask you some questions about what you will be doing throughout the olive growing cycle.

I would like to observe you doing these activities.

I would wish to help with the activities you need to undertake in relation to olive growing: such as planting and harvesting.

With your permission I may audio-record our conversations, make videos or take photos.

To participate in this research you must:

Be an adult living in the WB and work as an olive farmer for your living.

Procedures

I may observe the olive growing work, and ask questions about what you will be doing throughout the olive growing cycle.

Feedback

NA

Confidentiality

All data and personal information will be stored securely within CCCU premises in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University's own data protection requirements. Data can only be accessed by myself; this will normally be the same person. After completion of the study, all data will be made anonymous (i.e. all personal information associated with the data will be removed).

Dissemination of results

The findings of this study may be published in a paper or a book.

Deciding whether to participate

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature, procedures or requirements for participation do not hesitate to contact me. Should you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

Any questions?

Please contact: Juman Simaan

Address, phone number and email:

Juman's address

Juman's telephone number

Juman's email address

*Note to FHSC research Ethics Committee: the information sheet and consent form will be translated to Arabic.

Appendix IV: Participants' information sheet and consent form - Arabic

عنوان البحث

زراعة الزيتون كنشاط يومي تحت الاحتلال العسكري في فلسطين
دراسة بحثية في جامعة كانتربري بواسطة جمان سمعان

الخلفية

أنا مهتم في زراعة الزيتون كنشاط الذي يحافظ عليك وعلى عائلتك صحيا. أود أن أتعلم منك ماذا وكيف تفعل الأنشطة المتصلة بزراعة الزيتون، بما في ذلك الحرث، الزراعة، التسميد، التقليم، والحصاد. أريد أن أتعلم منك آثار الاحتلال العسكري على هذا النشاط، وكيف لك ولعائلتك إدارة فيما يتعلق بالقيود التي يفرضها الجيش وأي مشاكل مع المستوطنين.

قد أسألك بعض الأسئلة حول ما سوف تقوم به طوال دورة زراعة الزيتون. أود المشاركة والمساعدة في الأنشطة التي تتعلق بزراعة الزيتون: مثل الزراعة والحصاد. بعد إنك ا قد اسجل المحادثات لدينا، أو التقط الصور.

السرية

سيتم تخزين جميع البيانات والمعلومات الشخصية بشكل آمن داخل منشآت ومتطلبات حماية البيانات الخاصة بالجامعة. يمكن فقط الوصول إلى البيانات من قبل نفسي. هذا سوف يكون عادة الشخص نفسه. بعد الانتهاء من الدراسة، وستبذل جميع البيانات المجهولين (أي سيتم إزالة جميع المعلومات الشخصية المرتبطة بالبيانات).

نشر النتائج

يجوز نشر نتائج هذه الدراسة في ورقة/مقال/اطروحة أو كتاب.

إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة أو استفسارات حول طبيعة وإجراءات أو متطلبات المشاركة لا تتردد في الاتصال بي.

سوف تكون قادرا على الانسحاب في أي وقت دون الحاجة لإعطاء سبب. أي أسئلة؟

يرجى الاتصال ب: جمان سمعان العنوان ورقم الهاتف والبريد الإلكتروني:

نموذج الموافقة على الاشتراك في الدراسة

1. قد أتاحت لي الفرصة لقراءة المعلومات على الصفحة السابقة

2. أنا أفهم أن مشاركتي طوعية

3. أنا أفهم أن أنا حر في الانسحاب في أي وقت

4. أنا أكثر من 18 عاماً من العمر

5. أنا أوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة

الاسم _____

توقيع _____

التاريخ _____

Appendix V: Six steps of thematic analysis

(Based on Braun and Clarke, 2006):

1. Immersing in, and familiarising self with the data;
2. Generating initial codes;
3. Searching for themes;
4. Reviewing and refining themes;
5. Defining and naming themes;
6. Writing the research report / dissertation.

Appendix VI: Journal article

See: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2017.1378119>