universität wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„An olive tree in the anthropological field“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2018

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 066 656
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Masterstudium DDP CREOLE – Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Peter Schweitzer

Acknowledgements

Thank you…

…to Univ.-Prof. Dr. Peter Schweitzer for being my supervisor through this Master thesis; for being patient while I was struggling to correctly formulate the research from the early beginning when I just had a slight idea to all the stages of defining my research questions, theoretical background, methods and methodology. I could not have done it and learn through this process without your guidance, open-mindedness, and motivation for my future.

…to my trainers at the Garuda Warrior Academy, Manuel and Pierre, for taking care of my body condition and helping me through their training and environment at the academy to fight my stress. As we say in Greece, 'νοῦς ὑγιής ἐν σώματι ὑγιεῖ' (a healthy mind in a healthy body). Furthermore a special thanks goes to one of my Sanda partners, Helen, who proof read and corrected this thesis. I really appreciate it, Helen!

…to my family and friends for being patient again, listening to my complaints and waiting for me to finish, until another life project begins.

…to colleagues at the university, especially Fleurine, for discussing my topic and the development of the thesis. It is always nice to be in contact with people that have been or go through the same situation, sharing experiences, advising each other, and most importantly, motivating each other.

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PART I

1. Introduction

I live in a small apartment in the city of Vienna, Austria, on the first floor. From my window I see the street and there, on the one side of the pavement, there is exactly one tree keeping me company while I take my breakfast every morning. Fortunately for it, unlike other trees on the pavements of the city, it is planted on a very small designated place with soil. I like having this company because I am able to observe the seasons changing while living in a city. When the first green spots appear on the tree, I feel optimistic and happy that the winter is slowly going away and spring comes; that means, colours, warmth, life! I have always been a city girl and, as I am growing up, I realize the different perceptions that people develop about nature and their environment according to the place they spent their youth and adult years.

I come from Greece and there the landscape (urban and rural) is full of olive trees, among other. I always liked this tree because of the peculiar trunks that they develop as they get older; that is, twisted, with holes, a mess. Take a look below at one of them. Furthermore I find the colour of their leaves charming. On the one side, they are dark green (not deep and vivid as in pines but rather in a pale tone) and, on the other, greyish with a slight touch of the same dark green. Sitting on the balcony of my summer house, waiting for the sun to set, a little sea breeze moves the leaves of the olive trees, and they glow silver. Magic!

http://medomed.org/2016/save-the-centenary-olive-trees-from-pillaging/, accessed March 15, 2018.

Consider also another characteristic of these trees; that is, they can live for a very long time. The tree in the picture is centuries old. Can you imagine now how many things have changed around them over those years, how many different people have interacted with them, and not only people but also other animals and living beings? I take a walk on the hill of Philopappos in Athens and

as I climb there are many olive trees around as are on the hill crossroads of the Acropolis. I cannot help but wonder if those trees have witnessed the famous speech of Pericles in Pnyka. Probably not. So many people have passed and fought at the Acropolis over the years that is unlikely that the old trees are still there. Nevertheless, I like this extreme idea that those trees have met and seen many situations that define in one way or another our human life and social development. They cannot speak but they are there, a reminder at least of the passing of time that is longer than our human life expectancy.

Greece is one geographical area where olive trees grow. Originally, olive trees can be found mostly in Mediterranean countries. Nevertheless, their cultivation has expanded to other places of the world through human travelling and the urge to develop new economic activities related to the tree. Thus today one can find olive trees in Argentina, South Africa, and Australia, where in parts the climate is almost similar to that of Mediterranean countries. What still differentiates those countries and their relation to olive trees is the commonality of the presence of the olive tree in their landscape. I superficially researched into that phenomenon on Google through a simple image search regarding the landscape of those countries (e.g., I typed the name of the country and 'landscape'). Interestingly, for Morocco (see in Appendix Photo 5) and Palestine (Photo 6) it was the first picture appearing, for Cyprus (Photo 1) the second, for Turkey (Photo 8) the fourth (although I indicated in this case 'Mediterranean Turkey' in the search), for Greece (Photo 2) and Spain (Photo 7) the fifth, for Italy (Photo 4) the sixth, and for Israel (Photo 3) the tenth[1]. On the contrary, if one does the same superficial image Google search for Argentina, South Africa, and Australia, the results will indicate a completely different environment and ecosystem than that of the Mediterranean and it would be necessary to specify more keywords in the search. Thus, it becomes slightly apparent that olive trees might be another living agent of their environment but not a primary one.

These thoughts led me to the cultural and social anthropological research you are about to read. This interest of mine in olive trees has generated further questions and the desire to include it as another living being of the environment in an anthropological research. My first

[1] I used these Mediterranean countries as a sample because they accord to my research in general. It will become clearer to the reader later.

inspiration to look closer at other beings of the environment and how people interact with them was not only from environmental anthropology, but more specifically, from the notion of perspectivism which has been observed among people of the Amazonia. As Viveiros de Castro explains, perspectivism refers to "an indigenous theory according to which the way humans perceive animals and other subjectivities of the world – gods, spirits, the dead, inhabitants of other cosmic levels, meteorological phenomena, plants, occasionally even objects and artefacts – differs profoundly from the way in which these beings see humans and see themselves" (1998:470). Descola (1994) and Viveiros de Castro (1998) agree that such a theory stems primarily from mythology, and a key aspect is found on the fact that both sides (humans and other beings) perceive themselves as humans; that is, anthropomorphism describes the state of the beings. Descola explains that in mythology "all of nature's beings have some features in common with mankind, and the laws they go by are more or less the same as those governing civil society", and he adds later that "If these human-looking animals were already potentially possessed of their future animal destiny in their name, this is because their common predicate as nature's beings is not man as species, but humankind as condition" (1994:93). Viveiros de Castro further notes that through perspectivism more kinds of worlds are offered even if the way of seeing them is characterized by a similar state of being; "all beings see ('represent') the world in the same way – what changes is the world they see….It could only be this way, since, being people in their own sphere, non-humans see things *as* 'people' do" (original emphasis; 1998:477).

The perspectivist theory then offers a new look on the division of nature from culture. It can be seen through the Amazonian people that such a division does not exist but rather it is whole that describes the way life is being conducted. Viveiros de Castro (1998) brings this matter to the fore by smartly comparing the 'savages' with 'us' – Western people. More specifically he mentions about nowadays that "The savages are no longer ethnocentric but rather cosmocentric; instead of having to prove that they are humans because they distinguish themselves from animals, we now have to recognize how *in*human *we* are for opposing humans to animals in a way they never did: for them nature and culture are part of the same sociocosmic field" (original emphasis; Viveiros de Castro 1998:475). I agree that the division of

nature from culture characterizes Western societies and I find the topic very interesting and an urgent matter that societies struggle with.

Lately, in cultural and social anthropology a new way of research has been developed which aims to look closer at the relationship between nature and culture, and on how humans interact with other living beings of the world. This theory, and method at the same time, is called multispecies ethnography, of which contact zones are the primary focus. Furthermore, what is interesting and innovative about multispecies ethnography is that its research studies humans and their activities from the perspective of other living beings that they interact with, changing in this way the prism of anthropology. In this way, multidisciplinarity also characterizes the anthropological research since the nature of those other living beings must be understood and accessed in relation to humans.

I set forth then here a theoretical sociocultural anthropological research based on the way of thinking of multispecies ethnography to gather and reflect on the contact zones of humans with olive trees. More precisely, I ask how olive trees are represented in past and present anthropological studies, and what these representations can tell us about other living beings of our environment. Furthermore, I am interested to try and look if these representations can offer more anthropological-related information if we change our perspective and try to look at situations from the point of view of another living being.

I conduct a meta-analysis of past and present anthropological studies where I take my data references from other studies and use them within a new theoretical context. In some cases olive trees appear to be in the center of the research because the study focuses solely on activities related to them, yet in others they just exist as a mere reference of the landscape. Nevertheless, I find both scenarios interesting and useful for the current research since my goal is to reveal all these possible contexts. At a later stage, I expose these contexts and synthesize them so as to make a portrait of the olive tree as it has been represented through those studies. Furthermore, and because, as mentioned before, multispecies ethnography is characterized by multidisciplinarity, I include a short chapter on how olive trees are presented in other academic fields; that is, by looking again at the contexts of reference and way of

representation. These fields are archaeology and environmental studies, and their choice was based on the fact that while as I was primarily searching for past and present anthropological studies, these academic fields kept coming my way. It is worth mentioning that in all disciplines the connection of humans and olive trees is apparent and in the center of the study (in some more than in others).

In what follows, in Part I you will be able to get more information on the Theoretical Background of the current research in Chapter 2 which accordingly consists of references to (1) environmental anthropology, and more precisely, on issues related to posthumanist philosophy, *becoming with* each other, and multispecies ethnography, to (2) trees in cultural and social anthropology in general, to (3) olives trees as another living being of the environment, and to (4) anthropology of the Mediterranean. Chapter 3 lays down the methods and methodology that has been followed. There the reader can find information about meta-analysis which was used as a method, and the methodology (i.e. research steps) which includes the literature search, and the data extraction and analysis. Part II consists of two chapters. Chapter 4 is called 'The olive tree in the anthropological field' and it includes the main analysis of the current research. There is all the information extracted from the past and present anthropological studies that were gathered, and they are organized and presented according to the main codes and contexts that were revealed through the analysis of the studies. Chapter 5 is more brief and it includes contexts of references of olive trees in other disciplines, namely among archaeology and environmental studies. Finally Part III tries to answer the research questions in Chapter 6, the Conclusion, and proposes further research on the topic.

2. Theoretical background

In this chapter I will lay out the theoretical background of the current research. This is comprised of four subchapters which refer respectively to (1) environmental anthropology, and more specifically on key aspects such as the posthumanist discourse, the '*becoming with* others' and multispecies ethnography, (2) trees in cultural and social anthropological studies, (3) olive trees as another living being, and (4) the anthropology of the Mediterranean.

2.1. Environmental anthropology

Environmental anthropology aims to describe the relations between humans and their environment (Haenn et al. 2016; Milton 1996). One of the main topics of discussion is the role of culture[2] in this relationship. Milton shows that, on the one hand, there is the belief that "culture *is* the medium through which people interact with their environment", while on the other hand, there is the belief that "culture is the medium through which people *adapt to*, not merely *interact with*, their environment" (original emphasis; 1996:23). What can be perceived through both sides is that the environment designates important aspects of life as people conduct it in a specific area.

I situate my research within environmental anthropology and I use the term within the context of interest on how people relate to their natural environment and how they perceive it. As I mentioned in the first chapter, my aim is to gain a view of these processes from past and present anthropological studies, and more precisely on how the agent of the olive tree is represented in those studies. In order to proceed with this analysis there are still some important theoretical aspects that will help situate my research more accurately.

To begin with I would like to refer to human beings as part of an environment. That means they constitute an animal species that live and take part in an ecosystem[3] within other living

[2] Culture is another debated term. I will not go into discussion of the term here. I use the term as a general word that indicates the way of life (practical, spiritual) of a community.
[3] I take ecosystem's term as described in the scientific section of the Britannica Encyclopedia (https://www.britannica.com/science/ecosystem, accessed March 19, 2018).

and nonliving beings. Thus the decisions and way of life that humans conduct affect the rest of the beings; and the other way around. “If we confine our observations to physical behavior, and fail to include information on people’s knowledge and decision-making processes, then we can produce only mechanistic explanations” (Milton 1996:59). Studying human beings in relation to other living beings that live in the same environment opens new possibilities of knowledge on how Life is conducted. I use a capital L for life to denote life in general and not just that of the human population, but rather of the overall Life that is conducted in an ecosystem, a Life where the relationships of the agents can be observed and studied. Here are some citations from anthropological works that in my opinion denote some aspects of Life:

> Thus, aboriginal elders recall being told never to ‘play with’ (i.e., playfully waste) animals and plants, which were perceived as giving themselves up for the benefit of humans. As Secwepemc elder Ida Matthew recalls, ‘It was pitiful enough that we had to kill them. My mother instilled in us that we were not to waste the food, that we had to kill the poor animal. With any kinds of animal that we would hunt and eat, you have to respect them’ (Turner et al. 2000:1279).

Here Turner et al. (2000) offer an example on how aboriginal people in British Columbia perceive their relation to animals of their environment when it comes to issues of food and thus subsistence. Killing another living being of the same environment is seen as necessary in order to survive but the quantity, frequency and handling of this action and the food generated by it are done very carefully so that a respect towards their existence is sustained. Every life matters and is not to be wasted.

> Among the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic….People are known and recognized by the trails they leave behind them. Animals, likewise, are distinguished by characteristic patterns of activity or movement signatures, and to perceive an animal is to witness this activity going on, or to hear it (Ingold 2006:14).

Recognizing how other living beings move and live in the same environment is important for the conduct of a shared life. The Inuit are shown here to use the same perception of movement in the space characterizing different animal species including themselves.

> People in Ávila are not the only ones interested in when these ants will fly. Other creatures, such as frogs, snakes, and small felines, are attracted to the ants, as well as to those other animals that are

> attracted to the ants. They all watch the ants and watch those watching the ants for signs of when the ants will emerge from their nests (Kohn 2013:79).

Similar activities seem to characterize also different species. Hunting ants here attracts different living agents of the same environment, and as Kohn (2013) shows, they also seem to be aware of the presence of each other and of the same interest that they all have in the particular activity. This realization makes all of them participants as well as opponents.

I tried to show through these citations a few aspects of how Life can be conducted. It seems important though to note that since I used anthropological examples, and since this thesis is also part of the discipline of cultural and social anthropology, the perspective of the humans is more evident in the relationships of them with other living beings. That being said, I do not imply or suggest a lowering of the other living beings. On the contrary I wanted to emphasize the very importance of their relationships, even though looking from a clearly anthropological perspective. The relation of humans to food and the activities to gather food, that is hunting as shown here, reveal an aspect of the relationship of human beings towards other living beings. A relation that reveals respect towards the life of the animal being hunted or towards other hunters-animals (a very benign picture, I would suggest, in comparison to Life in cities). Furthermore the perception of movement in the space reveals a way of recognizing and learning about other living beings inhabiting the same environment. In this way knowledge about each other becomes evident.

It could be said then that a way of Life where the individual lives of each agent meet, interact, or, as Ingold (2006) suggests, entangle, is drawn. “The environment might, then”, as Ingold continues, “be better envisaged as a domain of entanglement. It is within such a tangle of interlaced trails, continually raveling here and unravelling there, that beings grow or ‘issue forth’ along the lines of their relationships” (2006:14). Ingold (2016:83) develops further this idea by suggesting then that what the entangled lines of lives constitute is a meshwork. In a meshwork the lines intersect, cross, or just go along each other. There is no start and end point of their relationship but rather a continuous, fluent co-development. In a similar way Haraway approaches the importance of the relationship between living beings by saying that “To be one is always to *become with* many” (original emphasis; 2008:4). She talks about the encounters

between different animal species and how significant these encounters are in order to develop oneself. The citations above suggest such a *becoming with* through the ways people interact with their environment and the other living beings inhabiting it. By showing respect towards the meaning of life of a being and by correlating the same status within different species (i.e. by having the same hunting activities and be conscious about the presence of each other or by perceiving the movement and growth of a species in the same way) is where species meet conceptually, exchange information consciously or not, and grow together.

At this point we reach a level in which the agency of other living beings is being admitted and starts to raise further questions on how humans make knowledge through, and about, these experiences. Such questions are dealt within a posthumanist philosophy where the beings admitted to existence are taken into consideration and thus a new, or rather updated, way of life is being conducted. Wolfe suggests after Rutsky that "any notion of the posthuman that is to be more than merely an extension of the human, that is to move beyond the dialectic of control and lack of control, superhuman and inhuman, must be premised upon a mutation that is ongoing and immanent…[that is, to participate in] processes which can never be entirely reduced to patterns or standards, codes or information" (2010:xviii). The meshwork of lines and the *becoming with* others seem to express such a way of life where the encounters are constant and the relationships ever-going and ever-growing in a ceaseless exchange and transformation of information. For this very reason Wolfe argues that "to me, posthumanism means not the triumphal surpassing or unmasking of something but an increase in the vigilance, responsibility, and humility that accompany living in a world so newly, and differently, inhabited" (2010:47).

Still, the matter of language comes into play when we (humans) set forth to write about other living beings. On the one hand, we admit the existence of other living beings and our interdependence with them, but on the other, we are the ones that will write about them, and inevitably we will address these writings to our human peers. Latour notes on this subject that,

> The goal will be to obtain *less* diversity in language…but *more* diversity in the beings admitted to existence – there is more than one category, or rather, the will to knowledge is not the only category that allows us to interrogate the diversity of being….Conversely, though, we may benefit from an ontological pluralism

> that will allow us to populate the cosmos in a somewhat richer way, and thus allow us to begin compare worlds, to weigh them, on a more equitable basis….What we shall lose in freedom of speech…we shall regain through the power to enter into contact with types of entities that no longer had a place in theory and for which a suitable language will have to be found in each case (original emphasis; 2013:21).

Kohn (2013) has gone through such a journey to find and reveal to the anthropological community (at least) how we can claim that another living being thinks. More precisely he sets out to show how forests think and how we can make the claim that forests think. During his ethnographic fieldwork among the people of Ávila in Ecuador, he observed and analyzed the different modes of being and living with others within a setting, in this case a forest. As he starts with his analysis he focuses on semiotics and how they provide a language for interspecies communication. Words or sounds that animals use offer an indication to the 'trained' human interlocutor about what is going on. Also sounds of the forest, like cracking of branches, signal possible situations going on that humans can translate through their long experience living in the same forest. The important thing in this encounter is that humans, and accordingly other living beings, go into a process of meticulously observing other living beings, translating their reactions and actions, and thus making knowledge of the environment they are part of. A new kind of language is created thus; one that stems from those interactions, one that is not dependant on writing, orthography or syntax but rather on observation, assimilation and repetition, and lastly one that is not going to be the same for every case but it will develop itself according to each circumstance, as Latour (2013) suggests above.

Many anthropologists have tried to reveal such kinds of languages and the interactions of the beings involved (their *becoming with*) within what has been called multispecies ethnography (Hartigan 2015; Hayward 2010; Fuentes 2010; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010; Moore and Kosut 2014; Maustard et al. 2013; Münster 2016; Ogden et al. 2013; Tsing 2015). Kirksey and Helmreich note that "the adjective 'multispecies' already travels in biological and ecological research worlds, referring to patterns of multispecies grazing, the coconstruction of niches, and wildlife management", and further explain after Fuentes that, "multispecies ethnographers are studying contact zones where lines separating nature from culture have broken down, where encounters between *Homo sapiens* and other beings generate mutual ecologies and

coproduced niches" (original emphasis; 2010:546). Through such a kind of research, assemblages start to gather as we observe different beings interacting. Ogden et al. mention that "we use the term 'assemblage' to suggest not a mere collection of entities and things, but a complex and dynamic process whereupon the collective's properties exceed their constitutive elements" (2013:7). In this way of research the admittance of existence of another being and the way of approaching a topic offer new possibilities on producing anthropological work; one that might help us see Life from another perspective. "Opening our thinking in this way might allow us to realize a greater *Us* – an *Us* that can flourish not just in our lives, but in the lives of those who will live beyond us" (original emphasis; Kohn 2013:228).

Within these theoretical contexts, those are of environmental anthropology in general and its interest on how people interact and perceive the environment they live in, the consecutive meshwork that is created by the entanglement of, and *becoming with*, other beings, and the effort to admit, bring into research, and find a suitable language for those other living beings within anthropology, I situate my research as a preliminary effort to tell a story related to human beings through the living being of an olive tree; to expose and think about the niches and assemblages that are created through such encounters as they have been reported so far in past and present anthropological studies.

2.2. Trees in cultural and social anthropology

I exposed in the section above the theoretical aspect of how different living beings are *becoming with* each other. In this section I will present some aspects of entanglements of human beings with trees as they are presented in ethnographic accounts in order to simply exemplify the endurance of such relationships throughout time and space.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century there have been reports of how people live, and thus more detailed observations on connecting parameters, notions, and procedures that appear to be present throughout different peoples and places. An article dating 1901 makes such a closer observation on Sacred Trees. I will not get into detail but I would like to mention a

reference in oak trees. As the unknown author mentions, “Why the oak should have been chosen as a sacred tree is not clear”, and he continues by noting the opinion of Mr. Chadwick as, “There is reason for believing that the oak was once the commonest, as well as perhaps the largest tree in the forests of northern Europe. As such it would be chosen for habitation of the primitive community and consequently of all their belongings, their animals, their guardian spirits, and their tribal god” (1901:202). For today’s anthropologists such a reference seems to be lacking research and only covers a topic superficially. The reason I use this reference here is to bridge a time gap and show how trees have been present in anthropology since the earliest forms of the discipline as a visible and considerable agent interacting with human beings. The aspect of analysis and presentation of such interactions has changed of course but, as Foucault (see for example 1988, 1994, 1995) would do, an historical archaeology helps to reveal the endurance of connecting agents and their consecutive transformations over time.

So where could we find oak trees today within cultural and social anthropology? One case is Fernandez (1998) who focuses on the symbolic aspect of trees in Equatorial Africa (among Fang) and Northern Spain (among Asturians). More precisely he sets out to “show in these ethnographic milieux how trees, by certain associative processes, can excite the moral imagination concerning the health or disease of corporate bodies, bodies corporeal and bodies politic as it were, and are thus powerful or power-associated imaginative devices” (Fernandez 1998:85). Within this ethnographic quest, he stumbles upon the importance that oak trees reflect within the Asturians, and writes,

> Let me focus on the oak (*Quercus hispanica*, or *Quercus robur*) and speak to the imaginative power of the oak in Asturian culture. I will single out this tree because it is the emblem of identity of the provincial capital and its residents, who are nicknamed *carbayon* (Great Oaks). For more than a century, as can be detailed, the oak has been a periodic symbolic focus of the identity preoccupations of the inhabitants. It is also a tree imaginatively provocative in a general way to Asturians as both a tree of corporate Life and a vehicle of corporate Death. It might be expressed analogically, as in fact it *is* expressed in the neighbouring region of Galicia, that both men and trees derive their sustenance and character from being ‘planted’ in local geography (original emphasis; Fernandez 1998:88-89).

Oaks then are presented as simply a suitable place for habitat (as a mere, early anthropological observation) and an identity symbol (as a modern anthropological interpretation).

To continue I would like to move more generally on forests in order to find other kinds of entanglements. In the following case the entwinement of religion and nature, and more precisely that of trees, is presented within the context of modern environmentalist interpretations of old religious texts. Nugteren (2010) shows how wood, trees, and the forest have connecting narratives in India when it comes to religious rituals. As she mentions, "This continued intertwinement of religion and nature, finally, may point us to one of the trickiest issues in India's contemporary discourse on Hinduism's alleged eco-friendliness: however sacred the neem trees in the forest may be, it is through an extreme act of ritual violence that they are cut down in order to serve as the bodies of the deities" (Nugteren 2010:161). The violence that she mentions refers to the fact that trees are perceived to have a life in the forest, so the priests, through a days' long ritual, prepare the tree to forgive them for taking its life. Nevertheless in their worldview, the cut tree acquires a new life form, in their case as the body of a deity. Despite this concern the neem tree which the locals protect and preserve in the forest so that one day the new body of a deity will be chosen, other tree species are neglected and more often cut down. Nugteren finally argues that "Today's tendency of selectively reading environmentalism in ancient cultures, religious scriptures, and sacred forest rituals should thus be balanced by a closer and critical look at the context in which the admittedly beautiful phrases about nature's abundance occur" (2010:172).

In a different spirit, Knight (1998) writes about the practices of planting trees in Japan, and more precisely about family forests and the second life that trees acquire. I will not elaborate a lot on his research but rather I would like to offer a quotation from one of his participants who on the day of his marriage, together with his bride, they planted 1200 tree saplings. It is worth mentioning that the marriage was in spring when the season for planting also takes place. As the participant narrates,

> We would never forget the time of the wedding. Through that place (the marital forest), we could take great care of what I suppose you would call the marriage bond. As it is the case that, once married, the

> feelings between the spouses gradually change over the years and months, I thought that if only we could connect our marriage to nature, to cryptomeria, to the forest, we would deepen our marriage bond. That was the my thinking back then (Knight 1998:207).

In those Japanese family forests, humans seem to connect their private lives with the trees that they plant and perceive their parallel growth as mutual and interdependent. Trees do not only symbolize a social passage of human life, as the participant above indicates, but are considered as aid that should equally be taken care of as a human life is.

Last but not least, trees have been widely used as symbols for environmentalist activist causes. Tannenbaum (2000) shows how trees have been a potent symbol for activist demonstrations and actions in Thailand. Activists and local people used tree ordinations in order to protect a community from the construction of a gravel pit that would cause water contamination and ruin the community forest. Here we find again a connection of trees, religion, and activism. In the particular case the tree ordination was led primarily by monks. Among other actions, they dressed some trees with yellow robes to reflect the sacredness of the trees; no one would ever harm a monk. In another case Zelter (1998) writes about her environmentalist activist experiences and urges for a global environmental movement, cooperation, and solidarity. Regarding trees she mentions,

> One of the symbols we use in our struggles is the – spider's – web that binds and interlinks us all. But the web is always attached to the living presence of a tree. *The tree is our most potent symbol, binding and grounding us with its roots;* sheltering and protecting us within its branches; raising our spirits at the same time as stabilizing our feet in the mud of the earth; giving us strength and resilience in its sturdy trunk; feeding and nurturing us with its fruits; giving us everlasting hope in the constant regeneration and rebirth of its seeds (original emphasis; Zelter 1998:222).

This selection of representations of trees within cultural and social anthropological studies shows us several aspects of interactions between human beings and trees. Either as providing simply a suitable habitation place, reflecting the identity of a peoples, being connected with religious beliefs and rituals, or working as an alter self and strong symbol/representative of nature, trees seem to entangle in many aspects of human life in one way or another. It is worth mentioning regarding symbolism that "what seems to drive tree symbolism is not so much the

transfer of intentionality on to non-human living organisms, but, rather, the need to find within the natural environment the material manifestation of organic processes that can be recognized as similar to those characterizing the human life cycle, or the continued existence of social groups" (Rival 1998:7). These implications further reflect the admittance of trees as another living being of the environment that is important for the conduct of Life. As Mauzé notes, "they [trees] are *moral beings*" (original emphasis; 1998:243).

2.3. Olive tree: a small introduction of another living being

Since my purpose is to present the entanglements of human beings with olive trees through past and present anthropological studies, it is a good moment to step out of anthropology for a moment in order to introduce this other living being that will contribute insightful information for this research.

Olea europaea, or as it is commonly known the olive tree, is a present agent around the globe. There are hypotheses about the place where originally wild olive trees grew which fluctuate from appointing Asia Minor or the Mediterranean Basin as the place of origin. Nevertheless olive growing was common in ancient times and it was the producer of the 'liquid gold'; that is, olive oil. Ancient Greeks and afterwards Romans maintained and transmitted olive planting. Furthermore, through their expansion, Arabs imported new varieties and techniques of planting in the Iberian Peninsula. Olive farming also expanded to the Americas through the conquests of the Spanish, first in Mexico, and later in Peru, Chile, and Argentina (The Olive World N.d.).

Today olive trees grow also in places without a previous tradition in olive cultivation. The climate and local development programs help the cultivation of the tree which is nowadays an important agent in economic and health issues (IOC N.d.). It is worth mentioning that between these countries, Spain, Italy, and Greece are the leading olive producer countries respectively (World Atlas 2017). Below is a map showing the cultivation areas around the world.

(IOC N.d.)

Nevertheless, as humans are part of an ecosystem, so are olive trees. Olive cultivation in places where the tree did not originally grow is perceived from an ecological point of view as invasion; that is, olive trees affect the soil and development of other beings in the environment. Besnard and Cuneo (2016) write about the invasion of European and African olive trees in Australia. They characterize them as 'ecosystem transformers' and note, for example, that "The long life span of olive trees (100 years +) and resultant low forest floor light levels result in eventual displacement of the eucalypt woodland (including canopy trees), rather than co-existence" (Besnard and Cuneo 2016:11). Consequently, other living beings of the environment, such as birds, change habitat because of these changes. On the other hand, olive trees seem to offer soil stability and a suitable habitat for other kinds of organisms.

But except for the presence of olive trees in the natural environment, and human activities related to economy and health, they have served also as a symbol. Religion is one of the aspects of human life where olive trees have acquired a symbolic status. In the Bible, after Noah's Arc landed again on solid soil, God sent a dove carrying an olive branch in order to reconcile with humans and the other saved living beings. Thus, the olive branch represents until today peace. In Islam, olive trees appear as the axe of the world and symbolize the universal man. In a respective manner, olive trees have meanings throughout the Greek mythology. For example, the city of Athens gained its name from the goddess Athena who, after a competition

with god Poseidon, gained the vote of the citizens to be their protector when she planted an olive tree on the hill of the Acropolis. Olive trees are durable and thus they can survive through tough situations. This capacity of the tree symbolizes the force that Athena offered to the people of Athens (Symboles N.d.).

We are speaking then about a tree which has ancient historical references of existence both biologically and symbolically. Olive trees were and are part of several ecosystems around the Earth and, as shown above, they are capable of defining and transforming the natural environment they are part of, the other living beings existing in it, and the human social and economic activities that can be conducted.

2.4. Anthropology of the Mediterranean

After the literature research for data, that is for past and present anthropological studies that include olive trees as a reference in their study, I discovered that, unlike the worldwide cultivation of olive trees (as shown in the section above), relevant sociocultural anthropological studies have been conducted only in the area of the Mediterranean. Maybe there is not much of a wonder around this fact since the cultivation of the olive tree outside the traditional cultivation countries is rather recent. For this reason I find important then to add this section in my thesis which refers to the anthropology of the Mediterranean as it developed and declined, or rather transformed, within the discipline of anthropology.

Originally anthropologists have taken an interest on researching about peoples in other continents where the way of life is quite different from theirs. The interest about the Mediterranean came rather later, after the Second World War, during which many anthropologists visited Mediterranean countries to fulfill their military duties, and started thus to be concerned about them. Nevertheless their academic interest developed towards the peasants and remote places of the Mediterranean because, according to the academic way of thinking back then, the 'peasant' would accord to the 'primitive' (Albera 1999, 2006; Bromberger 2006; Carbonell 2010; Giordano 2012). Bromberger (2006) distinguishes three kinds of 'Mediterranean' for which studies were conducted; first "the one of exchanges,

encounters, co-existences, harmonious polyphony and conviviality symbolized by places, characters and emblematic objects" (p.92), second that "of conflicts, domination, religious borders" (p.94), and third "that of anthropologists in the narrow sense of the term, these people from afar who have belatedly taken an interest in a nearby region, in these 'Others' who did not sparkle in the discipline like the great 'Others', the Amerindians, the Oceanians or the Africans" (p.95).

The first and second type of Mediterranean that Bromberger (2006) recognizes plays an important role in the development and idea of an anthropology of the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean as a geographical area is a marine place surrounded by land (almost like a lake we could say). Now the land that surrounds it is divided in many different countries which, except for being different because of borders, they also differ in religious beliefs, social organization, continents, and history. Within these countries there are similarities and differences that can be observed and researched by anthropologists in the framework of a comparative study (Albera 2006; Bromberger 2006; Hauschild et al. 2007; Herzfeld 1985; Hopkins 1980), and as Bromberger more specifically notes, "what gives coherence to this world are not the many remarkable similarities, but rather the systematic differences. And it is no doubt these *complementary differences*, part of a reciprocal field that allows us to speak about a *Mediterranean system*" (original emphasis; 2006:99).

These academic activities did not develop for a long time without criticism. Albera (1999, 2006) mentions that the scale for the constitution of a sub-discipline in anthropology that was called 'Anthropology of the Mediterranean' was problematic because of its vastness and diffusiveness. As mentioned before, the Mediterranean is a vast maritime area surrounded by many different countries. Thus it is not easy to define what is distinguishably Mediterranean or not. Herzfeld further supports this topic by noting that "The issue thus is not whether or not a Mediterranean culture area 'exists', but what we might hope to gain or lose from resorting to it for analytical or descriptive purposes" (1984:440). A further accusation was made regarding taking into consideration in those anthropological researches the history and previous work done by local scholars ('folklore'). Albera (2006) and Esteva-Fabregat (1979) agree that in this

way a monologue was produced that lacked previous information on the diachronic processes of the studied areas.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned facts, scholars like Albera (1999, 2006), Bromberger (2006), Carbonell (2010), Giordano (2012), and Herzfeld (1985) urge to look on the potentials of Mediterranean as a *field* of study and not as an *object* of study. The Mediterranean area offers a variety of research that can be based on comparative studies of the people inhabiting it. While the natural environment that they live in is seemingly similar, their differences (and similarities sometimes) range in various aspects of life, such as religion, language, social organization, etc. Furthermore the history of the countries of the Mediterranean has deep roots and this fact could further help an anthropological study in the area. As Hauschild et al. mention, it "is more densely present and historically more deeply documented than in any other region of the world" (2007:312).

Anthropology of the Mediterranean has not completely declined, rather on the way the idea of its formation as a field of study was rearranged. Albera (2006) suggests that it gave rise to an Anthropology of Europe. She supports this idea with changes in the political system, such as the separation of Islam and Europe through acts like the formation of the European Union (Albera 2006:115). Giordano further suggests that "the idea of the Mediterranean space as a historical region spanning three continents allows us to highlight the fluidity of Europe's borders. Another strong point is that it will bring into question certain increasingly widespread Eurocentric visions concerning both the external boundaries of the Old Continent and its internal demarcations" (2012:27)

Another long discussed topic within anthropology relates also to research conducted in the Mediterranean; that of, the ethnographer as an insider. The Mediterranean and Europe in large is also the home of many anthropologists. "Thus, not only the methodological skills of the anthropologist, but also their personal involvement with the society under study makes their point of view closer or more alien, insider or outsider, faithful to or detached from the historical and social reality" (Carbonell 2010:17).

Nevertheless it is worth mention some main topics that were developed within what was called the 'Anthropology of the Mediterranean'. Giordano (2012) offers an overview and lists them as follows: (a) honor, status, and gender relationships, where as he comments, "The reader gets the impression that these societies are a relic of past epochs, admittedly characterized by violent and bloodthirsty barbarism, along with a primitive purity, and finally by an earthly simplicity of ways of life and social relationships" (p.18), (b) patronage and political practices, and (c) history and the past in the present, which developed after the first criticism of not including diachronic processes on the area.

The current research takes part in this discussion only because the designated area of study was limited to the Mediterranean. Many of the past and present anthropological studies that I was able to find relate to topics such as those mentioned by Giordano (2012). Nevertheless, while my research steps out of these contexts and looks at issues related to environment anthropology and posthumanist discourses, parts of these contexts become relevant when we change the perspective of the study, as I try to do later. But again, it could be said that my field of interest provides a new domain of research for the area of the Mediterranean.

3. Methods and Methodology

In this chapter I will lay out the methods and methodology that I used to accomplish the research. The chapter is divided in two main parts of which the first one refers to the method I used in a general context, that is meta-analysis of past and present anthropological studies, and the second follows a detailed methodology of researching for articles to be analyzed, their analysis, and synthesis.

3.1. Methods: Meta-analysis

The primary method that I used is called meta-analysis and in this case, more specifically, it is a qualitative meta-analysis. Timulak mentions that,

> Qualitative meta-analysis is a secondary analysis of the primary, original, studies addressing the same research questions. It has two aims: (1) to provide a concise and comprehensive picture of findings across those studies; and (2) to examine and evaluate the impact of methodological influences in the original studies on their findings (2014:481).

I chose this method because my aim is to review past and present anthropological studies that have a reference to the olive tree. Qualitative meta-analysis provides a pathway of analyzing data extracted from those studies and synthesizing my research according to those data. Nevertheless, if one reads deeper into qualitative meta-analysis, one comes to realize that it is not one, concrete, and specified method that a researcher can use. On the contrary, there are many variations within which a researcher can choose, some of which also use quantitative analysis of qualitative data. In what follows, I will lay out the variations of meta-analysis that I used and found suitable for the way my research developed.

One of the first things a researcher must specify (even in a more vague sense in the beginning) is the research question(s) that will guide the research. As Timulak (2014:481) mentions above, the analyzed studies of a qualitative meta-analysis address the same research question. I go further on the matter of the research question of a qualitative meta-analysis by quoting Sandelowski and Barroso:

> Arguably the most common problem generating qualitative research synthesis projects is the proliferation of studies addressing a common experience, but lack of direction for interpreting or using their findings. Accordingly, a common purpose of a research synthesis study is to sum up the knowledge generated in an area in order to draw conclusions directly relevant to practice or chart directions for future research (2007:23).

Because my aim is to present how the olive tree is presented and thus represented through past and present anthropological studies, my research question does not comply with any of the researches that I gathered. I do not find that fact strange or delimiting because this is what exactly this research tries to bring to light. I sum up the knowledge generated, as Sandelowski and Barroso (2007) note, regarding olive trees and I draw new conclusions in order to suggest future research. As Schreiber et al. in a similar way put it, "review a group of studies for the purposes of discovering the essential elements and translating the results into an end product that transforms the original results into a new conceptualization" (Timulak 2014:481).

Timulak further notes that "the meta-analysis can either try to summarize and give voice 'to the original studies' or keep its distance and provide a conceptualization of the original studies and their findings informed by a particular (theoretical) framework applied by the meta-analyst" (2014:486). As a researcher I keep a distance from the studies that I analyze in that I do not use for the analysis their interpretations or theoretical framework in order to develop my argument. Instead I use their references to olive trees as my data and then I apply my theoretical framework. For example many of the studies that I reviewed have as a topic gender relations connected to the activity of olive harvesting. I use these references and the context in which they are made but only to show and further present in which contexts olive trees have appeared so far in anthropological studies. My theoretical framework (as exemplified earlier) is based on environmental anthropology and multispecies ethnography. Gender relations or migration in other cases are not going to be analyzed and further developed in my research. I rather apply a new framework for all those references; a new conceptualization of them.

As the previous example indicates, my data are references related to olive trees in past and present anthropological studies. They are considered then 'data of other researchers in the form of published excerpts', which is one of the categories that Wästerfors et al. (2014:468)

recognize when speaking about reanalysis of qualitative data. Reanalysis then is what I follow with my collected data when I extract them from other researches. Reanalysis also expresses my methodology because of another element that it carries with it. Wästerfors et al. refer to it as such:

> Regardless of the kind of source or the specific relationship that the researcher has with the data, he or she has to mobilize a new engagement that somehow frees itself from the past. The past still informs the analysis, and the analytic results should be communicated in relation to this past (e.g. an objection, a correction or an elaboration of previous knowledge), but the researcher should also try to be freshly open to what could be going on (2014:473).

The freedom of the past that they refer to is related also to other kinds of data that are recognized as eligible for reanalysis which are comprised of original, raw data of the same researcher that uses them for reanalysis, or of another researcher. My data will become free from their past through my reanalysis because of my distance from them and the lack of emotional proximity which, as Wästerfors et al. (2014:471) mention, "stimulate scientific clarity in reanalysis projects".

In the next section of this chapter I offer a more detailed overview of the steps that I followed for the literature search, the definition of data through the articles gathered, and the analysis of those data.

3.2. Methodology: Research steps

3.2.1. Literature research

To begin with my research I had to search and find past and present anthropological studies that refer to the olive tree. In order to accomplish that I used the bibliographical research tools that the library of the University of Vienna provides, and thus I had access to journal and books granted by the university. I conducted further research in websites such as Google Scholar but again, the articles that I could have access (except for the free ones) were limited to the ones

the university had a subscription to. Moreover, I searched for dissertations and theses online through the website of the Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (NDLTD). Thus the literature research proved to be conducted entirely online.

Regarding the content of the studies, I did not limit my search, and thus my research, by appointing more specific considerations such as it would be if I would look only for studies referring to a specific geographical area or the relation of olive trees to a specific anthropological topic like gender. I kept it completely open, both geographically and topic related, primarily in order to have an overview of what has been written so far. If the amount of studies was proven to be extremely overwhelming I would have chosen some limiting factors. The literature search proved the opposite, and in fact it delimited itself geographically to the area of the Mediterranean. As I mentioned previously in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2), although olive trees are a present agent worldwide, cultural and social anthropological studies related to the tree have been conducted only in the Mediterranean, as my search through the online means that were available to me has proven. Regarding the topics that olive trees relate to, they did not get limited, or at least I did not limit it because the total number of the studies that I was able to find did not prove to be overwhelming.

I worked in total with sixty-seven (67) studies of which, one was a book, and the others, articles. Below is a table with summed up information on the countries each study refers to and the topics they examine. I defined the topics in a general context that the studies refer to, which in some cases the article was referring to a combination of topics.

Geography	Number of studies		Topic	Number of studies
Asia	**3**		Cultural ecology	3
Cape Verde	1		Ecology	1
Cyprus	2		Ethnography	2
Europe	1		Food	5
France	1		Gender	8
General	7		Identity	6
Greece	13		Media	2
Israel	4		Migration	2
Italy	4		Nationalism	4
Lebanon	1		Politics	2
Malta	2		Property	3
Mediterranean	2		Religion	4
Morocco	5		Ritual	1
Pakistan	1		Senses	2
Palestine	13		Social memory	3
Spain	6		Social organization	18
Turkey	1		Theory	2
TOTAL:	**67**		Violence	1
			Witchcraft	3

3.2.2. Data extraction and analysis

After I collected the above mentioned studies, I used the software program Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is a program that helps researchers with the organization and analysis of qualitative data. In my case I used only documents. I loaded each document in the program and I marked quotations and parts of the text that refer to olive trees. Simultaneously I started a list of codes that corresponded and expressed each passage. The list of codes that was generated proved to be long so at the end I had to merge some of the codes in less units.

The list of codes that were generated, and thus the group of text references to which each code refers to, can be summed up in the following general categories: (1) parts of the olive tree, (2) bigger, general codes such as agriculture, economy, ecology, food, gender, landscape,

property, sentiments, and symbolism, among others, and (3) smaller codes that I considered them expressing or being part of the bigger ones such as consumerism, harvest, identity, labor, and market, among others.

Regarding the coding procedure, I tried to use keywords that were expressing the context of reference of the quotation and the context of the reference itself. For example there were many references concerning harvesting techniques. I coded these references with 'Harvest', as a code of the third group mentioned above, and 'Agriculture', as a code of the second group. Another example is 'Art', which was a second group code, but it included 'Poetry', and 'Visual art', among others, as third group codes. 'Activism' was generated through quotations that expressed actions related to olive trees that usually had a political background. 'Activism' is related as a code to 'Symbolism' (they are both part of second group codes) because the nature of using olive trees in activist actions is purely symbolical. 'Economy' expresses economical activities that humans have developed in relation to olive trees, and in this, third group codes can be found such as 'Market', 'Exchange', and 'Migration' because they refer to situations related to the economic activities. 'Food' was used for the references that included mainly olives and olive oil, and 'Gender roles' indicates references were gender becomes a part of the activities involved with olive trees. I include 'History' with a connotation of the presence of olive trees in the past, as they are referred in the studies, while 'Landscape' indicates the general presence of olive trees in the studied areas. Lastly 'Sentiments' were used to bring to the fore inner connections of the people with olive trees.

Furthermore Atlas.it offers a function with which the researcher can connect the codes with associations such as 'is associated with', 'is part of', 'is a', and 'is cause of'. Through the use of these connections while defining and coding the data, I was able at the end to have a visualization of the connected codes to the main code that I was interested in finding the associated, direct connections. This procedure helped me in the analysis of the data because on the one hand I was able to have an overview of the references of the codes, and on the other the connections between them. The result of the networks generated is what I call small portraits of the olive tree and olive oil.

PART II

Part I offered an introduction to the research by presenting the research questions and aim of the research. The Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) was also defined to clear the way of thinking that led and leads the research. Lastly, the Methods and Methodology (Chapter 3) that I followed were presented in order to enlighten the process of the research. Part II consists of the main part of the research where the analyzed data will give way to the description of the findings that I was able to acquire. This part consists then of two chapters: Chapter 4 will give a descriptive overview of the representation of olive trees in past and present anthropological studies. This will be achieved by a description of the main codes that were generated, and those are of activism, agriculture, art, ecology, economy, food, gender roles, history, landscape, property, sentiments, and symbolism. The order of reference to the main codes is kept in alphabetical order because it was not my intent to give more weight in a particular topic, rather my purpose is to present them in an unbiased, neutral way; Chapter 5 will accordingly investigate how olive trees are represented in other fields of study in order to render visible differences in the ways of representation within different disciplines. The other fields of study consist of archaeology and environmental studies.

4. The olive tree in the anthropological field

In the chapter that follows I will lay out the 'portrait' of the olive tree as it was created through the data analysis. It should be noted that the olive tree was not always a reference in each own, directly to the tree as a whole. There were instances where the authors would refer particularly to parts of the tree for their purposes; those parts include the olive branch, the olive leaf, and the olive fruit. Furthermore there were references concerning products of the olive tree; those were the olive and the olive oil. I included also those ones because they were either intertwined with the olive tree or their reference was equally important for the analysis as that

of the tree. I perceive the olive tree as another living being of the natural environment and its products as essential for the conduct of life of many living beings, including humans.

The olive tree, as a living being of the natural environment, was the most referenced in the studies that I gathered for analysis. More specifically the code 'olive tree' was used two-hundred-fifty-six (256) times, as an entity on its own or in combination to parts of the tree such as the olive branch, the olive leaf, or the olive fruit. In what follows I will lay out alphabetically the contexts in which it was mentioned in those past and present anthropological studies.

Activism

Activism was one of the contexts in which the olive tree was present. The countries of reference were Cyprus and Palestine, and someone can quickly assume the reasons behind this discovery since both countries still have conflict issues.

Cyprus has a long on-going conflict between the Greek and Turkish part of the land. In his book 'The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus' (2008), Anastasiou sets forth to explain and analyze the conflict of interests of the countries involved through a historical but also present time perspective. The olive branch is used here as a symbol for peace; a fact that I already mentioned in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) regarding the olive tree as another living being. More specifically Anastasiou (2008:61-66) recalls protests that took place in Turkish Cyprus in favor of the then proposed plan of Kofi Annan (then secretary general of the United Nations) for the reunification of Cyprus with the goal to enter after some years as one country in the European Union. The protesters were against the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash who was promoting a nationalist agenda and was not open for conversations on developing a united Greek-Turkish government. The protesters used banners with the word 'peace' written in English, Greek, and Turkish while they were also wearing olive branches on their heads. Through this choice of materials for the visual support of the demonstration, the protesters then appear to have selected the means of the language (local and international) and a piece taken from another living agent of their environment that has been used as a symbol for peace since ancient times.

From another perspective of activism, we turn to the case of Palestine where conflict is still today an issue. The studies that I found refer to the Zionist cause, and more specifically on actions that have been taking place on the ground of Palestine as an occupied area from the Israeli authorities. One of these actions is the uprooting of olive trees from areas of Palestine. This can happen for several reasons, as the studies showed.

Stoler (2008) talks about the signification of ruins, and how they carry meanings. She mentions among others the Israeli Afforestation Project in ruined Palestinian villages and farms around Jerusalem; what were olive orchards before, now are replaced with pines and cypress, and are called 'security groves' (Stoler 2008:201-202). Braverman (2009) also notes the reason of national security for uprooting the trees from the occupied areas. More specifically he mentions that Israel supports the rationale that the uprooting was necessary in order that the Separation Barrier would be built and to maintain "secure roads, increase visibility, and make way for watchtowers, checkpoints, additional roads, and security fences around Jewish settlements" (Braverman 2009:247). In addition Meneley (2011:280) reports a story of uprooting olive trees from a Palestinian farm with the claim that they were close to an Israeli military base, even though it was closed already for three years and illegally built on the farmer's land in the first place.

Furthermore Braverman (2009) continues by exemplifying the case of selling uprooted olive trees in Israeli tree nurseries. As it is implied, the Israeli Civil Administration was involved in these transactions. Since then, as Braverman mentions at that time, the Israeli Ministry of Defense states that,

> Farmers who cultivate olive and other fruit trees growing within the Security Fence can designate a new site to which the tree will be relocated which has no free access constraints. Contractors assigned by the Ministry of Defense to build the Security Fence are responsible for carefully uprooting and replanting the trees. So far over 60,000 olive trees have been relocated in accordance with this procedure (2009:249).

Regarding the act of uprooting olive trees, a human rights activist reports that once they approached a woman sitting and crying near the 120 cut olive trees from the settlers. She

mentions that it was like paying respect to a “funeral, a graveyard where the 30-year-old trees were slaughtered” (Braverman 2009:253).

Because of the uprooting of olive trees from Palestinian areas and the significance that this tree has for those people, several activist initiations were developed. First it is worth mentioning an act by local women against the further destruction of Palestinian villages from Israeli authorities. Svirsky (2003:545) mentions that young women, along with laying down in front of bulldozers, also chained themselves to olive trees in order to protect Palestinian property.

Braverman (2009:254) notes the organization ‘Rabbis for Human Rights’ who have as their goal to replant new olive trees in the place of destroyed or uprooted ones in Palestinian areas. Nevertheless they require from the farmers that the donated trees will be planted in the ‘right place’; that is, where the old ones once were. An interesting fact about this organization is that the origin of the new olive trees to be planted in Palestine are grown in Jewish Israeli tree nurseries, and the idea behind it is that of “distributed justice: the Palestinian olive trees, uprooted by Jewish people, are now replaced by Jewish olive trees replanted by Palestinian people” (Braverman 2009:254).

Meneley (2011) shows a similar urge to help Palestinians recover their lost olive trees but this time at an international level. As she notes, “Olive tree planting campaigns, where individuals abroad can sponsor olive trees or volunteer to plant them, are implemented in the hope of staving off further annexation of Palestinian land by the Israeli authorities declaring land uncultivated or neglected” (Meneley 2011:282). Thus international groups of volunteers send help from their countries or go to Palestine to help. Furthermore Meneley (2014:59) mentions an olive picking program developed by the Canaan Fair Trade that is producing extra-virgin olive oil for the market abroad. In this program international people can go to Palestine to help pick olives while they have the opportunity to stay with Palestinian families during the harvesting season in fall. These international interactions that Palestinians are taking part in generate hope for their land and give them their citizenship. A farmer that cooperates with the Canaan Fair Trade states that, “Before we started selling our olive oil I felt that the outside world used

to think Palestine is a land without a people but now when they eat my oil they know that we are here" (Meneley 2014:59).

Activism in the case of Palestine is not only expressed through the plantation of olive trees. Meneley (2011) notes another form of solidarity in connection with the international public. This is the case of a non-profit organization in Canada, named Zaytoun, which is engaged with the import of Palestinian olive oil. Volunteers there help packing the bottles of olive oil that arrive from Palestine in order for them to be delivered to individuals or shops. As Meneley mentions about the cause of Zaytoun, "Supporting Palestinian food commodities is an everyday embodied practice, part of a larger political agenda, which also includes embodied but non-violent practices like using one's body as a physical barrier or medium of protest" (Meneley 2011:282). In this respect olive oil as a food commodity of the international market calls for a more ethical consumerism which is one of the main goals of Nasser Abufarha, head of the Palestinian Fair Trade Association and provider of olive oil to Zaytoun.

It appears then that, except for the symbolic connotation that the olive tree can have in the context of an activist action (as it shown in the case of Cyprus), olive trees, as living entities of the natural environment, are taking part in the conflict, in this case between Palestine and Israel. They are a present agent of both lands or even better, they intersect the meanings and borders of the land as they are politically defined, since they are a tree species that can grow in the specific geographical area. It can be seen through the actions of uprooting and replanting the olive trees from one country to the other, how the trees (if we can imagine their perspective) are played like a tennis ball from one side to the other in order to fulfill human political and activist expectations. Yet also the main product of the olive tree, that is the olive oil, seems to enter the activist cause of raising consciousness and calling for a worldwide ethical consumerism towards the situation in Palestine.

Agriculture

Agriculture was also a topic of reference of olive trees. As a category it is not very surprising that it emerges when one is researching about a tree that is also connected with the

subsistence of certain populations. In regard to this topic I will mention especially references that were made throughout the analyzed studies which speak about cultivation practices in different countries, harvesting techniques and procedures, and also slighter parameters in the context of this category concerning social organization, gender relations, and the state of occupation in Palestine.

As I showed in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) regarding the olive tree, the cultivation of olive trees has been conducted since ancient times, and with the period of time it has been distributed in many different corners of the world. Nevertheless, the past and present anthropological studies which mention olive trees that I was able to find concern mostly the Mediterranean area. In some of these studies the researchers found important to offer information about the cultivation of olive trees in their research area, either extensively or just as a reference about the activities in the country. I will refer to those countries alphabetically because it is not my intention to make a comparison at any level between them; rather my goal to begin with is to present them as facts.

Greece is a country with a rich vegetation in olive trees. As mentioned in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) regarding olive trees, Greece is the third country in the export of olive oil. Forbes (1976) and Gavrielides (1976a) underwent research in the peninsula of Peloponnesus. Their main focus is on the agricultural tasks of the area which from their perspective and analysis have ecological impacts (social and natural).

Forbes (1976) studies the economic growth of Methana via their agricultural system, and more specifically land fragmentation and polycropping. Concerning olive trees he mentions that it is one of the perennial crops of the area (Forbes 1976:239). My interest here is on polycropping which is a practice the farmers use in order to combine farming of arable and perennial plants in the same field. Farmers themselves are aware that such an activity is not optimal, especially for the perennial plants (Forbes 1976:247-248). For example olive trees are presented as being affected by this double cropping on their soil because as Forbes (1976:248) mentions, cereals and olive trees exploit different levels of the soil; that is, olive trees need moisture from rain in deeper levels of the soil where their roots are so that they can survive the

dry summer, while cereals exploit the upper level of the soil. This exploitation of different levels of the soil has a double dependency on the weather during the year. For example if it rains a lot during the winter, then water will be able to rich deeper levels of the soil, which is good for the olive trees in order to have enough moisture for the summer, but it affects the production of cereals. On the contrary, when the rain is scattered throughout the winter, it cannot reach deep levels of the soil, so olive trees survive but they do not have a good production, whereas cereals have an optimal one. According to Forbes (1976), farmers are practicing double cropping so that they can work in different productions on the same field, while he also demonstrates that this is not always working out, since one production can prove better for one year than the other but the farmers manage in this way to use the same amount of labor for two crops at the same time.

Gavrielides (1976a) studies the effects of olive cultivation on the landscape of the Fourni valley. He is very thorough in exemplifying the landscape structure and ecosystem; that is, how one living agent affects the other. We find geographical descriptions about where the olive trees are, if they are cultivated alone or along with other crops such as pear trees, and how the soil they need is: "It was observed that the olive trees are grown on the colluvial deposits where the soil is rather thick. On the other hand, few *dollinas*, dissolution holes, and depressions that contain adequate soil on the lime substratum have olive trees on them" (original emphasis; Gavrielides 1976a:147-148). Furthermore Gavrielides (1976a:153-155) goes into detail about the olive cultivation practices of the farmers in Fourni. He explains how they use two methods for extending their olive groves; those are, on the one hand, by extending already existing olive groves, where the seeds are falling from the trees and hopefully they manage to grow, and on the other hand, by transplanting new olive tree bushes from the old groves to new areas. For both methods Gavrielides (1976a) notes the important 'cooperation' between olive weeds and wild bushes. The olive weeds (if they are lucky enough) will be transferred by the help of a bird in the 'safe hug' of a wild bush. These bushes protect the weed to germinate and grow. Other living agents of the environment that affect olive growing are goats and sheep. These animals like to eat and break branches from the olive trees. On the one hand this activity is helping in the pruning of the trees but on the other it hurts the trees during

the season of harvesting. Humans appear to control and affect these activities. Regarding the two methods mentioned here, it should be noted that the second one involves a human generated area suitable for cultivation. That means humans burn the maquis in a field, except for certain wild bushes that can help in the growing of olive trees, and then plant olive bushes. The regulation of pruning by humans is evident by whether and when they allow shepherds with their animals in the fields, and the pruning by themselves which provides them with firewood.

In another article Gavrielides (1976b) looks more closely at the cultural ecology of olive cultivation in the same area of Greece. There we find also more information on the social organization regarding cultivation and harvesting of the olive trees. More specifically I would like to refer here to the use of technology by the farmers. The use of technology was not very much referenced throughout the sum of studies that I found, although agricultural tasks are conducted with its help today and in the past (in many evolutionary forms that technology has passed). Gavrielides notes the use of technological equipment along with the human power that is needed for cultivation, and mentions the "mechanized threshing, spraying the olive trees with DDT [pesticide]" (1976b:267).

Agricultural tasks may have not been always the main focus of past and present anthropological studies that refer to the olive tree or even if they were, then olive trees may have not been so present in the research. The following set of studies briefly refers to agricultural activities related to olive trees. Even so, I find their references relevant to my research and therefore I have included them.

Goldberg (1969) researches about autocratic and egalitarian aspects of the social structure of a village in Israel. While he proceeds on introducing the community, he mentions that the majority of the peasants are cultivating olives, figs, and barley (Goldberg 1969:55). Similarly Silverman (1968) sets forth to investigate the ethos of 'amoral familism', which, as he suggests, has its foundation in the agricultural system, by comparing two areas of Italy. Again here the author refers to the olive tree because of the "diversified peasant agriculture" of South Italy,

where the farmers cultivate wheat in combination with other products such as olives and grapes (Silverman 1968:11).

Reiter (1972) takes a look into the transformation of agriculture towards modernity in Southern France, and more specifically how polyculture turned into market-oriented monoculture. As she mentions, “During the 1920s and 1930s, those families who remained [after the First World War] began to plant lavender. Since tree roots kill the flowering plant, almond, olive, fruit, and oak trees were allowed to die off, or were slowly uprooted” (Reiter 1972:39). In a different way Myres (1941) talks about nomadism. Nomads cannot be identified with a particular place, and thus a country. Therefore the author offers an extensive article about several aspects of nomadism. One of them is agriculture which, as the author mentions, is limited mostly to annual or of short-life plants because of the mobility that characterizes nomads. The only exceptions are a few fruit trees which nomads can use because they exist in the specific area they will reside for a certain period of time, and the olive tree is one of them (Myres 1941:33).

Palestine is also one of the countries that olive cultivation is very intense. Most of the studies that I found note the importance of olive trees as a symbol to Palestinians of their identity and rootedness in their land (Abufarha 2008; Braverman 2009; Meneley 2008a, 2011, 2014; Swedenburg 1990; Van Gelder 2015); a feature that is directly connected to the characteristics of the olive tree. In this context there are also references denoting the significance of olive cultivation in Palestine. Van Gelder refers to a report by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs from 2015 which states that “an estimated 100,000 families in the occupied Palestinian territories depend on the harvest of olive trees for their livelihoods” (2015:14). Furthermore Braverman (2009:240) mentions that forty-five percent of the Palestinian occupied land is cultivated by olive trees, while Abufarha (2008:353-354) notes the importance and tradition of olive cultivation and harvesting for the Palestinians which is further a communal activity.

Already from the discourse of olive cultivation, it has become apparent that harvesting is one of the main activities that humans conduct in order to start benefiting from the tree.

Theodossopoulos (1999) takes us to the island of Zakynthos in Greece and offers a detailed description of the procedure of olive harvesting while focusing more on the role of women. He shows that men are doing the work on the trees; that is, climbing up the olive tree, beating the branches with wood sticks, and sometimes also pruning small branches with olives on them. Women on the other hand are responsible for the work being done under the trees; that is, they lay down big sheets of cloth before the beating of the trees, they clean the olives that fall from the beating (sometimes olives still have small pieces of wood on them or they are attached to pruned branches), and they collect the olives into big sacks so that the men can transfer them afterwards to the olive press (Theodossopoulos 1999:617). In addition to the description of the olive harvesting practice in Zakynthos, he compares it with the one in Corfu where, as Theodossopoulos (1999:616) mentions, the farmers do not beat the trees in order that the olives fall, rather they lay down sheets of cloth and wait for the olives to fall on their own.

Migration of the population of villages seems to have also affected the harvesting practices in matters of who is taking part, or the other way around, the needs and deficiencies of agricultural tasks have driven away village population in the search of supplementary work. Costa (1988) researches a phenomenon of migration in regards to Greek rural life, and more particularly in the island of Cephalonia. Concerning olive picking, she mentions that since men were obliged to emigrate to urban areas, women have taken over such agricultural tasks, among others. Similarly Macphee (2004) takes us to Morocco where she conducted research on cultural changes with regards to health experiences among three Muslim ethnic groups. She mentions that people in mountains and deserts were neglected in efforts to provide an infrastructure. Consequently, “The demand for low-skilled workers in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, offered Saharan men an alternative to date and olive farming in the village or military civil service in Errachidia” (Macphee 2004:381). The opposite situation is found in Kenna (1976) who studies the ritual family relationships in respect to property rights in the island of Nisos, Greece. In her introduction to the social organization of the island, she mentions that agriculture is important for the people, especially of olives and grain. Nevertheless there is a gap in the farming activities from June (when the

harvesting ends) until autumn, and sometimes the year's supply from the crop is not enough. Thus some of the residents of the island have to migrate to a city outside the island in order to find a job for this gap period (Kenna 1976:22).

But migration can also be regarded from another perspective, not of refugees or obligatory population movement driven by a specific, immediate cause, but rather a movement by choice. I refer by this to the international groups that travel and reside in foreign countries in order to help other people; those are, volunteers or activists. I mentioned in the Activism part a particular program organized by the Canaan Fair Trade in Palestine who export extra-virgin olive oil abroad (Meneley 2014). The program invites international people to visit Palestine during the harvesting season when they can live with Palestinian families. Their tasks are mainly restricted to olive picking, because as shown from the cases above, olive picking seems to be one of the activities during olive harvesting that everyone can do without previous training or the need of physical strength. In this way participation in olive harvesting practices raises the consciousness of the international community, along with the distribution of the product as fair trade.

In a more general sense regarding agriculture and olive trees, authors mention information about the tasks in their studies. For example Costa (1988), as mentioned earlier, is concerned more specifically with the migration in relation to agriculture in Cephalonia, Greece. In offering general information on agricultural tasks and social organization of the island, she mentions,

> In the twentieth century cultivation has shifted primarily to a more profitable, migrant-adaptive crop - olives. The knowledge required for olive cultivation is considerable less than that for currants; and olive trees require less time and less intensive labor. Olives are produced in abundance every other year, rather than annually, and they can be picked up any time from November to April. Given the small size of most olive groves on the island, it only takes a few days to pick the crop, a task that can be done during brief visits to the home village. Furthermore, care of olive trees can easily be turned over to friends or relatives in return for a portion of the crop (Costa 1988:80).

In another general context Galani-Moutafi (1993) mentions the agricultural tasks as they are divided between men and women. The primary focus of her study is how kinship and gender relations change through the parallel shift of activities from agriculture to tourism in a village

on Samos island in Greece. In this context she notes that all activities relating to maintaining the olive groves and transferring the olives to olive presses are entirely taken up by men, while women are responsible for the gathering of olives (Galani-Moutafi 1993:253-254).

While so far I have tried to show how agricultural tasks (cultivation and harvest) related to olive trees are described and in some cases can be related to ecology, gender, or activism throughout anthropological studies, there is still another aspect of agriculture that needs to be mentioned which carries different connotations. This stems from the case of Palestine and the state occupied land under Israeli forces. Braverman in taking up a study in order to present how the olive tree has strongly become a symbol for the Palestinians, he sets as one of the goals of his article to,

> demonstrate how humanitarian initiatives by the State of Israel to protect Palestinian olive cultivation have led to even tighter, yet also more discrete, system of surveillance of Palestinians in the West Bank. This system is enforced through close monitoring by Israel's Defense Forces of the Palestinians' concept of space and time, mainly through the newly established regime of "friction zones" and "timetables". The tight security administration imposed through the regulation of the Palestinians' olive-related practices has thus taken over their everyday relationship with their land. The project of Palestinian resistance through rooting olives into the land has, in other words, been flipped on its head and has morphed into yet another means of Israel's assertion of occupation and control in this place (2009:239).

It becomes visible then that olive trees are referenced as part of agricultural tasks in past and present anthropological studies. These references can be extensive and in detail, as Forbes (1976) and Gavrielides (1976a) chose to narrate about two villages in Peloponnesus, Greece, or they can be less detailed and reflect only facts about specific regions. It can be said then that depending on the focus of the study, anthropologists choose how much they will refer to such agents as the olive tree in their study. Nevertheless, through this part, it can start to be seen how the olive tree, as another living being of the same ecosystem where humans also belong, connects and entangles with perspectives of the human social life. At first glance agriculture is the main and primordial task in which humans and olive trees meet but, as it was exemplified through the above mentioned studies, agricultural tasks related to olive trees can in consequence lead to other decisions by humans, such as to migrate in order to find work when

the harvesting season is over or again, to migrate in order to help vulnerable citizens, but it can also define specific tasks according to the gender of the humans.

Art

The olive tree has been transferred as a symbol in artistic practices too. In the past and present anthropological studies that I gathered this was evident only regarding the country of Palestine where the problem of occupation from Israeli forces is still a present situation. As mentioned earlier regarding Palestine, the olive tree and its cultivation is important for Palestinians because, except for being an agent helping in the subsistence of the people, it also carries connotations related to their identity, community, and thus land. These preoccupations are reflected through several forms of art as the studies have shown.

Jean-Klein (2001) studies discourses on nationalism and activism through everyday activism in Palestine during the Intifada. She defines everyday activism as the domestic practices of (self-)nationalization that take place in parallel with an organized liberational and nation-state-building movement. One of these everyday practices that she refers to includes the ornamentation that accompanied the choices of women when dressing up. As she mentions, "the practice of moderation took the form of substitution and often mere supplementation of normally worn accessories with a novel kind of adornment, items that manifested the politicized, nationalized subject and a specific party position in the struggle for a state: a *kuffiye* worn as a head or shoulder scarf or a gold pendant featuring an olive tree or a map of Greater Palestine" (original emphasis; Jean-Klein 2001:103).

Abufarha (2008) also distinguishes also the olive tree as one of the trees that are used as a symbol by the Palestinians. More specifically he mentions that today it is very common to find gold, silver or carved olive wood as an ornament which is worn both by men and women. Moreover, in houses embroideries can be hanging on walls depicting the olive tree accompanied by the work 'Filistine' (that is, Palestine). As Abufarha notes, "The symbol evokes the emotions of the Palestinian farmers' experiences, of attachment to the land across time by

other non-farmer Palestinians, thereby creating and asserting the Palestinian nation" (2008:359).

Braverman (2009) talking in general about the occupation of Palestine, and more specifically about the connotations that practices related to olive trees carry (e.g., uprooting and cultivation) offers also several examples of poems that reflect the issues of identity struggles, war, and uprootedness that characterize Palestinians. Braverman consults Bardenstein and mentions about the below cited poems that they "illustrate the idea of the olive tree as a living memory of the Palestinian village and its people and as a silent witness of their suffering" (2009:245). The poem below is by Tawfiq Zayyad who was primarily a politician but also a poet.

> I shall carve the record of all my sufferings, and all my secrets,
>
> On an olive tree, in the courtyard, of the house…
>
> I shall carve the number of each deed of our usurped land.
>
> The demolished houses of its people, my uprooted trees,…
>
> And to remember it all,
>
> I shall continue to carve all the chapters of my tragedy,
>
> And all the stages of the disaster, from beginning to end,
>
> On the olive tree, in the courtyard, of the house.
>
> (Braverman 2009:245)

The next poem is written by Mahmood Darwish who was a Palestinian poet and author, and was generally regarded as a national poet.

The olive grove was once green,

At least it used to be…and the sky

was a blue forest…at least it used to be, my love.

What changed it that evening?

The olive grove was always green.

At least it used to be, my love.

Fifty victims at sundown

Turned it into a red pool…fifty victims.

(Braverman 2009:245)

Van Gelder (2015) offers two more art forms where the olive tree is used to represent issues related to the Palestinian struggle. The first one is the lyrics of hip hop music. As DAM (a Palestinian hip hop group) sings,

You won't limit my hope by a Wall of separation

And if this barrier comes between me and my land

I'll still be connected to Palestine

Like an embryo to the umbilical cord.

My feet are the roots of the olive tree,

keep on prospering, fathering,

and renewing branches.

(Van Gelder 2015:17)

The second art form that Van Gelder (2015) presents is visual and comes from a Beirut-based artists' collective, named Jamaa Al-Yad. The collective created posters which were black and

white linocuts depicting a Palestinian woman crying while holding the trunk of a pruned olive tree whose branches are laying on the ground. The poster reads: “Always remain standing no matter what happens”, and the art work is called “The Uprooting of the Olive Trees” (Van Gelder 2015:18).

It is suggested then that the olive tree, as a living agent of the natural environment, is not affecting everyday life and practices of humans, except to gain food, or firewood in order to conduct life, but has also passed into the realm of becoming a metaphorical agent for the representation of human preoccupations through the form of art; in this case as shown here, through the case of Palestine and the art forms of poetry, music, and visual art.

Ecology

I mentioned earlier, regarding Agriculture, how the practice of polycropping in Methana, Greece, ecologically affects the cereals and olive trees that are planted in the same field (Forbes 1976). This practice mainly concerned water that is available depending on how much it rains during the winter. As it was shown, cereals get water from the upper levels of the soil, while olive trees need more heavy rains so that water will invade to the deeper levels of the soil where their roots are; in this way they will be able to have enough moisture in order for them to survive their crop through the dry summer. Furthermore in Gavrielides 1976a it became apparent that wild bushes help in the expansion of new olive trees (whether in an already existing grove or in a new one) by providing shelter to the seeds of the olive tree in order for them to germinate safely. Gavrielides (1976a) further notes the pine trees that exist in the area of Fourni, Greece. More specifically, regarding ecological dimensions, he mentions that “If the pine manages to succeed the maquis rather rapidly because of optimal ecological conditions, then there is less chance for oak, pistachio and olive bushes to grow in these terraces causing their deterioration” (Gavrielides 1976a:155).

Another plant to plant ecological conflict is reflected through Van Gelder’s (2015) discussion on pines, eucalyptus, and cypresses (which function as memory triggers for Israelis) and olive trees (which function as memory triggers for Palestinians). Israeli settlers, in their effort to

make the Palestinian land more familiar and with the expectation to create what they define as Israel, and thus land, tried to plant pines, eucalyptus, and cypresses in the soil. Van Gelder mentions that, "Transformed into a Jewish settlement after the 1948 war, the ruins of Mujaydil were partly overplanted with pine trees by the newly formed State of Israel. Because the pine trees failed to adapt to the local soil, however, the original flora was able to spring back between the disease-afflicted pines" (2015:47).

But plants and trees are not the only ones that are ecologically involved. It was shown also in the part concerning Agriculture by Gavrielides (1976a) that sheep and goats can affect the cultivation of olive trees. In another article of Gavrielides (1974) (a study again about the Fourni valley in Greece), the author offers more information in the coexistence of those agents. As he mentions, "Sheep and goats supplement their diet with the prunings of olive trees, while such animals provide valuable fertilizers. A very intricate balance is achieved between land carrying capacities involving olive trees, sheep and goats, and cereals" (Gavrielides 1974:66). In Gavrielides 1976b, except finding more information on sheep and goats, there is also a note on the agency of birds. Black birds seem to help olive trees in their proliferation. Gavrielides mentions after Papasotiriou (a Greek agronomist) that,

> These birds migrate to the area in early winter when the olive fruits become ripe. When the bird eats the olive fruit, the seed does not get digested, but rather its oily surface is cleansed in the digestive track of the bird before it gets passed out and dropped. This seed remains dormant for a period of eighteen months before it germinates (1976b:152-153).

Another interesting (in my opinion) ecological perspective is gained through the study of Theodossopoulos (1999). As mentioned earlier, Theodossopoulos (1999) looks at the harvesting activities in Zakynthos island, Greece. He pays a special focus in the relation of harvesting activities to gender roles. Nevertheless I found in his text an excerpt that I find describes an ecological picture of beings involved in a wider perspective than the ones we are used to read about so far (that is, as shown before in this part, in regards to ecological relations of plants with plants or plants with other animals-sheep and goats). This excerpt is the following:

> From the village's main street, which runs its whole length, one can see extended olive groves and small farms scattered across the countryside. Flocks of chicken and turkey roam freely under the olive trees all

> year round. During the season of the harvest the traveler meets harvesting groups of Vassilikiot women and men carrying ladders and olive-sheets and beating the olives off the trees. Sometimes the sheets cover ground close to the main street or even part of the street itself, and passing drivers have to slow down (Theodossopoulos 1999:612).

It is important to mention here that I find that this excerpt reflects a posthumanist approach of seeing things. Probably the author did not have this intention theoretically but with his lyrical writing he has managed, in my mind, to imply this picture. Olive trees, chickens, humans interact all year round, whether together or apart, whether during the same season or not.

Ecology then is connecting all the living agents in a specific natural setting where processes of Life are taking place. Humans and sheep and goats cooperate for the pruning and fertilization of the olive grove, while olive trees provide food and wood to them. At the same time also birds pick up food from the olive tree, and help them multiply. It also becomes clear though that anthropologists are referring to ecological procedures between animals (except humans) and trees. Humans have still a different position in their narration despite the fact that their primary goal is to investigate the ecological life conducted in relation to humans. I showed though that in my opinion the above mentioned excerpt from Theodossopoulos (1999) reflects a more posthumanistic approach of anthropological narration, although I believe it was not the main intention of the author (again just guessing since I have not been in contact with the author).

Economy

The past and present anthropological studies gathered also showed that olives trees can be the main or supplementary agents of economic life in some countries. I have identified four economic-related activities connected to olive trees, as they develop in parallel to the general economic life of these places; those are, in regards to (1) labor and work opportunities, (2) the development of processing facilities such as olive presses, (3) the exchange of commodities as a means of payment, and (4) aspects of the market.

Research studies in Greece show wide economic activity in connection with olive trees. Gavrielides (1974, 1976b) notes that in Fourni valley the main agricultural activity is olive

cultivation. As a result the economic life of the village is dependent on olive growing but it is still not always enough to get by through the year. As he mentions, sheep and goats, cereal and citrus cultivation, and seafaring are supplementary economic activities of the village. In that matter he offers the following descriptive information,

> From a total of 161 adult male villagers, only 5 are full-time olive and cereal cultivators. These 5 are actually old and semiretired. The majority of males who are in their prime working years, 20-45 years old, combine seafaring with olive growing. There are 45 such individuals or 27.95% of the able-bodied males. Twelve persons combine citrus growing with olive cultivation and cereals; 22 combine olive and cereal cultivation with fishing during the summer and hiring themselves as laborers during the rest of the year when not working on their own land (Gavrielides 1976b:266).

In the island of Nisos, as Kenna (1976:22) reports, the main economic-related activities are subsistence farming and sheep herding. Nevertheless, as mentioned also earlier in the part on Agriculture, during the gap period when the olive harvesting ends in June and when the olive season starts again in autumn, most of the inhabitants of the island seek work in other places. Herzfeld (1981:562) reports about a village on the western coast of Rhodes island that the main agricultural productions are olives, grapes, and then in a secondary position, melons, while Galani-Moutafi (1993:251) mentions that in a village on Samos island there are two main agricultural seasons; that of, olives and grapes. Similarly Costa notes that, “Although olive production is more profitable than ever, the majority of farmers in Sami have such small groves that production primarily supplements other income” (1988:80). From another perspective Theodossopoulos mentions that the Vassilikiot people in Zakynthos island have a household-based economic logic, and “According to this logic, the olive groves, by their mere existence, are a source that should never be wasted” (1999:615).

Studies referring to the country of Palestine seem more centered on olive trees when it comes to economic life of Palestinians. Abufarha (2008:355) mentions that for the communities of the West Bank, the product of olive oil is the main source of income and thus expresses economic security to the inhabitants, while Meneley (2011:280) confirms that fact, and adds that olive oil, except for being the main source of income, when production is not sufficient for

selling, its use is still important within the household. Braverman offers more descriptive information about Palestine by noting that,

> Most of the olive trees are located in the West Bank, where the olive industry accounts for approximately 40 percent of the total value of agricultural produce and for 70 percent of the production from fruit trees. More than 70,500 farmers own olive trees, and many more depend upon various activities associated with the trees for their livelihood. Some 90 percent of the olive crop is designated for oil, which is processed in 194 olive presses situated throughout the occupied Palestinian territories (2009:240).

Vargas-Cetina (2011:130) takes us to Italy, and more specifically to Sardinia and the village of Baria, where economic activities are primarily agropastoral. Raising sheep, goats, cattle and pigs and the production of milk, cheese, olives and grapes are the main activities, while there are also three processing facilities (winery, dairy plant, and olive press, accordingly) which the surrounding villages also use. In Spain Uhl conducted research in Escalona (South Cordoba) and she mentions that "The main income-generating products are olive and sunflower oils, and cherry, and cereals" (1991:91).

It becomes apparent then from some of these facts that economic life of a place, except for being dependent on olive cultivation and production of olive products to make a living, it is directly connected with work opportunities provided by these activities. Working in the field through the harvesting season is common but it is nevertheless an agricultural activity that is limited to a certain period of time. Consequently, as the above mentioned information suggest, other ways of gaining an income have to be found.

Theodossopoulos (1999) writes about the tourism business that is taking place in Zakynthos island along with olive cultivation as an income. As he mentions, "Nowadays, tourism enterprises are part of the immediate household environment in Vassilikos, and local people explain: 'Having 'rooms for rent' in an olive grove requires both the rooms and the olive trees to be well cared off'" (Theodossopoulos 1999:613). On the other hand Herzfeld (1980:95) notes about a village in Crete that the inhabitants usually own land and olive trees, and they have to employ workers during the harvesting season or when they want to expand an olive grove because of the extensive work that is needed to be done.

A different situation is reported regarding Palestine. Braverman (2009) notes the unemployment of Palestinians and how it is consequently affected by the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israelis. Therefore, Palestinians are able to work solely on olive cultivation; "The increase in unemployment – now more than 50 percent of the workforce – has gradually increased the number of Palestinians whose livelihoods depend on local sources of income, and chiefly on their ability to complete the economic cycles of olive oil production: harvesting the olive fruit, extracting the oil, and selling it" (Braverman 2009:241).

So far we have also seen that populations move from one village to the other or to a city to find another job when agricultural tasks are not available. For example, in Baria, Sardinia, the three cooperatives of winery, dairy plan, and olive press that are created to process the products, also offer work places for inhabitants of other villages (Vargas-Cetina 2011:130). Masur (1984:25) notes that in a mountain village in Andalusia, Spain, "Olive production only provides seasonal employment, so Cuevenos were ready to migrate abroad or to Spanish cities in search of supplement income, steady work". Similarly Abu-Zahra mentions that in a village in Tunisia the inhabitants could not entirely depend on the olive crop because of weather irregularities, and thus they often had to "seek professions, or white collar jobs in addition to owning olive groves" (1974:124).

The products of olive trees, and more specifically the olive oil, and olive cultivation practices have also been presented as a means of payment by exchanging commodities instead of money transactions. Gavrielides (1976b) mentions that usually shepherds that are allowed to graze their sheep and goats in olive groves are conducting a kind of 'commodity exchange' since at the end of this activity, from the farmer's point of view, the olive grove is plowed, and from the shepherd's point of view, the animals are grazed. The author also notes that in the past workers that harvested olive trees were paid olive oil and food instead of money, and furthermore, that the olive presses usually charge 10% of the oil pressed. Also, when it comes to selling the olive products, people in Fourni usually sell them in their area or in cities further away through their social networks. Only when it comes to transactions with Roma they buy stuff from them and they pay with olive oil (Gavrielides 1976b:269).

Corbin (1979:104), when talking about patron-clientage and social class in Andalusia, Spain, mentions that the workers in farms had a fixed income which consisted of a small amount of money and a portion of food in which olive oil was included. Meneley (2011:277) reports a similar concept of the olive oil as an exchange commodity between Palestinians. In another context of exchanging goods Knight (2012) conducts research in Trikala, central Greece, and his main focus is on social memory and crisis. In the beginning of the 1940s there was a big famine in Greece and since the modern economic crisis started in 2008, older people have been recalling their crisis times and ways to cope during the famine in order to survive the current crisis. In this respect, one of Knight's informants states that, "People have started to store their olive oil in case the currency drops. They can then trade with their olive oil. I heard that this is what happened before" (2012:358).

Meneley (2008a, 2011, 2014) focuses more on the production and circulation of Palestinian olive oil as a product that carries connotations concerning the occupation of Palestine and as a product that expresses solidarity to this cause when it is bought. More precisely, she notes that since Palestinians are producing more olive oil than they can consume, they need to find markets outside Palestine to sell their product. Historically, two main markets that existed stopped the import of Palestinian olive oil because of political and economic reasons; those were Kuwait and Jordan. Furthermore, as she mentions, Palestinians are reluctant to sell their olive oil to Israelis because they usually buy it very cheap compared to the costs of production, and they sell it with a label indicating that it is a product of Israel. For these reasons Palestinians have turned their attention to other international markets, such as those of Australia, Canada, EU, Japan, New Zealand, UK, and USA. Nevertheless, although there has been funding from the EU and USA for the production of extra-virgin olive oil in Palestine in order for it to be circulated in the international markets, means also that production practices should change in order to qualify the label of 'extra-virgin' (Meneley 2008a:18-19). In that matter Meneley (2014) refers to Canaan Fair Trade that is preoccupied with the production of Palestinian olive oil with the purpose to sell only at international markets, and explains that,

> The oil not marketed as "estate oil" is identified by cultivar (which is again very common in expensive extra virgin olive oil produced in Europe): the Nabali cultivar, which is described as Palestine's native

> olive tree, and the Rumi cultivar, which is described as being cultivated in Palestine since the days of the Romans….Many of the oils are described as "certified organic", and farmers who produce organic olive oil are paid a premium on top of the guaranteed fair-trade price. The organic label also helps the olive oil's circulation abroad (Meneley 2014:59).

It is suggested then that olive trees and their products play an important role in the economic life of some countries. The cultivation of olive trees can be a full-time activity, and its products may consist of the main financial income, but as it was shown, this is not always the case. Although in Palestine people seem to be mainly engaged with the production of olive oil for their income because of the unstable state of the country, in other countries the production gathered from olive trees constitutes only a part of the income. Therefore people seem to engage in activities such as seafaring (Gavrielides 1974, 1976b) or tourism (Theodossopoulos 1999). Also olive cultivation appears to be an activity that needs work to be done mainly during the harvesting; that is, roughly a limited period from October till June (depending on the places and practices). Therefore people residing in villages choose to migrate to other places to find either more stable jobs, or supplementary work opportunities for the periods that the olive harvesting is not possible. Last but not least, it was shown how forms of commodity exchange can develop. This was the case of farmers and shepherds (Gavrielides 1976b) where the mutual benefit of plowing the olive groves and grazing sheep and goats was shown. Furthermore olive oil is one of the products that is either exchanged in return for another commodity, or it is carefully produced in order to apply to international market standards, as was the case with the production of Palestinian extra-virgin olive oil.

It can be perceived then through these procedures how the olive tree, by starting as just being another living agent of the natural environment, becomes more and more related to humans' social, and more specifically here, economic life. People seem to either quasi or fully depend on the production generated by olive trees according to the unique political situation of each country. If we try to look at these processes from the point of view of the olive tree, I picture in my mind a tree rooted in a specific geographical area but its life line (after Ingold) travels all over the world. The tree itself is not travelling but the circulation of its products is international. I correlate in this case the life line of the olive tree with its products because

without the tree, the products would also not exist. Imagine it better then as branches (others thicker, others thinner) of the meshwork of an olive tree.

Food

Olive trees are one of the many other living beings that are a source of food to other living beings. Through this part I will present the relevance of olives and olive oil in the everyday diet of different human populations but also of other animals, as also references about them were found through the past and present anthropological studies that were gathered. Furthermore it appeared through the data that olive oil is also connected with religion, rituals, the senses, and health topics.

Gavrielides (1976b) and Kenna (1976) note for the Fourni valley and Nisos island, accordingly, that olives are a main crop and it is considered as an essential part of the household food supply. Kenna (1976:26) distinctively mentions that every man is trying to add more olive trees to his inheritance so that he can provide more oil to his family as a part of the year's supply. Gavrielides (1976b:269) further notes that, except for providing a supply for the immediate household, people from the Fourni also send food supplies to kin in other places of the country. In a more focused study, Salamone (1987) researches about the term 'noikokyrio' ('household' in Greek, with traditional connotations) that exists in Greece in relation to gender. The definition of being 'noikokyris' (that is, for someone to be able to provide for his family constantly) is very important among rural Greece. One of Salamone's informants reflects this significance through the following quote:

> All the houses (in Asia Minor before World War I) hag big warehouses next to them: *noikokyria!* Today people take a handbag, go down to the bakery and buy a loaf of bread. After that they go to the store and buy a kilo of olive oil. Eh! That certainly isn't what we called a *nikokyrio* (original emphasis; Salamone 1987:211).

Sutton (1997) presents similar information about what kinds of food are part of a Greek household through the narration of his fieldwork on the island of Kalymnos. He offers the quote

below, which in my opinion (as I am also Greek) creates a very realistic picture and sense of Greek everyday life:

> Fresh loaves of Italian-shaped bread were bought by Kalymnian women on a daily basis from the numerous bakeries in town, or, for the busy wife, from the bread trucks that would pass from the neighbourhood every morning plying fragrant loaves. Bread could be eaten as a snack during the day with a little cheese, olives, or tomatoes. But it was considered must in Kalymnian meals…where it would be used to sop up the pools of olive oil and sauce that accompanied any Kalymnian main dish (Sutton 1997:6).

Turning our attention to Palestine, olive oil and olives are also present in the Palestinian household. Abufarha (2008:354) informs us that olive oil and olives are part of the main diet of Palestinians and they constitute one of the commodities that are always included in the supply of the household. As shown in previous sections, these olive products are coming mainly from the trees that belong to the families. Jean-Klein (2001), by studying everyday activism in Palestine during the Intifada, offers recollections of Palestinians on how their life was before Intifada. As it is mentioned by an informant of hers,

> We…were fond of going on picnics. We would go in the morning and return in the evening – we and some of our neighbors. We took a lot of food with us, everything one might want: *wara' dawaly* (stuffed wine leafs), olives, cheese – everything. We have photographs!...We returned late at night. Thus we did! (original emphasis; Jean-Klein 2001:103)

But this habit is not present only for Palestinians in Palestine. Weiner-Levy and Popper-Giveon (2010) conducted research among Palestinians that live in Israel. The specific article talks about gift giving between the research participants and the researchers. The authors are very descriptive about the situations under which interviews were conducted, and they mention in extension the foods and beverages that were offered during those visits. In them they recount olives as being offered to eat among other things, while when they were leaving their houses, they would always receive a small gift which included usually a jar of olives or a bottle of olive oil (Weiner-Levy and Popper-Giveon 2010:185-186).

Schneider (1971:13) reminds us that people living in the Mediterranean area are primarily subsistence cultivators. Among the plants and trees that they cultivate is also the olive which

provides olives and olive oil for the population. More specifically, in the case of Italy, we find information about the peasants through the study of Krause (2005). There, in her exploration of a traditional peasant's house in the area of Tuscany, she describes her informant's home where "The third floor contained an expansive storage space with a cornucopia of foods: wine, vin santo, prosciutto, grappa, olives, dried figs, and drying grapes" (Krause 2005:605). In another context Vargas-Cetina (2011:132) takes us to Sardinia where the cooperatives of the winery, dairy, and olive press (also mentioned above in the part on Economy) provides food for the feast of the village.

In Spain, and more specifically in the area of Andalusia, Masur (1984:35) tells us about the women's task to prepare sweets and meals for the family and guests. They prepare those dishes with their own olive oil, lard, and almonds, and from their own animals. This procedure of preparing the food and using materials from the family's production makes a good impression on matters of hospitality. Women also seem to be responsible for the preparation of meals in the case of Morocco. Hoffman mentions that women get up earlier in the morning in order to prepare breakfast which consists of "barley and olive oil porridge (*azzkif*) and sweet coffee" (original emphasis; 2002:933).

While olives and olive oil seem to be present as the food supply of many Mediterranean countries, as past and present anthropological studies have revealed, there are also some cases where these products in specific countries were directly connected with their nutritional advantages. Billiard (2006) talks about food trends in Malta. She distinguishes the consumption of olive oil by explaining that,

> In Malta, the growth in the production of olive oil is a typical example of the new trend toward 'Mediterranean' food. Olive oil has always been valued for its flavour, but in recent years it has also been highlighted for its role in a healthy eating regime. Olive oil has become an important weapon in the crusade against butter and margarine and fats 'coming from the North' (Billiard 2006:118).

Hart (2007:296) on the other side notes that in the coastal areas of Turkey, despite the fact that olive cultivation is present, the consumption of olives and olive oil and the development of an economic trade of them began after a governmental program in the area. It should be mentioned though that this attitude of the population towards olive oil especially, is based on

the fact that according to their religious beliefs and worldview, olive oil expresses wealth, and thus its immense production and taking advantage of it is regarded as greediness.

In continuing with topics related to religion, Gavrielides (1974) returns us to Greece and the Fourni valley where this time he focuses on visiting patterns in the village and how those have social and ecological implications for the area. The ecological implications are based on the fact that according to an annual calendar consisting mainly of religious events (in Greece the majority of people are Christian Orthodox), people in Fourni have social obligations to fulfil which, in their turn, are based on the food that is going to be served. In a part of the article he recounts the main, big religious events of the year. Regarding Easter he mentions,

> This is an important holiday. It marks the climax of the religious ritual cycle of the Greek Orthodox year. Coincidentally, it denotes the end of the difficult starvation months of the winter, during which time people subsist almost entirely on the leaves and roots of wild plants and olive oil. Easter comes at the end of a forty-day fasting period (Gavrielides 1974:51).

Moving again to Spain during the carnival period, Gilmore (1993) informs us about the re-invention of carnival traditions in Andalusia. In those he reports a preference of Andalusian people to correlate foods with public events. An example of these invented traditions is "the bread-oil-and-salt rituals which accompany the first pressing of the olive oil in March. As Andalusians say, foods provide the 'taste' of the time" (Gilmore 1993:41).

But olive trees are not a source for food only for humans. As it was mentioned earlier in the part on Agriculture, other animals find food among olive groves and help in their way in the pruning of the trees and fertilization of the groves. This comment on other animals was made by Gavrielides (1976a) who investigated the impact of olive growing in the Fourni valley in Greece. In reference to the habits of other animals, he mentions that,

> Sheep and goats eat the various grasses that grow in the maquis. They also nibble on the juniper and other bushes there, especially the oak, pistachio, and wild olives. Since these bushes are perennial, they are a significant natural food source for these animals during the dry months. Wild olive bushes are a favorite with these animals, especially from October to December when they are bearing fruit (Gavrielides 1976a:152).

The last aspect of the relationship between olive trees and food I would like to mention is the case of food bringing up memories to humans through their senses, and creating thus a nostalgia and connection with the home country when it comes to cases of migration. Sutton (2010:214) refers to such an incident and his work on immigrant taste. More specifically he talks about some of his research participants (Greek immigrants) who through the taste and even the smell of a bottle of olive oil, felt at home while being in a foreign country.

Olive trees then seem to provide food to human and other animal populations (more specifically sheep and goats, as it was shown here). In the case of humans it was revealed that olives and olive oil are part of the household's supply and are eaten as a typical food in many Mediterranean countries (Greece, Italy, Malta, Morocco, Palestine/Israel, Spain, and Turkey). Furthermore, with regard to regular eating habits, it was presented how these products can connect to religious rituals, or in the case of immigrants connect through the senses with their home country. In this way the olive tree, as another living agent of the natural environment, seem to invade human lives, first as a provider of food for their subsistence, but also as an agent able to trigger humans' psychological state through their senses.

Gender roles

It was already shown through the part on Agriculture and Food that certain activities were connected either with men or women; those were, in regards to harvesting the olive trees and the preparation of food. Gender differentiation regarding human activities is a phenomenon that is stressed throughout our societies nowadays. For this reason I chose to include gender role as a separate part also in the analysis of the past and present anthropological studies that were gathered. This part will sum up some of the information already presented along with new, complementary ones.

It was presented earlier regarding Greece that during the olive harvesting men and women undertake different activities (Costa 1988, Galani-Moutafi 1993, Theodossopoulos 1999). Gavrielides (1976b:268) adds to this situation concerning the village of Fourni by explaining that the main task of men is to climb on the olive trees in order to beat the tree and the olives to

fall, while women gather the fallen olives into big sacks. Then men transport the sacks with a horse or donkey to the olive press. Similarly, while Theodossopoulos (1999:617) also explains and describes into detail the harvesting process in Zakynthos island, he complements by mentioning that the women's part in harvesting is as essential as the men's in order that the work to be done fast and efficiently:

> Women in Vassilikos know very well that men cannot perform their 'beating the trees unceasingly' share of labour without a supporting team of female workers who set the olive-sheets and clean and collect the olives. Without that support, men cannot continue to beat the olives 'unceasingly' and the whole harvesting enterprise would come to a halt. Both women and men, bound by the same sense of collective self-interest, would lose in such an unfortunate circumstance (Theodossopoulos 1999:621).

Likewise Galani-Moutafi notes that the gathering of olives is the women's contribution to the "family productive system" (1993:253-254). On the other hand Kenna (1976) offers a different perspective of the women's contribution to the olive harvesting. She mentions that although a woman is considered to be helping in the family affairs when she helps with olive picking, "if a woman who has been married over ten years works 'on stranger's land', this is evidence that her husband is not successful in building up relationships of joint advantage" (Kenna 1976:23).

It was also mentioned before in the part on Agriculture and Economy that farmers might be obliged to emigrate in order to have an income since cultivation and harvesting of the crops only takes place during a specific season of the year. This was the case mentioned by Costa (1988:79, 86) regarding the island of Cephalonia in Greece. There men seem to have emigrated and women have taken over the agricultural tasks. Nevertheless, as one of the author's research participants mentions, although the husband has come back from his work on ships, he does not seem willing to take up his previous agricultural tasks. Consequently, the wife is the one still performing them.

Masur (1984) focuses her study on the work women do in Andalusia, Spain. Here again we find that men are the ones harvesting the olive trees, beating them in order that the olives fall, and women stay below to gather the olives. Masur (1984:30) adds that the woman's work is more time-consuming and that, for one man on a tree, two women are needed to be below gathering. Furthermore women appear to harvest alone when they own olive trees. In contrast

to Greece where women were presented more as helping their family and husbands, in Spain, as Masur (1984) indicates, women perform olive picking as a job. Nevertheless, she points out that women are regarded more as "lending a hand" than performing a waged job (Masur 1984:31). Yet Gilmore (1983:243) suggests on this topic that women have equal incomes during olive harvesting as men.

Masur (1984) continues on highlighting the double importance of the work of a woman during olive harvesting and taking care of the household. For example Christmas appears to be a season when women have to attend olive harvesting and at the same time prepare the household and accept guests (Masur 1984:26), while additional household tasks during the harvesting season are the everyday cleaning of dirty clothes and the cure of olives that are destined to be consumed by the family (Masur 1984:30). Lastly Masur (1984) recognizes the social classificatory aspect of the women's work in the fields and at the house. As she mentions,

> A woman returning from labor in the olive groves will be recognized as peasant or working class by her head scarf and muddy walking shoes and by the accompanying men leading burros loaded with baskets and poles. But if she is providing unpaid family labor, rather than working for wages, she is accorded status in the middle strata (*medianos*), rather than in the lower middle stratum (*medianillos*) or the poor (*pobres*). A woman can minimize the fact that she has to do manual labor picking olives by giving the appearance that the labor is part of her competence at housework. She can also change from dirty to clean clothes and generally neaten her appearance before starting for home (original emphasis; Masur 1984:26).

In a similar context regarding the household, it was also mentioned in the part on Food that women in Morocco are the ones responsible for preparing the breakfast which, as Hoffman notes, consists of "barley and olive oil porridge (*azzkif*) and sweet coffee" (original emphasis; 2002:933). Popper-Giveon and Ventura (2009) note also the existence and use of olive oil in the Palestinian household but this time in a different context. Their study focuses on the traditional Palestinian healing practices in Israel, and more specifically, they include information about differences in the practices of men and women healers. It is worth mentioning for my purpose here that "women healers regularly utilize materials identified with housekeeping, such as coffee and olive oil, unlike men healers, whose tools are books, papers, and writing instruments" (Popper-Giveon and Ventura 2009:36).

Olive trees then seem to participate, as mentioned before, also in the decision making of humans. Gender roles according to tasks related to olive trees are entirely a human construct. Humans seem to have accessed the work and strength that is needed for each task and they have separated it accordingly to men and women; that is, men are responsible for the climbing and beating and then transferring, women are responsible for gathering and packing and then food preparation and cleaning. It makes me wonder then how olive trees contribute to the differentiation of the tasks according to the gender of the humans involved.

History

Olive trees were also referenced through the past and present anthropological in the context of historical information of the places in relation to agricultural tasks, food, economy, and the landscape. In what follows there is an according reference to these parameters while the information included is presented with a chronological sequence instead of per country as mostly followed in the previous parts.

Costa (1988) and Theodossopoulos (1999) focus their studies on the islands of Cephalonia and Zakynthos, accordingly, which are situated in the Ionian Sea. They both mention the historical fact that the islands were under Venetian occupation from 1485 to 1797. In both places Venetians were the ones that introduced and encouraged olive cultivation. For Cephalonia Costa (1988:79) mentions that they introduced subsistence cultivars (olives, grains, grapes, and vegetables) which quickly became also products for trade. Theodossopoulos highlights the encouragement of Venetians in cultivating olive trees in Zakynthos and their successfulness in doing that, and adds a remark by current inhabitants regarding some olive trees still existing that “these trees are here from the time of the Venetians” (1999:614). Reiter (1972:37) takes us to Southern France during the mid-nineteenth century when, as she mentions, people were depending on agricultural and herding tasks. The cultivation was providing food for the household but also commodities for the market. She notes that tree crops were part of the market products, and more specifically olives and almonds.

Approaching modern times, Theodossopoulos (1999) mentions that before the Second World War people in Zakynthos used to work for landlords, while after the war, they acquired land and started to cultivate their own olive trees. During the same period of time, Perdigon (2015), in trying to exemplify the reasons and situations that led to poverty in the Palestinian refugee villages in Lebanon, recounts some historical events that took place. One of them is "The campaign of ethnic cleansing that accompanied the Arab-Jewish war and the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948 and brought about the loss of livelihoods in the form of cultivated fields, olive and citrus trees, cattle and pastures, businesses, or positions in the embryonic state administration put into place by the mandatory power" (Perdigon 2015:92). The connection of Palestinians with their land throughout many centuries and, more specifically with olive trees, is becoming apparent through another fact that Meneley (2014) informs us about. Meneley (2014) focuses on the Palestinian olive oil, from cultivation practices and problems to market orientation. She notes that the Palestinians want to receive a DOP (Denominazione di Origine Protetta - Protected Designation of Origin) for their olive oil "as an attempt to claim the land and the olive trees as distinctively Palestinian and their oil as evidence of their fruitful tending of their land for centuries" (Meneley 2014:55). Later, during the 1960s, Combs-Schilling notes about Morocco that the men used to be small-scale farmers, usually "tending sheep and goats, almond and olive trees, and planting a little barley" (1985:666).

Turning to historical information regarding the food supply, Arensberg (1963:93) conducts a comparative anthropological study of the Old World peoples and the place of European cultures in world ethnography. In his research he mentions that olives, as part of their diet, were an import from the Middle East. Similarly, Fêo Rodrigues (2008:350) notes about Cape Verde that since 1512 products such as olive oil, wine, and wheat had to be imported from Europe. In a different manner and a much later epoch, Theodossopoulos mentions that during the 1960s there was poverty in Zakynthos island, and people recall that "an extra bucket of olives would have made a difference" (1999:615).

Olives and olive oil then are not only part of the household for food, they are products that can be traded and a country can base its economic activity partly on these products. This was

shown also in the part regarding the connection of olive trees to Economy but it is suggested here that this activity is not modern. We get this glimpse by the above mentioned information where olives and olive oil were imported from an early period in other continents. Munson (1989:387) mentions about Morocco and the precolonial Rif that economy was dependent on cereal cultivation, irrigated vegetable gardens, herding, and tree crops in which olives were included among others. Regarding the 1920s, when Palestine was under the British Mandate, Atran notes that "Not only did Umm al-Fahm [a city in today's Israel] have considerably more income from olive and fruit orchards, but its richest families also brought in income from land and land shares acquired from other villages" (1986:287).

Land and economy then are correlated on the level of what is provided and can be exploited. This has been a case observed since early times but the appearance and existence of olive trees in the landscape for a long time might carry more connotations. Abufarha (2008:353) notes that Palestinians, in their struggle to identify and preserve their identity with their land, they correlate themselves with the presence of olive trees in their territory. More specifically he highlights the ancient presence of the trees which dates back to 8,000 BC. In a different context the quote below regarding Morocco illustrates in my opinion the change of a landscape over time, and in this case olive trees are presented as being once active agents in human activities:

> Founded in the 16th century by a prominent religious figure, Zitouna has its own illustrious history of olive and olive oil production, and is the site of an important *Kasbah* (a kind of fortress belonging to the descendants of the founding *zawiya*, or religious brotherhood). Today the most prominent features of the town include plumes of black smoke billowing out of the potter's kilns (due to the persistent burning of old tires despite recent legislation forbidding this practice), toxic odors from the open sewers, and stretches of empty land awaiting new residential construction where olive trees once stood (original emphasis; Nicholas 2010:113).

Although the information offered in this part does not seem new, the purpose of this part was to denote the long-lasting existence of olive trees in some countries, and thus their involvement in human activities. I mentioned in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) that Ingold invited us to imagine the life of every being as represented by a trail. In the part on Economy I invited you to picture the line of the olive tree as transcending the national borders

of its existence because of the international circulation of its products. Here the case would be to let this picture of the olive tree's line be prolonged also backwards; back in time. Olive trees have the ability to live for a long time and this is shown here by the case of the Venetians who cultivated olive trees in Zakynthos that are still there today (Theodossopoulos 1999).Abufarha (2008) also reports trees existing in Palestine since 8,000 BC. Thus the line of those trees has entangled with many other lines of other living beings throughout those centuries, and communities have *become* and are still *becoming with* these trees.

Landscape

The last quote of the previous part takes us nice and smoothly to the next part that is concerned mainly with descriptions of the landscape by the authors. It is usual in anthropological accounts to describe the landscape and surroundings of the community that is being studied in order to place the reader in the setting but also as part of the argumentation in some cases. Here I will display these descriptions of the landscape that include olive trees. I will offer the descriptions arranged by country.

It has become apparent so far that olive trees are a present living agent mostly in the Mediterranean area and Middle East. Meneley confirms that fact by advising Strabo (an ancient Greek geographer) and Fernand Braudel (a French historian) who both agree that "the olive tree, rather than the sea itself is the distinguishing feature of the Mediterranean region" (2007:678-679). Similarly Myres studies nomadism and offers information about the Northern Arabian Desert which, as he notes, is "a land of corn and wine, of figs and olives, of milk and honey" (1941:37). But let us see more specifically some countries in more detail in the description of their landscape.

Greece: Gavrielides (1976a, b) studies the village of Fourni which is situated in Peloponnesus. In the second article (1976b) he offers a lot of information on how the landscape is; that is, which other living agents inhabit it, what relation they have as being part of the same ecosystem, and how these communities have changed over the years due to deforestation or other human

activities. He mentions that "The landscape is mainly covered with maquis vegetation dominated by juniper, wild olives, wild pistachio, wild carob, kermes oak, wild pear, and a variety of shrubs" (Gavrielides 1976b:143). He goes on then and offers a more detailed description of the ecosystems which are divided by (a) the natural vegetation, including the pine community, the open maquis community, the phrygana and herbaceous communities, and the grassland or steppe community, and (b) the cultivated vegetation which includes the olive groves, the cereal fields, the irrigated citrus orchards, and the orchards (gardens) and vineyards. According to Gavrielides (1976b:145-149) olive trees are present in almost all of these communities with the exception of the pine and grassland or steppe communities, and the irrigated citrus orchards and orchards (gardens) and vineyards.

Furthermore Kenna (1976), Galani-Moutafi (1993), and Theodossopoulos (1999) introduce us to three Greek islands. Kenna notes about the island of Nisos that "A visitor to the Cycladic Island of Nisos could not fail to notice the barrel-vaulted houses in its one village and the narrow hill terraces of grain and olive trees" (1976:21). Moving east, Galani-Moutafi makes a similar comment about the island of Samos which "is [mostly] covered with vineyards and olive trees" (1993:249). Theodossopoulos (1999) conducted research in Zakynthos island which is part of the Ionian Sea on the western part of Greece. There again in his description of the village of Vassilikos he points how the fields are full with olive trees that sometimes even reach the road (Theodossopoulos 1999:612).

Italy: Krause (2005) researches the term 'peasant' in modern Italy and conducts fieldwork in the area of Tuscany. In her article she offers also information about her fieldwork experience. In an instance she mentions that "I lived in a restored farmhouse on a dead-end street that gave way to olive trees, grape vines, and a meadow" (Krause 2005:598). Similarly Silverman mentions about Southern Italy that "The farm ideally comprises a variety of different resources: arable land (including, if possible, some well-watered plots), olive trees, vines, fruit trees, meadow, pasture land, and woods" (1968:6).

Morocco: Diener and Robkin in describing the setting of a city in Morocco inform us that "in the traditional city of Fez, Morocco, some 200,000 inhabitants occupy an area servicing a province

populated by 800,000 peasants and nomads. The immediate environs of the city are heavily planted to olive, orange, apricot, pomegranate, and grain crops" (1978:497).

Pakistan: Marsden (2009) takes us east. He conducts fieldwork in Northern Pakistan, and more specifically in the region of Chitral among mobile Muslims. At the beginning of his article he introduces the reader to the fieldwork site where he mentions that "The beauty of Chitral's landscape is the focus of present-day Khowar poetic composition, much of which describes the feeling of 'freedom' (*azadi*) to be had from travelling through the region in spring – a season when many Chitralis follow the sweet scent of Russian olive tree blossom up valley as the summer months progress" (original emphasis; Marsden 2009:557).

Palestine: In Atran (1986) and Bowman (1993) we find simple descriptions of the Palestinian landscape that include the "olive trees that surround the village" (p.284) and the olive trees that are outside a church (p.434), accordingly. Furthermore Abufarha mentions that "Olive trees are a prominent feature of the mountainous region of the landscape in the West Bank, in contrast with orange trees that are prominent in the coastal areas from which the majority of exiled Palestinians came" (2008:353). Other references to the description of the landscape in Palestine are more tightly connected with the occupation of the land from Israel. For example, Swedenburg notes that "With a *fallah*'s eyes, Palestinians have learned to spot and reclaim the relics of an Arab past located in Jewish settlements – the arabesque touches of the old buildings, the ruins of saints' tombs, the aged olive and mulberry trees" (original emphasis; 1990:22).

Allen (2008) speaks about the violence that developed in Palestine because of the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Intifada. More precisely she focuses on the Second Palestinian Intifada and she starts her article with a description of the situation according to information from the authors Cook, Hass, and B'Tselem:

> Checkpoints and roadblocks appeared and were moved without notice or predictability, the gates in the separation barrier Israeli is building around and through West Bank lands were closed and opened on an uncertain schedule, missiles and gunfire rained from the sky and neighboring Israeli settlements, F-16s flew low, rattling windows and bombing police stations, bulldozers uprooted olive groves and destroyed

> houses, Palestinian's luxurious villas were shot up and set afire, their radio and TV transmitters were rendered inoperable, Israeli snipers hid on rooftops and jeeps circled through the town enforcing curfews and arresting young men, and Palestinian cultural centers and government ministries were ransacked and defiled (Allen 2008:453).

Similarly Meneley (2008a, 2011) reports situations where the Palestinians are denied entry to their fields and access to their olive trees in order to harvest, while Van Gelder (2015) notes the displacement of Palestinians for Israeli settlements. In that matter she remarks that "almost like ruins, the Palestinian olive trees stand out against their new surroundings, consisting of Jewish settlements, soldiers, outposts and the long separation barrier that runs through the West Bank and cuts off many nearby Palestinian villages from their land" (Van Gelder 2015:30).

Spain: Gilmore (1983, 1996) conducts research in the area of Andalusia and marks that the land is flat and full of olive groves and wheat fields.

It becomes apparent then that the olive trees are part of describing the landscape of an area, either through its natural characteristics or as pictures of specific situations where olive trees are taking part in the scenery and action sometimes. The description of the landscape is an important aspect of writing ethnographic texts. It gives the opportunity to the authors to place the reader at the setting. As Clifford notes about ethnographic writing, there is in it "an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience" (1986:2). My preoccupation and aim of including this part in my analysis is (1) to simply show how several countries look through the descriptions of anthropologists, and (2) to highlight the further entanglement of olive trees with human social life and the textual images that represent them. In that second matter, it was shown earlier through the previous parts how humans and other animal populations interact with olive trees, in which context and for which purpose. This part, although it adds to highlighting these 'natural' processes, at the same time notes the entanglement of the tree with the researcher as it is reflected through their written account; let us call it then, a kind of *secondary interaction*. The way olive trees are represented in these academic accounts create images and relations that are transmitted to the public who have never visited the place. Although the primary intention of these authors is purely descriptional,

I try to attempt, by gathering these excerpts and references to suggest and reflect on a new language between these other living beings and humans.

Property

So far we met olive trees in the context of activism, agriculture, art, ecology, economy, food, gender roles, history, and landscape. What can be seen in most of these cases is that olive trees need to be owned so that some people can take advantage of harvesting the tree and their products, such as olives and olive oil. Property then is a consequent state of those trees in the 'hands' of human beings, unlike, it could be said, their relation to other living beings (e.g., sheep, goats) that do not own the trees in order to get food from them.

Arensberg, in his study of European and Old World peoples, distinguishes that the Mediterranean people own "hilltop olive patches or tiny terraces" (1963:92), while Schneider confirms that fact in her later study about Mediterranean societies where she mentions that "Agrotowns, located on hilltops, are generally surrounded by the poorest soil. A belt of small properties, planted in olive trees and vineyards, rings the settlement" (1971:15). Theodossopoulos (1999:612) notes that in the village of Vassilikos on Zakynthos island, Greece, that the community consists mainly of farmers, most of whom own olive groves. In a more detailed description Gavrielides (1976a) presents the inhabitants of Fourni in Greece by accounting their property on olive trees. As he notes, "There are a total of 103 households in Fourni; of these 24.27% own 49.18% of the total 22,000 olive trees in the village. These holdings range from 70 trees per household to 1,000 trees per household" (Gavrielides 1976a:266).

But property does not always signify a definitive relationship between land and trees. People can either own land on which their olive trees are also planted or own olive trees but not the land they are planted on. In the latter case, the property of olive trees is cultivated on the land of another person. This becomes apparent in the case of Fourni in Greece where Gavrielides (1976a:267) notes that "Ownership of olive trees is also fragmented varying from clusters of trees or small groves to individual trees on land belonging to others". A fact that Forbes

(1976:242) also observes in Methana (which is also in Peloponnesus as Fourni). This arrangement was marked by Clarke even way earlier in 1890 when he writes about the property of trees in the land of another as an ancient institution (nevertheless he does not mention a specific country). There he mentions after Dr. Codrington that,

> trees situated on the land of another man, who was the owner of the land. These were chiefly olive trees. Thus in a field there might be seven olive trees, say three belonging to a widow and two each to daughters, in no way related to the owner of the field. There was separate compensation to the latter, and to each tree owner (Clarke 1890:200).

A more complicated situation is expressed in the case of Palestine. It was shown earlier in the part on Activism that olive trees are uprooted from Palestinian soil by Israeli authorities and that a scandal followed about the involvement of the Israeli Civil Administration in the selling of those trees. For this reason the ministry assured the Palestinian people the safe transport and replantation of the olive trees in another place. In this process the Palestinians are asked to find another suitable place for replantation of their trees but this is also difficult. Braverman interviews an attorney on this matter who mentions,

> Meanwhile they plant the trees on state land until someone demands something else. Or sometimes they uproot the trees but keep them in place, watering the roots until the owners decide what to do. But in many cases the owner can't offer an alternative site, simply because he doesn't have one. What can he do, really? He can't ask friends to plant the trees in their land and cultivate it there – they would never agree! (2009:249).

Thus there is in this case a paradox of ownership and property of olive trees. While earlier it was shown that people can own olive trees which are cultivated on their own land, there are others that own olive trees but cultivate them on another's land. In Palestine's case olive trees seem be owned by people but the land they are cultivated on or the land that hosts them for a while is uncertain and not easily defined.

Another important aspect of property of olive trees is kinship and inheritance of the trees. Kenna (1976) talks about this topic in relation to Greece and the island of Nisos. There she notes, in describing the social, kinship organization of the community, that, for example,

"Nikolao's share consists of several olive trees left to his mother Maria, an only child, by her father, to be handed on to him as namesake, and some fields and a hill slope which his father bought from a cousin who left the island to live in Athens" (Kenna 1976:26). Similarly Combs-Schilling (1985:666) remarks that Morocco during the 1960s, men were mostly small-farmer owners (e.g., of sheep, goats, almond and olive trees, and barley) and the right to their land, animals, and trees followed a patrilineal inheritance. Herzfeld (1980) on the other hand marks that olive trees are not only inherited from one generation to the other but they can be co-owned by kin relatives. He reports that from a comparative study he conducted between two island villages in Greece; those are, in Rhodes and Crete. In the case of the village in Crete he mentions that kinsmen (not necessarily brothers) co-own land and they usually cultivate it with olive trees and vines, while in the case of the village in Rhodes the sharing between kinsmen can extend also to single olive trees (Herzfeld 1980:96-97).

Lastly, ownership of olive trees carries connotations of wealth and prestige in a community. This becomes apparent from the studies of Atran (1986), Gavrielides (1974), and Goldberg (1974). Atran (1986) notes regarding Palestine that prestige is additionally generated by the property of olive trees. More precisely he mentions that "Owning to its religious prestige as a patron of the Mosque and to extensive private holdings of olive groves and orchards, one section of the Aghbariyeh *hamula* was able to gain ascendancy over the others" (original emphasis; Atran 1986:28). Gavrielides (1974:62) further observes the phenomenon of gaining status in the community in regards to his research in Fourni, Greece. He notes that a man is gaining more and more status in the community as he grows old and his wealth grows also with him (as it is expected). The wealth refers mostly to having a base of income, and in this case it refers to the property of olive trees that belong to him and, by extension, to his family since they will be inherited one day. In this way growing of wealth means growing of the property of trees. In a more academic approach and in his effort to describe and outline Jewish communities in the area of Tripoli, Libya, Goldberg (1974) arranges nine features characterizing the social organization of the communities. One of those is "whether or not the synagogue (community) owns real property (e.g., olive trees or a mill)" (Goldberg 1974:623).

Olive trees then appear to be a property 'object' of humans but the physical condition of the property can differ. Trees are and will be trees but the matter of the land that they grow on can differ; that is, trees and land can be owned by an individual, trees can be owned by an individual but they grow on the land of another, or trees can be owned by an individual but the land (or not) is hard to define because of the political situation of the country (as it was shown here concerning Palestine). Furthermore to trees and land, there is also the fact of kinship and inheritance that governs the property; that is, trees can be left as a legacy to the next generation, while their property can also be shared by kin. Lastly, ownership of olive trees connoted wealth and prestige for some communities. It becomes slowly clear from this point of view that olive trees[4] have a double connection of dependency with the land they are planted on and the people that own them. While olive trees need land (that is, soil) in order to survive (olive trees → land), humans need olive trees (humans → olive trees). This is because of the food they provide to humans but also, as it was shown in this part, to add to someone's prestige in the community.

Sentiments

Certain human sentiments were expressed through the past and present anthropological studies that were analyzed for the purpose of this research. These sentiments were connected to more general human, social processes such as the ones that the previous parts present. I will refer in this section primarily to the aspect of sentiments in respect to the social processes that olive trees seem to be involved.

Sadness was one of the feelings that was expressed in relation to uprooting and cutting olive trees on Palestinian territories by Israeli authorities (for more information see part Activism). Van Gelder (2015:15) writes that Palestinians speak about their olive trees as if they were their children, their own family. As she quotes an interview with a farmer in a Palestinian newspaper,

[4] I do not refer to all olive trees here. There are also olive trees that are not owned by human beings and they simply exist in the natural environment as they are naturally supposed to.

he appears to wonder why the Israelis cut down trees when trees have never done anything to them, and suggests that they should have better cut his own hands than the trees. On the other hand Abufarha (2008), in explaining the importance of olive harvesting in a Palestinian community, shows how a joyful, collective time harvesting is (or was). More precisely he notes,

> The harvest times are very joyous in the Palestinian village. Palestinians await the fresh oil, and it is felt most intimately in the experience of eating *zeit I fghish* with hot bread. For the children it is a time to collect leftover olives missed by olive pickers to sell to the olive press keepers to buy their own special treats (original emphasis; Abufarha 2008:355).

Worry is expressed through people in western Turkey where Hart (2007) conducted fieldwork. As mentioned in the part on Food, because of the religious beliefs of the people, over-production, -consumption, and trade of olives and olive oil are regarded as greedy acts that contradict their belief for the conduct of a better life. Everyone in the village knows who owns how many trees and what production they have. For this reason, and in order to stay on the right religious path according to their social conventions, people who are considered rich because of their property in olive trees, make donations of olive oil to the mosque (Hart 2007:296). In Spain, Masur (1984:34) mentions that women also worry when the price of olive oil is getting low. Their preoccupation is connected with the income of the household. As exemplified earlier, women are responsible simultaneously for taking care of the household and 'lending a hand' during the olive harvesting. Their concern here refers to the additional work they would have to find in order to preserve their household. Nevertheless in the situation of these women there is another sentiment expressed in Masur's (1984) study. In the part on Food it was shown that women are preparing food with products of their own production (including olive oil). This procedure is important for them because they have to show how good they manage the household and the guests that they receive. As Masur puts it, this procedure "earn the women the praise of the family" (1984:35).

Navaro-Yashin talks about 'melancholic objects'; these are, "This object (whether it be a piece of furniture, the house, or the land on which it is built) reminds the persons who use or inhabit it that it, itself, is a loss to the persons who were its original owners" (2009:16). The context of

his research is the affected places and melancholic objects among Turkish Cypriot people in Northern Cyprus. As he explains, in what is of interest to the present research, the land and its characteristics (including the olive trees that exist) are a constant reminder to the people that used to live and cultivate there. Thus he supports that melancholy is present today through this encounter of objects of non-present persons.

Sentiments then are also evoked through the encounter of humans with olive trees. Although this part is minor, I find it interesting because it takes the entanglement of humans with olive trees one step further, or better put, inwards. We saw until here how humans take advantage of the olive trees for agricultural, economic, and subsistence purposes, while through activism and art the connection of these two agents takes a symbolic form. Here the affection and involvement of olive trees in human activities show further possible links to olive trees with the psychology of humans.

Symbolism

It was mentioned in Part I and in the small introduction to olive trees (Chapter 2) that olive trees are not only present in relation to human activities such as economy and health. They have served and still serve as a symbol for peace or strength. The source of this symbolism comes mainly from religion (Christianity, Islamism) and mythology (particularly Greek). In this part I will continue by showing the aspects of olive trees serving as a symbol according to the past and present anthropological studies that were gathered.

Clarke (1890) remarks the presence and symbolism that the olive tree carries for the people of Asia Minor. He writes in a self-reflective style that,

> What struck me was that in Asia Minor the olive is one of the special trees of property, and it may be that the olive has a particular relevance to the tradition of the doctrine. The olive has a well-known place in the legends of Attica, and likewise in the symbols. The tree is found on the autonomous coins as chief representative of a tree….The value of the olive for its fruit and its oil conferred a particular benefit on the populations of all those southern countries (Clarke 1890:204).

Meneley (2007) goes into more detail about Greek mythology and the olive tree's symbolization in the introduction of her article about olive oil, its global circulation, and its technoscientific attributions for health. There she narrates the Greek myth of the competition between the goddess Athena (goddess of craft and artisanship) and the god Poseidon (god of the sea) for appointing the name and protector of the city of Athens. Goddess Athena won after offering the people an olive tree which could provide food and wood. Nevertheless both materials should be processed; that is, in order to eat the olives, they should be cured first, and in order to have oil, olives must be pressed. Also wood can be used for fire or for manufacturing furniture or weapons but again the wood should be processed to take the form of a usable object. For these reasons Meneley (2007) extends her presentation by supporting that the olive tree refers to both genders (feminine for household, masculine for war). As she explains, "The olive tree is also the cornerstone of the domestic household (*oikos*) and a sign of civilization, the inhabited world of arable land and agriculture. Thus, the olive tree is both the sign of 'feminine techne', and 'masculine techne', craftiness on the battle field" (original emphasis; Meneley 2007:678).

Moving away from mythology, there has been a considerable number of articles that deal with Palestine and the matter that olive trees are a potent symbol for Palestinians in expressing their identity, connection to their land, and rootedness in it against the Israeli occupation (Abufarha 2008; Braverman 2009; Meneley 2008a, 2011, 2014; Stoler 2008; Swedenburg 1990; Van Gelder 2015; Weiner-Levy and Popper-Giveon 2010).

Meneley refers to the fact that "the olive tree plays a prominent part in claiming rootedness in the land, longevity and steadfastness" (2011:282), while Swedenburg (1990:24) mentions that Palestinian writers use the olive tree, among other signifiers, in order to express nationalist feelings. Weiner-Levy and Popper-Giveon (2010:194) on the other hand mark through their research of Palestinians residing in Israel that gift giving is usually associated with connoting their connection to their land. Thus they prefer to offer olives, olive oil and representations of the olive tree as gifts to their guests.

As it was mentioned in the part on Landscape, olive trees have existed on Palestinian soil since ancient times. Abufarha (2008:353) brings to the fore a Palestinian postcard which includes the photograph of an old olive tree accompanied by the phrase 'We are staying, and forever'. As he explains, this choice of producing such a postcard reflects the "Palestinian nationhood as a permanent and natural feature of the land of Palestine". Furthermore the nationhood of Palestinians embraces connotations related to their traditions, community life and the connection also with their past (Abufarha 2008:355). The author notes that,

> The olive tree is a medium for Palestinians to experience the relationship to the land across time through the chain of exchange. The cross-generational reciprocity is uniting people with their land and history. It fuses history, the present life, the land, and the future. Furthermore, as a gift from past generations, the olive tree carries meanings and sacred, mystical qualities (Abufarha 2008:358).

Additionally, Braverman (2009) stresses the same notion through an interview that he conducted with the executive director of Rabbis for Human Rights (non-profit organization that supports the replantation of olive trees in Palestinian territories; see part on Activism). Rabbi Ascherman notes,

> In recent years (the olive) has an increasing cultural and symbolical importance and is less an economic thing. It's about the ties to the land and the entire family going out and harvesting together….Sometimes people don't care so much about their olives,(and) it's just a way to show their connection to the land (Braverman 2009:242).

Abufarha (2008) and Braverman (2009) agree to the fact that the olive tree as a symbol reflects also the resistance of Palestinians against the Israeli occupation in their land. More precisely Abufarha (2008:356) mentions that the olive tree started to be used as a symbol for this purpose in order to clarify the Palestinian existence on the territory when Israelis (during the Zionist movements) were denying it. Furthermore, during the first Intifada, the olive harvesting season was used as a form of protesting, during which period, public schools, universities, and institutions were closing so that the people can participate in the harvesting (Abufarha 2008:357). On the other side but also in a similar way, Israeli settlers have been attacking olive trees as a way of further attacking Palestinians, recognizing too in this way the

symbolic connection of olive trees and Palestinian nationhood. This becomes apparent not only from the fact of uprooting olive trees from Palestinian soil but also from incidents like the one Braverman (2009) observed during his fieldwork in Palestine. There he witnessed the trial of six Israeli girls that attacked Palestinians and destroyed their olive trees (Braverman 2009:251-252).

Van Gelder (2015) takes the symbolic connotations of trees further in her thesis, by exemplifying and analyzing the sides of Israel and Palestine through the images and uses of the pine and olive tree, according to each country. It should be mentioned briefly here that the pine tree was used by Israelis as a way to transform the landscape of Israel more into their aesthetic and cultural view. Therefore they uprooted olive trees and planted pine trees. It was shown in the part on Ecology on this matter that the plantation of pine trees was not always successful since they could not adapt to the ecosystem of the area. In this parallel and differentiated exchange of views, and use, of the specific trees as symbols for their land, Van Gelder writes,

> To the Israelis and the Palestinians, then, the pine tree and the olive tree have grown into powerful sites of memory. The pine tree generates memories of the Jew's return to and reclamation of the ancient homeland for the Israelis, while the same tree reminds Palestinians of dispossession and Jewish occupation. The olive tree, similarly, reminds Palestinians of the steadfast roots in the land, while the Israelis are reminded of the inconvenient and – in Israeli eyes – erroneous presence of the Palestinians and of their refusal to leave (2015:4-5).

The olive tree has also been present in the field of superstition and religion. More precisely olive leaves and the olive oil are used in rituals. Seremetakis (2009) looks into ritual practices in Greece regarding evil-eye exorcism and coffee-cup reading and how they are practiced and transmitted in modern society. She mentions the olive leaf and olive oil in the ritual of evil-eye exorcism where "the [olive] leaf is used for burning, the [olive] oil is used for blessing (e.g., in church rituals also, crosses one's forehead with oil), and the expression 'the water drank the oil' describes oil drops absorbed by water during exorcism" (Seremetakis 2009:343). In a similar manner but in a different context, Rountree (2011) researches the pagan and Catholic communities in Malta. There she observes a mixture of practices by the people. As she reports, "on one bus ride I noted a horseshoe symbol, a sprig of blessed olive leaves, and a picture of

Christ crucified all hanging from the driver's rear-view mirror" (Rountree 2011:863). Furthermore healers are still found performing rituals in houses where they exorcise the family from bad luck by going around the house with burning olive leaves and thyme and reciting Hail Mary (Rountree 2011:864). Lastly, Nair studies the peacock cult in Asia and refers also to the depiction of the peacock with olive leaf which symbolizes, primarily in Christianity, peace (1974:166).

Representation of the olive branch as a symbol for peace has been used in way broader contexts. It was shown in the part on Activism how Turkish Cypriot protesters wore olive branches on their heads during demonstrations against the nationalist regime which was opposed to the creation of a central, common Cypriot government (Anastasiou 2008). Similarly Bishara (2008) mentions Arafat's speech in the United Nations in 1974 when he also carried an olive branch as a symbol for peace. Furthermore he reports the crowd gathered when Arafat died and his corpse was sent back to Palestine for the funeral. People gathered and, among them, "One toddler was wearing a *kaffiya*, Arafat's trademark scarf, and holding an olive branch and a toy gun, in reference to Arafat's famous 1974 speech at the United Nations where he noted that both were symbolically at his disposal" (original emphasis; Bishara 2008:504). Meneley (2008b:304) notes the same act of carrying an olive branch as a symbol for peace from Pope John Paul who carried one from his window on St. Peter's Square at Easter as a reminder.

Two more articles use the olive branch as a reference to peace but here their style is more literary. Schultz (2005) studies international cooperation and the politics of risk. He uses the olive branch as way to denote who is delivering peace by their actions concerning international decision making. As the title of his article reads, "Do Hawks or Doves Deliver the Olive Branch?" (Schultz 2005). Similarly Price (2011) is concerned with anthropological research during the Second World War and the Cold War and how it has been affected by the CIA and the Pentagon in the USA. There again we find that the author uses the olive branch as a metaphorical object that denotes peace and concerns who is carrying it (Price 2011:349).

It can be said then that the olive tree continues to entangle itself with human practices in a metaphorical manner. It was shown from the beginning that activists use the olive tree, and

more specifically the olive branch, as a symbol for peace, while later, in the part on Art, it was observed how artists use the olive tree for representing a nation (Palestine in this case). In this part it was further shown the mythological and religious origins of such representations and the use of olive tree parts in rituals. An additional aspect that was noted is the use then of the olive tree's symbolization as a popular metaphor in the broader context of research. Through this last part it becomes further apparent the fact that olive trees have surpassed their physical agency related to humans and they have entered the symbolic realm of the human way of communication and representation of aspects of life.

5. The olive tree in other fields

In this chapter I will try to show briefly how olive trees are represented in other fields of study. More precisely I will examine the context of references of olive trees in archaeological and environmental studies. The purpose of this chapter is to reveal possible differences and similarities between different disciplines that place, in one way or another, human beings in their research. Archaeology is directly centered on human beings and how they used to live in the past. Environmental studies on the other hand cover a broader range of research but, as humans are also part of ecosystems, they are involved in some of their studies. It should be mentioned though that the choice of these disciplines was not primarily intentional. Rather they came up as I was searching for past and present anthropological studies when I thought that, since there are a great number of studies regarding olive trees and humans within those disciplines, it would be interesting and wise to partly include them.

Furthermore, this chapter will aim to illustrate a multidisciplinary approach on researching within the field of anthropology. As it was mentioned in Part I in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2), multispecies ethnography places at the center of the research another living being of the environment in order to study human related interactions and processes. This kind of research is almost impossible if the anthropological scholar leaves out important information about the nature of this other living being. Inevitably then, a multidisciplinary approach seems to be useful for this kind of anthropological research, and this chapter will try to help map further the connections of olive trees with humans.

5.1. The olive tree in archaeology

Within archaeology, olive trees were referenced primarily concerning the agricultural tasks in the Mediterranean area and the Middle East. Nevertheless agricultural tasks extend to topics related to economy, food, and the landscape. In what follows I will refer to these topics and their wider context of study.

Ramsay and Parker (2016) study the economy in ancient Aila (modern Aqaba, South Jordan) and aim to contribute on the nature of the imperial Roman economy. Their main source of evidence is retrieved through the use of archaeobotany. As they mention, olive trees were among the fruit/nut trees that were present in the area since the early Roman period (late first century B.C.E. to 106 C.E.) (Ramsay and Parker 2016:105). Nevertheless that evidence does not imply directly that olive trees were necessarily cultivated there because of assumptions on the climate of the region at that time. Parker assumes that olives (among other products) were imported at Aila from the Mediterranean since they are a common species of that area (Ramsay and Parker 2016:107,110). Similarly Faust and Weiss (2005) research the economic system in Judah and Philistia during the seventh century B.C.E. As they mention, olive trees appear to have grown mainly in the inner coastal plain, and as Safrai confirms, "the most widely grown and important crops in Palestine were wheat, olives and grapes" (Faust and Weiss 2005:76). Furthermore the discovery of many olive presses in the area of Ekron (inner main land) indicates the wide production of olive oil which was exported from this city to other areas (Faust and Weiss 2005:73).

In a different archaeological context, Charloux et al. recovered olive stones in Dûmat al-Jandal (Saudi Arabia) where they are assumed to have been part of the agricultural system of the area (2016:22). Furthermore the authors mention that "Cereal grains, date and olive stones, and fig and pomegranate seeds reflect the presence of food products within the triclinium" (Charloux et al. 2016:24). It appears then that through archaeological discoveries we become aware of the diachronic existence and importance of olive trees in the lives of human beings. It was shown in the previous chapter how olive trees entangle with human beings nowadays but here the entanglement of these living beings becomes clear through time.

Nevertheless agriculture and subsistence (food) are not the only context that olive trees appear in archaeological accounts. The articles that follow take a more multidisciplinary approach and study the nature of the tree itself and the environment in the past by combining archaeological, biological, and environmental research approaches. Bernabei (2015), Besnard et al. (2013), and Kaniewski et al. (2012) take a look into the olive trees in order to identify their age, biological features and significance in the past and present. Kaniewski et al. (2012) study

paleobotanical evidence retrieved from Southern Europe and the Levant. In their article they note the ability of olive trees to live for a long time, while they try through genetic studies to identify the place of origin of the tree. By tracking the DNA features of different olive tree cultivars in these areas they mention after Carrión that, "cultivation has caused the species to surpass its natural bioclimatic limits and to be grown at higher altitudes and latitudes, with the result that the distribution of the olive tree scarcely reflects that of the wild form" (Kaniewski et al. 2012:890). It is worth noting here that human agricultural activities seem to influence the biological development of another living being through cultivation in other climatic areas where the cultivar did not originally grow. In Part I (in Chapter 2) it was mentioned how this practice is still performed by humans where today we can find cultivated olive trees in South America, South Africa or Australia.

In an effort to explain the complex history of the olive tree in the Mediterranean area and the Levant, Besnard et al. (2013) offer a nice introduction of the tree. This writes as,

> Among old crops of the Mediterranean basin, the olive tree (*Olea europaea* ssp. *europaea*) is the most iconic species owing to its ecological, economical and cultural importance. This plant is considered one of the best biological indicators of the Mediterranean climate, and its cultivation has accompanied the emergence of Early Mediterranean civilizations. The importance of the cultivated olive tree in people's lives has turned this species into a symbol in ancient sacred literature, and the origins of this crop are often subject to controversies. Although early exploitation and use of wild olive trees (namely oleasters) has been documented since the Neolithic from the Near East to Spain, it is usually accepted that the domestication of the olive trees – characterized by vegetative propagation of the best cultivated genotypes that may have preceded orchard establishment – began in the Near East approximately 6000 years ago (original emphasis; Besnard et al. 2013:1).

In researching the age of olive trees in the Garden of Gesthsemane in Jerusalem, Israel, Bernabei (2015) reminds us further the longevity of olive trees. The Garden is situated in the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and it contains eight big and astounding olive trees. In Christianity it is believed that Jesus went there after the Last Supper, while in Aramaic 'gath shemanim' means 'oil press' (Bernabei 2015:43). The presence of olive trees in the landscape keeps being highlighted and through archaeological approaches we are reminded of their continuous presence in the landscape, rather than just a new cultivation. It is interesting then to mention

Wright's (1993) research of environmental determinism in prehistory where he sets out to study climate change in the past and see if it could have influenced agricultural activities of that time. The discovery of pollen helps to indicate the climate of a region. Thus Wright writes about 11000 years B.P. that "The increased pollen percentages of typical mediterranean plants like olives and pistachio…indicate the new prevalence of summer drought and the end of the ice-sheet influence on the atmospheric circulation of the region" (1993:464). In addition it is mentioned after Kislev, Nadel, and Carmi that "charred remains of wild barley, emmer, olive, pistachio, and grape dating to about 19,000 years B.P. are reported from excavations at Ohallo II on the shore of the Sea of Galilee [lake in Israel]" (Wright 1993:466). Wright concludes then that climatic changes affect which plants can be cultivated and where, and supports through this study that that was the case for the origin of agriculture in the Near East (1993:466).

It was shown in this subchapter how the discipline of archaeology can help a research, such as the present, to support and know more diachronic aspects of a topic; in this case about the olive tree. Cultivation of olive trees was present in times B.P. and people used to depend on it for the economic prosperity of their communities, as it is today. Furthermore through archaeological practices other aspects of the olive tree can be highlighted such as its long life expectancy, and thus presence in the landscape. Lastly it was offered a multidisciplinary approach of environmental and archaeological studies that aimed to show the influence of climate change in agricultural tasks in the past. This reference provides us a nice step for the next subchapter.

5.2. The olive tree in environmental studies

The references of olive trees within environmental studies do not differ a lot from previous context of references that were mentioned within archaeological studies. That being said, environmental studies seem to concern also agricultural practices of human beings and how they consequently affect the environment. The studies primarily research current practices with the aim to propose solutions that will help optimize them. It is worth mentioning that once again the area of reference is the Mediterranean.

Sardaro et al. (2016) study the agro-biodiversity in South Italy, and more specifically at which level the farmers cooperate in developmental programs by the government in order to preserve diversity among the olive cultivars and prevent environmental damages caused by their cultivation. They are basically concerned by the high productivity which of course brings profit to the farmers but has major consequences to the environment because of the water, pesticides and amount of fuel that is needed. Moreover the authors note that women seem more eager to participate in a program within which agricultural practices will help conserve olive biodiversity and the environment. Thus gender role (as we met also in anthropological studies) appears here too in the decision making of agricultural practices. Furthermore the effects of olive farming are reported in the study of Scheidel and Krausmann (2011) regarding Spain. As the authors mention, "The abandonment of traditional farming practices and the rapid intensification of olive monocultures together with the extension and regional concentration of the production areas have led to the opening of materials cycle of local agro-ecosystems and relate to a number of environmental impacts" (Scheidel and Krausmann 2011:52). They locate the reason for intensified olive cultivation in the trend of eating olive oil which has reached international levels the last decades. The demand on olive oil has risen, and thus the production is increasing but without a parallel concern on the causes that it generates. It should be reminded here that Spain is the first exporting country of olive oil.

Continuing with the effects of olive farming, some environmental scholars get concerned more in detail with the soil erosion that is observed. After Beaufoy, Romero-Gómez et al. note that "Intensive olive farming has been reported as being the major cause of environmental problems in the EU, mainly soil erosion and desertification which specially affect Spain, Greece, Italy, and Portugal" (2017:26). With a similar concern Amate et al. (2013) examine soil erosion in South Spain in a wider time span, from 1752 to 2000. Through their research they look closer at old olive trees where, by the exposure of their roots to the surface of the ground and historical information on the population and social life of the area, they estimate how much the soil has retreated over the years.

In this regard, it starts to become apparent that humans and their interaction with other living beings are also being studied within other disciplines, rather than only within anthropology, but

what changes is the perspective. It was shown through the above mentioned researches how environmental concerns are expressed through human agricultural activities. Humans are not the center as they are in anthropology but again the environment is also not the main character; it is the main concern. What is at the center of the research is human activities. In the Department of Environmental Studies at the University of Aegean in Mytilene, Greece, two scholars write about olive groves – "The life and identity of the Mediterranean" (Loumou and Giourga 2003). Their main concern is the 'olive tree cultivation' and they divide their article to the following categories: cultivation area, landscape, economic importance, ecological importance, natural resources, and contemporary economic and environmental importance. Through all these references the olive tree cultivation is the main player that gets examined in different contexts rather than the direct agency of humans as another living being of the environment.

PART III

6. Conclusion

Through this theoretical thesis I tried to see how olive trees are represented in past and present anthropological studies. Furthermore I imposed in those references a new theoretical context in order to investigate what kinds of information we can get about this other living being if we take a look at these reports from another perspective, and if, in the end, this procedure can offer to us more insight on how to conduct research, and Life in general.

More specifically, for the current research I took the living agent of the olive tree in order to highlight human processes and the relations between humans and another living being of the environment. As exemplified in Part I and the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2), this aim stems from anthropological problematizations that are part of the Environmental Anthropology, and concern how human beings live and perceive the environment they inhabit. I find that this kind of anthropological research can reveal more multi-lateral and holistic information on how Life is being conducted in a particular setting, and thus ecosystem, by not focusing solely on humans but also on other living beings with which humans interact. From this perspective of seeing Life and conducting research, Ingold (2006, 2016) urges us to perceive the life of each individual being as a line that ravels and unravels in a continuing relation with other lines; that is, by intersecting, crossing, or going along each other, creating in this way a meshwork. Furthermore Haraway (2008) expresses that each being is not just developing on each own but rather he/she/it *becomes with* each other through an endless relationship. Consequently these perceptions bring into light and existence academically other living and nonliving beings that did not have a 'voice' so far, within what has been called posthumanist philosophy. Nevertheless one of the questions that is generated is that of language (e.g., who is writing and making knowledge, from which perspective, and for which purpose). Inevitably, we are humans and we will write in our language but the possibilities of communication are not limited by a prescribed language as we know it (i.e. by grammar, syntax, and orthography).

Kohn (2015) shows such an encounter between the people of Ávila in Ecuador and the living and nonliving beings of the forest they all inhabit. Signs stemming from sounds, dreams and others have created a different way of communication and perception of the intentions and state of the other beings in order to conduct Life. In a similar spirit and by paying attention more closely to the contact zones of living beings, multispecies ethnographers conduct research in order to reveal such encounters and assemblages (Hartigan 2015; Hayward 2010; Fuentes 2010; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010; Moore and Kosut 2014; Maustard et al. 2013; Münster 2016; Ogden et al. 2013; Tsing 2015).

In order for me to also start and try to look closer at the relationship and contact zones of humans and olive trees, I conducted this theoretical thesis which has tried to gather and reveal these processes as a preliminary step. The research is not a multispecies ethnography in itself but rather it sets the ground for possible future research in this field and topic. More precisely what I did here is a meta-analysis where I gathered past and present anthropological studies which refer to olive trees. I coded the references of the studies to find out general contexts of reference of the olive trees and try to have an overview of what has been written so far about those niches. Another slighter question on my mind was how olive trees are referenced (i.e. extensive, narrow, literary, or scientific). For this purpose and because other disciplines appeared on my way as I was primarily searching for anthropological studies, I decided to include a brief part in this thesis regarding the contexts and way of reference of olive trees in the disciplines of archaeology and environmental studies.

One point of criticism on attempting to compare the afore mentioned past and present anthropological studies with those from archaeology and environmental studies would be that the amount of studies related to each discipline is not equivalent. For the main research of this thesis sixty-seven (67) anthropological studies were used while for archaeology seven (7) and for environmental studies five (5). The numbers are not alike but still it gives the opportunity for a brief comparison; that is, to just take a taste. I already mentioned earlier that all three disciplines include the human perspective in their researches; that is, anthropology and archaeology as a primary focus, and in environmental studies primary depending on the focus of the study. Nevertheless what becomes apparent in my opinion is that, although in all the

disciplines the same agents are involved (i.e. humans and olive trees), each is preoccupied in a different dialogue on their relationship. More precisely, it was shown through Part II that humans engage in agricultural tasks in relation to olive trees. This was shown in the present from anthropology and environmental studies and in the past in archaeological studies. Furthermore the length of reference was different among the studies and disciplines. As it was shown in Part II this depends on the primary focus of the study. Nevertheless what changes is the writing style. While among anthropological studies more differing writing styles can be found, in archaeology and environmental studies the writing style is strictly scientific. This could further indicate the main differences and approaches of the disciplines. Although I do not intend to get into much detail and analysis of writing styles between different disciplines (that would require a totally new research), I would like to mention that in my opinion this fact reveals the 'sensibility' (I would call it) that is hidden in anthropology as a discipline without the desire to put every scholar in the same bucket. Rather this fact shows the intent of anthropologists to understand other points of view rather than just report them.

Through the analysis of the past and present anthropological studies in Part II and 'The olive tree in the anthropological field' (Chapter 4), olive trees seem to get involved in many aspects of the human life; those are, concerning agriculture (subsistence), property (social life), symbolism (symbolic life), and sentiments (psychology). Nevertheless there was also one more general category indicated which concerned ecology (social and natural).

Agricultural tasks, and more precisely the cultivation of olive trees, appeared to be a primordial task of human beings in relation to olive trees. Past and present anthropological studies showed that humans depend on olive trees for their subsistence but also economic life. For food they can retrieve from the tree olives which can be eaten or pressed in order to produce olive oil. Families and individuals then seem to depend also economically from these productions since, especially, the olive oil has become an international and rather expensive commodity. This dependence though does not constitute a single activity. The cultivation of olive trees is limited to a rough period of six months during a year (from June to December), depending on the country and practices. Also the amount of production can vary since olive trees sometimes produce an available crop every two years, and that consequently depends on

the weather during the year. For this reason humans have to find other ways of making an additional income. In the studies analyzed it was shown that people choose to migrate to other villages, towns, or countries in order to find another job or other agricultural tasks for the season when the cultivation of the olive tree is not possible (Abu-Zahra 1974; Costa 1988; Gavrielides 1976b; Kenna 1976; Masur 1984; Galani-Moutafi 1993; Theodossopoulos 1999; Vargas-Cetina 2011). Others start to develop other kinds of businesses in their hometowns such as seafaring (Gavrielides 1976b) or tourism (Galani-Moutafi 1993; Theodossopoulos 1999). Another fact that was revealed through the studies was that the olive trees and their cultivation appear to drive human beings on making decisions according to the gender. This was shown about harvesting where men climb and beat the trees and women gather the fallen olives (Costa 1988; Gavrielides 1976b; Kenna 1976; Masur 1984; Galani-Moutafi 1993; Theodossopoulos 1999), or regarding practices that are directly connected with the household and food preparation that is assigned to women (Hoffman 2002; Masur 1984; Popper-Giveon and Ventura 2009). Nevertheless it should be mentioned that practices and situations vary according to the country of reference.

But agriculture led to another fact that characterizes human beings; that of property. Olive trees are owned by individual people or families, and they usually pass to the next generations through inheritance. On this topic it was revealed that there is a mutual, three-fold dependence of land – olive trees – humans, where olive trees depend on the land for their survival, and humans depend on olive trees. Nevertheless it was shown that these three factors can vary. Humans may own olive trees and the land they grow, or own olive trees but not the land they grow. Furthermore ownership of olive trees appears to add to human social life in their prestige and perception of wealth among the community.

In a metaphorical level olive trees seem to have entered also the symbolic life of humans. As it was shown, olive trees, because of their existence in specific soils, and thus countries, and because of their characteristics as a tree, have become a signifier of peace and strength. Activists, politicians, and writers use the olive branch to connote peace in speeches and demonstrations, while products of the olive tree, especially olive oil, is being used as a fair trade commodity that signifies solidarity to the Palestinians (as shown here) and calls for an ethical

consumerism. Furthermore artists are using references of olive trees in poems, songs, or artistic projects to further support these preoccupations. It becomes apparent then that the olive tree has become a symbolic agent for humans as a way to communicate and represent certain aspects of their social life.

In addition some of the studies also revealed the deeper connection of humans to the olive trees by indicating generated sentiments from their relationship. This fact indicates that olive trees have succeeded to penetrate human life in all its levels; that is, from the outside (mere activities to survive) to the inside (inner relation to the agent involved in the activity).

Although the focus was on anthropological studies, some of them still had references that I gather here under the title of Ecology. These refer to facts that humans and olive trees are part of a wider ecosystem. In some studies ecological relations were revealed between olive trees, other trees, sheep, goats, birds, and humans. Also many scholars mention the olive tree as part of the landscape where they conducted research, while also researching and noting the history of existence of the trees in the area.

After my analysis I perceive and imagine the olive tree as a very long line because of its ability to live for many years, even centuries. This means that those trees have come across many other beings over the course of their lifetime. Furthermore olive trees as a tree are easily perceived as being rooted in a specific area but, as some studies showed, this is not necessary. In Palestine the trees are shown to be played like a tennis ball between the grounds of Palestine and Israel in an endless practical and symbolic war between the countries. Furthermore olive trees in my opinion can take an international role because of their products. It was shown that olive oil is not being consumed only within the family that produces it. On the contrary, a large amount of the produced olive oil is being sent to other places as a gift or food supply for other members of the family, or is sold in markets (both national and international).

On the kinds of entanglement that humans and olive trees appear to get together, I would suggest that they can be characterized, on the one hand, as physical, and on the other, as emotional. Physicality is expressed through the activities where humans and olive trees actually meet; those are, agricultural tasks where people touch the tree in order to cut the branches or

shake them to drop the olives, or even hug them in order to protect them from being cut down. Emotionality is shown through the connection and entanglement of these agents over the years. It was mentioned before, for example, that olive trees usually pass from generation to generation where they are usually owned by families. Having in your property the same trees that your ancestors used to cultivate and from which they provided food to the family, creates to humans sentiments and a close connection to that other living beings, even if it is not always a conscious perception. Furthermore, when humans use olive trees as a symbol to represent and communicate aspects of their life, it becomes even more apparent the sentimental and inner connection of those agents.

Last but not least I found interesting that olive trees can be characterized within human social constructs as nationless since they, as a being on their own, do not recognize nations but rather soil that can support their growth. On the other hand, humans seem to use them as nation signifiers. This became more apparent in the case of Palestine where Palestinians identify themselves with the olive trees that exist in Palestinian soil by saying that their population exist in this soil from as long as the olive trees exist and that they cannot be uprooted from their country. Israelis at the same time acknowledge also this identification, and for their cause, they uproot olive trees and plant other trees that accord better to the state as they define it. Nevertheless in other countries of the Mediterranean there was not such a correlation of nation and olive trees through the studies that I was able to find.

This is my interpretation on how olive trees are represented in past and present anthropological studies. Could we now change our perspective of seeing things and processes, and if so, how? It is common among humans (or at least we wish it would be/is common) to approach other humans, as a way to open channels of communication, through empathy; that is, to try to understand the other person's position and feelings with the purpose of a smoother relationship. That does not imply sympathy (that is, to completely understand and accept the other's opinion and position) but rather aims to become able to communicate in one way or another. Could we empathize with olive trees then? I know that such an attempt sounds hip but it may offer on ecological and environmental reason where humans and other living beings can meet. My point is that there is sufficient research nowadays about trees. I have in my mind

Peter Wohlleben's recent book, 'The Hidden Life of Trees: What They Feel, How They Communicate' (2016). He is a forester in Germany and recently they have discovered that trees communicate between them through their root systems and scents that they expose when there is a danger, and have in general a social life as we define it. The purpose then for anthropological research would be to consider how trees, and more specifically here how olive trees, grow and develop in a specific site in order to see if more insight could be gained about how Life is conducted when it comes to the entanglement of humans and olive trees, how they *become with* each other when we look closer and with more attention to their niches. This again brings to the fore the necessity of a multidisciplinary approach for research where environmental scientists can provide biological information on the trees, or other scholars that their specialization would depend on the topic and aspect of the research, would help develop it further.

To conclude I would like to leave you with three passages that in my opinion could characterize and inspire in general an updated, multidisciplinary and multi-lateral, environmental anthropology of seeing Life. These are from Peter Wohlleben (forester), Anna Tsing (anthropologist), and Wajdi Mouawad (author), respectively.

> Urban trees are the street kids of the forest. And some are growing in locations that make the name an even better fit-right on the street. The first few decades of their lives are similar to those of their colleagues in the park. They are pampered and primped. Sometimes they even have their own personal irrigation lines and customized watering schedules. When their roots want to go out and get established in their new territory, they're in for a big surprise. The soil under the street or pedestrian walkway is harder even than the soil in parks, because it has been compacted by machines using large vibrating metal plates (Wohlleben 2016:174).

> Matsutake guides not just me but many other. Moved by the smell, people and animals across the northern hemisphere brave wild terrain searching for it. Deer select matsutake over other mushroom choices. Bears turn over logs and excavate ditches searching for it. And several Oregon mushroom hunters told me of elk with bloody muzzles from uprooting matsutake from the sharp pumice soil. The smell, they said, draws elk from one patch straight to another. And what is smell but a particular form of

chemical sensitivity? In this interpretation, trees too are touched by the smell of matsutake, allowing it into their roots. As with truffles, flying insects have been seen circling underground caches. In contrast, slugs, other fungi, and many kinds of soil bacteria are repulsed by the smell, moving out of its range (Tsing 2015:45-46).

Ella a ouvert une porte. Nous sommes entrés. Les miroirs et la céramique brillaient dans la pénombre. La pièce était plongée dans un clair-obscur bleuté où les forms étaient à peine esquissées. I am going to bring you some clean clothes… Mets-toi à l' aise… Elle est repartée. J'ai choisi de rester. Le carrelage, tout en mosaïque, était frais. Je m'y suis allongé. Il s'est assis sur le rebord d'un bain aux pieds sculptés. Il m'a fait un signe du doigt. J'ai accepté de m'approcher. Je me suis frotté contre ses jambs, m'imprégnant de son odeur. Sa main a saisi mon cou. Une main forte. Ferme. Il m'a caressé, massant mes vertèbres, pinçant l'extrémité de mes oreilles. J'ai ronronné. La voix était douce: Oui, le chat, oui… Il m'a relâché. Je me suis reculé et je l'ai vu éteindre le bras pour tourner les deux robinets argentés. D'abord l'un, ensuite l'autre. L'eau a jailli sous la poussée d'une formidable pression en créant une bruine légère, fraiche, puis tiède à mesure qu'elle se réchauffait. On a frappé. Oui? il a dit. La porte s'est ouverte et une femme qui ne m'était pas inconnue est entrée pour deposer des habits sur le comptoir, à côté d'un grand lavado en porcelain (Mouawad 2012:63)[5].

[5] Translation by the author: She opened a door. We entered. The mirrors and the ceramics were glowing in the twilight. The room was covered in a clear dark blue where the forms were barely distinguished. I am going to bring you some clean clothes…Make yourself comfortable… She left again. I have chosen to stay. The tiles, everything in mosaic, were fresh. I laid down. He sat on the edge of a bathtub with sculpted legs. He made a sign to me with his finger. I accepted to come closer. I rubbed myself against his legs impregnating me with his odor. His hand grasped my neck. A hand strong. Firm. He petted me, massaging my vertebra, pinching the end of my ears. I purred. The voice was soft: Yes, cat, yes… He released me. I moved backwards and I saw him spreading his arm to turn the two silver taps. First the one, then the other. The water gushed under the push of a tremendous pressure creating a light mist, cool, then warmer as it was heating. Someone knocked. Yes? he said. The door opened and a woman that was not unknown to me entered to drop off the clothes on the counter, near to a big porcelain sink.

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8. Appendixes

8.1. Abstract

8.1. Abstract in English

The current study aims to research the representation of olive trees in past and present anthropological studies and what those representations can tell us about another living being of our environment. Furthermore there is an additional interest on if those representations can offer more anthropological-related information if we change our perspective and try to look at situations from the point of view of another living being. Lastly I conduct a brief comparison of the representation of olive trees in cultural and social anthropology with those in the disciplines of archaeology and environmental studies in order to see if the contexts of reference and ways of representation change.

The idea and theoretical background of the research stems from environmental anthropology, and by the discussions of posthumanist philosophy, *becoming with* others, and multispecies ethnography, all of which express in a complementary manner the way Life is being conducted; that is, the relations and crossing paths of different living beings of the environment. The comparison with other disciplines is included as a brief section to emphasize the multidisciplinarity that is needed in order to conduct such a research. Methodologically then, a meta-analysis is conducted where the references on olive trees in the gathered past and present anthropological studies constitute my data. Those data are then analyzed through a coding procedure in order to find out the general contexts of references.

Keywords: olive tree, representation, social and cultural anthropology, Mediterranean, meta-analysis, multispecies ethnography

8.1.2. Abstract in German

In der Masterarbeit werden die Darstellungsformen von Olivenbäumen in früheren und aktuellen anthropologische Studien behandelt. Die Frage, was diese Darstellungen uns über andere Lebewesen unserer Umwelt sagen können, steht im Zentrum der Arbeit. Außerdem liegt ein Forschungsinteresse auf der Thematik, ob ein Wechsel des Blickwinkels zu einem nicht-menschlichen Objekts, wie dem Olivenbaum, für anthropologische Forschung relevant sein kann.

Zuletzt vergleiche ich die Darstellungen von Olivenbäumen in der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie mit denen in den Disziplinen der Archäologie und der Umweltstudien, um zu untersuchen, ob sich die Darstellungen und die Methoden der Darstellung unterscheiden.

Die Idee und der theoretische Hintergrund der Forschung stammen aus der Umweltanthropologie und den Diskursen der posthumanistischen Philosophie und sogar aus der Multispieces Ethnography. Diese Fachrichtungen beschäftigen sich damit, wie das Leben geführt werden kann bzw. mit den Beziehungen verschiedener Lebewesen aus unserer Umwelt. Auch hier ist der Vergleich mit anderen Disziplinen kurz thematisiert, um die Multidisziplinarität zu betonen, die für eine solche Forschung benötigt wird. Danach wird eine Meta-Analyse durchgeführt, bei der auf Referenzen über Olivenbäume aus früheren und aktuellen anthropologischen Studien Bezug genommen wird. Diese Daten werden dann mit Hilfe eines Kodierungsprozesses analysiert, um den allgemeinen Referenzrahmen festzustellen.

Schlüsselwörter: Olivenbaum, Repräsentation, Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie, Mittelmeer, Meta-Analyse, Multispecies Ethnography

8.2. Landscape photographs of several Mediterranean countries

Photo 1 - Cyprus

(https://www.colourbox.com/image/cyprus-landscape-with-gardens-mountain-village-paths-image-2666721, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 2 - Greece

(https://depositphotos.com/6104121/stock-photo-greek-landscape.html, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 3 - Israel

(https://www.shutterstock.com/image-photo/rural-israel-landscape-spring-day-72210745?src=tC93yKQ8lLqhxYTz3rKMhQ-1-28, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 4 - Italy

(https://tripandtravelblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Italian-landscape.jpg, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 5 - Morocco

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Landscape_beauty_of_Morocco.jpg, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 6 - Palestine

(https://thevelvetrocket.com/2012/05/04/the-landscapes-of-palestine/, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 7 - Spain

(https://www.pura-aventura.com/blog/our-ten-favourite-spanish-landscapes/, accessed March 16, 2018)

Photo 8 - Turkey

(http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-landscape-of-the-mediterranean-sea-mountains-and-the-sea-of-turkey-144718537.html, accessed March 16, 2018)