



HETEROTOPIA

WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?
SPRING/SUMMER 2015



LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

“Heterotopia” began with a simple question – “Why isn’t there an anthropology journal at the University of Washington?” Several other departments at the University produce journals, but there was no forum within the Anthropology Department from which student-authored work could be showcased. This absence seemed particularly glaring given the number of students in the Department who engage in independent research. As part of its commitment to building community within the Department of Anthropology and providing a space for students to build social and intellectual networks, the Department’s student organization, The Anthropological Society, spearheaded the creation of a Departmental journal. With the support of the Department, we have been able to lay a foundation upon which future editors can continue to build. It is our greatest hope that the journal will be an enduring part of the Anthropology Department’s commitment to engaged scholarship.

In order to move from what was just an idea to a fully realized vision for an anthropology journal, several pieces needed to be put into place. The most important was finding a group of students who not only shared this vision, but were also willing to work steadily towards its attainment by committing to being members of the Editorial Board. This inaugural edition of the journal is a product of the work of these seven students: Akali Barnes, Rose Gabidullina, Marley Manjarrez, Tim Moore, Hang Ngo, Shamelle Richards, and Monica Romero Wright. We have been privileged to be in each other’s presence weekly, learning, growing, sharing, and together coming to understand why the recipe for luck includes one part opportunity, and one part preparation. As we imagined the journal as both a print and online publication, we knew that we would need not only skilled writers, but also talented artists with visual editing experience. We were fortunate to have two talented artists and visual editors on our staff, Monica Romero Wright and Marley Manjarrez, and this edition reflects their refined aesthetic sensibilities. Additionally, we are thankful to Jordan Allred, whose beautiful artwork is featured on our cover. Special thanks also goes to Gioia Skeltis, who as a Contributing Editor lent both her time and expertise to an editorial process whose goal is a fully-developed final piece that best represents the author’s initial vision.

With the support of Departmental faculty, advisers, and staff, we have been able to reach out to students inside and outside of the Department of Anthropology. This outreach resulted in the contributions of a dedicated and interdisciplinary team of peer reviewers, who provided the constructive feedback our Editorial Board needed as we decided on which submissions to publish, and as we continued to work with our authors. Due to the personal and scholarly dedication of our authors, we have developed a productive, collaborative editing process that we hope future teams of authors and editors will be able to successfully replicate. We would like to thank our authors, Pearl Terry, Lena Easton-Calabria, Dana Needelman, Loren Conroy, Sierra Van Burkleo, Gaby George, and Madison Kieneker for their hard work and commitment. It has been a privilege and honor to work with them over the course of this quarter. Our theme for this inaugural edition of “Heterotopia,” is “What is Anthropology?” Their inspired and well-crafted works help to answer this question by highlighting the multiple lenses through which anthropologists engage with the world, and the power and possibilities inherent in a reflexive discipline, such as anthropology.

We would also like to take this opportunity to answer a commonly asked question, “Why Heterotopia?” In choosing a name for the journal, we knew that we wanted a name that spoke not only to the nature of the discipline of anthropology, but that also recognized the challenges and opportunities presented when a discipline has the degree of epistemological diversity that is found in the field of anthropology. The term “heterotopia” is a concept developed by philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault and it refers to a space (“topia”) of difference (“hetero”). “Heterotopia,” therefore, speaks to our hope that the journal will be a space where differences can co-exist, and where we can have conversations across not only disciplines, but also across mediums. In committing to including works from all of anthropology’s sub-disciplines and from mediums that include poetry, prose, photography, drawing, comics, and personal narrative, we hope that “Heterotopia” will be a space where the challenges, contradictions, and opportunities associated with engaging difference can flourish. We respect the truths of those who are sensitive to the ways that a term such as “heterotopia” can be misconstrued or mis-used. As we embrace not only difference but tolerance, we assert here that “Heterotopia,” will never be a space of exclusion.

Finally, we would like to thank those organizations and individuals, without whom this edition of “Heterotopia” would not have been possible. One of our editors, Shamelle Richards, is also an editor of “Plenum,” the undergraduate geography journal and she would like to express her thanks and appreciation for all that she has learned from her fellow editors in “Plenum.” We are indebted to Kirsten and Sam Senturia, and Senturia Family Endowment, whose generosity has allowed us to make this a print publication, in addition to being an online one. Thanks to Bob Koppell for allowing us to feature the story of his anthropological journey. We are thankful to the Anthropological Society and its officers and faculty advisers for their unwavering support. We thank the Department of Anthropology and the faculty, advising, and office staff for their advice and assistance as we have attempted to build the journal’s presence within the Department. Joni Marts, you will be missed, but your gracious presence endures. Thank you to John Cady, and Rick Aguilar for helping us with our week-to-week administrative needs. Special thanks go to Janelle Taylor, the Chair of the Department of Anthropology, for her wisdom and guidance and to Diane Guerra, Director of Student Services, whose resourcefulness, kindness, and indefatigable spirit encourages us daily. What we have accomplished with this inaugural edition of “Heterotopia” has been the result of a collective effort. We hope that in addition to illustrating what anthropology is, and can be, this issue will serve as a reminder of the creative power of collective action.

THE HETEROTOPIA EDITORIAL BOARD



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COVER ART BY JORDAN ALLRED

The cover art was designed to incorporate many aspects of anthropology. The tree has deep and expanding roots, signifying humans' deep impact on the earth and the earth's on us. The tree represents the "tree of life," with various stages of human evolution surrounding its branches. The colorful circles around the tree represent the ideas and culture that have helped to shape our behavior and mind. What I really thought about while making this was not only how we invent these ideas and cultures, but how we balance them. I think this a major aspect of the meaning of "Heterotopia". Usually, we lose track of our past ideas in light of newer ones. However, I think that the variety of concepts we have come up with since the dawn of the hominin are truly extraordinary.



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-Akali Barnes

"It is a deep-rooted story that is present, yet varies within each and every soul. It is the connection between our past, present, and future." -Monica Romero Wright

"It is not a thing to be deconstructed, it is the art of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction. Anthropology, as a way of being in the world, is performed" -Shamelle Richards

"It digs deep down into real world problems that are socially, politically, culturally, and historically intersected. We, as anthropologists, gain the power to inform, transform and, ultimately, to create justice." -Hang Ngo

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WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?

It is difficult not to hide behind the philosophical when defining anthropology. What is anthropology? A celebration of humanity? A bottom-up epistemology? A direct challenge to hegemony? Or could it be all of the above? And, if so, how can that knowledge be applied practically and productively? Any anthropology student is accustomed to the blank faces of friends and relatives that follow the sentence "I study anthropology." What comes next is a clumsy explanation that usually involves the word human and negates any connection to dinosaur bones and Indiana Jones. Perhaps there is such widespread ambiguity because anthropology refuses to be flattened with the simple definition of "the study of humans." Its subject is so complex that it demands diversity in its own examination.

Anthropology is an umbrella discipline of scientific exploration that aims to encompass every aspect of the human experience. With the ambitious goal of studying humanity with the same "objectivity" given to any other species, it pushes aside the layers of social expectation and ingrained "truths." In order to do so with thoroughness, it is broken down into the sub-disciplines of biological anthropology, sociocultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology, and archeology. Topics of inquiry within the sub-disciplines include evolution, primatology, medical anthropology, historical archaeology, forensic anthropology, social identity formation, feminist anthropology – the list is endless. Because the list is endless, and malleable, it is pointless to attempt to complete it. However what such a list does accomplish is to demonstrate the practical applications of all of the knowledge that is glossed over with the simple definition of "the study of humans." Anthropology is not a practice of philosophical escapism. It is a pragmatic science that asks the "hows" and "whys" without attachments to any one correct answer. The haziness of anthropology clears when I view it as a lens instead of as a subject. The anthropologist is asked to set aside their position as an active player in society and assume the role of the observer.

Surrounding this piece are the answers given by my fellow editors to the question: "What is Anthropology?" They are as diverse and deeply personal as the discipline itself. Shamelle Richards, "Heterotopia"'s fearless leader, also coined the phrase "Those who can, do anthropology." I love this because it says so much with so little. We anthropology students are not just studying what we love but what we are morally connected to. We are a collection of brilliant minds that willingly forgo stability and job-security in pursuit of our academic passions. We will not to accept unquestioned answers and refuse to leave a stone unturned. We are researchers, explorers, writers, and rebels. It is us, each individual and the collective whole, that defines anthropology.

BY MARLEY MANJARREZ



Research

Shamanism and witchcraft are prevalent themes in the lives of many people in the Peruvian Amazon rainforest. Both shamans and brujos (witches/sorcerers) use ayahuasca, a strongly psychoactive plant in ceremonies. While shamans use ayahuasca to heal their patients, brujos use ayahuasca to harm others. This article is based on nine months of fieldwork in four indigenous communities of the Peruvian Amazon and explores the shaman, brujo, witchcraft, and healing. This article demonstrates that the work of shamans, brujos, and the world of ayahuasca is complex and includes both healing and violence.

The drink ayahuasca is made from the combination of the woody ayahuasca vine and the chacruña leaf. These plants grow in the Amazon rain forests of Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Boiled together they make a psychoactive brew that often causes the drinker to experience visions, a distorted sense of time, and sometimes the merging of senses. Ayahuasca is used for healing purposes throughout Amazonia and is administered by a shaman in an ayahuasca ceremony. It is useful especially for healing witchcraft or illnesses caused by spirits of the forest. According to Marlene Rios in *A Hallucinogenic Tea, Laced with Controversy*, ayahuasca has been a part of Amazonian culture for around 8,000 years and has allowed indigenous people to interact with plant and animal spirits (2008:8). In the past ayahuasca was also commonly used by Amazonian hunters to cleanse themselves of bad luck and ayahuasca rituals were used to prepare dogs for a certain type of hunt (Rios 2008:9). To become a shaman a person will study with ayahuasca for a number of years, learning from the plant. A potential shaman will normally live alone in the forest for long stretches of time during his/her training period.

Ayahuasca can be used to heal or to do harm. One shaman explained that “you can go down the good path or the bad path” with ayahuasca. The bad path is the path taken to become a brujo, which is much easier to go down than the path to become a shaman and to learn to heal. Brujería (witchcraft) manifests itself in different ways than “normal,” everyday illnesses. People commonly say, “You know that an illness is brujería when medicine doesn’t work.” Anthropologist Glenn Shepard, who works with indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon, states that “illnesses that do not respond to other therapies (plants as well as Western medicines) are automatically suspected to have a hidden cause, perceptible and treatable only in the parallel world of spirits” (2014:31). This brujería may come from a brujo or a spirit of the forest. People are most vulnerable to being attacked by brujos or spirits when they are sleeping or walking alone in the forest. In these cases, everyday plant/medical therapies will make no impact on the illness. Instead, people must seek out a shaman to treat the illness.

The work of a shaman is conceptualized as a fight between the shaman and bad forces, which includes brujos and bad spirits. One young man told me, “When shamans cure the maldad [harm from witchcraft] from brujos, they drink ayahuasca to enter the spirit world and they fight in this world. If the shaman is good then the person will be cured.” Riboli states that a shaman’s activities can be described as a war in the spirit world (2013:15). The main battlefield, the occasion for violence and

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SHAMANISM AND WITCHCRAFT IN THE PERUVIAN AMAZON: AN EXPLORATION OF HEALING AND WITCHCRAFT ACCUSATIONS IN FOUR INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

BY LENA EASTON-
CALABRIA

Abstract

Shamanism and witchcraft have important roles in many indigenous communities of the Peruvian Amazon. These communities have an animistic cosmology in which all plants and animals have a spirit. Shamans are healers who use a variety of plants, but mostly the plant ayahuasca, to heal. Ayahuasca is a psychoactive plant that allows for shamans to communicate with plant spirits. Brujos (witches/sorcerers) use ayahuasca to communicate with bad plant spirits and use these interactions to cause harm to other people. When a person comes down with an illness that is not cured by available Western medicine, this illness is attributed to witchcraft or daño from a spirit. The resulting actions and accusations have a strong impact on relationships between, and sometimes within, communities. This research is based on 9 months of field work in four indigenous communities of the Peruvian Amazon. It focuses on an important gap in the literature on the role of shamanism, ayahuasca, and witchcraft and the forces driving witchcraft accusations. It helps us to understand the cosmology of these communities and the broader theme of healing and witchcraft found across the



warlike action is the task of tackling the metaphysical world of spirits and brujos in order to heal.

Oftentimes, when a shaman uses ayahuasca to heal a patient, multiple brujos appear in the visions the ayahuasca creates. These brujos try to make the shaman unable to heal his/her patient and can sometimes kill the shaman. As one community member described, “their bodies stay in the dark in their separate houses but their spirits leave and find each other and fight *pointing / gesturing up around his head to indicate the spirit world* and they can kill each other and then their body dies.” In this context, Riboli’s idea that “For the shaman, religion is war” (2013:15), is applicable. In order to heal, to do his/her work, a shaman must enter into this war at personal risk.

As a result of this violence, shamans use various types of protection when healing. Alberto, a shaman, spoke about his work and said, “You have to do your rituals, you put on your spines.” This is similar to Riboli’s findings that “Shaman’s paraphernalia not only include weapons and armor: the whole ritual apparatus is conceived as a fight, ending only when the evil influences are destroyed, killed or banished from this world” (Riboli 2013:17). In the visions that come from drinking ayahuasca, Alberto builds a shield of “steel” around the area where he has ayahuasca ceremonies for protection from brujos. He says that he can hear the brujos on the other side but they cannot enter because of this protection.

During a ceremony, someone who has drunk ayahuasca may be tempted by brujos and bad plant spirits to do harm or violence. Alberto explained, some try to tell you, “Kill that person! Kill her! Kill him!” It is important for the person drinking ayahuasca to resist, to say, “Don’t bother me,” and continue on. A person has the choice to be violent or not. Alberto said, “People must resist going down the bad path. On the bad path, you see people/plants talking badly about you and you want to hurt them. But you have to decide which way to go and you have to be strong to go the good way, to ignore them and reject them.” Songs can also be used as a form of protection. According to Sychenko, shamans use not only tools of violence and protection, such as Alberto’s steel protection, but also “words of violence” (Sychenko 2013:79). Many shamans use healing songs during their ceremonies to protect against brujos.

Puerto Lindo Community - Puerto Perez Community Conflict

While doing research, I spent a significant amount of time in an indigenous community called Puerto Lindo. This community is a 3-day boat ride from Puerto Maldonado and is therefore quite isolated. There is one community upriver from the Puerto Lindo community, about a 10-hour boat ride away, called Puerto Perez. The themes of witchcraft and healing that have been discussed so far are demonstrated by a conflict between these two communities. A family from the Puerto Lindo

community went to a shaman because the grandmother of the family had gotten sick. They suspected a brujo had harmed her. She was seeing visions at night and had a fever and the pills and plants for her fever weren’t helping. The daughter of the sick woman, Doña Maria, explained that a man named Luis who lives in Puerto Perez was the one who sent the daño. Doña Maria said, “The people in Puerto Perez are envidiosos y odiosos (jealous and hateful).” Her dad had found the Puerto Perez community and the people there are all related to the people of Puerto Lindo but he left because he didn’t like the way the people behaved. The people would steal chicken eggs from each other and put aguaje seeds in their place.

When the family went to cure their grandmother, the shaman drank ayahuasca to see what had happened to her. This is called a consultation and is very similar to a consultation at a doctor’s office to find out what is wrong with a patient before prescribing treatment. In order to do this, the shaman drinks ayahuasca to “see” what illness the person has or what is wrong with them. If the patient wants to, she can also drink ayahuasca, but it is not necessary. In his vision the shaman saw that a brujo in the community upriver from Puerto Lindo, called Puerto Perez, ha hecho daño (had done harm) against the grandmother. He had

also killed her husband, Doña Maria’s father. Then the brujo, Luis, sent daño to Doña Maria’s mom. Now her mom can’t walk and when she tries to walk it feels like there are spines sticking out of her sandals into her feet. Doña Maria said Luis hurt her so that she bends over, you’ve seen it, so that she dies that way. According to Doña Maria,

“Puerto Perez says ‘Oh Puerto Lindo, they have tourists now, they have

lots of money. Envidiosos son, ellos. For this reason I don’t go to Puerto Perez, if they pass by here I’m in my house, if they come I give them what I have, food, but I don’t go there.”

When the shaman drank ayahuasca, brujos came to him and said, “Why are you curing her? Don’t cure her, if you do we’ll kill you.” The shaman said that he could not cure her grandmother because of this. The family went to another shaman who said he could cure her but the family would need to pay 5,000 soles (about \$2,000) because it posed such a big risk for his life and would take a lot of energy. The family was not able to afford this and therefore could not cure their grandmother.

This example demonstrates how powerful and prevalent witchcraft experiences and accusations are. As Beyer writes, “Sorcery is political. It is profoundly emotional, having to do with envy, resentment, fear, and hate; when sorcery is suspected or alleged, the atmosphere becomes charged, and divisions between individuals and groups become accentuated” (2009:144). Brujería permeates throughout entire communities and affects everyone, including children and ethnographers such as myself. Acts of witchcraft and witchcraft accusations may be behind-the-scenes in some respects, but it’s clear that they have a strong impact on people’s actions. The day after Doña Maria told me that story,

The world of ayahuasca, shamans, brujos, and forest spirits is one that is wrought with vulnerabilities.



people from Puerto Perez slept at the Puerto Lindo community on their way downriver for political elections. The whole community, especially the children, were scared and stressed. People in the community warned me that Puerto Perez was coming, and I made sure to take all of my clothes off of the clothesline and put them inside my house when people from Puerto Perez visited (clothes are often used for witchcraft). If I, as someone outside of the culture who had never been exposed to witchcraft, altered my actions in such a way as to avoid the possibility of it, it is not hard to imagine how strong witchcraft is to people in the community.

When misfortune occurs and/or illness does not respond to normal therapies, people search for a possible brujo and usually find someone who they already had problems with. In general, the primary explanation for someone doing brujería is because they are an envidioso (jealous) or odioso (hateful) person. In the case of Puerto Lindo, the man Luis and the Puerto Perez community were sources of conflict before the witchcraft occurred, and Doña Maria's family suspected Luis long before the shaman confirmed it. As Beyer writes, "There is frequently a pattern to gossip and accusations of sorcery: A asks B for a favor; B refuses; A seeks revenge by sorcery. Misfortune is a trigger to search one's memory for the instigating slight: Who has reason to hate me?" (Beyer 2009:145). As demonstrated by Puerto Lindo's witchcraft accusations against a community that they had split from because of social problems, Beyer's finding that witchcraft accusations are directed at people that the person accusing dislikes or fears and "represent current lines of political cleavage" holds true (Beyer 2009:144).

Conclusion

Shamanism and witchcraft are sources of harm, conflict, and healing for indigenous communities of the Southeastern Peruvian Amazon. The figure of the shaman cannot be understood without the figure of the brujo because the shaman and the brujo are two sides of the same coin. Shamans heal harm from brujos, and brujos attempt to disable shamans so that they cannot heal. Brujos use ayahuasca just as shamans do, but go down a "bad path," in which they communicate with bad plant spirits. By communicating and working with these spirits, brujos learn how to harm others instead of how to heal.

The world of ayahuasca, shamans, brujos, and forest spirits is one that is wrought with vulnerabilities. People in the

communities are vulnerable to attacks from brujos and spirits of the forest. Shamans themselves are also vulnerable to brujo attacks specifically aimed at disabling the shaman and his/her healing ability. These vulnerabilities relate to the overall ambiguity of the world in which the shaman operates. This ambiguity is inherent to ayahuasca as ayahuasca is a powerful medicine but can also be used to harm others. The role of the shaman in the Peruvian Amazon rainforest is integral to health and healing, while brujos are a large source of harm. The ability to heal puts a shaman in a position of power but also involves great personal risk.

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HOW COMEDY CREATES CHEMISTRY: WHY WE ARE ATTRACTED TO HUMOR

BY DANA NEEDELMAN

Abstract

When people are asked what attracts them to another individual, their response most often includes “their sense of humor.” But why are we attracted to humor? Why are certain individuals only seen as funny by a few, while large groups of people find comedians funny? Current theories hold that humor is among other positive mental and personality traits that signal high genetic quality, which is why we are attracted to individuals that possess such traits. However, evidence suggests that humor is a signal of more than just good genes. By compiling the results of 14 studies that sought to find links between humor and social/ gender roles, it becomes clear that humor is used as a means to form connections. Humor expresses social intelligence, compatibility, harmless intentions, commitment, and shared experience. When two individuals connect through humor, they connect on a deeply intimate level.

Introduction

Without necessarily knowing it, people express their deep personal preferences, experiences, and values through the production and reception of humor. Such interpersonal insights are often cumbersome and difficult to obtain at first, so connecting through humor is a more expedited way of expressing compatibility and understanding. This explains why “a sense of humor” is such a common indicator of attraction. However, “a sense of humor” is a broad notion. Fortunately, evolutionary theory can inform us on how comedy creates chemistry.

Why Humor?

Evolution is the systematic selection for the individuals most adapted to their environment within their population (Miller 2000). While natural selection picked the fastest cheetahs and the tallest giraffes, sexual selection picked the peacocks with the most extravagant tails and stags with the strongest and largest antlers. These signals are a vital part of sexual selection, in which an individual picks the optimal mate based on their behavior and physical traits. Because humans survive best in groups, it is advantageous for an individual to find other, evolutionary fit individuals to pair off with. One method of detecting the best mate is through humor.

Humor is an indication of social intelligence and social awareness, both of which are positive mental fitness indicators in a potential mate. A shared sense of humor mirrors a deep personal connection based on similar experiences and ideals that are essential in making a relationship work. Even though it seems counterproductive to put oneself down, even self-deprecating humor is used to seem approachable in an attempt to increase reproductive success. Comedians express relatable experiences in a taboo manner in order to connect with not just one individual, but with a group. By examining humor as a signal of social intelligence, shared beliefs, approachability, and connection to a group, it becomes clear that humor highlights personal values and experiences and is used to form strong relations with others.

Sexual Selection and Attraction

Limited resources create inherent competition to survive, so the individuals in a population that have the characteristics and/or behavior that make them most adapted to their environment will live and pass on the genes that made that individual successful (Miller 2000). Sexual selection also selects for the most adapted traits, but the competition is among individuals for access to mates, not the competition to survive (Lyle 2015a). This can create seemingly maladaptive traits that are energetically costly and increase predation, but that often explain specific behaviors and adaptations (Lyle 2015a). One notable sexually selected trait is the tendency for females to be heavily invested during the mate selection process, thus being the “choosier” sex (Lyle 2015a).

The different roles males and females play in the mate selection process arise from both parental investment theory and life history theory. Life history theory explains that energy is captured by organisms from resources in the environment and is put into a “finite energy budget.” In order to increase fitness, this budget is then spent on growth, maintenance, or reproduction, depending on the environmental conditions (Lyle 2015b). Think of this as putting a set amount of money in a savings account and spending it differently depending on the current situation. An organism’s fitness is measured by how many offspring that organism can have and how many of those offspring can live to reproduce (Lyle 2015b). Parental investment theory explains how and why biological differences between males and females create distinctions in how they choose to invest their energy.

Females tend to invest in parenting effort while males tend to invest in mating effort (Lyle 2015b). Because females’ eggs and reproductive lifespans are finite and they invest heavily in terms of birth and gestation, females are inherently more invested in providing quality parenting. It therefore suits females to be picky about their mate, as they don’t want to invest heavily in genetically inferior offspring (Lyle 2015c). The equation is quite different for males. Males rarely invest heavily in parenting because paternity is always uncertain. In addition, sperm production is cheap and more or less consistent, so in evolutionary terms, it is more beneficial for males to have as many offspring as possible (Lyle 2015c). So while females are focused on finding the most fit mate, males are focused on finding the most females to mate with. Although this distinction between females and males is not always the case and varies based on species, parental investment theory suggests that the sex that invests more time and energy into nurturing offspring will be more concerned about the quality of their mates (Lyle



2015c).

This difference in parental investment explains the great lengths that males go through to find mates. Through intra-sexual selection, males compete directly with each other for access to fertile females or indirectly for access to resources that will attract females (Lyle 2015c). Inter-sexual selection occurs when females directly favor sex with an individual who displays particular traits, which is where ornamental or seemingly maladaptive traits, such as a peacock's tail, often arise. Sexual selection creates sexual dimorphism between males and females, which is mostly evident in humans behaviorally (Lyle 2015c).

Fitness indicator theory explains that an individual with sexual ornaments is expressing that they have good genes, are healthy, and are well-adapted enough to be able to display such extravagant features (Lyle 2015c). These sexual ornaments are often described as a costly signal and show that an individual is fit enough to survive despite the setbacks the ornament may cause (Lyle 2015c). These traits are passed on indefinitely because females mate with males that have extravagant displays with the intent of passing on the preference for such traits in her daughter, as well as possession of the trait in her son (Lyle 2015c). These principles explain why seemingly maladaptive traits and/or behaviors are sexually selected for and help define such traits as "hard to fake" signals. The phenomenon of "hard to fake" signals also applies to risky and/or courageous behavior in both animals and humans (Lyle 2015c).

Females are adept at sensing and understanding which behaviors and traits are indicative of ideal genetic qualities in potential mates. Males are adept at gauging and responding to which females are receptive to their behaviors and traits, because she will thus be willing to mate with him. These instinctive desires and tendencies are shared with animals and humans alike and can be applied to the complexities of human behavior and attraction. We will now explore the intricacies of attraction to humor through an evolutionary lens.

Humor As a Fitness Indicator

Although many people can share a generalized sense of humor, each individual's sense of humor is deeply shaped by his or her personality and life experience. Miller's theory of mental fitness indicators is the basis for much of the research done in the field of understanding humor through an evolutionary lens. Miller explains that humor is a hard-to-fake signal of intelligence that shows positive genetic traits (Miller 2000). A study conducted by Greengross and Miller confirms that intelligence predicts humor ability, humor ability predicts mating success, and thus there seems to be sexual selection for humor (Greengross and Miller 2011). With humor linked to intelligence and intelligence linked to high genetic quality, it seems obvious why we find humor attractive. However, a conflicting study conducted by Bressler and Balshine showed individuals seen as humorous were regarded as more socially adept, but actually less intelligent (Bressler and Balshine 2011). Even though their humor came at the perceived cost of intelligence, humorous individuals were still preferred over non-humorous individuals (Bressler and Balshine 2011).

How an individual receives a joke is a test of both his or her intelligence as well as his or her receptivity to the humor producer and that person's sense of humor. In order to "get" a joke and fully appreciate it, there needs to be some level of problem-solving taking place on the part of the receiver so that

he or she feels connected to and involved with the joke (Storey 2003). The importance of an individual's production of humor compared to receptivity to humor also differs between men and women. A man finds a woman to have a "good sense of humor" if she finds him funny, not if she is able to produce valuable humor herself (Bressler, Martin, and Balshine 2006). In contrast, a woman tends to see a man as having a "good sense of humor" if she finds him humorous, not if he receives her as humorous (Bressler, Martin, and Balshine 2006). Interestingly, these preferences in a potential mate's "sense of humor" were only seen for first dates and long-term relationships, not one-night stands or short-term relationships (Bressler, Martin and Balshine 2006).

The typical view of intelligence as being comprised of having a high IQ and possessing knowledge retention, critical thinking, and problem solving skills is an incomplete picture of the true scope of human intelligence. This distinction can account for the conflicting data on humorous individuals being viewed as intelligent or not. For example, complex mathematical ability is relatively useless if it is not paired with the ability to communicate and connect with others. People are drawn to humorous individuals and are thus willing to interact, mate, and live amongst them due to their social intelligence, not their "other" intelligences. This follows Miller's theory that humor is a sign of intelligence and is passed on through sexual selection. It is important to emphasize that "intelligence" includes social intelligence and awareness. Humor signals intelligence because the individual producing the humor is able to gauge the audience's reaction, create a relatable and humorous joke or story and enhance relationships with the audience.

An individual can make as many jokes as they like in order to prove their intelligence, but if the humor is not understood or received well, then their efforts are better used elsewhere. Humor is often used immediately when interacting with someone to test both the receiver's intelligence and the potential compatibility of the couple. This explains the preferences for reception and production of humor in dates and long-term relationships. In other words, at times when understanding the long-term potential of the mate is used to see if further investment is worthwhile.

Humor As a Test of Compatibility

Flamson and Barrett explain in their Encryption Theory of Humor that intentional jokes have explicit spoken words as well as implicit "encrypted" references. Only those that share background knowledge with the joke producer can understand them, which is indicative of shared experience (Flamson and Barrett 2008). Therefore, sharing an appreciation of humor with a potential mate also correlates with sharing similar expectations of behavior. This generally indicates strong potential for a reciprocal and healthy romantic relationship (Curry and Dunbar 2012). For example, individuals with higher family values, such as strictly religious people and individuals with extremely conservative attitudes towards sex, were predicted to typically respond negatively towards commonly produced humor and have a general disinterest towards creating humor (Greengross and Miller 2011). Those with similar upbringings and values can connect through their interpretation and appreciation of joking and humor.

Private jokes and humorous remarks correlate positively with marital success because they create feelings of intimacy, belonging, and cohesiveness (Ziv 1988). In a study conducted by



Bippus, couples explained that humor was a significant factor in their relationship and feelings towards one another (2000). When the couples were asked to elaborate, it became clear that the humor they were referring to was seen as a signal of connection and compassion between partners rather than one of intellectual, creative or objective funniness. Things like inside jokes, a man throwing his girlfriend over his shoulder unexpectedly, and nicknames were all examples of humor that were appreciated and loved by significant others (Bippus 2000).

True connection is the difference between understanding a joke and having a joke resonate to the point of authentic laughter. Sharing a similar culture, attitude, experience, and behavior with a potential mate typically sets the foundation for a healthy and sustainable relationship. These deeply rooted sources of connection can be difficult to express during a first interaction. Therefore, having compatible humor in a relationship is not about being extremely humorous all of the time, but about producing and appreciating the same kind of humor as your mate. Differences in morals and values are detrimental to any relationship and can be quickly recognized by one individual idolizing raunchy humor such as Dane Cook, and the other being disgusted by such comedy.

By having relationship-specific humor that seems utterly ridiculous or plainly boring to an outsider, an individual is signaling to their mate as well as other "potential" mates their commitment to the relationship. This creates an "in-group" of the couple and the "out-group" of everyone else. This group formation is not a conscious decision of the couple, yet remains a behavioral indicator of intimacy and commitment.

Humor As a Handicap

Just as a peacock's tail is used to attract mates but is also a handicap, some types of humor used to attract mates can appear counterintuitive and maladaptive. For example, self-deprecating and other-deprecating humor, also known as negative humor, uses hostile and offensive language to put oneself or another person down (Greengross and Miller 2008). When approaching a potential mate, self-deprecating humor is used to show friendly, submissive intentions by explicitly pointing out one's flaws (Lundy, Tan, and Cunningham 1998). The status of the man using self and other-deprecating humor greatly affects his reproductive success. Intra-sexual selection drives men to strive for status and power, which are signals to women that he has both physical resources as well as the high-genetic quality needed to outcompete lower status men.

Self-deprecating humor is solely advantageous when used by high-status, physically attractive men because it makes them seem less threatening and less intelligent and therefore

more approachable and caring (Lundy, Tan, and Cunningham 1998). This use of self-deprecating humor works only as a way to normalize the superior male and is detrimental when used by a woman, low-status or unattractive person (Greengross and Miller 2008). However, if a high-status man uses other-deprecating humor against someone of lower status, he will be seen as egotistical, rude, and uncaring, which is the opposite effect to what that man would have achieved by using self-deprecating humor (Greengross and Miller 2008). Because high-status is indicative of men's reproductive success, a man uses negative humor to manipulate how a woman interprets his status and power. Women do not use self-deprecating or other-deprecating humor in the realm of the mating game because their mating success is not contingent upon their status.

Men use other-deprecating and self-deprecating humor more freely than women do because men are the risk-taking sex, and these are the riskiest types of humor (Greengross and Miller 2008). Other-deprecating humor is used in the mating game when an individual makes a sexual rival the source of entertainment (Greengross and Miller 2008). This risky behavior is mostly used to intimidate other men, giving the risk taking man the higher status, and thus more access to women. The "young male syndrome" explains that males are more likely to engage in these overt and aggressive actions than females, particularly in the ages of peak fertility (ages 18-25 years in humans) (Wilson and Daly 1985). To further support this, men's use of other-deprecating humor declines with age, just as other risky behavior declines with age (Greengross and Miller 2008). A man must be confident enough in himself as well as have the social awareness to gauge a potential mates' perception of him in order for this risky behavior to be beneficial. He then uses other- and self-deprecating humor as tools to manipulate his status and how women perceive him.

If a short, well-dressed, handsome CEO addresses a woman and makes a self-deprecating joke about his height, his self-deprecating remarks are a way to say "despite how successful and sexy I am, I am still approachable." If an obese, poor woman points out her unattractive qualities, although this may be seen as funny by some, she is certainly not enhancing her reproductive success because men are uninterested in the status of a woman. People with low self-esteem, low social status, and depression often use self-deprecating humor, but it is only reproductively advantageous for high status and confident men.

The effectiveness of other deprecating humor depends on the status of those involved in the joke. For example, say the CEO of McDonalds makes a joke in an interview about how the employees at his stores are "just like a Big-Mac because they are full of fat and only worth a dollar." Such a high-status man using other-deprecating humor at the expense of low-status people would create an adverse reaction and the general population

Humor is an expression of personal experience, values, and intentions that help individuals connect with one another, whether that be in the context of selecting a life partner or simply selecting a



would deem this CEO as rude and egotistical. Say the CEO chose to joke about how his employees are as valuable as he is because, "I can't make a burger to save my life." He instead shows that he is funny and relatable, instead of insensitive and demeaning. Men use the combination of other- and self-deprecating humor to show women they are easy-going enough to poke fun at themselves, while still being more successful than those whom the other-deprecating humor is aimed towards. When varying degrees of status are involved, the use of other and self-deprecating humor must be used with caution.

Humor Used by Stand-up Comedians

Humor is used to connect people not just in pairs, but also in groups. Comedians use humor in a different context and manner than the general population, with the same effect of forming bonds based on shared experience. Comedians create an onstage persona that often expresses negative and offensive ideas and strive for humor appreciation in a context outside of the realm of sexual selection. Humor can be broken up into positive and negative humor. Negative humor is the previously explored other and self-deprecating humor. Positive humor consists of affiliate humor and self-enhancing humor, which initiates and improves social bonds that maintain self-esteem and help us cope with stress (Greengross and Miller 2008). On stage, comedians most often use humor in a hostile and aggressive manner by using foul language to make fun of the audience and make racist and sexist jokes (Greengross and Martin 2011). When analyzed offstage, comedians are typically more introverted than non-comedians and use positive humor in their everyday lives instead of the negative humor they use on stage. The success of their career depends on being hired and their ability to gauge the audiences' reaction, so employing their onstage persona in everyday life would be very off-putting (Greengross Martin and Miller 2011).

In order to relate to their audiences, many comedians often feature the "it's so true" form of humor (Lynch 2010), in which the audience responds with the most laughter if the image retained by his or her brain mirrors the image depicted by the comedian (Lynch 2010). This type of humor is successful because participants laugh the most at jokes that show their implicit preferences. For example, participants that had strong implicit preferences for white people laughed the most at racially charged jokes against people of color (Lynch 2010). Comedians get away with saying extremely offensive statements because they are able to play upon what the audience is already feeling. Storey (2003) explains that humor is effective and used by an individual to express taboo subjects and opinions and to disassociate from the responsibility of owning up to an opinion or embarrassing action. Successful comedians are able to unite the entire audience together by making jokes that tap into universal desires and fears (Kuhle 2012).

Stand-up comedians must be personable enough to create jokes that people can relate to and then take on the persona of someone bold enough to tell those jokes. By joking about difficult subjects or personal struggles, comedians cope with hardships while simultaneously creating an environment for the audience to feel invested and connected to both the comedian and each other. As famed comedian Louis CK said in an interview, "It's a positive thing to talk about terrible things and make people laugh about them" (Rosenberg,

2011). People unite under a shared sense of struggle, but such connection is difficult to obtain on one's own. Comedians play this intermediary role in uniting a group of people by taking a relatable situation, or feeling, and making light of it. This allows the audience to find joy in hearing their opinions expressed, without the fear or ramifications of having to say it themselves.

Louis CK is a fantastic example of how humor is used as a means of deep personal connection through his expression of social intelligence, common experience, and self-deprecating humor to unite his audience. This is shown in his quote from the show *Louie*, "I've never gotten laid 'cause of the way I look. I'm the guy that women see and go ... 'Eh?' and I'm like 'I know, but let me just talk to you for a minute'" (C.K 2010). His remark on females' preferences in external signals of genetic quality relate to parental investment theory and biological desires. This joke illustrates his social intelligence by his strength in reading the audiences opinions on him and "beating" them to the joke. The successful production of humor is an indicator of the producers' intelligence by showing his or her ability to make relatable and insightful connections. Based on the ideas behind parental investment theory, this production of humor is what deems a man to be funny, while a woman is seen as humorous if she receptive to his humor.

Louis CK takes advantage of a common experience of other unattractive people who can also relate with the struggle of finding partners. If two individuals are especially moved by the same joke, they may share a common view on what is most acceptable to joke about, as well as the experience that makes the joke resonate with them. Deeply rooted sources of connection are needed to maintain a healthy relationship and are expressed easily through humor. Louis CK exemplifies the use of self-deprecating humor in this joke to show that he is successful and has high status despite his lack of "good looks." He seems relatable and is still proving his worth by showing that his humor production ability and personal qualities override his "unfortunate" appearance. Finally, Louis CK creates a common ground amongst his audience at the expense of himself in order to bond them together. He takes advantage of relatable thoughts and experiences, and expresses it with just the right amount of ridiculousness that the audience would feel guilty saying it themselves.

Conclusion

Humor is an expression of personal experience, values, and intentions that help individuals connect with one another, whether that be in the context of selecting a life partner or simply selecting a TV show to watch. Comedians in particular exemplify many aspects of why people are attracted and drawn to humorous individuals in general and why each individual has a different perspective on what he or she considers humorous. This difference in humor allows us to perceive compatibility and relatedness. Whether it be in an intellectual, intimate, or general context, humor is an establishment of a social bond. When viewed from this perspective, we can clearly see why comedy will be forever interlinked with romantic chemistry.

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UNITS OF MEASUREMENT: A HISTORY, ANALYSIS, AND PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH IN CERAMIC STUDIES BY LOREN CONROY

Introduction

Units form the basis for archaeological inquiries—they are used to determine what kinds of questions can be answered with the numerical data gathered. However, the first question every archaeologist must ask before quantification of pottery can occur is: “What units are to be used?” Units of analysis determine not only the measurements of the complete pottery assemblage, but also the way the site is excavated. These units are usually quantified in the form of sherd, a piece of pottery, or vessel, the whole pot. Though the research question and purpose always dictates the metric approach to be used, it does not always assure that reliable and adequate measurements are produced. This paper will discuss the different approaches that have been and are currently being used in the archaeological field (drawing heavily from Orton’s 1993 history concerning units), consider potential pitfalls that must be addressed when analyzing data, and advocate for more widespread application of the assemblage as the unit to be used, rather than sherds or vessels.

Sherds-as-Unit

Since it is rare to find intact pottery, sherds often make up the majority of the archaeological record. Sherds allow for inferences about the desired unit of analysis. When considering the number of sherds found at a site, one has to keep in mind the processes and factors that form the archaeological record and how they will affect the total number of sherds. One such factor is that different sized vessels will break into a different number and/or size of pieces. Larger vessels will generally break into a greater number of sherds, which is not accounted for in a sherds-as-unit approach and drastically changes the composition of the archaeological record.

One approach designed to compensate for the fallbacks of the sherds-as-unit approach considers the pottery as material—

looking at the actual amount of clay material used as opposed to the number of pieces. For example, vessels with thicker walls use more ceramic material—and from there it is deduced that large vessels would use more material than small ones. This approach is useful in answering questions about the value of raw material and its differential usage. However, the main drawback of this approach and the sherds-as-unit approach is that they do not look at the differential use-life of pottery, or the actual length of time that the pottery was in use, which will affect the deposition process. Thus, vessels as a basic unit of analysis may make more sense when considering questions of the actual use of the pottery.

Pottery-as-Vessel

Although the pottery-as-vessel approach did not catch on until the 1960s, it does have roots going back to the late 1940s (Orton 1993). The earliest form of this approach was used to determine how many vessels a collection of sherds represented by calculating the total number of sherds, and then dividing this figure by the average number of sherds per vessel. From there, the approach increased in complexity, as systems that used the total sherd weight to calculate the number of vessels represented were devised. This gave rise to the idea of the minimum number of vessels represented, since not all sherds from a vessel will always be recovered.

The pottery-as-vessel approach has been refined in a number of ways, primarily consisting of methods that were devised to more accurately assess the vessel count. Among these are methods of counting parts of vessels as a fraction rather than a whole unit, considering the number of possible complete vessels, and accounting for size so that vessels of different sizes could be compared without the affect of size being an issue (Orton 1993). In addition, the calculation of the minimum number of vessels has also been undertaken and refined with “Estimated Vessel-Equivalent.” In his paper on the history of pottery quantification, Orton (1993) takes a pottery-as-vessel approach, contesting that quantification is needed to decide whether two assemblages are significantly different or not and whether they could be from the same original assemblage—also known as the ‘parent’ assemblage.

However, one major issue that must be considered is that the vessel count in a parent assemblage cannot truly be known. If the site is not ‘closed’ then there are issues with how much of it has been excavated and what could have been missed. There is also the fact that, for example, the minimum number of vessels provides just that, a bare minimum, not the actual number. Additionally, one must consider that there are two separate populations of vessels, namely the life assemblage (or the number of pots actually in use at a given point in time) and the death assemblage (or what makes it into the archaeological record) (Orton 1993). In fact, some pots may be missing from the record altogether, as indicated through experimental data.

Experimental data is important in assessing the validity of the methods discussed above. In one experiment (Chase 1985 as paraphrased in Orton 1993), varying types of pottery were broken and then the process of excavation was reenacted in order to explore the relationships between the parent assemblages and what is recovered from them. From the sherds recovered, the variables measured were sherd count, weight, and rim degrees. The first two measures were shown to vary depending on



the type of vessel. The total of rim degrees were significantly different between types. This serves as a cautionary tale for using these measurements and illustrates the point that some effort must be made to take these factors into consideration and somehow alter the data to more accurately reflect the parent assemblage, assuming of course that that is what you are actually after.

Importance of Use-Life in Analysis

Nicholas David, author of "On the life Span of Pottery, type frequencies and archaeological inference" (1972), clearly defined the issue of why use-life matters and how not taking it into consideration can severely skew the picture you obtain from the archaeological record through his statistical calculations and a hypothetical archaeological deposit of pottery. If there are different lengths of time that the pots are used for, they could enter the archaeological record at different rates even if they maintain consistent ratios within the population of pots in use at any one time. This prompted the inclusion of "Median Use-Life"-- the average amount of time that a particular type of pot was actually used for measuring from creation to discard. Median Use-Life can vary significantly. David found in his particular case that small cooking bowls had a median age of 27 years, while storage jars had a median age of 12.5 years. This difference in use-life can significantly affect site formation. To clarify this relationship, imagine that you use one cooking bowl and one storage jar at any given point in time. If your cooking bowl breaks after 27 years, then you must replace it with a new one and the old one gets deposited into the archaeological record. This happens every 27 years. The storage jar, however only gets replaced every 12.5 years. This would mean that you would go through over four cooking bowls in the same amount of time that you go through one storage jar. Extrapolating this to a whole site and over a longer span of time, it becomes clear that use-life has an important impact on site formation processes.

David goes on to posit a hypothetical situation where the frequency of different types of pots in the life population remains the same over a hundred-year span. Over that time, however, what has been deposited into the archaeological record has less than a 1 in 1000 chance of being drawn from the same population if the affect of use-life is not accounted for. From this example, it is clear that the amount of time that a site was

occupied and the use-life of different vessels have a great effect on the composition of the archaeological record.

Mark Varien and Scott Ortman of Accumulations research in the Southwest United States: middle-range theory for big-picture problems (2005) further progress the concept of how pottery makes it into the archaeological record with their assessment of accumulations research. They make the point that time, population size, and the accumulation of artifacts are fundamental to understanding the archaeological record. As Varien and Ortman contest, accumulations research "tie[s] together historical patterns in site structure, agricultural intensification, household residential mobility, land tenure, village formation, and political development" (2005). The early theories connected the amount of discarded material to the site

occupation, population size, and rate at which specific items were discarded in a straightforward manner. This, however, can be problematic, as shown by subsequent research. Nonetheless, David, Varien, and Ortman maintain that whether the units are sherds or whole vessels, some consideration must be taken for how they actually end up in the archaeological record when aiming to answer questions that may have been affected by these processes.

Another factor rarely taken into account, but addressed by Patricia Crown in *Life Histories of Pots and Potters: Situation the Individual in Archaeology* (2007), is the general assumption that there is one potter and one user associated with each pot. Since pot usage is tied to human behavior, how many people

are actually associated with a pot throughout its life and in what way is important to consider. In some cases the producer of the pot may also be the user, which will tell us something different than if there were multiple producers who made that pot for someone who acquired it through trade. Whether the people producing it are skilled artisans who specialize in the production of pots, or whether they are people producing them for their own needs tell two very different stories. A pot may also have multiple users. For example, a piece of pottery may be handed down from mother to daughter, especially in the case of pots with long use-lives. One modern instance that comes to mind is a set of fine China that may be rarely used and would consequently have a long use-life and the possibility of being inherited. Compare that to presumably less expensive dishes that get used on a daily basis and are consequently more likely to break and be replaced and one can begin to realize the opportunity for a skewed archaeological record.

One new way of assessing the assemblage as a unit of analysis when looking at pottery would be in an evolutionary sense. The pottery would serve as the 'interactor' and natural selection would act upon the (life) assemblage of pots as a whole.



Assemblage-as-Unit

A different conception, however, is to use the assemblage as the unit. For certain research questions, where the individual number of vessels may not be important to know, this may be a valid and even preferable approach. In this way, the inferences and calculations that must be made to get at the number of vessels can be avoided. Seriation, although listed by Clive Orton in 1993 under the 'age of the sherd,' is actually an example of the assemblage being used as the analytical unit. Utilizing the assemblage as the unit of analysis seems to have fallen out of favor, however. One recent example this approach is Varien and Ortman's excavation at Yellow Jacket, in which the assemblage approach proved useful, though a lot of data from other carefully excavated sites was needed in order to use this method. That is something that will not always be readily available or may not be able to be extrapolated from site to site and may therefore prevent widespread use.

It is necessary then to see if a way to use the assemblage as the unit without this plethora of available data can be devised. One new way of assessing the assemblage as the unit of analysis when looking at pottery would be in an evolutionary sense. The pottery would serve as the "interactor" and natural selection would act upon the (life) assemblage of pots as a whole. A particular configuration of pots in order to serve the specific dietary needs of the population would be seen as having adaptive value and would therefore be selected for or against. This, however, is a novel way of looking at pottery and the notions behind how to apply it have not been properly fleshed out. One visible drawback is the apparent need to know use-life data to arrive at the life assemblage, which would appear necessary to know in order to apply this method.

Conclusion

Sherds as a unit fall short in that they are not what people actually used. People did not use a single sherd by itself, but rather a whole pot. That is why many archaeologists seem to favor the pottery-as-vessel approach of analysis. There have been many methods devised to attempt to get an accurate count of how many vessels are actually represented by the sherds that are recovered. There are a number of difficulties in this, some of which have been brought to light through experimental means. Specifically, the fact that not all of the sherds from a pot will necessarily be recovered and that different types of pots may

have different recovery rates. There is also the fact that different types of pots will make up a different proportion of the sherds that are recovered based off of factors such as size and use-life. Use-life and the related accumulation rate will need to be taken into consideration, in particular when trying to assess the life assemblage and any research questions that deal with it. Using the vessel as the unit is the *modus operandi* now. However, it could be argued that it is not simply a single pot that is used, but a whole assemblage of pots. Under the right circumstances the assemblage approach could be the most efficient means of excavating and gathering the data that one is after.

In conclusion, units are an important, though are often an overlooked or presumed consideration in any archaeological investigation. I would contend that despite what others may assert, there is no right or wrong unit of analysis overall, but rather that the units must be tailored to the research questions or lines of inquiry that one is addressing. Additionally, the view that the unit of measurement should necessarily be the vessel seems to be espoused currently within the archaeological literature, however, I argue that in settling on the vessel as the unit, the possible benefits of using the assemblage may be overlooked.

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IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN A PROTEST MOVEMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2013-14 BULGARIAN STUDENT OCCUPATION

BY SIERRA VAN
BURKLEO

Abstract

Since the onset of capitalism in 1989, Bulgaria has experienced deep economic turmoil and widespread political cynicism, with one of the highest government corruption rates of all European Union countries. Instead of emigrating as many of their peers have done, the Ranobudnite Studenti, translated as ‘the Early Rising Students,’ protested against government corruption through their Occupation of Sofia University and theatrical street demonstrations during 2013-2014. Constructing a community of university students separate and distinct from the government and political parties, the Ranobudnite Studenti demanded government transparency and a true European democracy for the betterment of Bulgaria’s future. This ethnographic research of the Ranobudnite Studenti protest movement seeks to understand cultural formations and identity politics of post-communist Bulgaria as it struggles to become part of the European community. Through qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews with the Ranobudnite Studenti, participant observation of their group gatherings, and discourse analysis of social media, this research asked how the Ranobudnite Studenti exerted their agency through the construction of group and individual identities. I analyze the events, practices, and symbolic-performative aspects of their protest movement, demonstrating how the Ranobudnite Studenti constructed and embodied a politically viable and authoritative identity to invoke the support of Bulgarian citizens. I divide this identity into two categories - today’s enlightened patriots and the children of the transition - through which the students asserted the role both as the leaders of the Bulgarian people and the primordial heirs of Bulgaria. The students constituted their constructed identity as the moral opposition to the

government by representing politicians who hinder Bulgaria from progressing towards Western standards of modernity. Through the construction of their identity, the students represent ‘the nation’ and democracy as embedded in the people rather than the government.

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Introduction
According to the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (2013), Bulgaria has one of the highest corruption rates of European Union countries, with 64.7% of Bulgarians considering government corruption to be the country’s most serious problem (Center for the Study of Democracy Bulgaria 2013). Political cynicism is widespread, especially amongst young people, whose political participation is nearly nonexistent and whose emigration numbers reached almost 8,000 in 2014 alone (Commonwealth Youth Development Index 2013, Bulgaria’s National Statistical Institute 2014). In 2012, prominent Bulgarian psychologist Ivan Igov was asked in an interview why he thought Bulgarians did not stand up for their rights before the government, such as the Greeks have done in street protests since 2010. Igov refuted,

“It is not true that we do not have any social protest here. It is simply that we Bulgarians usually protest in a different way – we emigrate... Social protest is also expressed in the alienation of the people from those who govern them – they refuse to vote or [choose] the easiest way by which some of us sell our votes, convinced that it doesn’t depend on me” (Shuma.bg 2012, para. 6).

Igov alludes to a sense of powerlessness and apathy amongst Bulgarian citizens towards their country’s political and democratic system, their government leaders, and Bulgaria’s potential for a prosperous future. Igov concludes that the passive withdrawal of emigration and lack of political participation is how many Bulgarian voice their dissent and protest.

However, this research focuses on a community of Bulgarian protest students known as the Ranobudnite Studenti, who acted against this established passivity and asserted a determined voice of resistance against government corruption through their protest movement in 2013-2014. This ethnography examines the dynamics of the protest movement to illustrate how social actors exert their agency, that is, their power to reshape the world around them, through the construction of collective and personal identities.

In June 2013, mass civic protests were ignited when the unqualified media tycoon with alleged mafia connections, Delyan Peevski, was appointed Head of the State Agency of National Security (DANS). Although the appointment was quickly repealed, many Bulgarians saw the action as a reflection



of the corrupt oligarchy controlling the government. For four continuous months, protesters demanded the resignation of the socialist-led coalition government and Prime Minister Oresharski. By September, however, after little-to-no response from the government, the protests largely subsided. In October of that year, the Ranobudnite Studenti (at that time a small group of students from Bulgaria's prestigious Sofia University) reignited the protests with an eighty-day Occupation of the University's central building and artistic, theatrical, and satirical street demonstrations. The Ranobudnite Studenti demanded government transparency, media freedom, and a true European democracy that cultivated critical-thinking individuals "rather than indifferent task-performers" (Declaration by the National HQ of the Ranobudnite Studenti 2013). As a result, these students became a source of hope for the greater protest movement, representing "a new community of young and resolute people" setting "the foundation of [Bulgaria's] future" (Toms 2013).

Through a narrative of the events, practices, and performative aspects of the protest movement, this ethnography examines how the Ranobudnite Studenti self-authored a collective identity. Considering protest movements as a tool for typically voiceless groups to affirm their agency by providing a space for the construction and application of politically viable identities, I demonstrate how the students rendered their constructed identity authoritative in order to invoke the support of the Bulgarian people. I argue that their construction of this identity evidences their ability to change the status quo in Bulgaria, to correct the government corruption, and to work towards Bulgaria's future so that the country will prosper.

The first section of this ethnography is a retelling of the events and practices of the Occupation from the perspective of my informants, where I describe how the Ranobudnite Studenti created an independent space and community that stands as the corrective to political power and corruption in Bulgaria. The subsequent section is an analysis of the Ranobudnite Studenti's constructed identity evidenced through their protest actions. I analyze two central aspects of the students' self-authored identity which I categorize as today's enlightened patriots and the children of the transition. I discuss how these two aspects work in tandem to position the Ranobudnite Studenti as worthy leaders of Bulgaria's future and as the moral counterpart to the government. The construction of the Ranobudnite Studenti's multifaceted identity allows the students to claim responsibility to reveal and correct the government's illegitimacy, thereby affirming their agency. I discuss how the Ranobudnite Studenti employed notions of nationalism embodied in the people rather than the state, through which the students affirmed their responsibility to fight for the wellbeing of their people and home country. They claim a responsibility to cleanse Bulgaria of corruption in order to ensure its future prosperity and secure its place within the community of modern democratic European nations. I conclude by discussing the significance of the Occupation in engendering group empowerment through which individuals found personal purpose.

Methods

This ethnography draws upon six weeks of participant observation with members of the Ranobudnite Studenti community who participated in the Occupation during my time in Sofia in July and August of 2014. I was able to observe a group

gathering held to discuss an upcoming meeting with the interim government to express their concerns and suggestions for reform. Though the meeting was all in Bulgarian, except when they spoke with me, I was able to understand some portions of the discussion and observe group interactions with my basic level of fluency with Bulgarian.

I was welcomed into their community, and the people I met showed me various places in Sofia that were significant during their protest movement, giving life to their stories and memories. They showed me where they held their street demonstrations in front of Parliament and took me inside the main building of Sofia University to give me a tour of their "home" of three months during the Occupation. They recounted their personal motivations for joining the Occupation and described moments in the protest that they considered to be the most significant. They showed me the personal pictures they took of the Occupation and street demonstrations, detailing the stories behind each of them. While drinking tea in cafés or eating ice cream in parks, they told me about the main problems (and the cause of these problems) they see in Bulgaria, their views of the long-term effect of their protest movement, and their visions of the future and how they would influence it. Some of these conversations took the form of semi-structured recorded interviews, while others were spontaneous. I made detailed field notes immediately afterwards, writing down my observations of the settings as well as what my informants said as directly as I could.

During this research, I employed media and discourse analysis, understood as "a set of techniques for making connections between texts and their meanings," which includes "not just words, but also visual forms such as images, diagrams...full-motion video, sound effects and music, and various interactive features" (Lemke 2012:79). This creates "a semiotic system [of] an interrelated collection of signs or symbols that can be deployed to construct more complex meanings" (Lemke 2012:82). I retrieved data from the publically available Ranobudnite Studenti's Facebook Page, which is a fluid semiotic system of a variety of texts, conversations, photographs, memes, caricatures, videos, as well as links to other forms of media. Regarding translation, the texts on Facebook are primarily in Bulgarian, many of which I translated unaided for the initial stages of data management. For the later analysis stages, one of my informants helped me check my translations.

My positionality as a young American female university student mostly aided me in this research. Participants seemed comfortable in my presence and usually eager to be interviewed and to include me in their gatherings. A limitation of this research was my low level of comfort with speaking and understanding Bulgarian. All of my interactions with participants were in English and there were moments when the people I spoke with could not properly and fully express themselves in English. I also met people who did not speak English and therefore could not provide their perspective, demonstrating that my data is biased towards members who speak English.

Inside the Occupation

"It all started on October 23rd with the occupation of Room 272." Rada began chronicling the events of the Occupation as we waited for her friend Yosif to join us for the interview. I had contacted Rada, a 24-year-old graduate student at Sofia



University, through the Ranobudnite Studenti Facebook page a few weeks earlier, and this was the first of our three meetings. Yosif was a 21-year-old studying at a university in the United Kingdom who was doing an internship in Sofia at the time of the Occupation. As we sat at an outdoor table of a café, Rada spoke deliberately into my tape recorder and continued:

“So these four guys [who started the Occupation], they gathered this one night, got drunk, and were like, ‘What can do for Bulgaria? We tried protests’ – because the protest started back on June 14th – ‘We protested every day.’ And then they thought the one thing they have in common is that they’re students at the University. So they decided this time to make an occupation of the University.”

Rada explained to me the significance of starting the Occupation in Room 272, the largest auditorium at Sofia University. “There was this lecture of Tokushev. Dimitar Tokushev. That guy is a professor at the University and he is also the head

of the Bulgarian Constitutional Court.” She informed me that a few days before the Occupation, the Constitutional Court ruled that Peevski’s appointment was completely legal, and he was reinstated as Head of DANS. “And because that guy is the head of our Constitutional Court, it was really important for everything to begin in that lecture.”

This initial group of occupying students invited the students in this lecture to join the Occupation; some of the students stayed, some left, and some more came in. Two days later, after a long and heated debate, the Ranobudnite Studenti decided to occupy the entire university, closing all the entrances with chains. “We have our demands,” Rada relayed to me the students’ stance. “We demand the resignation of Delyan Peevski, we demand moral[s] in the politics, and the resignation of the Prime Minister. And we won’t give up on them, and we won’t stop occupying the university until we have results.”

Yosif described what it was like inside the Occupation, saying, “It was like a small society.” Rada quickly corrected him, “It was a big society!” Laughing, he added, “of young people, students, helping each other. One’s going to be the security guy, the other one’s going to produce videos, one’s going to make sandwiches.” Rada interrupted him again, “So imagine this huge community, people who have different talents,” looking me square in the eyes, full of excitement:

It’s really cool to make a walk at night, for example, through the University and see all these people. In this hall, you see people with a guitar, you are seeing, in the other room, people who are making posters, in the other,

people are discussing society. This guy [pointing to Yosif] is making music, for example.

The students had rules to keep order inside the Occupation, for example, no alcohol, no smoking, and no aggressive or “political” speaking. These rules also prohibited any media or political parties from entering the Occupation. Only students or people with special permission, who had no affiliation with the media or political parties, were allowed inside.

Anton, a 26-year-old student at the National Sports Academy, told me how every night the students held assemblies in Room 272 “like a parliament.” I had met Anton at a Ranobudnite Studenti group meeting that Rada had invited me to, where he agreed to an interview. Sitting on a bench the next day in front of the presidential building in Sofia’s center, Anton expressed that, “we were like the alternative government. We were discussing the main problems that we were focusing on in the protest, or if we had to take a big decision.” He recounted how most of these assemblies would last for hours, turning into “enormous discussions, everyone arguing until 3 a.m.”

Many other universities around Sofia and other parts of Bulgaria started their own occupations in support of the students in the central building of Sofia University, although most only lasted a few weeks. Many people from these supporting occupations then went to the central building, a time that Yosif described as “the peak” of the Occupation, estimating at least five hundred students filling Room 272 with sleeping bags and suitcases.

With the students from these other universities and other supporting citizens, the Ranobudnite Studenti protested on the streets in front of Parliament every night. Anton told me that “at some point... there were like 30,000 people protesting with us.” According to Rada’s estimation, “there were thousands of people who followed us only because we were the students. And we have everything in our hands, and the people just followed us.” Yosif remembered how “all the streets around the university were filled. And you just sit there in the big 272 room and look out from the windows.” Rada added, “every night when the protests came near the streets of the University... the people were screaming, ‘We are with you!’ We were screaming from the windows, ‘We are with you!’” Anton explained to me how the students “organized big protests sometimes three days apart, sometimes five days, or in a ten days space between two protests on the street... Every protest had a specific theme and topic and question which we were putting out in the public space, like this is not right, that is not right, why is this happening, who is doing this.” He described how the students at the National Academy of Film, Theater and Art were responsible for the artistic aspects of the street protests and demonstrations, such as the famous depiction of Prime Minister Oresharski as a zombie or the costumes for the demonstrations, which were often as elaborate as theater productions.

... we look at Europe and the US and think, “We want to be like you, to have freedom like you have. But we don’t know how because we have never known freedom.”



Still, by January 2014, months of protests showed little tangible change, as the Oresharski government still did not resign. “People started giving up on the Occupation.” Milen, a 26-year-old recent graduate who joined and was quickly welcomed into the Occupation soon after it began, was telling me his perspective on why the Occupation ended. I met Milen and his friend, Yanko, a 33-year-old freelance photographer who took pictures inside the Occupation, at the Ranobudnite Studenti gathering where I had met Anton. Although Milen and Yanko are not students, they were both integral and active members of the Ranobudnite Studenti community during and after the Occupation. Milen and Yanko met me a couple days afterwards in front of the National Palace of Culture in the center of Sofia for an interview. There, Milen told me “in the end [of the Occupation], out of this five hundred, let’s say, we were left thirty five, forty people.” On the last assembly of the Occupation, the students held a vote of who were for continuing the Occupation and who were against it, and after hours of discussing and arguing, the decision was finally made, as Rada put it, to “let the Occupation rest in peace.”

“But the ones who were left until the very end,” Yanko told me, “are the people who continue to work for the cause today.” Milen explained to me that the Ranobudnite Studenti were still holding meetings after the Occupation ended. “Things are on-going as we talk. But just they are not in the same form.” Milen laughed, continuing, “We used to hold assemblies every night until five in the morning. And now we gather to drink beer. We meet once a month, at least. To see each other, to talk about how it used to be, how it will be, should we move forward in some way, should we do something drastic.” The meeting where I met Anton, Milen, Yanko, and about ten others, was an example of what Milen was describing to me. At that particular meeting, the Ranobudnite Studenti were discussing their upcoming meeting with the interim government. More often than not, though, as Milen pointed out, they would gather simply to see each other and discuss because, for many of them, the people they met in the Occupation are their closest friends.

Identity Construction in the Ranobudnite Studenti Protest Movement

“When I look at the communist monument, I become speechless. I simply have no words. To be under this slavery for so long” (Rada, field notes). It was nine o’clock at night and Rada and I were standing before the Monument to the Soviet Army in the center of Sofia, not far from Sofia University. We had finished our interview about an hour earlier and Rada was showing me various places in Sofia that were significant during the protest. She finished her tour here, in front of the colossal Staliniststyle monument commemorating the antifascist resistance of WWII and the “Bulgarian-Soviet friendship,” to show me where the Ranobudnite Studenti’s graffiti of their trademark protest symbol, a fist, once marked the side. As Rada stared up at the stone faces of the Red Army, she continued:

When a people are under slavery for five hundred years [of the Ottoman rule], then imprisoned by the Soviet Union for decades during the communist regime, they expect to have someone leading them that way. They learn to be silent. They complain at home, but don’t actually do anything about it. And then by 1990, we look at Europe and the US and think, “We want to be like you,

to have freedom like you have.” But we don’t know how because we have never known freedom.

Rada’s evaluation of the past six centuries in Bulgaria illustrated to me that the deep history this monument evoked is an enduring and integral part of the present experience in post-communist Bulgaria. In the daylight, the monument is usually peppered with teenage skateboarders, old men and women, and young families. It is often the object of graffiti, including grand, politically charged, artistic modifications like the Ranobudnite Studenti’s graffiti. These continuous forms of “active engagement with the environment... [and] recursive improvisations in a sedimented historical background” are the producers of new and enduring cultural forms that result in locally constructed identities (Escobar 2004: 258).

The Ranobudnite Studenti protest movement exemplified this process of identity construction, understood as “a complex form of self-understanding improvised from the cultural resources at hand in a particular historical context” (Holland in Escobar 2004: 258). More specifically, identity construction is based upon “the intersection of person and society, and on how power and culture are negotiated at this intersection to produce particular identities in ways that evince the structured as well as the agential dimensions of the process” (Pp. 258). An example of this negotiation of power and culture is what Georg Hegel terms “recognition struggles” (Taylor 1992). Hegel argues that social identities are determined by “mutual recognition,” meaning that we build social identities by viewing ourselves from the perspective of ‘the other.’ Taylor argues, “a person or a group of people can suffer real damage... if the people or society around them mirrors back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture.” This can be “a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (1992, Pp. 25). Taylor defines a self-realized identity as being recognized as culturally valuable and is only achieved through a rich language of expressing self-identity, as opposed to imposed identity (Pp. 26).

According to Jasper and Polletta (2001), a protest movement is mobilized by a group who has been stigmatized and disempowered by ‘the other’ and is an instrument for the group to subvert these imposed identities. By providing a location for the group to collectively assert a self-realized identity, a protest movement requires a shared narrative of their collective identity and a clear representation of ‘the other.’ In this way, a protest movement is centered upon the polarized differentiation of social actors: the protesters as opposed to ‘the other.’ Holland et al. (1998) conceptualizes this process as “figured worlds,” that is “locally situated, culturally constructed, and socially organized worlds that make visible people’s purposeful agency, that is, their capacity to remake the world in which they live” (in Escobar 2004: 258). Figured worlds provide “a space for authoring,” where specific personal and collective identities are constructed through the acting out of cultural politics (Holland in Escobar 2004:258).

The Ranobudnite Studenti’s protest movement epitomizes such a figured world, providing a space for a typically voiceless group to subvert imposed identities and to affirm their purposeful agency through the self-authorship of a collective and politically viable identity. As they stated in a video-blog post, the Ranobudnite Studenti and their generation has been stigmatized in post-communist Bulgaria as “hyper-individualists” with “no



common ideals, no cause.” However, they claim, “Our lives are changing too. Occupation creates a community” (Ranobudnite Studenti Wish Happy Holidays 2013). In their Declaration (2013), they expressed their purposeful agency “as students and citizens... kindled by the democratic tradition of protest actions... and believing in the just will for change of the Bulgarian civil society, WE, the students of Sofia University, introduce a regime of indefinite and effective OCCUPATION.”

Through the Occupation, the Ranobudnite Studenti asserted their “lawful right” as students to stake ownership over Sofia University, as “the institution that has always been corrective to every single regime” (Declaration 2013). By admitting only students and chaining the entrances from any outside interference (especially political parties and media), the Ranobudnite Studenti “built an independent territory at the university, and hence,” as they asserted, “an independent territory within ourselves” (Ranobudnite Studenti 2013). In this way, the occupied university became a spatial and symbolic boundary separating the students from the Bulgarian people and the government. In discussing the “notion of property,” Verdery (2004) argues that boundary-making involves “inclusions and exclusions” by establishing “belongings,” specifically, “what ‘belongs’ to whom, and who belongs to or has affinities with some larger entity that occupies a relation to specific values or things” (Pp. 191). The Ranobudnite Studenti affirmed their own “belonging” to Sofia University, as the bearer and protector of education, morals and democratic values, but also established and highlighted those who did not belong (i.e. media and political parties). As they stated in their video-blog post, “The University auditorium is speaking to everyone. The battle has been waged for centuries and will go on. Good and evil – that’s all. The able ones, the thinking ones... against the agitators, adventurers, mercenaries, the absurd ones. The People against the Mafia” (Ranobudnite Studenti 2013). Thus, the occupied university became a territory where power was negotiated and contested, resulting in a self-authored, politically viable identity of those within its boundaries and a clear, oppositional representation of those outside.

I analyze how the Ranobudnite Studenti construct this authoritative identity through Carr’s (2011) notion of anticipatory interpellation: “a process of anticipating how a powerful audience expects one to speak and beckoning that audience to address one accordingly” (Pp. 16). Carr builds upon Althusser’s (1971) conception of interpellation: “the process of call and response” by which people are conscripted into specific identity positions (Carr 2011: 153). Althusser (1971) illustrates how interpellation designates and positions people (e.g., by gendered pronouns that identify people as male/female or proper names that point to someone’s nationality) through hailing. If someone calls out “Hey, you there” (Pp. 175), and an individual turns around in response, “he becomes a subject. Why? Because he has recognized the hail was ‘really’ addressed to ... [him] ... and not someone else” (ibid.: 175). In this way, subjects are summoned into forged and stratified social identities, which, as Carr argues, have assigned “ways of speaking” and, subsequently, “ways of hearing the people who come to inhabit them” (Pp. 154). Through semiotic performance, people can embody these differentiated identities “in politically efficacious ways” and “speak effectively from these designated locales” (ibid.: 154).

Through the performative aspects of their protest, the

Ranobudnite Studenti reproduced and embodied the roles of today’s enlightened patriots and the children of the transition by speaking in ways assigned and expected of these identities. In doing so, the students called upon the Bulgarian people and the government to recognize the assigned way of hearing these roles and to address them as such. As today’s enlightened patriots, the students present themselves as leaders of the people by reproducing cultural forms associated with Bulgaria’s nationbuilding history, whose love for their nation above all empowers them to stand against the corrupt government. The students emphasize their responsibility and commitment to the betterment of their country by positioning themselves as the children of the transition, through which they embody the future of Bulgaria. By stressing their position as children, the students present themselves as untainted by dirty politics and in need of support and protection by the Bulgarian people. I attempt to illustrate that the Ranobudnite Studenti’s complex, multidimensional identity is a reflection of the students’ negotiation of culture, power, and more specifically, their interpellated position as subjects in Bulgarian society vis-à-vis those in power. Thus, the Ranobudnite Studenti construct a self-realized identity within the constraints (and available options) of their subject position as young, politically active (and oppositional), Bulgarian students who are part of the generation born after the fall of the Bulgarian Communist regime.

Today’s Enlightened Patriots: The Renobudnite Studenti Woke up!

“People [Bulgarian citizens] are starting to realize that they want more for themselves and their kids. And they are seeking for ways to express this want of theirs” (Milen, interview). Milen and I were sitting outside the late-communistera National Palace of Culture with Yanko discussing the impetus of the protests. While Milen was sharing his perspective, Yanko interjected, stressing, “Some people want something new, but a huge part of society just goes with the flow.” Yanko continued:

They don’t need the change, they don’t want to progress, they don’t need improvements in education. They are satisfied with some third class way of life... These Early Rising Students, they are young people, they are very good students, one of the best students in their schools and I’m not exaggerating... But this is just a small part of society. Some people won’t want it, some people won’t even realize.

Many of the Ranobudnite Studenti I spoke with expressed frustration that, as Yosif put it, “It’s normal here just to complain about the government, about taxes, about everything, but not actually do anything about it” (field notes). However, through their protest movement, the Ranobudnite Studenti constructed an identity as today’s enlightened patriots, in order to express their agency to create change and to lead their fellow citizens against the government corruption.

“Dear compatriots! Happy Day of the National Awakeners [Narodni Buditeli]!” In the “Address of the Ranobudnite Studenti to all Bulgarian citizens” (2013), the Ranobudnite Studenti called out to the Bulgarian public to support their protest: “We, the students, chose to celebrate this day in the best possible way – we woke up!” The Day of the National Awakeners is a Bulgarian national holiday celebrating the Narodni Buditeli, also translated as ‘National Enlighteners,’ who were the writers, poets, and



revolutionaries leading the Bulgarian National Revival and Liberation movement against the Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century. The significance of the Narodni Buditeli in Bulgaria today is evident even on a city map of Sofia; the names of the most beloved national heroes from this period, such as Ivan Vazov, Khristo Botev, and Vasil Levski, are cemented in the city's landscape as the namesake of streets and parks, the National Theater, and the National Stadium.

The period of the Ottoman rule, emotionally referred to as the Turkish Yoke, is depicted by Bulgarian historians and citizens alike as five hundred years of oppression, cultural stagnation and isolation from Europe. Prevalent in most historical representations is this image of the Bulgarian people as slaves, uneducated, powerless, silent, and scared under the Turkish thumb. Contrastingly, the Narodni Buditeli, as buditeli (awakeners) of the narod (the people or the nation), are depicted as "a handful of enlightened patriots" rousing national sentiment "from deep lethargy" through a resurgence of Bulgarian education and literature (Jireček 1878 in Daskolov 2004: 13).

In this sense, the Narodni Buditeli are portrayed as waking up the Bulgarian people, as though they were asleep. The Narodni Buditeli are regarded as opening the eyes of the people to recognize that the Ottoman rulers were enslaving and holding Bulgaria back from progress and modernity. Thus, the notion embodied in the Narodni Buditeli is that to be a patriot is to be for the people and against the ruling power, to liberate the people from the government in the name of Bulgaria's future.

The Ranobudnite Studenti employed this metaphor of 'waking up' throughout their protest movement. Even the name Ranobudnite Studenti, meaning 'Early Awakening Students,' implies that the students have 'woken up' from some dream, notably earlier than everyone else. In contrast, the students asserted in their address (2013) that, "our state is in the hands of people who cannot be further away from any awakening." In this image the students created, Bulgaria ("our state," connoting of the people) is held and carried by a government who is in a deep sound sleep and, thus, wholly unfit to govern. The Ranobudnite Studenti, on the other hand, presented themselves as 'awake' and, therefore, able to see the government's illegitimacy, stating, "during all this time the society wastes away and we all are being mistreated and humiliated daily by those who should be serving the public, not the personal, interest." The students declared in the Address that, "it is necessary that we not only get rid of the deep slumber, but to make great efforts to reclaim Bulgaria." Here, the students insinuate the government has taken away Bulgaria from its rightful owners (i.e., the people).

On the Day of the National Awakeners, the Ranobudnite

Studenti organized a huge street protest. As Yosif described to me, the students called out to the people to support their protest and to 'wake up' symbolically through graffiti when spreading the word on Sofia's streets the days leading up to the protest. Three nights before, the Ranobudnite Studenti graffiti artists sprayed the number "3", then on the next night, the number "2", and on the last night, the number "1" with an alarm clock and a rooster. By calling out to Bulgarian citizens, their audience, as though they are asleep, the students assumed their consequential role and responsibility to awaken the country and lead them to resist the corrupt government. This metaphor of 'waking up' is an example of indexicality: an effective process of "idiomatic linguistic or cultural reference" that links "the dramatized self and an idiosyncratic personal and public history" (Albro 2001:85). The students use the metaphor to point to features (and social actors) of today and link them to corresponding ones of the Liberation Movement, drawing an indexical set of now and then. According to this indexical link, the Bulgarian government, or rather oligarchy, today corresponds to the oppressive Ottoman

authorities of the past, present-day Bulgarian citizens correspond to the enslaved and powerless Bulgarian people then, and, subsequently, the Ranobudnite Studenti correspond to the Narodni Buditeli. Like the Narodni Buditeli, the students come to represent today's enlightened patriots, the educated elite, and leaders of the people, fighting against the corrupt government in the name of Bulgaria's future. In this way, the Ranobudnite Studenti call upon their audience to interpret the words and actions of the social actors of today as they would interpret the corresponding ones of the past.

By constructing an indexical identity, the students establish the non-isolation of their social actions, rendering them recognizable and, thus, interpretable and politically significant. Drawing upon Bakhtin (1984) and Urban (1996), Carr (2011) discusses how, through (language) performance, people can cite (or index) "the authoritative language of powerful others and, in so doing, potentially enact the authority of those cited" (p. 159). The Ranobudnite Studenti evoked the language used by the Narodni Buditeli, thus, speaking in the way assigned and expected of enlightened patriots in Bulgaria while indexing the authority of these revolutionaries. For example, one of the posters frequently used in street demonstrations depicts one of Bulgaria's most beloved revolutionaries, Vasil Levski, and his famous quote, "Narode???", which addresses the narod (people) directly with the vocative case. According to Todorova (2009), Levski, often labeled the "Apostle of Freedom," is considered the "sole truly uncontested Bulgarian hero" whose words are immediately a source of authority in Bulgarian culture and exhibit unconditional patriotism and wisdom (Pp. xiii). The Bulgarian poet, Damyan Damyanov (1993) illustrates the significance of Levski's quote in

In this way, the occupied university became a spatial and symbolic boundary separating the students from the Bulgarian people and the government.



Bulgarian culture in his poem *Narode????*:

Punctured by four frightful question marks,
Today, my whole spirit bleeds – “Narode????”
Our voice, our image... The question marks – in me!
...

And you, my people [narode], clean and dirty,
By that rope hung him! (quoted in Az cûm ðiv 115).

This poem alludes to Levski’s execution, brought about by the same narod he was fighting to free, who passively followed the Ottoman authorities and condemned him to death. The Ranobudnite Studenti pointed to this deep-seeded relationship through their poster, calling out to the citizens as though they are still this silent narod. Thus, the students suggested that their fellow citizens’ silence to the government’s corruption sustains their respective oppression and, by not supporting the students’ protest, they would once again be betraying the leaders ‘fighting for their freedom.’

The Children of the Transition: Bulgaria’s Future

“These are the children of the transition,” the Ranobudnite declared in the video-blog post to the Bulgarian people, “We saw a lot. They taught us with examples from the street and the media. The examples imposed on us were mobsters and their mistresses, dodgers and criminals” (Ranobudnite Studenti 2013). The Ranobudnite Studenti referred to themselves as the children of the transition throughout their protest movement, identifying the students’ position within Bulgarian society as the generation of Bulgarians born after 1989, who grew up during the so-called ‘transition’ period from a communist to a capitalist system.

At the same time, however, the people I spoke with emphasized that, “there was no actual ‘transition’” (Yanko, interview). “We can actually talk about the change,” as Milen worded it to me, “and how there was no change here. The people wanted the change, the change came and nothing is different. They were lied to over and over and nothing happened. And now they are tired of this bullshit” (interview).

Although this discourse (that there was “no change,” that “nothing happened”) rejects the existence of a so-called ‘transition,’ it nevertheless suggests that this period should have led to something, such as what is imagined to be a Western modernity. Consequently, this discourse educes and reinforces a teleological perception of post-communist countries typified in the transition model. As Fournier (2012) reveals, the term transition “implies progressing from one clearly defined stage to another (e.g., planned economy to market economy, collective to private property, and authoritarianism to democracy),” with the “eventual replacement” of communist/Soviet norms and structures by Western ones (p. 142). Rather than such Western structures, norms, and modernity, the Ranobudnite Studenti interpret Bulgaria today as a space of lawlessness, insecurity, and unmet expectations and glean, therefore, that “nothing has changed.”

As Gupta (2006) claims, such popular discourse about ‘state corruption’ constructs the ‘state’ as circumscribed and distinct from ‘society,’ and positions citizens as “innocent victims of state dishonesty” (in Fournier 2012: 14). Thus, the image of the ‘transition’ reinforces the moral dichotomy between the people and the government. By positioning themselves as the children of the transition, the Ranobudnite Studenti strategically

present themselves as especially embodying this victimhood. Moreover, by identifying as ‘children,’ the Ranobudnite Studenti emphasize that they are innocent and untainted by dirty politics. For example, Milen expressed this to me when I asked him what he thought the Ranobudnite Studenti should do now that the government had resigned. Milen replied:

What we could do is stake our side, not get dirty.

Everyone involved in politics has dirty hands, dirty past and so on. We are clean. We are young people who have no experience... We should stay clean. Not compromise... Because one day – and it will be soon, I mean in the coming three or four years – things will change in Bulgaria... And then it will be our time – our turn to come into power (interview).

Here, Milen discerns young people as inherently “clean” because they have no political experience. In doing so, he portrays the students as a stark moral contrast to government politicians, who, he claims, are inherently “dirty.” Milen implies that by staying “clean” and not engaging in corruption, the students can cleanse the country of the problems existing today and bring about the change they seek.

Additionally, as the children of the transition, the Ranobudnite Studenti induce the image of being born out of Bulgaria and its people as a whole. In many conversations, the students referred to themselves directly as “the children of Bulgaria,” thus, suggesting a primordial bond between themselves, their fellow citizens, and Bulgaria. Primordial bonds arise from “assumed ‘givens’ of social existence,” including “kin connections... being born into a particular country, speaking a particular language... following particular social practices” (Geertz 1973: 259). By asserting to be ‘the children of Bulgaria,’ the Ranobudnite Studenti claim this primordial, kinship bond to Bulgaria and its people as their children in a way that induces a moral obligation to protect and nurture the students and support their protest.

An example of the impact that this primordial bond can have is how the students deliberately employed this identity as ‘children’ as a peace strategy during police confrontations in street demonstrations. Rada was showing me pictures of this on her phone, narrating, “Here you have other students on the other side and policemen started dragging them through the street. And here is the moment when you have Konstantin yelling, yelling at these policemen, ‘What are you doing? These are children! These could be your children!’” First, Rada’s colleague tried to stop the policemen from physically injuring the students by calling them “children,” positioning the students as innocent, defenseless creatures as opposed to criminals (who, perhaps, one could justify physically injuring in the name of civic protection). Then by saying that “these could be your children,” Konstantin employed a tactic rooted in a kinship bond: instead of addressing the policemen as agents of the state, (whose main purpose, in this instance, is to protect the state, embodied in the Prime Minister and Parliamentarians), Konstantin addresses the policemen as father figures who should have a sense of moral and instinctual obligation to protect their “children.” The subtext of Konstantin’s statement is that these policemen are Bulgarian, and therefore any Bulgarian child is connected to them in a quasikin way. Through this primordial notion of the nation, the blood tie that links the students and the policemen to Bulgaria and to each other extends deeper than any apparatuses of the modern



Conclusion

“I think that the biggest goal of the protest and the Occupation was that many people, young people, had motivation to change their country, not to agree with the government and all the bullshit that they make, who stand together against it” (Rada, field notes). Rada was leading me through the dimly-lit corridors of Sofia University, empty now because it was summer and late in the evening, to help me visualize the stories she had told me from the protest. She pointed to walls where posters once hung, the corner where their food table was once set up, the stairway where she once collapsed out of pure exhaustion. “So much nostalgia,” she said thoughtfully as we stopped at the entrance of Room 272, “this place was my home for months.” Stepping inside the lecture hall, now under construction and resembling an eerie ruin of its former significance during the Occupation, she turned to me and said emphatically, “this became the place where you see the motivation in these people who are your age, who are students, and you see that you are not alone.” She looked around as though reliving the memories, “it was simply awesome” (field notes).

As Rada expressed to me, the Ranobudnite Studenti protest movement provided a space for the students to exert their collective agency, their ability to change the world around them. Moreover, Rada implied that much of the empowerment they found was through group solidarity, a sense that if enough people stood against the corruption, it would be possible to make the changes they want to see. As Anton articulated to me directly, “I always had an opinion about the politics, what is happening in our society actually, but I couldn’t see myself as a voice that makes a difference. In that place [the Occupation], I felt like I can make a difference in fact and not only that, but we really made a difference!” When I asked Anton in what ways he saw this difference, he replied, “I mean, the Occupation itself! You cannot just occupy a university! But this is a sign of protest” (interview). By occupying the university, an action that obstructed the normalcy, the status quo, the usual goings that surround a university, to draw attention to the problems in society, the students made their political agency sound through and evidenced, for Anton at least, that it is possible to change the existing conditions in Bulgaria.

Through their constructed identity, the students legitimized their anti-government protest actions by embodying a sense of patriotism, that is, an obligation and loyalty to the wellbeing of the nation. For many of the students, the Occupation in itself was an act of patriotism, showing ‘love for your nation,’ by standing against the oligarchy and corrupt government because the political elite do not speak for the interests of the nation, but rather, their own personal interests. Much like the French Revolutionist Abbé Sieyès articulated about the French nobility, the oligarchy and government politicians can be seen as “foreign to the Nation” because their “mission does not emanate from the people” (in Kramer 2011: 41).

In various ways, the Ranobudnite Studenti implied the idea that Bulgaria is still becoming a nation, still developing as though it is an adolescent. The students implied that government corruption is inhibiting Bulgaria from meeting what is conceived as modern Western standards, thereby, isolating Bulgaria from modern democratic European nations. The Ranobudnite Studenti position Bulgaria in need of national leaders to develop their country and secure its rightful place in the community of

government. Thus, the moral obligation to treat the students as their own children should be more natural and more coercive than any police order. Rada conveyed to me the effect of the students’ tactic, saying, “You know that feeling when you’re watching the policeman and he is watching you, but his head is down because he is ashamed of what he is supposed to do because it’s his duty? But he doesn’t do it because he wants to.”

Anton told me how “people would come with food and encourage us and write us letters and sometimes lyrics, saying, ‘Don’t give up! This is the right way! Support the children! You are the future, the students are the future. You have your right to express your opinions.’” Anton interprets that the Bulgarian people considered the students’ youth as the legitimizing source of political agency: as the Bulgarian youth, the students represent the future and heirs of the country, and thus have the right to a political voice. From a primordial perspective of the nation, the people supported and nurtured the students, much like parents with their children, because the children represent their legacy, the continuation of their cultural history, and the future of the nation. The Ranobudnite Studenti emphasized this notion that “We are the Future” as the source of their political agency. As Milen expressed to me, “we were proactive not destructive [during the protest], meaning that we had ideas that we liked to propose and the government to listen to us because after all we are the future of these lands here and the state” (interview). In the Declaration of the National HQ (2013), the students affirm, “By our ongoing actions we build our future. We create a constantly expanding community of young and resolute people, which will be corrective to each and every subsequent government and Parliament, no matter who comprises them.” The students legitimize their protest actions by asserting a responsibility to the future of Bulgaria, implying that Bulgaria needs their “community of young and resolute people” to be leaders, to be the watchdogs against government corruption, in order to develop Bulgaria’s future.

Thus, one of the Ranobudnite Studenti’s main assertions was that they, unlike their emigrating peers, were staying in the country. A central issue in Bulgaria is the “brain drain,” as in the mass exodus of young people leaving their country for better education and living conditions abroad. According to Bulgaria’s National Statistical Institute, emigration rates have contributed to a steady decrease in population, falling from over nine million in 1989 to a projected 5,384,040 in 2060. The Ranobudnite Studenti directly addressed this issue in their Declaration (2013): “For 23 years, three million Bulgarians have left the country. We have decided not to be next. We decided to win back our right to a future in Bulgaria.” The students render their “future in Bulgaria” as a right, a moral and legal entitlement that they have as Bulgarian citizens. Moreover, they imply that this right has been infringed upon by the government in an attempt to render their generation politically voiceless, stating, “We, the future men of science, the generation which penetrates life now, are advised to emigrate and are threatened with violence when we give voice to our righteous indignation” (Address 2013). In the address, the students not only claimed their right to a future in Bulgaria, but also position themselves as embodying “the future.” By representing the government as against the students and their generation, the Ranobudnite Studenti indicated that the government is against Bulgaria’s future and, thus, invoked the people to support the protest.

European nations. The Ranobudnite Studenti position Bulgaria in need of national leaders to develop their country and secure its rightful place in the community of European nations. Through their protest movement, the students affirmed their responsibility as these moral leaders of Bulgaria's future. As Anton expressed to me:

The Occupation was the first moment in my life, as a young man with an opinion about his society, when I felt that I really must stay in my country! I need my people, my country. They need me and I need them too! I have things to do here! That was maybe the first time when I felt like really really responsible for the future of our nation (interview).

Anton expresses not only a responsibility to stay in Bulgaria in order to build its future, but also a mutual need between himself and his people and country. Similarly, Milen, who went to University in the United Kingdom, told me that this love for his nation and sense of responsibility to work towards its future prompted him return to his "home country." "I have a vision of how things will change and what I will be doing in the future," he communicated, "and how I will be working for the prosperity of my nation" (interview). Milen continued his discernment, saying:

So our standards here are corrupt, but I think that one day when things start changing, when there is a fair policy, when there is order and justice in Bulgaria, people will start returning. And I am not saying the whole three million in the next five years will come back, but still, even if half a million come back, it will be quite better, and we will be happy. And I'm sure that people will start coming back. I am one of these people.

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SPECIAL FEATURES

PEARL TERRY'S PERSONAL REFLECTION FOR HER RESEARCH ON CHILD SLAVES IN INDIA'S CARPET INDUSTRY

This project has proved to be an invaluable learning experience for me in several ways. I can say, without hesitation, it has been the most influential and life changing experience of my time here at the University of Washington. Over the past six months, I have built a new theoretical framework and method of approach in addressing global inequality and human rights advocacy. This was accomplished with the help of Professor Foot's Honors 231 course on Human Trafficking, as well as my own independent research on the use of child slave labor in the Indian carpet industry.

The focus of my paper – Community Vigilance Committees – immediately struck me as unique in the global struggle against human trafficking. Integrating Amartya Sen's theory of freedom as it directly corresponds to personal agency and capital, I propose a redirection of anti-trafficking efforts to a sustainable community-based model, as demonstrated by the experience of these Committees. Using this model allows for a resourceful approach to combatting both trafficking and modern slavery in its several forms – primarily, in this setting, forced bonded labor, and contract slavery. Drawing the unit of focus from the individual victim to that of the community brings into sharp relief both the strength and sustainability of community organization and community health. Given my background in pre-medicine and medical anthropology studies in community based healthcare, the opportunity to pursue my interest in human trafficking was unique and did not go unappreciated. It is opportunities like this that truly shape students into the agents of change we strive to become.

In a world where purchasing power is restricted and material wealth is limited, the value of ideas will forever be an indestructible currency. They are sustainable in that they cannot

be taken away, taxed, or held in debt. Ideas, free to exchange, have proven to hold power far beyond that of material aid. Emphasis on Community Vigilance Committees within an anti-trafficking framework is revolutionary. The presentation of the interconnected and interdependent nature of slavery, poverty, and education are absolutely essential; communicating the need to address these three determinant variables is critical.

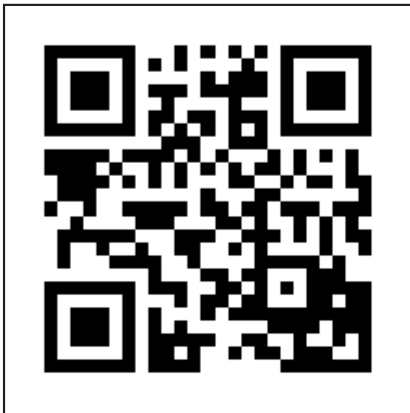
While my paper provides only a brief glimpse into my work studying the broader reaches of human trafficking, it does, in many ways, reflect my journey of study. Many students, including myself prior to this project, have little or no knowledge of human trafficking; I addressed my paper to this audience. While child labor in India's carpet industry is only a small piece of what human trafficking and modern slavery are, my paper attempts to synthesize issues of exploitation, and the methods used to counter it. The purpose of my piece is to provide readers with a brief introduction to child labor in India's carpet industry. My paper introduces a new way of approaching development, one that is both economically and socially sustainable. As students, it is imperative that we understand this issue. Exploitation of the vulnerable is not merely an issue in India, but right at home – as a port city, Seattle is a major hub of trafficking activity. As informed citizens of this world, we must take measures to fight the injustice we see so explicitly present today. The first step in this battle is awareness. This awareness of exploitation and cycles of vulnerability are fundamental. Through undertaking this project I have reached a heightened understanding of this theory of development, and my worldview on treating both poverty and human development has been forever altered.

While I have always been a passionate advocate for the broad based ideal of universal human rights, I was completely unaware of the realities and conditions perpetuating and amplifying the practice of modern slavery and human trafficking. Given the shadowy and undefined nature of the modern slave trade, it is hard to find accurate information. The issue of modern slavery is slowly building momentum, however, as a strong advocacy base has arisen to demand change and true social reform across the globe. As the historically silent are lent voice, the movement for change gains life. The role of young adults and students represent a powerful force in this effort; it is an effort of which I am now proud to consider myself a member.

I would like to thank all of those who have helped me, going out of their way to make this project a reality. Special recognition goes out to Professor K. Foot, who introduced me to the issue of human trafficking, and helped me to develop a more nuanced understanding of this complex issue. I would like to thank the University of Washington Honors Program, which many times went out its way to accommodate my academic and athletic schedule.

- Pearl Terry

PEARL'S
FULL
RESEARCH



WHAT IS
ANTH? WEB
EDITION



SURPRISE
BONUS
FEATURES



ART & POETRY

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"I AM A WOMAN, WALKING IN THE NIGHT ALONE" BY GABRIELLA GEORGE

I am a woman, walking in the night alone.

I don't want to be asked why;
although if you must know I was out for a jog
or at a party
or had a club that ran extremely late
or stayed at work to finish up—
either way it's none of your damn concern.

I hate the streetlamps.

I hate the sickly sulfur light that they release
and the fact that they glow like the eyes of some monster
and that they conceal other monsters as well.

It's the monsters that I'm afraid of.

In the darkness where the light won't shine,
I fear there may be monsters lurking there
made of nightmares
but with the forms of people.

These nightmares (in my mind)
are the coal-dark essences
of Freddy, Michael Myers and Jason
who wear the masks of happy everyday strangers
seen on sidewalks during the workdays.

They would probably get away scot-free if tried in court (and most likely
have)

I am a woman, walking in the night alone—and this is what I fear.

For "I Am A Woman, Walking in the Night Alone", I shared my experiences through poetry because I believe emotions can be conveyed better through poetic verse than through other forms of writing. When I think of the potential benefits of writing anthropologically-oriented verse, Tracy Chapman, a multi-platinum singer with a B.A. in Anthropology and African studies from Tufts University, comes to mind. She is perhaps most famous for her song "Fast Car," which touches on themes of poverty, alcohol addiction, and family dysfunction, bringing to light that which often remains hidden. I hope that my feelings about walking in the dark will raise awareness of the continued prevalence of sexual assault, and that perhaps it can change the perspectives of those people whose opinion of rape victims can be summed up with, "She-got-raped-because-she-had-it-coming-after-all-she-was-dressed-like-a-slut-with-those-skimpy-clothes."



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"SCRATCHED OUT" BY MADISON KIENEKER

"Scratched Out" is a social commentary piece that critiques the perception and projection of the female form in the media, and the way in which these representations affect women in their everyday lives. Media outlets project women as sexual objects; we can view this in pop culture advertisements, television series, and movies. Women are not only visually portrayed as sexual objects, but these depictions become translated into the real world where we are, no matter how subtly, also spoken down to and treated as such in our day-to-day lives. We are dehumanized by the constant objectification that surrounds us. We are no longer seen as people, but rather as goals, possessions, and trophies. Given such a warped perspective on the female form, we as women begin to lose our identities. We rely on the media and its portrayal of our peers, and we begin to internalize these critiques and lose our sense of self.

Madison Kieneker is the Owner/Photographer of Madison L Photography. She specializes in senior portrait and family photography. Visit her on the web at <http://www.madisonlphotography.com> and Like her on FaceBook: <https://www.facebook.com/MadisonLPhotos>



CAREER SPOTLIGHT

DR. ROBERT KOPPELR OF SWCA ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS

The time I spent in the UW Anthropology graduate program, from 1995 to 2003, was one of dramatic change – to me personally, to the department and university, and to the profession of archaeology in the Pacific Northwest. As my friends from college were spending their post-graduate 20s beginning careers, traveling the world, starting families or some combination thereof, I made a commitment to my MA and Ph.D. research. Despite the requisite poverty and angst of a typical graduate student and the reverberations that occur when a nationally-recognized anthropology department changes faculty, framework, and focus, those years were some of the best of my life.

I was not particularly inclined to get an academic job when I finished my dissertation. I contributed to small projects for a few Seattle cultural resource management firms towards the end of my graduate student years, and one of them – Northwest Archaeological Associates (now the Seattle office of SWCA Environmental Consultants) – took me on permanently. Although I spent the previous years as a graduate student focused on archaeological research on Kodiak Island, Alaska, my work in the private sector has compelled me to be a generalist instead of a specialist.

I have the opportunity to manage a wide range of projects in the greater Pacific Northwest and Alaska that entail not only archaeological research, but components of history, ethnography, the natural sciences, and contemporary regulatory and historic preservation frameworks as well.

Along with a range of technical skills and a broad theoretical mindset developed at UW, I also took away a strong sense of professional citizenship. I have been able to keep myself connected to the much broader professional community in a number of ways since graduating. I became an affiliate curator of archaeology at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, which gives me ample opportunities to help the Burke Museum Archaeology Division and in turn maintain an academic affiliation with the University. With this affiliation, I have been collaborating with other archaeologists, UW fisheries researchers, and several Salish Sea Tribal communities to study ancient, historic, and modern interactions between Native Americans and genetically distinct herring populations. I also serve on the board of directors of the Association for Washington Archaeology. Having just been elected president, I am becoming more involved in advocating professional standards of archaeology and historic preservation policy at the local, state, and national level.

My professional trajectory began in my undergraduate years at Grand Valley State University in Michigan and continues



to grow today as a cultural resource management consultant, but no time in my life was more critical to building skills that prepared me for later opportunities than the years I was a graduate student at the University of Washington.

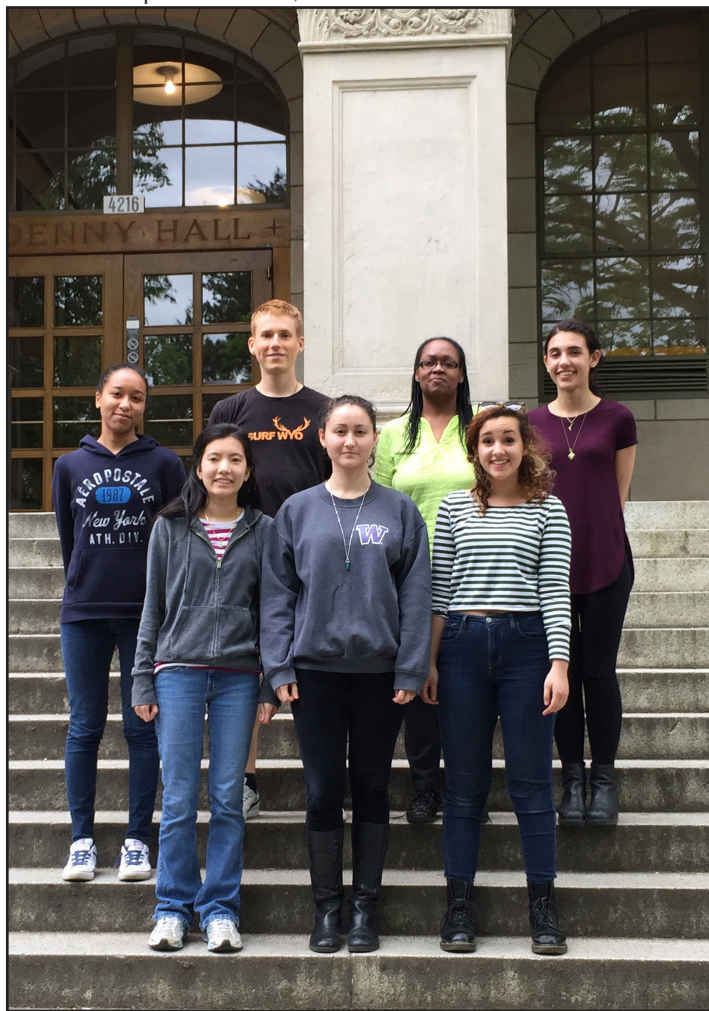
(1): Dr. Koppelr sampling an exposure of peat for radiocarbon dating in a 2013 excavation at the 10-12,000 year-old Bear Creek site in Redmond, Washington.

(2): Dr. Koppelr and his crew in 2012 surveying the native Alutiig village of Afognak, near Kodiak Island, Alaska, which was abandoned after the 1964 Good Friday earthquake and tsunami devastated the village. They were doing the survey for the Native Village to document it for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

(3): On the north end of Camano Island in 2005, Dr. Koppelr is pictured in an excavation pit at a large shell midden site.

(4): A group photo of the Washington Sea Grant herring team: (left to right) Eleni Petrou (University of Washington Fisheries), Dr. Robert Koppelr, Dana Lepofsky (Simon Fraser University, Department of Archaeology), Dennis Lewarch (Suquamish Tribe Representative), and Lorenz Hauser (University of Washington Fisheries).





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THE EDITORIAL BOARD

AKALI BARNES

I am a Medical Anthropology and Global Health major and currently finishing my second year at UW. My interests include hiking, traveling, watching tv shows/movies from different countries, and learning about the brain since I find psychology and neuroscience intriguing.

ROSE GABIDULLINA

I am a freshman majoring in Anthropology in the Human Evolutionary Biology track and minoring in International Studies with a focus on Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia. My interests include the effects of Russian and Soviet colonization on Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the role of religion in politics, and war crimes in the Forensic context.

MARLEY MANJARREZ

I am a Cultural Anthropology junior focused on institutionalized socio-economic inequalities specifically relating to access of proper nutrition. I hope to explore the intersection of humans and the natural world and the role sustainability can play in challenging global injustices. Free time is spent with my cat, outside, and eating.

TIM MOORE

I am a senior majoring in Anthropology with a focus on Human Evolutionary Biology. My interest is in solving contemporary problems in Health and Sociology. I wish to isolate the social and environmental variables that associate strongest with cooperation/reciprocity, and aggression/retaliation.

HANG NGO

I am currently a junior majoring in Medical Anthropology and Global Health. My interests include studying how the intersection of race, class, and gender shape health outcomes and accessibility. In my free time I enjoy traveling and learning new languages.

SHAMELLE RICHARDS

I'm a senior, majoring in Medical Anthropology and Global Health and Human Evolutionary Biology, and minoring in Human Rights. My anthropological interests include migrant health, food justice, imprisonment, and evolutionary medicine. My goal is to pursue a joint JD/MPH degree and to engage in migrant and health justice work.

MONICA WRIGHT

I am a freshman pursuing a double major in Spanish and sociocultural Anthropology. My planned focus is on undocumented Latino youth communities in major US cities, how they arrive, and the resources (or lack there of) that they have access to.

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

GIOIA SKELTIS

I am a senior majoring in both Human Evolutionary Biology and Medical Anthropology & Global Health. I aspire to be a professor and public health researcher with a focus on bio-demography and epidemiology to affect public health policy making.

