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Letter from the Editor

Dear Readers,

On behalf of the Editorial Board, it is my pleasure to share with you this volume of *Crossroads:* The University of Michigan Undergraduate Journal of Anthropology. The articles in this volume represent the outstanding anthropological research and writing that is currently being accomplished at the undergraduate level at the University of Michigan and many other institutions across the country. We are proud that this journal represents the diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches at use in anthropology today.

This volume is comprised of seven articles which draw from all four fields of anthropology to explore the intersections of individual, community, and landscape identity. In the first essay, "The Appropriation of Indigenous Language in Yosemite National Park: A Contribution to the Creation and the Maintenance of White Public Space," author Gabrielle Santas discusses the ability of language to erase and uphold legacies of oppression and inequality in Yosemite National Park. Author Allegra Ward then considers the role of monumentality in creating spaces which facilitate social and ideological cohesion in her article "Monuments and Urban Space" by comparing two important archaeological sites, the Roman Pantheon and Gobekli Tepe. In " The Evolution of the Gene HLA-B27," Michaela Navone next parses out the evolutionary identities of some of the smallest, disease-causing agents in our bodies—our genes. Author Daniel Hansen discusses the potential in archaeology to understand the way facets of individual and group identity function in relation to the materiality of death and burial, while also reflecting on the controversial past and future of identity studies in the field of archaeology. Susmetha Baidya, Jenna Menard, Nathaniel Maekawa, and Caroline Richburg further explore the social production of identity in their essay "Social Influences on the Experience of Pregnancy and Motherhood in the USA", which cites societal pressures, stigmas, and policies as major forces shaping the experiences of mothers during gestation, through lactation, and beyond. In "Buddhism as a Religion," author Noah Walters examines the tenets of the Buddhist belief system and their power to unite a massive community of followers despite the absence of an all-powerful creator. To finish out this edition of *Crossroads*, author Francesca Maviglia considers two different approaches to activism and aid employed during the Greek refugee crisis, and the historical contexts which gave rise to the distinct cultural identity of Southern European leftists in "We live together, we fight together: Solidarity with migrants among the Southern-European radical left."

I would like to thank each and every member of the Editorial Board, as well as our authors, for the time and effort they have dedicated to the success of this publication. The process would not have been nearly as rewarding without their thoughtful revisions and brilliant ideas. In addition, this issue would not have been possible without the help of the faculty in the Department of Anthropology.

Sincerely,

Kristin Cimmerer, Editor-in-Chief, *Crossroads*

Identity of Place, Person & Community

The Appropriation of Indigenous Language in Yosemite National Park: A Contribution to the Creation and Maintenance of White Public Space

by Gabrielle Santas

This paper discusses the historical presence and absence of the indigenous Ahwahnee tribe in Yosemite Valley, California to examine how Miwok language was appropriated to (re)name places in the current-day national park. Paying particular attention to the landscape's violent legacy of settler colonialism and subsequent promotion as a national park and tourist attraction, this paper seeks to interpret the social significance of Yosemite's place names. Drawing upon Jane Hill's work on the effects of Mock Spanish, this paper argues that Miwok's use by the park's current visitors, a dominantly White demographic, indexes specific identities important to the national park's outdoor culture and contributes to the erasure and invisibility of Ahwahnee history, ultimately creating and maintaining White public space. Words cannot be separated from history and context, and the current use of an indigenous language as place names in a national park is inherently entangled in histories of oppression and persisting inequities in power.

> All you have is place. And places have stories. And the stories are a mixture of the mythical, the historical, and anecdotal contemporary news. And these stories, mixed together, is what creates the Indian understanding of the world. To take that away from them, to take their names away from them, is to take away their sense of history. This is the act of colonization. You rename the place. It was more effective than raising a flag; it was more effective than putting up a fort. You rename the place to make it your own.
>
> —Malcolm Margolin

As Rebecca Solnit accurately characterizes in "Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West," the name of the United States' most popular and iconic national park, Yosemite, is a "monument to hostile incomprehension itself" (2014, 246). Once home to the native Ahwahnee, the last tribe of an indigenous stronghold lasting roughly 4,000

years, the valley so rapidly transformed from a war zone to a national park and tourist attraction that it is "hard to imagine a twentieth-century site undergoing such a festively amnesiacal metamorphosis" (2014, 184). As such, current understandings of the meanings and implications of the national park's name, as well as the names of specific sites within it, cannot be detached from its history. Utilizing Jane Hill's work, "Language, Race, and White Public Space" as a conceptual framework, I argue that the way indigenous languages were appropriated and are currently used by the park's visitors contributes to the creation and maintenance of White public space; not only does it directly index certain identities important to belonging to what I characterize as "White national park culture," the usage of Miwok language as place names indirectly indexes the Ahwahnee tribe's physical and symbolic invisibility. Overall, I contend that meanings are mutable, and the current use of an indigenous language for place names in a national park is inherently entangled with histories of oppression and persisting inequities in power.

"Discovery" of Yosemite Valley

The Anglo-American tradition of relocating peoples to whose native land they've laid claim began with the Trail of Tears in the 1830s, in which Cherokees from the Southeast were marched to Oklahoma. At the beginning of the Gold Rush in 1849, the indigenous population in California was estimated around 150,000 (already reduced to nearly half of the number prior to the arrival of Spanish missionaries, and subsequent violence and disease, in the 18th century). While the White American population in California climbed from 2,000 to 53,000 within the next two years, the native populations significantly interfered with the economic development of the area by killing miners to defend what was left of their territory, demanding payment for use of their land, and finding alternatives to their declining food sources in the horses and cattle of miners (Solnit 2014). As the policy of pushing Native Americans West reached an impasse in California, an appraisal of the situation made in January of 1851 reported: "the General Government and the people of California appear to have left but one alternative in relation to the remnants of once numerous and powerful tribes, vis; extermination or

domestication" (2014, 211). Thus, when three non-native men were killed at James Savage's trading post on the Fresno River, Savage convinced "fellow miners and local officials that the native people were gathering for a massive effort to drive the invaders from their land" (2014, 212). The Mariposa Battalion was then formed to encourage, threaten, and ultimately force the native peoples of the region out of the foothills and into the agricultural reservations chosen for them to resettle on in the San Joaquin Valley, thus beginning the Mariposa Indian War of 1851.

It was in pursuit of the Ahwahnee, the only Southern Miwok group that occupied current-day Yosemite Valley, that Mariposa Battalion became the first White men to "discover" Yosemite and circulate knowledge of the landscape's lucrative possibilities as a tourist attraction. In March of 1851, the Mariposa Battalion forced seventy native peoples into the established reservation outside of the valley. The battalion returned to Yosemite in May, capturing thirty-five Ahwahnee on the shore of a lake that the natives called *Pyweack* but which was later renamed "Lake Tenaya," after the tribe's chief. While the group, including Tenaya, were taken to the reservation, some were allowed to leave; therefore, after the war, the Ahwahnee discreetly disappeared on the other side of the Sierra (Solnit 2014). Tenaya and his kin were killed in an ambiguous dispute in 1853 and in 1931, Totuya, a granddaughter of Tenaya and the last "firsthand memory of Yosemite before white incursions" (2014, 235) died. Even though the Ahwahnee blood line did not disappear completely, and descendants of the tribe still remain today, their history and culture became largely invisible with the erection of Yosemite as a national park shortly after the war (albeit, "was exterminated" more accurately describes the unevenly matched assaults on indigenous populations by foreigners).

Origin of Yosemite Place Names

The Ahwahnee, the indigenous tribe that lived in the valley, seem to have named places after major features; the valley itself its inhabitants called *awooni,* "large mouth" in Southern Sierra Miwok, after its appearance from the Ahwahnee village on the valley floor, where the stem *awwo* means "mouth" and the suffix *ni* means "large." The name for themselves, Ah-wah-ne-chee, means "dwellers of Ahwahnee," or "People of the Bigmouth Valley" (Bright 1998, 11;

Freeland and Broadbent 1960, 3, 159). According to "Discovery of the Yosemite," Lafayette Bunnell's account of exploring the valley as a member of the Mariposa Battalion, Chief Tenaya tried to translate the meaning of "Ahwahnee" by using sign language; Bunnell writes, "the motion of his hands, indicated depth, while trying to illustrate the name, at the same time plucking grass which he held up before me" (1982, 65). Thus, when Tenaya was signing "mouth," the name was mistakenly interpreted to mean "deep grassy valley."

Yohhe'meti or *Yos.s.e'meti*, from Southern Sierra Miwok, means literally "those who kill" or "they are killers" (Yos, "to kill," e, "one who," and the plural suffix -metti) (Bright 1998, 168). The name was used to refer to the Ahwahneechee, which was composed of renegades from various tribes, by the surrounding (more peaceful) Miwok tribes outside of the valley who feared them. However, Major James Savage, unfamiliar with the local dialect that he characterized as "Pai-ute jargon" (Bunnell 1982, 63), confused Yosemite for *ïhümat.i* or *ïsümat.i*, which means "grizzly bear." While recent scholarship on the Miwok language has revealed the correct distinctions between the words, nearly all literature on park names, including explanations on Yosemite's signage, still attribute Savage's misinterpretation as the correct translation.

Moved by the natural grandeur of the landscape encountered by the Mariposa Battalion, Lafayette Bunnell took it upon himself to (re)name the valley after the people the Battalion captured and killed to perpetuate "the name of the tribe of Indians which we met leaving their homes in this valley, perhaps never to return" (Bunnell 1982, 62). Explaining the rationale behind his proposed name, on which the men subsequently voted, Bunnell writes:

> I remarked that "an American name would be the most appropriate;" that "I could not see any necessity for going to a foreign country for a name for American scenery—the grandest that had ever yet been looked upon. That it would be better to give it an Indian name than to import a strange and inexpressive one; that the name of the tribe who had occupied it, would be more appropriate than any I had heard suggested." I then proposed "that we give the valley the name of Yo-sem-i-ty, as it was suggestive, euphonious, and certainly *American*." (Bunnell 1982, 62)

Naming is "a form of claiming" (Solnit 2014, 239), as much as it is a symbolic erasure of Ahwahnee history, rights, memories, knowledge systems, and values; in addition to the valley,

Bunnell (re)named the other landmarks and features he encountered. Notably, Bunnell renamed a lake the Ahwahneechee called *Pyweack* to today's "Tenaya Lake" after the tribe's chief. Bunnell's account includes a haunting passage recorded after the capture of the chief and his people during the 1851 Mariposa War.

> Upon my telling him that we had named it Ten-ie-ya, because it was upon the shores of the lake that we had found his people, who would never return to it to live, his countenance fell and he at once left our group and joined his own family circle. His countenance as he left us indicated that he thought the naming of the lake no equivalent for the loss of his territory. (qtd. in George 2014)

In addition to eliminating the tribe's sense of place, the lake's new name violated the Miwok culture, in which the names of the dead are not spoken, after Tenaya's death in 1853 (Solnit 2014, 217).

Similarly haunting is the story of the Battalion's capture of five men, including Tenaya's three sons. Referring to a nearby rock formation with three peaks named *Kompo-pai-zes* by the Ahwahnee, Bunnell writes, "From the strange coincidence of three brothers being made prisoners near them, we designated the peaks as the 'Three Brothers'" (1982, 85). One brother was shot in the back, found by Tenaya who entered the battalion's camp, captured, to the body of his dead son. "Not a word did he speak, but the workings of his soul were frightfully manifested in the deep and silent gloom that overspread his countenance" (qtd. in George 2014).

Aside from much of Bunnell's (re)naming of places in Yosemite, a few of the place names that indigenous people had for major features of the valley survive to varying degrees, although subjected to various interpretations and pronunciations; some of these names, however, were assigned to the wrong feature in official accounts and signs. For example, the name for what is now known as Bridalveil Falls, *Pohono,* now only applies to the Pohono trail. A clustering of rocks below Half Dome, known as *Ahwiyah,* was the original name for Mirror Lake. A comprehensive list of surviving indigenous place names in Yosemite Valley, along with their translations and geographic locations, can be found in Peter Browning's chapter entitled "Indian Names" in "Yosemite place names: the historic background of geographic names in Yosemite

National Park." Finally, the word Ahwahnee, the name of valley given by the people to whom it was home, survives only in the name of the Ahwahnee luxury hotel.

What's in a (Re)Name?

The Ahwahnee tribe's physical and symbolic presence became invisible after the Mariposa War -- their bodies were killed and relocated, their place names erased and rewritten. In renaming Yosemite, Bunnell was "transforming himself from an invader or immigrant into a discoverer, making the place new, making a beginning" (Solnit 2014, 239). If it is new, there is nothing to be remembered; thus, the invisibility of the Ahwahnee allowed for the cultural representation of "untouched nature" to be manufactured. Concurrently, the act of "discovering" Yosemite through renaming it gave birth to the national park's archetypal image of the white adventurer exploring this "virgin" nature.

Artists such as Thomas Ayres and photographers Charles Leander Weed and Carleton Watkins contributed to the primary circulation of Yosemite's landscape and the promotion of the valley as a tourist attraction (Solnit 2014). By this time, the Mariposa Battalion had burned the Ahwahnee's structures and the native people had made their residence in the Sierra Nevada region inconspicuous after the war; as such, the widely disseminated descriptions, artwork, and photographs of Yosemite Valley suggest "a place in which nothing has ever happened and which no human has ever touched: They are the birthplace of the photographs of virgin wilderness that feed the continuing appetite for exploration and for conservation" (2014, 187). In conjunction with this imagery, John Muir, popularly remembered as the quintessential mountain-loving naturalist, extolled Yosemite's virtue as "pure" (in contrast with his characterization of American Indians as "unclean") in his writings on the valley (Merchant 2003).

These characterizations of Yosemite, along with federal policies such as the 1964 Wilderness Act that defines wilderness as spaces in which "man is a visitor but does not remain," (qtd. in Merchant 2003, 381) all fed the growing chasm between cultural representations of the place and a history that was full of "lost stories, ravaged cultures, and obliterated names" (Solnit 2014, 177). This image of Yosemite thus produced a recreational

outdoor culture within the context of the national park's racialized history, the implications of which still persist today. In a study conducted by the U.S. Forest Service, it was found that 95 percent of visitors to national forests and wilderness areas between 2008 and 2012 were White (2013). This enduring phenomenon is what a Sierra Club blog post has referred to as the "unbearable whiteness of hiking" (Lornett 2016). The legacy of the White man renaming, and therefore "discovering," the landscape is thus symbiotic with current sociopolitical and economic realities that allow White people to have the most access to national parks, manifesting as what I characterize as White national park culture.

White Public Space

The present significance of "Yosemite" and its accompanying place names as the appropriated remnants of indigenous language and people can be examined in light of anthropologist Jane Hill's ideas presented in "Language, Race, and White Public Space." In her work, Hill defines "Mock Spanish" as the incorporation of "Spanish-language materials into English in order to create a jocular or pejorative 'key'" (1998, 682). As the word "Yosemite" and other Miwok words as place names exist within the lexicon of the White Americans who now primarily occupy the landscape, their usage holds similarities to the usage of Mock Spanish. While the exact translations to these Miwok words are largely unfamiliar to the average park visitor, contrasted with users of Mock Spanish who casually incorporate known Spanish words into their English speech, their current usage as the place names in which the language's speakers were violently extinguished performs similar social work accomplished by Mock Spanish. The words, historically belonging to the indigenous people and then coopted by Bunnell and others in the context of settler colonialism as the "new" names of these places (while simultaneously butchered in grammar and pronunciation) similarly contribute to what Hill describes as the "elevation of whiteness" and concurrent devaluation of members of a radicalized population.

According to Hill, Mock Spanish provides a direct indexicality of the speakers' "desirable personal qualities" (1998, 680). Taking multiple forms such as borrowing entire words, morphological elements, or anglicized pronunciation, Mock Spanish is a way "for elites to

display democratic and egalitarian sensibilities by incorporating colloquial and even slangy speech" (1998, 683). I would argue that the word "Yosemite" and other indigenous place names, in their reliance on a continual dialectic between the authenticity and exoticness of indigenous language, therefore have a similar direct indexicality of the speaker's identity as a cool, metroethnic explorer of a timeless landscape (Maher 2005).

The indexicality of the place names as "authentic" was implicated in Bunnell's primary rationale for naming the park with a word from the Miwok language; as the repurposed native words are "suggestive, euphonious, and certainly *American*" (Bunnell 1982, 62), White people who use them indicate the landscape's idealized image as "untouched" and "frozen in time." In a similar vein, racialized forms of indigenous languages, mainly their characterization as "primitive," are also tied to Yosemite's appeal as a way for tourists to "return" to a "simpler way of life." Furthermore, because the names locate the indigenous language as "other" to the dominant *Standard American English, appropriation of the words allows their speakers to become visible participants in the "mysto-Indian" (Duane 2017) and "ethnic" cultural representations of the Native American legacy; in this way, the indigenous words become an "accessory that conforms to aesthetic demands rather than ethnolinguistic duty" (Maher 2005, 83). This points to the speaker's cool, metroethnic identity. Thus, the use of Miwok for place names in Yosemite National Park has the direct indexicality of the park explorer's desirable identities within White national park culture.

Hill additionally identifies an "indirect indexicality" of Mock Spanish in the "profoundly racist images" of members belonging to historically stereotyped Spanish-speaking groups (1998, 683). She holds that in order to understand the social work of Mock Spanish, "interlocutors require access to very negative radicalizing representations of Chicanos and Latinos as stupid, politically corrupt, sexually loose, lazy, dirty, and disorderly" (1998, 683). This characterizes what she calls "covert racist discourse" because the messages that are inherent in its use are never acknowledged by speakers. The appropriation of these words as "new" place names literally re-wrote a new history of the landscape over the old one. Similarly to the "covert" racism indirectly indexed by Mock Spanish through a denial of racist intent, the popularity of

indigenous place names among park goers relies on the invisibility of Yosemite's dark legacy of settler colonialism. Thus, I hold that the indirect indexicality of Miwok's appropriation as place names in Yosemite National Park, entangled in invisible histories of violence and oppression, is the symbolic erasure of Ahwahnee people, knowledge, and history.

Jane Hill defines White public space as:

> A morally significant set of contexts that are the most important sites of the practices of a radicalizing hegemony, in which Whites are invisibly normal, and in which racialized populations are visibly marginal and the objects of monitoring, ranging from individual judgement to Official English legislation. (Hill 1998, 682)

The appropriation of an indigenous language as the place names in Yosemite National Park performs social work akin to Mock Spanish, constituting a similar, yet alternative picture of Hill's "White public space." The use of Miwok words as place names renders its speakers "invisible and normative" (1998, 684), contributing to the elevation of Whiteness through directly indexing identities important to White tourists in Yosemite. However, instead of the racialized population (in this case the Ahwahnee tribe) becoming *visibly* marginalized, their history, language, and culture is continually reproduced as invisible.

Conclusions, and Remaining Questions

Places cannot shed histories. To offer an interpretation of the significance of Miwok place names in Yosemite National Park, I examined the historical presence and absence of the park's native Ahwahnee tribe. I found that the use of the Miwok language as place names in the park are the remaining remnants of the park's dark legacy of settler colonialism, existing as "linguistic equivalents to confederate statues" (Duane 2017). In light of this history, I offered an interpretation of the current social work accomplished by these place names by drawing similarities to Jane Hill's work on the effects of Mock Spanish. Ultimately, I argue that the way Miwok is appropriated and used by the park's current visitors, a dominantly white demographic, contributes to the creation and maintenance of White public space not only through indexing certain identities that are important to belonging to the national park's outdoor culture, but by

contributing to the erasure and invisibility of Ahwahnee history. Overall, I contend that the social significance of words cannot be separated from history and context; the current use of an indigenous language as place names in a national park is thus inherently entangled in histories of oppression and persisting inequities in power.

In light of my research and interpretations, I am still left with questions about subsequent actions to take, and implications for future research: can historical injustice be "mended" by efforts to rename Yosemite and its place names? Are we able to keep and use these place names while simultaneously being "not racist" or conscious of history? Is solely increased recognition of "accurate" history enough, or does recognizing the problem as an issue with the time period feed into Hill's "folk theory" that locates racism only in the "backwards" past? Do the appropriated names in the context of the current "whiteness" of the recreational use of Yosemite anger or offend indigenous people, especially descendants of the Ahwahnee tribe? Would attempts to rename these places be irrelevant to the modern struggles facing the descendant Ahwahnee, such as federal tribe recognition? Ultimately, I still struggle to reconcile the relationship between the value of Ahwahnee place names as a signifier of the tribe's fate, and their dubious legacy as (re)names adopted by a White soldier who "discovered" Yosemite National Park

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Identity of Place, Person, & Community

Monuments and Urban Space

By Allegra Ward

This comparative essay analyzes the monumental architecture of two temples: the Roman Pantheon and the archaeological site of Gobekli Tepe. More can be understood about their monumentality by exploring their physical form, function, the communities who used them, and their political and ideological significance. The comparison of their monumental architecture verifies that temples have an ability to create social cohesion in a community through its role as a sacred space, making them a monument.

In God we trust. A simplistic yet powerful phrase— a phrase which binds the people and political system to a superior deity. This connection to a superior deity manifests in the materialization of the phrase, specifically in monumental architecture. Similarly, subsequent to the earliest civilizations, temples have been a monument used to materialize religion around the world. Temples gain their monumentality through their ability to connect a community of people to one or more deities by being a distinguished sacred space. Going back 10,000 years, people used temples to establish cultic behaviors and strengthen the rituals of their community. Göbekli Tepe, an archaeological site in the Southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey, acts as the earliest example of this found to date (Dietrich et al. 2012). The monument was built by multiple nomadic communities, prior to the use of agriculture. The construction of a space for practicing shared rituals amongst unrelated groups reinforced group unification. Another example of a prominent temple that includes these characteristics is the Roman Pantheon. This ancient temple was originally built during the first and second centuries AD to strengthen the authority of the Roman empire through the establishment of a religion and, in the seventh century, was altered into a Christian church (Hannah and Magli 2011). While the two temples have distinct locations and dates, both connect the ideas of sacred space and monumentality within their community. A comparison between Göbekli Tepe and the Roman Pantheon displays the

monumental role of a temple to establish coherence in a community through an accepted religious ideology and shared space for ritual practices.

A large part of denoting the monumentality of an object is based on the context of each monument. Göbekli Tepe seems to be a simple structure in comparison to modern architectural capabilities. However, given the context of the temple, its magnificence becomes more visible. The temple's construction took place during Pre-Pottery Neolithic, specifically throughout 8,000 to 7,000 BC, prior to humans' reliance on agriculture and domestication as a means of survival (Dietrich et al. 2012, 675). The site was built in two installments: first, the construction of T-shaped pillars in a circular pattern connected by walls and benches. This structure dates to the end of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (8,500- 7,600 BC). Second, rectangular buildings were built containing few smaller T-shaped pillars dating to Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (7,600- 6,000 BC). At Göbekli Tepe there are carvings of animal motifs throughout the site, a majority of which are found in its earlier section. The monumentality of this structure lies in the amount of labor that was necessary for its construction. With Göbekli Tepe dating to Pre-Pottery Neolithic, the people of that time would have been in small hunter-gatherer groups. However, a site of this size and complexity would have required a larger group contribution that is not found in hunter-gatherer communities (Dietrich et al. 2012, 684).

While both Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon are monumental temples, the Pantheon's construction process and monumentality extends beyond labor efforts in relation to its societal structure. The Pantheon, similar to Göbekli Tepe, was built in two main stages. It was first commissioned by Marcus Agrippa, a Roman statesman and architect, but the structure then burned down. It was completed later by Hadrian, the emperor of Rome from 117 to 138 AD (Hannah and Magli 2011, 486-487). There is limited knowledge about the original construction of the Pantheon because the second construction was built over the remains of the first. However, the second structure is better understood because it makes up majority of the existing structure today, other than the later added Christian symbols. According to author Robert Mark and engineer Paul Hutchinson, the Pantheon consists of a rotunda with a dome ceiling that includes a circular opening at the center. Attached at the north end of the rotunda is a

Corinthian order portico with the entrance facing north. The opening in the ceiling of the Pantheon was used to let sunlight into the rotunda for a symbolic connection to the sun, rather than for tracking sun cycles. Other imagery throughout the temple suggests further connections to the sun and its significance to the Roman culture, specifically religiously, at that time. The building was made of Roman pozzolana, a type of high-quality concrete, which made curvilinear architecture more feasible (Mark and Hutchinson 1986, 24-26). The Pantheon marked a transition into a new type of architecture not seen in Roman culture prior to the monument's construction. The spherical style of architecture with circular arches and concentric stepped rings throughout the dome of the temple distinguish the Pantheon from its surroundings (Mark and Hutchinson 1986, 33-34 ;Joost-Gaugier 1998, 26).

The Pantheon compares to Göbekli Tepe in its individuality from surroundings and inclusion of significant symbolism in the monument's decor. However, the Pantheon's monumentality is found mostly in the materials used for its construction, specifically pozzolana. While pozzolana was not an expensive mixture of concrete, its use in construction required a complex technique that proved the constructor's extent of specialization (Mark and Hutchinson 1986, 24-25). Contrarily, Göbekli Tepe's materials do not classify it as a monument, but they give insight to the significance of the site's construction. Göbekli Tepe's construction could only have been achieved through group collaboration, a behavior not typically seen in hunter-gatherer societies. Therefore, neither temple becomes monumental through the wealth of its materials, but instead through the precision and richness of construction given its cultural context. Hunter-gatherers were able to collaborate for the construction of Göbekli Tepe, while the Romans' high degree of specialization is revealed by the Pantheon. In this way, when a temple is monumental, it does not necessarily prove the society's wealth, but instead can expose the complexity of its residing community.

Throughout the past, humans have built monumental structures to materialize the sacred and profane. People used this materialization to revere the sacred, separating it from the mundane everyday life, or profane. Architectural characteristics of temples, churches, or other places of worship set them apart in their cultural context, designating the space as sacred. These

characteristics include the scale of the structure, the building's placement, and the use of scarcely accessible materials. All of these qualities demarcate temples as a sacred space, separating them from surrounding structures, as seen in both Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon. According to historian Mircea Eliade, other essential qualities for determining a space's sacredness include: imago mundi, axis mundi, and communion with gods (Eliade 1957). Imago mundi represents the idea that a person is transformed when walking into the space, which typically models the creation or origin story of the supposed culture. Another intention of sacred space is to link this world with the heavens and underworld or deities, creating a vertical relationship, which Eliade refers to as axis mundi. Lastly, the space is meant to serve as a spot where a deity will reveal itself, creating communion between the people and the gods. Based on these qualities, Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon both take on the role as sacred spaces, which is vital for classifying them as monuments.

The Roman Pantheon is well-known as a sacred space because it continues to be a functioning structure today. However, the original plans behind the construction were not for structural durability, but instead for creating a sacred space. The circular arches of the temple combined with the lightweight of the pozzolana improve the sturdiness of the structure and keep it standing, even with possible disturbances. The thought behind the use of arches was more related to symbolism and divinity, rather than the structural integrity of the Pantheon (Mark and Hutchinson 1986, 33-34). While the arches seem to be common in Roman architecture, this architectural style did not spread until after the construction of the Pantheon. The new cement mixture of pozzolana and construction of arches was key in demarcating the Pantheon from its surrounding structures. The arches are not only a means to demarcate the temple, but also to let in light and grant more spatial access. The opening at the top of the dome also points to the Roman's concentration on incorporating light into the space and fascination with the sun. As determined through astronomical analysis, the Pantheon was built to symbolically connect the path of the sun and the building, rather than serving as an exact measurement of the sun's cycles (Hannah and Magli 2011, 492).

When the Pantheon was built, the Romans mostly practiced polytheism. For this reason, the symbolism depicted in the temple included many gods, but prominently the sun god and Apollo. This then ties Eliade's idea of axis mundi to the Pantheon. The sunbeam is a clear vertical connection between the temple and the heavens, communing the people in the space with the gods above, or specifically the sun god. While little is understood of the ancient Roman creation myth to know how it is modeled in the Pantheon, the temple still served as a place that separated people from their ordinary lives. By connecting people with the gods, they were stripped of their hierarchical status, so that anyone who entered the space was temporarily transformed. This transformation fulfills the position of imago mundi in the temple, despite the architecture lacking the replication of divine origin. With all of these qualities in mind, the Pantheon meets the criteria of a sacred space. Its role in the Roman society was to connect the people in the space to each other and the gods, which brought about the monumentality of the Pantheon.

Göbekli Tepe is considered the world's oldest temple, but without written language or continued use of the monument, there is still ample room to interpret the site. This leads to debates on the primary purpose of Göbekli Tepe and how to infer meaning behind the findings at the site. Despite this, there is still evidence to support Göbekli Tepe being a site of ritual practice and therefore providing a sacred space for hunter-gatherer communities. This sets Göbekli Tepe apart as a monument because at the time of its construction hunter-gatherer communities were not unified. The site also contrasted from the few domestic structures found during this period because of its function as a sacred space. The existence of a sanctuary for congregation amongst unrelated groups was an unseen phenomenon for that time. This supports that the temple was a meeting space for associated hunter-gatherer groups solely by their analogous ritualistic background (Schmidt 2009, 48). While there is no knowledge of the mythology shared by these hunter-gatherer communities, the use of Göbekli Tepe as a communal sanctuary supports it being a sacred space. The structure of the temple alone demarcates the monument from its surroundings, as the site was the only non-domestic structure at that time. Also, with this being a spot of communion between groups, the temple is

even more important. Though there is not enough evidence to support the people utilizing this space for communion with a deity, the use of the space for amalgamation amongst multiple communities classifies it as sacred rather than profane.

Göbekli Tepe may be the earliest temple, but there are other archaeological sites from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the area that give more background for the imagery and pictured themes at Göbekli Tepe (Atakuman 2014, 3-6 and 11; Dietrich et al. 2012, 684). The other sites include animalistic depictions, similar to those throughout the temple, which appear to have attached motifs for the communities. The animals depicted at the sites excluded any hunted animals and were all wild animals of the region. The convergence of themes displayed through animal symbolism supports that Göbekli Tepe was a sanctuary where multiple hunter-gatherers could practice their shared rituals. Göbekli Tepe takes on the qualities of axis mundi and imago mundi through its use as a central point for the purposes of performing rituals. Combining these qualities with the demarcation of Göbekli Tepe described above, the temple proves to be a sacred space. Serving as a sacred space is key for linking Göbekli Tepe to the community and setting it apart both structurally and socially.

Both Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon are considered sacred spaces for their community because they display all qualities of a sacred space. Göbekli Tepe includes animal motifs which set it apart from the domestic structures of that time. This added to the space's sacredness as people used it as a place of connection. Similarly, the Pantheon was demarcated from its surroundings and used as a space of communion through its inclusion of symbols of the sun and Roman gods. The Pantheon has clear evidence of these symbols connecting to the people to the gods, unlike Göbekli Tepe. However, both spaces were used for shared rituals, therefore bringing together the community through the inclusion of valuable cultural symbols. These sacred symbols and themes distinguished the temple's structure from its surroundings. While structural superiority is a consequence of the temples' sacredness, this was not the direct intention behind their construction. Instead, temples function as a sacred space to connect the individual to a deity and other members of the community, creating cohesion and unification. These social qualities extend temples' monumentality beyond their structural qualities.

Comparing the structure of Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon in their cultural context revealed the social complexity of each community. These structures' use as a sacred space builds on this revealed complexity by displaying a temples ability to unify that community. In this way, monumental temples unify a complex people group through sacred rituals and symbols within the space.

A main method for determining whether Göbekli Tepe and the Roman Pantheon can be defined as monuments is by detecting if the temple can function as a sacred space. However, a temple's impact on its community is what ultimately designates it as a monument and distinguishes it from other structures. Both temples include socially significant symbols and imagery which are materialized within the sacred space. As explained by anthropologists DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle: "Materialization is a means through which symbols, their meanings, and beliefs can be manipulated to become an important source of social power" (DeMarrais et al. 1996, 31). When viewing this claim from the perspective of temples and monumentality, authoritative figures were able to use temples as a means of materializing cultural beliefs. This materialization in architecture could be manipulated to favor authority and exploit the cultural ideology.

Exploring Göbekli Tepe as a sacred space exposes the impact the monument had on the congregation of hunter-gatherers. Dr. Klaus Schmidt, the first archaeologist to excavate and interpret Göbekli Tepe, explained that a "…connection between the profane and the sacred, is a perfect guide to understand the change of the hunter-gatherer societies to the Neolithic way of life, not only through economic or ecological reasons, but by the impact of a transcendental sphere" (Schmidt 2000, 49). This follows the idea that with the birth of religion or spirituality came further complexities and a progression toward agricultural practices. Göbekli Tepe was a space for various communities to communally practice rituals. This proved the people's ability to lay aside differences and come together in a sacred place as a cultic community. Not only were the people required to have peace within the sacred space, but they needed to work communally in order to build the temple itself.

This communal behavior is also displayed in their later use of the monument for feasting. Feasting placed more economic stress on the groups, which was a major precursor to hunter-gatherers' transition to agriculture (Dietrich et al. 2012, 684 and 692). Feasts display that the hunter-gatherer communities of Göbekli Tepe had the ability for symbolic communication and abstract thought. This suggests that social structures began to change prior to the shift to agriculture, as explained by archaeologist Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman, "…it was through the agency of places such as Göbekli Tepe…that the hunter-gatherer communities pooled their diverse symbols and practices and began to focus on a limited range of concepts, leading to a convergent restructuring of place and identity… [and] the emergence of new codes and rules that shaped identities and paved the way for institutionalized inequality" (Atakuman 2014, 6). The authority and hierarchical structure seen in communities associated with Göbekli Tepe were originally assumed to be nonexistent until the Neolithic. This is due to the Neolithic marking the birth of urbanism and hunter-gatherer communities' reliance on agriculture. However, with further analysis of the symbols and the community's use of the site, some archaeologists argue that social structures emerged during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. The collective construction of Göbekli Tepe, followed by shared feasts and rituals, suggests that certain groups could have gained power over others by a greater connection to a deity. This behavior was more likely a temporary group dominance rather than a centralized authority, setting the path for institutionalized inequality.

Unlike Göbekli Tepe, the construction of the Roman Pantheon did not signify a momentous change of the Roman social structure. However, the monument did strengthen the continuity of the culture's hierarchical structure and justify the power of authority. The Pantheon, built by Hadrian, was a tactic to increase the community's respect for him as the Roman emperor by materializing his power in the monument. With the monument also being a sacred place, Hadrian was able to connect his power to the gods and Roman mythology. Commonly, people in authoritarian positions used sacred monuments to prove their own sanctity. Anthropologist Dr. Lars Fogelin wrote, "The construction of a sacred building by a king is an avenue toward sacred power; limiting access to the same building affirms that sacred

power is restricted to a select few" (Fogelin 2007, 65). Hadrian was able to replicate this idea by constructing the Pantheon in honor of Apollo and including common Roman symbolism, specifically relating to the sun god. It was believed that an oracle established Hadrian as the son of the god Apollo, which led him to dedicate two monuments to Apollo (Joost-Gaugier 1998, 35). This not only allowed Hadrian the ability to connect himself to the gods within the sacred space of the Pantheon, but also the opportunity to legitimize his divinity as a son of Apollo.

Hadrian also built the Pantheon with an architectural dominance to distinguish the space. One way this was achieved was with the Pantheon's grand staircase that led to the still standing, concrete Corinthian pillars at the entrance of the temple. This structure set a tone of dominance over its surroundings, setting it above other buildings. This encouraged a feeling of transformation as people entered the space for worship and ritual practices. With this space being built by the emperor, it extended his power past political control to the spirituality of the community. This way when people sought communion with the gods they would link them to Rome's political system and revere Hadrian as a god himself.

While the Pantheon today is no longer used for the rituals of ancient Roman religion, the space has kept its sacredness as a Christian church. The modern use of the temple furthers the idea of religious materialization in monuments. When re-using monuments, it is important to consider the context of the space and to preserve the significance it has for its community (Mine 2013, S17-18). The transformation of the Pantheon to a church was a way to materialize the dominance of Christianity over the polytheistic religion. This was achieved through the already present power and sacredness of the space. While the structure still stands, some symbols within the Pantheon were changed to connect the space to Christianity. Yet, the structure stays monumental because it remains a sacred space for the Romans and links them to their ancient past.

A monument's structure is significant in its distinctiveness from surroundings, but ultimately its connection to the community and the use of the space is what defines it as monumental. In terms of temples, a factor of their monumentality is derived from the sacredness associated with the space. Göbekli Tepe was sacred until the site was abandoned

during the Neolithic, losing its classification as a monument. The Roman Pantheon has remained sacred, despite its transformation to a Christian church, because its significance to the community remained. Both Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon were spaces the people sought for spirituality and practicing rituals, which impacted each community. The assumedly spiritual rituals of hunter-gatherer communities at Göbekli Tepe, combined with their use of the space for feasting, contributed to Neolithization in the area as hunter-gatherers turned to farming for a more regulated means of resources for survival. The spirituality of the Romans, on the other hand, gave more power to the government and centralized authority. Both of these complexities built on or began institutionalized inequality for their respective communities. Temples' ability to strip people of their social statuses in the space, a sacred characteristic known as imago mundi, appears to reinforce social equality. However, while imago mundi unified the people in the space, it did not necessarily create equality. The unification and sacredness of temples designate them as a monument, which asserts power over the community. Power, whether centralized or a general dominance, led to institutionalized inequality outside of the space. However, this inequality still coincided with social cohesion, as the community is more willing to follow an authority figure connected to a deity.

Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon, while very different, are both examples of monumental temples. Each is a demarcated structure that serves as a sacred space for their respective communities. The temples were a means of materializing each group's religious ideology to create unity. Göbekli Tepe was used as a meeting place for feasts and cultic rituals between separate hunter-gatherer communities. Similarly, the Pantheon was utilized for practicing rituals, but the construction of the monument was used to verify the power of Hadrian. Both sites organized and unified the cultic community and strengthened religious or spiritual ties. However, Göbekli Tepe served more to unify the separate hunter-gatherer groups, most likely under one dominating group, while the Pantheon unified the Romans under the power of Hadrian. Unification found in monumental temples, such as Göbekli Tepe and the Pantheon, leads to societal compliance with centralized authority or one group's dominance over others. This increases institutionalized inequality within that community but does not take away from

the monumentality of the temple. While institutionalized inequality is a negative influence of temples on a community, it still proves its ability as a monument to impact its community. However, overall, the temple is monumental because of its ability to create social cohesion not only under an authority, but also in the space through rituals, symbols, and spirituality. Without the temple's structural demarcation, function as a sacred space, and impact on a complex community it would not fulfill its role as a monument.

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Identity of Place, Person, & Community

The Evolution of the Gene HLA-B27

by Michaela Navone

*The correlation between the HLA-B27 gene and ankylosing spondylitis has recently been further investigated, advancing the understanding of the genetic component of the disease. There are competing hypotheses attempting to explain the association between HLA-B27 and ankylosing spondylitis, however the biological mechanisms related to this association are unknown (Robinson et al. 2013; Khan 2006). Studies have shown that each subtype of the HLA-B27 has distinctive amino acid substitutions and a close evolutionary relationship. Additionally, studies have proposed that other subtypes may have evolved from the single most widespread subtype, HLA-B*27:05 (Khan 2000; Khan 2006). Using maximum parsimony phylogenetic trees, a phylogenetic relationship study was implemented to determine whether there is a correlation between evolutionary relationships of the subtypes and their disease associations as hypothesized. The preliminary constructed trees for the first twenty subtypes of HLA-B27 show no evidence of correlation between evolutionary scales and disease associations. This lack of a relationship indicates that evolutionary processes did not cause higher disease associations with certain subtypes. A different, but as yet undefined, biological process is a more likely alternative explanation. Additional data, including genomic and nucleotide sequences for all the subtypes, is needed to strengthen the results*

Background

During the 1960s and 1970s, epidemiological studies revealed a close link between the HLA-B27 gene and many forms of seronegative spondyloartritides, a grouping of arthritic conditions (Sheehan 2004). During this time, studies finally revealed that there is a high association of the HLA-B27 gene with ankylosing spondylitis, a specific type of seronegative spondyloarthropathy (Khan 2000; Sheehan 2004). Ankylosing spondylitis is a chronic inflammatory autoimmune disease that affects the spine and sacroiliac joints. It includes inflammatory responses, arthritis, inflammatory bowel disease, back pain, structural impairments, and reduced mobility (Bruan et al. 2007; Robinson et al. 2013). It is known that

the disease is genetically inherited, with the risk of developing the disease being larger when an immediate relative has the disease (Robinson et al. 2013).

HLA-B27 includes twenty different subtypes associated with ankylosing spondylitis. These subtypes have varied racial and ethnic prevalence around the globe and are named HLA-B*27:01 through HLA-B*27:20. Each subtype has distinctive amino acid substitutions. According to Khan's 2000 and 2006 publication, other subtypes may have evolved from the single most widespread subtype, HLA-B*27:05 . Some of the substitutions indicate a very close evolutionary relationship between certain subtypes. These subtypes include HLA-B*27:08, 12, 16, and 18. Khan also notes that some subtypes have higher disease associations than others. For instance, HLA-B*27:05 is reported to have a higher association, whereas subtypes including HLA-B*27:09 and HLA-B*27:06 have a lower association (Khan 2000). HLA-B27 has one of the strongest genetic associations with any human disease (Hulsmeyer et al. 2004; Robinson et al. 2013). Despite this well-known association, the biological mechanisms related to this association are unknown (Khan 2006; Robinson et al. 2013).

There are competing hypotheses attempting to explain the association between ankylosing spondylitis and HLA-B27. For instance, the molecular mimicry hypothesis claims that molecular mimicry between foreign and self-peptides leads to the cytotoxic T-cell response in humans, causing autoimmune dysfunction (Khan 2006). Support for this hypothesis comes from HLA-B27 subtypes not being as strongly associated with ankylosing spondylitis as others. For example, subtypes HLA-B*27:06 and HLA-B*27:09 lack a strong association with ankylosing spondylitis. Another hypothesis focuses on the features of the HLA-B27 molecules that could be related to the autoimmune response. Such features include the expression of free heavy chains on cell surfaces, exposure of self-epitopes, and CD4+ T cell reactivity. Even with all these recent studies and findings with these cellular processes, there is still no definitive reasoning to explain the association with HLA-B27 and ankylosing spondylitis (Khan 2006).

There have yet to be any studies specifically studying possible correlations between evolutionary relationships of the subtypes and their disease associations. Since some of the subtypes have higher disease associations than others, it would be beneficial to see how subtypes

are related on an evolutionary scale. If the evolutionary relationships among disease-associated subtypes are determined, then the relationships among the high disease-associated and the low disease-associated subtypes can be elucidated. Additionally, it could shed light on the true theorized closed relationship of subtypes HLA-B*27:08, 12, 16, and 18. (Khan 2000). Finally, the ancestral subtype can be determined, addressing the held notion that it is HLA*B-27:05. This phylogenetic study of the first twenty HLA-B27 subtypes aims to determine such evolutionary relationships and correlations. It is hypothesized that disease-associated subtypes are more phylogenetically related than subtypes with lower disease-association, and that HLA-B*27:05 or its subtypes will be ancestral.

Data Description

The data used in this study belongs to the human leukocyte antigen (HLA) complex gene family. The HLA complex encodes the major histocompatibility complex (MHC) proteins. This research was done using information for the HLA-B27 gene provided by the IPD-IMGT/HLA Database. The data provided by the database belongs to the species *Homo sapiens*, and the ethnic origins of the specimens tested were American Indian, Hispanic, Black, Mixed, Oriental, Pacific Islander, Caucasian, or unknown (Robinson et al. 2015). For each of the first twenty HLA-B27 subtypes, data was downloaded from the IPD-IMGT/HLA Database, and for each subtype, the nucleotide sequence data and the genomic sequence data were downloaded.

Data Analysis Description

For each of the first twenty subtypes of HLA-B27 that had nucleotide sequence data available on the IPD-IMGT/HLA Database, that sequence was downloaded and put into one FASTA file. These same steps were applied to the genomic sequence data that was available. Both FASTA files were then put through EMBL-EBI's Clustal Omega website. This website is a multiple sequence alignment program that creates alignments for three or more genetic sequences (Goujon et al. 2010). This program gave both the nucleotide sequence data and the

genomic sequence data. During the alignment process, the sequences data was transformed into a CLUSTAL file format.

These nucleotide and genomic sequence CLUSTAL files were then opened in MEGA 7. MEGA 7 is a variable model program which can be applied for phylogenomics and phylomedicine (Kumar, 2016). In this study, the CLUSTAL file for the nucleotide sequence data was converted into a MEGA file with their program. Then a MEGA 7 model computed the transition and transversion bias for this data. Nucleotide substitutions occur through transitions and transversions. A transition being purine-purine or pyrimidine-pyrimidine interchanges, and transversions being purine-pyrimidine interchanges (Jukes, 1987). These transitions and translation rates can be collected allowing for the analysis of genetic evolution. The same steps were applied to the genomic sequence data to compute the transition and transversion bias for the genomic data. The results from the nucleotide sequence data and the genomic sequence data showed a transition and transversion bias.

This data was used to create a maximum likelihood phylogenetic tree for both sequences. The maximum likelihood method was determined to be the best for these data sets since the search continues until no greater likelihoods are found for the phylogeny. Additionally, this method can be used for both protein and non-protein coding data, which is fitting for both nucleotide sequences and genomic sequences (Kumar, 2015).

When the phylogenetic tree for the genomic sequence data was sequenced, a bootstrap method of 1000 was applied to test confidence in the generated phylogeny. Since it was determined that there is a transition and transversion bias within the genomic sequence data, and the data is non-protein coding, the Kimura 2-parameter model was determined to be the best fitting model because it accounts for varying transition and transversion rates in genomic sequences (Kimura, 1980). The maximum likelihood tree was then constructed by MEGA 7 under these parameters.

For the nucleotide sequence data, a bootstrap method of 1000 was also applied when the phylogenetic tree was sequenced. This time, the Hasegawa-Kishino-Yano model was applied. This model was chosen because it uses variable base pair frequencies and distinguishes between

the rate of transitions and transversions which is a better fit since this is a protein coding sequence (Hasegawa et al., 1985). Based on the computed transition and transversion bias this is also appropriate because the bias showed variable base pair frequencies as well as different rates of transitions and transversions. The program was run with both gamma distribution with invariant sites since the performance of the gamma model has been reported to be adequate, while the invariant sites considers that certain sites can never vary (Yang, 1994). The two models were combined in the analysis of this maximum likelihood tree to optimize the phylogeny results with both parameters.

In the analysis of the phylogenetic trees, both data sets were used for comparisons of general disease association trends to assure a higher degree of accuracy in pattern determination. The nucleotide sequence data phylogeny was used for specific distances and positions because the nucleotide sequence data is protein coding.

Results

Maximum Composite Likelihood Estimate of the Pattern of Nucleotide Substitution

	A	T	C	G
A	-	*2.83*	*6.89*	**18.09**
T	*4.35*	-	**19.89**	*7.8*
C	*4.35*	**8.18**	-	*7.8*
G	**10.1**	*2.83*	*6.89*	-

NOTE:-- Each entry shows the probability of substitution (r) from one base (row) to another base (column)[1]. For simplicity, the sum of r values is made equal to 100. Rates of different transitional substitutions are shown in **bold** and those of transversionsal substitutions are shown in *italics*. The nucleotide frequencies are 19.91% (A), 12.95% (T/U), 31.50% (C), and 35.64% (G). The transition/transversion rate ratios are k_1 = 2.32 (purines) and k_2 = 2.887 (pyrimidines). The overall transition/transversion bias is R = 1.144, where R = [A*G*k_1 + T*C*k_2]/[(A+G)*(T+C)]. The analysis involved 33 nucleotide sequences. Codon positions included were 1st+2nd+3rd+Noncoding. All positions containing gaps and missing data were eliminated. There were a total of 546 positions in the final dataset. Evolutionary analyses were conducted in MEGA7 [2].

1. Tamura K., Nei M., and Kumar S. (**2004**). Prospects for inferring very large phylogenies by using the neighbor-joining method. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (USA)* **101**:11030-11035.
2. Kumar S., Stecher G., and Tamura K. (**2016**). MEGA7: Molecular Evolutionary Genetics Analysis version 7.0 for bigger datasets.*Molecular Biology and Evolution* 33:1870-1874.

Table 1. Transition and Transversion Bias for Nucleotide Sequence Data

- There are different transition/transversion rates ratios with k_1= 2.32 (purines) and k_2= 2.887 (pyrimidines). The overall transition/transversion bias is R=1.144.

Maximum Composite Likelihood Estimate of the Pattern of Nucleotide Substitution

	A	T	C	G
A	-	*5.49*	*8.27*	**14.26**
T	*5.12*	-	**13.16**	*8.97*
C	*5.12*	**8.74**	-	*8.97*
G	**8.13**	*5.49*	*8.27*	-

NOTE:-- Each entry shows the probability of substitution (r) from one base (row) to another base (column)[1]. For simplicity, the sum of r values is made equal to 100. Rates of different transitional substitutions are shown in **bold** and those of transversionsal substitutions are shown in *italics*. The nucleotide frequencies are 18.37% (A), 19.72% (T/U), 29.70% (C), and 32.21% (G). The transition/transversion rate ratios are k_1 = 1.589 (purines) and k_2 = 1.591 (pyrimidines). The overall transition/transversion bias is R = 0.749, where R = [A*G*k_1 + T*C*k_2]/[(A+G)*(T+C)]. The analysis involved 17 nucleotide sequences. All positions containing gaps and missing data were eliminated. There were a total of 2676 positions in the final dataset. Evolutionary analyses were conducted in MEGA7 [2].

1. Tamura K., Nei M., and Kumar S. (**2004**). Prospects for inferring very large phylogenies by using the neighbor-joining method. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (USA)* **101**:11030-11035.
2. Kumar S., Stecher G., and Tamura K. (**2016**). MEGA7: Molecular Evolutionary Genetics Analysis version 7.0 for bigger datasets. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 33:1870-1874.

Table 2. Transition and Transversion Bias for Genomic Sequence Data

- There are different transition/transversion rate ratios with k_1=1.589 (purines) and k_2=1.591 (pyrimidines). The overall transition/transversion bias is R= 0.749.

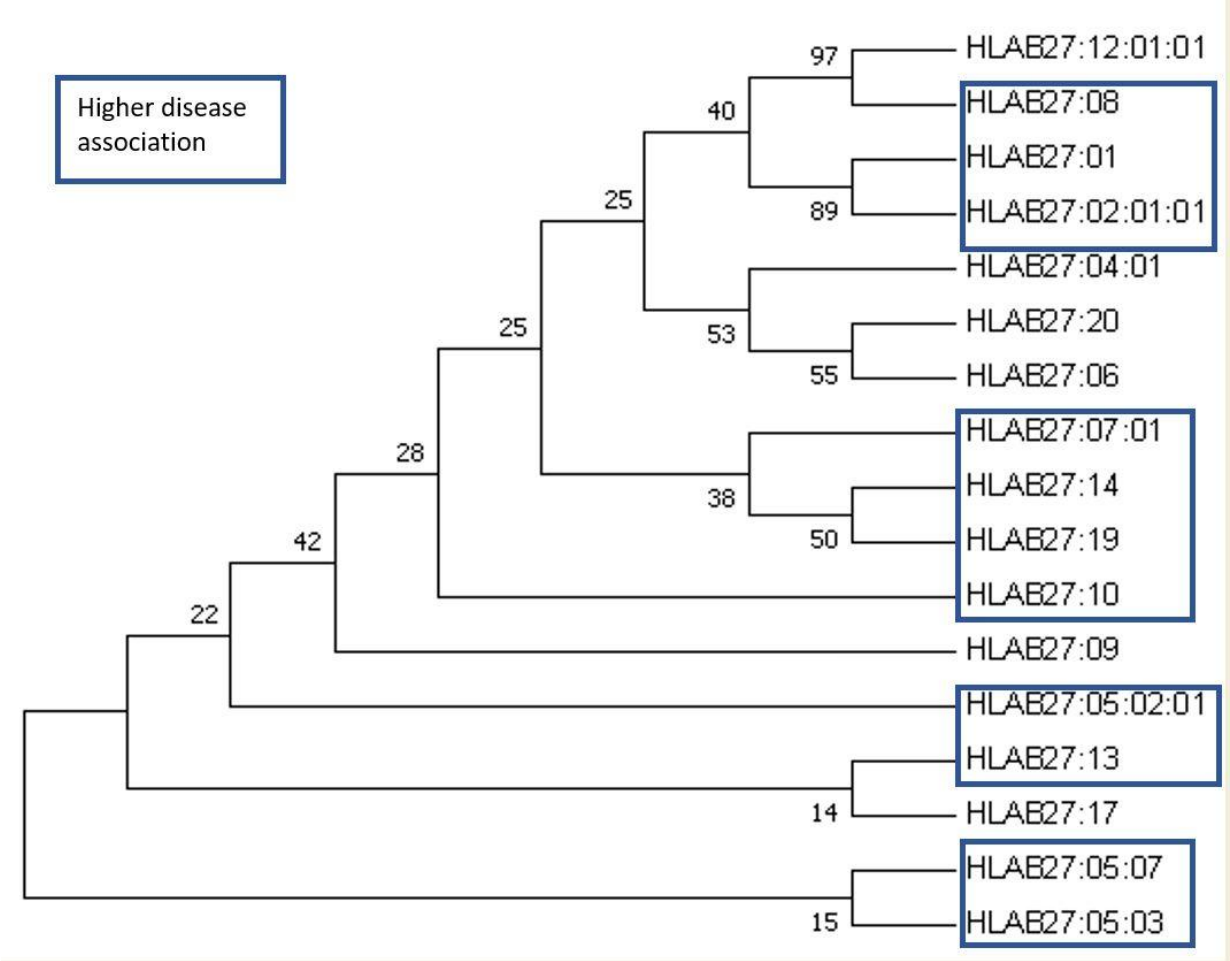

Figure 1. Maximum Likelihood Phylogenetic Tree for Nucleotide Sequence Data

- Higher disease association intermixed on the evolutionary scale with lower disease association

- HLA-B*27:03 and subtypes of HLA-B*27:05 are the outgroup. HLA-B*27:09 and HLA-B*2706 are not in the same sister taxa.

- HLA-B*27:08, *27:12:01:01, and *27:18, and *27:16 are closely related. HLAB*27:09 on evolutionary scale before HLA-B*27:06

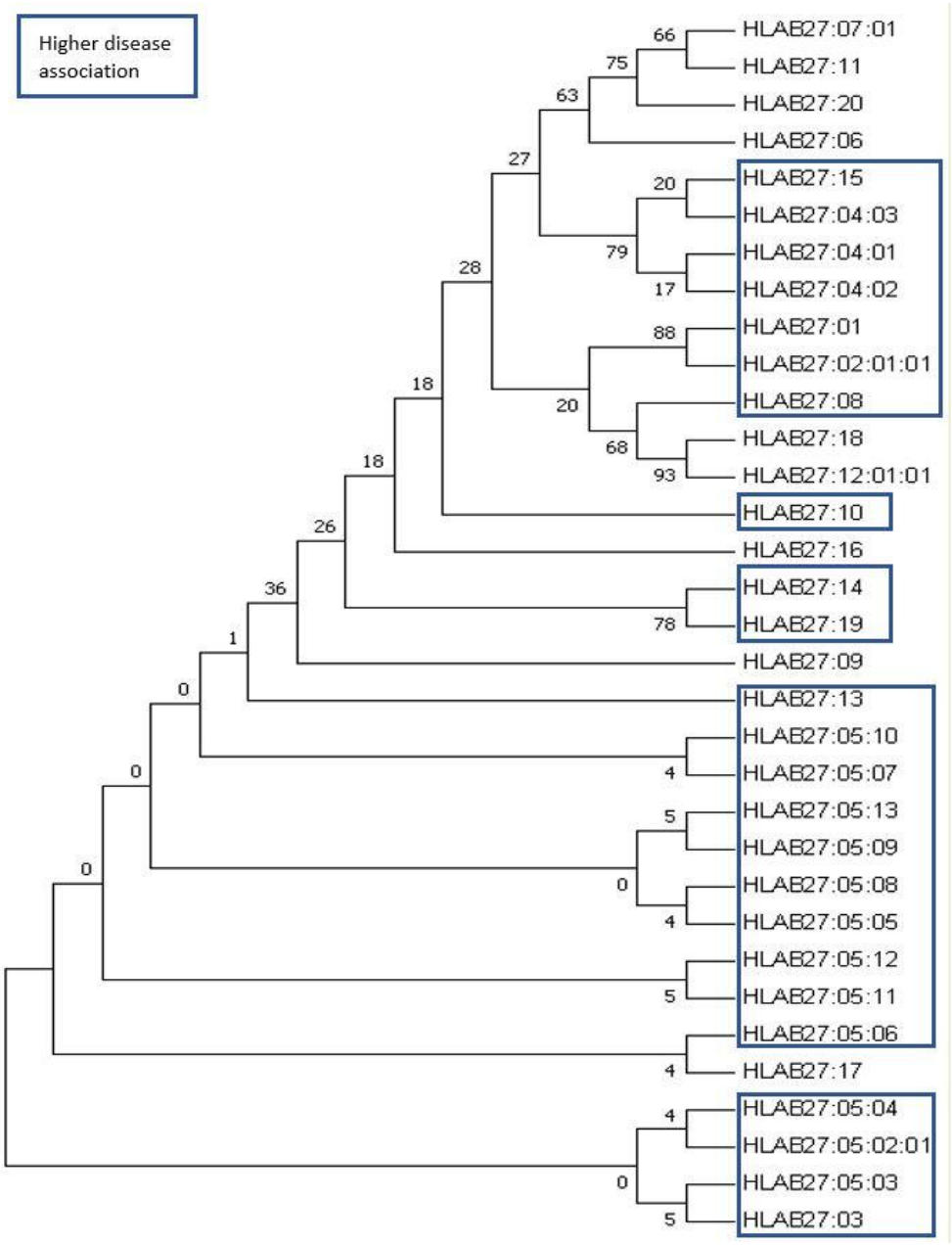

Figure 2: Maximum Likelihood Phylogenetic Tree for Genomic Sequence Data

- Higher disease association intermixed on the evolutionary scale with lower disease association
- HLA-B*27:05:03 and *27:05:07 are the outgroup
- HLAB*27:09 on evolutionary scale before HLA-B*27:06

Discussion

Table 1 shows there are different transition and transversion rates ratios for the nucleotide sequence data, with purine transition and transversion rate being k1= 2.32, and pyrimidine transition and transversion rate being k2= 2.887.The overall transition/transversion bias between purines pyrimidines being R=1.144. In Table 2 there are different transition and transversion rate ratios for the genomic sequence data with k1=1.589 for purines and k2=1.591 for pyrimidines, with the overall transition/transversion bias being R= 0.749. This suggested the Hasegawa-Kishino-Yano model being applied.

In both Figure 1 and Figure 2, as expected, there is a close evolutionary relationship between HLA-B*27:08, and HLA-B*27:12. In Figure 1, the subtypes HLA-B*27:16, and HLA-B*27:18 were closely related to HLA-B*27:08 and HLA-B*27:12. Additionally, in Figure 2, the genomic sequence data shows they are sister taxa, showing a very close evolutionary relationship.

In Figure 2, HLA-B*27:05 is shown to be the ancestral subtype. However, the nucleotide data in Figure 1 show HLA-B*27:03 being a member of the outgroup with HLA-B*27:05. Since the nucleotide-sequence data's phylogeny is being used for specific distances and positions, Figure 1 was used to determine the ancestral subtype. As a result, the ancestral subtype showed not only to be HLA-B27:05 and its subtypes, but in addition HLA-B*27:03, HLA-B*27:05:04, HLA-B*27:05:02:02, and HLA-B*27:05:03.

These results from both the nucleotide sequence data and the genomic sequence data suggest a weak correlation between evolutionary relationships of the HLA-B27 gene subtypes and disease association. The disease-associated subtypes boxed in both Figure 1 and Figure 2 are intermixed on the evolutionary scale with no quantifiable pattern to compare to other subtypes. In both Figure 1 and Figure 2, HLA-B*27:09, which has a lower disease-association is more closely related to HLA-B*27:05 than HLA-B*27:06. HLA-B*27:06 is also further down the evolutionary scale, and not as closely related to HLA-B*27:09 as expected, given its weaker disease-association. In addition, the disease-associated HLA-B*27:04 is more closely related to a weaker associated subtype, HLA-B*27:06, than it is to disease-associated subtypes such as

HLA-B*27:05 or HLA-B*27:14. Overall, there is no strong correlation between the evolutionary relationships of the HLA-B*27 gene subtypes and disease association.

Conclusions

These results did not support the hypothesis that higher disease- associated subtypes would be more phylogenetically related than subtypes with lower disease association. The preliminary constructed trees do not show this relationship and show no evidence of a relationship with evolutionary scales and disease associations. This lack of a relationship indicates that evolutionary processes may not cause higher disease associations that are observed with certain subtypes. Instead, it is more likely that another biological process would cause different disease associations.

Additional data, including complete genomic and nucleotide sequences for the subtypes, would strengthen these results. With additional sequences, the entirety of the first twenty subtypes of HLA-B27 could have been put into each phylogeny, and the evolutionary relationships could be solidified. Future studies should focus on gaining the nucleotide and genomic sequences for all the first twenty HLA-B27 subtypes. Once all the data is collected and made publicly available, one can build upon the research presented in this paper. In addition, more specific ethnic background information on the subtypes would strengthen the data because the subtypes have varied racial and ethnic prevalence around the globe. Future studies can incorporate this data and further the understanding of the evolutionary relationships among HLA*B27 subtypes, hopefully giving scientists insights into their associations with ankylosing spondylitis

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Identity of Place, Person, & Community

Toward a (Better) Archaeology of Identity: Death and Claims to the Past

by Daniel Hansen

The study of identity has been implicit in the very concept of archaeology for most of its history. Throughout that history, the meaning of "identity," as well as what archaeology can know of it and do with it, has been contested, contentious, problematic, and complicit in ethnonationalist and racist programs. A cursory understanding of these underlying problems has led some archaeologists to abandon any explicit study of ethnicity and identity. Yet the study of identity remains alive, implicit and unstated, within the discipline. Understanding that the search for patterns of identity and ethnicity among past peoples is fundamental to the mission of archaeology whether we openly acknowledge it or not, this paper offers a path via which we might proceed. While much past research on identity has focused on strategies of differentiation, it is important for researchers to consider the positive acts by which individuals associate themselves with particular groups. The study of death, while often employed in problematic ways in identity studies, may be reinvigorated with a semiotic program to provide new insight into the ways that ethnicity functions in relation to the material record. Finally, because identity and related ideas are contested and socially important conceptual domains, it is necessary for archaeologists to take a reflexive approach to any work concerning questions of identity so as to thoroughly examine the ethical force of the product of such research.

This paper has been adapted from independent chapters of my senior honors thesis "Reaching the Past: An Analysis of Death and Identity in the Postclassic Oaxaca Valley" (Hansen 2018). These chapters have been edited so as to stand apart from my case study as an argument for a new approach to death and identity.

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The history of archaeology's relationship with identity studies is long, complex, and, at times, dark. It is not a coincidence that the modern discipline of archaeology arose roughly simultaneously with the European establishment of race theory and its implementation within a colonial framework (Arnold 1990, 464). The desire to find the origins of present peoples represented an attempt to legitimize apparently separate—if imagined—phenotypic and cultural groups. Gustaf Kossinna's establishment of the Siedlungsarchaeologie ("settlement archaeology") approach and his deployment of archaeology to trace the origins of a "Germanic

people" has left archaeological scholars with a well-deserved sensitivity to ethnic studies. The subsequent use of Kossinna's analysis by the Nazi Party to promote a north-German origin of "Aryan" peoples is a poignant reminder to the historical sciences that their work can and does transcend the boundaries of academia (Arnold 1990; Emberling 1997, 296; Kossinna 1911).

While Kossinna's approach was nominally rejected by the archaeological community, the manner in which he treats ethnicity as a collection of material culture types associated with a specific homeland ("Kulturkreis") persisted in the culture-historical approach. Efforts were made by processual archaeologists in the 1960s to dismantle these ideas in favor of more multifaceted and complex understandings of the relationship between humans and their environment. Yet in abandoning culture history and its straightforward approach to group identity, the mid-century archaeologists failed to produce a workable replacement (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 233). While many researchers remained tacitly interested in groups of people, there was no methodology attached to these goals. The study of ethnicity remained tainted by the work of Kossinna and others, while efforts to attach material culture assemblages and types to groups of people makes an easy target for criticism. Yet in the absence of theory, many archaeologists have continued to employ culture-historical techniques in their attempts to uncover group identity. Only recently has archaeology begun to incorporate some of the ideas and approaches employed by sociocultural anthropology in order to formulate a better understanding of the relationships that make up identity (Emberling 1997, 296).

Culture and Identity

Many of the problematic aspects of older approaches to the archaeology of identity stem from a failure to disentangle the terminology that they employ. Specifically, despite myriad definitions and treatises on the topic, it is often assumed in archaeology that a society can be said to have a single or primary culture, and its members share a common "cultural" identity. This conflation of culture and identity leads to the dangerous oversimplification of human relations and interactions.

The word "culture" is one of the least precise but most heavily utilized terms in anthropology. Not long ago, anthropologists primarily thought of cultures as discrete, bounded packages of symbols, meanings, and associations carried universally by individuals in a society. Members of the "symbolic" school of anthropology, especially Geertz, have described culture in structuralist terms as a system of symbols that exist in the social milieu from which individual tokens are brought into existence. This approach is an attempt to solve the problem of a "multiplicity of referents" (variation in cultural ideas among individuals) that has persistently haunted anthropological studies of culture (Geertz 1993, 89).

This symbolic approach is one that is quite amenable to archaeology. Ortner (1984, 129) notes that the symbolic concern with culture has more to do with the "affective and stylistic dimensions" than the "cognitive" aspects of the human experience. Cognitive processes are often considered less accessible to archaeologists than other components of social life, such as concrete material culture styles. While such stylistic tokens exist both in the immaterial and material realms, both types of symbols are assumed to function in similar ways. In other words, the material symbols available to archaeologists have the same relationship to the culture system as symbolic practices that are observable only in living societies.

The Geertzian approach in many ways validates the treatment of culture that archaeologists have employed since the discipline's beginning. The existence of a clear type or style with an easily-determinable geographic distribution has historically been taken as evidence for an "archaeological culture," a unity defined precisely as an assemblage of similar types (Childe 1956, 16). This disparity between this archaeological definition of culture and the use of culture by other anthropologists has been masked by its perceived direct indexicality.

The temptation to equate material styles with groups of people is strong in archaeology partly because typologies often seem to map neatly onto other well-known aspects like geography, social status, or gender. Furthermore, "style" is intuitively accessible to archaeologists—if two artifacts look different from one another, it is easy to claim that they are different in some fundamental sense. Dietler and Herbich (1998) point out, however, that this approach rests on some major assumptions about the relationship between material culture and

group identity that are too often unquestioned. They have identified a trichotomy within material culture studies of technology, function, and style—in which style is often defined by the absence of the former two. In other words, style is understood to be every aspect not determined by the techniques and materials available nor by the object's intended function. The problems created by these assumptions are significant. The first is that the supposed signifier of culture—style—is a category of variability that is sufficiently narrow or sufficiently broad and vague as to be essentially meaningless. Additionally, the three parts are not as separable and discrete as previous scholarship has often assumed; technology and function both relate to cultural systems and influence style, and function partly determines technology (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 237). Finally, the ability to separate style as peripheral from function and technology requires significant understanding of the cultural context within which these categories are defined. Such observations necessitate an understanding of the relationship between identity and material culture that is complex and allows for overlapping associations instead of a simple correspondence.

Barth begins his discussion of ethnicity by describing culture quite simply as the way in which we explain human behavior (Barth 1969, 9). This approach places the provenience of culture in the hands of the anthropologist, rather than with the people being studied. Barth's description is perhaps the most useful approach in many cases. The things that we call "cultural" are, after all, an eclectic mix of ideas, images, behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, and identities. Some are visible, some are taken for granted. The circulation and manipulation of all types of meanings produces behavior that can then be taken from its context, put into comparison with other forms, and studied by those who find interest in it. Culture does not represent a bounded system, but rather a scientific model of a complex ecosystem within which human behavior flourishes. Following from Barth's approach, phenomena such as ethnicity and group identity are better understood as theoretical idealized models than actual attributes, and in transferring the onus of these models away from a static attribute and toward a mode capable of being manipulated, anthropologists have more freedom to interpret and reinterpret complex relationships between people and identity.

Taking his cue from Barth but recognizing a need for further elucidation, Emberling offers three criteria for determining how archaeologists should use "ethnicity" and the related terminology. First, it is necessary to describe what is meant by the term so that it can be used with clarity without confusion with other related terms. Secondly, it does not benefit the author nor the reader to strictly define such terms, however, as this leads to a rigidity and a terminology that is lifeless and inflexible. Finally, the use of the terminology must remain closely tied to its extant meanings and associations in discourse so that it does not become artificial (Emberling 1997, 301). While Emberling's terminological program does provide some clarity, much more work needs to be done to unpack to concept of ethnicity itself and all of its discursive variety.

Much of the incongruity between understandings of ethnicity stems from the relative recency of the anthropological understanding of ethnicity as separate from linguistic and phenotypic markers. Boas (1931) was one of the first Western anthropologists to argue against physical traits as discontinuous markers of ethnic boundaries. He argues not only that biological differences between so-called "races" are very small, but that human movement, contact, and exchange has made for a human history that was never discontinuous or isolated. Phenotypic attributes, then, form a continuum rather than discrete, bounded traits. Furthermore, the racial types that have been somewhat successfully maintained in the common cultural understanding (e.g. White, Black, East Asian, Native American) have done so only with respect to certain physical traits (skin color, hair type, etc.) and not others (Boas 1931). Racial groupings, then, are constructed based on cultural values rather than an objective natural reality. The cultural nature of biologically-ascribed racial groups does not mean that biological traits can be discounted as ethnic markers (as contemporary Western society often uses them as such), only that they are not necessarily so.

The connection between language and ethnicity is more difficult for scholars to navigate. Linguistic groups can often seem like ready-made analogues for ethnic groups, and indeed language is often heavily involved in the construction and maintenance of identities. Language, like material culture, however, is the result of a complex of variables. Language contact, natural "random" divergence, socially significant divergence or convergence, and multilingualism all

contribute to a linguistic landscape that is not useful as a one-to-one surrogate for ethnicity. Terrell (2001) uses New Guinea as an example of immense linguistic diversity in a very small geographic space with a history of close social relations and integrated networks of exchange. The linguistic diversity of the region does not appear to divide or disrupt the coherence of the larger group. Members of diasporic ethnic groups may speak the language of their surrounding geographic community as well as maintain a traditional (if not regularly spoken) heritage language, as is the case with Hebrew for many Jewish individuals across the globe. Additionally, many Ashkenazi Jews take Yiddish as an additional language of identity. The multivalent nature of language and group identity merits much additional study, but it is clear that linguistic groupings cannot be used reliably to document ethnicity and to determine discrete bounded groups of peoples.

Emberling argues that the archaeology of ethnicity is beginning to settle into a paradigm that has rejected these past assumptions of the unity of culture, race, and language in favor of a theory of ascription and social manipulation established by Barth (Emberling 1997, 296; Barth 1969). While Barth's work was indeed revolutionary, the paradigm that he established focuses almost entirely on boundaries and exclusion rather than the processes of inclusion. While it cannot be denied that defining "us" and "them" is an integral part of group identity, such an approach ignores the fact that an act of association is a positive act. It is necessary, then, to examine the process by which an individual seeks to define what they are rather than what they are not.

Semiotics of Group Identity

If we consider group identity and ethnicity to be an act, rather than an inherent quality, it is necessary to establish an understanding of the nature of these acts. By attempting to understand acts of identity within a semiotic framework, acknowledging the way acts and objects function as signs in relation to concepts, anthropologists and archaeologists can better understand the complexities of identity-driven behavior.

The Science of Signs

Semiotics, or the study of signs, has its roots in 19th-century philosophy and linguistics. Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss scholar widely considered to be the founder of modern linguistics, advocated for a science of signs which he called "semiology" (Saussure 1916, 16). For Saussure, there exists a field of possible meanings and a symmetrical range of potential signs. These fields are then divided into segments, cutting across both meaning and the material sign (Saussure 1916, 112). Thus, the concept of tree (as distinct from bush, shrub, or wood) is given strict borders in the same motion that the word "tree" is defined by its difference from other combinations of sounds. As a linguist, Saussure's chief concern was the function of language as a convention of signs. In Course in General Linguistics (1916), however, Saussure describes his semiology as having widespread potential as a science of its own.

While Saussure's linguistics-based semiology was ultimately adopted into anthropology in the form of "structuralist" approaches (see Lévi-Strauss 1963, for example), Saussure's dream of a complete science of signs was perhaps best fulfilled by the work of the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce. A rough contemporary of Saussure, Peirce took more interest in the relationship between the sign and its object. While Saussure's semiology is dichotomous (sign–meaning), Peirce's science of signs—called semiotics—has a tripartite structure. Saussure's dichotomy is present in what Peirce called "sign" and "object," but Peirce adds the agent, or "interpretant," as well as the concept of "ground." Peirce understood that signs stand for something to someone by way of some relationship. The interpretant represents this "someone," and the type of relationship employed constitutes Peirce's "ground." At its most basic level, these relationships can take three forms, resulting in three distinctive types of signs:

> 1. *Icons* resemble their objects in some natural way. A footprint signifies a foot because the two have similar visual forms.
> 2. *Indices* are related to their objects proximally or by cause and effect. They may not
> resemble their objects, but their connection is intrinsic by some other natural relationship.
> A bullet hole signifies a gunshot because the latter caused the former. An illuminated
> "exit" sign signifies an exit because it is placed above it.

> 3. *Symbols* are signs whose relationship to their objects is determined by convention. The word "tree" does not have any intrinsic relationship to the concept of tree, but human agents have created a connection that is widely accepted and utilized (Atkin 2013).

Peirce's theory of signs provides a framework by which semiotic actions can be analyzed. While later scholars have moved away from the rigidity of his "trichotomies" in favor of a more integrated approach, the concepts—icons, indices, and symbols—remain useful constructs for the analysis of signs.

Various attempts have been made to integrate semiotics into material culture studies and archaeology. Keane (2003) has argued that the complexities inherent in Peircean semiotics can provide for a richer understanding of objectification. He points out that gift-giving and census-taking—both means by which people objectify social relations—represent two entirely different types of objectification and should not be conflated (Keane 2003, 423). Preucel (2006) has attempted a more complete review of the uses and potential for semiotic analysis in archaeology in particular, spanning the history of archaeology and various common approaches, including processualism, post-processualism, and cognitive archaeology.

The Kinship Idiom

Following from a semiotic approach to culture, group identity can be understood as a series of semiotic acts that index some larger group concept. The outward expression of identity, which may include the wearing of particular clothing, the speaking of a particular language, or engaging in a particular mortuary practice, occurs on an individual level. Yet these acts are carried out for the purpose of indexing a concept of a group. It is the concept of unity that is more important to group identity than actual "objective" unity of forms. Emberling argues that the most fundamental aspect of ethnicity is that an ethnic group's members see themselves as "sharing common descent" (Emberling 1997, 302). This common descent can be real or imagined, as it is not the reality but the concept that matters. This model of ethnicity helps to explain the maintenance of diasporic ethnic groups, whose existence has defied geographic understandings of ethnicity. Ethnic Jews, whose history as a diaspora community is likely as

long as their time spent in geographic unity, have maintained their identity through stories, symbolism, and language that indexes an idealized, unified past and place. Similarly, the English people, whose history of biological descent is complex and poorly understood, have constructed a largely Germanic identity based on a narrative of Anglo-Saxon origins (Lucy 1998). The factual history of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England is now largely dismissed in favor of a much more complex reality, but Anglo-Saxonism has helped to create a coherent Germanic ethno-national identity in the era of nationalism, replacing a prior origin narrative of the English as descendants of Brutus of Troy (Lucy 1998, 5). Anglo-Saxonist archaeologists have deployed archaeology as a Peircean index to demonstrate this idealized origin.

This model of ethnicity as indexing a shared descent produces a concept of ethnic identity that is remarkably similar to the better understood anthropological concept of kinship. Indeed, Emberling describes ethnicity as an extension of the "kinship idiom," arguing that an ethnic group is simply the level above "clan" or "lineage" (Emberling 1997, 302). Within this model, some forms of identity might be seen as a continuum from genealogy to ethnicity.

Death and Deposition

Whether it be for studies of genetic decent, treatment in death, or paleodemography, mortuary analysis, broadly defined, has played a key role in the study of the identities of past peoples. Yet the study of death remains rife with unquestioned assumptions and stale modes of inquiry that merit a much closer inspection if it is to remain relevant to our purposes.

The study and analysis of the death of the human body has been a point of contention between anthropology and "hard archaeology" throughout most of the disciplines' histories. It has been said that archaeologists deal with "mortuary analysis" while ethnographers deal with "death" (Chesson 2001, 1). While this conceptual and traditional divide is still present in both disciplines, it is important to understand how archaeological approaches can be integrated into social anthropology and vice versa.

Joyce (2001, 12) has noted a tendency within archaeology to give privilege to mortuary analysis, in part because it is intuitively understood that death is a weighty event, and thus the

treatment of those who have died should have some significance. Certainly, death is something that is impossible to ignore and marks a major life transition. Its universality provides a common reference point for anthropologists. Furthermore, contemporary western cultures tend to emphasize the finality of death. In death, an individual transitions from a dynamic person to a static object, and the treatment of that object upon death becomes its permanent—and intentional—state. This finality makes mortuary contexts tempting to archaeologists as one of the few categories in the archaeological record that are left the way past peoples intended. It is this focus on intentionality of deposition that has often characterized mortuary analysis in archaeology, assumed to be conveyed also in the selection of food offerings, whole pots, jewelry, ornaments, etc. that have been arranged and placed in the burial context.

There are many ways in which archaeologists historically have understood mortuary contexts. The idea that death represents an intentional and relatively rapid deposit led early culture historians to treat burials as a snapshot in time. Artifacts found in the grave were confidently dated to a particular time—contemporaneous with the interred individuals—and were used primarily for the building of chronologies (Lucy 1998, 22). Processual theorists later introduced a new level of complexity into mortuary analysis by claiming that treatments of the dead could relay social information about the individuals, from gender and family status to religion to political power. Burials also came to be seen as the product of protracted multi-stage processes, rather than events.

Viewing mortuary treatment as a communicative method for the living allowed processual archaeologists to be very confident that aspects of mortuary contexts could be read symbolically. New interpretations, however, have lent credibility to the idea that death is not always static, nor is mortuary ritual always directed toward the living. Various approaches have, in fact, allowed for the dead to carry some form of social agency.

The Dead as Social Agents

Religion has often been understood as the primary force behind mortuary practice, with

the afterlife providing a convenient arena in which dead individuals may still be treated as people with social weight. For many anthropologists as well as lay observers, religious boundaries correspond neatly to differences in mortuary practice, and it is often the prerogative of religious specialists to prohibit or prescribe particular practices. Yet a focus on religion reveals only a part of the story. We see that non-religious members of society often adhere to standardized mortuary practices even in the absence of religious doctrine or even a belief in the afterlife. The fact that these practices persist among individuals and families with no religious incentive to do so is evidence that mortuary practice is entangled with social customs and norms that go beyond the religious sphere.

In accordance with this realization, many anthropologists have moved toward a more holistic social understanding of mortuary practice. Most frequently, death is conceptualized as a rite of passage; and individuals must make the transition from living to dead, or from this world to the "otherworld," or otherwise from one state into the next (van Gennep 2013). This framework is easily applicable to many forms of mortuary practice around the world, from defleshing processes to cremation to simple burial. While this approach begins to deconstruct old ideas of the permanence of mortuary contexts by understanding death and its surrounding ritual as a process rather than a depositional instant, it is important to recognize the examples in ethnographic and archaeological record that do not fit the model. In many societies, death is not a sharp transition. Marcus (2006, 223) describes how Zapotec cosmology, for example, allowed for a "seamless continuum" in which living and dead coexisted and could interface with one another. In such cases, it is more pertinent to emphasize and analyze continuity from life through death rather than the transition itself.

Claiming the Past

While it is clear that mortuary rites are complex behaviors that are associated with many aspects of social life, this thesis will focus on their effects as pragmatic acts that constitute group identity. In the previous section I described a Geertzian symbolist approach to culture that assumes a common symbolic lexicon that one must only invoke in order to suggest power,

legitimacy, religious significance, or social affiliation. This is an approach that mortuary analysts have often employed in archaeology: if an individual is buried with weapons, then he/she was a warrior. With spindle whorls, perhaps a weaver. If the tomb is rich with gold and silver ornaments, we often assume the person had wealth, political power, or both.

In the past, archaeologists have assumed these types of associations to constitute a universal grammar because they make intuitive sense—as in life, so in death. Archaeologists have, however, acknowledged that some symbolic lexica are more local. Certain atypical burials of the medieval and early modern period in Eastern Europe have been interpreted as a specific treatment for vampiric individuals, or those with demonic or supernatural potential. While the uniformity of most European Christian burials makes atypical burials appear inherently marked in a general sense, archaeologists have assigned the allegedly vampiric graves a precise symbolic vocabulary: bodies are often weighed down with stones or staked down, the limbs are immobilized and occasionally dismembered, and often they are not oriented facing east as prescribed by the Church for spiritually healthy individuals. Sometimes these "vampires" were buried with sickles, a culturally-specific deterrent against evil (Barrowclough 2014).

Although they are markedly different, the interpretation of this symbolic vocabulary requires a knowledge of it, like a language that requires a two-way dictionary to be decoded. The problem with this simplistic linguistic approach is that while repeated use of certain symbols can come to be seen as increasing evidence, it can also reinforce wrong interpretations. In the case of the vampire burials of Eastern Europe, Barrowclough has pointed out that while it makes sense to assume that deviant burials are associated with deviant individuals, there are many equally plausible explanations that do not involve vampirism, such as punishment for a crime (Barrowclough 2014, 9).

Thus, it is important to examine not just the symbols and their meanings, but the relationships between the two and their pragmatic application. Rather than a linguistic Saussurean model of mortuary symbolism, archaeology must now dissect the signs used in mortuary contexts in order to understand how it can employ them as its own signs of phenomena like group identity. There is not a direct relationship between signs and their

meanings, but rather a complex of ways in which signs are related to objects. Mortuary analysis should strive to understand these complex relationships rather than relying on convention and symbolic signification.

There are, then, many ways in which burials contribute to the significance, coherence, and maintenance of associated social groups. Maurice Bloch's study of Merina collective tombs in the central highlands of Madagascar has become fundamental in the canon of literature surrounding mortuary practice and identity. Bloch found that the placement of the dead is vital to the maintenance of group identity and carries significant social information and pragmatic action. In particular, the collective tomb of one's ancestors is understood to be that living individual's true home. Where one lives is temporary and socially negligible, but the resting place of one's forebears—and presumably the future resting place of oneself—is very important and conveys social information regarding group identity. Bloch (1971) notes that the location of the ancestral tomb is often the first question asked upon meeting someone.

In this way, mortuary practice is closely linked with group identity. Nearly every level and variety of group social identity is associated in some way with the placement of dead ancestors. Bloch notes that claims to the past via the dead are especially important in modern times, when there is a strong division between traditional and global ways of life.

Yet while this link helps to maintain social identity, it is quite dynamic. Individuals often have considerable freedom to choose whom they designate as their ancestors and whose tomb they will choose to employ upon their own death. In this way, individuals are given agency to claim the past. This dynamic framework of identity shows some promise in refining our understanding of the social aspects of mortuary practice.

The Role of Identity Studies in Anthropology

At the beginning of this paper I described how anthropology's creation of ethnic groups has produced disastrous ethical consequences in the past. Kossinna's deployment of archaeology for the creation of a Germanic ethnonationalist identity in a rapidly racialized

European zeitgeist had no small role in the popularity of Nazism which persists today. While this use and abuse of archaeology remains in the public discourse, especially in the wake of newer waves of white nationalism that tend to exploit European polytheist and medieval Christian iconography and motifs to establish an imagined history for their purposes, archaeologists should be equally wary of the potential of deconstruction and destruction. Much contemporary archaeological research suggests that the very real identities of the present world's people are historically recent inventions, at least insofar as such identities are important in funerary practice. Yet because ethnic identities rely on the idea of a deep and shared past, the potential of conflict with these conceptions and archaeological data can threaten living individuals' identities.

While anthropology no longer claims to be in the business of telling people who they are, if archaeologists are not careful, identity studies can turn into a slippery slope. This role is not new to archaeology. Migration studies and inquiry into the colonization of the Americas have often come in conflict with indigenous origin myths that claim a continental genesis. While many archaeologists and indigenous scholars have navigated this terrain carefully, there will always be a tension and conflict between archaeology and traditional narratives.

It is the responsibility of anthropologists to continue the discussion on the role of identity studies, especially in the public sphere. Wherever our bounds may be, it is important that we do not overstep them. In a connected world with nearly unlimited access to academic material, anthropology is no longer isolated from the people it represents and must now learn to consider the pragmatic effect of the knowledge and narrative it produces.

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Identity of Place, Person, & Community

Social Influences on the Experience of Pregnancy and Motherhood in the USA

by Susmetha Baidya, Jenna Menard, Nathaniel Maekawa, and Caroline Richburg

Lived experiences of pregnancy and motherhood are inextricably linked to and determined by social norms in America. In this paper, we explore some of the social influences on pregnancy and motherhood, including broad social expectations during American pregnancy, social stigmas surrounding body image and lactation during pregnancy and after birth, and sociopolitical policies and practices which influence lactation and motherhood in the United States, generally, and at the University of Michigan, in particular. We examined these pressures and practices through semi-structured interviews with individuals including mothers, lactation room managers at the University of Michigan, and the U-M Director of Work Life Programs. We also reviewed the literature on lactation advocacy at U-M and reviewed popular social media platforms. In this discussion, we follow the timeline of the gestation of a child by exploring social influences and constructs of motherhood first during pregnancy and then after birth, with focuses on body image and lactation specifically. Social media outlets and sources are used as a lens through which to illuminate expectations of mothers past and present. We conclude by discussing advocacy efforts, resources, and structures in place surrounding motherhood at the University of Michigan, as well as ways in which these resources can be improved in the future.

Introduction

The experience of pregnancy and motherhood is an innately social practice with deep-rooted social ties. Whether it be long-held traditions of community child rearing in hunter-gatherer societies to today's online parenting forums, motherhood and the experiences surrounding it are influenced by contemporary social climates and stigmas. In today's increasingly interconnected world with a focus on social media, mothers seem to be experiencing more social pressures than ever regarding what is expected during pregnancy and immediately following. In order to explore social influences on pregnancy and motherhood, we

asked, what are social expectations during American pregnancy? How do mothers navigate social stigmas surrounding body image and lactation during pregnancy and after birth? What socio-political policies and practices influence lactation and motherhood in the United States and at the University of Michigan specifically? In this discussion, we will follow the timeline of the gestation of a child by exploring social influences and constructs of motherhood first during pregnancy and then after birth, with focuses on body image and lactation specifically. Social media outlets and sources will be used as a lens through which to illuminate expectations of mothers past and present. We will conclude by discussing advocacy efforts, resources, and structures in place surrounding mothers at the University of Michigan, as well as ways in which these resources can be improved in the future.

Methods

In order to gain insight into the perspectives of mothers and the individuals that help to construct a mother's experience, qualitative data were collected during thirty-minute to one-hour semi-structured interviews. Interviews were conducted with mothers, lactation room managers at the University of Michigan, and the Director of Work-Life Programs at the University of Michigan.

In total, four mothers were interviewed who ranged in age from 21 to 56 and had their children between the ages of 17 and 35. Two of these women had children in the 2010s, while the other two had their children in the 1980s and 1990s. It should be noted that, with a sample size of four, we are unable to draw broad conclusions about the experiences of all American women during pregnancy. However, as the women interviewed represent a broad range in ages, we are hopeful that their experiences illuminate diversity in experiences over time. In order to collect more information on the experience of mothers at the University of Michigan specifically, two of our interviewees were current student-mothers at the university. All of the interviewees were Caucasian females, a potential bias in our data which might simultaneously suggest a barrier in access to higher education for student-mothers of color. We recommend focusing on this facet of the student-mother experience in future research. Interview questions were grouped into

categories, including questions about general information and background, pregnancy myths and the "beauty of motherhood," lactation, body image as related to pregnancy and the post-partum body, and finally, social media.

Lactation and associated campus resources proved to be a controversial social topic related to motherhood. Thus, we interviewed three lactation room managers from various locations around the University of Michigan's Central Campus. Interview questions were intended to discover more about the lactation rooms themselves, the efforts and pressures that came with their creation, and possible issues and improvements. Our eighth and final interview was with the Director of Work-Life Programs at U-M, Jennie McAlpine, who also served as the former head of the Lactation Task Force at the university. Her interview was illuminating in the areas of lactation, structure, and advocacy both federally and at the university.

In addition to interviews, we researched popular websites and social media sources to better understand past and present social climates that mothers have faced. Advocacy and structures at the University of Michigan were further researched through a best practices comparison model.

During Pregnancy: Social Expectations Versus Reality

Even before a child is born into a community, social pressures weigh heavily on a mother during her pregnancy. In order to explore social stigmas and expectations of mothers during pregnancy, social expectations through social media and popular sources will be compared to the reality of pregnancy through mothers' interview responses. Common themes emerged in conversation with mothers; namely, the pregnancy glow, the beauty of pregnancy, and the ways in which the pregnant form has been embraced over time.

One of the biggest "myths" of pregnancy cited by women was the pregnancy glow: the image of a radiant, goddess-like pregnant woman. "You are glowing!" or so the saying goes, implying that pregnant women are supposed to experience a nice, warm flush when they are expecting -- but is this just another pregnancy myth? Physiological changes occur during pregnancy that lead to an increase in hormones, and therefore an increase in oil production and

blood flow (Escobar 2016). This can give expecting mothers a rosy, glowing appearance, otherwise known as the pregnant glow. However, instead of connecting this term only to the appearance of skin as it is scientifically intended, expecting mothers associated the pregnant glow with beauty and how they physically felt during pregnancy.

"I think pregnancy glow is totally not true…I didn't feel like I glowed, I felt fat and did not feel myself."

—Mother, 56

"People say pregnancy is hard but you also 'glow,' but I did not anticipate the bodily discomfort of being pregnant."

—Mother, 27

Out of the four mothers that were interviewed, none cited experiencing the pregnant glow; in fact, most referred to the pregnant glow as a myth. Regardless of whether their skin experienced physiologic effects of pregnancy, if mothers did not feel good, they did not feel as though they glowed.

Innately connected to the pregnant glow is the general idea of beauty during pregnancy. Even in the United States, which is considered to be a more progressive society, women are still expected to uphold a beautiful and feminine image in society, albeit through gendered multivitamins that claim to make hair shinier or through measures as extreme as plastic surgery. Even in a very physically vulnerable state like pregnancy, many pregnant women still feel pressure to maintain this image. When asked if they felt pressure upholding the "beauty of motherhood" when pregnant, our interviewees had varied responses. Their answers concerned age and relationship status at pregnancy, as well as their experience and comfort level with pregnancy.

"When you have a belly or a baby and there is no ring you have to act confident."

—Mother, 24 at time of first pregnancy

"I was such a young mom, I did feel the immediate need to be very mature, very calm, very put together, never out of control, just having my stuff together."

—Mother, 17 at time of first pregnancy

"I did not feel pressure to uphold this image because it was just not in my personality, and people in my Lamaze classes appreciated me being painfully honest."

—Mother, 30 at time of first pregnancy

Mothers who were young and/or unmarried felt that the pressure to uphold an image of beauty was heightened when young or without a partner. Traditional social norms in America, though perhaps in the process of progressive change, stress the importance of maturity and marriage when pregnant; when a woman is without those attributes, she may feel the need to control other societal pressures, like maintaining a beautiful and feminine image when pregnant. In contrast, our interviewee who was older, married, and had experience with pregnancy through her training as a Lamaze teacher, did not feel these same pressures. Though not all of the subjects agreed on feeling social pressure to uphold an image, all moms cited feeling ugly, tired, and fat instead of beautiful.

Pressures to have the pregnant glow and maintain a beautiful image throughout pregnancy are strongly influenced by social media. Oftentimes, the people we look to on social media are celebrities. Expecting mothers very likely see images of pregnant celebrities with beauty teams, personal trainers, and professional photographers, when in reality, most women do not have the means. For example, *Marie Claire* did a picture comparison article of celebrities when they're not pregnant versus pregnant entitled, "Is Pregnancy Glow Real? A Visual Investigation Featuring 15 Celebrities" (Burns 2016). The images used in these comparisons depict women on the Red Carpet with their full hair and makeup done. As a result, the women look very similar regardless of pregnancy status. Another magazine devoted an entire page to tracking pregnant, glowing celebrities, and entitled the article "Beauties with Bumps!" innately linking beauty with pregnancy. These images give an unrealistic view of pregnancy as invariably glamorous and beautiful, when in reality, our interviewees felt the opposite.

However, with increasing technology and social platforms also comes the ability to connect mothers of all types and ages. As a result, online forums have become a place where concerned moms can go to ask questions. On one such platform called *Mums Net*, an expecting mother asked whether or not she will ever get the pregnant glow and received many responses including the following.

"I could not wait to stop feeling so awful and start glowing and then when it didn't happen, I felt like I'd personally failed somehow and I found it quite depressing."

—Mother on Mums Net

"My newly developed acne is making me shine!"

—Mother on Mums Net

Social platforms like *Mums.Net,* full of everyday moms instead of celebrities, can lead to a more realistic view of pregnancy and its challenges. Though social media can be damaging in terms of perpetuating images and expectations of expecting mothers, social platforms also have the ability to connect mothers and make them feel more comfortable.

Separate from conceptions of how to uphold a particular image of pregnancy is the view of the pregnant form itself. When asked about the pregnant form, responses varied between interviewees were pregnant during the 1980s and 1990s and those who were pregnant in this decade. While this variance may suggest a change in view of the pregnant form over time, we are unable to make definitive conclusions based on our small sample size. Those who were pregnant more recently did not necessarily wear tight clothes or share pregnancy progression photos themselves, but recognized these practices as options. Alternatively, the two mothers who were pregnant in the 1980s and 1990s both reported that maternity apparel was flowing, not form-fitting, and that all women wore loose "tents." This suggests that the pregnant body has come to be more accepted and celebrated throughout time, instead of something to hide behind loose clothing. When asked what images of pregnancy in the media resonated most with her, one woman responded that, for her, it was Demi Moore's nude pregnant photo shoot[1].

"It resonated with me because she was so proud of her body and nobody had ever done that before. She was an average woman with a large chest like me, and she was proud."

—Mother, 56

Demi Moore's nude pregnancy shot, taken by Annie Leibovitz in 1991, has been cited as one of the 100 most influential pictures of all time by *TIME* magazine, because it showed that, "maternity could be not only empowering, but also sexy" (Goldberger 2017). *TIME* wrote that the image changed the culture.

[1] See appendix

> *"Once pregnancy was a relatively private affair, even for public figures. After Leibovitz's picture, celebrity births, naked maternity shots and paparazzi snaps of baby bumps have become industries unto themselves."*
>
> *—Goldberger, TIME Magazine*

In response to the cultural shift, one of the older women said, *"I actually really admire seeing people's pregnancy pictures, how so many people nowadays have naked pregnancy pictures, because I never would've done that with the stretch marks. I like that people wear tighter clothes, it shows confidence, it's natural and we should be proud."*

—Mother, 47

This photograph and the movement that it inspired led to the empowerment but also increased sexualization of the pregnant form. Today, individuals from the Kardashians to everyday moms have professional pictures taken of their nude, pregnant bodies. While this acceptance and promotion of the pregnant form has empowered women to feel more comfortable and confident in their bodies, it has also sexualized pregnancy. When considering the image of beauty that mothers are expected to uphold along with challenges after birth, this sexualization can be very damaging. While women adjust to the intense physical changes that come along with being pregnant, they are socially compelled to uphold a sexy, feminine image.

Though women experience social pressures before their children are even born, such as an image they feel they need to uphold during pregnancy or comfort with their pregnant bodies, mothers are also highly influenced by society after they give birth.

After Pregnancy: The Postpartum Experience and Changing Lifestyle

After childbirth, new mothers are often flooded with social constructs and pressures on how to become the *perfect* mother - going back to the *perfect* figure, knowing *exactly* how to take care of a child, and being able to fulfill this new role without prior experience. There is a striking difference in expectation versus reality in the postpartum body. Along with physical changes in the body, drastic lifestyle changes also occur. Suddenly, mothers must deal with pressures on how to interact with their child. Here, we will explore postpartum experiences concerning lifestyle and physical change with a newborn.

The pressures that accompany the postpartum experience are often heightened by celebrities in social media, similar to women's experiences during pregnancy. Due to social media influence, the general interpretation of the postpartum body involved keywords such as being "fit" and going back to a "normal body." For example, actress Blake Lively quickly lost her pregnancy weight with the help of her personal trainer, an option that many mothers may not have due to cost and time (Leary 2018). Yet, the expectation of the postpartum body revolves around the idea of rapid weight loss after birth. A recent mother and celebrity, Kylie Jenner, instantly "jumped back" into her hourglass figure, which can be seen through continuous posts on her social media (Mackelden 2018). Her use of products such as waist[2] trainers provides the impression that utilizing these items is normal and necessary for new/young mothers (Collins 2018). In reality, the mothers interviewed felt that it was difficult to focus on fitness without the same resources that celebrities are accustomed to.

"There are women with [personal] trainers and babysitters, but I was waking up at 5AM before my kids got up. And all of those [professional] models [are] snapping right back."

—Mother, 56

"Other moms were sympathetic but patronizing 'with the next kid, you'll do better.' People were going through the same thing as me online, but celebrities were bouncing back so fast. If I had the time and money..."

—Mother, 21

The women we interviewed recognized the social pressure to snap back to their pre-pregnancy bodies. However, as illustrated by the quotes above, they viewed time and money as personal barriers which celebrity moms did not face. Out of the four mothers we interviewed, all four mentioned some sort of social media influence, be it online forums, in-person conversations, or general expectations imprinted on motherhood.

In reality, our interviewed mothers expressed a lack of focus on weight loss regimens immediately postpartum. Instead, they described a heightened focus and dedication to taking care of their newborns. Even when the need and/or desire to lose pregnancy weight was realized, mothers often prioritized childcare and put body goals on the backburner.

[2] See appendix

> *"After [my daughter was] four months old, I realized I had weight on me and I was not super happy. [I] was somewhat self-conscious, but I also [couldn't] commit to a weight loss regimen right then."*
>
> *—Mother, 27*

The interviewees also mentioned not only difficulty in bouncing back to their previous weight, but also the reality of looking pregnant immediately after childbirth.

> *"I remember after [my] second kid, two or three weeks after [giving birth], [while] being at church and someone [asked] when my baby was due - the baby wasn't with me. Another time, months after, when I wasn't pregnant, someone asked [my] husband when the baby was due."*
>
> *—Mother, 47*

With the bodily changes that come from carrying a child, many women experienced major physical changes from pregnancy to postpartum. These bodily changes were not only recognized by society at-large, but also an open forum for comments and even undue congratulations by peers. Most commonly, mothers cited the addition of stretch marks around the abdomen area as a physical change after birth. Recently, a Malaysian mother of four shared a photo[3] of her stretch marks on social media and was met with intense backlash and body shame (Samson 2018). However, many others expressed their admiration, stating, "I can only see beauty and unconditional love." Though women may currently feel uncomfortable in their postpartum bodies, the beauty of motherhood is being redefined. Women are actively changing social constructs of the "perfect" postpartum body by sharing bravely honest posts, indicating that body after pregnancy need not be a perfect prototype. In this way, motherhood involves body changes alongside mentality changes, which are becoming normalized via social media.

Beyond the postpartum body, mothers — and especially young mothers — reported feeling an expectation to have childcare "together," becoming the *perfect* mom. This became even more heightened for mothers simultaneously in school, as they felt they had to uphold the images of being both a perfect student and a perfect mother.

[3] See appendix

"Especially because I was in school, I felt that I had to be the best at both [student and mother]. Pinterest boards, baby food from scratch, [I] wanted to compensate for being a student by showing that I can be a great mom."

—Mother, 21

"It was a huge challenge for me to be in charge of another human, 24 hours a day. My husband was out by 4:30 am and [was] not home until 8pm. And [the newborn] was a demanding child. I felt overwhelmed and she didn't sleep through the night. I was exhausted and cried all night."

—Mother, 56

With the pressures associated with fulfilling all roles fully and successfully, new mothers need support systems and guidance through online forums, a spouse, or individual to lean on. American social ideals assert that family be present for these types of life-changing events. However, this may not be the case for all mothers. As two of our interviewed mothers pointed out, women may not have a spouse during or after pregnancy. The lack of representation of single motherhood after pregnancy remains an issue for some mothers.

"No, a lot of representations [of motherhood in social media] include two parents - crazy, pregnant wife and the poor husband who has to go to Sonic at 2AM or both parents feel exhausted. You feel jealous that other people have another person to take it out on - you can't take out being sleep-deprived on a baby."

—Mother, 21

Social forums can also be positive outlets for women to share their feelings on motherhood. They can promote self-love and confidence in new mothers, which can be valuable in a society that may put them down. Along with information on various pragmatic topics, online forums can also provide support. These forums can be helpful for mothers who do not have familial or spousal support systems, as forum communities are filled with like-minded women trying to do the best for their children. However, social platforms are never strictly positive or negative, and judgmental individuals may try to project their opinions on other women.

"Support groups have been a lifesaver. You have people who are going through situations like yours. Now that I'm older, I feel like I can help [the younger] girls out more. I can contribute more, and that makes me feel better about my experience - at least I can help someone have a better time than I did. Still, [there are] those Pinterest groups where they say 'Don't feed your baby formula [or give them vaccinations],' it's horrible. [I] wish people would stop posting things online and see a doctor. [You] wouldn't believe the number of judgmental moms online."

—Mother, 21

Hardship and struggles represented in a more honest way on social media and within online forums help build community and alleviate the stress associated with the expectation to be the "perfect" mother. Thus, positivity in tighter-knit social circles, such as family, spouses, or support groups, reduce the broader social pressure to reach a set of standards in place for new mothers. For instance, support groups may allow for community through acknowledging drastic changes in the body and in daily life after pregnancy. Sometimes, however, online forums can be a vector for judgement, particularly in the realm of lactation.

Lactation: Challenges and Gratification

"Are you Mom enough?" TIME magazine asks, as a tall, slender, blonde woman stares into the camera[4]. She is young, tan, fit, and breastfeeding. Her three-year-old child stands on a wooden chair to latch her breast, peeking over at the camera, as well. *LA Weekly* called her a MILF and reported that the *TIME* cover garnered such attention that the mother's blog website crashed (Wilson 2016). While the *TIME* article dives deeply into debates and research surrounding attachment-style parenting, lactation – and particularly, the sexualization of lactation – was at the core of the public's reaction.

For individual women, there is a gradual shift over time from feeling sexualized and embarrassed regarding lactation to feeling confident and unapologetic. When interviewed, one twenty-six-year-old mother described bringing her daughter to a shopping mall to meet Santa when the baby was just five-weeks-old. Her daughter began to cry and she searched for a quiet corner in the mall to breastfeed as discreetly as possible. Nine months later, she described marching matter-of-factly down the aisle of Costco breastfeeding and shopping simultaneously. "My child has needs and I need to meet them," she said, smiling. Another mother described leaving class each day to breastfeed in her car to avoid confronting anyone.

> *"Pumping in the car felt vulnerable… as much as you try to pump under your shirt, you're sure that you're flashing someone. At the beginning, I tried to hide the fact that I was lactating… at the end, I was like 'This is it, guys, sorry.'"*
>
> *—Mother, 21*

[4] See appendix

In this way, from individual perspectives, lactation becomes less sexual and embarrassing over time. However, on the broader cultural landscape, women who publicly breastfeed are continuously stigmatized. Searches of #lactation and #breastfeeding on Instagram highlight this paradigm. #Lactation brings up over 82,000 posts and #breastfeeding surpasses 2.5 million. Overwhelmingly, these posts depict white women intimately cozied with their children, foods such as "lactation cookies" designed to improve milk flow, and memes poking fun at shared challenges. The women's photos are gorgeous; they sit, glamorous, and breastfeed with apparent ease. Interestingly, however, is the stark juxtaposition of the captions. While women post beautifully made up photos, they comment on the difficulty of lactation and embarrassing associated moments. For example, @thenaturalnipple posted a gorgeous black and white photo of her breastfeeding her child in the bathtub while her toddler sat next to them. Flowers float in the tub and the photo is from an aerial view[5].

"Breastfeeding is rarely [sic] comes easy and will take time to figure out. You know by now this angelic depiction is often hardly the reality."

—@thenaturalnipple, Instagram

Interestingly, though mothers freely discuss the challenges of breastfeeding and even acknowledge that their glamorous photos are not representative, most women choose to post photos that focused on the beauty of motherhood. It seems that there is a consensus that, while breastfeeding is challenging and this is open territory for discussion, images must only show the positive moments.

Similarly, @georgeous_and_mummy shared a beautiful photograph of herself breastfeeding on the beach with the hashtag #normalizebreastfeeding[6]. She is wearing a swimsuit, though her child completely covers her chest. The mother reposted the same photo on @thenaturalnipple in black and white[7] with a story.

[5] See appendix
[6] See appendix
[7] See appendix

"Okay so I got up in front of about 70 business men at @synapseflorida to talk to them about barriers to breastfeeding. When I started telling them about the bottle nipple I'm creating from mom's nipple types and flow rates, I took a step back to look at the powerpoint and fell off the stage (This was the photo on the slide)#goingoutwithabang"
—@georgeous_and_mummy via @thenaturalnipple

Clearly, the woman behind @georgeous_and_mummy is an advocate for lactation and breastfeeding in her professional life. Why then, with a post on her own page designed to destigmatize and normalize breastfeeding, is she mortified to see the photo during a presentation *about* barriers to breastfeeding? Her horror in seeing this photo out of its private context underscores the double standard—breastfeeding should be normalized in certain spaces, but still remains uncomfortable and "unprofessional" in others. Notably, she writes that the presentation is in front of business *men*. In the comments, she describes the men's audible "gasps" upon seeing the photo. Even in a pro-breastfeeding context, women are disempowered and sexualized by the eyes of men. In this way, beautiful images of breastfeeding become a site for shame and embarrassment, which must be concealed and done in private. This same embarrassment and need for cover fell out of interviews with mothers.

"I pumped in the parking lot of Target and school. I would have to pump a couple of times, always in parking lots—there were no places or bathrooms. I felt absolutely vulnerable in the parking lot. I used to use blankets on the windows. I put music on in the car. The more relaxed you are the more milk you pump and faster. But I was not really relaxed in the parking lot."
—Mother, 56

Here, we see that older mothers felt the same shame that lactating women feel today. Though a movement has begun to gain traction normalizing breastfeeding, it still remains an issue of appropriate space. While it might be acceptable to talk lactation on social media and in private spaces, the professional world and public spaces – even business meetings *about* lactation – are not spaces for images of breastfeeding.

Though there is presently a large movement towards acceptance of breastfeeding, it has not always been regarded as the "best" option for mothers. Breastfeeding experienced a steady decline in favor of formula feeding between the 1940s and 1970s, when scientists, infant formula developers, and physicians developed stronger regulatory and financial relationships. Formula was similarly marketed in developing countries, leading to a decline in breastfeeding not only in

the US, but also globally (Stevens 2009). Beginning in the 1970s, a resurgence of the pro-breastfeeding movement was born, though aggressive marketing by formula companies and physician recommendations to breastfeed have led to a "breastfeeding moms" versus "formula moms" dichotomy. One mother interviewed described that when she had her first child in 1989, she was not really given the option to breastfeed; rather, formula was the default.

> *"There was no support for breastfeeding at that time. I knew no one who had done it and had never seen it done. They gave us pills to dry up our milk at the hospital. They don't do that anymore, they have you bind your breasts so that the milk dries up. That was not expected."*
>
> *—Mother, 47*

In 1989, the default to formula was so strong that physicians prescribed medication to stop lactation. Today, the contrast could not be stronger. The pro-breastfeeding movement has gone so far as to shame mothers who cannot or choose not to breastfeed. For example, a piece entitled "Milk Wars" was published in the *NY Times* and quoted a physician who stated point-blank that "formula is evil." (Quart 2012). Similarly, *Parenting Magazine* published an article with the provocative title, "Breastfeeding Advocacy: It's a Movement, Not A War," further highlighting this divide (Newman 2012). Today, new mothers often feel that there is a distinctly right choice (breastfeeding) and an inherently wrong one (formula). One interviewed mother stated,

> *"Formula moms are portrayed as the 'other' moms-- I felt guilty when I was stopping breastfeeding. It was an isolating experience."*
>
> *—Mother, 21*

In this way, formula-feeding and breastfeeding become adjectives, active descriptors and identity-pieces for breastfeeding moms with an inherent hierarchy. There is a shame associated with sharing that one is a "formula" mom, leading to silence and social isolation. Thus, for breastfeeding moms, there is no winning. While breastfeeding is heavily stigmatized and socially unacceptable in many public spaces, it is the morally correct choice. Lactation rooms exist in professional settings to account for the social mandate that lactation and breastfeeding be done in private. The room provides a dedicated space for women to lactate securely and away from a

bathroom or office during the workday. Lactation rooms require just a door lock, a comfortable chair, and electrical outlet, though temperature control, a sink, lockers, a small table, and a refrigerator are certainly appreciated. Through interviews, we set out to examine the quality and usage of lactation rooms on the University of Michigan's campus.

Lactation and the University of Michigan: Advocacy and Structures

Understanding contemporary perspectives on pregnancy, post-pregnancy, and lactation, we now acknowledge how these cultural attitudes are manifested into institutions that we inhabit. Here, we examine how the University of Michigan has evolved over time to advocate for and establish lactation infrastructure for nursing mothers. To do this, we will present a brief overview of the university's history with lactation advocacy. We will then provide an assessment of the university's current status and objectives in providing lactation resources. Following this background information, the University of Michigan will be evaluated using five determinants for best practices to recognize the progress that has been achieved, and also to inspire further recommendations.

Progress

The University of Michigan's Department of Human Resources manages the Work-Life Resource Center. This departmental subset is responsible for providing faculty and staff with information that spans from child care to resources for nursing mothers. Jennie McAlpine, the Director of Work-Life Programs, spoke with us in an interview about the development of lactation advocacy at the university over time. According to McAlpine, the movement began in the 1990s when student mothers began to pressure the University of Michigan to improve the quantity and quality of spaces for lactation. McAlpine described the spaces before improvement as "janitor closets," "bathroom annexes," and in the case of the university's Union, a "folding chair in the bathroom, that you would take down from a rusted nail."

In the 1990s, as the voice of student mothers were heard, the university accommodated requests by opening up more lactation spaces across campus. However, progress was not a priority until

the introduction of federal legislation in 2010. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, in Section 7 of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), employers are required to provide,

> *"Reasonable break time for an employee to express breast milk for her nursing child for 1 year after the child's birth each time such employee has need to express the milk."*

Employers are also required to provide, *"a place, other than a bathroom, that is shielded from view and free from intrusion from coworkers and the public, which may be used by an employee to express breast milk"*

— U.S Department of Labor, 2010

Essentially, following the establishment of this bill, the university committed itself to provide nursing mothers with reasonable break time and private spaces distinguishable from bathrooms. Ms. McAlpine created and led a task force to accomplish these goals immediately after the ACA passed in 2010. Its threefold objectives targeted policy, facilities, and institutional receptivity. Addressing policy involved pursuing the ACA's outlined intentions. Thus, the task force worked to create more private lactation spaces on campus and to redefine acceptable break periods for university employees. This focus on facilities required a comprehensive overview of the university's buildings and unused space. This physical assessment of what was available created opportunities to establish more lactation rooms on campus. Institutional surveys assessed how new implementations might be received by the campus community: if nursing mothers felt that the renovations were accommodating, and if stigmas towards nursing mothers were present in the working environment. Notably, McAlpine stated that surveys administered in 2010 and 2016 came back with the same results. Employees remain concerned about the amount of time it takes to find a space to lactate. Through these findings, Ms. McAlpine and the Work-Life Center recognize that there is more work to be done to help make Michigan a more welcoming work environment for nursing mothers.

Current Status

The U-M Work-Life Resource Center is pleased with the progress made thus far. From foldable chairs on rusty bathroom nails to an online star-based rating system for quality comparison of on-campus lactation rooms, the University of Michigan has come a long way.

With the task force disassembled, the Work-Life Resource Center is still working to enact advocacy and infrastructure for its employees. The Center's current objective is to encourage breastfeeding and breastfeeding awareness across campus. Additionally, despite success in other campus spaces, Michigan Medicine is still lacking in room availability. This is in large part because the hospital system is always competing for space. In response, the Work-Life Resource Center has begun to reach out and negotiate with hospital administrators to assess potential solutions.

Ms. McAlpine also expressed concern over the potential for repeal of the ACA. Despite demands for institutional progress stemming all the way back to the 1990s, it was not until the ACA's ratification that the university made lactation advocacy and infrastructure a priority. If the ACA were to disappear, would the university's efforts dwindle? In Ms. McAlpine's opinion, the university must step up and create its own policy commitment. This way, if federal legislation were to fall through, the progress made and actions towards it, will not be lost. "It is the right thing to do," Ms. McAlpine expressed.

Best Practices

According to The Student Parent Project, the University of Michigan is a best practice university for its accommodating lactation infrastructure and resources as determined by five best practice criteria (Petronelli 2018). While it is important to note how the university can improve, it is also necessary to acknowledge the progress made. In dissecting these five best practice points, we will discuss how the University of Michigan facilitates these practices and how the university might improve.

In providing *accessible information and resources*, the University of Michigan has acted commendably. Its website for Human Resources (University of Michigan 2018), consolidates many different kinds of guidance into one place. Embedded into its links page, the website offers a map of lactation rooms on campus (with aforementioned star-based rating). It also includes information on the ACA so that employees are familiar with their rights, and it serves as a focal point for nursing mothers to find support from the local community.

Orchestration of *community connections* occurs through references to local health centers, support groups, and on-call helplines for nursing mothers to receive consults. To improve further, the University of Michigan might develop their encouragement of community building by working with community governance. Michigan State University serves as a model of success in this regard. Collaborating with the Michigan Department of Community Health, Michigan State University has created a local register of mothers in the county who are open to meeting other new mothers to offer advice or support. This register is known as the "Breastfeeding Initiative Mother to Mother Peer Program" (Michigan State University 2018).
Also found on its website, the University of Michigan's Human Resource Department has included guidelines for on-campus building managers. This Lactation Room Setup Guide is one example of *institutional support* that the university provides to reinforce its goals of advocacy and infrastructure. *Additional services* can also be found through the website's portal, in the form of links to rent pump equipment.

The push for institutional acknowledgment and accommodations for nursing mothers began with student-mothers in the 1990s. To continue to expand the boundaries of progressive change, all members of the campus community must feel that their voices are heard. Recognizing the culture of stigma and taboo towards lactation dialogue, the University of Michigan should improve its efforts to *destigmatize*. To achieve further progress, we must initiate conversations and raise awareness. The University of Michigan must work to build an atmosphere for constructive dialogue surrounding lactation and its advocacy.

Going Forward

The Work-Life Resource Center will advocate for more lactation rooms in Michigan Medicine as a next step. Although the hospital's competition for space is a legitimate barrier, mutual goals may be achieved through innovative ideas. For example, one employee of the Work-Life Resource Center suggested combining single-stall mall and female bathrooms into one unisex bathroom and repurposing the second room as a space for lactation.

Increasing campus awareness will be critical to destigmatization efforts and may spur receptivity to the Work-Life Resource Center's initiatives for change. The Center's Communications Department currently raises awareness by distributing email flyers, but could potentially increase its impact through multimedia campaigns. Additionally, greater collaboration across Human Resources (HR) departments could be promoted by the university to further increase awareness. HR at the university is compartmentalized across campus and run by each academic/specialty department. As a result, resources may not reach their target audiences across departmental lines. For example, one interviewed building facilities manager was working to establish a new lactation room in Hatcher. When asked if he had seen the Work-Life Resource Center's online Lactation Room Set-up Guide, he responded that he was not aware that it existed. Furthermore, he had never heard of the ranking system or lactation resources that the University of Michigan provides. It is wonderful that the university has many tools and aids in place to assist nursing mothers and on-campus leaders, but it is incredibly important for people—and especially people in positions of power—to be made aware of the resources so that they can be used to their full advantage.

Finally, it is important to recognize that change occurs in all directions. While student voices have a lot of power, their initiative must be met by institutional receptivity and flexibility. When a movement pursued from both a grassroots level and a top-down approach, changes can be achieved in an efficient and effective manner.

Conclusions

In this way, pregnancy and motherhood are fraught with social and political influences. Social expectations during and after pregnancy form a set of guidelines that many women feel compelled to measure up to in a plethora of ways. In order to explore social influences on pregnancy and motherhood, we asked, what are social expectations during American pregnancy? Through interviews and analysis of social media, we see that women must progress through pregnancy with beauty and ease, enter motherhood with the same unwavering confidence, and have an hourglass figure to match. Though most expecting mothers, depending

on age and relationship status when pregnant, felt pressure to experience the "pregnant glow" through the physically vulnerable experience, the reality was that women felt "ugly and fat" during this time. The disconnect between what pregnant women and new mothers see on social media versus their personal experiences may be damaging in terms of mental health and happiness, as women may feel as if they are not measuring up. In more recent years, the pregnant form has been empowered, yet a simultaneous sexualization of the pregnant body has accompanied that movement and hurt some mothers' self-confidence. This body ideal issue continues postpartum, and women may feel pressure to return to their pre-baby body immediately. Women also reported feeling that they were held to a certain standard of behavior as a "perfect" mother, yet felt unprepared as new mothers with no previous childcare experience.

Similarly, new mothers are expected to breastfeed and lactate, though only in private, dedicated spaces away from the public eye. Mothers have navigated these social stigmas and challenges by banding together in social areas such as support groups and online via social media. These groups, however, are not exclusively positive; judgement and negativity can infiltrate these outlets, as well. Nonetheless, these tighter-knit circles provide comfort for new and younger mothers.

We also investigated sociopolitical policies and practices that influence lactation and motherhood in the United States and, more specifically, at the University of Michigan. The 2010 Affordable Care Act's section on fair labor has led to greater accommodations for nursing mothers. While stigma surrounding breastfeeding and lactation still permeates into community perspectives, advocacy and infrastructure have seen improvement since the ACA was enacted. Acknowledging the progress achieved and celebrating its positive impact is important, but it is equally important to not fall complacent in its success.

In conclusion, the seemingly biological transition from pregnancy to new motherhood is entangled and layered with a certain set of social expectations. In this way, the evolution of pregnancy to motherhood to sociopolitical institutions is a socially dynamic experience. Women individually and institutions on a broader scale are growing and changing to meet social

mandates, underscoring the ways in which biology and medicine are deeply entrenched in culture.

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Appendix

1: During Pregnancy: Social Expectations Versus Reality

2-3: After Pregnancy: The Postpartum Experience and Changing Lifestyle

4: Lactation: Challenges and Gratification

Figure 5

Figure 6


thenaturalnipple • Follow
Tampa, Florida
thenaturalnipple Okay so I got up in front about 70 business men at @synapseflorida to talk to them about barriers to breastfeeding.
When I started telling them about the bottle nipple I'm creating from mom's nipple types and flow rates, I took a step back to look at the powerpoint and fell off the stage (This was the photo on the slide) #goingoutwithabang
📸:
@georgeous_and_mummy
via @straightfrommom
thenaturalnipple .
.
.
#latchednhooked #latchedmama #breastisbest #breastfeeding #breastfeedingmom #humanmilk
194 likes
7 DAYS AGO
Add a comment...

Figure 7

Identity of Place, Person, & Community

Buddhism as a Religion

by Noah Walters

Buddhism, a religion of 535 million, remains one of the only worldviews without a creator god. This article tackles religious anthropological theory to define Buddhism as a religion. By providing a justification system and a moral framework, the god-less system of beliefs and rituals remains a legitimate religion. Defining Buddhism as a religion requires some of the most pivotal anthropological thinkers like Durkheim, Tyler, and Geertz. Through the article it is revealed that Buddhism serves its followers just as Western Christianity and Islam do. The author concludes that Buddhism is a rational system of justification, providing a moral path for its followers.

Many anthropologists dedicate their studies to define the complex phenomenon of religion. Creating a strict set of characteristics, however, places some practices outside the specific definition of religion. Émile Durkheim, one of the first scholars to examine religion from a social science perspective, states "if one insists that the term religion means belief in a supreme being, a certain number of tribes will be excluded from the world of religion" (Durkheim 1995:27). Focusing in on the 'tribe' of Buddhism, the worldview remains outside the confines of many definitions of religion due to its lack of a deity or heavy ritual practice. Melford Spiro explains that "Buddhist doctrine poses a serious challenge to most of our generalizations about religion, and ultimately to our very notions about human nature itself" (Spiro 1970: 3). Due to the many exceptions Buddhism introduces to the debate defining religion, an in-depth analysis of the Buddhist worldview must be completed. Discussing the definitions of religion and applying them to Buddhism Doctrine enlightens the idea of Buddhism broadening the defines of religion. Through this article, Buddhism is revealed to be a religion because it provides motivation for individuals to act, thus helping individuals to live a moral life.

Understanding Buddhism as a religion first requires comprehension of the practice. Scholarship and doctrine of Buddhism will first be analyzed to grasp the complex religion. Then, an anthropological dissection may begin. The definitions of religion are broad, but anthropologists agree that a religion *is* if it provide two general services for its followers. A religion provides a justification system for unexplained phenomenon in the natural world. It also provides a moral system for followers and their communities to judge individual acts. To being, then, different definitions of religion must therefore persist to then accurately discover a functioning definition.

Buddhism as a rational worldview

Buddhism was founded in 545BCE in India by a noble named Siddhartha Gautama. The practice spread rapidly through the Buddha's personality, the spirit of renunciation, self-discipline, and numerous sacrifices by Buddhist disciples (Rajavaramuni 1984:28). Initially, Buddhism drew a large part of its followers from Indians upset with the caste system, because the religion placed worth on human deed over spiritual or ascribed status. Popular in India, Thailand, Cambodia, China, Japan, Malaysia, and many other parts of the world, Buddhists constitute 8% of the world's population, about 535 million people (Rajavaramuni 1984:28).

Due to the lack of a creator-god, Buddhism is unique and thus atheistic, creating conflict in defining the practice as religious. While some spirits exist in small Nat cults in Myanmar, they do not fall into Tylor's terms of animism because they do not aid in personal salvation (Morris 2006:49). As an essentially ethical religion, Buddhism is often viewed as secular humanism (Morris 2006:52). Morris also states that "Buddhism is an extreme form of individualism, for there is no recourse to a deity or savior, no prayer or sacrament, no religious grace, and not even an enduring soul" (2006:52). This reminds a reader that for a Buddhist, all life is suffering. Central to Buddhist doctrine, this nature of suffering means many of the common aspects of a major world religion are not found in Buddhist practice. As Morris states, "Buddhism is both nihilistic and pessimistic, for it repudiates everything that constitutes or attracts the empirical self and regards all sensory experience, all life, as something to be totally rejected" (2006:52).

The religion, therefore, seems almost incompatible with any definition of religion that encapsulates the major world religions like polytheistic Hinduism or monotheistic Islam or Christianity.

The essential doctrine of Buddhism is embedded in the dharma, or the Four Holy Truths, which exist in their own right, without dependence on any prior reality (Morris 2006). The Four Holy Truths remain defined as: *Suffering exists; Suffering arises from attachment to desires; Suffering ceases when attachment to desire ceases; Freedom from suffering is possible by practicing the Eightfold Path* (BDEA 2016). Similar to Christianity's 10 Commandments or Islam's 5 Pillars, the Four Holy, or Noble, Truths constitute the foundation of the religion's worldview. The thesis of the religion states that human life is suffering, and that only through elimination of desire can suffering halt. Rajavaramuni confirms this, saying that "human life implied suffering…most people cannot live happily without adopting some kind of ostrich attitude to this existential fact" (Rajavaramuni 1984:39). Eliminating suffering thus serves as salvation for a Buddhist because suffering is so central to the practice. Just as other pious followers of western religions, Buddhists set their spiritual goal to remove suffering for their lives. This central goal is similar to its Christian or Muslim counterpart, where it is well known that all followers seek salvation through moral behavior and devout prayer.

Salvation remains to be one of the more interesting aspects of Buddhism. For most religions, salvation comes from an all-power deity, typically saving an individual from the despair of this world into the beauty of the next. A Buddhist, however, finds salvation through one's own effort. Nothing but one's own action will bring salvation. As Morris states:

> "Buddhism is a way of salvation: it is not concerned with god or the world, but with human life and with the elimination of suffering. The attainment of salvation depends neither on ritual sacraments, no faith, nor on divine grace, but only on a deep understanding of the way 'things really are'" (Morris 2006:44).

Salvation is thus an escape from the constant cycle of rebirth. Just as Islamic and Christian philosophy provide an escape through salvation, so too does Buddhism offer its followers a path to redemption (Morris 2006:45).

This insight to the functionality of Buddhism welcomes anthropological scrutiny. With the brief explanation above, the theoretical path of defining religion can be drawn. Spiro claims that cultural and religion systems are not a solid mold, but simply initial classification systems for societal practices (1970:4). Defining Buddhism as a religion then serves as a catalyst for the discussion of the vitality and validity of classifying cultural phenomenon different from those of an outside observer. Outside the world of anthropologists, an inherent ethnocentric bias of one's culture persists. Ethnocentrism is people's preference for their own cultural group over individuals of other groups (Young et al 2017:32). Therefore, observing Buddhism as a religion remains imperative—it reveals the many flaws in attempting to define 'foreign' culture. A religion exists as "the relationship between the real and ideal, the actual and doctrinal, the existential and normative," providing complex dimensions of belief systems for the believer (Spiro 1970:5). Discourse on religion then proves appropriate in attempting to eliminate ethnocentric bias. Spiro enforces this quest, claiming "to hold that religion consists in a set of textual doctrines is to hold a strange notion of 'religion' in contrast to theology or philosophy" (1970:5). Further, negating Buddhism as a religion denies its legitimacy to countries like Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar, where the state itself is established within Buddhist doctrine (Spiro 1970:5). To prevent defining legitimate practices as irreligious, redefying definitions of religion becomes necessary.

Anthropological Theory of Religion & Buddhism

Edward Tylor defined religion as essentially belief in spirits. He discusses Animism, or the 'theory of souls' being "shown as the principle out of which arose the various systems of spirits and deities in barbaric and ancient religions" (Tylor 1904:290). Today's religions thus arose from animism (Morris 2006). Tylor continues, claiming that barbaric religions existed as early systems of natural philosophy, which evolved into what is central to religion today. The notion of spirits "serves to account for whatever happens" (Tylor 1904:278). For Tylor, the belief in spirits explained the natural world and provided a moral system for individuals. To illustrate this, he states "among the savages…the worship of the dead naturally encourages good morals;

for the ancestor who, when leaving, took care that his family should do right by one another, does not cease this kindly rule when he becomes a divine ghost" (ibid:289). Here, Tylor explains how a spirit serves as a redemptive judge of morality. A religion then is a belief in spirits, serving to weigh morality. Despite the historical insight, however, Tylor lacks a culturally appropriative contribution to the definition of a religion.

A more modern attempt reflects that of Edward Conze, who defines religion as "an organization of spiritual aspirations, which reject the sensory world and negate the impulses which bind us to it" (Conze 1951:12). Religion is then just *another w*orld where spirits exist. Murray Leaf expands this idea, stating that religions "provide the ideas and organizations they use for public discussion of many matters of great practical importance and…often provide a sense of community on a personal and manageable scale" (Leaf 1957:168). This perspective, with Tylor's, defines religion as a different realm paralleled to ours, where spirits serves as a moral guide. These definitions provide some basis, ready for expansion and elaboration by Clifford Geertz.

Famously, Geertz created a five-part definition of religion. Summarized, "the importance of religion lies in its capacity to serve, as a source of general, yet distinctive conception of the world" (Geertz 1993:215). Religion then is simply an explanation of the world. Similar to animistic 'account for whatever happens,' Geertz provides a function for religion in cultural discourse. Despite the definition, however, Geertz explains that religion is not solid—like culture, it remains rigid, constantly being redefined by its followers. He says that "culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves" (Geertz 1993:207). Religion then must exist as a cooperative justification tool, influencing the society equally as the society influences it. The problem then arises that religions are constantly changing because its practicing individuals possess the power to practice and define the religion how they choose. Geertz's definition thus lacks a clear, definitive answer. The lack of uniformity from Geertz slows down the quest of defining Buddhism as a religion, but Émile Durkheim persists to provide the clearest definition of religion, able to fit Buddhism within its boundary.

Durkheim's interpretation seems to present the most functional definition of religion. His interpretation eliminates any possible ethnocentrism while clarifying the incomplete definitions. First, Durkheim acknowledges that all religions do not have a god, saying "not all religious virtues emanate from divine personalities, and there are cult ties other than those that unite man with a deity" (Durkheim 1995: 33). Thus, religion is broader than the idea of gods or spirits and so cannot be defined exclusively in those terms. This clarification is vital to understanding religion authentically while not subjecting nontheistic religions to a different definition. Durkheim's definition serves religions like Buddhism well, because religion does not require specifics. He reminds a reader that "there are great religions in which invocations, propitiations, sacrifices, and prayers are far from dominant, and therefore do not exhibit the distinguishing murky by which religious phenomena are to be recognized" (Durkheim 1995:31). With this, is it apparent that Durkheim presents the most encompassing definition to religion.

Unlike Tylor's classification of animism as savage, Geertz's ever-changing term, or Conze's and Leaf's incomplete definition, Durkheim incorporates all aspects of belief into a singular function. He reminds the reader that "the true function of religion is not to make us think, enrich our knowledge, or add representations of a different sort and source to those we owe to science. Its true function is to make us act and to help us live" (Durkheim 1995:45). Motivation to act and aid to persist in life remains the authentic function of a religion—any cultural practice defined as such has the ability to satisfy the two-fold definition as a justification system and moral code of conduct. This classification of a worldview thus presents Buddhism as a religion.

Nirvana—Filling the Void

Prior to seeing how Buddhism makes one act and helps them to live, discussion on the Buddhist negation of God is required. Buddhism fully rejects the existence of a god, which is why so much conflict to defining Buddhism as a religion exists. Some claim that since Buddhism knows no god, it could not be a religion. These discussions, however, assume that god is an unambiguous term. Durkheim states that "in none of [4 noble truths] is there any question of

divinity. The Buddhist is not preoccupied with knowing where this world of becoming in which he lives and suffers came from he accepts it as fact" (Durkheim 1995:28). Durkheim thus contents that a Buddhist only focuses on the reality of life as suffering. A Buddhist would thus adopt an agnostic attitude to that of a personal creator.

While Buddhism remains agnostic, Conze provides an interpretation where Nirvana serves a similar role to a traditionally western deity. A Christian godhead serves as an impersonal, even supra-personal power figure. Within the tenants of Nirvana, a similar role is discovered. Conze says that "Nirvana is permanent, stable, imperishable, immovable, ageless, deathless, unborn, and unbecome, that it is power, bliss and happiness…" (Conze 1951: 39). Clearly, these descriptive terms of Nirvana's purpose parallel that of a Christian deity. He continues, stating "that it is the real truth and the supreme reality that it is the good, the supreme goal and the one and only consummation of our life" (Conze 1951: 40). Simply stated, Nirvana holds the role of 'godhead' for Buddhism. Nirvana's lasting and impenetrable truth is the central pillar of Buddhism. It becomes apparent that Nirvana is similar to god in Christianity or Islam, where no follower can negate its importance and centrality. Therefore, Buddhism' 'god' becomes Nirvana.

Buddhism also provides a clear moral code. As Tambiah states, "it needs also to be emphasized that merit making is directed to hastening rebirth and securing a better rebirth than the existing one" (1968:50). The motivation of living a good life thus comes from the hope of a better salvation. Both Tambiah and Conze compare the role of a Christian deity and Nirvana, concluding that Nirvana serves a Buddhist in a similar way as a deity serves a Christian. While Buddhism lacks a traditional deity, Nirvana satisfies all the qualifications that a Christian deity provides. Through this, the religion helps one to live by providing hope of redemption at the end of a suffering life.

The Buddha's teaching is exclusively concerned with showing the way to salvation. As Lévy states, "Buddhism is a universal religion with salvation as its objects…an ascetic moved by the noble's intentions" (Lévy 1957: 2). Hence, Buddhism encourages an individual to act in ways that will bring about salvation. Phra Rajavaramuni, a Thai monk, uses specific examples from

Thai society to demonstrate how Buddhism satisfies Durkheim's definition of religion making one act. Rajavaramuni discusses the common form of merit-making acts in modern Thailand. Surrounding Buddhism festivals and ceremonies, Thai culture implements an inescapable moral structure. "By attending religious rites, ceremonies and temple festivals, or by benefiting from some activities and spiritual influence of religious institutions," Buddhism links the society to its moral structure (Rajavaramuni 1984:13). He continues, saying Thais "are linked with the religion by ties of custom; Buddhism is their national heritage, the glory of their country which they feel bound to preserve" (Rajavaramuni 1984:13). The Buddhist entrenchment in Thai society provides an ordinary Thai with solid inclusion to Buddhist practice and culture. Similarly, in Burma, Buddhism serves to unite different people. Rajavaramuni states that "the people of Burma belong to many races and speak many languages, but 85% of the people were Buddhists, thus the government found in Buddhism this unifying element…" (Rajavaramuni 1984:73). Buddhism unites different races of people. The religion therefore enforces inclusion into its moral structure.

Buddhism also provides aid to help followers live. As Rajavaramuni states, "the village monastery serves as the center of social life and activities of the village, for village social life follows the Buddhist holy days, temple fairs, and merit-making ceremonies" (1984:15). Similarly, in Thailand the *wat*, or Buddhist temple is central to community and personal life (Tambiah 1968:48). These insights help to demonstrate Buddhism's prevalence in the social community. The implementation of Buddhist temples and holy days remind individuals about the tenants of Buddhism, thus helping the individual to live. Ritual action among monks serves the laity "to achieve certain effects in these relationships between explained and unexplained" (Tambiah 1968:44). The daily practice of monks paired with the ever-present symbols of Buddhism help followers achieve a moral life. This aid, balanced with showing the way, satisfy Buddhism's agency in Durkheim's terms by making us act and helping us live

Conclusion

From extensive discourse on anthropological definition of religion, the worldview encompasses a practice that motivates individuals to act and aids them with their life. Due to the lack of a central deity and normative ritual such as prayer and idol worship, Buddhism is too often defined outside the realm of religion. This is inappropriate—Spiro states that "to hold that normative religious doctrine is irrelevant for an understanding of beliefs of religious actors is to evade one of the most important problems in the anthropological study of religion" (Spiro 1970:5). Thus, anthropologists and religious people must be aware of the ethnocentric bias when examining other religions. Unlike western-dominated Christianity, Buddhism negates many assumptions about religion yet prevails in serving its people the same way. It is evident that Buddhism persists as a religion because it provides a rational justification system for unexplained coincidences in the natural world *and* establishes a moral code through Nirvana to guide its followers on the path to salvation.

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Identity of Place, Person, & Community

We live together, we fight together: Solidarity with migrants among the Southern-European radical left

by Francesca Maviglia

The Greek 'Refugee Crisis' saw the emergence of a large international flow of volunteers and civil society organizations who mobilized to alleviate the dire situation of migrants and refugees. While most of these actors operate within the framework of humanitarian work, some groups ideologically affiliated with the radical left conceive their activities as actively political, rejecting humanitarianism and adopting the concept of 'solidarity' instead. This paper will examine their motivations, ideology, and rhetoric; building on Miriam Ticktin's distinction between 'care' and 'cure', I argue that activist groups see their work with migrants as part of a long-term 'political cure' to larger social problems. Finally, the paper will consider the historical experience of fascism and the tradition of internationalism as features of the cultural identity of the Southern European left that shaped this particular view of migration activism.

Introduction

The Southern European region recently came under the spotlight due to the 2015-2016 'Refugee Crisis', which saw an unprecedented number of migrants, in particular Syrians seeking refuge from the ongoing civil war, arrive to the shores of Greece and Italy. It quickly became evident that national or European Union (EU) institutions were unprepared to handle the situation, due to bureaucratic slowness as well as lack of political consensus. The crisis attracted a large flow of people from all parts of Europe who flew to Greece, and especially to the island of Lesvos, a "hotspot" for arrivals given the islands close geographical proximity to Turkey, to fill the gaps left by the dysfunction of official apparatuses (Stevis 2015). Volunteers quickly started making the headlines for their work ("Greek Volunteers Awarded Top UN Humanitarian Honour for Efforts with Migrants and Refugees" 2016), and have often been described as

'humanitarian' (Psaropoulos 2016) and animated by a "desire to make a difference when human suffering is tangible" (McVeigh 2016). However true for many volunteers, this narrative conflates traditional large NGOs such as Doctors Without Borders with small, newly-founded non-profit groups, independent volunteers, local habitants, and political groups, grouping all efforts under the umbrella of 'humanitarian work' regardless of the specific motivations driving different actors. Although some articles draw attention to the diversity of realities and organizational structures (The Guardian 2016), and brief mentions of "anarchist-run squats" are common in coverage of the Greek situation (Smith 2016), the idea of a politically-motivated mobilization for migrants has not been a dominant one in the mainstream collective imagination. A closer look at radical leftist groups involved in pro-migrant activities, however, quickly reveals that the way in which they think of their work is far from, and most often directly in conflict with, the principles of humanitarianism. In this paper, I focus on this politically-charged form of pro-migrant action, often termed 'solidarity', and explore its characteristics and the motivations driving it.

In the first part of the paper, I concentrate on the squats for refugees and migrants started by anarchist groups in Athens, to examine their position on humanitarianism and the alternative they propose. The main evidence I use are social media posts published by one of the squats, the City Plaza Hotel, as well as accounts of volunteers who worked there. These forms of expression are significant because they build the narrative through which activists choose to frame their work and put forth their political stances. I focus on the Greek context because the urgency of the Refugee Crisis caused solidarity to develop from a purely ideological philosophy to an observable set of practices. In the second part, I suggest some factors characterizing the culture and sense of identity of the Southern European radical left which contributed to the rise of the concept of solidarity. I broaden the focus from Athens and the Refugee Crisis to the characteristics and historical experience of the radical left in Southern Europe, which I define as

including Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal[8]. My thesis is two folded: firstly, that solidarity is prompted by a perception of the migration as part of a continuum of other political causes, rather than as a separate discrete issue; and secondly, that such perception arises from elements of identity of the radical left such as the historic experience of fascism and a tradition of internationalism.

A note on terminology

Among stakeholders in the international community working on migration issues, the common understanding is that there exists a difference between migrants and refugees. Amnesty International defines a refugee as "a person who has fled their own country because they have suffered human rights abuses or because of who they are or what they believe in", and a migrant as someone who "moves around within their own country, or from one country to another, usually to find work", and notes that "some move voluntarily, while others are forced to leave because of economic hardship or other problems" ("Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants" n.d.). This differentiation is based on the framework established by the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, which defines a refugee as someone who left their country "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted" ("Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" n.d.). As many authors have pointed out, the distinction between the two is problematic, as it relies on supposedly objective criteria to qualify as 'refugee' which in reality are context- and time-specific, and it creates categories of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' people by drawing a separation between voluntary and forced migration (Kyriakides 2016). Radical leftist groups, although familiar with these definitions, do not practically or morally draw a distinction, and use both terms interchangeably (Rozakou 2012). To reflect this practice, I use the term 'migrant' to refer to refugees and economic migrants alike.

[8] The region of Southern Europe has no clear limits universally agreed upon, and is sometimes expanded to include the south of France and countries in the Balkans. I choose a restrictive definition based on the political, cultural and historical similarities of these four countries, which make observations on the Left generalizable.

Against humanitarianism

Sitting on the floor and doodling on the surface of a "table" made of a wood plank, I listened to the rest of the people in the room, all students of various European nationalities attending the same university in the UK, complain about the practices of the activist group they had come to Athens to help. Our daily breakfast meetings had mostly been dominated by grievances about the methods of the host group, perceived to be too charity-oriented and not political enough. The long, mostly circular discussion made me and my best friend roll our eyes, as we longed for the meeting to finish so we could go back to our projects.

In July 2016, I spent three weeks in Athens participating in the creation of a community center for migrants living in the city. The project was initiated by a group of volunteers from various parts of Europe who had already been running a social kitchen in Greece for several months, first in Lesvos and then in Athens. At the time I was there, the group was still in the initial stages of transforming the six-story run-down ex-factory that they had rented into a welcoming community center (which eventually opened in October 2016). Our work routine mostly consisted of painting walls, building furniture out of pallets, and clearing out old machinery. The nature of the daily activities had created tensions between the Athens-based group and the UK-based group, who had travelled there to help for a few weeks. The criticism from the latter was based on the perceived insufficient involvement of migrants in the shaping of the project, the lack of links with the local anarchist community, and the provision of food, clothes, and medical services, seen as a typically humanitarian activity.

A broad description of humanitarianism may define it as an informal ideology based on the intrinsic value of human life; in recent decades, however, the word has acquired a more specific designation as a set of principles and techniques for responding to humanitarian crises. Nicholas de Torrente, Executive Director of Doctors Without Borders-USA, defines humanitarian action as the "single-minded purpose of alleviating suffering, unconditionally and without any ulterior motive" (de Torrente 2004). He further specifies the core principles of humanitarianism to be "humanity, neutrality, independence and impartiality" (de Torrente

2004). The humanitarian conceives him- or herself as a neutral actor that does not choose a political side, but rather dispenses care unconditionally to all those in need.

In her critique of humanitarianism, Miriam Ticktin is critical of these principles, in particular of the lack of "ulterior motive" that characterizes humanitarianism. Ticktin makes a distinction between 'caring' and 'curing,' remarking that humanitarianism functions as an anti-politics machine because it conceives of caring as an end in itself, consequently preventing the imagination of a political cure: "Rather than change the conditions in which people live and thereby improve human life on a broader scale, the focus is on alleviating pain in the present moment" (Ticktin 2011, 62). Tickin's critique does not condemn the worthy intention of saving human lives, but rather the growing hegemony of the humanitarian ideology as the only mode of response to political crises and underdevelopment, with the result that the focus on band-aid provision of short-term 'care' allows political institutions to avoid engaging with complex and long-term issues. Examples of humanitarian actors whose focus on alleviation of suffering contributes to the postponement of long-term solutions may include international aid organizations, charity foundations, first-aid groups, and so on.

Although I was familiar with these criticisms of charity and foreign aid, the discussion I observed in Athens seemed largely preposterous to me, as the two groups had virtually identical political ideologies, as well as relations with State, EU institutions and large NGOs characterized by distrust and rejection. Additionally they shared a vision of a utopian solution to the Refugee Crisis: the opening of borders and an unconditional acceptance of all migrants, without distinction between refugees and economic migrants. Interestingly, the Athens-based group launched similar accusations at the UK-based group as well as other groups of volunteers who were negatively characterized by a member as "wanting to save the world by playing with children and teaching English" —the kind of activities commonly associated with voluntourism. I do not wish to dwell here on whether the criticisms were founded or not. Rather, I want to draw attention to the fact that the mere possibility of closeness to humanitarianism was sufficient to cause conflict between groups with largely similar cultural backgrounds and

political goals. The anxious desire to avoid any association with charity was strong enough to lead each to scrutinize the other's practices among ideologically aligned groups.

"We live together, we fight together"

The hyper-awareness of one's own positionality and the desire to escape the dynamics of hierarchy, Othering, and passivization of migrants—perceived to be prevalent in NGOs' and governments' humanitarian practices—have been frequently noticed among politicized pro-migrant groups (Rozakou 2016, 2012; Chrouris n.d.). This preoccupation, and the will to build a different model of relations with migrants, is well summarized by the words of a volunteer who worked at the City Plaza Hotel squat:

> I could never have guessed that, despite all the information I had on the refugee crisis and all the awareness I had worked on raising, I still fell into some clichés and small racist acts during my coexistence with these people. In fact, I think some of my slip-ups were caused, partially, by the way the western world articulates the topic of helping refugees. We mustn't forget that **two of the main pillars on which our countries were historically built are religion and imperialism, key factors that lead to charity – a very, very different concept from solidarity** (Blanco 2016).

Instead of humanitarianism, the radical left has been proposing an outlook on pro-migrant work based on the idea of 'solidarity'. This concept preceded the start of the Refugee Crisis and is not limited to mobilization for migrants: its use has been noted, for instance, in the context of 'social clinics' providing free medicine and medical assistance to those affected by the economic crisis in Athens (Cabot 2016). Heath Cabot situates these social clinics within a "larger movement of solidarity networks, which include soup kitchens, time banks, anti-middlemen markets, and venues for the distribution of clothing and foodstuffs" (Cabot 2016). Evthymios Papataxiarchis defines solidarity as "a project, an 'alternative horizon' aimed at combating alienation and atomization" and traces its emergence as a response-from-below to post-2008 austerity policies (Papataxiarchis 2016). According to Papataxiarchis, solidarity is both a pragmatic mode of political practices and a utopian project of reimagining society and social relations. It is thus not surprising that this concept has become the main keyword used by

radical groups engaged in pro-migrant activities to describe their work, which is as much as affirmation of ideology as it is a practical program. The importance of the idea of solidarity is manifest in the way it shapes language use, as shown by this call for a group meeting by the City Plaza Hotel squat:

> Refugees and solidarians [...] will discuss the situation in the camps, in order to identify ways to organize refugee and solidarian struggles ("Detention Centers: State of Exception and Continual Apartheid on the Islands of the Aegean" 2016).

Here the people who the international press would commonly describe as 'volunteers' are instead called 'solidarians,' emphasizing their distance from the framework of humanitarianism that volunteerism is associated with. This practice is not unique to City Plaza, but has become common-place in Greece (Rozakou 2016). The term 'solidarian' allows for one's actions to be charged with political meaning, in contrast with the idea of the 'neutral' humanitarian (Ticktin 2011). Far from choosing a position of neutrality, the City Plaza collective explicitly states that their pro-migrant work is embedded in the political. A statement published on their Facebook page in October 2016 to celebrate the first six months since the opening of the squat reads:

> We want to set an example for dignified refugee housing, but we also want to be a tool in the struggle for equal rights for economic and political refugees, in order to abolish the EU-Turkey deal and for the borders to be opened, in order for detention in camps and deportations to stop, [...] in order to bring down the fence on Evros, in order to grant political asylum to refugees fleeing war ("185 Days and Nights of Solidarity and Dignity" 2016).

Contrary to the humanitarian focus on short-term alleviation of suffering, for solidarians the emphasize a long-term vision, and the immediate work of 'care'—providing housing, food, and medical attention—is not carried out for its own sake, but as a building block of the political 'cure'. The rest of the statement reveals information about the "project of society remaking" (Papataxiarchis 2016) that solidarity envisions:

> We all managed to create a complete counterexample for dignified housing, multiethnic cohabitation and social self organization, [...] a counterexample for the social integration of migrants and refugees, a springboard for demanding from the state itself to provide permanent and dignified housing conditions, a practical proposal for the movement and for society, not only for claiming the

> rights of refugees and migrants, but of all of us, from racism to unemployment and from closed borders to the memoranda ("185 Days and Nights of Solidarity and Dignity" 2016).

The utopian social vision of the radical left and the pro-migrant mobilization merge through the project of solidarity: the cause of migrants is not perceived as a separate, external one, but rather as part of the broader struggle for a reimagined social organization. Cabot argues that the solidarity clinics she observed operate in a context of "chronicity of illness" (Cabot 2016) where disease was not understood as a simple pathology but as a widespread, long-lasting condition arising from the marginalization and austerity of post-2008 Greece; solidarity is thus a way to 'care' for the pathology while providing a 'cure' to heal the chronicity of the crisis. Similarly, for the radical left, the Refugee Crisis is not a one-off failure of official institutions, but is rather situated in the chronic malaise of neoliberalism. Therefore migrants are caused by the continuation of normal political activities rather than an 'external' battle affecting a distinct Other that is adopted out of compassion for suffering. This driving philosophy is perhaps best encapsulated by the central slogan of City Plaza and other Athenian squats: "we live together, we fight together" (see Appendix 1).

Identity factors

Although rarely highlighted by mainstream media coverage of the Refugee Crisis, the hostility to charity and humanitarianism of local Greek groups and the significance of the concept of solidarity have been documented in anthropological studies (Rozakou 2012, 2016; Chrouris n.d.; Cabot 2016; Papataxiarchis 2016). Previous literature has focused on the practices of local Greek groups, the impact of these practices on the relations between volunteers and migrants, and how volunteers understand and attempt to shape their own positionality through their work ethics. I want to focus instead on the question of why the principle of solidarity became a paradigm for pro-migrant work among the radical left. Despite the apparent lack of any shared similarity of demographics, history, or background between European solidarians and African, Middle Eastern, or South Asian migrants, the former

conceptualize the cause of migrants' rights not as a separate, self-standing issue but as part of their own struggles. This sense of identification and perception of sameness should not be taken as automatic, as other frameworks dealing with migration, like humanitarianism, rely instead on a construction of the migrant as Other (Ticktin 2011). What elements of their identity cause leftist political groups to carry such a strong sense of identification with the experience and destiny of migrants? Here I want to suggest two issues that have historically defined leftist culture in Southern Europe; the relation with fascism and the ideal of internationalism have provided ground for the incorporation of the migrants' cause within broader political struggles. I do not mean to imply a simplistic cause-effect relation, but rather show that these two elements have shaped the identity of the radical left in a way that facilitated the creation of a discourse of continuity around migration. I broaden my focus from Greece to the rest of Southern Europe as the historical similarities between the countries of the region cause these themes to be experienced similarly.

The fight against fascism

Historical memory, especially with regards to World War II (Kiss 2014), has been a tool to "[foster] social memories of the past in order to define national belonging in the present" in Western Europe (Rubin 2012). Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal all went through military and fascist dictatorial regimes during the 20th century; this experience left a deep, durable mark on the collective consciousness of these countries. Anti-fascism as a value and a practice is deeply embedded in the ideology and rhetoric of the radical left, which builds its identity on a sense of inheritance and continuity from the movements that resisted the respective fascist dictatorships. The bridge between past and present represented by anti-fascism does not exist only at a national level but across countries as well: the Italian guerrilla song "Bella Ciao" is still sung nowadays in Spain and Greece (Punzo n.d.), and the motto of the Republican fighters during the Spanish Civil War, "No pasaran" (They shall not pass), is included in a song of the Italian civil resistance movement against the construction of a high-speed railway ("No TAV No Pasaran" n.d.). The reutilization of this shared cultural heritage for contemporary battles also indicates

that the resistance against fascism is not perceived as a historical fact but as an ongoing, lived experience, and the international links unifying the leftist movement across the region are constantly renewed: for instance, the leftist Greek rapper Pavlos Fyssas, who was killed by a group affiliated with the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn in 2013, is remembered and celebrated in Italy (see Appendix 2). Leftist groups, therefore, are characterized by a perception of fascism as a living, active threat. It is not surprising, therefore, that the wave of xenophobia and the rise of right-wing extremism across Europe triggered by the Refugee Crisis would have a strong resonance with the values and political struggles of the radical left.

In August 2016, the squat "Notara 26", which forms part of the network of migrant squats in the anarchist neighborhood of Athens, was attacked with petrol bombs during the night. Although there were no victims, the interior of the building was damaged by the fire, forcing the occupants to move out. The City Plaza Hotel squat issued the following statement:

> It is clear that the goal of the criminals was to spread terror among refugees and solidarians. In the sick climate created, on the one hand, by the evacuation of squats in Thessaloniki and, on the other hand, by the ceaseless smear campaign against the solidarity movement, fascists feel they are free to roam.
>
> Yet they are mistaken! The refugee solidarity movement will not be held back by firebombs, as it was not by riot police either. The murderous attack on Notara 26 does not scare us, it enrages us. We remain on the side of refugees, we insist on a culture of solidarity against the barbarism of racism.
>
> We live together, we struggle together, we will win together ("The Murderous Attack on Notara 26 Does Not Hold Us Back" 2016).

The accreditation of the incident to fascists is due to previous incidents of clashes between pro-migrant activists and Golden Dawn. It is important to notice that the statement links the rise of fascist and racist violence to the behavior of the State, creating a parallel between "firebombs" and "riot police". The racist violence suffered by migrants at the hands of right-wing groups is perceived to be on a continuum with the violence of the State: both ultimately affect migrants

and solidarians alike, and occur within a longer history of conflict between the radical left and both fascism as well as official institutions[9].

No borders, no nations

For the celebrations of its six-month anniversary, City Plaza organized a series of workshops, one of which was titled "Internal and external European borders: internationalist solidarity and struggles for the freedom of movement":

> With the participation of comrades from European countries, we exchange experiences on the situation as it is currently unfolding [-] the multiplication of fences, the rise of repression and of the far right, the militarization of the borders, and the peak of the suspension of rights - with a view to identifying strategies and ways to overcome Fortress Europe and to escalate the struggle for internationalist solidarity ("Internal and External European Borders: Internationalist Solidarity and Struggles for the Freedom of Movement" 2016).

Internationalism is a core concept of communist, socialist and anarchist philosophies, characterized by the rejection of a sense of identity based on nationality, and often of the Nation-State altogether, and the forging of relations of brotherhood across national borders instead. In this workshop description, it is possible once again to notice the merging of traditional elements of leftist practices, such as the building of networks across countries and an internationalist outlook to political struggles, with issues unique to the migrant crisis, such as the tightening of border controls and the closure of Europe from outsiders. The fight against borders as an integral part of leftist struggles is not obvious, given that solidarians are in most part European citizens who already enjoy freedom of movement, and are therefore not personally affected by the increase in border controls. Of course, non-politicized stakeholders involved in migration-related human rights work are also critical of the way European nations have been managing their borders during the Refugee Crisis: Amnesty International, for instance, calls for Europe to "create safe and legal routes so that people do not feel forced to

[9] This hypothesis is beyond the scope of the paper, but it is possible that the weight of the threat of fascism might lead to a particularly strong degree of empathy with citizens of countries escaping from or having lived under authoritarian regimes with similar patriarchal structure as Southern European fascist regimes. Investigating whether the level of identification with migrants changes depending on their geographical provenience could constitute an interesting question for further research.

make perilous sea crossings" ("Hotspot Italy: Abuses of Refugees and Migrants" n.d.). For these groups, however, the problem is the way immigration law is created and enforced, not the existence of borders in itself. Leftist groups, on the other hand, understand the failure of the European community to provide a humane solution to the Refugee Crisis with regard to the damaging effect of the existence of geographically-defined Nation-States. "No borders, no nations," already a core motto of anarchism, has become a central slogan of pro-migrant movements (see Appendix 3). The pre-existing hostility toward State institutions and the ideological rejection of national borders created fertile ground for the radical left to understand the migrants' cause as an integral part of their own political struggles.

Conclusion

Hannah Arendt articulated the tragedy of statelessness as the loss of human rights due to the loss of a political community (Arendt 1951). Humanitarianism might be read as a response to this loss. However, a political cure to the situation of refugees and migrants, which would entail the reacquisition of their human rights, is made impossible by the absence of a State to appeal to. The focus thus shifts to immediate care instead. The services provided by humanitarian action are not envisioned to be a solution: Ticktin highlights how humanitarian professionals were largely aware that the "immediate, urgent, and temporary" care they were providing did not constitute a long-term political program (Ticktin 2011), but chose to act in the present rather than towards an uncertain future solution. Humanitarianism does not propose itself as a tool to address systemic problems, but rather focuses on acting in the now while leaving the task of working towards a cure to other actors. Humanitarianism expects to work in a space where human rights are suspended, thus implying a degree of confidence in the State and other political institutions, as it hands over to them the responsibility of breaking such suspension. Solidarity, on the other hand, can be read as a response to the situation of statelessness that places no trust in official authorities, and thus is driven by the imperative of working toward a cure in the now. I have shown how the various services offered to migrants are conceived as an integral part of the program of constructing a social utopia, and are therefore

embedded in political meaning. The traditional rejection of official authorities and national borders, the violence suffered at the end of fascism, and the experience of post-2008 austerity which aggravated the dissolution of a social pact with the State all contributed to shaping the Southern European leftist identity in way that proved optimal for the development of the solidarity model.

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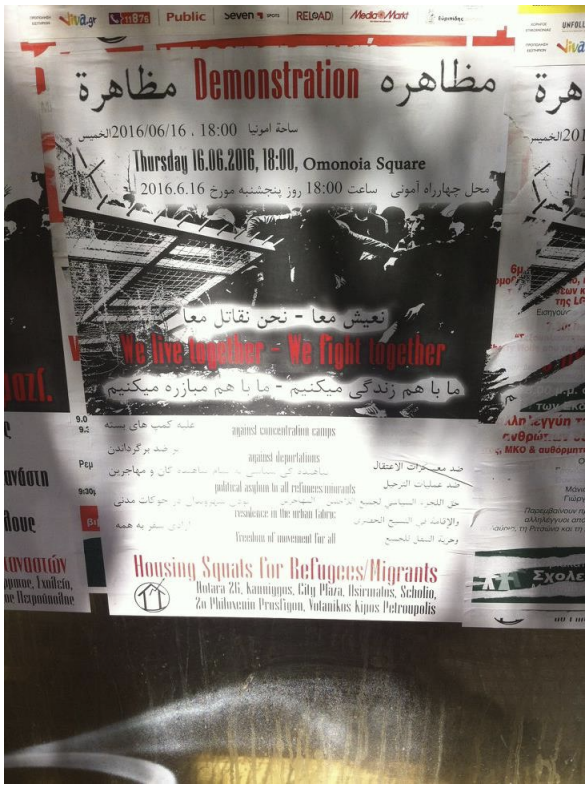
Appendix



Appendix 1

Photo of a poster in a street of Athens, publicizing a pro-migrant demonstration organized by several squats. The poster reads: "We live together - We fight together. Against concentration camps, against deportations, political asylum to all refugees/migrants, resilience in the urban fabric, freedom of movement for all". Photo taken by me.

Appendix 2

Photo of a graffiti homaging rapper Pavlos Fyssas (aka Killah P) in the city of Bologna, Italy. Photo taken by my friend Christopher Saltmarsh and used with permission.

Appendix 3

Photo of an anti-borders, anti-police graffiti in a street of Athens. Photo taken by me.