Greetings! I’m sure all who attended will agree that the SWAA conference that we held in April in Garden Grove was a huge success. Many thanks to all the volunteers who donated their time, and to the SWAA Board members who worked to organize and coordinate the many activities that went in to planning and executing the event. And, I would particularly like to thank Past President Dr. Sara Grant for her thoughtful idea for a conference theme of “legibility” and for her extensive efforts to bring students and volunteers to the conference. This theme provoked the submission of exceptional presentations and posters, and I was struck at how the concept of legibility provided a connective thread for diverse approaches, topics, and perspectives. The panels were outstanding. Keynote speaker, Dr. Sherine Hamdy, gave us an amazing insight into the use of graphic novels as a method for presenting ethnographic stories and making anthropology more accessible to a broader audience. Her work on kidney and liver disease in Egypt and the experiences she recounted of developing a graphic “ethnofictional” work were inspiring.

The 2020 SWAA Conference will be held in Albuquerque, New Mexico on April 24 and 25. The conference theme will be “Community, Culture, and Wellbeing.” This theme is intended to foreground the ways that these concepts influence the health of individuals, communities, and populations. As anthropologists, we understand and recognize the quotidian ways that wellness is enacted and wellbeing is promoted in different cultural and contextual settings. Defining wellness and wellbeing requires a broad lens that considers culture, community, and context. Anthropologists are well situated to this work. We are particularly interested in submissions that use an assets-based approach acknowledging positive dimensions of these dynamics. In this era of negativity and toxicity that tends to define both public narratives as well as the way we think about the world, capturing and reclaiming a vision of the ways that generative and healing relationships and processes exist in the areas we study is important not only for the people and communities we work with, but also in terms of ensuring a holistic understanding of reality.

Having the conference outside of California is somewhat novel in the last several years [since Reno, 2010 and 2011, and Las Vegas 2009] but I know that you will find Albuquerque to be a wonderful venue. We have chosen the historic Hotel Albuquerque as the site of the conference. This will make for a beautiful setting for the reception and banquet, and even the rooms where we will have the panels have character. The Hotel is located in Albuquerque’s Old Town, a 2-minute walk to shops, restaurants and museums. The Albuquerque Museum, the Natural History Museum and the Explora! Children’s Museum are all excellent, and the zoo, the aquarium and the bio park gardens are a 5-minute drive. For all of you Jesse and Walt fans, you can take a streetcar “Breaking Bad” tour right from the hotel parking lot. And UNM has the small but amazing Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. Santa Fe is less than an hour away and there is a light rail RoadRunner train that can take you. And there is no limit to the amazing things to see, do, or hike to.

We will be releasing the call for abstracts in the fall and open the portal for submissions in January. Please mark your calendars, as I am sure that you already have interesting and stimulating ideas for your submissions!!

Janet Page-Reeves
SWAA President, 2019-2020
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~Student Paper Competition Winners~
1st: Melissa Hafey (University of Nevada, Reno)
“Legibility and Practice in Craft Brewing”

2nd: Lisa Reyes (CSU Northridge)
“The Real Travelers of Bravo: Touring the Backstage of Reality Television”

3rd: Gabbie Fall (San Jose State University)
“Response Begins with Preparedness: The Impacts of the 2017 Coyote Creek Flood in San Jose”

See page 8 for abstracts. As per tradition, the first place student paper is published in the summer SWAA Newsletter—see pages 12-17.

~Student Poster Competition Winners~
1st: “Excavating in the Mangroves”
Sandra Nunez, Michael Adler, Pedro Garcia and Enadina Lozeno (CSU Long Beach)

2nd: Lena Jaurequi (CSU Northridge)
“Making Diversity Legible: An Archaeological Perspective on Depot Hotel in 19th Century Los Angeles”

3rd: “Waste Management at CSU, Dominguez Hills”
Cristina Ramirez, Sahara Vilchis, Samantha Sanchez, Georgina Diaz, Jessica Martinez
(CSU Dominguez Hills)

See pages 9-11 for more information about these students and their projects!

Albuquerque Historic marker; Hotel Albuquerque
Saturday night Banquet (top four, clockwise from top left): Student volunteers listening to the program; Dr. Sherine Hamdy, Distinguished Speaker; Banquet attendees; Incoming SWAA President Dr. Janet Page-Reeves (standing) with Claudia Yefremian.

Images from the 2019 Conference: Garden Grove, CA

Photos: Courtesy of Hilarie Kelly, Jonathan Karpf, and Chrissy Sepulveda
Poster Sessions
Exhibit dedicated to the memory of long-time SWAA member and former president Kim Martin (above); Dr. Linda Crowder with her display table of for-sale items (top right); CSU Fullerton graduate student volunteers David Angulo and Nik Bolas (right).

Thursday night Board meeting—your Board at work for you!
Left to right: Barbra Erickson (NL editor), Hank Delcore (Board Chair), Jonathan Karpf (local arrangements chair), Janet Page-Reeves (program chair and incoming president), and Eric Canin (membership chair).
Also present but not visible: Sarah Grant (president), Janni Pedersen (secretary and registration chair), Andre Yefremian (treasurer), Jayne Howell and Michael Eissinger (members-at-large), Jennifer Rogers-Jennings (grad student member) and Hilarie Kelly (social media).
(Photos this page by Hilarie Kelly)
Annual Student Paper and Student Poster Competition: Once again, it was challenging for the committees to select from among the many outstanding entries! On this page and following three pages, we present the winners—their abstracts and photos [where available], along with photos of the winning posters. As is the SWAA custom, we have included the first place paper in its entirety—see pages 12-17 in this Newsletter.

1st Place Paper

Legibility and Practice in Craft Brewing
By Melissa Hafey (University of Nevada, Reno)

This study is part of a larger ethnographic project that investigates the emerging local craft beer industry in Northern Nevada. In this paper, I analyze gendered linguistic practices among craft brewers and employees of specialty bottle shops in Northern Nevada in order to reveal the role that legibility plays in constructing the expert brewer identity as it intersects with gender. Feminist scholars have argued that gender is a performance (Butler 1990) and that women and other marginalized members of a community sometimes practice what Ahmed refers to as “institutional passing” (Ahmed 2017). This paper explores how women perceive themselves as professionals in the craft brewing sector, in contrast to how they are spoken to in their occupational context; this allows us to identify the ways that women might be performing a gendered identity in order to be legible in a mostly-male industry. The results of this research contribute to an understanding of how gendered linguistic practices (re)produce stereotypical roles and gendered performances that are legible in defined contexts, while revealing how these efforts intersect identity, consumption patterns, and personal values in the context of an increasingly global, capitalist, and Westernized marketplace.

2nd Place Paper

The Real Travelers of Bravo: Touring the Backstage of Reality Television
By Lisa Reyes (California State University, Northridge)

Celebrity culture extends to the “real people” featured on reality shows. In fact, fans of the popular lifestyle reality shows hosted by Bravo TV network even pursue travel to the shows’ filming locations. In this paper, I examine how the filming locations become travel destinations to the fans, and how the shows influence the tourists’ familiarity of the destinations. In October 2018, I conducted participant observation and semi-structured interviews with fan-tourists at locations in Southern California affiliated with the shows The Real Housewives of Beverly Hills and Vanderpump Rules. I found that tourists who are personally invested in these shows are aware of deceit behind the production of the storylines, but they travel to the destinations to see the authentic dimensions of the reality stars. Also, because some viewers are embarrassed about being entertained by the shows, they join closed and anonymous online groups to share their travel experiences as a form of social capital in exchange for inclusion and self-esteem within fan networks. This paper, which draws on tourism studies and popular culture studies scholarship, illustrates how popular culture influences the travel industry, and reveals how tourists cope with the perceived stigma of being fans of the shows.

[Photo of author not available]

3rd Place Paper

Response Begins with Preparedness: The Impacts of the 2017 Coyote Creek Flood in San Jose
By Gabbie Fall (San Jose State University)

The purpose of this study was to look at the way that aid and recovery were handled after the 2017 Coyote Creek flood in San Jose. To learn about this, I conducted interviews with people impacted by the flood, analyzed media coverage from the time of the flood and since, and interviewed workers from relevant city offices and non-profits to see how relief and recovery efforts were perceived as well as how they were intended. This articulates with the anthropology of disasters by providing another view of what it means to be prepared; not only prepared to reduce the effects of disasters but also prepared to provide comprehensive aid immediately after the fact, regardless of whether or not the effects of the disaster were reduced in the first place. I have found that people were largely dissatisfied, to say the least, because the damage was not mitigated due to the late evacuation and the subsequent relief efforts did not meet the needs of those living in a city with such an expensive cost of living. This shows how diverse needs cannot be met with generic solutions and can be used to avoid the repetition of certain missteps in the future.

[Photo of author not available]
Excavating in the Mangroves

Abstract: The goal of January 2019’s trip to Chiapas, Mexico was to find textile impressed pottery dating to the Late Postclassic (AD 1200-1521). The study area, known as Proyecto Arqueológico Costa del Soconusco (PACS) contains over 200 archaeological mounds. Mound GE-1 is the only one that shows possible signs of Late Postclassic occupation. Textile impressed pottery, technique associated with Aztecs, was brought to the surface by looters at GE-1. Our goal was to find this pottery type in situ. At the plateau of GE-1, we opened two 2m x 2m units and later reduced them to 1m x 2m units. A third 2m x 2m unit was opened on the looter’s back-dirt. We excavated in arbitrary 10cm levels, collectively digging down approximately 525cm. Despite our efforts, we did not find the textile impressed pottery in meaningful context. The majority of the deposit was Late Formative Bermudez Complex (350 BC - AD 0), large-scale production of thick, brown pottery essential to salt production. Analysis of the collected sherds showed they were re-worked and re-purposed into expedient tools possibly used for scraping salt out of vessels or cutting wood. The absence of other artifacts such as grinding stones, projectile points, and other tools, tells us that this mound was likely not used to live on, but rather visited for the production of salt for short periods of time. Though we did not find what we set out to look for, we still generated important new data on the Late Formative occupation of GE-1.

About Us:
All four of the poster contributors are students at California State University, Long Beach. Three of the four—Michael Adler, Pedro Garcia, and Sandra Nunez—are pursuing their B.A. in Anthropology. Michael Adler interned at the Bowers Museum, Education Department. He hopes to pursue a career in museum curation and artifact preservation. Pedro Garcia is passionate about archaeology. He has participated in different field schools for three consecutive years. He desires a career in CRM as he continues higher education to lead his own excavations. Along with her B.A., Sandra Nunez is pursuing a minor in Native American Studies and hopes to attain an M.S. in GIS. All three are scheduled to graduate May 2020. The fourth member, Enadina Lozano, is a graduate student in the Geography department. She has completed 11 excavations and has a new found love for archaeology. The location of the poster is of direct geographic interest of her thesis, Lozano is creating a probability map, using GIS, for the 200+ sites that make up the Proyecto Arqueologico Costa del Soconusco. All are students of CSULB faculty member Dr. Hector Neff.
Waste Management at CSU, Dominguez Hills

Abstract: The excessive amounts of landfill bins and shortage of other types of bins keeps our carbon-footprint here at California State University Dominguez Hills (CSUDH) high. This poster reports on an ethnographic needs assessment that identified challenges the CSUDH campus community faces in regards to waste management. Specifically, we focused on the use of space in connection to trash, plastic/aluminum recycling, and the three-bin system that includes waste, mixed recycling, and compost on campus. Ethnographic tools used in this study include interviews, surveys, mapping, and participant observation. Additionally, we mapped the campus to understand the placement of these bins according to pedestrian traffic. While doing this research we partnered up with the Sustainability Club and conducted a trash audit. The results of this study identified the lack of knowledge students have as one of the key obstacles to proper trash disposal. Results included potential strategies to generate more efficient use of waste bins by the campus community.

Read about the five co-authors, next page
(Left): My name is **Cristina Ramirez**. I am a CSUDH alum and I recently was accepted to the masters program for applied archeology at California State University, San Bernardino. I am currently at an archeological field school at Mt. Trumbull, AZ with my group member Samantha Sanchez. I like playing volleyball, jogging, and sudoku. I enjoy

(Right): My name is **Samantha R. Sanchez** and I am a California State University Dominguez Hills alum. When I am not working I enjoy watching baseball, going to the movies, and trying new foods. Currently I am finishing up an archeology field school in Mt. Trumbull. I will be attending graduate school in the year 2020 which will help me reach my goal of working in Cultural Resource Management.

(Left): My name is **Georgina M. Diaz**. I am an undergrad student at California State University, Bakersfield hoping to graduate with my bachelor's degree in 2020. I work & occasionally volunteer at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. I have a deep love of music, field work, & forensic osteology. In this photo, I’m brushing off a fossil I uncovered in Utah when I was doing field work with the Natural History Museum, as part of an institute with the Dinosaur Institute.

(Right): Jessica Martinez is an under-grad student attending California State University Dominguez Hills. She will be majoring in Anthropology with a minor in Public Health, Spring 2021. Jessica is the current treasurer of the Anthropology Club (2019-2020), also she is an editor of the Electronic Student Journal of Anthropology in the University of Dominguez Hills. She recently took a spring intercession Study Abroad class in Bulgaria, where she was able to experience different cultures, traditions, walk through prehistoric caves, a castle and walk on Roman roads. Jessica enjoys caring for others who may need of her help. She is charismatic and likes to meet new people who she share similar interests with her.

*Sahara Zitlali Vilchis* is an undergraduate at California State University, Dominguez Hills, a McNair Scholar, the new president of the Anthropology Club, and a single parent. While her interests lie mainly in biological anthropology, she is learning to do ethnographic research this summer at a small community in Lake Atitlán, Guatemala. Outside of school she likes to go on adventures with her kids, ride her bike, run with her dog, listen to music, and spend her time journaling. Her goal is to be admitted into a PhD anthropology program by fall 2020 to become a part of the research community in the academy.
Legibility and Practice in Craft Brewing
Melissa Hafey (University of Nevada, Reno)

Abstract
This study is part of a larger ethnographic project that investigates the emerging local craft beer industry in Northern Nevada. In this paper, I analyze gendered linguistic practices among craft brewers and employees of specialty bottle shops in Northern Nevada in order to reveal the role that legibility plays in constructing the expert brewer identity as it intersects with gender. Feminist scholars have argued that gender is a performance (Butler 1990) and that women and other marginalized members of a community sometimes practice what Ahmed refers to as “institutional passing” (Ahmed 2017). This paper explores how women perceive themselves as professionals in the craft brewing sector, in contrast to how they are spoken to in their occupational context; this allows us to identify the ways that women might be performing a gendered identity in order to be legible in a mostly-male industry. The results of this research contribute to an understanding of how gendered linguistic practices (re)produce stereotypical roles and gendered performances that are legible in defined contexts, while revealing how these efforts intersect identity, consumption patterns, and personal values in the context of an increasingly global, capitalist, and Westernized marketplace.

Introduction
This study is part of a larger thesis of ethnographic inquiry into the emerging local craft beer industry in Northern Nevada. The paper describes the gendered history of beer production alongside an analysis of the gendered linguistic practices among craft brewers and employees of specialty bottle shops in Northern Nevada in order to reveal the role that legibility plays in constructing the expert brewer identity as it intersects with gender. Feminist scholars have argued that gender is a performance (Butler 1990) and that women and other marginalized members of a community sometimes practice what Ahmed (2017) refers to as “institutional passing.” This paper explores how contemporary women in the Western United States perceive themselves as professionals in the craft brewing sector, and contrasts this with how they are spoken to in their occupational context, in order to identify the ways that women might be performing a gendered identity in order to be legible in a mostly-male industry. The results of this research contribute to an understanding of how gendered linguistic practices (re)produce stereotypical roles and gendered performances that are legible in defined contexts. This research also reveals how these efforts intersect identity, consumption patterns, and personal values in the context of an increasingly global, capitalist, and Westernized marketplace.

Methodology
This paper presents a preliminary portion of my Master’s Thesis. My overall project is to explore the linguistic practices that construct craft beer space as one that is viewed as male or “masculine” and the strategies that women use to navigate the industry as professionals. My work is grounded in linguistic ethnographic studies that focus on the intersection of language socialization and the semiotics of food. Though language socialization is often centered around experiences of childhood, ultimately “language socialization is… a lifelong process, and takes place among many different kinds of experts and novices” (Cavanaugh et al. 2014:92). In similar ways, craft beer ‘experts’ socialize their audiences to appreciate and speak about craft beer styles, brewing methods, and tasting profiles—a process of socialization that is not expected to begin until adulthood. Additionally, this research draws on feminist-linguistic and feminist scholarship that explores gendered linguistic practices in the workplace. The consensus of these works is that women strive to blend in to their male-dominated occupational environments rather than address head-on their marked status (Ahmed 2017; Baxter 2009). In the craft brewing sector, this strategy is manifested as the adoption of—and adherence to—fairly uniform ways of performing the brewer identity that avoid challenging gendered stereotypes regarding beer production and consumption.
My research attends to the spoken, textual, and visual linguistic elements of the local craft brewing scene located in and around Reno, Nevada. Initially, I was interested in working primarily with women head brewers and brewery owners, but found out that this would limit my research population to only a few women while ignoring a number of women who work professionally in the industry in other influential roles. Thus, I expanded my research population to include women involved in the professional craft brewing industry regardless of whether they were head or master brewers at their brewery to include women who work as leaders in craft beer specialty bottle shops, a home brewing supply store operator, craft brewery owners, tap room managers, and women who make marketing decisions including label design for craft breweries. Each of these women contributes to an expanding gender balance in the local craft brewing community; however, my local scene continues to mirror the national trend of majority-male craft beer spaces. I identified over two dozen potential research sites within a 75-mile radius of Reno that are integral to the craft brewing community of Northern Nevada. These sites include boutique shops or tap houses that focus on craft beer offerings, craft breweries, and home brewing supply stores. Of these many potential sites, about one-third of them employ women in key positions.

My research activities have included observation periods and recorded one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with women, as well as attendance at beer-related special events (e.g. ladies-only beer tasting, craft beer festivals, local hops fest). Often, the subject matter of these interviews revisits the linguistic exchanges I observed during prior observation periods. I have shadowed women brewers during brewing days, spent many hours listening to exchanges as women go about their work at the bar, and noted dialogue occurring at beer festivals and tasting events. My research is ongoing and is shaped by my interactions with women brewers in “the field.” In this case, the field is often the same places I might gather socially with friends and family for a local pint. I am an active promoter of local agriculture and organize community engagement events centered around urban farming, including a recently concluded experimental hop yard; thus my extra-academic pursuits inform my experience as a researcher and help provide context to my inquiry.

History of Beer as a Gendered Space

Craft beer has emerged over the last 50 years to become an increasingly well-defined niche product incorporating American values including individualism, adventure-orientation, innovation, and quality. While many critics have noted that these ideals are associated with male gendered performance in the United States, the history of beer generally as a gendered product should not be overlooked. Though early on in beer’s long history women were associated with the professional production of beer (Bennett 1996), modern era associations with both beer production and consumption are distinctly male-oriented. Iterations of these gendered associations have numerous forms that are observable in the agricultural production of hops, the historic U.S. temperance movement of the early twentieth century, the rise of print and television advertising framing the association of consolidated big beer with white, middle class idealism (Corzine 2010), and through today where women still struggle to transcend the narrow ways that they are legible in craft beer spaces.

The Hops Industry and Gendered Divisions of Labor

The image of a hop cone is now ubiquitous on craft beer labeling, particularly on IPA packaging. The delicate, shingled flower of the hops plant, *Humulus lupulus*, grows at the end of slender *bines* that aggressively cling to whatever is available. Hops need extensive pruning while growing followed by careful sifting after harvest to ensure quality product. Women and children (who were often immigrants and indigenous peoples, see Kopp 2016; Tomlan 1992) comprised the highest numbers of this mobile workforce because they were believed to have greater dexterity for plucking the fragile cones from the bine because of their “small hands”; perhaps more revealing is the likelihood that men were often engaged in higher paying work during the time of the hop harvest (Tomlan 1992). In the mid-twentieth century, hops harvesting shifted to mechanical techniques and the tradition of hiring marginal workers during harvest was ended. Hops are now a valuable commodity crop grown around the globe and continue to be primarily controlled by male farmers now aided by heavy and expensive machinery.

Kopp (2016) explains that gender also played a role during the American struggle toward Prohibition. In Oregon, women won the right to vote earlier than elsewhere in the nation and swiftly supported legislation that imposed state prohibition in 1914, five years before the nationwide constitutional ban, and setting up a trend of women reformers using their voting power to usher in alcohol bans. Kopp argues that because of women’s suffrage, Oregon endured a nearly 20-year long alcohol prohibition. Prohibition, in turn, is responsible for the introduction of bland, low-alcohol beer that
would eventually become characteristic of “big beer.” Finally, in the last part of the twentieth century, the male “pioneers” of the American craft beer industry encouraged innovative new beer recipes made with increasingly novel hops varieties that featured bold flavors and aromas, such as West Coast IPA (Acitelli 2013; Kopp 2016). The heroes of American craft beer include names familiar to craft brewers such as Jack McAuliffe of New Albion Brewing, Fritz Maytag of Anchor Steam Brewing, and Ken Grossman of Sierra Nevada Brewing; nearly all famous craft brewers are male. This historical narrative casts male brewers as artisanal mavericks working against a feminine paranoia that sought to protect society from alcohol and perceived associated behaviors, ultimately helping to construct craft beer as an originally masculine space.

Hops are dioecious, meaning that there are male and female plants. Hops plants are cultivated from rhizome cuttings that produce daughter plants identical to the mother plant. Hop cones grow on female plants while male plants produce smaller mock cones that don’t have the critical lupulin granules. Male plants are culled from commercial hop yards because they may pollinate the female plants resulting in the production of seeds. Generally, seedy plants are considered inferior in chemical profile and are believed to produce off flavors in beer (Almaguer et al. 2014). All of this is to say that in the world of hops, the female is supreme. It is therefore interesting that when hops are portrayed in craft beer marketing they are almost always associated with masculinity and masculine power.

Hoppy beers make up the category that most frequently employs this discursive strategy. For instance, Reno’s Revision Brewing Company produces an IPA called Lord Lupulin. The label features a Viking-like image of a bearded warrior whose beard, crown, and armor resemble the shaggy petals of ripe, female, hop cones. The text on the bottle reads in part, “Introducing the high priest of hops, the hero of humulus lupulus, the sultan of strig, the brahma of bracteole… Here comes Lord Lupulin!” Another example from Sierra Nevada Brewing Company based in Chico, California is Hoptimum, a triple IPA with an alcohol-by-volume (ABV) of 9.6 percent. This beer carries the tagline, “distinguished, yet devilishly hoppy”; the image is of a male figure in eighteenth-century style cravat and coat with a large hop cone in place of a head. The bitter taste profile of this hoppy beer is described by Sierra Nevada as “aggressive” and “ultra-intense.” These two examples deliberately construct hops in personified male forms and invoke language that explicitly aligns the characteristics of hops with descriptive words that index masculinity and masculine power.

By contrast, where women are portrayed on craft beer bottles, they are almost always portrayed in a sexualized and vulnerable manner. There is abundant popular commentary critiquing some of the worst offenders (for example, Gordon 2015); the practice is so troublesome that in 2017 the Brewers’ Association, a trade organization for craft brewers, updated their marketing and advertising code to discourage beer branding that contains “sexually explicit, lewd, or demeaning brand names, language, text, graphics, photos, video, or other images that reasonable adult consumers would find inappropriate for consumer products offered to the public” in an attempt to rid the craft beer industry of growing concerns around misogynistic and racist undertones present in some craft beer marketing (Brewers Association 2017). In my research two female brewery professionals claimed that customers were incredulous when they found out that a locally produced white stout called “Fight Milk” was produced and the label designed by two women. In another instance, a brewery owner confided to me that a woman aspiring brewer was turned away from an internship at the brewery because the male head brewer did not think she was physically strong enough to handle the 50 lb. sacks of grain needed to produce wort. These examples demonstrate that the craft beer industry is male-oriented in numerous and varied ways beyond what can be clarified by industry marketing guidelines.

Nationally, the number of craft breweries in business continues to rapidly rise. In 2013, there were 2,898 craft breweries in the U.S.; by the close of 2017, there were 6,266 (Brewers Association 2018). Consumers of craft beer are three times more likely to be male than female and women account for only 4 percent of master brewers, or one in three total craft brewery personnel in the U.S. (Panter and Kent 2017). One of the aims of this project is to explore why women would be attracted to a career in craft brewing knowing that it is male-dominated; what sort of challenges and strategies arise out of being part of an under-represented group in one’s profession? To be sure, women craft brewers are not the only people working in an occupational field saturated by people of the opposite sex. For example, I work as a human resources professional, a field in which women are three times more likely to work than men; a preschool or kindergarten teacher is almost always a woman as are dental hygienists, childcare workers, and secretaries (Rocheleau 2017). During my research I encountered several instances of boundary
keeping that cast women as incapable of performing brewing related work or that discounted their intellectual contributions while artificially inflating the contributions of men. In the following section, I present brief case studies that illustrate some of the ways that women can be marginalized through discursive practice in craft beer settings as well as examples of the strategies women may employ to combat limited legibility.

**Diminishing the Role of Women in Craft Beer**

Cheryl is one of four co-owners of a small Reno craft brewery that opened in 2013. She and her business partners started the brewery after retiring from other careers. Cheryl had worked in the gaming industry as a marketing professional for decades before being laid off after her employer was acquired by another firm. Cheryl does not describe herself as a craft beer expert and explains that she became interested in craft brewing because her romantic partner is an avid home brewer who was encouraged by friends to open his own brewery. Her role at their business is to conduct all of the administrative duties and act as salesperson. I observed her working during one of her regular shifts behind the bar on a Monday night. The brewery is tucked away in an industrial park and Cheryl describes the clientele as consisting of local workers getting off shift from the surrounding businesses and nearby residents who appreciate having a local craft brewery near their neighborhood. The brewery is off the beaten path and not visible to street traffic.

On the night of my visit, there were not many customers in the small tasting room. I could usually overhear dialogue between Cheryl and her patrons quite clearly. A group of three men were clearly regular visitors to the brewery and were present during most of the three-hour observation period; they produced most of the linguistic interactions during the evening. In a follow-up interview with Cheryl, she explained that the three men were former employees of hers; she was their supervisor at her previous employer. During the observation, Cheryl was subjected to multiple brief instances of what I would describe as sexual harassment though Cheryl dismissed the behavior as “friendly banter.” The brewery is in a small warehouse with a garage door that opens on to a little patio area. On the night of the observation the weather was pleasant and the three regular male customers came prepared to barbecue their dinner. The garage door was open and created a seamless transition between the bar and the patio. While one of the men prepared the gas grill, the other two remained at their bar stools and critiqued his progress. At one point, the grill operator was having trouble and one of his companions suggested Cheryl might be helpful:

- **Bar Patron 1:** “How’s that bar broad? Is she any good at cookin’?”
- **Grill Operator:** “That bar what?”
- **Bar Patron 1:** “Bar broad! Or is she only good as candy?”

[All three men laugh.]

This confusing exchange occurred loud enough for everyone in the brewery, including Cheryl, to easily hear. She showed no reaction and continued with small cleaning tasks behind the bar. Later that evening, she fetched a 5-gallon keg from a back area and brought it to the bar to change a tap. She was visibly struggling with connecting the hose to the keg and explained to me that she has trouble with the fittings because of a slight arthritis in her hands. As she was bent over the keg, one of the three regular bar patrons, the grill operator from above, offered to assist:

- **Grill Operator:** “Cheryl, do you need help with that?”
- **Cheryl:** “No.”
- **Grill Operator:** “No, seriously, we woulda got that for you.”
- **Bar Patron 1:** “I just like watching her work.”

After this last remark, Cheryl looks directly at me as if to confirm that I am hearing the talk. As she continues to bend over the keg to attach the fittings the men discuss wanting to go home but not until Cheryl finishes installing the keg so they can “get a hug” before they leave.

Only Cheryl and her other business partners work at the brewery, meaning that she is the only woman who works there. The linguistic exchanges above, though brief, appeared to dominate the setting and set a tone for the evening. Cheryl acted in a server capacity and made multiple conciliatory gestures toward her three regular customers (for example, offering to store the unused barbeque ingredients in the bar refrigerator, asking the men which sports channel they preferred, asking them if the television volume was sufficient, and others) consistent with a hospitality orientation. However, as an owner of the company and former authoritari-an figure in relationship to these men, I was surprised that the interactions took on a demeaning tone that referenced heterosexual tropes, which served to marginalize Cheryl’s status behind the
bar in ways inescapable to the other brewery customers. The “banter” worked to make Cheryl an objectified spectacle and the men’s speech dominated the brewery environment unchallenged. Though other conversations among customers could be overheard, the three regulars talked loudly and even checked with me to ensure that I could hear them, at one point asking me if I was going to “do a Me Too?” (I assume in reference to the social movement emerging at the time of this research that seeks to expose and end sexual abuse). Clearly, the men were aware that their remarks could be read as offensive though they seemed almost proud to be engaging in this type of talk. Overall, this observation period illustrated the ways that women can be explicitly targeted as sexual objects who are actively disempowered by male patrons in brewery environments. Though I have not encountered any other instances in my research of talk that is this blatantly uncomfortable, it is important to keep in mind that it does continue to occur, even if rarely, and it presents one form of legibility that femininity takes in craft beer settings.

**Constructing Expert Status as Home Work**

So far, this paper has explored the layered and pervasive ways that craft beer is constructed as a male space beyond sexist bottle labels and consumer stereotypes such as those described by Darwin (2017) in which women are associated with fruity or light beer styles while men are associated with stronger or darker beers. However, just as Butler (1990) implies that historical gender norms are unfixed and susceptible to change, female craft brewing professionals engage opportunities for recreating gendered norms such as the brewer/brewer’s wife binary mentioned by Maciel (2017). Women are increasingly able to find ways to become more broadly legible as autonomous and able-bodied brewers while resisting the limited existing options available to them.

One strategy for reimagining the professional brewer relies on the construction of expert knowledge in private settings such as the home. It is very common for professional brewers to begin their careers as enthusiastic and successful home brewers despite the growing number of professional development and even accredited college degrees dedicated to beer brewing science. Though my research is too limited to draw a definitive conclusion regarding the numbers of men and women who enroll in such programs, I did find that all of the women who have participated in my research are self-taught. Many of them are members of the Pink Boots Society, a non-profit organization whose mission is to promote women beer professionals and support their continuing education through scholarships for educational programs. Some of the women brewers I spoke with expressed a keen interest in one day pursuing coursework despite having already attained a high degree of success as craft professionals. Though the women I spoke with seem to appreciate the advantages of formal training, in practice they utilized the more accessible means of acquiring the necessary skills and abilities to be a successful beer professional: home brewing and tasting lots of beer. One accomplished brewer described her preparation as consisting of one completed home brewing class offered at a local home brewing supply store and then honing her recipes through lots of practice:

I learned through home brewing… I started home brewing probably when I was about 21… [my boyfriend] built us a really, really epic home brew system and so I learned how to home brew a lot better on that system and then just got really into it because of Burning Man. We would do a Burning Man camp and it was all home brewed beer. We called it Homebrau House. We would brew all summer long and take like 300, 350 gallons of home brew and just hand it out. That’s how I learned how to brew. And then when the brewery opened it was just kind of trial by fire, better scale up!

The availability of a means to construct an expert identity through informal and at-home training favors the entry of women into a profession that might otherwise at times appear unwelcoming or unfriendly to women. The brewer quoted above was able to produce substantial batches of her home brew and share it with a large audience at Burning Man. This experience allowed her to improve her skill as a brewer until she felt confident enough to embark on opening her own brewery where she has been head brewer since it began. Further, this well-worn path toward recognition as an expert brewer is not unusual among either men or women.

**Conclusion**

Despite the gendered history of beer production and the evidence of persistent gendered practices in the craft beer linguistic landscape, contemporary women in the Western U.S. are able to effectively situate themselves as professionals in the craft-brewing sector. This research contributes to a growing body of academic and popular critique of the many enduring boundary-keeping pro-
cesses that serve to exclude or diminish the role of women and others who do not adhere to dominant craft brewer narratives and typology. The strategies women brewers employ to gain broader legibility in their occupational space may have useful corollaries in other mostly male professions.

NOTES

1. This region includes Reno, Sparks, and Incline Village, Nevada as well as Truckee and South Lake Tahoe, California.

2. Scholars argue that beer brewing was originally the work of women and was associated with domesticity. Evidence of home brewing dates as far back as 3000 BC in Egypt and home-brewed ale was essential in Medieval Europe. As it was a source of safe drinking in comparison to the available water. Around the seventeenth century, monks started selling beer to travelers, launching the first public trade in beer that led to the shift from private to professional modes of beer production accompanied by a shift from female to male labor still predominant today.

3. There are many examples of compiled lists of “best beers of all time,” “most influential breweries,” “beer tasters to watch” etc. that acknowledge the individual contributions of brewers to craft beer over time. These lists rarely include women unless they are specifically targeted, such as “15 Craft Breweries Run and Operated by Women” (Kennedy 2018).

4. Strig and bracteole are technical names for the stem and petal of a hop cone. This specialized vocabulary would seem to index that the author of this text is knowledgeable about hops horticulture and also aware that hops are always female when used in brewing; it thus indexes an “expert stance” (Jacobs-Huey 2006).

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Tomlan, Michael A.
National Steinbeck Center in Salinas, California
By Teri Brewer (American Museum and Gardens in Bath, England)

I killed some time this week waiting for various things to happen, and part of that involved going to see the Steinbeck National Center in Salinas, which I had not been to before. It is an interesting, brash building in the center of downtown, and the treatment of Steinbeck was less hagiographic than I expected. The emphasis in many ways was more on him as a writer who re-set universal and mythic themes in a very specific physical and cultural landscape. So, there was quite a bit of well-pruned biographical detail to show his history of interactions with the farmland, the mountains, canyons, rivers and ocean of his chosen and beloved patch, and there was enough on influential human relationships to understand more of how he worked. But the whole approach invited others to participate in feeling and writing this land too, as the Center is used for university extramural teaching, has a summer writing camp for kids, and while we were there I saw every evidence that it could appeal to rowdy 12-16 year old boys too. There were interesting invited exhibits on non-Steinbeck topics and some very good volunteers there, as well as lively teachers working with the kids. I am impressed. Nice bookshop too, and not just Steinbeckiana either. However, that introductory film on display badly needs to be replaced.
“Man is least himself when he talks in his own person. Give him a mask, and he will tell you the truth.” —Oscar Wilde

This column begins with a review of an exhibition of Guatemalan dance masks currently on display at the estimable Fowler Museum at UCLA, through October 6, 2019. I describe both the exhibition and the inaugural lecture and reception, which featured, among other delights, masked and richly costumed Chinelos dancers from neighboring Mexico. Mexico and Guatemala share some of the same traditions and socio-historical circumstances in regard to masks and their associated dances, so this was a meaningful pairing.

I continue with a discussion of why Chinelos dancers, who have performed in several July 4th parades in Huntington Beach, California, have been criticized and opposed by a small group of local residents who allege Chinelos perform the whiteface equivalent of blackface.

I explain why that argument is seriously misleading, even though the Chinelos dance does poke fun at the grandiosity and pretensions of the elite among the Spanish conquerors. I point out that the anti-Chinelos “whiteface” interpretation fits within a particular political and local dynamic, and within the polarized discourses that are especially rife in the USA today. I also argue that simplistically dismissing the Chinelos dance as whiteface is an ethnocentric denial of both history and global cross-cultural patterns of commonality. The “whiteface” interpretation deliberately bypasses the European roots of Chinelos dance, which can be discerned even today in masks still used throughout the Mediterranean region of Europe.

Guatemalan Masks: Selections from the Jim and Jeanne Pieper Collection, April 7 - October 6, 2019

“The irony of life is that those who wear masks often tell us more truths than those with open faces.” —Marie Lu, The Rose Society

The Fowler Museum on the UCLA campus is a prestigious institution that hosts significant exhibitions, lectures, and cultural activities for scholars and for community members from far and wide. Part of the School of the Arts and Architecture, the museum supports research, learning, and preservation of global arts and cultures, especially Africa, Asia, the Pacific and the Americas. Their purpose is to enhance “understanding and appreciation of the diverse peoples, cultures, and religions of the world through dynamic exhibitions, publications, and public programs, informed by interdisciplinary approaches and the perspectives of the cultures represented. Also featured is the work of international contemporary artists presented within the complex frameworks of politics, culture and social action.”
https://www.fowler.ucla.edu/about-fowler/

From top: Young Guatemalan man lifting mask depicting a "Mexicano Masquerade Character" — Photo by Jim and Jeanne Pieper from the exhibition brochure; White-faced Chinelo dancer, from online source 1; “Christian Masquerade Character”—Photo by Jim and Jeanne Pieper; Guatemalan Mask Exhibition brochure.
The eighty Guatemalan masks in the Fowler exhibit depict animals, iconic religious and secular faces, and even historical figures. The masks, together with various other decorative costume elements, are worn primarily by indigenous people (Mayans) who perform dance dramas in them for a variety of occasions, both religious and secular, usually in some form of public procession. All of the masks in the collection were created and used in Guatemalan community festivals before being collected by Jim and Jeanne Pieper, who also documented mask production, photographed their use in context, and secured written scripts detailing the stories told through the performances. The Guatemalan festival performances blend themes from various historical and cultural sources. The following set of captioned photographs provides an idea of the breadth and thematic content of the collection on display. Interestingly, many of the human masks are used interchangeably in the various dance plays to depict characters of various ethnicities, so that facial and eye coloration are not definitive markers of meaning by themselves.

Hand-written scripts for the dance plays.

Left to right: Bull masks are used for cowboy plays and the bullfight dance, in which the bull is ultimately mastered by a Mayan. Cattle were originally brought by the Spanish; This Mayan deer mask resembles Mexican Huichol depictions of deer, an important food source and spiritual symbol; Monkey masks are common, and often represent serious and noble values. Photo from the exhibition, by Jim and Jeanne Pieper. (Photos by Hilarie Kelly)

Left to right: Jaguar mask, deer mask. These are both iconic creatures in the belief systems of many indigenous peoples in Latin America; Ajitz, a Mayan priest trickster and ally of Mayan hero Tecun Uman—another symbol of indigenous resistance; Two versions of Malinche. In the Mexican context, this would be the indigenous interpreter for Cortez; but in the Mayan context a Malinche is a woman of high rank at court. (Photos by Hilarie Kelly)
Above, from left: Male face mask that could be used to depict a Spaniard or a Moor; Variety of bearded male face masks; Dance of the Moors and Christians is an example of detailed exhibition signage, and information on the European Spanish roots of some of the dance plays and associated masks.

Left and below right: Display of color and feature variations in male character face masks.

Below left: Dragon mask for enactment of St. George and the Dragon play, wherein slaying the dragon may represent the end of indigenous human sacrifice. On right: Dragon character in the parade (photo in exhibition by Jim and Jeanne Pieper).
Clockwise, from top left: Beheaded Moorish King who refused his daughter in marriage; this mask is carried, not worn; Dead Spaniard; the lush beard defines the identity more than the skin color; Tecun Uman, one of the last K’iche Maya kings, now the national hero of Guatemala for his stand against invading Conquistadors. Note the sacred quetzal birds at his brow.

Below: Two Guatemalan masks of Mexican vacarro (cowboy) characters. Mexican concepts of hybrid mestizo identity are similar but not identical to Guatemalan concepts of ladino identity. Guatemala has a more substantial proportion of indigenous-identifying people, including those who make these masks, which come in a variety of hues but similar features.

On opening night, the exhibition curator, Patrick A. Polk, provided a packed audience hall with an informative, illustrated lecture about the background and various meanings of the masks on display. He shared an important insight: taken together, the masks represent the long historical process blending the complex cultural forces that link the ancient Mediterranean, pagan and Christian Europe, the conquest of Spain by the Moors and the Reconquista, the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs and Maya, and the – as yet – incomplete mestizoization/ladinoization of resilient indigenous populations. (On this last point, see, for example, anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla’s discussion in his 1996 book, Mexico Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization.) For additional information on the Guatemalan mask tradition represented in this exhibition, see https://live-ucla-fowler.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/GuatemalanMasks_PR.pdf.
The April 6, 2019 Fowler Reception with Chinelos and a Guatemalan Marimba Band

Many of the major characters and plot themes of Guatemalan masked dance performances can be found also in some well-known Mexican masked dances dramas, such as La Conquista, Danza de los Viejitos (Dance of the Little Old Men), Danza del Venado (Dance of the Deer), Danza de los Diablos (Dance of the Devils), and Moros y Cristianos (Moors and Christians.) (See https://theculturetrip.com/north-america/mexico/articles/10-traditional-mexican-dances-you-should-know-about/) It therefore made perfect sense to have a Mexican Chinelos group (Brinco del Chinelo Amigos por Siempre) perform live in the Fowler courtyard for the reception, accompanied by live music (horns and drums), followed by a Mayan marimba band called Chapincita, with the multicultural audience dancing along with both.

The Chinelos dance steps consist of energetic but easily replicated hops and twirls. (My video of the Chinelos and marimba band at the Fowler can be seen on the SWAA Facebook page.) During the reception, which ran for over two hours, the dancers graciously performed, engaged with the audience, posed for photographs and explained some of the symbolism of their costuming. The basic elements of their outfits were the same for both adults and children: full facial masks, enormous feathered hats, voluminous robes in either blue and white stripes or in richly decorated, dark velvet, flowing scarves, hands and feet encased in gloves and boots – all of which completely hid their individual identities and genders.
Detail on a Chinelo child’s headgear: the character Miguel passing as a calavera, from the Day of the Dead-themed film, “Coco.”

(In the diaspora, women occasionally perform, though this is supposedly not traditional practice.) There are multiple theories about the name Chinelos, but the most likely seems to be: “The word “chinelos” is derived from the Nahuatl word “zineloquie” which means “disguised.” (Wikipedia, citing “Alistan los chinelos traje para carnival.”) Another source mentioning this meaning is http://www.zihrena.net/chinelos-tlayacapan-morelos-mexico-5658. Nonetheless, each dancer’s outfit was in some sense unique, and it was quite evident that a great deal of time, effort, and expense had gone into creating and personalizing each one.

The Chinelos have become one of the most well-known folkloric dances of Mexico. They have also become firmly established in the Mexican diaspora in the U.S.A. because people emigrated from regions where the dance form is common, particularly the state of Morelos. Adult dancers I spoke with at the Fowler were themselves immigrants. As happens in other diasporic communities in the U.S.A. (e.g., Pacific Islander, Scottish and Irish), the dances that émigrés bring with them become important mechanisms for rebuilding and maintaining family and community networks away from the homeland of origin, while at the same time providing a benign means of sharing their heritage culture with their new hosts.

The Fowler reception was enormously successful, with the enthusiastic multicultural audience joining in the dance at the invitation of the Chinelos themselves. Chinelo dancers have been similarly popular at many other venues across the United States. For two years, they received accolades for their participation in the Huntington Beach July 4th Parade in Orange County, California, known as “the oldest Fourth of July parade west of the Mississippi.” The positive reaction was not unanimous, however.
Chinelos in the Huntington Beach July 4th Parade: New World Masqueraders or “Racists” Performing in Whiteface?

“We wear the mask that grins and lies, It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes.—
This debt we pay to human guile; With torn and bleeding hearts we smile.”
—Paul Laurence Dunbar, The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar

An argument has been made by a very small group of Huntington Beach residents that the Chinelos are performing in whiteface, which they claim (mostly on community Facebook pages) is just as offensive as blackface. Referring to recent, controversial incidents of blackface covered in the media, these few opponents challenge defenders of the Chinelos for what they claim to be a double standard, and insist that we all either condemn both whiteface and blackface as racist, or otherwise abandon “political correctness” and tolerate both.

It is useful to reiterate here that most of the Chinelos face masks that impersonate or represent Spanish conquerors are not actually “white.” Some are pink, some are brown, and some are multi-colored. They all have outlandishly prominent, upturned beards, also of varying colors. The most visible and dramatic markers of Chinelos dancers are the bright, voluminous robes and the huge, feathered hats. They clearly represent the patriarchal historical Spanish elite, the literal ruling class, not all “white” people, a category that Europeans themselves at the time of the Spanish Conquest hardly agreed upon. The faces are all blandly expressionless and abstract-looking, with black eyes that are painted over a screen mask, shielding the living eyes of the actual dancers from view. The dancer is completely covered, his/her identity hidden. These masks, and the more elaborate robes, hats, boots and gloves that form the rest of the distinctive “costumes”
represent not whiteness per se, but rather a more specific class of people (men of rank and family connections) who wore the figurative masks of grandiose political and religious authority conferred by wealth and might.

The ethno-racial imaginary of colonial “New Spain” was, in fact, a more complex affair than a simple binary distinction between European “whites” and everyone else. The hard racial binary of blackface/whiteface that has historical and current relevance in the political narratives within the U.S.A. is not a perfect fit when applied to Chinelos or other expressions of identity in Latin America. Even the multi-faceted Spanish colonial casta, system, imagined and replicated in charts beautifully painted for consumption in Europe, represented more of an idealization and theorization about human types and mixtures than an actual ethnographic portrayal of the lived reality of the rapidly morphing population of Mexico and the rest of Latin America. (See, for example, https://www.amazon.com/Imagining-Identity-New-Spain-Portraiture/dp/029274417X or even consult Wikipedia for discussion of the staggering complexity underlying the concepts of both casta and mestizo.)

Castas. 18th century, unknown artist, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzlan, Mexico. [Image in public domain]
Moving outside of the black/white binary box that dominates so much of our discourse in the U.S.A., it is historically far more accurate to locate the Chinelos within the broader tradition of Carnival, an old European practice, elements of which probably even predated Catholicism. Carnival is the last indulgence before the time of belt-tightening and strict reminders to be humble and obedient – observed during Lent in the Catholic tradition. Carnival is a yearly ritual acted out in public. Commentaries on the origins of Chinelos echo those about the origins of Carnival elsewhere: these rau-cous performances sprang from popular celebrations immediately preceding the beginning of Lent, and were amped up by the exuberant imitation of the upper classes by the lower classes, who refused to be left out. (See also discussions of European mumming/mummy masquerade practices at other times of year, e.g., Creed 2004.) In European masquerade practice, masks and flamboyant costuming dramatized the contrasting and unequal roles of different kinds of beings, different statues of humans. Both solemn pomp and disruptive transgressiveness vie for center stage, if only briefly.

Anthropologist Sabina Magliocco (Professor at the University of British Columbia) recently shared with me some photos she took on a visit to the Mamoiada Museum of Mediterranean Masks (Museo delle Maschere Mediterranee) in Sardinia, Italy. Many were remarkably similar to the Guatemalan masks and Chinelos masquerade outfits discussed here.

An important theme here is the commonality of masks across the Latin world, and on both sides of the Atlantic. There are clear historical reasons for this, of course. Carnival and other forms of masquerade were brought to the Americas by the Spanish themselves, and later reinforced by other similar practices brought by European and African immigrants. Indigenous Americans added their own elements. For photos of Carnival masks and costumes used in various parts of Spain, many of which are clearly related to those used in the Chinelos (including black and white-faced coverings with features painted onto a screen, and elaborate hats), visit this website: http://www.sketchesofiberia.com/2015/10/festival-of-iberian-masks-in-zamora-spain/.

Again, one purpose of the Chinelos dance is to portray the elite among the conquerors as superciliously playing a role of prominence and prestige. When Mexican dancers of any background inhabit the Chinelos masks and robes, they too can assume the power to play at an exalted role. This is one reason for hiding their own identities as they perform. It is useful here to remember that well over half the population of Mexico (62% according to the CIA World Factbook) is officially considered mestizo, a hybrid identity that includes a measure of Spanish cultural and language heritage mixed
with other ethnic/cultural heritage. While Chinelos dancers mock the elitist Spanish conquerors, the dancers also temporarily become the elite conquerors through the dance, a merging of identities made possible because the dancers do, in fact, possess some element of Spanish-ness (through language, culture, and history if not genetics) and are intimately familiar with the associated ethnic and historical role they are playing. This point may or may not be lost on the opponents of Chinelos in Huntington Beach.

“I believe in my mask— The man I made up is me
I believe in my dance— And my destiny.”
— Sam Shepard, from "Crow's Song,
Tooth of Crime, a play by Sam Shepard, 1972.

Some of the more vocal Orange County critics of Chinelos mention the idea (popularized by Samuel Huntington’s book The Clash of Civilizations, Latinx narratives about Aztlan, and even the noted writer Carlos Fuentes) that Mexican immigrants to the USA are engaged in an inverted “Reconquista.” This is one concern explicitly mentioned by some of those few who demand that Chinelos dancers not be included in the Huntington Beach July 4th parade. Online and at city meetings, these critics of Chinelos have complained that the intent of immigrant Mexicans, especially the undocumented, is to replace native-born Americans, both as a political majority and as the rightful arbiters of what is considered legitimately and authentically American and local. The “locals only” element of coastal surf culture adds one more layer of territoriality and exclusivity to such nativist views in Huntington Beach. Among the most vocal opponents of Chinelos in Huntington Beach is a man who administers a local Facebook forum with members representing 10% of the city’s population; he wrote, “They mock us even on our holiday that provides them a blanket of freedom and safety. Bunch of racist hypocrites!” (Note the use of “us” and “our.”) Perhaps what he imagines and fears is something like this quote, taken from a popular science fiction novel inspired by video games:

“One day you wake up and realize the world can be conquered...
I’m going to put a mask on
and scrawl my name across the face of the world,
buid cities of gold,
come back and stomp this place flat,
until even the bricks are just dust.
So you can just shut up.
All of you. I’m going to move the world."

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From top: Issohadore character (left) and Mammuthone character (right). Some sources say Issohadore represents later invaders of Sardinia, who oppressed the indigenous inhabitants. Photo source: https://www.vistanet.it/ogliastra/2018/01/27/mamoiada-ai-cancelli-partenza-carnevale-la-sfilata-dei-mamuthones-degli-issohadores/

Iberian brown face mask; possible connection to Mexican Chinelos style. Photo source: https://getlisbon.com/emotions/events/iberian-mask-in-lisbon/


This bauta mask, shown worn by a woman, is for sale. Source: https://cdn.shopify.com/s/files/1/1739/2795/products/
To summarize, Chinelos dancing does make use of an element of imitation and mockery. Calling this “whiteface” is a bit of a stretch, and it is clear from my review of the discourse about this issue in Huntington Beach (both online and in public venues) that the allegation is being strategically employed by anti-immigrant political partisans as camouflage for their defense of their own status privilege, which they fear is rapidly disappearing. (Fear of status diminishment has been identified by recent research as a major driver of support for Donald Trump. See, for example, https://psmag.com/news/new-study-confirms-again-that-race-not-economics-drove-former-democrats-to-trump.) For anthropologists, the real importance of all this is in the context: in the meaning (historical and present) of the dance to various parties, in the meaning of its performance in specific localities and at specific times, and in the meaning of the reactions to that performance. The Chinelos dance and its counterparts, down to its very roots, is about contact between cultures, between different sorts of beings, different statuses. All of this is interesting to us as scholars. I have found, however, that my anti-Chinelos neighbors are little interested in discussing these ethnographic or artistic nuances. They are responding to a particular political climate and engaging in a style of discourse that has become especially heated and confrontational since the 2016 presidential elections. As it happens, 2016 was the first year that the Chinelos dancers participated in the HB July 4th Parade, though they had been performing in the predominantly Latinx Oak View neighborhood for some time before that. For Huntington Beach opponents of Chinelos, the concentration of Mexican immigrants in that neighborhood and their growing organizational skill in initiating community betterment projects, often accomplished through securing the cooperation of key city officials, schools, and even law enforcement, seems less encouraging than unsettling in their highly conservative worldview. (Some opponents of the Chinelos self-identify as being of “Hispanic” background, which should surprise no one in this era.) The American-born Latinx leadership of Oak View ComUNIDAD, a grassroots community organization, is closely involved with the local Chinelos group, who are also associated with the neighborhood Youth Soccer league. One of the Latinx community leaders wrote this in his 2016 response to the anti-Chinelos faction:

However, the Oak View Chinelos are proud HB residents who are happy to share their culture with the city in efforts to build tolerance, respect, and acceptance. Many have stated [that] to be truly American, one must assimilate, and participating in the HB 4th of July Parade in a show of solidarity is exactly the way to do this. As many know, the USA and Mexico share a rich history of breaking away from the tyranny of 1700’s European control. The American Revolutionaries were instrumental in breaking the ties with all that was wrong with Europe at the time. I think it’s a known fact that our American forefathers believed in freedom of speech and expression, assembly, and freedom. The patriots themselves mocked the tyranny of the British and sang songs such as Yankee Doodle Dandy. Native Americans supported the American Revolutionaries, fighting side by side. This fight for independence has long roots in both countries, inextricably tying the two together. God Bless you, & may God Bless America.

It is 2019, and the July 4th Parade is nigh [at the time of this writing]. A small faction continues to oppose including the Chinelos, and continues to demonize the predominantly immigrant neighborhood represented by the dancers. The faction is uninterested in ethnographic or historic documentation, or in anthropological insights. They are a small but vocal group, aggressively using social media platforms and personal appearances at official city gatherings to push their narrative in an attempt to hold onto some vestige of political power as conservatives, while Huntington Beach and Orange County slowly “turn blue.” To them, the European Carnival origins of Chinelos are irrelevant; their purpose is to maintain ownership and control over a brand: the symbolic meaning of July 4th and, by extension, American identity.

“Nothing is more real than the masks we make to show each other who we are.”
– Christopher Barzak, from his 2008 novel, The Love We Share Without Knowing.

Final Note: The Chinelos de Morelos of Oak View performed in the Huntington Beach July 4th Parade this year. On July 14 from 2 to 3 pm there was a performance of some of the dance dramas referenced in the Guatemalan Mask exhibit by Maya Qanjobal group Maya Xumak at the Fowler Museum at UCLA. For more information see https://www.fowler.ucla.edu/events/concert-a-maya-qanjobal-fiesta/.

NOTES
1. White-faced Chinelos dancer from online source.
   https://rockypoint360.com/so-you-wanted-to-know-something-about-chinelos/
3. Two examples of diasporic Chinelos groups, one in Oregon and one in New York, can be seen in these videos.
   Example #1, Oregon (about 4 minutes); Example #2, New York (about 20 minutes)
**Debt: The First 5000 years**  
By David Graeber (2014)  
Melville House: Updated and expanded version, 560 pages

Winner of the Bateson Book Prize awarded by the Society for Cultural Anthropology.

Here anthropologist David Graeber presents a stunning reversal of conventional wisdom: he shows that before there was money, there was debt. For more than 5,000 years, since the beginnings of the first agrarian empires, humans have used elaborate credit systems to buy and sell goods—that is, long before the invention of coins or cash. It is in this era, Graeber argues, that we also first encounter a society divided into debtors and creditors. Graeber shows that arguments about debt and debt forgiveness have been at the center of political debates from Italy to China, as well as sparking innumerable insurrections. He also brilliantly demonstrates that the language of the ancient works of law and religion (words like “guilt,” “sin,” and “redemption”) derive in large part from ancient debates about debt, and shape even our most basic ideas of right and wrong. We are still fighting these battles today without knowing it. [Amazon](https://www.amazon.com/Debt-The-First-5000-years/dp/162963220X)

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**Lazy, Crazy, and Disgusting: Stigma and the Undoing of Global Health**  
By Alexandra Brewis and Amber Wutich (due for release in November, 2019)  
Johns Hopkins University Press, 288 pages

Stigma is a dehumanizing process, a method of shaming and blaming that is embedded in our beliefs about who does and does not have value within society. In Lazy, Crazy, and Disgusting, medical anthropologists Alexandra Brewis and Amber Wutich explore another side of the issue: the startling fact that well-intentioned public health campaigns can create new and sometimes damaging stigma, even when they are successful. Brewis and Wutich present a novel, synthetic argument about how stigmas act as a massive driver of global disease and suffering, killing or sickening billions every year. They focus on three of the most complex, difficult-to-fix global health efforts: bringing sanitation to all, treating mental illness, and preventing obesity. They explain how and why humans so readily stigmatize, how this derails ongoing public health efforts, and why this process invariably hurts people who are already at risk. They also explore how new stigmas enter global health so easily and consider why destigmatization is so very difficult. Finally, the book offers potential solutions that may be able to prevent, challenge, and fix stigma. Stigma elimination, Brewis and Wutich conclude, must be recognized as a necessary and core component of all global health efforts. Drawing on the authors' keen observations and decades of fieldwork, Lazy, Crazy, and Disgusting combines a wide array of ethnographic evidence from around the globe to demonstrate conclusively how stigma undermines global health's basic goals to create both health and justice. [Amazon](https://www.amazon.com/Lazy-Crazy-Disgusting-Stigma-Undoing-Global/dp/0801898717)

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**Paradise in Ashes: A Guatemalan Journey of Courage, Terror, and Hope**  
California Series in Public Anthropology, Book 8  
By Beatriz Manz (2018)  
University of California Press, 330 pages

*Paradise in Ashes* is a deeply engaged and moving account of the violence and repression that defined the murderous Guatemalan civil war of the 1980s. In this compelling book, Beatriz Manz—an anthropologist who spent over two decades studying the Mayan highlands and remote rain forests of Guatemala—tells the story of the village of Santa María Tzejá, near the border with Mexico. Manz writes eloquently about Guatemala's tortured history and shows how the story of this village—its birth, destruction, and rebirth—embodies the forces and conflicts that define the country today. Drawing on interviews with peasants, community leaders, guerrillas, and paramilitary forces, Manz creates a richly detailed political portrait of Santa María Tzejá, where highland Maya peasants seeking land settled in the 1970s. Manz describes these villagers' plight as their isolated, lush, but deceptive paradise became one of the war convulsing the entire country. After their village was viciously sacked in 1982, desperate survivors fled into the surrounding rain forest and eventually to Mexico, and some even further, to the United States, while others stayed behind and fell into the military's hands. With great insight and compassion, Manz follows their flight and eventual return to Santa María Tzejá, where they sought to rebuild their village and their lives. [Amazon](https://www.amazon.com/Paradise-Ashes-Guatemalan-Journey-Courage/dp/0520269025)
The SWAA Newsletter is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter by the Southwestern Anthropological Association. We welcome your submissions!

Submissions should be sent to: beerickson@fullerton.edu or to Barbra Erickson at CSU Fullerton, 800 N. State College Blvd. Division of Anthropology, Fullerton, CA 92831. Phone: (657) 278-5697

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Authors, please include a brief statement describing your interests and affiliation.

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