

también las más antiguas, como mayas y como católicas” (222).

En el capítulo de Surrallés, la estrategia argumentativa sobre las emociones, en la introducción, es extendida aquí al campo de los colores: “Lo que ... voy a suponer ... es que la forma en que una cultura aborda el acto de percibir es precisamente lo que confiere una tonalidad determinada a la configuración afectiva” (104). Partiendo de la crítica que Everett hace del trabajo de Sheldon (quien, a su vez, usa las perspectivas de Kay); Surrallés ilustra el viejo y frecuente problema de la imposición de una teoría previa a los hechos que se intenta describir (112). Así, el autor reclama, por ejemplo, la necesidad de “una reflexión teórica que permita definir con [sic] qué es lo que se entiende por ‘término’, por ‘denominación’ e, incluso, por ‘categorización’” (113) en el caso de los colores. En su empeño, el autor hace también una encuesta con las fichas de la tabla de Munsell, que muestra a algunos *candoshis* “para que me la describan con lo que se les ocurra” (111).

Surrallés concluye que “para los *candoshi* ... los colores desencadenan asociaciones de contenido afectivo de gran potencial evocativo” (123). Y, al final, hace una comparación no muy distinta que la de Pitarch: “los olores, para los europeos, serían como los colores para los *candoshi*: un ejemplo de percepción relativa, siempre asociada a la cosa que los contiene” (122 s.).

La contundencia de los trabajos arriba mencionados no se mantiene, sin embargo, a lo largo de todo el libro. Sucede así, por ejemplo, en los textos de María Stantcheva Vútova, Juan Antonio Flores Martos (y, quizá, en el de Peter Mason), aunque estos no dejen de responder a una detallada etnografía y posean una escritura bastante fluida. El caso del capítulo de Mason, a decir verdad, es algo distinto. Este aborda, de manera muy sugerente, un tema apasionante: los significados que “las cabezas olmecas” han tenido para los arqueólogos y eruditos (269) que las han estudiado. Sin embargo, no resulta fácil comprender cuál es su relación con el tema del libro, pues el texto no se detiene precisamente en las emociones que ellas podrían haberles suscitado. El capítulo de Stantcheva Vútova da la impresión de forzar sus datos para fijarlos en marcos interpretativos como el de la cuadratura de la veridicción (usado hace un tiempo por uno de los compiladores del libro), o el de la predación: “la relación basada en la *pusana* [un brebaje amazónico de amor] maquilla la violencia de la actividad predatoria de la caza convirtiéndola en una relación pacífica, asentada en la mentira y la apariencia. Una predación social invertida” (158). Pero quizá el capítulo más incierto sea el único que no trata del mundo rural, donde Flores Martos aborda la “discursividad de los deseos” en Veracruz (México) (248). Aquí, los cabos sueltos sobre los “tránsitos emocionales” y los términos algo extravagantes – como el de “una termodinámica de las emociones” (256) – podrían hacer que el lector cuestione la misma coherencia de su planteamiento.

Finalmente, en su conjunto y con sus momentos más tajantes que otros, es indudable que esta compilación constituye uno de los esfuerzos colectivos más valiosos que hayan producido los colegas reunidos en torno a Gutiérrez Estévez. Esta colaboración con su compatriota

Surrallés ha hecho posible, no solo un libro importante sobre uno de los aspectos menos descritos entre los pueblos amerindios contemporáneos, sino también un perdurable obsequio para la antropología en lengua española.

Juan Javier Rivera Andía

**Hastrup, Kirsten, and Frida Hastrup** (eds.): *Waterworlds. Anthropology in Fluid Environments*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 308 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-946-0. (Ethnography, Theory, Experiment, 3) Price: \$ 110.00

Research in the humanities and social sciences has increasingly become concerned with water. This not only mirrors wider societal discourses of water scarcity, floods, pollution, and climate change, but is also part of a development towards integrating materiality more explicitly into social and cultural analysis. Water can have a particularly productive role in this development because it elides many of the often taken-for-granted properties of the material world (e.g., its assumed solidity, object-like qualities, and substrate functions) and problematises some fashionable buzzwords in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., movement, flow, ephemerality). At the same time, this research has provided crucial insights into the social and cultural situatedness of allegedly scientific issues like water scarcity or climate change, illustrating how water matters in people’s lives not so much as local instantiations of global water problems but as integral part of maintaining relations and negotiating meanings. If water is essential for biological life, it is as central for social and cultural life, too.

This edited volume is one of many innovative publications resulting from the “Waterworlds” project (2009–2014) at the University of Copenhagen, one of the first larger anthropological research initiatives to focus on water. The project explored social resilience in the face of three global water crises, which it called the rising seas, the drying lands, and the melting ice. While not strictly limited to these themes, many contributions to the book resonate with them.

The book includes an introduction and thirteen chapters, authored by project team members and guest contributors. In the introduction, the editors struggle to situate the book in wider current discourses, such as those on the Anthropocene, globalisation, fluidity, and interdisciplinarity, and attempt to divide the diverse contributions into three sections: liquid worlds, interdisciplinary encounters and unbounded socialities. In the course of the book, however, this structure does not become particularly obvious, and most chapters appear as individual contributions. Nevertheless, beyond the particular insights of the individual chapters, the collection as a whole does address a number of recurrent themes, which emerge less out of an explicit structure than from the common focus on social and cultural relations with water. It could be said that this volume constitutes an anthropological dance with water – a continuous if widely varying engagement with a fluctuating phenomenon that is enacted differently not only in diverse ethnographic contexts but also in various analytical framings.

Irvine (chap. 1) traces the reverberations of historical uses and imaginations in current political and material negotiations of the presence and absence of waters in the East Anglian fenlands. Orlove and colleagues (chap. 2) sketch the complex water management practices in the Upper Comoé catchment in Burkina Faso, suggesting that it is more difficult to establish entitlements to fluid water than to firm land. Stensrud (chap. 3) portrays how people in the Peruvian Andes struggle with the challenges related to growing uncertainties, especially concerning seasonal precipitation. Rubow (chap. 4) teases out the sources of “immanent transcendence” in three women’s narratives of a lagoon in the Cook Islands. Olwig and Rasmussen (chap. 5) document the persistence of the desertification narrative in the Sahel of Ghana and Burkina Faso, which obscures floods and overemphasises droughts, and they speculate that the climate change narrative may be powerful enough to replace this bias. Frida Hastrup (chap. 6) reports the reactions of the inhabitants of a Tamil Nadu fishing village to a newly built but ill-functioning lighthouse, illustrating how people, in spite of their different perspectives and projects, inhabit a shared world through “partial collaborations”. Robertson (chap. 7) discusses the enactment of multiple waters on an island in Kiribati, where groundwater ontologies can diverge or converge in relation to people’s different concerns and priorities.

Andersen (chap. 8) explores mapping the water flows in Arequipa, Peru, as a means to juxtapose various enactments of water that are simultaneously material, institutional, and epistemological. Reenberg (chap. 9) describes local hydrological knowledge and adaptation strategies in the Sahel of Senegal, Burkina Faso, and Niger, pointing out both their potentials and their limitations. Rasmussen (chap. 10) analyses how irrigation infrastructure and time configure each other in highland Peru, where the community-built irrigation canal not only extends the growing season but also re-enacts a glorious Inca past. Vium (chap. 11) elaborates how the remarkably conflict-free access to a well in Mauritania is mediated by the users’ careful navigating of different moral codes including collective property, honour, integrity, and solidarity. Strang (chap. 12) eloquently relates the story of the Lambton Worm from Durham, UK, to the cultural and environmental history of Britain and beyond, where mythical water-beings and the egalitarian ecological relationships they embodied were forcefully marginalised by hierarchical and anthropocentric ontologies as exemplified by Christianity and modern science. And Kirsten Hastrup (chap. 13) writes about a perennially open spot in the sea ice off the northwest Greenlandic coast, which constitutes a formidable, if extremely vulnerable, hotspot of social and ecological life.

A number of common, if mostly implicit, themes emerge out of this gamut of contributions. Probably the strongest of these concerns the relations between water and *temporality* (chapters 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), where the movement of water, for example, in rain, wells, and irrigation canals participates in configuring time. For instance, Stensrud and Reenberg criticise averages as meaningful indicators of precipitation in the face of locally relevant

ecological and social rhythms, Irvine and Rasmussen discuss the futures and pasts enacted through particular water flows, and the latter also describes the periods of waiting for water, which is a prominent concern also in Vium’s ethnography. A second cross-cutting theme is how water *focuses* social and ecological life (chapters 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13) in that it connects people, places, and discourses. Andersen’s explorations into urban water maps bear witness to this as much as Rubow’s contemplations on the lagoon in the Pacific, Vium’s analysis of the well in the desert and Kirsten Hastrup’s material around the Arctic ice hole, among others.

The volume also discusses the manifold *values* of water in different contexts (most explicitly in chapters 1, 2, 7, 10), many of them beyond primarily economic concepts. For example, Irvine contrasts the shifting understandings of productivity and waste in East Anglian wetlands, Orlove and colleagues dissect the different understandings of valuable knowledge and legitimate political process in water management in Burkina Faso, and Robertson illustrates why knowledges sometimes cannot converge in groundwater disputes on a Pacific atoll. Furthermore, values are closely related to the theme of how water is entangled with *religion* (chapters 4, 11, 13), including as a source of overflowing imagination that inspires the transcendence Rubow is sensing on the lagoon. Religion also echoes through the strong ethic of water-sharing that Vium finds around the Mauritanian well, encoded in the Islamic shari’ah which we learn derives from “the path to water,” as well as through Strang’s narrative of dragon slaying and the disenchantment of water, which are not confined to history, but are reemerging in current church practices and neo-pagan contestations. Finally, the volume makes repeated references to *multiple waters* (e.g., chapters 7, 8, 11), or the idea that water is not a universal substance to which different people attach religious meanings or cultural values, but water emerges as multiple substances through different enactments. This theme is most explicitly developed in Robertson’s discussion of traditional and scientific groundwaters in Kiribati, Andersen’s mapping of waterways in Peru, and Vium’s characterisation of the Mauritanian well as a multiple object.

In sum, this is a courageous book that is not afraid to make bold claims and probe into different geographic, methodological, and theoretical directions, to the extent that some readers may find it is trying to achieve more than it can deliver. Those who look for a tightly integrated, coherent, and focused volume, where ideas, approaches, and ambitions are not only introduced, but also backed up and followed through, are likely to be disappointed by the book as a whole and many of its chapters. Nonetheless, this collection is a rich quarry of manifold explorations of malleable, multiple, and vital waters in social and cultural life, which are always simultaneously a matter of concern for various political actions, and expressive of their own agentive capacities. Despite – or perhaps because of – the multiplicity of waters and approaches, it can be regarded as an asset to have these contributions combined in one book. This diversity can also make the

collection a useful resource in teaching and research on water, materiality, and environment in anthropology, geography, and related fields.

The edited volume, in short, constitutes a dance with water – moving through a great variety of geographical and hydrological contexts and applying a host of theoretical approaches and analytic concepts, most undefined of which is perhaps water itself. Nevertheless, the malleable, fleeting water, simultaneously empirical material and theoretical tool, plays a role in all chapters and integrates them less by holding them together (as a “framework” would) than by making them adhere to each other (as water would). Franz Krause

**Hyatt, Susan Brin, Boone W. Shear, and Susan Wright** (eds.): *Learning under Neoliberalism. Ethnographies of Governance in Higher Education*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. 226 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-595-0. (Higher Education in Critical Perspective: Practices and Policies, 1) Price: \$ 120.00

Most anyone working in an academic setting can attest to the current atmosphere of anxiety in which we are all immersed. It is difficult to determine whether this form of anxiety is new, how long it has been building, and its source. But it seems clear, that some changes are occurring, and, for many, the changes are uninvited and may threaten the future of academia. Susan Brin Hyatt, Boone Shear, and Susan Wright’s edited volume, “Learning under Neoliberalism,” investigates the current state of higher education, arguing that a neoliberal logic now pervading the global economy and political institutions is disrupting academia.

The difficulty with such an argument, as the editors and many of the contributing authors recognize, is that “neoliberalism” is not a readily identifiable concept. The editors deny a conception of neoliberalism as a “coherent, cohesive project” and suggest that the ubiquity of the term “works to conceal as much as it reveals about the world” (5). Nonetheless, each chapter in the volume seems to recognize neoliberalism as a common reference point against which to position negative changes occurring in institutions of higher education across the world. Each chapter investigates a unique ethnographic setting in higher education, but they all identify a number of common factors that characterize these negative changes. These include a focus on quantification and measurement of achievement, increased reliance on market models in higher education administration and teaching, a rise in competition among university departments and faculty, increased economic autonomy of higher education institutions along with a simultaneous increase in regulation, and a move towards the internationalization of universities. The editors summarize these changes as “discourses and rationalities associated with neoliberal governance” (6), arguing that they are ultimately constraining and reconfiguring how scholars and teachers must do their work.

One of the valuable contributions of the volume is that it illustrates the unique and significant role ethnographic research can play in understanding global changes that

are underway, especially given neoliberalism’s potential ubiquity and the lack of clarity surrounding the term. The ethnographic approach allows each author to start with on-the-ground details of a situation in higher education and build from such details a picture of macro-processes that are informing that situation, rather than attempting to apply neoliberalism as a top-down, self-evident operating force. Each contributor to the volume uses ethnographic methods to help elucidate “how academic practices, working conditions and university objectives are structured through changing conditions that can be linked to dominant class interests” (4).

A number of the chapters describe changes in U.S. higher education, including Susan Brin Hyatt’s chapter on the development of a Philadelphia university as a real estate investor and the impact of this new role on university and community members, Vincent Lyon-Callo’s account of how middle-class Michigan residents reinforced market-driven educational reforms and the inequalities perpetuated by such changes, Boone W. Shear and Angelina I. Zontine’s study of “university corporatization” at UMass, and Dana-Ain Davis’ discussion of the cultivation of an atmosphere of fear for scholars at a New York public college. Contributions to the volume also include international perspectives, as in Cris Shore’s chapter on New Zealand as one of the first “neoliberal experiments” in higher education, John Clarke’s detailing of the modernization of higher education in the U.K. through an increase in managerial strategies, and Susan Wright and Jakob Williams Ørberg’s discussion of changes in Danish higher education promoted by the government’s push for so-called “university freedom.”

Though the chapters are diverse in scope, they collectively provide some important takeaways in regards to how to move forward amidst these changes in higher education. For one, most if not all of the contributors emphasize the need for active scholarship in order to better understand and potentially work against any unwanted changes. Lyon-Callo, for instance, stresses that students should go beyond “simply documenting inequalities” (98) and collaborate with community members to come up with strategies of resistance. I would add that working in collaboration with university staff and administrators is equally important. Shear and Zontine argue that “conventional and disengaged academic work” (117) is in fact promoted by university bureaucracy. This kind of scholarship reinforces the very forces academics wish to combat, thus underscoring the need for “action research” (3) that can incite real change.

In addition, the chapters in “Learning under Neoliberalism” reveal the ways in which certain types of inequality are amplified by current changes in academia. Lyon-Callo, for example, describes that the drive to treat students as individual consumers simply assures that already privileged students receive the highest value education. As a result, these students are set up to excel in the global marketplace, while underprivileged students are left without resources and thus remain vulnerable to economic instability (80). Davis specifically addresses the racism inherent in neoliberal reforms, as their promo-