

la segunda se conserva en la capilla local especialmente construida para ella. La riqueza de estas páginas explicitan con una sencillez meridiana un tema recurrente en la imaginería de Jiménez: el artista cede lugar al etnógrafo y este último al hombre que los encarna – o viceversa.

Dos de los ensayos que forman parte de las últimas secciones del libro invitan a adentrarse en esta temática. El primero, partiendo de una reflexión acerca de las formas en que se ha encarado la violencia y el sufrimiento en los Andes, subraya dos dimensiones en el arte de Jiménez: una de carácter intracultural, ligada a las vivencias del propio autor/artista en Alcamenca y Huamanga y que evoca en parte un pasado utópico, y otra intercultural, ligada a la propia labor del etnógrafo en escenarios desgarrados en los que la contraparte utópica desaparece ante la necesidad testimonial, artística y antropológica. El segundo de los trabajos tiende puentes entre el arte testimonial de los dibujos de Jiménez dedicados a Chungui y las ilustraciones del ruso Danzig Baldaev de las atrocidades cometidas en orfanatos, cárceles y *gulags* soviéticos. Las vidas paralelas de ambos hombres parecen coincidir en un mismo destino: la emancipación del sello personal de sus respectivas producciones artísticas en un universo de memoria común.

El lector que se tope con los retablos del presente volumen se enfrentará con una cruda etnográfica consagrada en gran parte a la violencia política experimentada en el Perú en un pasado reciente y que remite, en contenido y forma, a la epopeya encarnada en “El triunfo de la muerte” de Pieter Brueghel el Viejo. Pablo F. Sendón

**Grandia, Liza:** *Enclosed. Conservation, Cattle, and Commerce among the Q’eqchi’ Maya Lowlanders.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012. 278 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-99166-5. Price: \$ 30.00

Liza Grandia, in “Enclosed,” weaves together the particularities of Q’eqchi’ Mayan lives, histories, and agricultural practices in the lowlands of Guatemala and Belize with broader narratives of neoliberalism, environmental conservationism, and politics. She demonstrates how Guatemala’s post-1996 acceleration in privatization represents a tipping point in the ability of Q’eqchi’ lowlanders to sustain themselves. This is drastically different, Grandia argues, than the previous manifestations of colonialism and enclosure that the Q’eqchi’ have contended with for centuries, and which they were able to overcome by journeying to find other land and opportunities. This more recent exploitation and displacement is qualitatively different. It has caused a profound fracturing of *the commons*, which Grandia considers at the core of Q’eqchi’ culture, economy, language, and community. Being “enclosed” by conflicting legal relationships with land and communities, as well as the discourse and veracity of development, the Q’eqchi’ are now not only losing common territory but losing a central piece of their relationships to each other.

The Q’eqchi’, of course, continue to challenge the enclosure of land privatization, which is bolstered by colossal World Bank loans. However, there are other players in the post-1996 climate. While still relocating across

Guatemala and Belize to find land, the Q’eqchi’ are finding themselves squeezed not only between modes of production (the private versus the communal) but also by development and conservationists. Environmentalists are pursuing their own form of enclosure by protecting biodiversity, acting as stewards of the forest, and redefining land through the establishment of national parks, such as the Maya Biosphere Reserve. Grandia, whose roots are actually in development and biodiversity, is careful not to inversely value the phenomena closing in on Q’eqchi’ communities. Though she could paint the conservationists as less malicious than the World Bank’s market-assisted agrarian reform, she does not. She demonstrates how many interrelated parts are responsible for the dwindling frontier that is creating the encroachment of the Q’eqchi’ today. All the constituents that are intersecting in Q’eqchi’ lives – conservationists, narco-traffickers, oil palm growers, cattle ranchers, national policies and infrastructure, neoliberal ideals, and other extractive industries – are similarly constituting a wedge between Q’eqchi’ communities and their relationships to land. The Q’eqchi’ mode of production vis-à-vis a model of the commons, quite simply, is losing out. This is why, in fact, the Q’eqchi’ are now a “sore spot” for Guatemala and possibly for scholars such as Grandia, who note that Q’eqchi’ communities are, in a way, encroachers themselves, regularly occupying foreign extraction industries, national parks, and private lands.

Perhaps this makes Grandia’s goal of avoiding romantic reifications of the Q’eqchi’ a bit easier. Of course, the markings of “ecological nobility” are difficult to avoid, especially when studying the relationship of indigenous communities to the land, and how it penetrates religious spirituality. In this case, where enclosures are denying access to divine geographies, or where ownership is more deeply wrapped around religious beliefs than surveyed quantifications and titles, she gently reproves environmental NGOs for not considering “cultural patrimony” in their quest of biodiversity and conservation.

Of course, Grandia is good but not perfect. She claims that her work with the commons and understanding of enclosure is something that will in fact inform “us.” I am never exactly sure who “us” is, and I wonder, by referring to an “us,” does she inadvertently slip into the dualism and reifications she tries desperately to avoid. I also question if her years in development overly define her narrative style. The text is not very ethnographic, which isn’t really a criticism but more of an observation. Yet, she does seem a bit tentative about how to integrate her ethnography. She ultimately decides to place much of the intimate ethnographic details in text boxes. They are interesting to read, as there is much information on the communities where she conducted her research, but they are a bit awkward too. We are not sure what to do with them. Do we have to read them? Is this secondary information? Must we know the particularities of the five communities where she conducted her research? Is this inadvertent reification?

Or perhaps this is not a traditional ethnography at all. Instead, it is an ethnography of an intersection of conflicting ideologies, policies, peoples, modes of productions,

and consumers. These diverging narratives, of Q'eqchi' lives, conservation leaders, speculators and investors, and multilateral banks and development initiatives, are traced through a complex network with all its hypocrisies, gaps, epistemologies, and legalities. In this way, Grandia's research is extensively global, as it tracks a number of political, economic, and cultural trajectories that span various territories and discourses. It at times, though, falls into the "global" trap of being too deterritorialized, of not being anchored enough on the ground (thus the separate text boxes that represent where these policies are lodged in Q'eqchi' communities). She clearly takes us beyond the strategies and numbers, but an ethnographer will wish she would take us a bit farther. Occasionally a hint of a dissertation pops through, though this can be useful too, as she provides informative discussions and didactic charts on various components of the problem. The book is well-organized and her writing is clear and engaging. It is applicable across disciplines, and to anyone trying to broadly understand Guatemala or more generally explore how transnational policies and trade impact land management, biodiversity, and indigenous subsistence.

Lastly, since I come from Indiana University, the institutional home of the late Elinor (Lin) Ostrom, I must conclude by saying that Grandia follows in the footsteps of Lin, whose passion, scholarship, and dedication to research on the commons led her to receive the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics in 2009. Grandia's interdisciplinary skills and deep knowledge of the Q'eqchi' lowlands provides her with the ability to excavate the confluences of hypocrisies and enclosures. Her ethical commitment and sense of responsibility allows her to retain a bit of optimism about the potential for new forms of the commons. To this end, she acknowledges the applicability and significance of how "our" commons (and here she would clearly mean *all* of ours) are today being enclosed, maintained, and reassembled in our practices, politics, and policies. The commons is an idea worth pursuing, not only as academics but as citizens of communities and the world. Lin Ostrom dedicated her professional and personal life to the commons, and Liza Grandia tracks it today in her work. Grandia's readers are fortunate to have her share this vision with them, a model that applicable to our scholarship, relationships, lives, and social commitments. "Enclosed" is thus worth reading for its vision and presentation of the 21st century commons among Q'eqchi' lowlanders in Guatemala and Belize, as well as its numerous other contributions and insights.

Hilary E. Kahn

**Guth, Suzie :** Robert E. Park. Itinéraire sociologique de Red Wing à Chicago. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2012, 307 pp. ISBN 978-2-296-97012-0. Prix : € 32,00

Le courant de pensée qu'en sciences sociales il est convenu d'appeler "l'École de Chicago" a été entre 1910 et 1940 au centre de la sociologie américaine. Mais par son attachement au travail de terrain, par la nature des sujets abordés et des méthodologies mises en œuvre, il a aussi exercé une influence décisive sur l'anthropolo-

gie d'outre-Atlantique. C'est sous l'impulsion d'hommes comme W. I. Thomas, R. E. Park ou E. W. Burgess que furent abordés des thèmes qui étaient le plus souvent en rapport avec l'action sociale, tels : les mouvements migratoires, les conflits sociaux, les relations interethniques et interraciales, l'acculturation des paysans à la ville, la vie des quartiers pauvres, les différentes formes de déviance et de marginalité, la criminalité juvénile, la prostitution, le suicide, etc.

L'ouvrage remarquablement documenté que Suzie Guth a consacré à Robert E. Park (1864–1944), lui qu'on présente parfois comme le "fondateur de la sociologie américaine", met bien en relief le parcours, la pensée et la personnalité de celui qui se définissait lui-même comme un *Wandervogel*, c'est-à-dire, soit un oiseau migrateur, soit, si on se réfère au contexte allemand de l'époque, un de ces éternels adolescents qui rêvent d'une autre société. "R. E. Park est une personnalité complexe, qui, malgré toutes les données rassemblées à son sujet, malgré ses écrits qui sont republiés en volumes, conserve une bonne part de mystère ; est-ce en raison de ce qu'il cherche à cacher, de ce qu'il montre, de son aspect touche-à-tout qu'il a conservé du journalisme ? On pourrait répondre que c'est tout cela à la fois ..." (20).

R. E. Park a passé sa jeunesse à Red Wing, une petite ville du Minnesota. À l'Université d'Ann Arbor il s'initie à la philologie. À Harvard il subit l'influence de William James et du psychologue expérimentaliste allemand Münsterberg. Dans la quarantaine il part préparer un doctorat ("La foule et le public") à la toute jeune Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität de Strasbourg sous la direction du philosophe Windelband qu'il suivra à Heidelberg. De retour au pays, il devient secrétaire de la "Congo Reform Association" qui a pour but de faire connaître les atrocités commises au Congo, propriété privée du roi des Belges Léopold II. Puis on le retrouve comme homme de confiance du grand leader noir Booker T. Washington qui dirige "l'École normale et industrielle pour 'coloured'" à Tuskegee, réputée pour ses méthodes pédagogiques "actives". De là il étend ses recherches sur les Noirs d'Amérique dans une position d'anthropologue participant. Après sa rencontre avec W. I. Thomas, qui par le biais de documents personnels travaillait sur les paysans polonais, il s'installe à Chicago où l'Université lui propose un cours sur les Noirs, puis, à 60 ans, un poste de professeur. Il termine sa carrière à Fisk, une université pour Noirs.

R. E. Park a donc suivi un itinéraire en dents de scie, souvent marqué par des soucis d'argent, n'hésitant pas à entreprendre une nouvelle formation quand il en sentait le besoin. Journaliste dans ses débuts, poussé par un fort goût de l'aventure et du voyage, son travail en sera durablement marqué. Une même question est sous-jacente à toute son œuvre : *What is a race ?* à laquelle il se refuse de donner une réponse purement biologique. Guth s'étend longuement sur son enseignement au département de sciences sociales. Ses premiers cours y ont porté sur les Noirs américains, les phénomènes de foule, les techniques d'enquête et la presse des minorités nationales. De longues pages sont consacrées à l'environnement dans lequel Park a évolué aux différentes étapes de sa vie (ainsi