

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

l'Université allemande de Strasbourg où l'on envoyait les meilleurs professeurs pour en faire une vitrine culturelle, ou encore la situation au Congo "indépendant"). L'ouvrage se termine par un chapitre traitant des rapports de Park avec l'écologie humaine et urbaine.

Il s'agit donc là d'une contribution fortement structurée, débordant d'informations puisées sur place aux sources les plus directes, qui, avec d'autres du même auteur, vient combler une lacune dans la connaissance que nous avions de l'École de Chicago. Pierre Erny

**Hahn, Hans Peter, Karlheinz Cless, and Jens Soentgen** (eds.): *People at The Well. Kinds, Usages, and Meanings of Water in a Global Perspective*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2012. 316 pp. ISBN 978-3-593-39610-1. Price: € 34.90

Because key issues relating to water recur with undeniable regularity in vastly diverse cultural contexts, research on human-water interactions often forces ethnographers to risk the disapproval of hard-line cultural relativists and come clean about the comparative basis of anthropology. Thus the recent florescence of histories and ethnographies of water has encouraged not a return to homogenising 19th-century universalisms, but a more balanced theoretical recognition that important commonalities coexist with major cultural diversities in human lifeways. Still, there remains some unease amongst anthropologists about straying overtly from culturally specific analyses. In relation to water research, this can produce slightly conflicted accounts that – though engaging with crosscutting issues – strive to maintain a conventional ethnographic focus.

For the most part this edited collection is progressive in adopting a "global perspective" on temporally and spatially diverse engagements with water. Each chapter focuses on particular issues and examples, but there are multiple fluid connections between them in considering how water mediates social, economic, and political relations; how people think with and about water; how they evaluate its qualities and define its meanings. A further connective undercurrent is water itself, and the way that its particular properties affect all of these interactions.

The introduction to the volume is a little vague, perhaps illustrating the practical difficulty of providing an overview sufficient to encompass the vast range of issues pertaining to water. It also suffers slightly from a more mundane reality: that academic publishers have become too parsimonious to employ copy editors to catch the occasional awkwardness in translation to English. But the chapters that follow (some by the book's editors) are thoroughly engaging.

The text opens with Hans Peter Hahn's summary of anthropological perspectives on water. It engages usefully with broader historical analyses, providing a nuanced critique of Illich's insightful but rather linear ideas about changing relationships with water, and of accounts that similarly assume chronological movement from shared to enclosed and privatised water resources. It tackles the always difficult issue of scaling up and down analytically,

and tags on a case study from Togo, which illustrates the dynamic processes through which ideas about the spiritual vitality of water keep pace with changing infrastructures and practices. Simon Meissner then considers a range of water uses, with a very lucid account of "virtual water" and "water footprints." This starkly illustrates the way that international trade upholds massive inequities in people's access to global water resources, and also how it distributes the costs of production, for example in the "grey water footprints" of pollution emerging from industrial processes.

Klaus Ruthenberg's chapter takes a more philosophical direction to deconstruct dominant representations of water. Pointing to the fluid uncertainties inherent in these, he suggests that substances are better described as "a network of relations of dispositions" (68). Thus representations of water should be pluralistic, rather than taking a "physicalist, reductionist approach" (76). Jens Soentgen's essay on dew certainly takes us away from physical reductionism, with an intriguing description of how people in the ancient world imagined a "cosmic distillery" in which water glided to earth through the rays of a full moon (82). The notion of magically creative water sits easily with Karlheinz Cless' comparison of beliefs and rituals in China, India, and northern Ghana, which considers how these affect people's engagements with water at a micro-level. Magical water also appears in Richard Wilk's contribution, which takes us from ancient Mayan beliefs about "virgin" water to subaltern rituals valorising water's powers in contemporary Belize. This segues into an analysis of the iconography of bottled water, illustrating that "[r]ather than disappearing from view then, with *progress* the magic of water constantly rises in new places, through new conduits of power" (129). Though such ideas persist, Wolfram Laube's chapter shows how they have often been subsumed by changing practices and the commodification of water. While rainmaking rituals continue in northern Ghana, and people try to uphold traditional forms of water ownership that involve trust and sharing, such practices are being marginalised by new supply infrastructures, irrigation, and commercial water usage and larger-scale forms of governance. Irit Eguavoen's chapter, also dealing with northern Ghana, describes how such developments are socially and economically destabilising, often ignoring the potential for small-scale access to water to uphold local economic practices that make the difference between "generating a small income instead of no income" (187).

Bettina Weiz's strong contribution demonstrates that, while water and social power are invariably connected, this can play out very differently. Germany's historical changes in water supply mirrored moves towards (and continue to uphold) democratic notions of equality and citizenship. But in South India "the water mains stands for differentiation and inequality, an expression on as well as an agent of these" (193). The deep inequalities of access to water in India are also the subject of Nikhil Anand's chapter, which considers the historic and social causes of hugely differentiated water supply in Mumbai, making a key point that reducing public and private water owner-