

tes westliches Gut. Das Lachen kann aber auch als Versuch der Inklusion gedeutet werden: man möchte nicht von der Gruppe der lachenden Afrikaner im Bus ausgeschlossen werden. Oder die eigenen Ängste vor der Ungewissheit in der Fremde werden weggelacht. Hier wird deutlich, wie aufschlussreich das Lachen für das Verständnis der Rezeption ist und wie diese Form ganz besonders geeignet ist, um die in der These 3 angesprochenen Ängste vor Vereinnahmung einerseits und Ausschluss andererseits zu konkretisieren.

Des Weiteren unternimmt die Autorin anhand einiger Handlungsszenen den Versuch, den Anteil der Imagination in der konkreten Rezeption herauszulösen, indem sie die zugeschriebene Bedeutung seitens der Kinoszahler mit denen der Akteure bzw. dem Denken und den Normen der Samburu konfrontiert. Das Lächeln über Lemalians großzügige Kreditvergabe an seine Kunden z. B., die schnell als Zeichen seiner Geschäftsunfähigkeit gedeutet wird, beruht auf der Unkenntnis hinsichtlich der Rechte und Pflichten, die bei den Samburu fester Bestandteil der sozialen Eingebundenheit in die Nachbarschaft und in die Familie sind und nicht folgenlos aufgehoben werden können.

Über intensive Interviews mit einzelnen Personen, die in einem Kontext gegenseitigen Vertrauens stattfanden und in denen sich die "offenen", gerührten PositivbewerterInnen äußerten, bekommen wir nun Einblick in Rezeptionsweisen, die dem Konzept des transkulturellen Raums entsprechen und die, so die Meinung der Autorin, durch den Film ermöglicht werden. Ihre 4. These lautet: "... den RezipientInnen wir[d] ein transkultureller Raum eröffnet, der sich durch Ambivalenzen und Verunsicherung auszeichnet und der gleichzeitig die Erfahrung von Gemeinsamkeiten und Überschneidungen zwischen Kulturen ermöglicht" (28). Mir scheint fraglich, ob diese Diskussionsergebnisse wirklich aus dem Filmverständnis herrühren, denn ich sehe darin eher die Beschreibung eines Dialogs über Einstellungen zu bestimmten soziokulturellen Phänomenen in Afrika wie Klitorisbeschneidung, Hexerei, Polygynie und Geschlechterrollen, Themen, die nicht vom oder im Film problematisiert werden. Die Haltung der InterviewpartnerInnen zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass sie sich auf ein Aushandeln einlassen, keine festen, vorgefassten Positionen vertreten, sondern bereit sind, auch andere Sinndeutungen zuzulassen, auch wenn sie sie selber nicht übernehmen wollen. In diesem Raum, wo das Eigene und das Fremde bewusst wahrgenommen und reflektiert werden, herrscht Unsicherheit, und dieser Zustand wird oftmals auch als schmerzhaft empfunden. Ermöglicht wird das Einnehmen dieser transkulturellen Perspektive durch das modellhafte Verhalten der Protagonistin im Film. Als ein konkretes Beispiel für den im transkulturellen Raum gewonnenen erweiterten Blick führt die Autorin die für diesen Zweck initiierte Auseinandersetzung über das Konzept von Liebe vor. Dabei wird die romantische Liebe des Westens als ein für eine transkulturelle Verbindung untaugliches Modell entlarvt. – Es sollte hier aber unbedingt darauf hingewiesen werden, dass eine Verständigung über unterschiedliche kulturelle Werte und Lebensformen nicht als eine reine Frage der

Kultur aufgefasst werden darf. Kultur ist selber ein Teil oder sogar das Produkt sozialer, ökonomischer und politischer Entwicklungen, und somit geht es auch um eine Positionierung, die auch auf gesellschaftspolitischen Reflexionen beruht.

Die Rezeptionsanalyse hat deutlich werden lassen, wie sehr und wie oft wir uns über unsere eigenen Gefühle und Einstellungen täuschen. Die negativen Urteile und körperlichen Reaktionen im Umgang mit dem Fremden basieren auf unbewussten Ängsten. Wir halten uns für tolerant und stark, sind im Grunde genommen aber ausgrenzend und auf der Suche nach Sinn. Das Verdienst dieser Studie ist es, hinter der Fassade von Spott und Kritik die Sehnsüchte und Unsicherheiten freigelegt zu haben. Den Zuschauerreaktionen liegt ein starker und weit verbreiteter Wunsch nach Sicherheit zugrunde, den sie sich durch die Verabsolutierung des Rationalitätsprinzips meinen erfüllen zu können. Die Furchtlosigkeit und scheinbare Naivität Carolas ruft paradoxerweise die Ängste der Betrachter hervor, die Ängste vor einem gefährlichen Afrika.

Trotz der aufgeführten, sich am methodischen Vorgehen orientierenden Kritikpunkte stellt diese Arbeit insgesamt eine höchst interessante Studie dar, die mit der Rezeptionsanalyse eines Films empirisch nachweist, wie Menschen in Deutschland kognitiv-emotional mit dem Fremden, genauer gesagt, dem medial vermittelten Fremden umgehen. Das ist sowohl inhaltlich als auch theoretisch ein spannendes Forschungsfeld. Maurer demonstriert in der empirischen Anwendung den Nutzen neuer Theorieansätze wie die der dialogischen Rezeption und des transkulturellen Raums. Die verschiedenen theoretischen Bezüge (z. B. über die Bildsprache, den Mythos, das Lachen, den transkulturellen Raum), die die einzelnen empirischen Aspekte einrahmen, beruhen auf einer intensiven Kenntnis und bereichern die Arbeit sehr. Das Thema selbst ist sicherlich bei Weitem noch nicht ausgeschöpft, und dieses Buch bietet eine gute Grundlage, um zu weiteren Fragen anzuregen. Bemerkenswert ist auch das besondere Engagement, das, auch wenn es sich auf Kosten einer wissenschaftlichen Ausgewogenheit entfaltet, der Arbeit eine persönliche Note gibt und dadurch sehr ehrlich wirkt. Außerdem ist es sehr mutig und unterstützenswert, dass sich Elke Regina Maurer mit einem leichtfertiger der Populär- und Sensationskultur zugerechneten und daher auch oftmals sozial geächtetem Genre wie dem Liebesfilm, der zudem auch noch im fernen, unbekanntem Afrika spielt, beschäftigt hat. Hier steht die aktive Aneignung der Zuschauer im Vordergrund, über die nicht arrogant aus der Perspektive einer vermeintlichen akademischen Überlegenheit geurteilt werden sollte.

Ilse margret Luttmann

Mayer, Enrique: *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009. 299 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4469-8. Price: \$ 23.95

"There is something missing in those [the 1970s economic and Marxist class] analyses: people as human beings who are sentient, rational and irrational at the same time, culture bound and seeking other horizons simulta-

neously; actors engaged in a process that involved their energies, their emotions, their passions, and basest instincts” (239).

This sentence, written in the conclusions of Enrique Mayer’s book “Ugly Stories ...” sets the aim of Mayer’s work: giving voice to different actors in the process of Peruvian agrarian reform as it was implemented by the leftist government of General Velasco Alvarado between 1969 and 1975, showing the “human factor” behind. In this endeavour, what makes the book all the more interesting is the fact that the author himself was one of the actors, even if not in an exposed position.

This technically well designed book has six chapters, an introduction and a conclusion, and an apparatus with a list of abbreviations, a glossary in Spanish, an extensive index and, of course, notes and references helping the reader to orient himself quite easily. The reviewer found just one error, when on page 111 an interview date was given as March 1966; obviously that can not be.

Mayer’s book is not written in the ordinary scientific fashion with statistics, detached analyses of data, etc., and, as may be deduced from the quote in the beginning, it could never be written in this manner, as its aim is to let the actors tell the story of the agrarian reform. In order to achieve this, the author designed a method based on the following: “We tried to gather material with as many versions from as many perspectives as possible. Separately we interviewed the exlandlords, the expropriators, the government officials, the local politicians, the peasant leaders, the activists, the officials of the cooperatives, and the farming families in each region” (xvii f.).

The data used was mainly gathered in 1996 – although some interviews had already been held in 1994, others in 2001 and 2006 – by the author himself and a former student of San Marcos University of Lima, Danny Pino García. But the book has a longer history, the first attempts of writing it dating back to 1988. So why did Mayer finish it more than twenty years later? He claims that 1988 was too early, the process and effects of the agrarian reform had still not unfolded clear enough. But it seems more probable that the real answer can be found in the conclusion chapter. Making reference to the human factor quoted above, Meyer says: “For me, the collector of memories, the emotional wallowing in each story became an impediment in dealing with them, sorting them, ordering them, or forgetting them. Emotion is addictive and I have spent ten years doing this as I tried to convert them to text” (240). This sentence is the key to Enrique Mayer’s text, a renowned researcher on Peruvian peasants and peasant communities who nonetheless, it seems, had to write this book in order to free himself somewhat of his emotional baggage in relation to the Peruvian agrarian reform. After doing fieldwork in the first half of the 1990s, made possible by several grants, Mayer wrote roughly one chapter every year.

The material gathered is presented in 5 chapters, giving voice to heroes and anti-heroes of the agrarian reform (chap. 2), landowners (chap. 3), managers and union leaders (chap. 4), actors involved in the creation and fall of the “Machu Asnu Cooperative” (chap. 5), and actors involved

in the creation and fall of the huge Cahuide – Anonymous Society of Social Interest (chap. 6, which is actually called: Veterinarians and *Comuneros*). The agrarian reform is set into its context in Latin America and in Peru in the first chapter and the work is finished by a conclusion.

Velasco’s agrarian reform was not the first one in Peru, as Mayer summarizes in the first chapter, but it was by far the most radical and one of the most radical in the international context of the last century. The reform was drafted and implemented by the government, seeking popular support for the concepts developed by its functionaries and advisers through newly created organizations. But it did not last and the author gives a summary of the main facts and a valuable overview of the existing literature about the process and the reasons for its decline. In his words, the result of the reform process “... fundamentally changed rural relationships and the country itself. The Peru of today is a very different place because of Velasco’s revolution and its agrarian reform. Looking back today, the old questions that used to be asked about it – was it a success or a failure? – have become irrelevant. A good response is that the agrarian reform happened and it had many consequences, many of them still not completely understood” (33 f.). This affirmation, however, is not entirely shared by the reviewer, as will be explained below.

In the second chapter we are told the story of the agrarian reform according to the movie “Kuntur Wachana” (Where the Condors Are Born) in which several “heroes” of the fight for the agrarian reform in Peru are idealized. Mayer uses the film to present us heroes – and “anti-heroes” (that is, *hacendados* and their families) – and to take a closer look at their lives and what impact the reform process had on them. Already in this chapter we find what afterwards is repeated from differing perspectives in the following chapters: the sad history of an idea about justice becoming, as its implementation process advances, a matter of failure, frustration, injustice, corruption, and deceit.

Landowners are the topic of the third chapter and the author presents us the highland hacienda, a patriarchal enterprise where the owner was lord, father, and oppressor in one person. Very often, the highland haciendas had been quite impoverished at the time of expropriation so that the agrarian reform only accelerated the decline of the power *hacendados* held. The situation in the coastal valleys was very different where, despite some patriarchal reminiscences, the agrarian capitalist enterprise was the dominant figure. Anyway, for the *hacendados* on the coast and in the highlands, the agrarian reform came as a shock, as is reflected in the interviews. Very few *hacendados* could recover from the shock and they definitely did not see the “... agrarian reform [as] happened ...” (34), but perceived it as a fraud. Despite this collective sentiment, landowners did not unite to collective action but each tried their individual strategy, which, in most cases, resulted in selling the valuables to the highest bidder or dividing the estates into smaller pieces among close relatives, as long as the law permitted it. In this respect, for the landowning class the reform was nearly a total defeat, a defeat consolidated by the poor government compensation they received.

As a result of the whole process, today there is a new division between highland and coastal areas, the first being dominated by peasant communities and smallholders, while on the coast smallholders in connection with newly formed estates produce for the world market in fierce competition with other world regions.

In the following three chapters (four, five, and six, denominated “Managers and Union Leaders,” “Machu Asnu Cooperative,” and “Veterinarians and *comuneros*”), step by step we get closer to the local level through the actors that were directly involved in the creation and running of the cooperatives resulting from the expropriations. Here we learn why giving plots to individual families never was an option and why the government opted instead for the creation of cooperatives. Several reasons were all intertwined: the need to expropriate rapidly for political reasons, the wish to maintain big units in order to preserve (and strengthen) large-scale economies, the fact that there was not enough land for all land-hungry peasants, and, last but not least, the “left-leaning, petit-bourgeois civilian advisors” (112, Mayer cites here José María Caballero, a renowned Peruvian economist, who holds that important aspects of the agrarian reform were not due to initial military reformist impulses but to the cited civilian advisers) who, out of ideological reasons, thought it best for peasants to live and produce in cooperatives.

Already in the fourth chapter it becomes clear that the big absentee in this game was the peasant population itself, which only began to play a role when suddenly they were “owners” of cooperatives – that they perceived as something strange and often as a threat. So conflict was predictable: on one side the government-installed managers, on the other the “owners” who considered themselves more as workers, but had the right to vote on the organization of daily work and the repartition of revenues. As a result, the cooperatives were perceived as belonging to the state – and therefore to nobody, which made them very vulnerable to adverse circumstances.

In the fifth and sixth chapter, the same story is told, taking as examples the Tupac Amaru II (Machu Asnu) and Cahuide Cooperatives, both of them working under adverse circumstances. Tupac Amaru II Cooperative in the Department of Puno did not survive the decade of the seventies and was dismantled by the peasants in several waves of land occupation. The Cahuide Cooperative was the battleship of the reform for being very huge (247,257 ha, 113,000 sheep, 6,500 cattle, many of the livestock first class and a considerable part dairy cattle) and equipped with modern technology. Cahuide survived until the end of the eighties, when it finally succumbed to land occupations by peasants and violent attacks by “Shining Path,” the Maoist terrorist group, seeking to control the peasant communities involved in Cahuide Cooperative.

All in all, these three chapters (4 to 6) are masterly told and make it worthwhile reading the book. The other chapters provide a comprehensive summary of what is already known about the agrarian reform. So do chapters 4 to 6, but the manner in which the information is given, how the story is told, the perspective from which arguments are developed are totally different, because it is the

actors who are telling the story. We are told a well-known story – the rise and fall of the big cooperatives resulting from the agrarian reform – but the very different way it is told allows for new and astonishing insights into the whole process.

In his conclusion, the author states the importance of the human factor and its negligence by the authors of the reform. But he also holds, though somewhat timidly, that the reform in the end was positive, leading to land appropriation by the peasants, even if not planned by the government. Mayer argues that the reform and its results finally contributed strongly to frustrate the struggle of “Shining Path” guerilla for power, finding open or passive resistance in the peasant communities.

It is with this cautiously positive view that the reviewer does not agree. In my opinion, the reform was a blatant failure. If we compare the outcome of the agrarian reform, first, with the original aim or objective of the government that implemented it, and, secondly, with what it brought to the reform’s “beneficiaries,” we will find that the arguments and stories extended in Mayer’s book leave no doubt about the first perspective: A comparison of the governments’ motivation and aim at implementing the agrarian reform with its outcome shows that the reform was disastrous. With respect to the second perspective, the reform was also a failure for the beneficiaries because they did not get what they wanted: land. The most positive statement one could possibly make about the agrarian reform concerns the positive political and social effects it had on peasantry, effects which, indeed, had been intended by the government, even if in a different way. Peasants all over Peru learned to perceive themselves as subjects of history, actors that can take their affairs into their own hands. Partly, the government had intended this, but obviously not directed against its own policy, as it actually happened not long after the reform was implemented. But also in this respect, the murderous terrorists of “Shining Path” and the equally murderous “counterinsurgency” (generally directed more against peasant populations than against “insurgents”) truncated the impetus of a successful peasant movement.

In the whole process of the agrarian reform and the peasant movement, political violence, and appeasement, the formerly capitalist run estates on the coast had been destroyed in the same way as what was left from the already declining highland *haciendas*, and only in an often difficult process land productivity could be finally re-established or improved. The result is the current situation already mentioned: Smallholders and peasant communities in the highlands, smallholders and entrepreneurs – if not to say big landowners – on the coast. It seems, that this result could also have been achieved by other means than an agrarian reform which had its positive but also its huge negative effects and very high economic and social costs.

So which factors brought about the failure? The slogan of the agrarian reform, often stated by General Velasco Alvarado himself, was: “Land for those who work it,” and it is exactly this, what peasants all over the world are hoping and looking for: land that they can work, improve, pass to

the next generation, in other words: own. And it was this what the agrarian reform did not bring them! There was no land for the peasants, they were forced to create cooperatives, they had to occupy and conquer land first in a sometimes painful process against the government and its "left-leaning, petit-bourgeois civilian advisors."

It is the old story endlessly repeated: Politicians, intellectuals, decision makers, and advisers, all are convinced that peasants are not able to make the right decisions by themselves, so they make decisions for the peasants, generally without asking them and drawing conclusions quite often from abstract theories and sometimes blatant prejudice.

Mayer's book is a wonderful work, telling stories exactly about this never-ending story. And it does no harm to the book that the author, himself a little bit of a "left-leaning advisor," seems to have understood the story only partially.

Harald Mossbrucker

McIntosh, Janet: *The Edge of Islam. Power, Personhood, and Ethnoreligious Boundaries on the Kenya Coast.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2009. 325 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4509-1. Price £ 17.99

This is a good book, one that I recommend to all East Africanists. Many who study Islam and its relation to the peoples in the developing world also would profit from it.

The author's work concerns the Giriama, a Bantu language-speaking people living near the Indian Ocean coast about seventy-five miles northeast of Mombasa, Kenya. They are a people with long and complex relations with the Muslim Swahili. The Giriama were previously studied, most notably by David Parkin. The literature on the Swahili is vast. McIntosh focuses on the problematic relations between the Giriama and the Muslim Swahili who dominate the Giriama both culturally and economically. The Giriama were traditionally pagan, but some have converted to Christianity and some to Islam.

Today large numbers of Giriama hold ideas that reflect many Muslim beliefs and some have converted to that faith. This is not surprising since Muslim-Swahili society has controlled politics and trade in the area for several centuries. There is a long East African tradition of up-country Africans being influenced by Arab and Swahili from the coast. Africans were involved with Swahili and Arab traders and found it advantageous or even essential to be converted to the religion of their trading partners. Some were employed or enslaved by these coastal entrepreneurs and some were married to them. These relations were fluid and some of these Africans were gradually absorbed into the coastal system, although how completely remains debatable. Unfortunately, this process of absorption was impeded by British colonial policies that attempted to categorise Africans more formally into discrete ethnic groups, a policy that had lasting impact on claims to land and political recognition. On the Kenya coast, these policies tended to work to the advantage of the Swahili.

Formally, Islam presents itself as a religion that transcends ethnicity, race, and class. On the East African coast

old Swahili settlements form hierarchies with those at the top claiming the strongest associations with Arab/Swahili ethnicity and culture and inevitably also making the strongest claims to practicing the purest forms of Islam. Up-country, more newly converted Africans were seen as the least civil and properly religious. This sociocultural hierarchy is reinforced by inequalities in landholding, control of trade, education, and social networks, some Swahili families maintaining strategic ties with other Swahili up and down the coast. These relations have produced a pervasive hierarchy not only of kin and ethnicity but of Islam itself. These relations are intensely ambivalent. Giriama envy the power and wealth of Swahili, even their religious knowledge, but they also dislike Swahili and repeatedly question the promise that conversion to Islam will bring equality. Without that hope most Giriama would not consider it worthwhile.

McIntosh examines these complex and tortuous relations from several perspectives, all going back to Giriama ideas about the power of traditional (pagan) Giriama beliefs and values and their relation to Islam as practiced by Swahili. In earlier decades Giriama tradition was more embedded in the authority of male elders who ritually controlled an ancestral cult set in the shrines and graves of inland villages. As the local economy was drawn ever closer to the coast, these traditions were overshadowed by Swahili/Muslim values. Yet Giriama still realize that their most reliable social ties remain with other Giriama and that ties with Swahili remain unreliable and at times denigrating though they hope these might lead to possible economic advantages and more social esteem. Most ties that Giriama have with Swahili are as employees or renters of property though some give their daughters or sisters in marriage. Even that, however, does not guarantee full acceptance. Swahili culture, at least for Swahili, is grounded on its difference and supposed superiority to that of inland Africans, including the Giriama.

McIntosh describes how Giriama fetishize Muslim rituals, charms, clothing, dietary rules, Arab words and writing and other outward forms of Swahili culture. Swahili see this as reflecting Giriama's lack of spiritual depth, their lack of internalized belief and sincerity. To Swahili, Giriama have only taken over Muslim gestures, charms, and words in order to become curers and diviners, something below what proper Islam should be about (never mind that many Muslim Swahili also consult diviners and curers). Giriama women are especially prone to such practices, even though they secure relatively little economic advantage from this. Such roles do provide attention from the Giriama community. Giriama are also possessed by Muslim jinni and secure power from such possession. Giriama also consult other spirits of Muslim origin. Many Giriama claim that Muslim- or Arab-based spirits have more power than those traditionally cultivated by Giriama. They also claim that Swahili/Muslims and especially Arabs have even more powerful spirits to support their power and wealth. Giriama often claim that possession by Muslim spirits occurs against their (Giriama) wills. Such possession can even happen to Giriama who may not be practicing Muslims. Such possession will force Giriama