

States and exported back to Europe where practitioners edited and abridged rituals and practices to suit their own ethnic, political, and cultural values. In chap. 4, Kamila Velkoborská highlights the adaptation of *Ásatrú* by the “Brotherhood of Wolves” in the Czech Republic – a shift that she terms “From *Ásatrú* to Primitivism,” highlighting, as do chapters 5–7, the post-Soviet foundation on which various Eastern European paganisms have evolved into critical frameworks for identity politics, nationalist revivals, and cultural preservation. In this way, this volume is able to illustrate the “tensions in the relationships between universalism and particularism, indigeneity and nationalism, politics and religion, tradition and innovation, left- and right-wing, modernity and anti-modernity, pre-modern and postmodern” (2). Chapters 8–10, demonstrate how changing urban contexts and imagined identities impact the interplay between pan-European pagan practices and “local heritage.” In Berlin, for example, the “Moon-Women” seek publicity through public rituals in Berlin’s “ancient-cult-sites,” mixing the *völkisch* ideology of a religious practice bound by “blood and bones” with a cosmopolitan appreciation of the many international religious expressions imported into Berlin. These chapters provide us with further evidence about how practitioners of paganisms borrow, adapt, invent, and reinterpret folk customs and practices that they perceive as ancient and authentic, filtered through the literatures and zeitgeist of the Romantic era and each country’s awakening of national identity.

The resulting product is often a bricolage of cultural material, which many pagans frame as authentic ethnic cultural artifacts, an assertion constructed through interpretive liberties rooted in feeling rather than fact. Chapters 11–13 provide ethnographically rich illustrations of “the ways in which Pagans negotiate the tensions between local, cultural or national identities ..., and wider,” international and “increasingly globalized influences” (17), constructing Iberian, Milanese, or Maltese ethno-pagan identities. Iberian pagans invert Catholicism, reinterpreting, rather than rejecting, its symbols and rituals through a local Iberian pagan framework critical of imported traditions, organized religion, and the Anglo-imperialism within international paganism. This contrasts with the experiences of pagans in Malta, with its history of perpetual colonization, for whom Catholicism is not seen as an imported, imposed tradition but rather central to their cultural identities. In this case and in contrast to the reconstructionist paganisms of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, religious syncretism and eclecticism is essential to the Maltese pagan project.

The subtitle of this volume, on the “Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses” of pagans around the world, captures two broad processes. The first involves forms of neo-colonialism, as Anglo-American and British beliefs and practices are exported, adopted, and adapted to local context, and as Rountree notes, in some ways “indigenized.” The second process involves both ethnonationalism, associated and entangled with racism and right wing politics, and romantic nationalism that may place an emphasis on an ethnic identity connected to nature, place, and space –

but is discomfited by racial extremism. Yet others, as seen in the Maltese context, indicate an appreciation for indigeneity and eclecticism simultaneously, but lack visible nationalist impulses. Throughout the volume, the authors capture the tensions and negotiations between reconstructionist and eclectic movements adapted to local considerations. The boundaries of these processes are blurry, fluid, and changing as pagans around the world react to globalization, modernity, local politics, and economic change.

Although studies of American and British paganisms have, for the last two decades, dominated the scholarship on pagan studies, research on paganisms in the rest of the European arena are decidedly sparse. Students and scholars of the sociology or anthropology of religion and pagan studies will no doubt find this book a useful tool, as it is one of the first complete volumes to explore paganisms in Europe and the complexities and influences of global and local politics, culture, and social change on these emerging movements.

Jennifer Snook

Saunders, Tanya L.: *Cuban Underground Hip Hop. Black Thoughts, Black Revolution, Black Modernity.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015, 356 pp. ISBN 978-1-4773-0770-0. Price: £ 20.99

In 1961, Fidel Castro declared racism in Cuba a thing of the past, a consequence of U.S. imperialism that had now been banished, and asserted that in just two years the Cuban Revolution had ended systemic racial discrimination on the island. Admittedly, individual prejudice would likely persist but would eventually fade away through education. But racial (and gender) inequalities at all levels continued and became more pronounced in the mid to late 1990s in the wake of the economic crisis that hit the island after the fall of the Soviet Union. It was during this Special Period that a group of young hip hop artists emerged and initiated a social movement – the Cuban Underground Hip Hop Movement (CUHHM) – to contest the legacies and realities of social inequalities in Cuba, which they closely linked to the island’s coloniality. Saunders argues that these mostly black and Afro-descended Cubans “worked to decolonize their own and their fellow citizens’ hearts and minds, as a means of contributing to the progress of revolutionary change in Cuba” (8f.). Through hip hop, these activists produced “a pro-Black, antiracist critique in a socialist country that has pronounced the elimination of racism within its borders” (10).

Saunders draws from ethnographic data gathered in Havana between 1998 and 2006, including over thirty interviews with hip hop artists living in and outside of Cuba and state officials affiliated with the CUHHM. Her role as a participant observer (attending concerts, for example) informs her analysis as do her everyday experiences during her time living in Cuba. She notes, for example, that “I passed as Cuban when moving through public space in Cuba” (3). This insiders’ perspective made her witness to the presence of racism, sexism, and homophobia on the island and the ways in which Cubans must navigate these realities and discourses. The experiences described and stories and perspectives shared from her interviews and

fieldnotes are provocative and engaging, and she follows these up with keen insights that link to the ideological debates that she argues the CUHHM intervenes in.

After a chapter that offers historical context on race and cultural politics in Cuba follows one on the development of the CUHHM and its goal of ending racism and another that details discussions on whiteness, mulat@ness, and blackness within the movement. Chapter 5 examines the language practices of the artists of the CUHHM, noting the multiple, often subversive, meanings and uses of certain words and concepts, namely revolution, revolutionary; activism, activists; poverty, marginalization; and underground, commercial. She argues that this regional lexicon demonstrates “the agenda of ... artists who interrogate and employ terminologies as a means of articulating and defining the terms of their own political struggle” (167). In chapter 6, Saunders turns her attention to feminist debates within the CUHHM and the ways in which women, particularly black women, within the movement work to “articulate a feminist identity explicitly in solidarity with men.” This positioning limits the development of feminist politics; in fact, she finds that for many of these women “feminism was an ambivalent identity, all too often associated in Cuba with being socially divisive, man-hating, and unpatriotic” (198). Chapter 7 is a case study of the group Las Krudas CUBENSI. This trio of black women stands apart from other groups within the movement in its emphasis on the “intersecting ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality,” which they argue “serve as the basis for social oppression, particularly oppression of Black lesbians” (250).

“Cuban Underground Hip Hop” joins what has become a rich and fascinating literature on the Cuban underground hip hop movement, specifically, and hip hop studies, more broadly. Saunders steps into this conversation with a sustained emphasis on the intersectionality of race and (anti-)racism, gender and sexuality, and (de-)colonization, situating the emergence and significance of the Cuban Underground Hip Hop Movement (CUHHM) beyond national borders and within the American Black Atlantic in the post-Special Period. The book is an important reading for students and scholars in a broad range of fields, including sociology, anthropology, and history, who are interested in learning more about how race, gender and sexuality, and music mix in Cuba.

Christina D. Abreu

**Smith, Katherine, James Staples, and Nigel Rap-
port** (eds.): *Extraordinary Encounters. Authenticity and the Interview*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. 205 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-589-9. (Methodology and History in Anthropology, 28) Price: \$ 70.00

This volume scrutinises the ethnographic interview as a social encounter between social anthropologists and their subjects. It is a social event that deserves attention; indeed, it is “an extraordinary encounter” (3), as argued through this text: a special space of detachment, review and reflection, imagination and projection. It has metonymic status as the interview comes to “stand for” the

lifeworld of the subject. The interview environment also allows participants to “stand outside of” themselves, and for anthropologists to explore this new dais with them. Social researchers should heed, then, this “extraordinary” guide-book on the co-production of anthropological data and the positioning of the interview as a methodology, mode of relationality, and analytical category.

Pat Caplan opens the volume with a biographical case study from Zanzibar built around two accounts of a life given by the subject and pieced together by the researcher. The biography is a story of a life, a narrative that has a context built into it. Caplan shows how the researcher’s biography differs from the subject’s autobiography. Whereas both accounts are “unfinished” and fragmentary, the former involves piecing together the gaps in the narrative, typically from other interviews. This wider work can reveal new insights, as found by Isak Niehaus in a biographical examination of the South African HIV/AIDS pandemic. Niehaus takes the life story of Reggie to show shifts in “disease” understanding – from the medical to the political and conspiratorial – can mask the levels of culpability felt in the protagonist. One needs the detailed chronological account from the biography to be able to make sense of living with the condition in a severally modern and traditional context. These opening chapters show that biography captures a life and a time, but also show how aware the protagonist can be of their biographical narratives. James Staples illustrates this with the biography of Das, a sufferer of leprosy in India. Over an engagement of some 25 years, Staples has built up a life story, one that he has shared and co-produced with Das, and one that has shifted from initial story touching on the charity workers’ agenda – a typical punishment-to-conversion narrative, political and Christian – to a layered exploration of changing relationships and shifting contexts coaxed and persuaded out of the sufferer. Here, empathy can be found in the biographical method as well as the biographical trajectory.

Other case studies in the volume look to the interview as unstructured, as visual elicitation exercise, as intimate dialogue, as call to arms. In chap. 4, Katherine Smith uses fieldwork complemented with unstructured interviews to demystify the banter taking place in her field-site Starlings, her Manchester city centre ex-working men’s club. These occasions of criticism and insult are dense performative contradictions that needed an explicit interview to fully understand. But it was only by hanging out in the club and working evening shifts behind the bar that afforded Katherine the opportunity to set up the interview. Becoming intimate with the locals was not needed by Àngels Trias i Valls who was already an insider returning to her Catalonia. But as an adult interviewing children, Àngels was greeted with differing temporalities, delays, fractures, and phasing in and out as children focused, drifted, and deviated in their discourses with her. They exemplified an “altermodern” mash-up (102) that did not necessarily accumulate as a “straight forward” interview narrative. The children “wandered” with their imaginations with each encounter. This breached the notion of the interview as static and with its boundaries. Trias i Valls sug-