

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 activists 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 ... activists 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 Rapport** (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-

gests a journeying approach to the interview, heterochronic (multi-temporal) assemblages, and relations that the researcher trespasses into. This hyperlinks the interview into the 21st century rather than cast the interview as a pause or suspension from the everyday heard in analogue.

In chap. 6, Judith Okely rallies against interviews as pre-planned “performed detachments” (130), favouring interviews as trust exchanges with her colleagues and friends. She suggests that they should be participatory, open-ended, and reciprocal. An interview should not be a contamination-free interrogation. It is only in these relaxed serendipitous encounters that new insights can bubble to the fore. Ana Lopes echoes this impulse to use the interview in the everyday fostered by Okely. She gives it an applied action-research edge looking at the unionisation of sex workers in the UK. Her interviews became moments of empowerment for the subjects, catalysts for action, and often “reverse interview” scenarios where she ended up being the subject of their conversation. This is the result of having relationality in the interview. It is an example of those moments of remembering and re-authoring past experiences in a forward looking space (176): retrospective, introspective, and prospective all converge in this ordinary but also extraordinary encounter. And it is often ironic, according to Rapport in the “Epilogue,” as self-awareness and self-commentary frame the perspective on the words used and self-narrated.

Jonathan Skinner

**Sökefeld, Martin** (ed.): *Spaces of Conflict in Everyday Life. Perspectives across Asia*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015. 225 pp. ISBN 978-3-8376-3024-4. Price: € 29.99

This collection of essays is based on a conference organised by the research network Crossroads Asia, which took place in October 2014 in Munich. The overall rationale of the book is to explore the everyday experience of conflict through a series of case studies on Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Kashmir. A special attention is given to the perspectives of the actors involved and issues revolving around processes of social and political mobilisation, land dispute, and space, but also hospitals, local assemblies, or networks of patronage. One of the main general points is that even in situations of widespread violence, institutions and a certain sense of legality and legitimacy still matter.

In a substantial introduction, Martin Sökefeld summarises the whole rationale of the volume: “instead of focusing on states and actors, we were interested in the everyday life of conflicts – or rather everyday life in the context of conflicts” (10). If conflicts are socially embedded, social life is also embedded in conflicts in the various locations studied by the contributors to this volume. All of them share some basic assumptions in spite of differences in style and disciplinary background. First, conflict is seen as a constitutive feature of social life and not as a deviation from normal social order. Second, conflicts are conceived as complex processes that cannot be accounted for in terms of causes and consequences or simplistically

labelled as “ethnic” or “religious.” Rather than applying predefined categories, it might be more fruitful to look at the perspectives of people themselves. Norbert Elias’s concept of “figuration” proves useful to move beyond the insoluble dichotomy between methodological individualism and methodological holism. Conflicts are here read as figurations where people interact and form alliances or oppositions: their “actions are not determined, but their choices are limited by the conflict” (21). The example of the Shia-Sunni violence in Gilgit, northern Pakistan, helps Martin Sökefeld to develop the idea that there is an intimate relationship between conflict, material things, space, and mobility. More than the divide-and-rule strategy of the Pakistani central state to prevent the development of centrifugal forces at regional level, he is interested in the progressive dynamics of polarisation, spatial segregation, sectarian “un-mixing” by which the construction of group boundaries gets inscribed into spatial boundaries. The various contributions in the volume delve further into these issues of conflict, space, and mobility.

Aksana Ismailbekova explores the violence that occurred in 1990 and 2010 in the city of Osh, southern Kyrgyzstan, between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks. During the Soviet time, the urban land became more contentious due to the arrival of many people from the countryside. Mutual avoidance and ethnic homogeneity can be discussed by some inhabitants as a way of dealing with the conflict. However, there is a contrast between various parts of the city, which were not affected equally by the process of spatial segregation.

Khushbakht Hojiev focuses on intercommunal tensions in the Batken province, also in Kyrgyzstan. He analyses how escalation has been avoided through the mediation of a group of local elders. To go beyond the divide between instrumentalist (rational choice) and interpretivist (social-psychological dimension) approaches, he uses the notion of framing, by which he refers to the intersubjective process, the active role of the involved actors in reality construction.

Jan Koehler develops a methodological reflection to examine what role institutions in situations of conflict play. Drawing on a large-scale comparative research project, he focuses on a case of land-grabbing in Nangarhar province, eastern Afghanistan. He shows that even in situations of violence and state fragmentation, some mediation mechanisms persist. Actors in conflict respect some rules and do not apply all means at their disposal to further their interest.

We stay in Afghanistan with Nick Miskak, who also explores a case of conflict around land, one of the most important sources of wealth but also social status in the country. He analyses how two groups in conflict for a plot of land are invoking the right of preemption (*shuf’a*), as defined by Islamic property law. Although the threat to use violent means is always present, both parties strive to enhance the legitimacy of their claims.

Katja Mielke looks at one district at the outskirts of Kabul mainly inhabited by Hazaras, which is not included in the master plan of city administration. For many inhabitants it may be explained by the fact that they belong to