

alternative for the Kalasha appears to be as folkloristic photo models for tourists.

In sum: I am afraid I will remain somewhat ambivalent about the book as a whole. Its main part, consisting of the ethnography and the explanation of the Kalasha cosmology through the rituals performed during *chaum'os*, is thorough and valuable, even if probably best read together with the respective earlier ethnographies by Jettmar, Friedrich, and Snoy. The second part of the work, however, which comprises the phenomenological comparison of *chaum'os* with Vedic Indian as well as Christianized European solstice festivals, impairs, at least in my view, strongly with the quality and overall usefulness of the work. A more positive appraisal of current trends and debates in Social Anthropology and beyond would have made a much stronger contribution to that end, because, after all, the Kalasha, despite their decreasing numbers, are very much part of a wider world beyond their three native valleys and surely deserve to be appreciated beyond framing them as guardians over ancient spiritual views and practices that have at best only little changed over time. It is hoped that Cacopardo, who, after all, is one of the few contemporary authorities on the Kalasha, has his *opus magnum* still in petto.

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**Carrico, Kevin:** The Great Han. Race, Nationalism, and Tradition in China Today. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. 264 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-29550-6. Price: \$ 29.95

This book is composed of six main chapters excluding the introduction and the conclusion. In the introduction, Carrico briefly unpacks ideas of nationalism, race, and tradition before turning to his theoretical approach in chap. 1 which dissects theories of nationalism and psychoanalysis; particularly through the writing of Jacques Lacan, Carrico cultivates a theory that inspects the “relationship between national ideas” and “lived reality within the national space” (27). Through this approach, Carrico contends that the fantasy of nationhood never quite lives up to the lived experience of the “self” or the “world” and as a result national desire is always already established on an “unattainable and imaginary wholeness” (27).

In chap. 2, Carrico examines the Han clothing movement’s construction of Han-ness and tradition; the chapter begins with a history of the movement before examining Han clothing enthusiast’s narration of Chinese history more broadly. After which, Carrico draws attention to the way his respondents view Han-ness as seemingly “unmarked,” “disenchanted,” and “modern” in comparison to the identities of China’s 55 ethnic minorities (47). Paradoxically, Carrico proposes that the movement fetishises the so-called “ethnic characteristics” of China’s minorities to “overcome the blandness of majority

identity” (51). Then, Carrico discusses how Hanfu subjects construct a fantastical idea of Chinese tradition as “a stabilizing source of identity” (54) and an “imaginary” solution to the “confounding problems of the present” (55); importantly, Carrico notes that the movement understands the Han as the “victim of a cruel modernity rather than its enactor” (57).

In chap. 3, Carrico explores the life stories and experiences of four of his anonymised respondents: Liang, Yan, Xia, and Tsin. Through each of these unstable and sad accounts, Carrico demonstrates that each of these subjects finds forms of meaning, dignity, control, and hope in the Han clothing movement; a movement that provides them with the “image of a better life and an otherwise elusive sense of prestige” (78). Chapter 3 ends with a short and very humorous encounter with Hanfuist “Brother Emperor,” who Carrico describes as a detested outsider on the edge, but still very much part of the movement’s self-interested and self-aggrandising agenda. In chap. 4, Carrico discusses 1) the symbolic construction of Hanfu clothing; 2) the rituals involved in the Hanfu movement, and 3) the specific role of photography in the construction of the movement’s practices. Through these materialities and performativities, Carrico suggests that the Han clothing movement manages to stabilise its idealised and illusory identity “in response to the gray and perpetually uncertain and unstable world in which they live” (129).

In chap. 5 Carrico scrutinises racialised conspiracy theories that have emerged through the movement in response to the “Manchus,” a “largely Sinicized minority group” (131). Worryingly, Carrico outlines how the movement labels China’s Manchurian ethnic minority as a genocidal group or “cabal” whose power never fully ended with the fall of the Qing dynasty; instead, as Carrico demonstrates, the Manchu ethnic group is perceived as an insidious clandestine force whose power has extended into the reform era “through the fields of politics, economics, and culture” (137). Chapter 6 moves on to explore gender and sexual issues. Carrico declares that “a backward-looking and essentially misogynistic view of gender” is given “legitimacy through the notion of ‘tradition’ and the possessive will of nationalism” in the movement (159). Thus, “modern” womanhood is criticised by Han clothing enthusiasts as “overpowering” (163), who, in turn, offer a purified version of femininity based on “obedience,” “chastity,” and “reliance” (165f.). Moreover, within certain movement discourses, women are also regarded as national “resources” that are being continually pilfered by outsiders (“foreigners” and “black people”) who now pose a threat to the genetic patrilineal purity of the Han race and the national body (168f., 170).

Finally, the conclusion wraps up Carrico’s argument with discussions on neo-traditionalism in contemporary China. In this section, Carrico investigates a “series of structurally comparable phenomena in contemporary Chinese society” (192), including a Confucian academy, the Confucian constitution writing of Jiang Qing and the

New leftists; as Carrico demonstrates, whilst different, each of these movements shares much in common with the Han clothing movement including their antipathy to the present and their search for a “real China” and a series of “eternally stable” Chinese identities (205).

Overall, “The Great Han” raises numerous stimulating points and issues; specifically, Carrico’s early discussion and deconstruction of the idea of a neo-Saidian “China perspective” is both interesting and intellectually refreshing. Having read many books from what is often characterised as the “China perspective,” I have been increasingly exasperated by what Carrico rightly describes as a “superficially friendly” position (9) which is “not only thoroughly dishonest but also immensely patronizing” (10); as Carrico astutely pronounces, such “scholarship, purportedly engaged in a politically progressive project of liberating the ‘East’ from ‘Western knowledge production,’ not only ironically reproduces and reinforces the East-West binary that it claims to want to overcome, but furthermore provides a theoretical buttress for conservative and even xenophobic nationalism” (10). Secondly, Carrico’s important work draws parallels between the discourses of the Han clothing movement and wider international racisms, xenophobia, and conspiracy theories; particularly, racist conspiracy theories relating to the Jews and the Rothschilds (135, 137–140, 142, 150). Without a doubt, such work is critical to understanding new forms of international prejudice, racism, and discrimination.

However, notwithstanding the merits of his work, Carrico’s monograph displays a few minor issues. Firstly, Carrico tells us very little about the role of his *own* ethnic background in the investigation; thus, on page 6 he reveals that he is a “white male from the United States,” but does not discuss how this might have also moulded his own interpretations; secondly, Carrico might have done a little more to examine the role of socioeconomic factors in the formation of the Han clothing movement; thus, in chap. 3, Carrico admits that at certain points Han clothing enthusiasts can also be regarded as being “underprivileged” (86); particularly, in chap. 3 we get a sense of this under privilege through his discussion of the life stories of Liang, Yan, and Xia; lives that are shaped by boring, degrading poorly paid work and less than successful economic backgrounds (73, 189); but how do these factors play a role in the formation of Han identities and their associated otherings? Thirdly, the monograph might have done a little more to explore the wider background of nostalgia and cultural revivalism in China; indeed, although Carrico does explore neo-traditionalism in China at the end of the work, arguably he could have done a little more to unpack the small but important writing that has emerged on imperial nostalgia in post-Maoist China in the past decade.

Despite these shortcomings, overall this monograph is excellent, refreshing, and thought provoking. I believe that this monograph should be of interest to interlocutors within the fields of Chinese studies, anthropol-

ogy, sociology, human geography, heritage, and Asian studies more broadly.

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**Castor, N. Fadeke:** *Spiritual Citizenship. Transnational Pathways from Black Power to Ifá in Trinidad.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2017. 228 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-6895-3. Price: \$ 24.95

“Spiritual Citizenship” tells a story of transformational returns. The author, N. Fadeke Castor, returns to the site of her family heritage, Trinidad. There she learns that, in local terms, she is not only “black” but also “red,” a light-skinned Trini Afro-descendant. Continuing a journey begun in Oakland, she also learns of her own spiritual origin and destiny, *ori*, the deities that hold the key, the orishas, and the oracle that renders their wishes legible, Ifá. What unfolds is a fascinating ethnography of orisha religion in Trinidad. Castor interprets the tradition as both strongly linked to transnational currents of religious practice in Nigeria, Brazil, Cuba, and more, and at the same strongly national, Trinidadian. In the former sense, the religion shares boundaries with traditions like Santería and Candomblé; in the latter, with the Spiritual Baptists and popular Trinidad festivals like Carnival. Castor shows how the orisha tradition shifts between transnational and national frames in articulating ideals of black cultural and spiritual citizenship. These frames link up with competing social movements, whether a national one of creole multiculturalism, or one rooted in the value of ethnic and racial particularity, as in the Black Power movement of the early 1970s.

Here one might ask the author to distinguish between her own analytical shifts in frame – seeing orisha as it is imbricated in national forms, and seeing it as transnational – and the ways such shifts constitute Trini religious practice itself – that is, how, when, where, and in relation to which issues, religious actors themselves announce shifts in the diasporic horizons drawn in their discourses and practices. Castor shows how these articulations of spiritual citizenship help to make “liberated subjectivities” able to imagine new ways of being, belonging, and becoming (13). This is eloquent and beautifully described, yet it also hails a further question of when local, national and transnational, diasporic formulations variously help to compose such subjectivities. One might also ask for greater precision of terms at times: for example, “spiritual” and “cultural” citizenship are freely alternated and juxtaposed (6, 8, 156). The reason, I suspect, is that Castor wants to grant the spirits their own autonomy as agents, rather than deploy them as props in an exclusively human play (culture). Yet the device leaves questions about why the terms should be viewed as distinct.

What this book does best is to show how competing transnational and national dynamics offer multiple possibilities for religious authority and achievement, and how these possibilities generate friction. Castor’s writ-