While I am enthusiastic about "Impossible Citizens," I do wonder, however, about the limits of the arguments Vora makes. First, for a book that (generally successfully) questions how discourses of citizenship, sovereignty, and democracy reinforce or produce exclusions, the argument that Indians are Dubai's "quintessential citizens" (1) risks proliferating its own exclusions. What, for example, is the significance of the official Arab(ic) discourse of the emirate? Is it not "quintessential" in some way? Is it an invented tradition or somehow otherwise arbitrary? This is not clear from the text. What of Dubai as a Persian city? Emirati citizens who are of Dubai background are predominantly ethnically Persian, and the Persian Empire / Iran has been traditionally as important as India in exerting "non-Arab" influence on the emirate: Dubai food, its "traditional" architecture, its merchant ethos, and one of its main dialects are either in significant ways Persian or of Persian roots. Second, while Vora's critique of the rentier state (8 f.) articulates a justified skepticism of ideal-typing in political science discourses about the state along with the teleology of discourses on state-formation in the social sciences more generally, are we throwing out the baby of teleology with the bathwater of Western ethnocentrism? "Questions about the legitimacy of such states and the possibilities of rights or civil society in the region actually recuperate certain teleological ideas about progress and success, those which privilege Western forms of development and thus risk defining Middle Eastern states … as illiberal nonmodern outgrowths of primordial tribalism …" (9). But do they always? What about "indigenous" forms of "teleology," such as the antimonarchical and anticolonial movements of the 20th (and 21st?) century, in which places like Dubai played an interesting and much overlooked role, or the more recent demands by Gulf citizens, Bahrainis especially but also citizens from the UAE to Oman to Saudi Arabia, for democratic reforms in their countries? As exemplified most famously by the exiled Saudi dissident Abd al-Rahman Munif, reformers and other indigenous critics of the Gulf monarchies have often articulated discourses of progress, in which "questions about the legitimacy of such states and the possibilities of rights or civil society" were key demands. This might problematize the equation of teleology and Western ethnocentrism.

These are cavils, however. In short, "Impossible Citizens" is a work of tremendous accomplishment and sophistication, and I very much look forward to Vora's future research on the Gulf.   Ahmed Kanna

Wessendorf, Susanne: Second-Generation Transnationalism and Roots Migration. Cross-Border Lives. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 174 pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-4015-4. Price: £ 55.00

I partly accepted to review this book during the summer because we had planned our summer holidays in southern Italy's Salento. And this is precisely the region of origin of the migrants whose children are object of study in Wessendorf's book. While reading about the Italian Swiss, around us on the beach I could hear this Swiss second generation and their children who were also on holiday. They would sometimes talk in Italian, but most of the time in Swiss with their children. Fragments of the stories and encounters with families that Susanne Wessendorf brings to life in her book so vividly sometimes were acted out for me in restaurants, parking lots, or while taking a stroll on the main streets of villages like Salve.

I read the ethnography of Susanne Wessendorf with great joy, but also with a bit of sadness. Her book gives an incredibly rich picture of the Italian second generation in Switzerland, connecting important topics like integration with transnationalism and gender and social mobility studies. This sort of study takes years of continuous fieldwork and the commitment to stay in touch with people over time. All this makes it a classic study to read for young anthropology students who have the ambition to do a study like this, which is great. It makes me, however, sad because my guess is that there will hardly be studies like this in the future. PhD students will not be given the time anymore to do this sort of extensive fieldwork studies and they will be pressed to make articles rather than such a splendid monograph.

The importance of Wessendorf's book lies not only in the superb fieldwork; it also gives us important new insights of how integration and transnationalism relate to each other and how gender plays a pivotal role in this complicated process. Wessendorf connects the dots that so far have been lacking in much of the research done in these two fields of study. For many researchers who study integration processes, transnationalism, at the best, is one of the indicators for integration – or lack thereof. At the same time, researchers who study transnationalism, also because of their focus on the first generation, often do not connect their findings to integration processes. This study, however, shows how valuable this connection is. Wessendorf distinguishes basically two groups in her study. There is the group she describes as the "true Italians" and the group that she labels "Swiss Italians." The "true Italians" use typical markers like Italian scooters, music, and clothes to distinguish themselves in Swiss society as Italians. The second group, although they do not dismiss their Italian roots, more often emphasize that they are Swiss and fully belong in their homeland. Wessendorf's quest is to understand how one gets to belonging to either one of these two groups, while their parents originate from the very same region in Italy and belonged to the same social strata in society. Wessendorf answers this question mostly by relating it to the type of integration process the youngsters experienced. This begins with whether they grew up in a town or neighborhood with co-ethnics and/or if they went to school with co-ethnics. But it also relates to their experiences during holidays in Italy and positive or negative experiences they had there. Next to these structural and family factors Wessendorf also points to individual characteristics that determine someone's pathway. However, almost equally important, especially for those young second-generation adolescents that eventually migrate to the region of origin of their parents – the *roots migrants* – seems to be gender. When on page 139 Wessendorf summarizes all the factors of importance to explain differenc-

es, surprisingly the word gender does not appear. Reading all the interview fragments, however, almost every one shows how crucial gender relations cut across the choices of both men and women. If respondents experience gender roles in the family, in the community, or when back in Italy in the village, as problematic, this clearly hinders their identification with the Italian community or makes them less willing to engage in transnational behavior in regard to the village of origin of their parents.

The approach of Wessendorf, already by its design, makes it impossible to only explain identity formation or transnationalism through the ethnic or in-group lens. Wessendorf both starts and ends her book with the story of three sisters who all made very different choices in this respect. It is almost as if she wants to show how even on the level of the family (holding that constant) differences in identity formation and transnationalism cannot be explained, giving thus more explanatory power to school circumstances, peer groups and "personal" development. In Wessendorf's own words: "It is rather the banal everyday social relations (both locally and transnationally) which shape the second generation's divergent senses of belonging."

It is here where I want to cast a more critical note to her analysis. Some of the situations that children encounter in their neighborhood, in school, or even in forming their peer group are indirectly influenced by the choices of their parents. Like the choice to live close to co-ethnics or to send children to an Italian school rather than a regular school. This already reveals some ideas of the parents regarding the preferred path of integration for their children. These different parental choices also ask for an explanation. In line with Wessendorf's approach, we could imagine that probably this has to do with the experiences of the parents while integrating in Swiss society and their own history when growing up in the village in southern Italy. Maybe the migration of some of the parents was an attempt to get away from the suffocating social control of the village or conflicts their family had with other families in the village.

I conclude, being aware that my short review can never do justice to the enormous richness of the book, giving attention to an important other merit of the book. The experiences of the adolescents, Wessendorf emphasizes that this is only a very small group, that chose to migrate to the original village of their parents in Italy, are very interesting. These are in many ways the second-generation youngsters who are closest to their roots. They were in Switzerland the youngsters who wanted to be looked upon as Italian, who speak Italian, and who where emerged in Italian community life in Switzerland. Arriving in the village of their parents to go and live there, however, comes as a culture shock to many of them. Especially the women go through a very difficult time of trying to adapt and some in the end cannot cope and move disillusioned back to Switzerland. Their transnational behavior in the end tells an important story about their integration into Swiss society. They have become more Swiss or more a city dweller than they acknowledged themselves.

Maurice Crul

Wilkerson, James, and **Robert Parkin** (eds.): Modalities of Change. The Interface of Tradition and Modernity in East Asia. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. 249 pp. ISBN 978-0-85745-568-0. Price: $ 90.00

If we look at the world in the past decades, one of the regions that have experienced the most impressive socioeconomic changes might be East Asia. Japan was the first to rise from the rubble of World War II and established itself as one of the most important economic bodies in world economy. Taiwan and South Korea have completed the process of industrialization and become important producers and traders in the world. The post-Mao China has replaced socialism with a state-sponsored capitalism and developed into the world's second largest economic body. These political and economic changes have far-reaching impacts on social life, thus qualifying this region as excellent places to observe the interplay between tradition and modernity.

This volume edited by James Wilkerson and Robert Parkin has put together a group of interesting ethnographic studies of the intertwining of tradition and modernity in communities in East Asia. All articles in this volume except one are based on ethnographic researches in ethnic minority communities in mainland China, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Examining unique modalities of modernity experienced by people and communities outside mainstream cultures, articles in this volume have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the tradition and modernity experienced by different people in different social, economic, and political contexts.

As the two editors have pointed out in the introductory chapter, "elements of tradition persist, being changed by, but also in their turn modifying, other influences" (9). While traditions are often reinvented to serve present agendas, external influences were often modified by the agency of the natives to serve locally defined purposes. This complex relationship between modernity and tradition is reflected at different levels of human existence, including social relationship, social organization, cultural performance, and cultural representation. This is clearly demonstrated by works in this volume. Wang Ting-yu and Liu Biyun, studying Tibetan and Qiang communities respectively, both show how native traditional social organizations, having confronted and adapted to the influence of the imperial state and the modern nation state, still remain part of the contemporary local social life. In negotiating between tradition and modernity, they have come up with a way of life "that is actually a distinctively rural and indigenous form of modernity" (35). Ho Zhaohua and Chien Mei-ling's articles both examine the metamorphosis of cultural expressions and representations in the process of becoming modern in Miao communities, Shidong and Fangf Bil in Guizhou. The prevalent theme of the tension between individuals and society in the love songs of Fangf Bil demonstrates that individualism, as a definite component of the Western version of modernity, has always been in the consciousness of the local people, who "construct[ed] 'individuality' and 'modernity' in their own terms, both in their lives and performatively" (114). For Shidong Miao women, their incorporation