

That being said, the book has some significant shortcomings. Its theoretical approach is slightly confusing, and it takes too long—almost half of the book—for Saouli to flesh out his two main variables. Part of the confusion is that there are too many moving parts at the beginning of the book (different components of social fields, the state formation/de-formation discussion, the effect of state weakness on authoritarianism, and interaction with foreign powers). This makes it difficult for the reader to keep track of which variables are the most important, and what is doing the theoretical work. It probably would have been less confusing to introduce the two variables at the very beginning before delving into the conceptual discussion.

In addition, Saouli tells his readers that he will not explain how states develop a stronger state capacity (p. 14), but he does not sufficiently explain or justify this choice. He may have taken this route because, as he later mentions, no Middle Eastern state (with the exception of Israel) can be characterized as a strong state (p. 14). It may also be because other academic treatments focus on this part of the formation continuum. Either way, the reader is left wondering about his reasoning, and whether Arab states will ever move in that direction.

Moreover, while the book's account of state formation is compelling, its account of state survival is not. In other words, Saouli does a very good job of answering his second research question, but not so much his first. The book's conclusion offers an explanation for Arab state survival in about six pages, but it is by no means a comprehensive account. Given that an Arab state—Sudan—has in fact disintegrated in the last few years, state survival cannot be taken for granted. Readers cannot ascertain why international anarchy (Saouli's identified explanation) enables Iraq and Saudi Arabia (and presumably other states) to survive, while allowing Sudan to disintegrate. Sudan may have been a good case to incorporate into Saouli's theory, for it was perhaps variances in external neutralization that allowed it to disintegrate. Either way, Saouli's treatment of state survival is not nearly as compelling or comprehensive as his treatment of state formation.

There are other minor problems with the book, namely its hasty transliteration of Iraqi and Saudi names and the unexplained focus on some historical episodes at the expense of others. Overall, however, this work is a very good start to the conversation on Arab state formation and de-formation, and it has theoretical implications that are pertinent even outside of the Arab context. As such, the book will be of interest not only to those studying Arab politics, but also to scholars interested in state weakness, variation in state capacity, and state collapse. Saouli does well to direct our attention to the de-formation cycle, and his placement of states along a formation/de-formation continuum is particularly inventive. One only hopes that this book will spark a scholarly discussion about the puzzle of Arab state survival—especially given the number of Arab states whose survival is in question.

NADINE NABER, *Arab America: Gender, Cultural Politics, and Activism*, Nation of Newcomers Series (New York: New York University Press, 2012). Pp. 320. \$75.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.

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Nadine Naber's *Arab America* is an intensely personal and reflexive ethnography. The author's own life story of growing up in a Jordanian American family in the San Francisco Bay Area circumscribes the text, and she articulates her own investment in the Arab feminist activism

that forms the book's foundation. Naber argues that Arab Americans have often been confined by the terms of Orientalist versus anti-Orientalist discourse, leaving little room for honest discussions of internal community dynamics or alternative expressions of Arabness. In order to move beyond problematic "us" versus "them" and "here" versus "there" dichotomies, Naber theorizes a "diasporic feminist anti-imperialism," and employs a methodological approach grounded in multisited feminist ethnography. This methodology successfully opens up room for a diasporic feminist critique, complicating narratives of gender and race that have long surrounded Arab culture in the West.

Using source material from fieldwork she carried out in the San Francisco Bay Area from January 1998 to August 2001, Naber provides a cogent analysis of the complex web of correlations between gender, sexuality, religion, race, and generation in Arab American life. She does this by describing the viewpoints of numerous groups, including first-generation Arab Americans, Iraqi female refugees, immigrant male activists, second-generation female activists, and queer Arabs, providing the reader with a sense of the multiple perspectives at play. The chapters are grouped thematically with the first, "From Model Minority to Problem Minority," serving as a history of Arab immigration to the United States in which Naber argues that increasing U.S. military intervention abroad beginning in the 1960s and 1970s transformed Arab Americans into a "diaspora of empire." Naber strategically situates her ethnography in the late-1990s to show that 11 September 2001 was not necessarily a pivotal moment for anti-Arab racism or U.S. military action in the Middle East, but rather represented an extension of cultural and political dynamics that had already been formed. Thus, her book is "grounded in the wide range of studies about the relationship between U.S. empire and Arab diasporas that Arab American studies scholars had been developing long before September 11, 2001" (p. 61).

While *Arab America* does contribute to a body of literature on U.S. empire and Arab diasporas, it is unique from this literature as an ethnographic investigation of a pre-9/11 period that was published over ten years after 9/11. The book both disproves that 9/11 must be central to any study of the Arab American community and contextualizes the foreign and domestic elements that guided reactions to the infamous attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Naber conducted nearly 100 interviews for her research, and she draws on this material throughout the book. The first three chapters discuss the status of Arab Americans as a U.S. minority in terms of diasporic identity, cultural authenticity, and religion. Naber narrows her focus to the lives and work of six of her interlocutors for the final two chapters about the cultural politics of the Leftist Arab Movement (LAM). Concentrating on six women activists provides the reader with a fuller picture of the range of backgrounds and goals in the Arab American activist community. In addition to profiling these six women, Naber carefully explains the motivations of the mostly immigrant male members of LAM, who generally had more direct experiences with U.S. involvement in the Arab world than second generation Americans.

In her consideration of the ways in which cultural and political relationships between the United States and the Middle East have impacted diasporic communities, Naber makes clear the fruitfulness of methodologies that pinpoint the effects of transnational encounters. One example emerges from a LAM event entitled "Artists for Iraq" at which an Iraqi refugee who was invited as a speaker criticized Saddam Husayn. Elham, the refugee, described the terrible conditions she experienced living under Saddam's regime, which led to a discussion among LAM members about what it meant to criticize Arab leaders when their efforts had been aimed at critiquing U.S. imperialism. The complex set of interactions between Iraqi refugees and activists working on their behalf illustrates the usefulness of transnational methodologies. Naber's study leaves room for additional research on "diasporas of empire" in the past or present and invites the question of whether parallels can be drawn between the Arab

American community and other communities in diaspora that are implicated in imperialist action.

The book approaches the terrain of autoethnography as Naber discloses her own involvement with LAM and Arab feminist activism in the Bay Area, but she never relinquishes her analysis at the expense of her own narrative. By including her own background as a second-generation Arab American and member of the community she is describing, Naber makes her own story into an ethnographic case study and demonstrates her personal investment in her work. In fact, she could have included even more of her own experiences as a woman in the LAM activist community during the late 1990s, though this would have defied expectations for an academic text and raised methodological questions. As a feminist ethnography, *Arab America* contributes to numerous fields, including Arab American studies, ethnic studies, women's studies, queer studies, anthropology, and postcolonial theory. Although Naber's likely audience is scholars of Arab American studies, the book would be useful to those located or interested in any of the above fields.

Nadine Naber has written a brave, multifaceted, and engaging book about Arab American inter-group dynamics that have largely gone undiscussed for fear of airing "dirty laundry" that exposes problems with sexism in the community, thereby reaffirming Orientalist tropes of female helplessness and male hypermasculinity. Ultimately, *Arab America* demonstrates the need for more scholarly work analyzing points of contact between the Middle East and the United States that have long been underexamined.

JOSHUA D. HENDRICK, *Gülen: The Ambiguous Politics of Market Islam in Turkey and the World* (New York: New York University Press, 2013). Pp. 304. \$49.00 cloth, \$24.00 paper.

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The publication of this book could not be more timely. In Fethullah Gülen and his followers, Joshua Hendrick focuses on one of the most important organizations in modern Turkish history, and the book comes at a moment when this organization is in the headlines for its conflict with Turkey's governing Justice and Development Party (AKP in its Turkish acronym) and its leader, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. What started in 2013 as a disagreement over tutorial centers has quickly spread to become an open struggle among the organs of the Turkish state, threatening the very stability of the government and even the survival of the regime. Questions relating to the identity of Fethullah Gülen, the nature of the movement that is named after him, the factors that led to the spreading of its influence in key organs of the state, including the police and the judiciary, and the reasons for the Gülenists' seemingly irreconcilable disagreement with the AKP and especially Prime Minister Erdoğan, are being widely discussed in academic and popular circles.

Joshua Hendrick's book goes a long way to answering these questions. It contains descriptions and analyses of Gülen's leadership, the social organization of his movement, and its impact on education, the economy, and the media. The book is based on Hendrick's several years of fieldwork in Turkey, where he spent time with the Gülen community, interviewed people from all levels of its organization, and read extensively on the topic.

With a network of schools that covers more than 140 countries and global investments that extend from Asia to the United States, Gülen is today at the helm of a truly global