

Petrodollars from Beirut as US, European, and Arab banks eroded Lebanon's "quasi-monopolistic role as an entrepot" (p. 135), and the 1973 amendments to the Law of Money and Credit that transformed the Central Bank into a "lender of first rather than last resort" (p. 168).

There are some areas in which Safieddine could have further elaborated his arguments. For example, he astutely describes the justifications for and interests driving the banking secrecy legislation but gives no indication of what if any opposition and debate it encountered. Furthermore, Safieddine points to the ABL's early reports prioritizing "collective advocacy against perceived threats to the sector, both external (state regulation) and internal (union activism)" (p. 89). More could have been said here about the role of labor, and in particular the Syndicate of Bank Employees' prominent role in the 1950s. Such omissions, however, do not detract from the overall argument nor the profound insights the book advances.

Banking on the State is an innovative and groundbreaking contribution to the historiography of Lebanon. It is a treasure for researchers and students interested in the political, social, or economic history of Lebanon as well as financial history and post-colonial state building more broadly. Safieddine puts Lebanon into conversation with regional and global debates on post-World War II history, political economy of development, and the history of economic thought. It will be required reading for historians and other scholars of Lebanon and the Middle East.

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State of Repression: Iraq Under Saddam Hussein. Lisa Blaydes (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018). Pp. 376. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691180274

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In one common telling, Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime countered Iraq's inherent centrifugal tendencies by repressing Kurds and Shi'a while co-opting Sunnis. Once his brutal dictatorship was dislodged by the coalition in 2003, it was more or less inevitable that these tendencies would resurface, first as ethnic and religious parties, then later as sectarian and separatist militias.

Lisa Blaydes' *State of Repression* uses fascinating documents from seized Ba'ath party archives to tell an alternative story about modern Iraq's ethnic and sectarian identities. Blaydes' theory sits at the intersection of information about the population, resources, and repression. "Culturally distant" communities—which Blaydes conceptualizes as those either geographically distant from the regime's core constituency or speaking a different language than that core—are inherently more difficult for the regime to monitor, and thus more likely to be policed indiscriminately. These collective punishments, in turn, galvanize the emergence of shared identities and tight networks as aggrieved populations come to realize their shared fate. In contrast, more culturally proximate communities can be closely monitored, targeted surgically, and will thus yield higher levels of atomization and distrust. While the implications of the theory are quite broad, one insight of Blaydes' work is that the salience of Shi'i, Sunni, and Kurdish identities in modern Iraq is thus a relatively recent phenomenon, and indeed more accurately analyzed as an effect, and not a cause, of the country's political trajectory.

State of Repression opens with the observation that, in the 1970s, Iraq was more or less on the curve of other regional authoritarian developmental states. While oil revenues buoyed finances and facilitated the expansion of public goods, the Ba'ath party leadership embraced national rhetoric over alternative ethnic and sectarian identities. While some manifestations of dissent were evident—particularly from the Iraqi Communist Party—most ordinary Iraqis, be they Sunni, Shi'i, or Kurd, tended towards what Blaydes calls "political acquiescence and depoliticization."

These times of plenty did not last. An array of data allows Blaydes to chart the impacts of successive crises—the prolonged war with Iran, the oil price crash, the disastrous invasion of Kuwait, and a decade of UN sanctions—across the Iraqi population. She documents how southern, predominantly Shi'i provinces paid a high per capita price in killed, missing, and captured in action in the two wars, and, interestingly, how the regime was keen to ameliorate these costs with financial and symbolic payouts. In the north, the relative comity between Baghdad and the Kurds deteriorated as the Iran–Iraq War dragged on. Despite attempts to entice collaborators, the regime's inability to harvest useable intelligence led to less and less discriminate counterinsurgency tactics, culminating in the notorious Anfal campaign of 1986–89. Even in the Sunni community the regime's response to these crises displayed considerable variation not predicted by theories of monolithic Sunni support for Saddam's regime. UN sanctions hit child health outcomes in the south particularly hard, but they also stressed Anbari Iraqis, who increasingly found themselves on the outside of tightening regime distributive networks.

These crises, and the regime response, produced distinctive sectarian and ethnic identities. Heavy-handed repression of Shi'i religious activists clustered around the al-Sadr family crystallized these networks as sites of opposition, while a similar strategy ended up sublimating internal Kurdish disagreements and fomenting a shared national identity. As Blaydes writes, "Kurdish nationalism was not a foregone conclusion, but rather an outgrowth of Iraqi state policies related to governance challenges faced by the Ba'athist regime" (p. 135). These dynamics manifest in a variety of data, including files on party membership and the distribution of honorifics ("friend of the president") from the late 1980s to the early 2000s that help to show the consolidation of the Ba'ath party in areas in and proximate to Tikrit.

State of Repression adds to the empirical record of modern Iraq, but it also makes broader contributions. Many studies of modern authoritarian regimes, particularly the more closed ones of the type that Hussein's Iraq represents, are handicapped by scarcity of internal data and must often infer motivations for various regime policies and behaviors from outcomes. The vast array of internal documents available in these archives enables Blaydes to observe crucial patterns more directly, sidestepping functionalist explanations to examine the logic of a highly repressive authoritarian regime as it worked in real-time. For example, Chapter 9 amasses data on desertion, paramilitary mobilization, and coup attempts to trace how Hussein established and maintained Ba'ath party control over the Iraqi military. Given the military hypertrophy during the long war with Iran, Hussein's success at establishing party sovereignty in this "hard case" helpfully pushes the theoretical agenda on authoritarian ruling coalitions forward.

Her work also fills a notable void by bringing into relief the life of ordinary citizens living in these regimes, how they navigate bureaucracies, gather information about their situation, and provide for themselves and their families. This again is a welcome addition to our theoretical literature on authoritarianism, enriching the study of elections, ruling parties, and regime elites with a bottom-up perspective. Chapter 8, for example, uses the geographic distribution of political rumors collected by the regime to draw inferences about the character of social networks. As she argues, the greater circulation of rumors in Shi'i areas—and the salience of topics to Shi'i interests—shows that these networks were tightening as shared identities developed, whereas more penetrated (Sunni) areas would presumably have lower levels of interpersonal trust, and therefore lesser rumor circulation. Future research in nondemocratic contexts will benefit from the way Blaydes has used these "hidden transcripts" to gain insight into how civilians relate to each other.

The book's great strength is its deft exploitation of the archival material, and Blaydes' creativity with these sources is commendable. One trade-off is less space for observing the mechanisms of identity formation among the specific groups. For example, Blaydes theorizes that indiscriminate repression informs group members that they are only imperfectly monitored, generates within them a sense of shared fate, and increases their incentives to more tightly police their own members. Other types of data could well thicken the description of these processes. How did Shi'a, and members of clerical networks specifically, interpret the regime's indiscriminate repression? Did Kurds' attitudes towards in-group policing become more intense over the course of the Anfal campaign? In post-Saddam Iraq, are there lingering inter- or intrapersonal trust gaps between ordinary Sunnis (or Tikritis) and other Iraqis?

State of Repression documents in fine-grained detail how external crises and regime miscalculation transformed Iraq from a relatively promising and coherent developmental state in the mid-1970s to a

tyranny crosscut by ethnic and religious divides. In the process, it generates insights into the interaction between repression and identity, an area of acute relevance in the Middle East and beyond.

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America's Arab Refugees: Vulnerability and Health on the Margins.
Marcia C. Inhorn (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018). Pp. 232.
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For her new book *America's Arab Refugees*, Marcia Inhorn conducted her ethnographic fieldwork in the heart of Arab Detroit, Michigan, for almost five years to document the daily struggles and plight endured by Arab refugees in their quest for affordable health care and access to reproductive technologies. This vulnerable population, whose livelihoods have been destroyed by ravaging conflicts, are caught in a “tragic state of liminality” (p. 133), escaping cruel conditions in their home countries to face tougher conditions in the United States.

The first half of the book provides the reader with a concise historical account of the devastating wars that have characterized the Middle East, exploring the various impacts of these conflicts on the socio-economic and health conditions of the people of this region. Extraordinarily, Inhorn traces and compellingly discusses the physical and mental health, social structure, infrastructure, and environmental costs engendered by these conflicts, zeroing in on the implications of the US role in some of these wars. Hence, the author does not absolve the United States from its moral responsibility toward this vulnerable population whose fate has been shaped by wars perpetrated by the United States (Iraq War, emergence of ISIS, etc.).

Inhorn brings to this study the concept of “intersectionality,” a term introduced and developed by black feminist scholars, to argue for the necessity of an “intersectional framework” to examine and problematize the interconnectedness among forms of oppression in their intersection with poverty, age, social class, and race. While Inhorn focuses on Lebanese and Iraqi refugees, Arab refugees and black people in the city of Detroit are brought together throughout this book, in their ways of navigating spaces fraught with racial discrimination and social and economic inequities. “Arabs and blacks now,” she writes, “experience the intersectional effects of oppression, including poverty, racism, discrimination, and vilifying stereotypes” (p. 109). Forwarding the concept of intersectionality, Inhorn masterfully and unequivocally shows the systemic oppression faced by both Arabs and black people in Detroit and in the United States more generally.

In this moving and thought-provoking ethnography, Inhorn reveals what seems to be absent from the US media, namely, the formidable suffering, be it physical, emotional, or financial, endured by her interlocutors. While our increasingly rancorous and politicized climate has sustained dominant narratives that chiefly serve to marginalize and negatively single out Arabs, Inhorn, a medical anthropologist whose research experience in the Middle East spans over three decades, artfully weaves unsettling stories of Arab refugees to undo and defy the vilifying stereotypes of Middle Easterners, especially men. In so doing, she humanizes the depiction of this population, showing that they are human beings who think and act with thought, care, and love.

In focusing on the health costs of war, Inhorn dedicates the bulk of the book to the study of male infertility problems and the disruptive issues of failed reproduction, along with the emotions and suffering associated with this predicament. The site of her study is IVF Michigan, one of the Midwest's largest infertility treatment clinics, where she spent hundreds of hours interviewing ninety-five Arab patients—fifty-five men and forty women. Throughout the book, the author meticulously describes the suffering,