

the global economy." He emphasizes that the city has experienced "a different kind of economic globalization," with the typical global-city perspective failing to explain its evolution and present-day conflicts. Not only does corruption run rampant, but defensive, localist attitudes also prevail in regards to issues related to the cultural change associated with globalization. Thus, while Istanbul is recognized as having the potential for becoming a global city, this potential generally remains unfulfilled.

In Part I, the introductory section, Keyder notes Istanbul's historical role as "a world city," – one which served as an imperial capital for more than fifteen hundred years and held great importance as a commercial marketplace for both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. As a result of 19th century "globalization" and the Ottoman Empire's weak central authority, however, the generally peaceful coexistence between Istanbul's different religio-linguistic groups – the product, in Keyder's words, of the Ottoman administration's ethnic corporatism – began to break down, and nationalism and localist division prevented the development of the city's civil society. Together with its economic instability, the incomplete development of the city that occurred near the end of the century failed to bring about the changes necessary to allow for a degree of urban autonomy parallel to that of other great cities. Istanbul was a port city without the support of the political authority, and, furthermore – according to Keyder – it suffered from its role as the bridge between East and West.

With the formation of the Turkish nation-state, the republican elite's opposition towards both the non-Muslim (i.e., non-Turkish) and the conservative Muslim populations of Istanbul resulted in the marginalization of the city during the period of westernization. Together with massive immigration into the city from the provinces, the expulsion of non-Muslims from Istanbul resulted in the nationalization of the city. Rapid urbanization also occurred and the government carried out strong regulation of the economy. Thus, only with the privatization and economic liberalization achieved in the 1980s, the oil boom in the Middle East, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, have opportunities arisen for Istanbul's development as an international center. Although not all of these opportunities have been utilized, a new global consciousness has recently developed for the first time since the creation of the Republic.

Nevertheless, the changes in Istanbul are inadequate, according to Keyder, who describes an ambivalence towards urban entrepreneurship on the part of recent city leaders – especially those from the Islamist Welfare

Party – as preventing a more complete globalization. The lack of either support or autonomy from Turkey's unstable government provides for a detrimental uncertainty in regards to the city's capabilities, preventing the development of a strong informational infrastructure and foreign investment. Thus, Keyder describes Istanbul's experience as an "alternative globalization," where corruption and "suitcase trading" shape the city's role in the global economy. Another negative aspect of the changes taking place in Istanbul, the unevenness of the development, is more common among global cities. This unevenness and inequality is seen by Keyder as paralleling a cultural conflict between globalizers and localizers. The remaining chapters of the book go on to address this conflict within Istanbul, with contributing authors looking at specific issues, such as public space and morality, religion and politics, class and culture, immigration and housing, and the roles of these issues in the continuing globalization of the city.

Part II, "Culture and Politics of Identity," takes a look at the various identities currently recognized in Istanbul. In Chapter 2, "Who owns the Old Quarters? Rewriting Histories in a Global Era", Ayfer Bartu discusses the political implications of the multifaceted identity that results from Istanbul's multiple pasts. Discussing specific contestation over the city's cultural heritage, she examines how this heritage provides political capital for both global and local audiences. The three remaining chapters of the section address the role of Islam in the city's identity. Tanil Bora looks at the efforts by the Welfare Party – apparently viewed as the representative of political Islam – to create an alternative global-city project in Chapter 3, "Istanbul of the Conqueror: The 'Alternative Global City' Dreams of Political Islam." Looking at the impact of symbolism and cultural identity in Istanbul's role in Islamic history, he emphasizes what he describes as apparent contradictions within political Islam. Chapter 4, "The Historical Construction of the Local Culture: Gender and Identity in the Politics of Secularism versus Islam," by Yael Navaro-Yasin, addresses the meaning of being a Turkish "native" and the politics of gender in light of the present-day clash between "Islamists" and "Secularists" in Turkey. Jenny B. White's "Islamic Chic" is the final chapter of Part II. It looks specifically at what she sees as the link between women's Islamic dress and socioeconomic status.

In Part III, "Contested Positions," two articles look at other issues of class and cultural distinction. In Chapter 6, "Istanbulites and Others:

The Cultural Cosmology of Being Middle Class in the Era of Globalism," Aye Oncu addresses the myth of the "Istanbulite" through a discussion of cartoons that poke fun at the distinction between the Istanbul "native" and the "immigrant." Martin Stokes, in his chapter on "Sounding Out: The Culture Industries and the Globalization of Istanbul," focuses specifically on the impact of globalization on the Turkish music industry. Stokes makes a point of recognizing the negative implications of globalization, as well as the positive, noting, for example, how it "promotes the big at the expense of the small, and it would appear that it has done much to shape and motivate violent ethnonationalist sentiments."

The articles in Part IV, "Negotiating Space," address issues related to housing and communities in Istanbul. Chapter 8, Ca-lar Keyder's "The Housing Market from Informal to Global," looks at the development of the Istanbul housing market, from shantytowns to gated compounds. In Chapter 9, "Where Do You Hail From?: Localism and Networks in Istanbul", Sema Erder discusses the impact of four decades of "peasant" immigration into the city. Chapter 10, also by Keyder, takes a look at "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods", Laleli and Arnatvutkoy and their transformations as a result of globalization.

Although not being presented from an Islamic perspective, nor placing great emphasis on the role of Islamic ideology among the Turkish people, *Istanbul* cannot be accused of advocating Kemalist dogma. Globalization is generally described in a positive light (with the exception of Stokes's chapter) and is recognized by Keyder, in his synopsis of the book, as resulting in part from the inability of the third world nation-state to bring about complete modernization. Within this description, however, one immediately recognizes the contradictions between Istanbul's globalization and the general global-city concept. This concept recognizes globalizing metropolises as willing and active members of a network of international flows, involving culture, economics, information, and people. In contrast to these global-cities, Istanbul has failed to fulfill its economic potential. Furthermore, given the fact that the Turkish government's suppression of Islam and freedom of expression continues to such a degree that *hijab*-wearing women are prevented from obtaining a university education, it is obvious that the powers of the state are not as "visibly on the decline" as in Keyder's globalizing states. While Keyder does not acknowledge the Turkish government's continued suppression of the people's fundamental human rights, he does recognize the deficiencies of Turkey's political

transformation from a statist-nationalist to a liberal-internationalist environment. Furthermore, he describes Istanbul – where corruption often serves as the key to interaction in the international arena – as having failed to achieve true global-city status.

On the whole, *Istanbul* takes a fairly unique look at the challenges being faced by the city during this period of contemporary globalization, taking into consideration multiple factors, such as religion, culture, and class. Of all the factors considered, however, class is by far the most dominant – even playing a major role in the authors' examinations of the growing role of Islam in Istanbul today. As a result, this book does seem to bypass the common cliché of Westernization versus Islamization, upon which discussions of Turkey are so often centered. Interestingly enough, however, these articles were written in and around the time of the Welfare Party's greatest influence on Turkish politics. Perhaps it is precisely because of this that the authors – especially those writing on the relation between Islam and globalization in Istanbul – have chosen to de-emphasize the differences between the Islamists and secularists, looking instead at factors, such as class, that cross religious boundaries. In a country in which one is labeled a "fundamentalist" when known to be a practicing Muslim, it is refreshing to find the authors in *Istanbul* addressing non-religious-related issues in their discussions of the Islamists. While one may criticize this work for not having fully addressed the subject of religion, it may also be credited for having humanized the Islamists by not simply placing them in a separate category because of their religiosity.

Sevim Sabriye Kalyoncu
Masters program, University of Chicago's Center
for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES).