

Review: [untitled]

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Israeli political culture and of the more general theories of political participation and protest that inform his analysis.

In the final section of data presentation, the author returns to a personal interview approach, presenting findings from lengthy open-ended discussions with protest leaders on four issues: the evacuation of Yamit in the Sinai following the peace treaty with Egypt (leaders of three groups); the war in Lebanon (four groups); community opposition to the evacuation of Kfar Shalem, a poor suburb of Tel Aviv, for neighborhood renewal; and the public policy concerns of the ultraorthodox Haredi religious sect, which has opposed various government actions (e.g., archaeological excavations) and demanded others (e.g., the closing of streets in Jerusalem on the sabbath). In each case, Wolfsfeld considers modes of organization and mobilization, strategies and tactics of protest, and relations with other political activists. These interviews make it clear that protest leaders were fully aware of the rules of the game they were playing and made careful decisions about whether to break the law or not, about how much violence to employ, and so forth. Protests were usually conceived as nuisance factors. The goal was to make enough noise to receive press coverage and national attention, after which the authorities might choose to make concessions and minimize conflict rather than to stand firm and risk escalation.

Wolfsfeld concludes with two brief chapters. The first evaluates the relative success and efficacy of political protest action, in practice and in the minds of respondents. Outcomes evaluated include forcing repression by the authorities, getting press coverage or other forms of publicity, obtaining particular goals (if identifiable), mobilizing public support, and influencing specific public officials. On all criteria, Wolfsfeld found that protest does work to a large degree, but at a cost in both social order and stability, on the one hand, and personal commitment to the society as a whole, on the other.

The final chapter points to general lessons about the changing nature of Israel's political culture and then summarizes the study's contribution to theories of political action. As far as Israel is concerned, political protest is increasing because it is effective, and because such behavior fills unmet needs in the society's political culture. More generally, the phenomenon deserves greater attention by political action theorists, at least partly because protest behavior is also becoming more frequent in many other countries. Wolfsfeld's monograph is a fine example of the kind of work that is needed. With respect to method, substance, and style, the discipline has much to learn from this concise and highly informative case study.

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HAIM GERBER, Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700 (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1988). Pp. 227.

As we are told in the Preface, this book grew out of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to The Hebrew University in 1977. It contains nine chapters that cover the various social and economic aspects of the city of Bursa: demographic development, structure of the labor force, guilds, industry and artisanship, the capitalization of agriculture, trade, credit relations, religious endowments, and the law. It is a welcome contribution to the field of Ottoman studies: it introduces new archival material to the field and makes challenging contributions to the debate over the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Its main problem lies with its failure to address the theoretical and empirical developments in Ottoman history since 1977 when this work was originally written; the arguments in the book would have greatly benefited from the inclusion of these developments over the last two decades. On a lesser note, there are a number of typographic errors and spelling mistakes throughout the text.

The archival documentation of the book comes from the prime minister's archives in Istanbul for tax surveys, and the sharical court archive of Bursa for notarial documents and estate records. These sources provide interesting information on the artisans (we learn, for example, that the artisans formed the basis of economic production, that production and trade in foodstuffs and textiles constituted the main spheres of economic activity, and that the wealth of the merchants increased to the detriment of the artisans); the guilds (taxpaying, privileges, and monopolies were the basis of the system, there was free membership, and women participated in economic production); the industry (the putting-out system was prevalent in silk trade and production, silk production entailed a complex organization requiring investment, labor and transportation); and agriculture (there were increases in local silk growing, the demand for meat and dairy products produced large dairy farms instead of grazing lands, large agricultural estates emerged to meet the demand for grain on the city's market) of Bursa.

The chapters on trade and religious foundations in Bursa are the most thorough. We realize that the Bursa merchants included both Muslims and minorities; the credit extended to carry on the trade included many women, both Muslims and minorities, as capital lenders as well. A very good discussion of credit relations in the Ottoman Empire follows; the role of credit increased in importance in Bursa during this period—Gerber interprets this as an expression of economic growth. There was enough economic stability to sustain the administration of the religious foundations and tax collection at an adequate level. Taxes in Bursa were mostly collected by salaried officials, not through tax farming; Gerber has difficulty documenting the exploitation of peasants by tax farmers.

Although the book provides a general description of Bursa's economy, it does not directly address the problem of where Bursa stood in the empire in relation to other Ottoman cities—except for a few references to the city of Kayseri—or within the larger world economic system—except for references to Fernand Braudel's work. Instead, Gerber uses the information he has gathered on the city of Bursa mainly to address one large-scale argument—that of Bursa's place in the Ottoman decline. One explanation is that decline resulted from the flow of cheap precious metals, especially silver, from Europe in this period. Gerber attempts to refute this argument in the case of Bursa through archival documentation; he shows that Bursa had a sound domestic trade in rice, coffee, silk and textiles, and that there is no evidence that the empire was inundated with cheap silver. Because the silk merchants generated a large flow of wealth into Bursa, the economy of Bursa, along with the administrative structures that upheld it, functioned smoothly. The author therefore contends that in this period the Ottoman economic crisis was cyclical, not structural.

Had the author brought into his argument on Ottoman decline the literature produced within the last two decades on various aspects of Ottoman history, his argument would have been more persuasive. For example, Suraiya Faroqhi has recently written on the changing structure of Anatolian cities, Bahaeddin Yediyıldız on transformations in Istanbul religious foundations, and Murat Cizakca on the patterns of the Bursa silk trade. More generally, there is a growing Ottoman literature on decline that uses Wallerstein as a basis and that discusses it within the context of the changing world economic order, which might have thrown a different light on the author's argument. The author might also have considered the suggestions generated at a 1986 MESA panel on future Ottoman historical research—that it is about time to eliminate the concept of Ottoman decline and replace it with the concept of social transformation.