

variants of capitalism into a geopolitical historical context and fulfills its promise to develop a non-presentist approach to development. The book demonstrates different ways of legitimizing citizenship in capitalist and Jacobinist developmental models and their impact globally.

Second, *Capitalism, Jacobinism, and International Relations* offers an analytically rigorous perspective of Turkish modernity that connects economic and ideological explanations sophisticatedly. The book bridges the perspectives that use economic and ideational factors in explaining Turkish political development. For example, when explaining the military's intervention in politics in 1997, Duzgun writes that "the legacies of a Jacobin past were invoked once again to reinforce an oligarchic capitalism against the vision of a more market-dependent society. The soft coup of 1997 turned secularism into a bulwark against the deepening of capitalist social relations" (p. 243). Such an approach that provides a political-economic background for ideological contestations is rare in Turkish studies. Duzgun's study utilizes political economy to make sense of Turkish society's ideological divisions.

Finally, the theoretical promise of the book, offering a nonpresentist and noninternalist analysis of modernity, is largely fulfilled. Both in the Western European context and the Ottoman/Turkish version, Duzgun avoids ahistoricism and provides a rich historical context for the emergence of capitalism and Jacobinism and their impact in the Ottoman/Turkish lands, which makes his study truly nonpresentist.

While Duzgun also provides an international geopolitical perspective in explaining the Ottoman modernization efforts, his success in offering a noninternalist perspective is relatively limited. In his analysis of Ottoman modernization and the trajectory of modernity in the Republican period, international factors are mostly left out. While he mentions the impact of French Jacobinism on late Ottoman intelligentsia, for example, he does not offer international mechanisms that helped Jacobinism take root in the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, while Duzgun mentions the geopolitical considerations for Turkey's transition to a multi-party democracy after 1945, he does not demonstrate empirically the impact of international context on Turkey's transition to capitalist modernity. Instead, he focuses on the state-society relationship that resulted in a Jacobinist model, a capitalist model, or a synthesis of the two. From this perspective, Duzgun's study looks like a work of political economy rather than a work of international relations.

Duzgun discusses the importance of the rise of conservative politics in Turkey for capitalism's growth there, especially after the 1980s; however, his description of the rise of authoritarianism in the 2010s seems to represent a Jacobinist mentality. To Duzgun, the conservative actors saw capitalism as a chance to compete with state-

supported bourgeois and therefore supported the market reforms. The state-supported economic actors were "non-competitive, protectionist, and inward-looking industrialists, opposing (yet no longer able to completely derail) the economic restructuring begun in 1980" (p. 225). The conservative actors, by implementing market reforms, challenged the Jacobinist establishment. While this narrative is in line with the general arguments of *Capitalism, Jacobinism, and International Relations*, Duzgun does not provide an explanation for the transformation of Islamists in the 2010s toward more authoritarian rule. Duzgun concedes in his book that under Islamist rule in recent years, "there has been a clear shift from a 'rule-based' neoliberalism toward an arbitrary, militarized, and fascist-like neoliberal regime of governance" (p. 255). An analysis of this change reveals that the shift toward authoritarianism departs from market-based logic and leans toward a Jacobinist mentality by linking the citizens' status to more state-based factors such as patriotism, loyalty, and nationalism. While Duzgun labels the new shift in Turkey as authoritarian capitalism, the new trend seems to represent more of a new Islamist synthesis between Jacobinism and capitalism.

All in all, Duzgun's study offers an excellent interdisciplinary analysis of different modes of modernity and their application to Turkish modernization. Those scholars interested in modernity, the political economy of development, and Turkish studies will benefit from the book immensely.

#### **Sex Trafficking and Human Rights: The Status of Women and State Responses.**

By Heather Smith-Cannoy, Patricia C. Rodda, and Charles Anthony Smith. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2022. 258p. \$119.95 cloth, \$39.95 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592723000038

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Since at least the late 1990s, the news media, NGOs, and the entertainment industry have raised alarms about human trafficking by circulating a "rescue narrative." In this story, predominantly nonwhite/foreign men and criminal networks force (predominantly white) girls and women to work in the sex industry, where they are eventually rescued by state agents or NGOs, which also apprehend their traffickers. Even though this narrative has fueled the contemporary anti-trafficking movement, it also fostered discursive and ideological distinctions between those focused on the sex trafficking of women and girls and those concerned with labor trafficking in a range of other industries with multigendered victims.

These divisions were reflected in many of the movement's major legal gains across the globe: measures ranging from the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking and Persons, Especially Women and Children

to the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act distinguish between sex and labor trafficking. However, a growing chorus of scholars, advocates, and international organizations have questioned this distinction, arguing that the disproportionate focus on *sex* trafficking in public and political discourse has obscured the far higher rates of trafficking in non-sex industries and the victimization of men, boys, and transgender persons. As a result, human trafficking remains underinvestigated, and victims remain underserved.

In *Sex Trafficking and Human Rights*, Heather Smith-Cannoy, Patricia C. Rodda, and Charles Anthony Smith acknowledge the limits of the dominant rescue narrative, but they focus on sex trafficking because, they argue, it disproportionately affects women and girls, “robbing them of their dignity, autonomy, and basic human rights” (p. 5). Therefore, their goal is to “shed light on factors that make some women and girls more susceptible to traffickers than others and highlight representative stories of victims to give readers a sense about how victimization unfolds” (p. 4). To this end, they ask who is likely to become a sex trafficking victim, what factors predict vulnerability to sex trafficking, and whether national anti-trafficking legislation prioritizes a criminal justice approach that emphasizes prosecuting and deterring traffickers and protecting victims, or a victim-centered, rights-based approach characterized by lower prostitution arrests, special trafficking visas, and consistent funding for victim shelters and services.

Working within a feminist global political economy and security studies framework (outlined in chap. 1) and drawing from a range of qualitative and quantitative data sources, the authors argue broadly that sex trafficking will occur at higher rates in countries where women’s human rights are not protected and that countries where women are more integrated into the legislative process are more likely to prioritize a rights-based approach to sex trafficking. To illustrate this argument, they provide an overview of global trafficking trends in chapter 2 to suggest that “poor, populous countries with weak protections for women’s economic rights are particularly susceptible to becoming major source countries for trafficking victims” (p. 10).

The case study chapters illustrate these trends and the factors that shape a nation’s response to sex trafficking, including the caste system, gender dominance, and failing to enforce relatively strong anti-trafficking legislation in India (chap. 3); Buddhist ideology and discrimination against the Hill Tribe minority in Thailand (chap. 4); collapsing social welfare systems and Vladimir Putin’s hypermasculine, antiwoman ideology in Russia (chap. 5); poverty and the conditions in refugee and displaced persons camps in Nigeria (chap. 6); and income inequality and poor legal protections for racial minorities in Brazil (chap. 7). The concluding chapter reviews the central

arguments and broader thematic findings and proposes related policy recommendations.

*Sex Trafficking and Human Rights* draws attention to an important issue, noting the complexity of human trafficking and its conflation with a range of other practices, such as human smuggling, debt bondage, and migration. The book also usefully distinguishes between sex trafficking and consensual sex work, and its case studies detail a range of factors that constrain individual agency and create vulnerabilities to trafficking. Most importantly, the book critiques the long-standing gendered and racist rescue narrative. Mobilized by a coalition of elite, predominantly Western-based white women *and* neoconservative governments *and* Christian fundamentalists united in their desire to abolish sex work, this narrative has conflated human trafficking, sex trafficking, and sex work and marshaled support for criminal justice approaches to human trafficking, rather than the “social, cultural, and economic reform [s], which could help prevent future sex trafficking” (p. x).

Yet even as the authors critique contemporary anti-trafficking politics, a more robust engagement with the vast body of critical trafficking scholarship would have enriched their analysis. This diverse and multidisciplinary body of research, developed by the likes of Elizabeth Bernstein, Melissa Ditmore, Elena Shih, Svati Shah, Alexandra Lutnick, Nicola Mai, Alicia Peters, and many others, has challenged dominant trafficking discourse and data. Although critical trafficking scholars do not deny that sex trafficking is a significant problem, they caution against overemphasizing it in analyses of human trafficking: doing so reifies the separation of sex trafficking from other forms of coercive labor *and* the investigative practices that have sustained the rescue narrative. These critical trafficking scholars find that because human trafficking investigations have disproportionately targeted venues where women and girls offer sexual services to a male clientele, they are *overrepresented* in current human trafficking statistics, whereas men, boys, and transgender persons in the sex industry—*and women and girls in other industries*—are far less likely to be identified as victims, represented in global trafficking statistics, and targeted for service provision.

The book would also benefit from a more robust conception and analysis of key actors in anti-trafficking politics other than women legislators and NGO advocates. Critical trafficking scholarship has long highlighted sex workers’ anti-trafficking efforts, which are important because sex workers are more likely to be targeted first as *criminals* in trafficking investigations, and they have long argued for sex worker rights. Although the book does briefly mention the Davida Collective and Rede Trans (two sex worker rights’ groups in Brazil), it would have been interesting to hear more about other grassroots, sex-worker-led anti-trafficking groups, especially because some of the regions featured in the book are home to some of the world’s most significant examples, such as the

Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC) in India. As the world's largest sex-worker-led organization, DMSC leads global efforts to help children and youth in poverty, fights the criminalization of sex work, and challenges the rescue politics espoused by so many anti-trafficking groups from the Global North. It would have been interesting to hear more in the book about how other organizations like DMSC work to reduce vulnerabilities to human trafficking and shape related legislation.

Even as *Sex Trafficking and Human Rights* engaged with a seemingly limited selection of contemporary trafficking scholarship, it does reach similar conclusions as others who have studied this topic for many years: human trafficking is “largely an economic story” (p. 51), not a story of bad men and innocent girls, and to fight it, we need “to center equal rights for women at the national level and the non-criminalization of trafficking victims” (p. 205). Certainly, this proposal would help address human trafficking and a range of other social problems rooted in multiple and intersecting forms of inequality.

**Banking on Beijing: The Aims and Impacts of China's Overseas Development Program.** By Axel Dreher,

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Despite a robust and thriving scholarship on China's global development programs, especially but not exclusively in Africa, there is still a persistent misunderstanding of the motivations, tools, and impacts of Beijing's financial aid and development programs. Beijing's “Going Out” strategy, which was adopted in 1999, went on to fundamentally alter the face of international development. Indeed, scholars such as Deborah Brautigam have argued for more than a decade that assuming that Chinese overseas finance follows the same definitions, tools, and standards set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is deeply problematic (see *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, 2009). As Axel Dreher, Andreas Fuchs, Bradley Parks, Austin Strange, and Michael J. Tierney express early on in *Banking on Beijing*, “much of the controversy about China's overseas development program arises from a failure to differentiate between projects financed with grants and low-interest loans (aid) and projects financed with loans at market or close-to-market rates (debt)” (p. 5). This book addresses the controversy by analyzing, separately, the projects that Beijing finances as aid and those that it finances with debt. The granular analysis should make very clear the difference between debt and aid as two distinct, if complementary, tools of Chinese global development.

Indeed, *Banking on Beijing: The Aims and Impacts of China's Overseas Development Program* is a very important volume with a very rich empirical examination of Chinese overseas development programs. The authors develop a highly impressive and original dataset covering 138 countries and five regions of the world spanning a 15-year period. The dataset will be extremely useful to scholars, students, and policy makers alike who are interested in learning about China's overseas development projects, both those centering on aid and those focusing on debt. The authors seek to use the dataset to rectify several misunderstandings and address several controversies about the (simplistic) way in which Chinese overseas development projects are typically lauded as unparalleled shows of benevolence by Beijing, or taunted as rogue and villain-like. This volume adds nuance to such binary approaches.

The central claim of the book is that “during the first decades of the twenty-first century, China has undergone a major transition from a ‘benefactor’ to a ‘banker,’ and this shift has had far-reaching impacts in low-income and middle-income countries that are not yet widely appreciated or understood” (p. 3). At the origin of such a massive shift was the “Going out” policy that was adopted in 1999 to remedy a set of challenges facing Beijing at home, including among others, a surplus in state-owned companies' products such as steel, cement, glass, and aluminum, and a shortage in natural resources. Beijing's Going Out policy, which was designed to offset some of China's domestic growth problems, ended up altering the nature of overseas lending, as “in the fifteen-year period (2000–14) following Beijing's adoption of the Going Out strategy, China's overseas development spending skyrocketed” (p. 4), and it had monumental impacts on economic growth in low- and middle-income economies.

*Banking on Beijing* confirms what earlier studies suggested about China's tools being slightly different from those of traditional donors. To this end, the authors explain that “China used debt to finance most of its finance projects,” (p.5) and add that “only 23 percent of China's overseas spending between 2000 and 2014 met the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) definition of official development assistance (ODA)—that is aid in the strict sense” (p. 5). By contrast, around 90% of overseas spending by the OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) between 2000 and 2014 was spent on aid (ODA). This is an important distinction as it helps researchers, policy makers, and even journalists working on China's global development to understand the nature of Chinese finance before assuming it is the same as OECD's.

Furthermore, *Banking on Beijing* suggests that Chinese overseas development, pragmatically, uses both debt and aid as different means to different ends. Beijing's financial instruments are dubbed “fit-for-purpose” (p. 6) as Beijing