overseas or within the United States if any family member was suspected to have been involved in the trafficking of that child and therefore a potential criminal. Goździak expresses frustration at how law enforcement and policymakers posit that illegal migration is linked to sophisticated organized crime syndicates; her research, and that of others, shows that the majority of the youth did not perceive their families as traffickers, nor did these families belong to any organized criminal chains. This carceral attitude casts a shadow upon the provision of social services after "rescue"; by labelling victims' families as "criminals," police and social-service providers lose victim trust, a profound misstep in victim rehabilitation and integration into wider society.

Goździak further argues that policymakers' and advocates' reports of trafficking overwhelmingly portray sexual exploitation, "being chained to a brothel bed," as the predominant harm to trafficked youth: "Pictures of sexually exploited girls summon more sympathy than descriptions of trafficked men toiling in the fields for a pittance to put tomatoes and lettuce in our salad bowls" (68). As Goździak's case studies show, while many youth had experienced sexual abuse before or during their migration journeys, most were caught up in other forms of labour exploitation and did not identify as sex-trafficking victims unless prompted by their case managers.

Perhaps the most compelling section is the concluding chapter situating trafficking survivorship in the context of social studies of childhood. The image of a supposedly monolithic "trafficked child" is a fallacy that Goździak ardently challenges. Her critical feminist attention to the cultural, racial, and classed dimensions of how youth from different regions perceive their own agency and resiliency is a crucial argument toward adapting rehabilitative services to more comprehensively serve young people who have been exploited but do not identify as victims or as children.

This book is notable for its accessibility and is written largely without pretence or jargon, despite the ambitious scope. It will serve as a useful, comprehensive introduction for scholars of migration studies, cultural anthropology, and related fields. Goździak's work is a welcome addition to the critical study of anti-trafficking institutions and services, a nuanced and compassionate portrayal of the complex lived realities of young people who move and migrate, however precariously, in search of better opportunities and futures.

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Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism

Keith David Watenpaugh
Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015, 272 pp.

This is a very timely and carefully researched contribution to the literature that has emerged to mark the centenary of the First World War. The title alone lays the foundation for its subject matter: the desperation of people (especially children) caught up in war, poverty, deprivation, massacres, death marches, and genocide. The reference to bread and stones is not only attributed to the New Testament, but also can be found in Armenian, Turkish, and Arabic folklore. With this backdrop, Watenpaugh draws the reader into his text by prefacing the two beginnings of his work: first, a humanitarian report by Karan Jeppe, written in Baalbeck, Lebanon, in 1922, after the collapse of efforts to repatriate the vast population of Armenian refugees to their homelands in Anatolia; and second, a friendship with Ann Z. Kerr who introduced Watenpaugh to the work of her father-in-law, Stanley E. Kerr, in Near East Relief and his book, *The Lions of Marash* (1975), along with other family archives, letters, photographs, and memoirs.

Bread from Stones was written as the modern Middle East descended into a humanitarian disaster that, in the degree of suffering and international complicity as well as indifference, resembles what occurred during and following the First World War. It is tempting to draw parallels between past and present: the immense flows of forced migrants across international borders, the even larger scale of internally displaced people, the drive to contain the population in the region of conflict, and the rise of smuggling, trafficking, and sexual violence across the Middle East. As Watenpaugh reflects, these "echoes resound across the same territories of inhumanity and humanitarian response" (xv).

This book explores the role of humanitarianism in the history of human rights in the twentieth century and addresses how the concept of shared humanity informed bureaucratic, social, and legal humanitarian practices. While humanitarianism existed before the early twentieth century that Watenpaugh addresses in this book, in previous periods

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humanitarianism was more closely tied to notions of charity for the poor and less well off, as well emerging from understandings of religious duty and obligation. The Eastern Mediterranean is where much of modern humanitarianism was born. With the collapse of the three great empires—Russian, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian—at the close of the First World War, waves of displaced persons and the new borders between states forced the international community—in the form of the League of Nations—to manage the conceptualization and iteration of the "refugee." The sheer scale of the postwar effort needed secular, professional, and bureaucratized intergovernmental forms of aid and development to replace the independent missionary-based charity of previous times. This book describes that process and analyzes the way in which human rights discourse came to be a cornerstone of modern-day humanitarianism.

Chapter 1 sets out the intellectual and social context of Western humanitarianism in a comprehensive and transnational way and allows the author to disentangle humanitarianism from colonialism in the region, restoring a measure of agency to the objects of the Western humanitarian agenda. A key argument here is that modern Western humanitarianism represents a significant shift from the work of Protestant Christian missions and missionaries in the non-West. The author argues that in the lead-up to the First World War, it was the Ottoman state's absence from the sphere of care for non-Muslims that led a collection of Protestant missionaries from Scandinavia, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States to become deeply involved in the education, health care, and social development of the community of largely early or "primitive" Christians. There is certainly truth in these associations, but as likely it may well have been that the "Capitulations" of the Sublime Porte in Constantinople ceded much of that responsibility to the West centuries before and found that the majority Muslim population of the empire was not serviced by these Western institutions.

Chapter 2 addresses international relief in the wartime Eastern Mediterranean between 1914 and 1917, beginning with the Year of the Locust in 1915 and the way it contributed to widespread starvation, plague, and death as part of the larger dislocations of war made worse by the British and French blockade of Beirut. Eventually international aid and food supplies reached Jerusalem through privately funded committees such as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. Even in these early years, the humanitarianism expressed by America and Americans was a form of colonial paternalism without the brutality of foreign rule. As Watenpaugh writes, it presaged the emergence of a philanthropic coalition that brought Progressive-era social scientific reformers together with old school missionaries.

Chapter 3 follows the evolution of humanitarian knowledge as it was formed from the reports of the era around the treatment of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire—largely Armenians. It examines the reporting about the Hamidian massacres of the 1890s, the Adana massacres of the 1900s, the 1914–18 death marches, and massacres of Western Anatolian Armenians and the dire conditions they suffered.

Chapter 4 examines the development of the American Near Eastern Relief and the growth of American humanitarian exceptionalism between 1919 and 1923, which focused almost exclusively on the "refugee child" and Armenian orphan. The American humanitarian effort at this point was just emerging as a quasi-colonial political project to transform the New Near East.

Chapter 5 focuses on the rescue of trafficked Armenian women and children and the paradox of modern humanitarianism between 1920 and 1936. This rescue movement, Watenpaugh elucidates, reflected a collision between emerging Western expectations of how women and children should be treated (i.e., not enslaved) and late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman concepts of domestic patriarchy, property, and the social positon of non-Muslims.

Chapter 6 addresses the practical failures of modern humanitarianism between 1923 and 1939 and focuses entirely on Armenians and the Armenian nation state that failed to come into being. While it is true that Armenian national aspirations were abandoned by the League of Nations, it was also a time when other national aspirations such as those of the Kurds and the Assyrians were also abandoned.

Chapter 7 then takes up modern humanitarianism's troubled legacies between 1926 and 1948. The effort to transform the Near Eastern Relief's mandate from addressing the suffering caused by war and genocide into one that focused rather generally on development problems—social and health problems of the Near East—is addressed in the book's concluding chapter. In many ways it predicted what, in contemporary terms, would be called a "rights-based" development from traditional humanitarian practices.

This is an immensely important book shedding new light on the study of the modern Western humanitarian impulse in the Near East and set primarily in the elaboration of the Armenian Genocide and post-genocide survival. It is a book that will find a strong readership among social scientists and historians, as well as the general public.

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