

hollow if not “activated” in the right way. Substantial kinship relations emerge from specific social practices, and to convey the “making of kin” in Daiden, von Poser looks into the foodways of people as they relate to empathy. Foodways here refer to actions, practices, and views relating to the production, distribution, and consumption of especially sago, the staple diet among the Bosmun.

Von Poser shows how meaningful social exchange among the Bosmun is grounded on a paramount principle referred to as *ramkandiar*, translated as “watching others and being watched.” Throughout the book it is shown how *ramkandiar* is linked to foodways, on one hand, and distinct social configurations of empathy on the other. Through her careful and detailed descriptions von Poser shows how shared foodways, especially those related to sago, both allow and oblige persons to inquire into one another’s states. It is by doing this that she links the rather “conventional” anthropological topic of food exchange with the less explored subject of empathy. Von Poser keeps coming back to *ramkandiar* in different contexts throughout the book and I think this gives a nice and convincing view of Bosmun notions of a transparent type of personhood and the sociable person.

Throughout the book von Poser presents rich and detailed descriptions of Bosman everyday and ceremonial life and connects these to relevant myths. She is thus transporting the reader to Papua New Guinea in the fine tradition of the classic ethnographic monographs. The author is emplacing herself clearly in the text, and it seems apparent that the insights presented come from a true engagement with the people and place of focus over a long period of time (total time of fieldwork is 23 months). The book is well written and easy to read despite its many details that could otherwise obstruct the communication of the content. Some fine passages are offered on gender roles in its relation to food and sociality, for example, when discussing women carrying plates of food between households as a sign of female independence and power – especially in the creation of sociable ties: “The bearing of Bosmun women when carrying plates of food often reminded me of models walking on a catwalk. Women moved their arms and legs more slowly and with a certain swing that was absent when they walked around without food. Being critical food procurers, they receive credit and hence can exercise control in certain social and political spheres” (109).

In the final chapter and in the conclusion, von Poser links the Bosmun food-based sociality to experiences of cultural change coming with urbanisation and other recent developments in PNG. I think there are some great points being made here related to town-dwelling or “whiteman” practices of “hiding away” which indicates selfish behaviour and thus opposing *ramkandiar* and Bosmun notions of empathy and sociality. I do miss, however, more discussions on how processes of social change especially related to globalisation, including Christianity, new food products, money, kin living in town, and so on, influence the notions, values, and practices of empathy and foodways that are otherwise so thoroughly explored in the book. In my view, this would enhance the contribution of

this monograph to the body of contemporary Melanesian ethnography. I hope to see more on these topics in von Poser’s future publications.

The role of food and food consumption represents one of our most fundamental human activities and should not be underestimated in anthropological investigations. I find von Poser’s work readable and valuable, both in being a good example of a sensitive, detailed, and well written ethnography, and in its sensible analysis of links between kinship relations, food, myth, empathy, and exchange in Bosmun lifeworlds that should have comparative value across Melanesia and beyond. I would recommend the book to anyone interested in topics related to food, kinship, and empathy especially, but also to us interested in exchange, personhood, and Melanesian ethnography in general.

Tom Bratrud

Raikhel, Eugene, and William Garriott (eds.): *Addiction Trajectories*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. 338 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5364-5. Price: £ 16.99

In this impressive collection, anthropologists and others from subfields including science and technology studies; linguistic, medical, psychological, and legal anthropology; and psychiatry explore the “shifting place of addiction in the contemporary world” (4). The chapters in this collection are organized around the rubric of *trajectories* (in contrast to the oft-used drug use “careers”) with the aim of capturing a sense of “directed movement,” and the spatial and temporal mobility of people, things and ideas. Contributors to this volume follow those movements and their expressions in individual illness narratives and in novel assemblages. Anne M. Lovell’s chapter “Elusive Travelers. Russian Narcology, Transnational Toxicomanias, and the Great French Ecological Experiment” best illustrates the multiple meanings of “trajectories.” She describes the drug use experiences of Russian immigrants in Marseilles, France, to show how drug users, as well as drugs themselves and understandings of addiction and its treatment, follow paths that criss-cross the globe. Lovell offers a fascinating account of the affinities between French and Russian understandings of addiction as *toxicomania* and their implications for drug users’ inclusion as deserving members of the French body politic with *droit commun*, the ordinary rights of citizens. But in the psychoanalytic understanding of *toxicomania*, as an affliction of passion and the will, the drug addict remains a suspect and untrustworthy figure. Thus addiction fails as a claim for biocitizenship, despite inroads made by biological explanatory models of addiction and by buprenorphine as an opiate substitution treatment. Echoing this conclusion, A. Jamie Saris, in his essay “Committed to Will. What’s at Stake for Anthropology in Addiction,” observes, “the current understanding of ‘the addict’ ... clearly challenges the liberal subject at the heart of most Western social-science explanation” (266), adding that the addict is the “bourgeois anti-subject” (268).

Raikhel and Garriott’s “Introduction” to the collection traces the “epistemic trajectories” of addiction from its roots in Roman law thru 19th-century diseases of the

will to its entry into and subsequent deletion from the DSM in the 20th century. The collection has a strong STS bent, focusing as it does on “developments [that] ... facilitate the emergence of ‘addiction’ as an object of knowledge” (6), such as the biologization of psychiatry and new pharmaceutical treatments for addiction. In its critical engagement with the science of addiction, particularly psychological (Carr, Raikhel) and neurobiological (Campbell, Saris, Hansen) approaches, this collection addresses broad concepts of health, illness, drug, and therapy that expand our understanding of the human and the technological in new areas of health, medicine and the law. William Garriott’s chapter, “‘You Can Always Tell Who’s Using Meth’. Methamphetamine Addiction and the Semiotics of Criminal Difference,” for example, describes the “seamless” integration of the “signs and symptoms” of methamphetamine addiction into the criminal justice domain as signifiers of a criminal body.

The expansion of scientific knowledge about addiction leads to more kinds of intervention. Addiction science is presented as an experimental system that balances on the knife’s edge of ambiguity in its explanations of addiction as disease and the new, often life-long treatments it produces. Saris points out that neurobiological views of addiction constitute “one of the main points at which cutting-edge theorizing in biochemistry has entered the warp and woof of everyday life” (269). Contributors to this volume also attend to the lived experience of addiction in all its messy and difficult confusion. For example, Angela Garcia’s chapter, “The Elegiac Addict” beautifully describes the effects of land dispossession and marginalization on Hispanos of New Mexico’s Española Valley, an area with the highest heroin overdose rate in the nation. Garcia observes that “the material legacy of land loss in northern New Mexico is the very stage for losses associated with heroin use.” Taking a critical phenomenological approach that links the political and psychoanalytic, this article offers a detailed picture of the suffering involved in addiction, the burdens of memory, and the pull of forgetting.

Drawing on a governmentality analytic, Natasha Dow Schüll’s chapter, “Balancing Acts. Gambling-Machine Addiction and the Double Bind of Therapeutics” expands the scope of addiction studies by describing the experience of gamblers in Las Vegas, a city that is saturated with gambling machines in the most everyday of venues – the drugstore, the grocery store, the gas station. At the same time, Las Vegas boasts the most comprehensive network of self-help groups devoted to gambling of any city. Schüll explores the shared elements of slot machines and gamblers’ support groups: “both are geared to the idea that behavior can be modified through external modulation ... [and] both work by bringing about in their users a state of affective balance that insulates them from internal and external perturbations” (65).

Treatments for addiction are multitudinous and diverse. In this volume, Lovell, Garcia, Schüll, Carr, Hansen, Raikhel, and Meyers examine an array of drug treatment settings from motivational interviewing to prisons to Pentecostal addiction ministries. Todd Meyers’s contribu-

tion, “A Few Ways to Become Unreasonable. Pharmacotherapy Inside and Outside the Clinic,” traces the movement of buprenorphine, an opiate substitution therapy, outside the walls of the treatment center into the community. Meyers investigates clinical trials for buprenorphine and the controversy that emerged around its postmarket availability as a street drug. These debates index the way in which categories of *licit* and *illicit* become unstable in the pharmaceutical management of addiction. Meyers asks, “can medicine absorb the individual as both addict and patient?” (96)

In contrast, Nancy D. Campbell’s chapter reveals the rigidity of these categories in popular beliefs about recovery that exclude pharmaceutical intervention. Tracking public engagement efforts by neuroscientists studying addiction, Campbell describes a visit to “The Oprah Winfrey Show” by Anna Rose Childress, a prominent behavioral pharmacologist. The episode was organized around the central question “Why can’t they stop?” – signaling the importance of volition and cognitive control in popular recovery discourse. Oprah’s responses suggested that only complete abstinence from *all* substances, licit or illicit, can constitute recovery. Understandings of “addiction as a moral struggle” and as a “biologic and somatic” condition also appear in Helena Hansen’s chapter comparing treatment strategies in a Puerto Rican Evangelical addiction ministry and a hospital buprenorphine clinic. Discourses of choice and the will are also analyzed by A. Jamie Saris, who characterizes pharmaceutical treatments for addiction as “a search for new compounds to repair the machinery of choice” (274). Contributions to this volume portraying, for example, an individual seeking to enhance her “normal” state through drug use (Saris), or pharmaceutical remedies for neurobiological deficits (Campbell) are interpreted by Saris as new ways of thinking about the will.

Space limits preclude giving every chapter the attention it deserves. E. Summerson Carr’s chapter, “Signs of Sobriety. Rescripting American Addiction Counseling” explores shifting formations of treatment expertise in the U.S. Expanding on her previous work on residential treatment programs, Carr argues that motivational interviewing (MI) as a treatment modality is based on a radically different, performative view of language from the “ideology of inner reference” of many mainstream addiction treatment programs. These differing language ideologies “spawn specific therapeutic rituals” and divergent understandings of the addict. One oversight in this otherwise thoughtful and detailed analysis are the glaring differences of race and class that make up the two scenarios Carr presents, yet which are noted without analysis. In contrast to the transformation of self Carr describes, Eugene Raikhel’s chapter, “Placebos or Prostheses for the Will? Trajectories of Alcoholism Treatment in Russia,” explores the experience and efficacy of disulfiram, a treatment for alcoholism, “as a behavioral, rather than a pharmacological, treatment ... [that acts] as a kind of prosthesis for the will, allowing for a change in behavior without a change in self” (190). Emily Martin’s thoughtful “Afterword” revisits liberal understandings of the will, particularly as

it figured in post-Cold War constructions of democratic citizenship. She observes that neurobiological and other biomedical understandings of addiction lead to new forms of self-identification at the same time as they categorize individuals in ways that will doubtless color their future experiences.

Susan J. Shaw

Reid, Jennifer: *Finding Kluskap. A Journey into Mi'kmaw Myth.* Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. 122 pp. ISBN 978-0-271-06068-2. Price: \$ 64.95

Jennifer Reid has attempted to trace the historical context of Mi'kmaq stories of Kluskap (popularly spelled Glooscap), that were first recorded by Europeans in the 19th century. The many legends of Kluskap's supernatural adventures transcribed by Silas Rand and Charles Leland suggest that he was a kind of "culture hero" creating various features of the maritime landscape as he travelled through what is now Nova Scotia. Reid decided in 2002 to find out what role this mythological figure plays in modern Mi'kmaq consciousness, but strangely fails to retrieve a single mention of him. Although the circumstances and extent of her field research are not revealed, she seems to have spent much of her time in Nova Scotia with the academic couple in Eskasoni to which the book is dedicated. Whenever she asks her Mi'kmaq acquaintances about Kluskap, the conversation meanders into diverse topics such as Mi'kmaq studies programs at the local university college, parasites afflicting oysters in the Bras d'Or Lakes, court cases negotiating Mi'kmaq hunting rights, or the annually celebrated Saint Anne's Mission at Chapel Island (Potlotek). Reid turns her frustration into enlightenment as she concludes, as so many of her predecessors have done, that the role of Kluskap in Mi'kmaq consciousness encapsulates their historical dissatisfaction with European encroachment and their own disempowerment. Kluskap, in other words, symbolizes everything from aboriginal treaty rights and a pious Catholic faith in Christ's grandmother to resentment over residential schools and sick oysters. This is the tired and rather trivial essence of Reid's message.

It is quite surprising to find a university press in the United States publishing this 97-page essay in hard covers. In her eagerness to suggest that her own investigations have revealed something new, Reid dismisses previous research by first misrepresenting it and then basically reiterating it as if the conclusions were her own. She provides no evidence of pursuing serious fieldwork or historical research, nor have her interviews in Eskasoni been conducted in accordance with elementary ethical codes established for anthropological fieldwork. Rather than really listen to the various discordant voices within Eskasoni, she has not hesitated to automatically align herself with those of her hosts, representing a faction referred to by others as the "Catholics" or the "academics," and endorsing their rejection of (named) Mi'kmaq activists from the same community. But the most serious problem with this book is its inability to deliver a coherent response to the question she set out to answer. Finding Kluskap more

or less forgotten among modern Mi'kmaq, she nevertheless remains determined to make him the fulcrum of her inquiries into 21st-century Eskasoni lifeworlds. The result is an incoherent mixture of fragments of legal battles, environmental concerns, Catholic liturgy, and frequently irrelevant (if not misunderstood) postmodern and post-colonial theory. It is not that she is wrong to repeat that Kluskap represented the historically subdued and subaltern Mi'kmaq opposition to British colonialism, drawing both on Catholic symbolism and memories of aboriginal access to a bountiful landscape, but that it has all been said before, and much better. This book would pass as a Master's thesis, but hardly deserves publication by a university press.

Even the book jacket is replete with misleading information. We are told that this scant volume is based on "years of historical research and learning among Mi'kmaw peoples on Cape Breton Island," but nowhere is the extent and nature of her fieldwork specified. One of the endorsements claims that Reid presents "truly original material – previously unknown stories that she recorded with Mi'kmaw friends," but nowhere is there any original material on Kluskap. The jacket reiterates the book's statement that Chapel Island (Potlotek) lies "off the coast of Nova Scotia," but it is in fact an island in the Bras d'Or Lakes on Cape Breton. Tord Larsen's name is consistently misspelled (59, 114, 120). And so on.

As most anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork in indigenous communities will recognize, it would be naïve to expect linear conversations delivering the sought information in any straightforward way. The challenge is to make theoretical sense of what is being said, and to rephrase one's questions upon discovery that the kind of information envisaged is not that easily retrieved. This challenge is central to the very craft of fieldwork, and the success of such research reflects the measure with which the researcher is able to provide a coherent, sensitive, and convincing framework for interpreting native voices. Reid admits struggling to "find the way in which illness, suicide, diseased oysters, new science, the sale of fish, and the Milky Way related to one another" (24), but her task of concluding that struggle, rather than just handing it over to the reader, must be characterized as an abysmal failure. An illustration of the unrefined state of her impressions is her haphazard way of introducing, *for the first time*, the environmental problems at Boat Harbour, mainland Nova Scotia, on the *penultimate* page of this disjointed book.

Another central challenge is to avoid being too flattered by recurrent assurances that your own particular relation to and understanding of these voices has provided, as the jacket claims, "a unique vantage point for scholarship." Unfortunately, this is a conceit which Reid frequently communicates (see p. 3). Even more unfortunately, it is very difficult to reconcile with her postmodern lip service, a few lines later, to the creed that her book is "at heart an essay in self-understanding." Not only is the book completely silent on Reid's "self-understanding," but it also fails to persuade the reader that she has enjoyed "a unique vantage point for scholarship."