Rohingya Muslims; of Thai state Buddhism in relation to Muslims in southern Thailand; of Sinhala Buddhism in Sri Lanka in relation to Tamils; of Boko Haram and IS (Daesh) about nonbelievers, and so forth. Wherever politics unfolds at ethnic boundaries (i.e., constructed and represented as ethnic or religious) they tend to be essentialized because such is the shortcut political language of mobilization. Jan Nederveen Pieterse

Heppell, Michael: The Seductive Warp Thread. An Evolutionary History of Ibanic Weaving. Phillips: Borneo Research Council, 2014. 189 pp. ISBN 1-929900-16-3. (Borneo Research Council, Material Culture Series, 1) Price: $ 50.00

Anthropologist Michael Heppell discusses the historical development of the textile culture of the Ibanic people in Borneo. Heppell focuses not only on exquisitely crafted textiles, he also deals with textiles of lesser quality, and this may also support his overall argument of historical and ethnological interests. This viewpoint observing the lesser-quality textiles of the people is supposedly significantly challenging the collection policies of museums and galleries, where only the very best examples of the artworks are sought out, and that huge body of information of the material culture is lost as a consequence. Heppell clearly emphasizes that while the textiles once functioned as a sort of memory bank for the Ibanic people, embedded with meanings and messages, they were lost over time due to those stringent museum and gallery policies, among other reasons.

Weaving traditions of small groups in the world have rapidly declined in the 20th century, especially after the Second World War. Heppell contrasts this "economy of action" principle with the Ibanic, who were able to maintain their custom of weaving due to its cultural function in the sexual realm: women indicated their reproductive fitness to men through their weaving skills. Nevertheless, this "economy of action" principle proved relevant among the Ibanic after the 1970s, when modern education was brought widely to villages, and traditional values in weaving, as well as the meanings and messages associated with those values, were lost to a great extent.

As Heppell considers Ibanic weaving as a thing of the past, he narrows his discussion on the issues of memory, conservation, and dismemberment of Ibanic weaving. Heppell's main fieldsites of the Lubok Antu District and other major Iban/Ibanic regions are experiencing it, but at the reviewer's fieldsite, Kapit District of Sarawak, even though the local Iban consider it to be disappearing, there are still many women of all ages who actively engage in traditional weaving. These women do not partake in weaving for commercial purposes, however, even though the local government strongly encourages them to do so.

Heppell's attempt at theorizing the waning of traditional weaving is accomplished through observing regions, ethnic traits (including Malays and others), and historical backdrops. Though Heppell considers the early 20th century to be a time "when weaving was still expanding with great vitality" (91), there exists a contrasting observation by a Christian missionary from the early twentieth century, who reported that Iban weaving in Sarawak was a disappearing culture. Again, in the 1960s to 1970s, there were some studies that predicted that the Iban population of Sarawak would rapidly decline due to the advancing of modernization, though this evidently turned out to be false as they flourish today, comprising the largest percentage of the state's population. The possibility of waning, remaining, or prospering in such a context is greatly varied, completely irreducible when it comes to particular regions, ethnic groups, or eras. As a mere matter of perception, the increasingly popular dialogue of the "waning of traditional culture" is not a solid fact but rather a matter of the observer's view.

What, then, is particular about Ibanic weaving? I agree with Heppell that Ibanic textiles have been potently seductive. Further, I would personally suppose that although almost unknown to the world, the earnest craftsmanship of the Iban, together with their usage of customary ritual activities, are perhaps worthy of global attention in a cultural heritage context. Heppell considers Ibanic weaving to be one of the most difficult subjects to ethnographically study due to its secretive nature; weavers are reluctant to speak about their woven design motifs (153). Heppell fully supports symbolic representations associated with cloth: "The extraterrestrial powers which could be captured in a cloth were dangerous and required sufficient spiritual powers on the part of a weaver to ensure that they were contained within the cloth … Its complex iconography made important statement about their cosmology. On *pua'* cloths, women depicted motifs the combination of which produced a symbolic statement about an event or idea a woman wanted to memorize" (138).

The Iban believe that spirits are captured in some powerful motif designs, and often manifest in real life and eat the people concerned. Accordingly, weavers are afraid to name the motifs for fear of awakening spirits that may curse them. In fact, there have been some reported cases of such instances actually occurring among the people (cf. p. 155). Although the locals do explain these instances in such a way, do they really believe in those spirits? Heppell further explains: "Every motif represents something from the human, the extraterrestrial, the animal and the plant worlds and exemplifies their attachment to their beliefs about universe and their forefathers" (117).

Although addressing such cosmological and symbolic ideas as meanings in textiles, Heppell's assertion is that these are lost entirely and no longer traceable. It is also necessary to consider that neither weaving nor similar rituals assign or involve much verbal information. Therefore, this may make fact-finding efforts difficult, and certainly poses a conundrum to ethnographers.

Symbolism, the 19th-century artistic movement, has been the generally accepted perspective of cultural anthropology since the 1960s, and is still predominant today. This 20th-century scholarly tradition, especially of Iban/Ibanic weaving, can be traced back to the study of A. C. Haddon, the pioneer of Iban textile studies who led the famed Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits in 1898. He proposed the theory that wo-

ven designs were "coded symbols," or "visual languages for illiterate societies." This scholarship may or may not have influenced later literatures written by the 1980s local Sarawak scholars who seem to have followed Haddon's perspective. Despite the paradox of the secretive nature of weaving and the inability to interpret it through words, the accumulation of contextual information, especially by local Iban scholars, or "educated Iban," are considered by Heppell to be worthy of attention (154). He emphasizes their value and significance as cultural heritage, which should not be overlooked by foreign scholars.

What is the crux of the investigation into the core world of Ibanic seductive weaving, a great enigma for ethnographers? To break this deadlock, Heppell directs his interest to the historical context and examines the development of weaving. His analysis traces the available information of their migrations. The oral history has been calculated as possibly spanning across 16 generations; Heppell converts into 400 years by calculation of 25 years a generation. Though it is questionable whether this is applicable to Ibanic society, Heppell concludes that Ibanic weaving has remained in the region for at least 700 years, but possibly has existed for an entire millennium (141). Examining this historical aspect has been the principal interest of the book, but it is still a multi-faceted read. Heppell's effort is notable and influential indeed, and undoubtedly contributes to constructing Ibanic weaving culture through an ethnographic context.

Goro Hasegawa

Hill, Thomas W.: Native American Drinking. Life Styles, Alcohol Use, Drunken Comportment, and the Peyote Religion. Los Angeles: New University Press LLC, 2013. 347 pp. ISBN 978-0-9829219-1-3. Price: $ 26.95

How does an author turn a series of articles published decades ago into a cohesive book? And how does the author ensure that the book has contemporary relevance? These challenges have shaped Thomas Hill's "Native American Drinking." As the author notes, tangential mentions of alcohol use by indigenous peoples have a long history in anthropological works, but numerous dedicated studies seeking to identify patterns and problems related to American Indian alcohol consumption appeared in the latter half of the 20th century. Explicitly multidisciplinary books focusing on the topic are now plentiful.

Methodologically, this book relies primarily upon the classic ethnographic approach of focusing on relatively fewer individuals whom the author selected to represent larger constituencies. However, Hill writes most enthusiastically about the importance of ethnohistory as a comprehensive method for triangulating oral testimonies with written documentary evidence, in order to establish the long-term contextualization of the ethnographic present. Hill suggests that anthropologists' reliance on fieldwork to inform subsequent archival explorations is what distinguishes ethnohistory from straightforward historical research.

The second chapter consists of part of a debate with the encyclopedic alcohol scholar Robin Room on problem deflation (in which Room claims that anthropology's focus on functionality systematically understates the extent of alcohol-related harms in other cultures). Of all the chapters in the book, this second is most jarring to the reader, because only Room's response, rather than his original statement, is included in the chapter. Hill's summary of Room's problem deflation argument does not suffice; if I were going to include this book in a course syllabus, I would assign Room's catalytic article first.

The remainder of the book consists of Hill's earnest engagement with a wide-ranging set of psychological, neurobiological, genetic, and sociohistorical theories that have been raised as candidates in the alcohol literature for the root causes of alcohol dependence, weighing each of them against the data he collected in Sioux City in the ethnographic present of 1970. If the plague of alcohol-related problems in many American Indian communities had an easily identifiable unique cause, then the communities would have crafted simple solutions to address and eliminate the problems. But it is clear that the sources of these issues are multiplex. Each chapter takes on a different theoretical aspect of the problem and offers insights through discussions of the relevant literature and then the firsthand insights of the author's interlocutors in the community. For example, Hill reinterprets some of his early fieldwork through the lens of more recent neurobiological and gene-environment interaction research.

Where the book is most engaging is in its narratives of individual struggles with alcohol at different points in the life cycle, shaped by historically-based cultural norms and socioeconomic oppression. Guided by symbolic interactionism perspectives refined by Erving Goffman, Hill places a heavy emphasis on the interactional character of urban Native American community norms and sanctions on outrageous behavior.

The book continues with a focus on the Native American Church ("The Peyote Religion") as a widely adopted form of therapeutic disengagement from problem drinking, and drinking altogether. Involvement in the Native American Church requires commitment to guided lengthy ceremonies, and Hill documents the way in which such simultaneously spiritual and structured involvement offered a way out from pathological drinking for a number of the community members with whom he worked.

How might Hill's research be conducted differently if he were to commence today? It is entirely likely that it would be team-oriented, with much greater guidance and participation from university-trained researchers who are members of the community under study. That scenario would reflect the growing emphasis on team social science rather than the lone wolf academic approach most anthropologists continue to be trained to follow, as well as the appreciation for community-based and -shaped research that is requested if not required by sovereign American Indian communities at present.

It is worth noting that the publisher, New University Press, is a print-on-demand publisher rather than an established university press. Although the original source articles were peer-reviewed, there are no indications that the entire book was peer-reviewed in its present form. Pro-