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-

duction values are generally high in the book, although some typographical errors break the flow of reading.

As an extended summary of a career devoted to lifting the veil off the mystery of a frequently intractable problem of alcohol dependence among Native Americans, the value of Hill's book lies in its steady assertion of anthropology's holistic research methods as the most open-minded and respectful ways to bring diverse forms of data to bear on the complex character of longstanding heavy drinking and associated problems in the population. Hill's well-researched conclusions observe that individuals with multiple risk factors in unequal environments may still overcome addictive behaviors, because he has documented a number of ways that Sioux City Indians overcame fatalistic beliefs to lead sober and satisfying lives.

Roland S. Moore

**Hine, Christine:** Ethnography for the Internet. Embedded, Embodied, and Everyday. London: Bloomsbury, 2015. 221 pp. ISBN 978-0-85785-570-1. Price: £ 19.99

"Ethnography for the Internet. Embedded, Embodied and Everyday" provides researchers with a combined theoretical/methodological approach to ethnographic research about the Internet. In the "Introduction," Hine outlines her case for framing the discussion in terms of ethnography *for* rather than *of* the Internet. Chapters 1–3 introduce and explain what Hine refers to as the $E^3$ Internet (embedded, embodied, and everyday) and provide research strategies for undertaking this area of research. By the $E^3$ Internet Hine is referring to the way the Internet is embedded, embodied, and everyday. By embedded Hine means that the Internet has become rooted in everyday life. This has consequences for ethnographic research, as the Internet can have different meanings depending on the circumstances of its use. By embodied, Hine means that the Internet has become more embedded in the everyday. We may experience it as an extension of our being in the world rather than as something separate from the real world. Thus, a task for ethnographers is to investigate how the Internet is experienced by particular actors in particular circumstances. The third component, everyday, refers to the Internet's increasing ubiquity and how this has largely rendered it mundane or unremarkable. Despite (or perhaps because of) its mundane nature, the Internet is deserving of critical attention from ethnographers, whose task becomes making these so-called mundane aspects of Internet infrastructure visible.

Chapter 3 moves beyond this explanation of the $E^3$ Internet to explore ethnographic strategies for studying the Internet. This chapter provides a helpful engagement with the literature on ethnographic methods in Internet research, and attends to a range of potential sites for this research. This part of the chapter draws on ideas and strategies from multisited ethnography, mobile research methods, and science and technology studies. In addition, Hine touches on the kinds of tools and analyses that ethnographic researchers can use for studying the Internet, such as data aggregation and visualization. This is a section that could be more fully developed although, as with any publication on digital topics, would run the risk of being out-of-date fairly quickly. An interesting focus of the chapter is its exploration of the usefulness of autoethnography and reflexive ethnography for Internet-related research. Hine argues that such approaches can facilitate the exploration of the embodied and everyday nature of our experience of the Internet. One question that arose for me when reading this chapter was whether and how what Hine frames as autoethnography is different from the ways in which participant observation in virtual worlds is presented in a book like Boellstorff et al.'s "Ethnography and Virtual Worlds" (Princeton 2012). Both works advise that ethnographers need to participate in the digital phenomenon that they study, and that such engagement may require a period of learning how to participate meaningfully in that community. However, Hine's approach does focus more specifically on the toggling between the digital and real life and how participating in both digital and offline spaces can lead to insights for the ethnographer.

Chapters 4–6 provide case studies in applying this $E^3$ approach to particular research topics, drawing on the author's own research to illustrate her points. Chapter 4 focuses on the mailing lists Freecycle and Freegle which are used to exchange items that would otherwise be discarded. Hine discusses her research methods, including observations, electronic and in-person interviews, and autoethnography. She posits in this chapter that autoethnography is both a positive tool but that it should not be relied upon alone, as it can limit our understanding of the more complex ways in which the Internet may be embedded in other contexts. The level of detail in her discussion and excerpts from her collected data help to make these observations more concrete for the reader.

Chapter 5 focuses on the development of Internet-based distributed databases in Biology, and demonstrates the way in which ethnography for the Internet is a multisited phenomenon that begs for deeper understanding of how these sites are connected. Hine discusses how particular forms of Internet-based tools for research can be used and combined with close attention to the potential connections between different sites of use. For example, she discusses how she used institutional Websites, mailing lists, and other data sources to better understand how the topic – and the people behind it – were being presented (or not), and how she used the mailing lists as a space for ethnographic fieldwork. She also discusses her use of specific Internet-based research tools in her research. Hine explores her use of the Touchgraph SEO browser in her research, which allowed her to generate a visualization of a network of sites related to a particular Website. Her discussion of how this information informed her ethnographic interviews and strategies for exploring documents is a helpful take-away for researchers.

Chapter 6 presents Hine's research about the online manifestations of *The Antiques Roadshow* television show. She considers in this chapter the way in which Internet research can provide ethnographers with a relatively unobtrusive method for better understanding the mundane in everyday life. It provides, she argues, a way for researchers to observe how people interpret and integrate