

belief that buried treasure lies underneath the neighborhood's crumbling 18th-century houses reflects the subaltern conviction that the state will forever exclude the poor from the immeasurable wealth that surrounds them. As such these views become vehicles for critiques of the UNESCO project and worldview.

But, of course, the poor always find ways of fighting back. In a particularly compelling chapter, Collins delves into an episode when a poor resident of the Pelourinho directly challenges a social worker's insistence that residents refrain from defecating in the street. Offended by the implication that her kind knows no better, an ex-prostitute and recovering crack addict named Topa stands up and, in an extraordinary moment of speaking truth to power, declares that the social worker lecturing her on hygiene would never allow her to use the facilities in her own middle-class home. Directly implied in her challenge is the point that she and her poor neighbors do not lack understanding of where to defecate; they lack adequate housing and plumbing. Although the social worker struggles to reinterpret the episode as evidence of the poor woman's drug addiction, Collins convincingly portrays the incident as one of many small rebellions that destabilize the middle class's self-congratulatory vision of their activities in this community.

Collins's detailed ethnography makes two important contributions to Brazilian studies and anthropology. First, he enriches the discussion of Brazilian racial politics. The conventional wisdom is that "race" in Brazil, as an emic category, involves flexible situational judgments that classify people along a broad phenotypical continuum. This system is generally contrasted with the "one-drop rule" that prevails in the United States, in which ancestry figures more decisively than the "mark" of visible color. By digging deeply into how the Bahian state, reinforced by the UNESCO heritage process, has built its legitimacy on an ideology of history and place, and by spending time with working-class residents caught up in a struggle to make claims on that state based on historically deep ideas of Afro-Brazilianness, Collins is able to show how both state bureaucrats and the people they seek to govern deploy a racial logic that is as much organized around time, ancestry, and narrative as around phenotype. This insight should push scholars of race in other parts of Brazil to take a second look at their own assumptions about the priority of "mark" in Brazil's racial system. Collins also makes a strong argument, with potential comparative implications, that the Pelourinho heritage site should not be viewed as a simple unilateral imposition by elites, but as a co-construction of such elites with working-class Afro-Bahian intellectuals. His finely granular ethnography shows, in particular, how social scientific claims get appropriated by subaltern claims-making strategies within tourist-based urban revitalization. In this regard, the work belongs to a growing body of

scholarship on the role of grassroots intellectuals in the formation of heritage sites around the world.

The contributions the book makes to the scholarship on heritage sites and on race in Brazil may be occasionally clouded by Collins's Melvillean inclination to expand on every point he makes, going down avenues that sometimes prove slightly circuitous before looping back to his main themes. While he might argue that this kind of dendritic writing is part of his message, I am concerned that not all readers will be able to stay with him long enough to get the point. That would be unfortunate. For those who stay the course, the overall cumulative effect of *Revolt of the Saints* is to draw the reader, step by step, ineluctably, into a world both strange and familiar. This is a world that is both partly lost and partly found, as the people in it find new ways to survive by redeeming themselves. Collins's subtitle is "Memory and Redemption," and the phrase serves as a nice summary of the book's ethos, which, in challenging the possibility of historical truth—the basis of all sorts of rigid and essentialist identities—sees in that challenge the seed of a new kind of sociality. For in the end Collins is motivated by a certain social vision, that is to seek a "shared engagement with what we might be, rather than a search for who we really are" (343).

The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins. Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015. 331 pp.

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Medieval Christian cosmology saw Christendom's geographic margins as sites where the natural order might yield up wonders, signs of possibilities still nascent in the Creation. In *The Mushroom at the End of the World*, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing takes us to today's out-of-the-way places, to the edges of capitalist encroachment, hoping to find, in the midst of "blasted landscapes" (3), something still "strange and wonderful" (238). She seeks to learn whether, in these subaltern terrains, there might exist pointers to "the possibility of life in capitalist ruins," to opportunities for modest flourishing, both biological and social. Tsing's guides into these territories are matsutake mushrooms, mycorrhizal fungi that grow in disturbed forests and that are prized as delicacies in Japan, China, and, increasingly, the West. By tracking matsutake and their accompanying people, trees, and landscapes, Tsing moves through a supply chain that begins in depleted forests in the United States, China, Japan, and Finland, continues through the bubble economies of the Pacific Rim, and ends in gourmet

markets in Japan where matsutake arrives as a commodity, set to be transformed into a gift that can generate bonds among family or business associates. Matsutake take Tsing to “the end of the world”—to far-flung places as well as into our bleak contemporary moment, when the deprivations of capitalist extraction, industrialization, and hyperconsumption have come to have calamitous effects on the biosphere. Like a medieval book of wonders, *Mushroom* places disparate entities alongside one another: fungi, Vietnam vet homesteaders, Lao-refugee-citizen mushroom pickers, and post-Darwinian biologies. Whether the frayed eco-edges of capitalism can be zones of redeeming wonder is a question that will have Marxists, political anthropologists, and environmentalists arguing vigorously about this timely and provocative book.

Tsing calls the ruins of capitalism—a space of “contaminated diversity”—a *third nature*. She updates for our chastened time what medieval scholar Jacopo Bonfadio named *terza natura*, nature improved by art (Bonfadio had gardens in mind). Tsing’s third nature is a place not of aestheticized world fashioning (nor of biodiversity idealized, as David McDermott Hughes [2005] has theorized the term), but of struggles to eke out a living in precarious landscapes. In a striking chapter about mushroom picking in Oregon, Tsing offers a story of how Mien, Hmong, Lao, and Cambodian survivors of the US-Indochina war and its sequels have arrived at foraging alongside white US libertarian mountain men and undocumented Latino migrants. She argues that what unites many pickers is not their labor (unalienated or no), but rather enactments of “freedom”—for Asian migrants, for example, freedom from Southeast Asian ethnic oppressions, and for off-the-grid whites, the reach of the US government. As matsutake move into channels of capitalist alienation—when what is foraged is purchased at auctions—this uneasy mosaic of freedoms becomes, in retrospect, a relation of production that enables commoditization. Tsing argues that capitalism here operates through “salvage accumulation,” not only by incorporating noncapitalist forms (as J. K. Gibson-Graham taught us), but also by generating value from its own ruins. A cynical reader might worry that Tsing’s third nature is simple fodder for the *terza natura* gardens of capital, with “freedom” a veneer over vexed ethnoracial politics in the United States’ Pacific Northwest. A more open-ended reading would attend to anarchic social and organic forms as phenomena that might ever elude finished valuation or host alternative, “latent commons” (255).

The cautious optimism of the book is consonant with much “multispecies ethnography,” the attempt to bring into ethnographic representation agencies of animals, plants, fungi, and microbes. Tsing has been a trailblazer in this conversation and here joins it with multisensory methods, analyzing the aromas of matsutake, foraged and grilled. She

argues, too, that the “species” frame is too parochial to capture mycorrhizal networks, “an infrastructure of interspecies connection” (139). Tsing poses fungal webs as correctives to reductionist evolutionary tales that hold to circumscribed organismic or genetic units. She thus offers a welcome opening for ecological and historical inquiries to enrich one another. But although she is keen to avoid “bowing down to science” (159) and argues, usefully, that science is anyway not monolithic, the appreciative wonder that suffuses her descriptions of matsutake science opens questions of what might have emerged from a deeper excavation into the history and rhetoric of mycological knowledge, of the sort Donna Haraway once offered for sociobiology and Emily Martin for immunology.

The book delivers compelling science-studies-informed environmental history in chapters examining the compromised forests—pine, oak—in which matsutake thrive. In Japan, matsutake-minded forest management animated by nostalgic inventions of tradition rematerializes peasant forestscapes (such *satoyama* offers a third nature closer to *terza natura*). In Finland, the rationalization of pine forests turns out to make linear growth patterns go haywire, leading forests to become matsutake-supporting anti-plantations. In China, forests reemerging from the Great Leap Forward support other matsutake realms (Michael Hathaway will write of these in *Emerging Matsutake Worlds*, contributing to a “Matsutake Worlds mini-series” [ix] that will also see *The Charisma of a Wild Mushroom*, by Shiho Satsuka, on Japanese mushroom science). In Oregon, forests dispossessed by the United States from Klamath tribes and injured by industrial logging prepare soil for matsutake. These forests make history—and not always under conditions of human choosing. Correspondences among forests, nation-building projects, and haunted histories flesh out a thicketed biocultural anthropology; imagine the medieval cast of Victor Turner’s *Forest of Symbols* overgrown by multispecies Marxism. If, as Eduardo Kohn argues, forests think, they also live, and in a political-economic world.

And a many-myceliated global one. *Mushroom* is anthropology of science that “does not take place exclusively in the West,” tracing, to take one example, how “in China, matsutake science and forestry are caught between Japanese and US trajectories” (219). In following such polyglot world-making, *Mushroom* shows how both the “field” and “fieldwork” manifest in patches, and it offers not world-systems theory, but something like world-assemblage theory. The text enacts Tsing’s long-standing critique of “scale,” demonstrating that scales of analysis are never ready-made, but always constructed and contested, in governance and ethnography both. Tsing’s captivating ethnography shows us a world far from medieval micro- and macrocosms, ushering us instead into the realm of the mycorrhizal, where ends—analytic and political—multiply.

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Cruel Attachments: The Ritual Rehab of Child Molesters in Germany. John Borneman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 256 pp.

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For two years, John Borneman attended four group therapy sessions per week for convicted sex offenders in Germany, and he gained access to a repository of past cases to examine how German courts imagine rehabilitation. The courts order therapy for such offenders in Germany, and the expectation is that therapy will do more than merely change criminal behavior. To demonstrate rehabilitation, a "deeper" kind of therapy is required, relying on the psychoanalytic model to discover and reorganize the self.

In five substantive chapters, each revolving around a case or two, Borneman gives us a typology of the therapeutic processes that follow different types of child molesters. These chapters are breathtaking in their erudition and the awful poignancy of the humanity that we witness. Here are people in truly wretched positions, simultaneously trying to find words to understand their own horrendous childhoods and the horrible pain they have caused others. Borneman says that the challenge for him in this work was to "engage ethically" with a population that is "widely considered a social evil" (207). In this, he is quite successful. The book begins with a long chapter about a man named Andreas Marquardt, who has been rehabilitated and is now on tour with his therapist, reading from his memoir that the two wrote together. Marquardt was a notoriously cruel pimp who abused many women over many years. With the help of his therapist, Marquardt eventually came to understand that his rage stems from prolonged sexual abuse by his own mother, and to realize his own cruelty. That Borneman manages to decipher Marquardt's humanity despite his wretched acts is a testament to the power of this ethnography.

Borneman also writes about less cruel subjects. We read about "Reinhard," for one, who befriends distressed single women with children to help save them. He is not cruel; in fact, before his arrest, he had a loving partner and a job helping elderly people in need. With one

mother-daughter pair, however, he crossed a boundary from care into sexual intimacy with the teenage daughter. We learn that he is unable to feel love for strong women, whom he finds threatening, as he was viciously beaten throughout his own childhood. Borneman asks us to consider what the label of "pedophile" does to Reinhard, but he also demonstrates how the therapeutic process brings both Marquardt and Reinhard to the important understanding of what they may cost the young women and girls whom they harm. Indeed, *Cruel Attachments* is most alive when it analyzes the child molesters at the core of its story. To understand Reinhard and Marquardt as complex humans, rather than by their simple, stigmatized labels as "molesters," is the payoff of the author's intimate ethnographic research.

I was quite moved by the book, but I wanted more and different things from it. The title presumably refers to a well-accepted psychological theory that emphasizes the importance of attachment between parent and child. The theory's adherents argue that a child's emotional health depends on an initial close attachment between mother (or mother substitute) and infant, which diminishes slowly as the child grows. Molestation of a child by an adult can throw the child's delicate development into turmoil, creating new attachments before they are developmentally appropriate or corrupting a child's ability to trust in the primacy of emotional bonds. Thus, "cruel attachments" might form. Borneman never explains this, although he draws heavily on more obscure psychoanalytic theory. This is a pattern in the book: the author introduces provocative concepts linked with captivating field data—of which there could have been much more—but often skips the most salient explanations in favor of more far-flung theorizing.

This can be explained, I think, by an issue in Borneman's framing of his study. He sets up the book to be an analysis of the courts' demands as secular ritual, situated in Victor Turner's work (59–66). Yet little attention is given to the court process other than the therapy. The ritual framing seems a bit of a red herring. Instead, the *selfhood project* seems more at the core of Borneman's concerns as he follows his subjects through their struggles to understand themselves in light of the courts' demands. Borneman discusses the importance of the selfhood project in one of the series of "loose ends" that serve strangely as the book's conclusion. He argues that modern ethnographers have neglected the study of the self, specifically ethnography's potential to illuminate an "interiority that is accessible through talk and cultivated introspection and capable of transformation" (212). He notes Michel Foucault's influence, but neglects contemporary scholarship that draws on this tradition to examine deviant sexualities and criminal justice systems' demands of their subjects. In the United States, for example, Haney (2010)