Rainforest Capitalism: Power and Masculinity in a Congolese Timber Concession by Thomas Hendriks



As an anthropologist who cares deeply about the Congo Basin, I clung to the pages of Hendriks's account as to a life raft. They conveyed me, along with him, back to field research in the ethically trepidatious, emotionally wrenching, and economically inscrutable sites of extractive industry in equatorial Africa. For readers who haven't attempted sustained study within timber concessions, the book is still riveting, due to three factors: the suspense of its "return to a troubled field study," its tackling of understudied research questions and sites, and its courageous queering of the research frames and findings.

First, in a world imperiled by the exchange of immediate, volatile reactions, the book offers attenuated ethnographic attention woven in with integrative theory. "Rediscovering attachments to an ecstatic world of rainforest logging from which I had tried to distance myself," writes Hendriks in his acknowledgments. I was hooked. Nostalgia shifts like light through dense foliage within the book, and bibliographic buttress roots reach wide, from classics of cultural anthropological thought to postcolonial theory, corporate ethnography, and porn studies. Hendriks creates an intellectual ecosystem that spans African, Asian, European, and US communities but also generations of ethnographers studying capitalism—specifically extractivism.

Research itself can be extractive, and Hendriks lays bare incommensurate salaries, disparate and racialized residential arrangements, and logistical privileges deriving from his fraught complicity with a major logging company, all of which distance him from his Congolese research collaborators. Nor is the company's risk in welcoming him analytically undervalued as a gift that influenced the mandate and moral imperatives of the ethnographer (following Mauss, see Hardin 2016). Hendriks also deftly

This is the natt or manuscript accepted for publication and has undergone full peer review but has not been throug. The copyediting, typesetting, pagination and proofreading process, which may lead to differences between this version and the <u>Version of Record</u>. Please cite this article as <u>doi:</u> <u>10.1111/aman.13774</u>.

This article is protected by copyright. All rights reserved.

considers his family's colonial history in Belgium, a resource that rendered him legible (not always positively) to his informants, allies, and subjects of study. These range from the dubious (but dedicated) white European managers and supervisors to the defiant (but deeply thoughtful) African mechanics and machine laborers on the front lines of felling valuable trees.

These social and institutional dynamics are a second appeal of the book. Its substance is an exquisite contribution to two lacunae in published ethnographic work: that on extractive industries organized through concessions, and that on the rural worlds of densely forested francophone Africa. On the former, Hendriks is right that, while many critical ethnographic accounts of forest management, conservation, and development through community forestry exist, little about the heart of logging operations has been written "from within, and from its core." In so doing, he raises three crucial challenges. First, asymmetrical power relations persist between ethnographers and corporate actors. Second, ethical ambiguities about consent are related to wider accountability issues when doing ethnographics of capitalist practice. Third, the elaborate anatomies of most transnational corporations make focused ethnographic attention within them a challenge. On all these fronts the book is a revelation and a roadmap for future work. No longer as starkly challenging as Nader's (1972) "studying up." Hendriks attains what one might call "studying out" from within the opaque and high-stakes epicenter of resource-mining activity.

The actors ne describes are enacting masculinities and/as mastery, analysis of which is a third reason to read this book. It departs from critical normativity in ethnographic writing and from heteronormativity in our ethnographic engagements. Especially for heavily male-dominated, industrialized, colonially rooted sectors involving trucks, chainsaws, and swagger, these concomitant moves are salutary. They are also, importantly, entwined. Hendriks takes us into explicit (at times pornographic) dynamics of racial identification for these contemporary lumberjacks. The way all that works is of course about white fragility and dominance, yet the account does not rest unhelpfully there. The book wraps ludic elements together with other strands of the account about labor, knowledge, management and machismo to culminate in an accessible and well-articulated concluding essay on Johannes Fabian's notion of ecstasis. That concept—a practice, a state—enables experiences of connection across cultures, scales, selves, and sentiments (of boredom, of fear, of excitement). Ecstasis links the many vivid descriptions of the book in a complex and fluid whole, contributing to a vision of extractive economies as capitalist co-creations, contingent on connective experiential—even existential—phenomena.

Due to the themes, time, and circumstances of the study, most of the descriptions focus on men (though they do reference younger women). Hendriks shows exemplary commitment to feminist conceptual framing. But as he describes expatriate loggers deriding the looks of female Greenpeace activists and calling them "sissies" for their short-term experience "on the ground," it seems worth noting empirical studies by women who have returned to the Congo Basin repeatedly for sustained human ecological and economic research (Doremus 2019; Jost Robinson and Remis 2016). Their results show Indigenous women are suffering stress and starvation where the excesses of timber

This article is protected by copyright. All rights reserved.

extraction meet the constraints of Forest Stewardship Council certification (or FSC certification, an important backdrop for Hendriks). Gender in policy and practice are not his focus, though he alludes to conflicts with women over availability of caterpillars to harvest and eat. We are left wondering whether the socially reparative power of ecstasis can be sustained during extreme ecological cycles, or stark food insufficiency, or if it might even somehow address these problems. Women seem largely excluded from many of the intertwined, variously phallic elements of ecstasis described here, or perhaps just from the technologies that mediate them: computer screens in complex identifications with "live" interracial sex videos, chainsaws in contingent experiences felling trees in forest clearings. More depth on questions of what ecstasis has meant in erotically charged activities, such as animal hunting, or honey harvesting, and how that changes when industry "booms," might make important further study, triangulating this work with studies of gender, food security, and environmental justice in equatorial Africa and beyond.

In sum, Hendriks writes wisely and with just enough reflexivity about how ethnographers of extractive capitalism develop theories through challenges of fieldwork, at last venturing our accounts. His work offers, to me anyway, the courage to reflect on what we saw but also on who we were, and are becoming, and on what our world might become. Signaling a postcritical, reparative turn that is no less engaged with violence and harm, Hendriks's work avoids the trap of "villains" and "victims." Instead, he sketches the ubiquitous, fleetingly shared ontological terrain where deep personal and social transformation could occur, if only we open ourselves to it. In the spirit of learning to see and feel those possibilities, this brave book is well worth reading, teaching, and taking up for further research in gender studies and studies of capitalism, of Africa(s), and of ethnography itself.

## **REFERENCES CITED**

Doremus, Jacqueline. 2019. "Unintended Impacts from Forest Certification: Evidence from Indigenous Aka Households in Congo." Ecological Economics 166 (2019): 106378. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2019.106378.

Hardin, Rebecca. 2016. "Collective Contradictions of 'Corporate' Environmental Conservation." In Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility, edited by Catherine Dolan and Dinah Rajak, 179-99. New York: Berghan Books.

Jost Robinson, C. A., and M. J. Remis. 2016. "BaAka Women's Health and Subsistence Practices in Transitional Conservation Economies: Variation with Age, Household Size, and Food Security." American Journal of Human Biology 28 (4): 453-60. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.22817.

Nader, Laura. 1972. Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse.

This article is protected by copyright. All rights reserved.