

Women In Climate Change Programs: The Trap of Neoliberal Culture Through Economic Empowerment

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Abstract

Women's economic empowerment in the forestry sector development program in Oo Village, South Kulawi District, Sigi Regency, Central Sulawesi Province through the Reduces Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) scheme in the Sulawesi Forest Program III project funded by the German government, not just a project environment driven by the moral and humanitarian awareness of community guardians to save the environment while empowering the economy of rural women. REDD+ as a program actually, through its empowerment work, has other implications, namely its contribution to the fading of the traditional subsistence cultural value system in the Oo Village community. In socio-cultural conditions that have faded due to the pressure of modernization in the forestry sector, the presence of the REDD+ program with all its rules, such as encouraging women to independently develop their economy through stabilizing land use, instead of empowering women economically, this research sees that Empowerment through land use regulation within the framework of environmental saving projects actually traps women into a neoliberal cultural value system.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The 217,991.18-hectare Lore Lindu National Park (TNLL) landscape intersects directly with community living spaces in 24 villages in Poso Regency and 48 villages in Sigi Regency. The reality of the intersection of protected areas and community living space is what makes 72 villages in these 2 districts have the status of TNLL forest buffer villages. One of these buffer villages is Oo Village, which is in Sigi Regency. In a project the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) in collaboration with the Ministry of Economic and Cooperative Development of the German Federal government, through the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau/Entwicklungsbank (KfW) provides planned foreign grants to support the development of strategies and implementation of measures regarding biodiversity conservation and improving the livelihoods of poor communities in 48 villages spread across Poso and Sigi Regencies since 2017.

This program, which is funded by the German government and the Indonesian government, is part of world efforts for “Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation” (REDD+) or the world's desire to reduce the rate of climate change by pursuing joint management of the Lore Lindu landscape by limiting community access to protected forests. In an effort to limit community access to TNLL forests, economic empowerment of communities around the forest has been carried out through the formation of forest farmer groups and village forest management institutions in social forestry schemes. These forest farmer groups are given knowledge of effective, efficient and environmentally friendly farming. Effective and efficient farming is built into an agroforestry scheme that combines forest crops and fruit production crops. Meanwhile,

environmentally friendly farming activities are carried out by teaching knowledge about making organic fertilizer independently. Apart from providing knowledge on effective and efficient farming methods, Forest Program III Sulawesi provides incentives for those in farmer groups who succeed in caring for the life of their plants.

All assistance provided to the group is an effort from a program to improve the livelihoods of poor rural communities. This economic empowerment of rural communities does not only target men but also involves the active role of women in conservation practices and economic empowerment. Empowering women in environmental saving programs or programs *Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation* (REDD+) is a commitment from UN-REDD regarding active steps to promote gender equality and women's empowerment based on a human rights approach to support sustainable development (UN-REDD 2011, 2017). That is why all environmental saving programs funded by industrial countries, such as the REDD+ scheme currently being implemented in O'o Village through the Forest Program III Sulawesi project, encourage the active role of women in every activity through a gender mainstreaming strategy.

The role of women in forest management and its relationship with women's empowerment in the forestry sector has actually been widely researched. For example, research conducted by Rahma, Martaliah, and Wahyuli (2022) in their research on "Women's Economic Empowerment Through Participation in Forest Management in Durian Rambun Village" found that women's participation in managing forests brings economic benefits to women. Because the women of Durian Rambun Village have knowledge about the market, which is reflected in their behavior in choosing to sell coffee in powdered packaging rather than selling it in the form of coffee beans. Different from the research above, Shalati (2022) found that in Harumansari Village, Kadungora District, Garut Regency, women's involvement in forest management is still very limited. Because in the forest management arena, social forestry schemes in villages are co-opted by local village elites who incidentally are men. This means that even though social forestry schemes are designed to empower women, in reality they are not yet the answer to the poverty experienced by women in villages. Different from the research conducted by Shalati (2022) and Rahma, Martaliah and Wahyuli (2022), the research I conducted in Oo Village places women's issues and women's empowerment practices in relation to environmental saving programs through the REDD+ scheme as a neoliberal regulatory scheme.

As Ahmed (2020) said, the practice of empowering women and saving the environment through the REDD+ scheme in O'o Village cannot be seen as merely a humanitarian impulse. Through the term "eco-philanthropy", Ahmed alleges that conservation empowerment programs funded by industrial countries are an attempt by neoliberal capitalism to cover up its environmentally destructive business practices (Ahmed 2020). Bäckstrand (2006) also said the same thing (in Rini Astuti 2013) that if one examines it by looking at the various discourses surrounding the REDD+ concept, various new arrangements regarding human and forest interaction emerge which are based on the logics of the neoliberalism system. The logics of neoliberalism present in conservation and empowerment programs are becoming increasingly clear in language Westholm and Arora-Jonsson (2015) stated that women's involvement in REDD+ is part of efforts to attract women into the global economy because they envision a causal relationship between poverty, gender inequality and improving environmental quality. Then by Harvey (2003) and Schumpeter (1994) postulate that the operation of neoliberal logic in this society is through what they call *creative destruction* namely changing all social relations, ways of life, ways of thinking and subsistence production activities of rural communities which are not relevant to the regulation of the neoliberal market economic system. Which Foucault

then put into terms *Governmentality* or efforts to organize conditions for individuals, groups, or people to "behave as they should" in calculated ways is a strategy of neoliberal governance (Aryo 2012; Li 2012).

This article aims to explore how neoliberal logic has entered Oo Village through the issue of women's economic empowerment. To help researchers analyze this phenomenon in the field, concepts are used: creative *destruction* Schumpeter (1994) and *Governmentality* Foucault (in Aryo 2012; Li 2012).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted from July to August 2023 in Oo Village, South Kulawi District, Sigi Regency. Oo Village was chosen as the research location because geographically, this village directly intersects with a protected area and is included in the Forest Program III Sulawesi project implementation area. The informants in the research were groups of female farmers funded by the Forest Program III Sulawesi program. This research uses the observation method (*observation*) to see the forms of neoliberalism logic and in-depth interviews (*in-depth interview*) to explore the historicity of the life of the people of Oo Village before they were introduced to the money economic system. The analysis in this research was carried out by first transcribing all interview results and contemplating the results of observations while in the field. All data starting from interviews and observations were collected and then analyzed based on the economic-political paradigm.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Space and Oo Village Women

Geographically, Oo Village is flanked by two forest landscapes. First, on the east side, the Oo Village area directly intersects with the Lore Lindu National Park Forest, therefore Oo Village is counted as a TNLL buffer village. Second, on the west side of the village area there is a Village Forest area covering an area of 409 hectares. This natural situation places forests and society in existing as ecosystems that influence each other and influence each other in a determinist and possibilistic manner. Circumstances that are determinist by nature, forge people to become farmers. Meanwhile, a possibilist situation brings society to a conscious subject who is able to change nature into a part of human life. This possibilist condition then creates cultural conditions which in the dimension of time are forged into wise habits of society in treating nature. The people's habits of treating nature are gradually no longer present as something cultural but have changed qualitatively to become natural, namely the formation of the identity of the people of Oo Village as farmers. The majority of work as farmers is a natural condition formed from a long journey of interaction between the ancestors of the Oo Village community and their natural conditions. This meeting formed the unique environmental wisdom of the Uma people in the Kulawi plains. This is shown by the presence of the habit of rotational farming or what they call it *Bone*.

Bonea in the spatial conception of the Uma tribe in Oo Village is a field where they plant various types of plants such as grains, corn and cassava. The lives of the people of Oo Village depend heavily on the fertility of Bonea. Therefore, in their efforts to maintain soil nutrients in Bonea, agricultural activities will be carried out periodically (allowing Bonea to return to bushes and forest) based on the community's cultural calendar. This is done to maintain soil nutrients which have logical consequences for sustainable life. After being abandoned by the farmers and Bonea starting to become overgrown with bushes, this space will no longer be called Bonea but will be known to them as *Own*. *Oma* or former gardens are divided by the people of Oo Village into 3 forms. First, *Grandma Bou*. *Oma Bou* in the cultural imagination of the people of Oo Village is a former farm between 1-2 years old.

Oma Bou is characterized by the growth of small tree saplings and reeds. Second, *Your own Net*. Oma Nete is a former farm aged 3-10 years. The physical characteristics of this land are marked by a reduction in the dominance of shrubs because small trees are starting to grow; and third, *Oma Ntua*. Oma Ntua is characterized by trees that begin to form a forest canopy when they are over 10 years old.

The birth of Bonea as a concept of space in Oo society cannot be separated from the role of women. The existence of Bonea as a community living space was born from the division of labor between men and women during the preparation of agricultural land. The lands that the community uses as Bonea are primary forests around the village. The process of preparing bone land will likely go through several stages, namely: (1) Cleaning tree saplings; (2) Logging; (3) Collecting slash wood; (4) Burning; (5) clearing land in preparation for planting. In the initial phase of deforestation to make way for gardens, women helped men clear small saplings between large trees. After the activity of clearing saplings is complete and leaving only stands of large diameter wood, the felling process will be taken over by men. Women will again take on the role of piling dry wood and twigs from tree saplings that are starting to dry out. The wood and tree branches that had dried and were piled together were burned by the men. Cleaning the burnt products will be done together by men and women. Currently, the knowledge and habits of shift farming are no longer practiced in the Oo Village community. This reality occurs because the community's living area is increasingly narrowed by the state's determination of forest areas. Determination of forest status through The current protection and social forestry scheme in Oo Village is described by Peluso (2006) as "scientific forestry" practice. This scientific forestry practice is defined as an effort by the state to control and control natural resources. In today's complex social reality, coupled with development The practice of private ownership of natural resources in society is increasingly narrowing their living space, especially for village women.

From *Pale Bait* to Capitalistic Relations: Portrait of Moral Economic Change to Rational Economics

The fundamental change in the rural economy from moral to rational has an impact on changing the cultural value system *Pale Bait* to the people of Oo Village. Momeala Pale is a cultural practice that has the social function of caring for relationships between individuals in society. Momeala Pale in the Oo community is the concept of working in groups consisting of more than one person depending on who wants to join as a member, regardless of whether they are women or men. This mutual assistance work on agricultural land is carried out to lighten each other's work burden. Momeala pale in practice is carried out at the stages of land clearing, planting, maintenance up to harvest activities. This mutual aid work often lasts 1 to 6 hours in each group member's garden. However, currently, through the penetration of the money economic system (capitalism) into the life of the people of Oo Village, Momeala Pale, which was previously a non-capitalistic relationship, has become a capitalistic relationship. This phenomenon can be seen from the equality of human labor with money. This situation means that the presence of group members at work is no longer essential. Because energy can be replaced with matter.

The presence of community empowerment in the environmental saving program at the Sulawesi Forest Program III project in Oo Village by providing incentives for the work of farmer groups, is likely to increase the fragility of traditional social systems or the foundations of the moral economy in society. The practice of providing incentives to this group is described by Scumpenter (1994). *creative destruction* namely changing the way of thinking and subsistence production activities of rural communities which are not relevant to the regulation of the neoliberal market economic system. This incentive in the

form of cash is given to group members who succeed in caring for the trees they plant as part of an environmental saving project. We can also see the practice of providing incentives as an effort to foster attitudes and the *need for public achievement*. The draft *need for achievement* or desire for achievement comes from McClelland's reading of Weber's thesis on the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. Based on McClelland's translation of Max Weber who said that the Protestant ethic succeeded in encouraging economic growth in the West. This Protestantism is manifested in the values and motivations that encourage western society to exploit opportunities, desire to work well and work not for the sake of social recognition. For those who have a *need for achievement*, *those who are tall will work harder and faster*.

The empowerment project that provides incentives to the Oo Village farmer group is apparently aimed at forming the motivation and character of group members so that they are willing to compete to work better and harder in caring for their crops. We can interpret this practice as part of a cultivating effort *needed for public achievement*. The process of creating social reality is desirable because a society that has a hard-working character and is full of independence are characteristics that describe the *achieving society* which are basically characteristics of the character and motivation of capitalist society (Mansour Fakhri 2009). Efforts to improve the community's economy with the lure of incentives in the Sulawesi Forest III program reduce community entities into what is called *economic man*. This reductive effort is said by Priyono (2022) to be the nature of neoliberalism.

Oo Sejahtera Community Sustainable Forest

The government implements the slogan Sustainable Forests for Prosperous Communities through a social forestry scheme which is implemented in several forest management schemes including Community Forests, Community Plantation Forests, Customary Forests and Village Forest schemes such as the one in Oo Village. Oo Village Forest is as wide as ± 409 (four hundred and nine) hectares are in production forest areas issued through the Decree of the Minister of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia Number: SK.4070/MENLHK-PSKL/PKPS/PSL.0/6/2023 managed by the Village Forest Management Institute (LPHD). Oo Village Forest has local resources that have the potential to improve the community's economy, such as rattan, bamboo, coffee, honey bees and waterfalls as a form of development of environmental services. However, of the several environmental potentials that exist in the HD area, the new LPHD includes the management of bamboo craft businesses, ecotourism and honey bees assisted by facilitation by NGOs in collaboration with the Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Center (BPSKL) through funding from the German Bank. Almost all social forestry business development assistance failed, even though they were producing. Starting from the bamboo craft business which was not sold to the development of waterfall tourism environmental services which was stopped due to distance and inadequate infrastructure. Based on two previous failures, LPHD decided to develop a trigona honey bee and coffee business which is managed directly by a group of village women who are members of the To Tina Social Forestry Business Group (KUPS). However, due to the lack of public knowledge about trigona bee cultivation, in the end, this honey business also failed. LPHD's only remaining business is selling coffee powder. However, this business was not in production at the time this research was conducted. So all efforts to utilize natural resources in the village forest area have not been able to become a source of additional income for group members and the Oo Village community. The slogan of sustainable forests, prosperous communities popularized by the state does not always work well in the field. We can see this phenomenon with the tick swimmers in Oo Village. How efforts to manage local village forest resources have not produced results.

Neoliberal Governance in Women's Empowerment

This neoliberal governance is what is referred to as community political empowerment (*politics of community*). Community politics has been translated by the World Bank into "community-driven development" (*community-driven development*) as a form of reducing the role of the state, namely by providing a way for the state to transfer its responsibility for providing access and infrastructure development to the responsibility of the community itself (Dean 2010; Savitri 2014). In relation to neoliberalism, Foucault (1997a, p. 77) (in Aryo 2012) argues that in neoliberalism there tends to be a practice of critical reflection on governance practices. One of Foucault's concepts that is important for analyzing neoliberalism is *governmentality* (Foucault, 1991a). This concept also includes the concept of government (*government*) and self-technology (*technologies of the self*), as well as providing a different perspective for political-critical analysis of neoliberalism and its impacts (Dean, 1999; Gordon, 1991; Lazzatato, 2005; Lemke, 2001; Rose, 1996a in Aryo 2012). Regulatory rationality "*governmental rationality*" or in the neologism it is called "*Governmentality* envision a neoliberalism project that can work effectively through the state, precisely through" *Governmentality* or governance is understood in a broad sense as techniques and procedures for directing human behavior (Rose, O'Malley, and Valverde 2006). And as a concept, it does not only refer to regulation carried out by the state, but also by parties who have the power to direct people's behavior to achieve the goals desired by the director (Foucault 1978; Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 1991 in Savitri 2014). The parties who have power other than the state above are what Li terms "community guardians". This position as guardian of society can be occupied by the state, international donors, and civil society organizations (Li 2012).

The role and position of community guardians as Li said above, so check the swimmers in the women's empowerment and environmental saving program in the project framework *Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+)* in Oo Village. The position as community guardian in the REDD+ program is played by KfW as a donor agency, the Ministry of Forestry as the authority holder, and non-governmental organizations that assist with the work of environmental empowerment and saving programs at the local level.

The rationality of women's empowerment and environmental saving programs is of course not born from a vacuum of meaning, but is instead produced into scientific discourses by community guardians. As practiced in Oo Village within the framework of the REDD+ project. The empowerment program carried out within the framework of the REDD+ project departs from the discourse that there is instability in land use by communities in the TNLL buffer area. This fact of land use instability could trigger economic vulnerability in the community. If this vulnerable situation is allowed to continue, it can lead people to the brink of poverty. Due to this fact, it is hoped that this environmental saving program will be implemented, one of which is to improve the livelihoods of the community and in particular women around Lore Lindu National Park.

Almost the same story about efforts to rationalize empowerment programs and save the environment comes from Burkina Faso, West Africa. This poverty alleviation and environmental saving project within the framework of the REDD+ project was produced as an important discourse for intervention because of the interconnectedness between the reality of poverty in rural areas and the threat of exploitation of natural resources. The intervention discourse started from the phenomenon that the poverty experienced by the people of Burkina Faso encouraged the people to expand their agricultural land into forest areas. Not only that, the poverty conditions they experience also give rise to exploitative attitudes by taking excessive forest products (Westholm and Arora-Jonsson 2015).

In an effort to reverse the fact of community economic stagnation in the TNLL buffer area, which is seen as a consequence of land use instability, land use intensification is being carried out, one of which is through an agroforestry scheme. To properly implement agroforestry within the framework of the REDD+ project, the women of Oo Village were organized into women's farmer groups. The Forest Farmers Group that was formed then, by community guardians, required that the land to be developed through REDD+ program funding must be land that was outside the forest area. From this information, KTH Trigona Oo Village, which has 24 members, is only able to collect an area of 18 hectares. Through the facilitator, the 18-ha land owned by this group was proposed for a technical planning document to be made. The technical planning process for the Trigona KTH land began with the group's independent selection of plant proposals. From this process, proposals are obtained woody plants such as taiti, nantu and gamal as hedge plants. And proposals for candlenuts, avocado and cocoa as the main crops in the garden. After mapping the proposed plant types from group members, the technical design preparation continues with mapping the location of land points, sketching the land and identifying the type of soil and the number of plants that have been previously planted on the proposed land. This entire process is carried out to identify land ownership status, measure the capacity of the land, and ensure that the land proposed by group members is outside the forest area.

The group technical design document that has been completed becomes the basis for the women's group in developing its plantation land. In its land development practices, the Trigona Forest Farmers Group is encouraged to independently manage from the beginning, starting from selecting plant types, seeding, planting, to maintenance (fertilization) which is carried out independently by the group with the assistance of a facilitator. Sulawesi Forest Program III project. In the process of mentoring forest farmer groups, various activities were carried out to support women's skills, such as: training in making fertilizer, grafting and making seedbeds.

We can see all the rules and processes that apply to the KTH group as practice “*Governmentality*”. Practice *governmentality* or regulation is a form of effort to direct the behavior of group members to match what the director wants.

Women's economic empowerment through neoliberal governance in Oo Village is clearly visible from efforts to encourage women's economic development and the environment to be carried out by the community independently. From choosing the type of plant, seeding, planting, to maintenance (fertilization) is carried out autonomously by the group with the assistance of the facilitator. The encouragement of independence for this group is an effort to attract women into the neoliberal cultural value system. This phenomenon is similar to that said Westholm and Arora-Jonsson (2015) state that the REDD+ program in Burkina Faso is an effort by community leaders to attract women into the global economy by imagining a causality between poverty, gender and improving environmental quality.

In the repertoire of normativeness, the empowerment of women's groups in Oo Village is part of UN-REDD's efforts to promote gender equality and human rights are seen as being able to support the implementation of sustainable development (UN-REDD 2011, 2017). The empowerment steps outlined in the Forest Program III Sulawesi project are seen as being able to improve the welfare of the community and women around Lore Lindu NP and the Lore Lindu biosphere reserve through directing behavior and providing incentives to community groups living in TNLL buffer villages.

4. CONCLUSION

Environmental saving and women's empowerment program in Oo Village, South Kulawi District, Sigi Regency, Central Sulawesi Province within the framework of the

REDD+ "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation" project is present in conditions of fragile social, cultural and economic systems of the community, so that it can easily be directed towards goals what community guardians such as the state, donor agencies and non-governmental organizations want. The Sulawesi Forest Program III project is not merely a program that supports saving the environment while empowering the community, especially village women. In a broader spectrum, the REDD+ program is an attempt by industrial countries such as Germany to cover up their country's activities that contribute to global climate change.

To facilitate the practices of regulating the behavior of women's groups in the program field, women are organized into groups, have game rules created, are encouraged to run their programs independently and are given incentives for those who excel. All of these practices are practices of neoliberal governance which, intentionally or not, have trapped women in a capitalistic social and value system.

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