CHAPTER TWELVE

Diversity in Living Gender

Two Cases from the Brazilian Amazon

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THIS CHAPTER CONTRASTS TWO SITES in the Legal Brazilian Amazon[1] to discuss how gender issues have been addressed in different types of community-based forest management. Given the spatial distribution of deforestation in the Amazon, an "arc of deforestation" that advances northward and westward (see map in Wood 2002, *5*), we selected an Extractive Settlement Project (PAE)[2] in the westernmost state of Acre as our forest-rich site and a conventional Settlement Project (PA)[3] in the easternmost state of Maranhão as a forest-poor site.[4]

In forest-rich sites of the Brazilian Amazon, increasing rates of deforestation, beginning in the 1970s as a result of extensive cattle ranching and national and foreign consumption of Amazonian wood, finally prompted the government in the 1990s to look for alternative policy instruments for improving forest management (Cunha dos Santos and Salgado, undated). Community-based forest management for the sustained production of commercial timber was one of the principal means identified to reduce deforestation (Amaral and Amaral Neto 2000). Since 1993, community-based timber management projects have been initiated in the Brazilian Amazon in national forests, extractive reserves, and agricultural colonization areas, involving a diverse array of organizations including federal and state government agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and community associations.

Access to and control over commercial timber, one of the economically most valuable resources in the country, historically has been restricted to those with political and economic power (Bunker 1985; Hecht and Cockburn 1990). Community-based timber projects represent an effort to reverse this situation by transferring some government forest management decision-making and administrative power to local people and by providing them with a means to improve their standard of living through the production of an economically valuable product (Amaral and Amaral Neto 2000). The failure to address gender issues in these projects,

however, has resulted in men having almost exclusive access to and control over the management and selling of the timber, because harvesting is considered a male activity. Women, as a result, have been systematically marginalized in these efforts, and gender-based inequities have been sustained, if not exacerbated.

By contrast, in forest-poor sites in the eastern Amazon, especially in the state of Maranhão, deforestation began much earlier, with the introduction of cattle, cotton, and sugar plantations beginning in the colonial seventeenth century (Droulers and Maury 1980). In continuously slashed areas, as a "subsidy of nature" (Anderson et al. 1991), forests of babaçu palms (*Attalea speciosa*) emerged as a second chance offered by nature: a highly homogeneous, but very stable, secondary growth. In the current local peasant economy, men direct agricultural activities in which men, women, and children cultivate mostly rice, beans, cassava, and corn. Women, named *quebradeiras de coco babaçu* (women who gather and break open fruits of the babaçu palm fruits), direct extractive activities carried out mostly by women and children (Porro 2002).

Kernels extracted from the fruits of these palms provide local forest dwellers with oil for domestic consumption and cash, as well as providing raw material for industries of edible oils and margarines, soaps, and cosmetics. This nontimber resource, exported since the 1910s, was an eagerly sought product in the international market, especially from the 1950s to the 1970s (May 1990; Almeida 1995). Maranhão was also the first state to host the so-called expansion frontier (Velho 1972) and related development policies provoking agrarian conflicts, deforestation, and political clashes between indigenous and peasant and capitalist economies (Schmink and Wood 1992). As a result, the babaçu economy began to decline in the 1980s, and in the 1990s it was further penalized by the entrance of competitive oils in the Brazilian market because of the so-called economic liberalization (Almeida 2001). In this context, deforestation of babaçu palms increased.

In contrast to an increasing interest in promoting low-impact timber harvesting in western areas of the Amazon, the national and international awareness that came with denouncing the destruction of palm forests did not result in a search for alternative policies to protect this nontimber resource. Rather, current investments in the development of the state of Maranhão, now focused on the goal of alleviating poverty, continued to minimize the importance of babaçu forests as an environmental issue. The investments in environmental conservation are mostly directed toward ecotourism and parks. Community-based initiatives targeting conservation of the remaining forests and babaçu palm forests are not the object of any major policy or substantial governmental and nongovernmental investments.[5]

In keeping with local conceptualizations of gender defining the division of labor, women are the major protagonists of both this extractive activity and the political mobilizations for the protection of the babaçu forests. In this context, community-based forest management initiatives have been directed, or have had great participation, by women. In spite of some success, however, the extractive activities involving these nontimber resources continue to be regarded as a female domain and relegated to a "second sex" type of sustainable development. Gender fairness is still far from reach.

Despite the many significant differences between the forest-poor and forest-rich sites, we observe in both sites equally that initiatives in non-timber forest resource management have failed to truly improve men and women's lives, because of a lack of substantial funding and policy support. Although initiatives in timber management have had greater support, most have been slow to improve gender equality, because they have not included women in decision-making and activities (cf. Chapters 13 and 14).

These contrasting aspects of our sites demonstrate that both the relative absence of gender considerations and the proliferation of them in project discourses have not resulted in equitable benefits in gender relations within community-based forest management in the Amazon. We suggest that a more critical conceptualization of gender, based on local situations and definitions, is necessary for the sustainability of community-based forest management initiatives (see also Chapter 8). We demonstrate our evidence for this perspective by using materials from two cases: Porto Dias in the western Amazon (Acre) and Ludovico in the eastern Amazon (Maranhão).

Porto Dias

The Porto Dias extractive settlement project (PAE) is located in the southwestern corner of Acre in the municipality of Acrelândia. It encompasses an area of 22,145 ha of forest throughout which are dispersed approximately 90 registered families. The majority of the residents are descendants of migrants from the northeast of Brazil who came in the 1940s as peon workers to tap rubber and, later, also to collect Brazil nuts. They share a long history of exploitative patron-client relationships, political marginalization, and poverty. Also living in the area are more recent immigrants, agriculturally oriented colonists who originally came to the region during the extensive colonization resettlement projects of the 1970s and 1980s.

Previously an abandoned rubber estate, PAE Porto Dias was created in 1989 after much pressure from local residents. Instead of transforming the area into a conventional colonization project, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), influenced by the ideas promoted by the National Council of Rubber Tappers, took into consideration the area's history of extractivism in designating it a PAE. As a PAE—federally owned land designated for sustainable extraction of forest products and conservation of renewable natural resources by resident populations—Porto Dias was designed to integrate the conservation of forests with improved livelihoods. To meet this objective, the Inter-American Development Bank provided considerable funding from 1991 to 1996 to develop infrastructure (roads, health posts, school buildings) and to assist in the implementation of a multiple-use forest management project.[6]

With additional funding from the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) and the Pilot Program to Conserve the Brazilian Rain Forests,[7] a local nongovernmental organization—the Amazonian Workers' Center (CTA)—began working in Porto Dias in 1995 to plan and implement the multiple-use forest management project. Although originally intended to include the management of

nontimber forest products, this project has focused almost exclusively on timber.[8] Originally, ten families were selected to carry out the timber project. In 1996, plots of 10 ha of forest per family were inventoried, but timber was not extracted until 2000 because of infrastructural, bureaucratic, and technical difficulties.[9] As of 2004, ten families are involved in the project (six of the initial families and four new families).

Men are the primary participants in the project. When the timber project was first planned and implemented, gender was not explicitly taken into consideration. Both CTA and locally established cultural norms took it as a given that the management of this highly valued product is a male-only activity. There is one exception, a woman with usufruct title to the land and the only woman who is a member of the directorate of the local rubber tappers' association. With the exception of this woman, the majority of the individuals who actively participate in decision-making processes and carry out project activities are male heads of household. While other women are not forbidden from becoming involved in the overall project, they remain virtually absent. Women seem not to disagree with men's carrying out these activities, but women do express concerns regarding the impact of these activities on themselves and their families (cf. Chapters 13 and 14) (Stone 2003).

The relative absence of women's participation in the project reflects both the novelty of addressing gender in timber management initiatives and local, culturally grounded definitions of gender roles and relations. Although there is no formal prohibition to women's participation, women are not expected to participate in the monthly association meetings and the project participants' meetings where all decisions regarding the timber project are made. When asked why women did not participate, many women said either that they were not interested in getting involved in the heated debates typical of these meetings or that their husbands told them that it was sufficient to have one household member (the husband) in the association and too costly to add another.[10] In addition, to have access to the association's resources and to credits, the titleholders to the usufruct rights—almost all male—are required to become members of the association, which further keeps women from joining.

Women are similarly not involved in carrying out the timber management activities, which range from assisting in inventories of forest plots to accompanying the processing of wood in the sawmills in the cities. In general, these activities are concentrated either in Porto Dias, primarily within the forest plots where timber is extracted, or outside Porto Dias, in the city. In Porto Dias, gendered power relations are clearly expressed in men and women's differentiated access to and control over physical spaces and resources (Stone 2003).[11] Both the forest and the city are, by traditional local norms, relatively unfrequented by women.

The forest is implicitly defined as men's space and place. Traditionally, men have carried out the majority of activities in the forest, predominantly rubber tapping, Brazil nut collection, and hunting.[12] Men have also been the ones to take care of any business or necessities in the cities. By contrast, women have been more involved in productive and reproductive activities (cooking, raising the children, agricultural work) concentrated in or near the homestead. Several women expressed fear of being in the forest, often making allusions to the dangers of mythical crea-

tures. In this context, these myths are cultural systems, which bring coherence to and mediate community values regarding gender relations.

At first glance, it seems that women consent in their own exclusion from both public decision-making forums and project activities. It remains unclear, however, whether women in Porto Dias feel excluded from the project or are satisfied with the status quo. On the one hand, when asked if they would want to be more involved in the project, many women said no, citing that timber is a dangerous activity and a man's activity. On the other hand, several women also expressed a desire to participate in the management training courses and were curious about the activities taking place in the forest. However, few had ever gone to visit the forest plots. What is clear is that one consequence of women's nonparticipation is that men, who have almost exclusive access and control of the management of trees for timber, end up having exclusive control over both the product that they manage—timber—and the money they receive from it. At the same time, women are negatively affected by the project, primarily through the withdrawal of male labor from nontimber production activities, such as agriculture and rubber tapping.

Since the onset of the project, the majority of efforts to address gender issues have been limited to attempts to "bring in women" into activities thought to be acceptable to them, without tackling underlying gendered inequities. In 1997, as part of the project's original concept of management based on multiple uses, a workshop for crafting nontimber products was held, to which both men and women were invited. Men brought leaves, roots, fruits, and barks to the workshop to transform into medicinal products. Women were trained to work with handicrafts, such as exotic jewelry and curtains made of seeds. However, the project made no provision for a business plan or follow-up funding and relied largely on the marginal time and effort of the female agents CTA hired for the overall project. Thus, the initiative quickly faded away. Other similar efforts, including women's collection of seeds of native species and production of small wooden crafts, have also been short lived.

In an effort to train community members to carry out activities previously done by CTA and other professionals (for example, doing inventories of the forest plots), CTA has held many workshops, which have been open to both men and women alike. They have been met by apathy, and few women have shown an interest despite the CTA female project coordinator's particular interest in getting more women to participate. This raises the question, Why are women not participating when given an opportunity? We suggest that in community-based timber management, the institutions involved are encouraging women's participation without changing the foundations of the male-dominated model of forest management. In other words, if women are to participate, they will have to wear "men's hats," which may conflict with women's and men's own views on locally accepted norms of gender relations (cf. Chapter 8).

Women's apparent lack of interest may be a form of resistance to externally defined and threatening conceptualizations of appropriate gender roles. Or it may be a form of submission to local, gendered power relations, with which women may or may not agree. Another reason may be the possible impact on the gender division of labor. Men traditionally spend time in the forest tapping rubber, col-

lecting Brazil nuts, and hunting. The timber project, although it does interfere with some of these activities, does not prevent them from being carried out. For women, however, involvement in the project takes them away from the homestead and from production and reproductive activities for which they have traditionally been responsible. Leaving the house to get involved in the project means that food will not be cooked, children will not be taken care of, and agricultural activities will not be completed. For some women, these activities (and the spaces where they take place) may represent the only activities they have control over and the only bargaining chips that give them power to negotiate with husbands. Some women may not want to give these up to participate in the timber project; other women may not have the choice. The scarcity of older children and difficulties in hiring outside labor means that women have little time to do anything but continue carrying out their traditional activities.

The recent efforts to "bring in women" have been complicated by the different perspectives of gender held by CTA and the community. The most notable case was the initial disapproval, among some families, of CTA's effort to get one of the community forest managers' daughters involved in carrying out inventories in the forest. This disapproval, however, has given way to greater acceptance and, as of 2004, another young woman was being trained in a variety of forest management activities related to the project. This reflects the ways in which CTA's and the community's views of women's role in the timber project are in the process of simultaneously acting upon and altering each other. It is a dynamic process of negotiations (although, almost entirely implicit), which, we think, will eventually inform and redefine how women (as well as men) will be involved in the project in the near future. Current gender relations are slowly changing, a result not just of the project's impact but of larger changes occurring in Porto Dias, including the construction of a road and the education of young girls, as well as changing attitudes in the city regarding women.

Ludovico

Also a former private estate turned into a Settlement Project (PA) through an agrarian reform act in 1988, Ludovico presents very contrasting conditions. Located in the municipality of Lago do Junco, in the easternmost Amazon, its resource-poor environment is mostly composed of pastures, species-poor secondary growth, and *babaçu* palm forests. Although Ludovico, like Porto Dias, has about 90 families, only 32 families, those who were actively involved in the violent agrarian conflict that resulted in the agrarian reform, benefited from their efforts with a meager 536 ha of land. They became the few with legal access to land among a majority of landless. Throughout Brazil approximately half a million squatter and landless families are living on agriculture and extraction in babaçu palm forests covering approximately 20 million ha (Anderson et al. 1991).

By the first decades of the twentieth century, immigrants, who were suffering from land concentration and droughts in the northeast, began to search for lands that were more suitable and, more important, free of landlords. In the humid val-

leys and forests of Maranhão, they joined former slaves, who were freed in 1888, and formed peasant villages, practicing shifting cultivation and extractive activities. Beginning in the 1960s, land concentration due to agrarian policies favoring powerful sectors of the society eliminated many of these villages, for the expansion of cattle ranching, the major goal of the regional development plan. As one of the resisting villages, Ludovico finally managed to recover its rights to the land, but by that time pastures already surrounded it, and the remaining forests had to support a higher population density.

With progressively reduced fallow periods, labor became more intensive due to the increase of weeds, and the size of the agricultural plots decreased. Dependency on income from babaçu extraction increased, and *quebradeira* women were not only gathering babaçu from their own lands, but needed to search for fruits underneath the scattered palms throughout the cattle ranchers' pastures (Porro 2002). Therefore, the women's claims in defense of the babaçu palms now are not restricted to the reformed lands, but include palms on private properties.

In spite of their economic and ecological importance, the *quebradeiras*' activities have not been the object of adequate investments. Ludovico has received scattered resources from PROCERA, a national program for credit to agrarian reform areas, which excludes extractive activities. Without the appealing natural resources of a rainforest, Ludovico does not have any support for environmental conservation. In general, the scattered resources destined for this region are mostly related to "poverty alleviation" projects, which regard women as tools to tackle poverty, rather than addressing gender as a means of empowerment. A good illustration is the US$80 million World Bank rural poverty alleviation project for the entire State of Maranhão.

For areas such as Maranhão, which are perceived as marginal to the main Amazonian environmental concerns, poverty relief and not environmental conservation is definitely the core theme of sustainable development. In the World Bank's project, environmental aspects were treated in only two paragraphs out of 144 pages. "Because of their relatively small size, . . . subprojects would not have a significant effect on the environment" (World Bank 1997, *33*). Within this development initiative, women are treated as a separate topic. In the only paragraph addressing them, it is suggested that the project must "target groups and activities in which female participation has proven constructive" (1997, *34*).[13]

Women interviewed in Ludovico did not think there was a single group or activity in which female participation has not been constructive, and their practices can hardly be separated from overall production. Reading about this project and comparing it to materials released by gender programs and units at the World Bank, it seems that, "the Bank has indeed made some strides towards gender-sensitive social policies, but so far these appear more cosmetic than real. Bureaucratic inertia, an ideological commitment to economic rationality, and an internal masculine culture resistant to feminist reforms have resulted in marginalizing both social and gender concerns in development policies" (Kurian 2000, *131*).

Certainly, people of Ludovico are well aware of the impoverishment of their social and natural environments after more than four decades of policies favoring development through land concentration and cattle ranching. Even so, they keep

calling babaçu palms the "mother of the people" and their species-poor forests the "wealth of the poor" and the "security of the poor." Because in the gender division of labor women are in charge of extractive activities, they have been motivated to participate in political mobilizations for sustainable management of forest resources. This has led women to participate more in regional and municipal movements as well as in their own local associations. Today, membership in the Association of Ludovico is by family, and both men and women have their names under a single membership. Women of Ludovico are active members of the Women's Association (AMTR) and the Cooperative (COOPALJ) of their municipality, Lago do Junco.

In 1991, a Catholic agency funded COOPALJ to build a small processing plant to extract oil from babaçu kernels. This project could be seen as part of the anti-poverty approach[14] to incorporating women into development. Women from Ludovico, along with women in ten other villages, began to commercialize kernels and oil through the cooperative. In 1994, UNICEF provided funding to the AMTR to build a small processing plant for handcrafting soaps made of babaçu oil. Because of its central position among the villages of the municipality, Ludovico was chosen to host the processing plant. The women's objective was to integrate their economic and political struggles against the destruction of their forests and livelihoods by producing and selling soaps as a means of promoting their cause. This project can be seen as part of the efficiency approach.[15] With tremendous difficulties and efforts, the oil from COOPALJ and the soaps from AMTR have been sold in national and international markets.

Engagement in these economic challenges reinforced women's political activities. In 1997, by their massive presence in several public hearings at the city hall of Lago do Junco, in 1997, women managed to win approval for a municipal law protecting the babaçu palm and favoring free access to its fruits, even on private properties (Shiraishi 2001). They call this practice the Free Babaçu law, which has extended benefits to people who have not managed to gain access to land. In 2000, women managed to elect a *quebradeira de coco* from Ludovico as their representative in city hall. The situation of Ludovico is also influenced by the *Movimento das Quebradeiras.*[16]

Through the case study of Ludovico, we learn that women are struggling to transform the standard discourses on gender, which often view women as means to alleviate poverty. Women are nonetheless overcoming these dominant gender conceptions and redesigning antipoverty projects through their initiative and political mobilizations. Even when women manage to participate, according to Rocheleau (1990), too often they are visible only as mere "resources," as poorly remunerated (if at all) "fixers" of badly planned and implemented projects.

Although excited about the initiatives in which they are involved, Ludovico's women leaders volunteer their time to this work. Mentioning several examples, Kabeer (1994, *269*) criticizes the visibility brought about by women's participation in education, health, and overall welfare, which assumes "their natural willingness to undertake more work in the interests of family and community 'with more knowledge, but little more time or money.'" Citing Bruce and Dwyer (1988, *18*), Kabeer further notes: "Invisible women of the economic theorist become the all-powerful mothers of the health and welfare advocates" (1994, 269.) Unfortunately, these "all-powerful" women, who manage to carry out triple or quadruple roles in

domestic, production, community, and advocacy spheres, become exhausted. Taking on so many roles gives these women more visibility, but at the same time the labor they invest in these roles is often interpreted as being flexible, infinitely expandable, and in the end, disposable.

Therefore, in Ludovico, while women celebrate their great accomplishments, they also know that gender equality has not been achieved to their satisfaction. Women are still struggling with gender inequalities that emerged from their own locally constructed concepts of gender and from development policies that impact men and women differently. Their accomplishments have been overshadowed by the marginal attention given to the environment and the nontimber resource they are willing to manage.

Discussion

Gender issues, at least in discourses and project statements, have increasingly gained space in development initiatives. This is similar to what Foucault (1990) observed about sex in seventeenth-century Western societies. According to Foucault, until the eighteenth century the main approach to sex was repression, to control the alliances and transmission of wealth, through marriage and kinship. From then on, though, repression was not enough to control economic and political processes. In the nineteenth century, there was an exhaustive scrutiny of sex in all social spaces. In the twentieth century, along with a supposed tolerance toward sex, a proliferation of discourses emerged, and a compulsion to talk and think about it. The authorities enunciating these discourses deployed and controlled sexuality itself, suggesting powerful ways to take control over it (Foucault 1990, *106–115*).

The reverberating discourse now is that sex is nature's differentiation of males and females, and gender is society's construction to differentiate men and women. After fieldwork in Acre and Maranhão, we learned that this discursive notion of making gender a social construction is a very important first step, but definitely not the final answer to the contradictory practices of inequality between men and women. Without further qualification and fine-tuning, without a diligent and passionate hunt for what exactly gender differences mean in each interconnected and specific situation, these discourses are not only of little help, but may also cover up development policies and practices that further gender inequalities. Gender is indeed a social construction.

While it is satisfying to know that gender issues are no longer ignored, standardized discourses on gender, based on concepts spelled out by international agencies of development, are attempting to control the diversity of ways gender differences are practiced. The repetitive discourses that link gender and predefined forms of development, propagated in manuals, booklets, conferences, and workshops, may end up controlling how gender relations must be lived. In our fieldwork, we learned that local conceptualizations of gender are strongly connected with the way local forest dwellers conceptualize their environment. In the case of the rubber tappers, spaces and activities in the forest are distinguished as male and female domains, and these are part of the very definition of being a woman or a man. In the case of the

quebradeiras, despite the fact that major international agencies and the government ignore babaçu, a nontimber resource of low market value, the women keep defining their social identity as *quebradeiras de babaçu* and identify babaçu as a "mother" and the "wealth of the poor."

In addition, powerful extraneous discourses and practices driven by market development have permeated local ones, daunting local gender relations and development efforts. Through the direct translation and extrapolation of the terminology of European forestry, which focuses on engineering the use of forests for selected marketable timber, development practitioners have reduced the status of a multitude of species and complex relations, labeling them as nontimber forest products (Niekisch 1992).[17] In this way, entire forests of babaçu palms and numerous undervalued species in rainforests have been dislocated to the margins of the attention of "green" investors and donors. Thus, women, who mostly participate in "nontimber" extraction, are turned into "nonparticipants," as they are "nonmen," being defined by what they were not. Even in the community-based forest management projects, flora and fauna are designated as "timber and nontimber," the diverse social groups in the projects are reduced to "managers or nonmanagers," "participants or nonparticipants," "organized or disorganized," establishing a common language and a single history homogenizing tropical forests and peoples around the globe.

During our fieldwork, we realized that this same common language and homogenization process was often molding our views and thoughts, permeating our interactions with the community-based forest management initiatives we were researching. We realized that our views and knowledge, as well as those of the project agents we met in the field, were greatly affected by the major international development agencies, such as the World Bank and the UN. These institutions spell out their gender discourses within an overall development discourse through conferences, policies, programs, and decades of projects, affecting governments and NGOs, and consequently, community-based forest management. According to Escobar (1995, *9*),"this apparatus came into existence roughly in the period of 1945 to 1955 and has not since ceased to produce new arrangements of knowledge and power, new practices, theories, strategies, and so on. In sum, it has successfully deployed a regime of government over the Third World, a space for subject peoples that ensures certain control over it."

Throughout the decades of development, this focus on women, initially advocated by international institutions through their programs on Women in Development (WID), gradually transferred to Gender and Development (GAD).[18] In initial stages, WID addressed women as homogeneous and isolated targets, seeking to integrate them more efficiently in the development process. Taking development as a given and women as homogeneous, the WID approach intended to understand the specificity of women's roles, especially their responsibilities in production and reproduction. WID aimed to increase productivity by improving their access to and control of resources and benefits. The main idea was to make the process of development more efficient.

After about a decade, GAD emerged, approaching women in their socially constructed relations with men and taking into consideration other social relations (such as ethnicity, class, age, and race). This perspective potentially results in a more

conflicted approach, in that it addresses inequality and challenges power relations between men and women not only within the household, but also in the development process itself. GAD, since its conceptualization, has aimed to introduce social change (Moser 1993). Currently, the groups that are still labeled as WID use mostly the same conceptual frameworks and practices as GAD, leading us to think of two approaches more as phases than contrasts. Through these approaches, we had several focuses: welfare, equity, antipoverty, efficiency, and lately empowerment (Buvinic 1983; Moser 1993).

We understand that many relevant concepts arose from the contexts of UN and World Bank efforts to implement gender issues and that they inform aspects of our own research. However, in community-based forest management, we must investigate why these gender discourses do not always "fit" in local conceptualizations of gender and how the automatic reproduction and imposition of these discourses have not provided adequate space for negotiations in gender relations. We must be suspicious of definitions of gender, neatly confined in one of the many text boxes of manuals, determined a priori in desk studies in the international agencies of development. In this sense, women who do not perceive themselves as "underdeveloped" or in need of being "developed" have to find their own ways to conceptualize gender and their own forms of development. We believe that both WID and GAD are overall approaches to resolve the UN's and the World Bank's projects, and not necessarily people's projects.

Conclusion

As the case studies of Porto Dias and Ludovico illustrate, the inadequate attention to gender and the application of simplistic, standardized conceptions of gender in forest management projects *both* fail to offer constructive lessons to deal with gender inequities and to empower men and women alike. We argue that changes in the way gender issues are tackled on-the-ground (in projects) and in theoretical discourse (in policy shifts) are necessary if forest management projects are to address gender effectively.

The application of homogeneous gender frameworks, now a standard requirement in international and national development policy, is as problematic as not paying attention to gender. "Bringing in women," as WID did in its earlier approaches, or "engendering" development, as GAD now does, is not sufficient. Imposing homogeneous (primarily Western) understandings of gender risks exacerbating existing gender inequities in the communities or creating new ones. Gender relations are far from constituting a static or uncontested set of relationships. Men and women's "appropriate" roles in communities are more often than not heterogeneous, dynamic, and under constant negotiation, as they are interconnected with broader economic-political contexts. Such complexity implies that approaches to incorporating gender in forest management projects using a standardized, homogeneous concept of gender may be too simplistic, if not harmful.

Therefore, practitioners dealing with community-based forest management (foresters, agronomists, anthropologists, etc., including community leaders) need to

change the way they have traditionally incorporated gender into projects. For example, development practitioners and social movements alike have paid little attention to gender relations at family and village levels, and the linkages between them. These social relations may be viewed as forms of resistance, reinforcing the community against external domination, and are foundations for genuine political and social advancements. Rather than focusing on how to transform local gender relations so that they *fit into* preestablished development frameworks, development practitioners should build on locally defined gender relations that reflect the realities and complexities of women and men in those communities without (and this is the challenge) reproducing local gender inequities.

We are not arguing for discarding prevailing gender frameworks in development, such as GAD. Rather, we suggest using the accumulated knowledge gained from both gender frameworks and local conceptions of gender as platforms to construct new and context-specific gender frameworks for forest management projects. In other words, what is needed are reflexive, adaptive, and reiterative gender frameworks that are constructed jointly by development practitioners, community leaders, and community members. The role of development practitioners (such as ACM facilitators) must be to *facilitate* discussions and negotiations, not just among themselves and community constituents but also between men and women in the specific community. This will require identifying mechanisms and tools (e.g., workshops, meetings) to achieve two objectives: first, to strengthen and build on both women's and men's knowledge, skills, and resources to enable them to effectively define their own participation in the projects; second, to reverse control from external authorities (including development practitioners) to community organizations and individuals to define and implement men's and women's participation (cf. Chapter 11). The goal is to facilitate and promote self-mobilization among men and women alike to define the conditions under which they want to participate (or not) in forest management projects, without permitting either men or women to impinge on the rights and freedom of the other.

Endnotes

1. The Legal Brazilian Amazon covers 5 million ha that include the states of Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins and the state of Maranhão to the longitude 44°W.

2 . These projects,

Projetos de Assentamento Extrativista (PAEs), are similar to extractive reserves, which are supervised by IBAMA (Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis, the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Natural Resources). Both PAEs and extractive reserves are federally owned, forested lands where resident populations have secure usufruct rights. However, PAEs fall under the supervision of INCRA (Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agraria, theNational Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform) and, while legally they are not designated as conservation units, they adhere to many of the same natural resource management regulations that apply to extractive reserves.

3. Although the majority of the areas that benefited from the agrarian reform in the state of Maranhão have been occupied for three generations or even since colonial times, they have been

named as settlement projects (Projetos de Assentamento).

These projects are created and administered by INCRA until their emancipation. In terms of environmental conservation, they fall under supervision of IBAMA, and as any other area, 50% of their area should be destined for legal reserves. However, as the areas were already degraded before the Agrarian Reform Act, supervision is practically nonexistent and only activated when an interested party denounces the destruction of babaçu palms.

4. In this chapter, we are using forest-poor and forest-rich categories as proposed by Ravi Prabhu, "forest rich refers to a landscape resembling a 'sea of forest with islands of people' and forest poor refers to 'a sea of people with islands of forest' (Colfer and Byron 2001,28-29). In 2000, the state of Acre had a population density of 3.6 inhabitants per square kilometer; 92.6% of its area is covered by rainforest (20.3% is dense tropical forest while the rest is a mix of open forest with bamboo and palm) (Government of Acre 2000). The state of Maranhão had 17 inhabitants per square kilometer, with more than 40% of its population in rural areas, which were covered by increasingly fragmented tropical forests in the northwest, babaçu palm forests in central areas, and shrub lands (cerrados, savannah type of vegetation) in the south.

5. Although the Movimento das Quebradeiras has existed since the end of the 1980s, it was only in 1999 that the first substantial project, Sustainable Economic Alternatives for Poverty Eradication in the Babaçu Region, began to be elaborated with DFID support. However, so many conditions and adaptations were demanded by DFID and the Brazilian Agency of Cooperation that, in 2002, the project presentation was finally cancelled by DFID, without any official explanation to the Movement (correspondence and verbal communication from the Movimento Interestadual das Quebradeiras de Côco Babaçu) .

6. This funding was distributed among all the PAEs in Acre.

7. The Pilot Program to Conserve the Brazilian Rain Forest, otherwise known as the PPG-7, was initiated in 1992 with funding from the Group of Seven (G7), the European Union, and Holland (MMA and SCA 1996). The Porto Dias multiple-use forest management project is one of PPG-7's Demonstrative Projects (PD/A).

8. See original project proposal (CTA 1995).

9. The proposed volume of extraction originally was 1000 m3/year (nine families, collectively). In 2003, the scale of production was reduced to 150 m3/year.

10. Each member pays a monthly payment of 2 Brazilian reais (less than US$1.00 in June 2002) to the association.

11. See Rocheleau et al. (1995) and Rocheleau and Edmunds (1997) for a rich discussion on men's and women's differential access to and control over different niches in landscapes and natural resources.

12. The extent to which women carry out activities in the forest varies greatly depending on the extractive social group. In some other reserves, women spend a significant amount of time collecting Brazil nuts, collecting medicinal plants, tapping rubber, and in some cases even hunting.

13 . This project has problems stemming from its approaches to poverty alleviation and equity. These approaches, which viewed women as "useful tools to fix poverty" and equity as a matter of simply "add women and stir," were already discussed and addressed by the current WID approach. Nonetheless, there is still confusion regarding WID and GAD approaches within the World Bank, as some of its agents ask why they are now calling it "gender," if they keep working only on women (Moser et al. 1999). This project is an example of how not all sectors within the World Bank are updated or adopting the lessons learned throughout the process of incorporating gender issues in development.

14. The antipoverty approach was the second approach to the issues of women in development, adopted after the 1970s, which aimed at increasing the productivity of poor women, on the premise that poverty, not subordination, was the key issue in tackling underdevelopment. Through income-generating projects, it seeks to resolve women's practical needs.

15. The efficiency approach argues that development will be more efficient and effective with women's contributions. Although it addresses some strategic needs, the approach strongly relies on women's triple roles and deems women's time to be elastic.

16. This movement involves women working with babaçu in the states of Maranhão, Pará, Piauí, and Tocantins. Its goals are "to interconnect quebradeiras as women, agroextractive workers, and citizens, in their struggles for "Free Babaçu" and for the agrarian reform; to share, systematize, and document the experiences in their diverse forms of organization; to search for alternatives in agroextractive activities, in economic, social, political and environmental terms; to create adequate space and momentum for their political vindications" (Movimento Interestadual das Quebradeiras de Côco Babaçu 1993).

17. Niekisch (1992) talks about how Europeans' views of nature have been imposed on the management of tropical forest ecosystems that originated from diverse peoples and historical relations with the environment.

18. Though both WID and GAD originated in the context of United Nations (UN) conferences and were adopted by the World Bank, GAD emerged in 1995, informed and departing from the experiences of WID, which originated in 1975.