University Library

A gateway to Melbourne's research publications

Minerva Access is the Institutional Repository of The University of Melbourne

Author/s:
Alexeyeff, K

Title:
Cinderella of the south seas? Virtuous victims, empowerment and other fables of development feminism

Date:
2020-05-01

Citation:
Alexeyeff, K. (2020). Cinderella of the south seas? Virtuous victims, empowerment and other fables of development feminism. Women's Studies International Forum, 80, pp.1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102368.

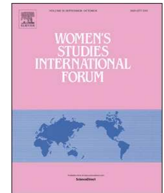
Persistent Link:
https://hdl.handle.net/11343/339488

Women's Studies International Forum 80 (2020) 102368

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Women's Studies International Forum

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/wsif



Cinderella of the south seas? Virtuous victims, empowerment and other fables of development feminism

Kalissa Alexeyeff

School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne, VIC 3010, Australia

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Development feminism
Neoliberalism
Gender and development
Women
Pacific
Intersectionality

ABSTRACT

The developmental logic underpinning 'Cinderella projects,' in which women of the Global South are targeted for interventions intended to tap and expand their unrecognized economic and entrepreneurial potential. This version of 'development feminism,' constructs its female objects as both impoverished victim-subjects and as nascent market-oriented actors. Moreover, development feminist discourse, grounded as it is in seemingly universal ideas of women's oppression, equality and economic participation, generates paradoxical effects in different social contexts. Drawing on ethnographic examples from Polynesia, the paper illustrates how a homogeneous concept of 'woman' makes little sense because local gender categories are complexly intersected by age, socio-economic status as well as by hereditary rank. As a result, development feminisms' gender interventions transform local individual subjectivities in novel and often unexpected ways, producing new forms of inequality while obscuring others.

Introduction

On the island of Savai'i, Samoa 2016, laughter and color filled a small village hall. A two-day workshop to train village women in the basics of handicraft production was underway. Organized by a government-funded small business development enterprise, the workshop included sessions such as marketing, account-keeping and loan repayments. At a technical session on block and screen-printing fabrics, a local man who ran a business in the main town, explained his role at the workshop was to make these women 'stand on their own two-feet,' to 'transit' them from the informal to the formal economy. He provided a demonstration about how to make designs appeal to tourists. 'Unlike us,' he said, 'tourists like soft fabric, and natural colors, like blue and green. Not our bush colors – red and orange together. Or purple and black.' Many rural 'bush' women laughed and continued undeterred, painting large swathes of material in bold contrasting colors. As other women diligently applied his principles, one woman gave me her take on the workshop: 'We are incomplete. If we can make things to sell, we will be recognized for our positive contribution.'

There is little doubt this comment was uttered to confirm what she understood her audience, a white woman (an anthropologist who may have been apprehended as a tourist or development worker), wanted to hear. The words were also an astute summation of the value placed on market participation across a range of neoliberal development programs in the Global South; incomplete-ness indexes lack of engagement with the market. 'Cinderella projects,' as they have been referred to in parts of the Pacific from the 2000s, recognize women's economic potential. This evocative phrase is used to describe the invisibility of women's labor, instantly conjuring up images of gendered poverty and exploitation. It also signals a transformational narrative, where recognition of these women's untapped entrepreneurial potential allows their 'empowerment.' Current neoliberal 'fairy-tale economics' (Noyes, 2015) are widely employed in these institutions whereby poverty alleviation is understood to occur via the formal market economy. Economic and social investment in 'gender' is configured largely as integrating women into small-scale waged enterprise that promotes economic growth. Investing in gender is 'smart economics' according to World Bank policy (2012; Elson, 2012; Wilson, 2015).

In this article I track these new reconfigurations of gender, focusing on what I term 'development feminism;' the mainstream integration of feminist principles into development institutions worldwide. In her analysis of 'governance feminism,' Janet Halley (2018) shows how over the last three decades, feminism has become an influential global mechanism. She asks what happens to feminism as it enters mainstream institutions of state and state-like apparatus world-wide and investigates how feminists govern to assess the outcomes of

E-mail address: k.alexeyeff@unimelb.edu.au.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102368
Received 18 December 2019; Accepted 15 April 2020
Available online 16 May 2020
0277-5395/ Crown Copyright © 2020 Published by Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

institutionalization.[1] Halley acknowledges the various successes of gender mainstreaming and simultaneously offers a sustained critique of the selective uptake of feminist principles that pay little heed to alternative configurations of gender and activism. Here, I draw on Halley's analysis to document the emergence and promulgation of ‘gender’ as a distinct social category in development feminism via international institutions and foreign policy, drawing on feminist ethnographic research conducted in the Polynesian countries of the Cook Islands and Sāmoa over the last twenty-five years. I have selected events and interviews that depict transformations in understandings of women's equality, and where ‘gender,’ as an instrumental concept, confronts locally-informed social modes in which being a man or women is inseparable from other forms of social distinction or entitlement including rank, kinship, and class. In the examples provided, gender is understood in diverse ways, from being something foreign and largely irrelevant to local Pacific women, to its adoption as a lucrative and meaningful identity. What I aim to make clear is that although development feminism emanates principally from centers of power and moves along hegemonic channels, it nevertheless contains models and practices that are harnessed by a range of actors with diverging agendas who incorporate and articulate their lives and identities in relation to global feminist practices.

In this exploration of the subject-positions and narratives development feminism may open-up or foreclose, I hope to accomplish more than making a claim that gender identity and relations have been inadequately described or theorized in the Pacific or indeed, other non-Western countries. Rather, my intention is to demonstrate how development feminism generates predetermined notions of gender and women's status. One of the most incisive critiques of governance feminism is that it requires victimization as a prerequisite for intelligibility (Brown, 2000; Halley, 2018). This creates an almost impossible paradox that requires women to claim gender subordination in order to enact liberation via campaigns to address this inequality. These universalizing, identity-based projects ‘leave behind questions about the costs of these formations.’ (Halley, 2018, xi). What the rise of gender in Pacific development feminism reveals is the deeply racialized nature of this form of governance. It obliterates the cultural and historical specificity of gender, equality and liberation. This has the further effect of making illegible alternative sources of power or solidarity as well as disregarding social categories that may contribute more directly to, or intersect with, gender subordination. Without an understanding of the complex forces operating in people's lives, we are left with one-dimensional caricatures of suffering subjects that fall flat in providing solutions to inequality and injustice.

The rise of development feminism

Governance feminism, as Janet Halley (2018) defines it, has produced many remarkable emancipatory achievements. Successful changes to laws and institutional practice have seen wide-ranging transformations in standards of sex and gender discrimination, women's employment and participation in the public sphere, as well as sexual and reproductive rights. At the same time, as Halley asserts, there is a need for analyses of governance feminism as it travels across organizational scales and geographical locations in order to both recognize the achievements of gender mainstreaming and governance as well as to evaluate its less liberatory effects. What I term development feminism, is one form of governance feminism that has seen feminism incorporated into institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, state bureaucracies, and non-governmental organizations. This is most clear in the ascendancy of ‘gender’ as a quantitative tool to measure development outcomes. Development feminism operates with a vision of women's subordination as universal and at the same time, unevenly distributed across the globe. While women of the Global North are considered to have formally achieved gender-equality, women of the Global South are viewed as still encumbered by cultural ideas that act as barriers to women's liberation. There have been many important ongoing critiques of this development subject, a woman that is deficit and incomplete, or a victim who lacks opportunities and requires assistance.[2] These ‘feminist fables’ (Cornwall, Harrison, & Whitehead, 2008) continue to retain their interpretative power in part because their uncomplicated and ‘common-sense’ appeal mobilizes action and intervention (Abu-Lughod, 2013).

Development policy and practice in the Global South has been the subject of feminist scrutiny from international and local advocates since the 1970s. The invisibility of women's contribution to family, community and national economies was evident in early development policy that focused on women's reproductive role; especially in order to control fertility, and to address infant and maternal morbidity. Feminists championed women's work in agriculture and farming as well as drawing attention to gendered inequality in the division of labor, access to resources, and decision-making power. As a variant of liberal and ‘femocrat’ counterparts operating in both the global North and South, development feminism advocated for legal and political instruments that formally enshrined gender equality, most obviously the Declaration of Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). International interventions included the first United Nations (UN) Women's conference (1975) and the UN Decade of Women (1976–1985) and the creation of empowerment and development indexes that measure gender equality (Grewal, 2005). Programs to increase women's representation in politics, business, and education gained further legitimacy through ‘women's rights as human rights’ campaigns of the 1990s and increased funding and activism in civil society and non-governmental sectors.

Most recently women, and increasingly girls, have become the face of international development. This is exemplified in the World Bank's (2006) ‘Gender Equality as Smart Economics’ action plan and similar initiatives focused on women's economic empowerment. The plan begins with a quote from *The Economist* (2006): ‘Forget China, India and the internet: economic growth is driven by women’. Investing in ‘gender’ exemplifies a neoliberal economic framework, and despite its purported inclusivity, ‘gender’ principally refers to women. In this scenario, ‘gender’ is both a burden and a resource. Women are considered more likely than men to care about the environment, put their resources into family and children, and hence poverty reduction, income-generation, and sustainability: all rest on the realization of women's empowerment. This headlining of women's capacities means that development feminism has now become a highly generative field producing an extensive body of policy, programming, substantial funding, and media coverage. ‘Gender’ training, implementation and evaluation are now mainstream components of most development institutions. ‘Gender’ is a required ‘deliverable’ and essential to reporting processes for recipients of development feminist initiatives whose engagements with ‘gender’ may range from a technical fix, or ‘tick a box’ exercise, to genuinely transformative engagement with the concept.

In their promotion of women's rights and recognition, development feminist initiatives are unquestionably significant. At the same time development feminism has a compromised genealogy informed by colonial categories of measurement. Critics illuminate how concepts such

[1] While I adapt Halley's concept governance feminism here, my understanding of development feminism has also been shaped by the insightful work of scholars of global feminism and the mechanisms of global institutions most directly Grewal, 2005; Merry, 2006; Abu-Lughod, 2009.

[2] Mohanty, 1986; and see Spivak, 1988; Kapur, 2002; Grewal, 2005; Abu-Lughod, 2013 for similar arguments made in different societies and contexts. Feminist development practitioners also acknowledge the difficulties representing women in ways that nuance dominant images of victimhood and economic empowerment (see Cornwall et al., 2008; Ferguson, 2015).

as 'gender equality' are determined by the distance to and from an unacknowledged Western-inspired liberal feminist standard. For example, Chandra Mohanty's hugely influential critique of the representation of 'Third World Women' in 'Under Western Eyes' (1986) comprehensively revealed the racialized evolutionary scale of gender equality. In this schema, 'Third World women' are the consummate victims of both patriarchy and culture she argues and, thus, they require assistance from their more liberated Western sisters. Here, the diversity of women's experience across different societies and histories is channeled into a universal trajectory of emancipation. Through this flattening process, development feminism authorizes its projects of governance to improve and transform women's lives.

The narrative of victimhood has, despite wide-ranging criticism, remained a central development tale around which feminist narratives can be mobilized. Following the narrative arc of fairytales, the stoic and virtuous victim is rescued through heroic intervention in contemporary neoliberal 'gender' mainstreaming initiatives. As well as being exploited and servile, these female victims have unrecognized capabilities which enable them to become industrious entrepreneurs. Access to markets has transformative potential: 'to produce rapid and sustained increases in women's productivity and incomes' (World Bank, 2006, 5). This woman animates other actors in the development field to tell a development story as a project of empowerment, and transformation. Without her the narrative fails.

In this way 'gender' becomes a global development technique. The female victim-subject, as a relatively malleable imaginary, need not reflect material reality or local complexity. Removed from specific historical and social contexts, it becomes an institutional lens through which development problems can be identified and solutions proposed across a range of diverse locations. The female victim-subject also generates several effects and engagements. As a driving feminist fable it displaces other subject positions and narratives that may signify something other than victimhood. Despite the enthusiastic adoption of intersectional approaches in current development feminist rhetoric, 'gender' still tends to be understood as a universal phenomenon; women are united by particular interests arising from the shared experience of gender subordination.[3] Development feminist understandings of inequality that place gender at the core thus displaces other locally-configured identifications that may encompass gender.

Development feminism is a social field that moves from academic to applied settings and across geographic locales. Gender experts and 'knowledge professionals' (Riles, 2002) that comprise this field, are local and transnational actors (or a combination of both), who devise policy, provide technical training, deliver speeches and compose reports about this social field. Other actors in the field are also knowledge professionals, while not recognized as such, given their differently positioned role as the recipients of money, goods and technical expertise. Governed by bureaucratic rules, funding, and its own protocols this field reproduces itself despite the dispositions of individuals who may engage with it wholeheartedly, pragmatically or strategically. Both groups in this field are invested in the transmission of development feminism and its iconic victim-subject. This figure is defined primarily by lack, she is lacking in representation, lacking in rights, and lacking economic opportunities. Despite, and perhaps because of, these deficits, she makes the space of development feminism such a fertile zone of activity.

What are the costs of ideological compliance with this subject? What happens when women are required to engage with, if not necessarily adopt, ideas that they are victims, lacking, or 'incomplete'? To concretely understand how development feminism is transmitted from, for example, UN Women in New York to the regional office in Sāmoa and back again, what follows is an ethnographic account of how this victim-subject is negotiated in the Polynesian region.

Development feminism in the Pacific

Hilary Clinton arrived on the small island of Rarotonga, the capital of the Cook Islands, on the 31st August 2012, for the Pacific Islands Forum discussions. Greeted on the tarmac by Polynesian dancers in brightly colored 'hula' skirts and feather headdresses, Clinton was embraced by the Cook Islands Prime-Minister's wife who is dressed in local finery: a screen-print designer dress, black pearl jewelry, and a flower head-dress. She adorned Clinton with long neck wreaths made from pungent-smelling gardenia. The Pacific Islands Forum is an event which brings together heads of the island nations (including Australia and New Zealand) with representatives of international organizations and 'dialogue partners,' including the United States, China, Japan, and others. This event, which would normally only attract regional attention, was seen to have international significance. That Hilary Clinton visited a nation with a resident population of 15,000 was described in local news reports as the biggest event since Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1974. The hype and excitement generated made it a landmark event that served to legitimize development feminism (Fig. 1).

American press also described Clinton's visit as a 'show-stopper,' as well as bemoaning the time and effort it took to get to these 'tropical specks … of windswept palms, crashing surf', the size of Washington D.C. (Osnos, 2012). The touristic imagery and remoteness of this Polynesian nation only served to reinforce the significance of Clinton's visit as the first United States Secretary of State to attend this Forum. After joking conjecture about Clinton's desire to body-surf or to get a suntan, her real motive was revealed as a move to 'reposition' the U.S. in the region as a counter to growing Chinese investment and influence. The dominant Western imaginary of Polynesian paradise replete with 'dusky maidens', turquoise lagoons and natural abundance has a long history stretching from early exploration, nineteenth-century literature, and art such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Gauguin to twentieth-century Elvis movies and beyond (Alexeyeff & McDonnell, 2018). This paradisiacal representation obscures more violent events of the region including colonialism, the region's role as a 'theater of war' in World War II, nuclear testing and the impact of global warming. The nations that make up Polynesia occupy a vast stretch of the Pacific Ocean and share language, cultural beliefs, and historical and contemporary family ties. The 'Polynesian Triangle' is drawn from Hawai'i to Rapa Nui (Easter Islands) and Aotearoa New Zealand. It includes nations such as the Cook Islands, Sāmoa, American Sāmoa, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, Niue and French Polynesia.[4] For most of the smaller island nation-states, tourism is considered a key industry, as they have little landmass to develop viable export industries, the expansion of which is currently emphasized under global neoliberal economic policy. Emigration and remittances are also central to these countries' economies, with Los Angeles, Honolulu, Auckland, and Sydney becoming substantial Pacific hubs that connect the approximately two-million strong diaspora to the far smaller populations in the Polynesian home islands.

Marine resources, security, and gender emerged as the three key topics at the Forum and post-Forum dialogue. For many small Island nations, their vast exclusive economic zones of Pacific Ocean are a key

[3] Here I am referring to the simplistic use of 'intersectionality' in much NGO and international development work that tends to layer forms of discrimination (race, sexuality, gender, etc.) rather than explore the dynamics of both privilege and oppression. Intersectionality in these cases, becomes code for non-white women or women of color, and renders invisible, once again, white dominance of mainstream feminist knowledge (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Tomlinson, 2018)

[4] The other smaller islands that make up this group are Tuvalu, Tokelau, Norfolk, Pitcairn and Rotuma. Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia are colonial groupings that fail to capture inter-regional affiliations but are nonetheless categories that continue to influence contemporary global and regional geopolitics.

Fig. 1. United States Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton arriving in Rarotonga 2012. Jim Watson/Reuters.

resource and initiatives aimed at developing and protecting this asset was central to discussions of economic development. Regional stability and security, specifically directed at transparency and sustainable assistance from China, was the second dominant issue. Gender took center-stage as an important mechanism through which efficient economic development and good governance could occur. Both the United States and its regional partners emphasized women's equality as a benchmark for sustainable and responsible economic development. In a coordinated effort with Julia Gillard (Australia's Prime Minister) and Michelle Bachelet (head of UN Women), Clinton announced the 'Rarotongan Partnership for the Advancement of Pacific Island Women' (2012) which brought with it large amounts of assistance for gender programs. A year earlier, the United States had reopened its USAID office in Port Moresby, signaling a renewed interest in the Pacific, and stressed that women's empowerment was one of its key areas of concern.

Clinton's speech at the launch of the Partnership presented Pacific women in standardized development feminist terms: as global victims ('progress for gender equality in the Pacific has not kept pace with the rest of the world'). She provided market-oriented solutions as models of gender empowerment ('women constitute a great reservoir of untapped talent and ability'). She quoted statistics from the World Bank that demonstrated Pacific women's lack of leadership roles, high gender-based violence rates, and poor maternal health statistics: 'The Pacific has the world's lowest rate of women participating in legislative bodies or holding executive roles in the world–less than 2 percent. There are only seven countries in the world that have no women in their parliament, but four of them are located here in the Pacific' (Clinton, 2012). These universal figures of empowerment or lack thereof, while certainly useful in terms of precipitating development interventions, are also virtually meaningless without an understanding of gendered configurations of power in local context.[5]

Like development feminism globally, women's empowerment is also figured as a solution to economic under-development for societies at large: 'Now these facts illustrate a problem that doesn't just hurt women and girls; it hurts everybody. It holds back entire societies. Because when women are unequal participants, economic growth is undermined. Development is stymied' (Clinton, 2012). This image of an under-utilized and potentially productive labor force characterizes narratives of both women's and national development.

At a women and local governance launch event on Rarotonga a few weeks later, a regional NGO coordinator gave an address that quoted Clinton's speech, mentioned the new Rarotongan Partnership, and similarly connected women's advancement to markets, political representation and violence against women. Despite the attendance of a newly elected female Member of Parliament and female speaker of the House of Parliament, the speaker followed her pre-written script verbatim stating: 'Pacific Islands woman have slipped behind Arab states to become the region with the world's lowest proportion of women in politics'. To halt this backward slide, Pacific women need to be empowered she suggested. The solution was to improve women's involvement in politics; 'the representation of women in legislative positions is the key to economic empowerment, ending violence against women, and ensuring a better life for women and girls.' After a respectful but subdued applause, the speaker was thanked by the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff, a male, who added the comment: 'I don't know about other places in the Pacific, but here our women are not unequal they are on top!'. As events that followed suggest, his joke and the gales of laughter it produced from the women present, was potentially an outlet for a kind of cognitive frisson the speaker's comments seemed to produce. While women may not be on top, which is part of the joke, they are by no means the suffering victim deployed in the speaker's rhetoric.

Some women at the event had things other than gender on their minds. As well as the two female political representatives, there were three chiefs in attendance (who happened to all be female) and it is a central part of local protocol that these women are properly acknowledged at any function they attend. The chiefs were presented with gifts by younger and lower ranked women at the event. Precious objects, including fine mats, elaborately embroidered quilts, and shell necklaces were presented to the women via song and dance. The seated chiefs were honored by being adorned and wrapped in these objects, a symbolic act of enfolding them with love and respect.

Chiefly titles are one form of status that men and women may inherit equally in the Cook Islands and other parts of Polynesia. Land which is inalienable is also inherited with ownership determined by family lineage and birth-order. This prestige and property are also likely to lead to economic wealth and employment. As a result, Cook Islands women, for example, hold 48% of senior management roles in the public sector, female labor force participation rate is 65% and the wage gap is 0.8, figures comparable to Australia and New Zealand (AusAID, 2017). While status and power in Polynesia are male-dominated, this 'gendering' only makes sense in relation to other markers of social position. Gender as a social identity distinct from social class, rank, and kinship as conceived under development feminism is a novel and contested phenomenon.

Were the displays of prestige and power at the function legible to those beyond the local audience? Or were they read as 'native' entertainment distinct from 'real' world political and legislative systems? Certainly, in mainstream development discourse, 'ceremonial practices' are considered to 'retard' economic growth and competition (see Alexeyeff, 2008).[6] From the perspective of development feminism, the

[5] The figure of four Pacific countries having no women in parliament is somewhat questionable and could be configured to give a more positive picture (for instance by including New Zealand and French Pacific territories). In any case, as Sally Engle Merry (2011) has shown, indicators (such as measures of violence against women or economic development) have become increasingly important to global governance frameworks that require 'evidence-based' funding for non-governmental organizations and which are in turn expected to produce results that are quantifiable and measurable. These statistical measures tend to 'replace political debate with technical expertise' (Merry, 2011, S83).

[6] Dominant economic models explain the 'ceremonial' economy as wasteful and at odds with development. Newspaper articles and development reports detail the waste in time and money and inherent irrationality of these practices. Alternative views exist about the value of gift or ceremonial economies, for example some Pacific academics argue that without the outpouring of money, food, and objects at large events such as funerals many local businesses, from supermarkets, caterers and marquee hirers would collapse. These claims have

new female member of parliament would be considered the most empowered; she had broken into a male-dominated sphere of influence. Her local supporters recognized her achievement and her ability, *as a woman*, but she was also a young woman of a village and her role on this occasion was to dance her respect to these senior far more highly-ranked and ultimately, more powerful women. In this scenario, kin-based categories shape gender as a relational subjectivity–such as young, old, high-ranked, low-ranked and so on. Female power and legitimacy are enacted through, not in spite of, locally-configured forms of distinction and affiliation.

The divergent aims enacted at this event did nothing to quell the buzz that it generated alongside the Pacific Islands Forum. 'Buzz' was the word frequently used in the local newspaper to describe this time and it referred to an unquantifiable sense of excitement, and anticipation around 'gender' and women's issues. Buzz, was the reason a local woman who I had known for over twenty years, decided she would accompany me to the above women and local governance event. I was initially surprised by her interest as she had never before displayed interest in politics, especially gender politics. Indeed, she had on numerous occasions expressed suspicion of the term 'gender', reflecting the dominantly held view that linked it to feminism and lesbianism, both, in her opinion, Western phenomena that had little relevance to local women. She explained her interest on the way to the event, 'gender is where it is all at. Look at the Forum and Hilary coming.' She counseled me to move away from dance and cultural expression, topics I had previously researched and that were also her area of expertise: 'Australia had put in lots of money for Pacific women. You should get us some of this money. Forget dance!' She was openly keen to know how and where these gender initiatives would end up and what possibilities they may hold for her.

However, returning home after the event, my companion reflected on the main speech in ways that expressed some dissatisfaction. 'I hate when people say I'm oppressed. I never feel intimidated here–as if!'. She scoffed: 'Women here have power. Here, women are at the front! In church, we are at the front and men are at back. We eat first, not the men.' She continued on to compare the high status of Cook Islands women in comparison with that of women in other parts of the Pacific and European countries she had visited as a performer and a tourism ambassador. While this woman experienced her power as a product of her culturally-defined notions of femininity, her status (from a high ranking and influential family line), and her personal talents (she was considered an expert in cultural matters), also provided her with entitlement and influence. It was these status-designations, not her gender, that permitted her to turn up to the women and local-governance event uninvited, for her presence to cause the host of the event some surprise and for lower-ranked women to make a fuss; finding her a seat and demonstrating other signs of respect.

Her assessment of the event most strikingly demonstrates the 'engaged ambivalence' Halley (2018, xii) has talked about in relation to the transmission and reception of governance feminism. On the one hand, feminist funds and initiatives offer new opportunities for training, work, for socializing and income-generation. On the other, this field requires interaction with the figure of the female victim-subject, who is both ostensibly universal but who is also located on a scale of racially-graded oppression. Participants in development feminism are required to negotiate these gender truths that appear in statistics, speeches and power-point presentations across the globe. Although participants may adopt a range of positions from wholehearted adoption to a stance of ironic distance, in order for 'gender' to become an effective development technique, it is required to be lifted out of specific local contexts and its pre-eminence asserted.

(*footnote continued*)
far less traction in local discussion and no place whatsoever in national budgets or international assessments of economic performance.

At least from the perspective of Rarotongan participants, The Pacific Islands Forum, especially Clinton's presence, gave development feminism legitimacy backed up by material incentives to place 'gender' at the heart of local development processes. While women's organizations have existed in a variety of forms, 'gender' is not a term that has been widely used, nor are there equivalent Polynesian terms. The adoption of gender by government can be pinpointed to this time when reports such as the *Cook Islands National Policy on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment 2011–2016 (2011)* and *Cook Islands Gender Profile* (SPC 2015) were published. Both reports present gender-disaggregated statistics for the first time. In both, the slippage between gender and women reflects a global trend of gender mainstreaming which has significant depoliticizing effects under the guise of inclusivity.

The Forum signaled unprecedented investments and a proliferation of programs aimed at women. The Australian government, for example, announced a US 320-million-dollar funding for the *Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development* (DFAT, 2012) program over a ten-year period to improve gender equality in the Pacific: a move that was an 'unprecedented historic commitment' said Clinton (2012). It focused on three key areas: leadership training and mentoring for women in public domains, business training for women to overcome barriers in access to markets and services for addressing violence against women. In the neoliberal-style formulations of development feminism, women are described as entrepreneurial dynamos. While historically development programs have represented women's roles as both invisible and the backbone that holds countries together, it was time, as Clinton put it, for Polynesian women to 'unleash their economic power.'

Working women in Polynesia

Development feminism's investment in forms of female subjectivity that are defined both by victimhood and market-oriented entrepreneurship has produced a diverse range of policy and programs across Polynesia. Emphasis on export expansion has seen renewed interest in integrating women's informal or customary 'craft' production into the tourist market. Particularly over the last ten years, both the Cook Islands and Sāmoa have targeted craft production through grants, workshops and start-up loans that are administered through government departments and their contractors. These products, which include mats, jewelry, screen-printed fabrics, and hats are aimed at tourist markets as well as local urban consumers. Translating this labor into paid work has become the key to understanding women's contribution to development and, as the Sāmoa training workshop example illustrates, it is seen to enable women to 'stand on their own two-feet' encouraging independence via economic empowerment.

I first heard the term 'Cinderella' projects at a women's organization on Rarotonga. The local director was discussing initiatives to get women on other islands of the group to produce handicraft, in this case, woven hats and baskets, that could be sold to tourists and local women on the main island. When I asked her about the origin of the term, she said she wasn't sure, but she heard it used at a workshop in Fiji. She also referred me to a newspaper article where she was quoted as saying:

> Investing in large infrastructure programs and economic financial recovery packages must always be balanced with investment also in the 'Cinderella' projects, such as women's handicrafts and its integration into the Cook Islands tourism marketing sector … These Cinderella projects cement the grace of our island culture and hospitality and the significance of our island living into the fabric of the Cook Islands national pride. We must undertake them hand in hand. (*Cook Islands Herald* 2011).

Across much of Polynesia the main development programs focus on agriculture and fisheries, traditionally male-dominated industries. For women in rural locations, craft production provides access to much-needed cash for basics such as food, petrol and for paying school fees. The hats, and fine mats, which are woven from palm and pandanus,

constitute 'women's wealth' (Hermkens & Lepani, 2017), are produced for major family events such as weddings, funerals, and bestowment of chiefly titles and stored away in anticipation of forthcoming occasions where they will be required. They are also vital to official occasions involving local and international dignitaries and are commissioned by women residing in urban and diasporic communities for large sums of money.

Women are visible – even hypervisible – in mainstream development programming and policy if their labor is linked to income-generation. Hence the designation of women producers as 'Cinderellas' the poor relatives whose labor is unrecognized and their full potential unrealized. While feminist scholars globally have thoroughly critiqued the equation that paid work necessarily leads to women's empowerment, income-generation continues to be the 'go-to' solution for the promotion of gender equality. Certainly, for some women, a cash-income may increase women's bargaining power, standing, and sense of worth, but it may also add to women's family and community welfare roles which are particularly significant in countries where government-funded social welfare measures are largely non-existent. This is not to say income-generating projects are disempowering, but rather that they are not straightforwardly or automatically empowering (Jolly, Lee, Lepani, Naupa, & Rooney, 2015; Kabeer, 2005).

In terms of development feminist initiatives, one effect of market-oriented programs is that the important labor women already do is further devalued and ignored by industry, by government and by women themselves. Over the last twenty years, I have on many occasions interacted with women who spent considerable time creating beautiful and intricate objects for local communities and, if required, for sale. These women could retrospectively be understood as Cinderellas. One interview comes to mind as forcefully raising competing issues about women's labor and its value. In 2016, I interviewed a 95-year-old woman in Sāmoa, Manō Nātia Fa'ase'e Tautua, who had weaved baskets, mats, made bags and sewed her whole life. Since 1944, she told me she made 'crafts' for Aggie Greys, the major hotel in Apia. She used to be paid in bread she said, 'it was like you were rich, having white fresh bread.' She also weaved decorations for church, and laundry baskets, mats, and bags to give as gifts at family and religious events. And she sewed all her clothes for her family. Now she said her hands were very sore, her eyes were getting weak, but still every day she gets up and makes something. She cried when I left, saying how she never expected a *pālagi* (a white person) to be interested in what she did. She didn't think the work she did, 72 years of labor, was of much value, it was 'just a few dollars to keep the family going'.

Her emotional statement was discomfortingly true. White people, aside from the occasional anthropologist, would not be interested in what she did. From the perspective of national economic development all her income-generating and bread-generating labor would be invisible. All her skills, talent, and resourcefulness would be unseen. Of course, her family and community recognize her work which is why she was suggested as an interviewee. Like other women throughout Polynesia, her mats were in demand in both national and transnational markets. Yet, in her mind, her work took place under the radar of real labor, which from a 'white' perspective meant waged public-sector employment. Whiteness in the Sāmoan context, as across Polynesia, is as a floating signifier that not only codes people's skin color but also marks practice and institutions. Sāmoans judge fellow Sāmoans for 'acting white'. For instance, there is 'white' food and 'white' ways of doing things. Even though the capitalist economy and Western geopolitical mechanisms intersect with Sāmoan exchange systems and village political structures, conceptually and affectively, these are considered separate if not opposed.

Development feminists have made numerous attempts to engage rural Polynesian women in income-generating work. While many do, it is widespread view that these women do so erratically. Market stall owners who rely on products from women in villages and smaller islands complain that rural women are unreliable, they don't send hats or mats despite orders being placed and deadlines agreed upon. A Rarotongan supplier of sought-after hats complained about women in the Northern group that 'they just don't understand business,' a phrase referring to white market-based relations. She contrasted this with locally-styled exchange by saying 'they don't sell to us for money, but if a group of visitors come for a church event or a family event then they just give them away!'.

This narrative of women's lack of understanding of capitalism is reinforced in development programs which train women in business models, loan repayments and accounting. Another lesser-told version of this story is that these women are actually highly astute assessors of the value of their product across both formal and informal economies and that they make informed calculations in order to maximize profit, weighing up the best deal be it for petrol, cash or investment in the customary or informal economy. An example of this overlooked expertise was relayed to me by a young man who ran many training workshops in rural areas. It was a small and potentially insignificant event but one which he told me about on four separate occasions – it was clearly playing on his mind. At a training session where he was showing women how to pack their handicrafts in a suitcase for tourism expos overseas or to send to retailers in the region, he provided tips on how to maximize space. Discomfort was visible on his face as he recounted: 'but they knew more than I did!' He felt had nothing to teach them. After watching his demonstration, an older woman, much to the amusement of the other trainees, got up repacked the suitcase in a way that could fit double the product. This incident brings to light expertise borne from the multitude of occasions these women had packed suitcases, to send their children to school in the capital or overseas, or to send fine mats for a family funeral held in San Francisco or Sydney.

The Cinderella narrative, as an example of the victim-subject at work in development feminism, demonstrates how gender equality and empowerment are legible through Western eyes so long as they conform to so-called universal models of both gender and of economic power. Furthermore, narratives of victimhood serve to obscure the market logic that drives development interventions. That these women need help and transformation *as women*, becomes an unquestionable common-sense. It is also a logic that is blind to local social configurations where this relatively new form of identity contrasts starkly with relational and intersectional modes of gender.

All women are not the same: Intersectionality and gender relations

'Women in Polynesia are not equal,' a senior Sāmoan academic explained. She was not speaking of women in relation to men but rather different categories of womanhood that exist in Sāmoan society. These categories are linked to age, family lineage, as well as categories more familiar to Western audiences such as social class and professional status. Nevertheless, the comment was a striking contrast to feminist campaigns organized by young, educated, and cosmopolitan local women that promoted women's rights and gender equality as pressing social issues. The idea that women are a unified group with distinct interests, rights, and responsibilities is inimical to other forms of social distinction that have, until recently, encompassed gender. For example, one Cook Islands social media campaign that featured young women and men speaking out about violence against women provoked outrage. This was less because of the subject matter and more because young rather than older people were positioned as authorities on the subject. Various discussions provoked comments like: 'What on earth would they know?', 'Why are they so in front?', and also: 'Those young men are the perpetrators, why didn't they get someone respected to talk.' These comments were made by a variety of middle-aged men and women, and reflect in part, generational contests. They also demonstrate how models of gender isolated from variables of rank, class, age and so on, may paradoxically do little to address extant forms of gender inequality.

Returning once again to the handicraft training workshop on Savai'i

that opened the article, further highlights how the goal of gender equality requires attention to the complexity of social relations and to processes that extend beyond women. After observing the formal demonstrations at the workshop, a young woman guided me outside and then into a lean-to outdoor kitchen, where another group of women worked over an open fire preparing large pots of food for the workshop participants lunch. She paused and said proudly 'These are our *nofotane*. They help our women with their learning'. These women could not have looked more different from the women attending the workshop, they were dressed in work clothes, old greying T-shirts and sarongs. This washed-out palate seemed to reflect their disposition; the women did not make eye contact with us as they silently chopped and stirred. *Nofotane*, as I would learn are women who moved to their husbands' village after marriage. As a sister- or daughter-in-law her standing is determined by her spouse's status. 'Daughters of the village' (*nu'u tamaitai*) are women who live in their natal village and these women are placed at the 'front' of village and household life, they make up the women's committee, the church committee and in family matters they are involved in decision-making and are 'served' (food and so on) by their sister-in-law's, and also their brothers. Sisters-in-law by contrast, prepare food and often undertake hard labor, their opinions are expressed through their husband's public position.

The contrast between the *nofotane* and the women of the village recalled the 'Cinderella' designation I encountered in the Cook Islands. The evil-stepsisters, enjoying themselves surrounded by bright colored fabrics, beautiful bags, and hats while the Cinderellas slaved by the hot stove. My reaction was not unusual. For example, a high-profile local women's organization whose core business is assisting women who have been sexually abused has most recently received funding from UN Women for a project called 'Empowering *Nofotane*,' which focusses on removing perceived barriers and enabling these women to participate in formal economic markets. To this end, another series of workshops teaching weaving and so on were held. A UN press-release about the program entitled: 'We are equal, we are important says nofotane of Sāmoa' (Chand, 2018), described a two-day market to showcase the results of a project which had 'trained and empowered 5,170 *nofotane* women in the course of the last two years.' This economic framing and precision measurement of empowered women is striking. It is tempting to imagine this in Cinderella-esque terms; women arriving at training wearing old rags and emerging, as if by magic, dressed for the ball in finery that mirrors their new-found liberation.

However, after a number of conversations enquiring about *nofotane*, this imagery began to dissolve. Ethnographic studies of Sāmoan social organization have shown how an individual's social position is primarily determined by family rank. While high-status can be achieved such as in the case of church pastors, or highly educated or successful business people, it rarely outranks lineage (Schoeffel, 1978). Markers of rank and social class hierarchically spatialize social interactions particularly in terms of who is 'at the front' (which we might translate as who speaks in particular public settings), and 'at the back' (for example, working in the kitchen), or 'up high' (village chief or pastor) or 'down low' (*nofotane* and unmarried men of the village). In contrast to claims about male dominance and exploitation of women, prominent Sāmoans individuals have countered visions of patriarchy with cultural norms of mutuality, reciprocity, and respect (fa'a Sāmoa, or the Samoan way of living). One example is the 'brother-sister covenant' which ideally requires brothers to practically and concretely serve and respect their sisters (Latai, 2014). These are views do not have the same purchase in global circuits as the female victim-subject discourse.

Not all *nofotane* are equal either. The idea of everyone having a social place does not automatically suggest that everyone is rooted in place by a specific social role, and *nofotane* are no exception. In an interview with a female living in her husband's village, I tentatively asked about her *nofotane* status, 'Um so … you know how you live in your husband's village, so you're like a *nofotane* … Well, um do you feel exploited or not recognized …'. She laughed at my discomfort and perhaps at my question; 'I'm only a *nofotane* in my husband's village. There, I must hold my peace, but obviously, I work. I have a senior job at the bank. I'm obviously not oppressed here. A *nofotane* is only part of who I am and what I do'. This conversation required a re-examination of the Cinderella-*nofotane* event described above and furthermore demonstrated gender relationality as central to a finely calibrated system of social roles and responsibilities. Attending to these distinctions makes it increasingly difficult to identify who plays the Cinderella role, let alone who is the ugly stepmother and sisters or the Fairy Godmother and Prince Charming.

Further conversations revealed other aspects of gender as a relational mode. When men resided or took part in events in their wife's village, they too were placed in the background because, as a person offered by way of an explanation, it is like how white people stay out of family conversations when they are visiting in-laws. *Nofotane* status was also graded in terms of relative advantage or disadvantage – a *nofotane* whose husband was a chief or wealthy (or she was herself), occupied a higher social position than lower-ranked ones. People were for this reason perplexed about the 'Empowering *Nofotane*' project as it didn't make sense in terms of context-specific gendered roles. This situational complexity was replaced in the NGO's publicity and reports:

> A nofotane woman will always be a nofotane. The project is not attempting to change this cultural aspect of the FaaSamoa. The project merely aims to improve the economic empowerment of women and to increase their participation in domestic and community matters. This is because the capacity of women to bring about economic change for themselves, families and communities, is one of the most important contributing factors to achieving gender equality (Samoan Victim Support Group, 2016).

In addressing critics that suggest this program undermines local culture (fa'a Sāmoa), this quote also reproduces market-driven models of empowerment that diminish alternative forms of participation and value, reducing these to forms of financial self-help. Nevertheless, these workshops were widely and enthusiastically attended especially in remote villages. In a context where gender is understood as a relational category, *nofotane* were not the only participants in training activities. Their male equivalents, – young, unmarried, poor men – also participated. While local newspaper reports show men keenly displaying wares they made unsurpisingly, none of these featured on official program sites.

If the injection of funds, training workshop and new opportunities via development feminism ultimately reaches poor men and women, then it could be possible to conclude that, at the end of the tale, 'all's well that ends well'? Perhaps. But why then does the oppressed or 'incomplete' woman need to be operationalized for programs like this to exist? The answer is obvious to many who work in the field of development (Cornwall et al., 2008). Images of victimhood sell; they are leverage for funding, bids, and campaigns, they legitimize and generate a whole field of socioeconomic action that produces multiple and divergent outcomes. Given the tenacity of the victim-subject, and its practical efficacy in terms of reproducing the development industry, what other strategies can be brought to bear to demonstrate the term's violence and long-term inefficiency in terms of attaining empowerment, valuing and developing existing capabilities and capacities – to adopt the language of development and governance feminism?

Tracing the transmission and reception of development feminism is one step to advancing intersectional understandings of gender. In societies where gender is enacted by relational subjects, failure to deal with complex, and locally configured power dynamics will do little to address the specifics of disadvantage and oppression. As Wendy Brown's (2000) work demonstrates, the dangers of granting one form of social power precedence over others is ever-present. She gives the example of an analysis that considers gender oppression as encompassing another axis of discrimination like class, race, and sexuality. Drawing on the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw, she shows how, in this frame, 'gender

functions as a category purified of *all* inflections by race, and hence as tacitly a white category'. This idea that 'gender is produced and regulated autonomously, independently of other modalities of social power' is a feminist fiction, and one of the 'most serious impediments to the development of a racially inclusive feminism.' (Brown, 2000, 235; Crenshaw, 1991).

Conclusion

The implementation of feminist policy and programs in the Global South has served to draw attention to gendered asymmetries in the division of labor, access to resources, and decision-making power, and in the process, led to increased recognition of women's contribution to national development, community and family life. As this article makes clear, as well as addressing gender inequality, development feminism has the potential to transform local social landscapes and individual subjectivities in paradoxical ways, producing new forms of inequality and obscuring others. Extending analysis of gender images and narratives in development feminism to the Pacific region also demonstrates the easy activation and replication of these images across the globe to both justify and depoliticize development intervention. Policy and programs in this region continue to unproblematically mobilize 'universal' measures of equality that presuppose highly specific visions of both victimhood and empowerment.

Development feminism has created its own logic, one that is informed by an approach to gender that obscures local women's experiences and depends, unhelpfully, upon a victim narrative. The 'South Sea' Cinderella initiatives described here are fables of impoverished victims that offer market-based solutions to poverty as well as gesturing to the expansive possibilities of consumer capitalism and female empowerment. Like a chimeric fairy godmother, development feminism and the neoliberal economic strategies that inform it, may promote gender (equality, empowerment, rights) in order to transform development but in fact, as we have seen, development ends up attempting to transform gender. Gender, in development feminism tales like these, becomes equated with women, as a population distinct from men regardless of economic, cultural, class and status similarities and affinities. The female victim-subject is however an impoverished depiction of women in the Pacific for whom gender is a relational mode that intersects with other social configurations. This one-dimensional victim may work to entrench rather than transform gender inequality, impelling women to experience or orient themselves in the world via these tropes. As such, the hegemony of images of victimhood works to make local sources of advantage, entitlement and solidarity barely discernible.

But does the adoption of gender as an identity category make women under-developed, incomplete or unequal? The circulation of discourses of gender equality and female empowerment through transnational and national development organizations produce a range of engagements and unanticipated outcomes (such as young men participating in female empowerment programs). Some women in Polynesia, particularly those of high-status, may struggle with ideas of their disadvantage. These women are also often the main beneficiaries of development opportunities as they typically implement in-country programs and coordinate funds. For other women, development feminism enables innovative forms of politicized subjectivity, such as for young urban women who may wholeheartedly or strategically adopt modes of being in which gender is paramount. Similarly, women who are trained to 'stand on their own two-feet' through income-generating projects, may enjoy participating to make money or to enhance prestige, learn a new skill or simply, the opportunity to do something different. For others still, it may serve as broader recognition of a lifetime's work. The way women and other stakeholders variously re-frame 'Cinderella projects' suggests the possibility of alternative, potentially more inclusive models of gender, that build upon, and experiment with, local social forms and capacities, rather than transforming these women into development feminisms' own image.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship grant (FT FT140100299), "New Regional Labour Circuits in the South Pacific: Gender, Culture and Transnationalism," undertaken at the University of Melbourne. I am indebted to many for their input and feedback into this article, especially Penelope Schoeffel, Maree Pardy, and numerous participants whose names are anonymized in the work.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (2009). Dialects of women's empowerment: The international circuitry of the Arab human development report. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 41*(1), 83–103.
Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). *Do Muslim women need saving?* Harvard: Harvard University Press.
Alexeyeff, K. (2008). Neoliberalism, Mobility and Cook Islands men in transit. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 19*(2), 136–149.
Alexeyeff, K., & McDonnell, S. (2018). Whose paradise? Encounter, exchange and exploitation. special issue In K. Alexeyeff, & S. McDonnell (Vol. Eds.), *The Contemporary Pacific: . 30(2). Repossessing paradise* (pp. 269–295).
Australian AID (2017). Cook Islands: Pacific women shaping pacific development. https://pacificwomen.org/our-work/locations/cook-islands/.
Brown, W. (2000). Suffering rights as paradoxes. *Constellations, 7*(2), 230–241.
Chand, S. (2018). *We are equal, we are important, say Nofotane women of Samoa.* UN Women: Asia and The Pacific. http://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2018/10/we-are-equal-we-are-important.
Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Towards a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38*(4), 786–810.
Clinton, H. R. (2012). Secretary Clinton remarks at the Pacific Islands post-forum dialogue.' Mission Blue Sylvia Earl Alliance, August 31. https://mission-blue.org/2012/09/secretary-clinton-remarks-at-the-pacific-islands-post-forum-dialogue/.
Cook Islands Herald (2011). *Women the powerhouse of the nation, Issue 574.* http://www.ciherald.co.ck/articles/h570d.htm.
Cook Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs, Gender and Development (2011). *Cook Islands national policy on gender equality and women's empowerment 2011–2016.* Cook Islands: Rarotonga.
Cornwall, A., Harrison, E., & Whitehead, A. (2008). Gender myths and feminist fables: The struggle for interpretive power in gender and development. In A. Cornwall, E. Harrison, & A. Whitehead (Eds.). *Gender myths and feminist fables: The struggle for interpretive power in gender and development* (pp. 1–20). Oxford: Blackwell.
Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2012). *Delivery strategy: Pacific women shaping pacific development.* 2012–2022. https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Documents/pacific-gender-equality-strategy.pdf.
Elson, D. (2012). Review of world development report 2012: Gender equality and development. *Global Social Policy, 12*(2), 178–183.
Ferguson, L. (2015). This is our gender person. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 17*(3), 380–397.
Grewal, I. (2005). Transnational America: Feminisms, diasporas, neoliberalisms. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
Halley, J. (2018). Preface: Introducing governance feminism. In J. Halley, P. Kotiswaran, R. Rebouché, & H. Shamir (Eds.). *Governance feminism: An introduction* (pp. ix–xxii). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Hermkens, A.-K., & Lepani, K. (Eds.). (2017). *Sinuous objects: Revaluing women's wealth in the contemporary pacific*. Acton, ACT: ANU Press.
Jolly, M., Lee, H., Lepani, K., Naupa, A., & Rooney, M. (2015). Discussion paper: Falling through the Net? Gender and social protection in the Pacific. *Progress of the worlds women 2015–2016*. UN Women Research and Data Section.
Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: a critical analysis of the third Millennium Development Goal. *Gender and Development, 13*(1), 13–24.
Kapur, R. (2002). The tragedy of victimization rhetoric: Resurrecting the 'native' subject in international/post-colonial feminist legal politics. *Harvard Human Rights Journal, 15*, 1–37.
Latai, L. (2014). From open fale to mission houses: Negotiating the boundaries of 'domesticity' in Samoa. In H. Choi, & M. Jolly (Eds.). *Divine domesticities: Christian paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 299–323). Acton, ACT: ANU Press.
Merry, S. E. (2006). *Human rights and gender violence: Translating international law into local justice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Merry, S. E. (2011). Measuring the world: indicators, human rights, and global governance. *Current Anthropology, 52*(Supplementary Issue 3), S83–S95.
Mohanty, C. T. (1986). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Boundary 2, 12*(13), 333–358.
Noyes, D. (2015). Fairy-tale economics: scarcity, risk, choice. *Narrative Culture, 2*(1), 1–25.
Osnos, E. (2012). Clinton a show-stopper in South Pacific. *The New Yorker*.
Riles, A. (2002). Rights inside out: The case of the women's human rights campaign.

Leiden Journal of International Law, 15(2), 285–305.
Samoa Victim Support Group (2016). Economic empowerment of 'Nofotane' women in Rural Samoa. http://www.samoavictimsupport.org/nofotane-project-multi-media-campaign–public-days.html.
Schoeffel, P. (1978). Gender, status and power in Western Samoa. *Canberra Anthropology, 1*(2), 69–81.
Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) (2015). *Cook Islands 2012 Gender Profile.* Noumea: New Caledonia. http://www.mfem.gov.ck/images/documents/Statistics_Docs/10.Other-Information/Cook-Gender-Profile.pdf.
Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg (Eds.). *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 21–78). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Tomlinson, B. (2018). Category anxiety and the invisible white woman: Managing intersectionality at the scene of argument. *Feminist Theory, 19*(2), 145–164.
Wilson, K. (2015). Towards a Radical Re-appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism. *Development and Change, 46*, 803–832.
World Bank (2006). *Gender equality as smart economics: A world bank group gender action plan (Fiscal years 2007–10).* Washington: World Bank.