

Political and Market Development: An Ethical Appraisal

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In today's world, the driving economic force is the neoliberal form of capitalism. Neoliberalism has brought with it the collapse of state-controlled economies and enterprises around the world. Structural adjustment policies designed to strengthen market capitalism worldwide have forced developing countries to cut back on state enterprises as well as on the structure of the so-called welfare state. This has generally resulted in fewer resources being allocated to the state and its social agencies in the spheres of health, education, and social services. At the same time, the promotion of "private-sector" investments has led to the increased influence of "for-profit" business ventures in areas such as education, where previously the business entities had not played as noticeable or significant a role. This situation calls continually for ethical reflection as well as political action and debate, because an unprecedented accumulation of wealth is favoring some sectors of the world's population while a serious deterioration of living standards is increasingly resulting in disadvantages for others.¹ In addition, a convergence of factors, some economic and others demographic, are having an adverse and irreversible impact on the world's ecosystems (Silliman and King 1999).² Alternative voices need to be heard with regard to the scope, direction, and limitations of neoliberal economic politics. Toward this end, it is useful to rethink from the ground up what meaning to give to economic and political development within the framework of an ethics of development.

Women constitute a group in the world's population who have not yet attained achievements in education, science, politics, and culture fully comparable to those of their male counterparts. Looking at the situation of women in comparison to that of men around the globe forces us to rethink the concept of development from the ground up. Although the index for adult literacy and education for women in most highly developed countries shows adequate results in most categories, the education of girls and women in developing countries with few exceptions lags behind that of men. Moreover, in the most highly developed countries, where equality of education by gender is at its peak, women still constitute only about 24 percent of those enrolled in higher education science programs. A country where women's opportunities are significantly limited in relation to men's will have a harder time reaching a successful level of development, apart from the questions of fairness and justice that such imbalances generate. In countries with intermediate levels of development, for example, women on average constitute 88.5 percent of all those enrolled in primary school and

59.9 percent of those in secondary school. In the poorest countries, women make up only 50.4 percent of those enrolled in primary school and 21.1 percent of those in secondary school (United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 229–31). In Tanzania, one of the least developed countries in the world according to the United Nations report, the literacy rate in 1997 for adult women was 62 percent whereas for adult men it was 81.7 percent, this compared with 99 percent for both women and men in the United States and 95.6 percent for both women and men in a small socialist developing country like Cuba (United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 141, 138). The latter comparison raises the issue of the extent to which a country needs to enjoy a wealthy capitalist economy to attain certain strong indicators of human development in areas such as education and health.

An ethics of development needs to address matters beyond applied issues regarding how to think through ethical dilemmas in applied fields such as medical care or program management. Important as these issues are for the task of development from both a functional and a moral standpoint, it is also essential first to define a normative framework that allows both for a model of human and social development and for a standard according to which inept policies and practices of development may be criticized. The current reports on human development published by the United Nations constitute an important first step from which the strengths and deficiencies of global development trends may be assessed. Despite their obvious limitations with respect to the incompleteness and possible variability of data as reported in various countries, these reports are especially useful in counteracting the purely economic vision of neoliberal development advocated by those who defend market forces as the sole or predominant engine of development in globalization processes. For example, if we are to discuss the applied issue of how best to integrate women into the local and global processes of development, we need a vision of what the ethical (not just economic or political) dimensions of such integration would mean.

As a strategy for articulating such a vision, it is relevant to distinguish and rank various components of the general term “development.” In this paper, “economic development” will be used to refer to material development and the use of economic resources currently understood to comprise capitalist market expansion or market-compatible projects. Economic development will be contrasted with political development. “Political development” will be used to refer to the sphere of citizenship rights and responsibilities, to concepts of the public good, and to the presence and effectiveness of new social movements whose aim is to organize political representation for underrepresented groups such as women and racial and ethnic minorities. “Political development” will refer to the degree of sophistication a country or region may have with respect to providing adequate representation to all individuals and groups in its society, including the more vulnerable members of the population. In addition, “political development” will be used to refer to the degree of emphasis a society confers on goals such as the preservation of clean air, water, and other environmental resources when such preservation takes place at the

cost of limiting the profits that may accrue to investors interested in profits from market and industrial development.

Developing nations in regions such as Africa and Latin America, perhaps more so than those in developed countries, are caught in the problem of needing funds to increase the material well-being of their populations. At the same time, with market capitalism they risk exacerbating the gap between the rich and the poor as well as the deterioration of the environment.³ In addition, developing nations take on the special burden that, since they must borrow or seek investments from sources generally in the developed world, the lenders and investors demand that they meet criteria for economic and/or political development that suit their own interests and priorities. Similarly, political concepts of development from the Northern and Western nations are often superimposed on the political organization of Southern and Eastern nations. For this reason, the issue of who participates and decides on development policy—at the level not just of governments, but of popular participation—is crucial when assessing development policies. To what extent are women's voices included in the planning of development policies or in discussing an ethics of development? As long as the highest priority in development policy retains a human focus, the perspectives generated by women ought not be excluded.

To insure that development policy retains its human focus rather than getting reduced to either an economic or political concept, I propose that attention be given to an ethics of development as a source for normative guidelines aimed at mediating problems arising in the analysis of economic and political development. The concept "development ethics" considers such normative guidelines as respect for persons and respect for differences in cultural perspectives when adopting and implementing political and economic options. This model offers an ethics of production and consumption consistent with principles of gender equity, respect for ethnic and racial minorities, concerns for the environmental impact of development policies, and the promotion of ideals having to do with the quality of life of a region's inhabitants. The ethical model can then gain a recognized role in analyzing the tensions generated by or within the political and economic models of development.

Economic Development

As a philosopher, I acknowledge that my concept of the meaning and purpose of economic development is already colored by an implicit commitment to ethical values. In this view, one could start with the general guideline that economic development refers to the promotion and sustenance of material conditions enabling persons to live a good life. If this is so, then at the start we face the question of what constitutes a good life. Since this kind of question has kept philosophers and others occupied for at least a couple of millennia, I will not try to engage it here. What I would note is that in discussions of this sort of question, economic development is taken as a means to an end, not an end in itself. Economic development is regarded as a means for enabling, empowering, improving, or otherwise

enhancing the conditions for human life to flourish. This instrumental status requires the use of criteria to assess whether the instrument of economic development is fit for its end, if this end is to be human well-being. Even though there may be some disagreement as to what counts as human well-being, in general we say that this means the capacity for people to lead productive, fulfilling lives. Such lives ought to include, among other things, freedom from unnecessary violence or illnesses and the opportunity to be cared for in the case that one needs help because of one's age (young or old) or some other factor beyond one's immediate control. Yet in today's world, significant numbers of people are deprived of the most basic human needs. It is shocking that, if we look at the data for 1990, in the poorest countries, mostly in Africa, anywhere from 500 to 1,800 women died because of complications at childbirth (per 100,000 live births). This compares with 12 deaths in the same category in the United States (United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 168–71).⁴ Moreover, although even the poorest countries reported women's average life expectancy at birth to be one to three years higher than that of men, in 1997 the poorest countries reported that women's life expectancy on average was limited in age to their forties and fifties, compared to the late seventies and early eighties in highly developed countries (United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 138–41).⁵

So far I have phrased the ends of economic development in such a way that they are centered on humans. Still, at this particular point in history, when the ecological balance of the globe is precariously affected by industrialization, profit making at the expense of depleting natural resources, and population growth, one must insist that the ends of economic development must include, in part, the promotion of an "ecological balance" between human activities and the natural world. This reformulation of the concept of the good life is necessary in our time. When projects of development were launched in Western modernity, ecological concerns did not arise because, from a global and indeed many national perspectives, land, water, and wilderness preserves were relatively plentiful. Today, at a vertiginous speed, land, water, and wilderness preserves are becoming increasingly scarce. Therefore, economic development, if it is not to be simply something for its own end and if indeed it must serve a higher end, needs to be conceived as instrumental both to human well-being and to the promotion of a balanced relationship between human beings and the ecosystem in which our lives are embedded.

So far I have also spoken about economic development keeping nations very much in the background, as if humanity were one global community. In fact, this is not the case (at least not yet). Once societies are organized into nations, economic development *de facto* serves another end, that is, the national interest. The national interest may involve competing and/or cooperating with other nations for power, military force, scientific inventions, and so on. Here, the earlier means-end relation may become inverted. Whereas human well-being ought to occupy the higher end, it can easily be demoted to a means to an end if the end is redefined as the national interest. If the latter, the rationale given for educating people or for providing good

health care systems is that healthy educated people are more productive for the national economy. In such a view, human well-being is reassessed in terms of the state's interests. As Foucault has noted, the science of demography got a strong push in the eighteenth century because states wanted to both monitor and use their populations as an all-important economic resource (Foucault 1978, 140–41).

Although the state as such has a great deal of power, however, it is not a faceless entity. Some sectors of the population in fact have a lot more influence over state policies than others. The state itself is an instrument of those who direct its policies and prescribe and implement its laws. This leads again to the question of the ends of economic development. In a world of scarcity and competition among states, does the concept of economic development revert to promoting the well-being of those sectors of society with a sizable influence on state policy? Political influence works in terms of group pressure on government. In capitalist societies, the groups that manage wealth have a large influence on both the media and public policy. In this respect, the accumulation of wealth under capitalism protects the system from serious political destabilization. Whereas, in developed countries, the influential wealthy sectors have significant internal political clout, in developing countries, although some nationals may be involved, the demand for well-being may be strongly influenced by powerful sectors outside the developing country, in their role as investors or potential benefactors of the developing states. In other words, in the case of developing countries, depending on a particular country's power of negotiation vis-à-vis the foreign investment, interest in the investors' well-being may override interest in the well-being of those who need the resources such investments provide. In this regard, it is interesting to consider the status of women's literacy and opportunities for public expression in developing countries. It is difficult for women's groups to become significant internal players in shaping development policy if the rates for women's education and public expression are low. Women's channels for public expression may be blocked by national or international elites if these feel threatened by women's demands for democracy and equality.⁶

Insofar as economic development seeks the material conditions for the well-being of people, it can be directed to a number of distinct ends. The arena in which decisions are made to pursue economic development in one direction or another is that of politics. There is no overwhelming reason as to why political influence should be controlled either exclusively or predominantly by the profit motive or the promise of simple economic gain. A market economy planned for socially responsible investment, for example, seems far more reasonable than one planned so as to bypass and avoid any concept of social responsibility. The planning of economic development responds constantly to the pressures of political influence. Because we are living in a world of economic and political inequality, whether we look at conditions nationally or internationally, the ends of economic development cannot be disassociated from those of political development. Nor can the latter be wholly disassociated from ethical concerns. Next I turn to a discussion of political development.

Political Development

In the West, the notion of political development has often been understood as progress toward the actualization of freedom. The Aristotelian tradition posits freedom as the realization of human, rational capabilities; the British contractarian tradition posits freedom as a result of a freely undertaken contract between the people and the government that claims to represent them; the German idealist tradition posits freedom as the correlation between an objective culture and world of freedom and the subjective awareness and activation of freedom in the lives of individuals; the Marxian tradition proposed the concept of freedom from the economic exploitation of human being by human being.

The evolution of the concept of political development (in the West) has proven that, although at its inception in ancient Greek society free citizenship was thought to coexist with slavery, in time the concept of freedom was interpreted as appropriate to humanity as a whole. Freedom is now accepted as a concept intended to include the entire population in an agreed-on practice regarding the rights and responsibilities of citizens (however the concept of citizenship is understood). Moreover, since the time of the Enlightenment in western Europe, there has been a premise in the West regarding the understanding of such rights and responsibilities in the light of some concept of equality and justice for all. In other words, the concept of political development requires a balance between freedom, equality, and justice as well as a distribution of citizenship rights and responsibilities that will be fair to all sectors of the population, including women, minorities, the aged, and children. Again, given the depletion of ecological habitats and environment resources, the priority for ecological balance needs to be inserted in models of political development today.

It is not essential to my argument about the meaning of political development that freedom, justice, and equality be understood exclusively in Western terms. What is essential is that, if and when they are so understood, the equality-and-justice-for-all factor should not be overridden in favor of freedom for a privileged sector. One way to ensure that nondominant interests are taken into account is to note that when concepts of political development are considered by anyone in the Western tradition (and by others, if relevant), a positive value should be given to the notion of alternative rationalities. Alternative rationalities are relative to a dominant conceptual framework, such that if the dominant framework, for example, sees people as instruments of profit making, the alternative framework would see people as ends in themselves rather than instruments. In the context of masculine dominant power relations, an alternative rationality will posit women as entitled to equal rights. The concept of alternative rationalities allows us to call into question such basic presuppositions (still held by many) as the beliefs that women's roles should be domestically oriented in comparison to men's, that nature is simply there for the user's disposal, that consumption is a good in itself, and that if people are poor it is simply their own fault, or their bad luck, so that society collectively has little or no obligation to work toward the alleviation of poverty.

Alternative rationalities allow us to question certain unstated assumptions that help to support large concentrations of power. Once the assumptions are questioned, the power blocks they justified have a much harder time being legitimated and sometimes simply fall apart. It is a well-known fact that the postmodern period has ushered in a number of alternatives to the ways people's lives were organized only a decade or two ago. Yet, just as older patterns of social organization have been ceding space to new possibilities, a new, overwhelming way of life is becoming the norm for anyone who can afford it: the life of economic consumption. Indeed, many people become highly indebted to creditors as consumption patterns increasingly escalate. An alternative rationality with regard to consumption might urge us to act wisely with respect to the seductions of commodity acquisition in a world where millions of people and significant numbers of nonhuman species are barely capable of surviving or reproducing their kind. The maxim "consume wisely" would then replace the predominant "consume to your heart's content." Such a maxim would limit the impact, both economic and psychological, of neoliberalism. For example, the Costa Rican philosopher Luis Camacho has mentioned some of the apparent irrationalities of the neoliberal drive toward consumption. He tells of a large mall built in Costa Rica with complete climate control equipment at a site where no air conditioning or heating is ever needed due to year-round benign weather. He notes that the mall houses global stores whose merchandise is so expensively priced that the local people cannot afford it. Thus people go to the mall to look at the items, not to buy them, at least for the time being (Camacho 1998). Camacho's observations illustrate how an alternative way to reason about consumption allows us to notice and criticize the increasing gap between the very rich and the rest of society, at the same time that little or no thought is given to how the spiraling wave of consumption exploits the local environment.

At the core of the concept of alternative rationalities in development theory are the positing of alternative rationalities to positivism and, most recently, neoliberalism. These have formed a large part of Latin American social philosophy since the 1920s. For example, writing from Chile, the sociologist Martin Hopenhayn notes the importance of keeping "a structural focus on peripheral capitalism" (Hopenhayn 1995, 108). He notes that, in Latin America, a critical social science articulated during the period of structural adjustment in the 1980s has tried to point to alternative rationalities to that of the neoliberal project. There are many challenges posed today by this dominant economic policy, among them "the regressive tendency of the terms of exchange, the dynamic insufficiency of accumulation in peripheral capitalism, [and] the difficulties of reconciling growth and equity" (Hopenhayn 1995, 108). He calls for "the reorientation of planning in tune with the new scenarios of social crisis and complexity" (Hopenhayn 1995, 105). Despite the economic contributions of the market to generating some dynamism in the local economies in some contexts, "the market has not proven to be the most efficient mechanism of decentralization, democratic participation, and autonomy" (Hopenhayn 1995, 103).

The second wave of the women's movement and its worldwide aftermath since the 1970s have also ushered in alternative rationalities with respect to women's emancipation from patriarchal dominance. Alternative rationalities have empowered many women across cultures to question the narrow and authoritarian beliefs of patriarchalism. This social phenomenon has led to processes of cultural transformation in the direction of women's greater political representation and gender equity. Yet women's emancipation is not merely an issue regarding political and economic development. It is a deeply entrenched ethical issue.

Women as an Alternative Force in Development Planning

There are at least two levels of ethical consideration when women's issues are invoked in development ethics. One is the necessary attention that women's issues demand, the range of which is quite wide. These include health care, education, employment, equal pay, election or appointment to political office, reproductive rights, and much more. This involves women's economic, social, and political status as an object of development policy. The other is the inclusion of ideas proposed by women from all social sectors in the planning, discussion, and implementation of development policy. This involves women's effective leadership, participation, and power of decision-making with respect to development policy. If women were consulted about the priorities to be considered in an ethics of development, apart from the usual demands for equal opportunities in education, employment, cultural leadership, health care, sexual fulfillment, and political participation, one area of social life would surely be highlighted for further evaluation: the activities related to caregiving. As an ethical issue with political and economic consequences, this involves the question of the fair division of labor in the home as well as the fair distribution of resources by the state to relieve women as a group from the task of performing the socially necessary activities of caregiving, which anyone can perform, regardless of gender.

One major form of inequality affecting women's status in most societies is that associated with women's work as principal family caregivers. No matter what else women do or what other form of employment they have, when there is a need for a caregiver to help with young children, the elderly, the sick, or the disabled, this kind of work, whether paid or unpaid, is most often performed by a woman. Although there are many rewarding and even ennobling aspects of caregiving, this type of activity also involves a significant limitation on the opportunity to use one's time more freely. Although caregiving is a necessary element of society without which there would be a failure in social cohesiveness, it is not always rewarded or appreciated sufficiently. It can therefore easily become a burden, and one that falls primarily on women, whose mobility may be limited by the caregiving activity, and who may end up in a more disadvantageous economic position than a noncaregiver, all things considered. The time available for other forms of self-development, including full-time employment

in professional work, is severely limited for the caregiver, who in the majority of cases is female.

Scholars have noted that in times of economic crisis, women's traditional caregiving roles are overburdened by additional concerns. For example, if she was responsible for going to the market and preparing family meals, in times of crisis it takes both extra time and effort to survive or make ends meet. Food scarcity may force her to work harder or stand in longer lines to find adequate food for her family. Food prices may be so high that she must spend extra time preparing low-quality food. In response to the disregard with which society often considers the value of women's time, feminists insist that one cannot take for granted the use of a woman's time. Because it is assumed "that women's time is free and infinitely extensible," economic theory does not count the time women lose when their chores multiply due to economic problems (Afshar 1999, 52 [my translation]).

Whatever a woman's initial caregiving activities may be, these get compounded as economic problems affect her household. When structural adjustment programs affect households in such a way as to impoverish them, they have a special impact on women and their caregiving roles. From an ethical standpoint the plight of women caregivers cannot be ignored. As a successful investor under structural adjustment policies may become wealthier from the investment, the female caregiver is thrust in a situation of underdevelopment. Not only does she work more for less pay, her household and family duties become more time consuming. If interested in change, she must find additional time to lobby for change, which means getting involved in political activities (Afshar 1999, 53). This is the way in which "development" (detached from all ethical concerns) generates "underdevelopment" (or how, in the old saying, the rich get richer and the poor, poorer). Members of the general public are tempted to think that if they are not directly contributing to female caregivers' impoverishment, the women's plight is none of their concern. An emphasis on the importance of the benefits provided by caregiving to any society would say, however, that everyone has a responsibility toward female caregivers. What form could this responsibility take? The answer is to provide supportive programs and services that compensate women for their time and to promote a more equitable distribution of caregiving services among both genders.

In a recent study, Eva Kittay argues that policies of gender equality in developed countries such as the United States cannot succeed unless they take into account the reality of human interdependence and the fact that much of the dependency caregiving work is done by women (Kittay 1999, 50). The ethical goal of gender equity, Kittay notes, cannot be achieved until society decides how to compensate women for their caregiving work. Although caregiving can be emotionally rewarding work, it can also put caregivers at a disadvantage. For example, a health study in the United States reports that in comparison with elderly persons who did not have to care for a disabled partner, those elderly persons who did and whose caregiving was emotionally stressful were at a higher risk of death than their counterparts.⁷ Most caregivers of the elderly in the United States are

either middle-aged adult children or older spouses who care for a partner, and, of these two groups, 72 percent are women (Robb-Nicholson 2000).

If caregiving work makes women vulnerable to the satisfaction of others' needs and interests in a developed country such as the United States, it places the burden of neoliberal globalization processes on the shoulders of poor women in the developing world. To the extent that social cuts in welfare programs place the burden of caring for dependents back on the home, women are left with the primary task of assisting the young, the sick, and the disabled. In African countries where AIDS and other diseases are taking a significant toll, given the scarcity of public facilities, the task of caring for the sick and dying falls predominantly on women. To make matters worse, in many cases women tend to the AIDS patients and loved ones without receiving sufficient information about the disease or how to protect themselves from infection (Kayumba 2000). An ethics of development that takes seriously into account the predicament in which women are placed due to caregiving roles therefore argues for the incorporation of informed women's voices in the planning and implementation of development policy.

It is not sufficient to argue in moral terms for the inclusion of women's and other alternative viewpoints. For alternative rationalities to be included in the planning and design of the economy, a truly democratic culture must be put into practice. In this age of globalized development strategies, the principles of fairness and respect for differences cannot be abandoned. At times, under the pretext of respecting difference, repetitive and delimiting habits are reinforced, as when sexual difference is used to maintain women in the same social place they have occupied for centuries, deprived of the opportunities of a full education or of the capacity to control their sexuality and reproductive choices. Development policy has become increasingly aware of the importance of elevating the economic and political status of women around the world, but again, often the relation between means and ends is inverted. It is thought that women must be integrated into development projects (in other words, that women must be given access to education and other resources to enable them to achieve a certain level of economic independence) because of the instrumental value this will offer to such goals as economic efficiency, population planning, or AIDS prevention. As one scholar summarizes it, "women are considered fundamental agents of development, yes, but . . . as a means or an instrument" for reaching goals such as "the growth of income, the preservation of the environment, the control of the birth rate, family health, and so on" (Antolín 1999, 409 [my translation]). Women are not always considered agents as "ends in themselves as human beings who have the same rights and opportunities as men" (Antolín 1999, 409 [my translation]). The latter perspective is fundamental if the current relations of inequality between men and women are going to change. To this I would add that unless the proper relation is obtained with respect to what merits an instrumental status as contrasted with a substantive status in the process and planning of development, anomalies will continue to grow,

reproducing and creating more inequalities, injustices, and contradictions within the present globalization processes.

Conclusion

To say that every human being has a right to development, as UN discourse professes today, is to invoke a moral law, applicable to all human beings universally, that would mandate such a right. To hold the view that the right to development is a human right also means that we hold a metaphysical view of the human being as someone to be fulfilled by development to such a degree that it would be depriving that person of a basic good to curtail that person's development. What needs to be remembered is that there are responsibilities with respect to exercising the right to development, such that the right of some does not turn into an obstacle to the development of others. For this reason, it is imperative to posit a right of entities, including wildlife, to be protected from exploitative practices of development. The core of an ethics of development is precisely the view that the right to development brings alongside it a set of responsibilities as to the manner in which to direct, carry out, and implement the process of development. The examination of these responsibilities, I have noted, requires a concept of fairness based on the principles of equality of opportunity for all, the elimination of gender, ethnic, and racial prejudices, the strengthening of grassroots democratic processes, and the respect for the integrity and long-standing value of wilderness zones and the natural environment. It also includes bringing in the voices of women and alternative progressive rationalities in the planning and implementation of development.

Notes

- ¹ For example, the top fifth of the world population in the richest countries benefits from 82 percent of export business expansion and 68 percent of foreign direct investment, whereas the bottom fifth accounts for only about 1 percent (United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 30–31).
- ² Silliman and King 1999 supports the view that socioeconomic factors in both rich and poor countries weigh most heavily in sustaining the current environmental crisis.
- ³ It is arguable that fertility rates in poor countries are not the sole factor promoting ecological deterioration. For example, Turshen notes that in Tanzania the population has grown “rapidly at the rate of 3.2 percent per year” alongside a high total fertility rate since the 1970s (of approximately 6.8 children) and a low use of contraception (about 10 percent). Abortion has been available only for medical need (Turshen 1999, 93). Still, she argues that several factors other than population growth are the main causes of the ecological crisis in Tanzania. These include the effects of structural adjustment policies on agriculture, the dislocation of people, population mobility and disease, urbanization, and refugees.
- ⁴ In Tanzania, the reported death rate for maternal mortality in 1990 was 770 per 100,000 live births.
- ⁵ In Tanzania, life expectancy at birth in 1997 was reported as 49.1 years for women and 46.8 for men. An estimated 61 percent of the population (as compared with 13 percent in the United States) was not expected to live past 60 years. United Nations Human Development Program 1999, 141, 171, 168.
- ⁶ See Tax 1999. Tax argues that the economic crisis in Africa, Asia, and Latin America brought about by the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s has

created unfavorable conditions for women's critical expression in the arts, literature, and culture.

⁷ Robb-Nicholson 2000. The December 15, 1999, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* is cited as the source for the study on caregiving and the elderly.

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