6.1
Towards an Ethics of Care: Response to 'Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging'

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Introduction

Nira Yuval-Davis, in her thought-provoking essay 'Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging', advocates for a view of intersectionality that is mutually constitutive and is focused on a politics of belonging, which has to do with contestation between different people sharing the same location. She stresses that one cannot homogenize a political project of people who are positioned differently. She argues that in spite of globalization, state citizenship still remains the most important political project of our time, along with nationalist and religious projects. In this context she wants to develop a feminist political project of belonging based on an 'ethics of care', rather than one built on citizenship, nationalism, religion or cosmopolitanism. It is an ethics of care that is based on power and shared values rather than an economy of care that simply makes it easier for women to be exploited. She asks on what basis should that 'ethics of care' be built and is uncomfortable with the notion that it be built on the bond of mothers to their children, which is a relationship of love, need and dependence rather than a more symmetrical relationship. What criteria, then, should be used to decide how differences should be respected and how does one determine the ability to respect, she asks?

Yuval-Davis is also interested in incorporating a notion of intersectionality that is concerned with power. Unlike standpoint theory, which is agnostic about power relations, intersectionality is explicitly concerned with power (Lutz, Herrera Vivar and Supik 2011). These relations are dynamic and changing. Scholars of intersectionality examine systems of power and oppression based on multiple forms of difference that are interconnected and cannot be understood in isolation from one another. In other words, one cannot pull apart one identity from another and try to understand it on its own. People have multiple identities that intersect and coproduce one another, depending on social experiences. Individuals or groups who are privileged in one power

relationship may find themselves marginalized in another. As with standpoint theory, individuals have different perceptions and worldviews, but as Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) has argued, these perceptions can be based on simultaneous experiences of privilege and disadvantage.

While I entirely embrace the idea that there needs to be a feminist-inspired political project other than one built on citizenship, nationalism, religion or cosmopolitanism, I am not sure that an ethics of care can entirely avoid the notion of dependence even if it is premised on equality. My other concern is that an ethics of care needs to take existing realities, ideologies and practices as a starting point. It can and should be normative and visionary, and it should transcend existing ideologies, but it also needs to take lived experience as a starting point. I elaborate on both these caveats below.

Can an ethics of care avoid dependence?

First, regarding the idea of symmetry that Yuval-Davis wishes to preserve, care implies that someone is in need of care, so it is not entirely clear to me that 'an ethics of care' can be perfectly symmetrical at any given moment. One should always assume equality between people, but we are not all the same and we should not require sameness in an ethics of care. Moreover, I don't think that one can entirely escape the notion of dependence. Children, the ill, the disabled, the elderly – all are dependent at different times. Even caregivers and parents are dependent on others in various instances. What equalizes us as humans is that everyone at some point in their life is dependent on others. There may be greater symmetry when the child who was parented becomes the caregiver of the elderly parent. Someone who was cared for when they were ill can care for their caregiver who might become ill. Relations between parents and children need not be based on hierarchy because parents learn as much from their children as children learn from them. All of these relations can and should be based on equality and mutual respect. Dependence does not mean inequality.

Being a caregiver also does not necessarily imply exploitation, although in practice it often can be such a relationship. Women, more often than not, end up in underpaid, undervalued, caregiving roles, creating an imbalance. Caregiving can be reimagined so that it is shared by more household members, by men and women in the home, and in ways that do not result in exploitation within the family, of poorer women and men workers in caregiving jobs both locally and globally. However, shifting to the notion of 'an ethics of care' that is detached from mothering does not necessarily mean that one escapes these realities.

Because the foundation of an ethics of care often rests on the metaphor of mothering, one needs to come to terms with mothering. It seems that the

metaphor of caring, or of motherly caring, should not be taken too literally. It should be thought of symbolically for the values it represents. Not everyone is a mother: men and young children cannot be mothers; women with adult children generally do not mother in the same active way as when their children were younger; some women are yet to be mothers; and not all women can or wish to be mothers. Moreover, not all mothers are caring, loving, selfless or self-sacrificing. So when we speak of motherly caring, most societies think of it as a metaphor and see it for what it represents as an archetype rather than an actual relationship. The metaphor implies selfless caring for the other without thought of oneself. It implies putting someone else's needs above one's own. It implies complete devotion and love of the other and recognition of the value of everyone who has been born because they are human. This is, of course, an ideal and it is one that falls far short of reality. It is an ideal that could be adopted by any gender and anyone. An ethics of care that arises from this archetype sees value in everyone and, because of their humanity, they are deserving of care. The mother is a society and state that values the welfare of each of its members and sees their survival and flourishing as integral to the survival of society itself.

However, an ethics of care is first concerned with whether one's needs are being met. In that sense it is similar to a human rights ideology that claims that everyone has a right to be free from abuse regardless of their party affiliation, race, religion, gender, history of their group identity and so on. As Yuval-Davis points out, quoting Alison Assiter, 'all human beings are needy and all suffer... sometimes, loving another will involve respecting their differences from oneself to the extent that one is able' (2009: 101, 102 cited in Yuval-Davis 2011). Yuval-Davis, however, goes on to ask in a somewhat contradictory fashion: 'what criteria should be used to decide when such difference should or should not be respected, and secondly, how does one determine their ability to respect such differences'. An ethics of care cannot ask this because everyone is meritorious. However, she is right to focus on power inequalities. An ethics of care should examine the power relations that give rise to certain forms of need, and one can address those imbalances. One way to address them to minimize asymmetries is to provide people with the means, with the capacity, as Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (1993), Martha Nussbaum (2000) put it, to be able to advance themselves through education, access to credit, healthcare and other such means. It also may require tackling inequalities that give rise to difference through state policy and, for example, provide benefits to all, not through a means-tested system but through a universal system that removes the stigma of being a welfare recipient. Another way, which is suggested in this essay, is to see the ethics of care as a means by which women and people more generally become empowered.

Building on a lived ethics of care

My second interest in this essay is to show that an ethics of care should build on existing practices and ideologies. While the ethics of care is a normative ideal that transcends citizenship, nationalism, racism and cosmopolitanism, we find aspects of this ideal realized in women's mobilization the world over in contexts of conflict. One of the most interesting manifestations of this ethics of care has been women's capacity for recognition and working together across difference during conflict and civil war. It is here where we have witnessed the most remarkable capacities to bridge difference and manifest caring of the other, of the so-called enemy, and of those with whom one experiences the greatest difference. It is in these instances where we find women doing what other members of society were often unable to do: bringing the so-called 'enemy' into their ambit of care. Not only do they care for the other but they work together with them to provide care. Clearly, this is not a statement about all women, and some work at odds with this ethic, but it does describe the many who are active in peacebuilding.

Often in articulating this ethics of care, women rationalize their activities by drawing on fairly essentialized notions of motherhood and caring. But again, they are referring to an archetype, not a literal understanding of motherhood. They are pointing to an ethics of care constructed through their peacebuilding activities amid conflict.

A few examples may illustrate this ethics of care in action and how women have embodied this ethics of care and led the way. When violence broke out in Kenya after the 2007 elections in Nakuru, Grace Kibuku,[1] a businesswoman who was also head of the water commission, went to the authorities to beg them to take action to stop the violence. Nakuru was the most affected part of Kenya when land-related violence between the Kikuyu and Kalenjins broke out after elections in 1992, 1997 and especially 2007.

Kibuku had arranged for a hotel to be transformed into a place of refuge for displaced women, children, the elderly and disabled, to protect them from the cold at night. They accepted all into the hotel, including Kalenjin and Kikuyu. But the militia came with jerrycans and as police stood by watching, they torched the hotel while people were inside. Women leaders in the community went to the police and others in authority to beg them to stop the violence, but to no avail. They said to the men: 'give us the trousers [authority] and we will take care of this'. Then and there, Kibuku decided she wanted to run for political office, which she did in the next election. 'This was not about me, it was about us. I wanted to be in power make a difference.' Women did everything they could. They prayed, they took care of the needy, they pleaded with the authorities, they held a press conference and they marched to the provisional commissioner's (PC's) office. When they reached it, he said he was in a

security meeting and refused to meet with them. They were infuriated because nothing had been done to stop the violence and the police were simply standing by as the violence flared. The receptionist, recognizing the urgency of their request, told them that she would do them a favour and pretend that she was going to the toilet. She said: 'You storm in and don't spare that man. They have been sitting since morning doing nothing.' The women stormed in and Kibuku shouted: 'How can you sit here as PC while they are burning down Nakuru!' He started shaking and broke down crying. She said to him: 'Crying is not enough. I say to you men this is not a crying matter. Do something.' That night the PC imposed a curfew and the violence, which had taken at least 80 lives and displaced 8,000 people, began to subside.

Kibuku explained that women took action and helped out those who had been displaced because

> by nature women are compassionate. When this happened, the men ran. The attachment of a woman to care for her child means that we are not made to do those corrupt things, we are not able to burn buildings, we are not naturally violent. People want to use violence to deal with fear.

Another Kenyan activist, Rosemary Okello-Odede, said that the 'ethnic card has worked for men in elections, but women politicians use the women's card, which unites them regardless of whether they are Kikuyu or Luo. We are mothers of all children, we understand all our children. Women are national, while men are ethnic' in orientation. 'We have a broader narrative.'[2] This is not to say that in reality women did not also draw on ethnicity, or that men did not challenge its politicization, but the comment speaks to the existence of an ethics of care associated with women and the values of motherhood that transcends tribalism.

In Western Africa another example of this narrative unfolded. When about 276 mostly Christian female students were kidnapped in April 2014 by the Al Qaeda-linked Boko Haram in Nigeria's town of Chibok in Borno State, it was not until Muslim and Christian women rallied together to protest the action that the mass abduction received national and international attention. Boko Haram had been attacking schools in northern Nigeria since 2010, killing hundreds of students and closing down schools.

Although there had been clashes between Muslims and Christians in northern Nigeria, Muslim and Christian women formed coalitions across religion and ethnicity, and between secular and religious women to protest the Chibok kidnappings in the northern Borno, Kaduna, Jos, Kwara, Nasarawa and Plateau states. In Nasarawa the protests were organized by the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) together with the Women Wing of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). In Jos, the protests were organized by

FOMWAN and the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA). Similar protests were held in Abuja. I asked the secretary general of the Abuja chapter of FOMWAN, Rafatu Abdulhamid, why women of all religions had been at the forefront of the protests. She said there were some men but mainly it had to do with the fact that 'mothers feel the loss of other mothers so intensely, they feel it as though it were their own loss. We had no choice but to let our feelings be known.' She also made it clear that the Muslim community in Nigeria regarded Boko Harem's action as contradicting Islam and made it harder for girls to go to school in northern Nigeria.[3]

Jordan Rengshwat, a lecturer at the Theological College of Northern Nigeria, which is based in Jos, found that the Chibok incident had brought people together, especially women, across religious divisions in a country that has often been divided and seen violence based on religious and ethnic differences.[4] Similarly, Archbishop Ignatius Kaigama of Jos explained that women led the way in calling for the return of the girls and influenced others to do the same:

> They are just innocent girls, and every human being feels bad about this. Life is sacred. I think, because they are innocent young girls and also because it touches directly the suffering of women, the mothers of these children. And women can identify themselves more with the pain of others. The women started holding demonstrations – both Christian and Muslim women. Nigerians are standing up together for freedom and dignity; a common voice is growing up, a voice that says: 'Violence is never the way'.
>
> (National Catholic Register 2014)

Far from the site of the abductions, the Market Women Association closed down markets in Lagos to protest against the abductions in solidarity with the mothers of the Chibok girls. Adiat Alao, the leader of Apongbon Market, explained:

> We are mothers and we know what the mothers of the girls are going through. We also feel the pain as mothers, so we decided to close down the markets this morning to share in the pain being experienced by the parents of the girls. We feel for the abducted girls.
>
> (*The Guardian* 2014)

Women's mobilization during conflict is often characterized by a transcendence of ethnicity and religion, the very divisions that have been politicized and led to violence. According to Yvonne Ryakiye, in 1996 most inhabitants of the Tutsi Musaga village and the Hutu Busoro village in Burundi did not feel safe travelling to each other's villages. Ryakiye went to sell her wares in Musaga anyway. As she explained,

> people here would say of me, 'She is a traitor, she has gone there to tell our secrets!' When Tutsi women came to Busoro, the same would be said of them there. So together with Ancilla and the other women from Musaga and Busoro we founded an association. We called it *Twishakira Amahoro* [We Need Peace]. If we do not make an association, we thought, we as women will not achieve anything. We developed good relationships. We told the women: 'A woman does not belong to any ethnic group. All these problems just hurt us. Let's work together to bring back peace!' We rebuilt the houses destroyed during the crisis in Gatumba for both the Hutu and the Tutsi. When the Women Peace Centre learned about us, they invited us to talk to women in Ngozi. We told them that among women, there are neither Hutu nor Tutsi, 'We all are Barundi.' We did the same in Ntega and Marangara.

On numerous occasions, Ryakiye and others were able to save the lives of Tutsi.[5]

As a result of such mobilization, amid the worst fighting in 1999, women organized an exchange of humanitarian aid as a gesture of solidarity between two groups in Musaga and Busoro. Women from Musaga collected what food and clothing they could find for the women in Busoro, who had previously been attacked. As they heard gunshots in the surrounding hills, they gathered at an administrator's office and gave speeches pledging support to one another. They chanted, sang and danced for hours, 'We are the women of Busoro, we are the women of Musaga, give us peace, give us peace now!', until the gunshots subsided.[6]

Similarly in Somalia's civil war, women's role in sustaining families and communities uniquely positioned them to mobilize people at the grassroots and across clan lines, and to devise alternative networks for food, clothing, shelter and health services. Household divisions of labour dictated that women were the main ones responsible for restoring destroyed schools, creating clean water sources and assisting displaced persons.

One finds example after example of such unsung heroines and heroism. Women came together across acrimonious differences in peace talks in Burundi, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia, and sat in the peace talks together from the outset, while men sat with their own parties and ethnic/clan groups. Women often saw unity as a starting point of the negotiations rather than the end point, and they saw their unity around common demands relating to the war, national reconstruction and women's rights as the focus of the process, rather than how to divide up positions and power. Women activists in such contexts often found it easier to build alliances across conflicted differences because they shared common gender concerns and shared opposition to patriarchy.

Women built ties across the Christian–Muslim divide and across ethnic divisions in Liberia in the two civil wars between 1989 and 2005. Their protests in

Liberia and collective action at the Accra peace talks in 2003 speeded up the resolution of the conflict. In the Liberian and many other peace movements, women saw peace as a process rather than a goal.

Women have also linked the ethics of care to political power and the necessity for power in order to be able to actualize their vision of care. Interestingly, they often embody Yuval-Davis' notion that caring needs to be combined with a political vision. Hence one often finds in African contexts a notion of 'political motherhood' that combines motherly caring with the need for women's political empowerment. One often discovers that movements for peace frequently include as one of their central demands the need for women's political representation. This corresponds nicely with Martin Luther King's eloquent admonition:

> What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anemic. Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is love correcting everything that stands against love. And this is what we must see as we move on.
>
> (King 1967)

Thus, when Catherine Samba-Panza, who is a women's rights activist and human rights lawyer, took over as interim president of the Central African Republic in 2014, the news reports reflected these perceptions of female political power and what it symbolizes. The Central African Republic has been fraught with sectarian conflict, displacement and ethnic cleansing of Muslims in a country where 15% of the population is Muslim and 50% Christian. 'Everything we have been through has been the fault of men [fighters],' said Marie-Louise Yakemba, who heads a civil-society organization that brings together people of different faiths, and who cheered loudly when Ms Samba-Panza's victory was announced. 'We think that with a woman, there is at least a ray of hope,' she said. 'As a woman, she can understand the sufferings of the people, and as a mother, she will not tolerate all of this bloodletting,' said Annette Ouango, a member of a Central African Republic women's group. 'The men have done nothing but fight,' said Judicaelle Mabongo, an 18-year-old student in downtown Bangui. 'The men, they are fighting. But they are only destroying the country. This woman, she might be able to change things' (*New York Times* 2014).

The rhetoric is not unproblematic. While drawing on the motherly imagery, there is a heavy essentialist tone to the discourse, which reflects a gender duality in society. This vision may be harmful to the inclusion of men in solutions. But if taken at a more archetypal level it speaks to an ethics of care and the need for power to enforce that ethics of care. It speaks to the passion behind the

need for a different set of values than those that have produced ethnically and religiously based conflict in these societies.

Ideologies of care

While Yuval-Davis advocates for intersectionality as an approach, women's movements that draw on an ethics of care adopt numerous different ideological approaches to their understanding of difference. Intersectionality is a particular perspective rooted in US and British historical realities. It is a heuristic tool that can be used in understanding how differences are structured along various power differentials. It is less useful as a guide to action. Here it is instructive to look at experiences in different parts of the world to bring in a wider array of approaches.

In India during the 2002 Gujarat communal riots between Muslims and Hindus, many women's organizations called for the building of ties across difference. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was one such organization. It is an independent trade union with a membership of over a million women. The organization is particularly known for mobilizing women across caste and across the Hindu–Muslim divide in India, drawing on the Gandhian idea that all people have equal worth, regardless of religion or caste. Their guiding principles emphasize *satya* (truth), *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *sarvadharma* (integrating all faiths) for social change. The organization is based in Gujarat, which has experienced communal Hindu–Muslim violence since India's independence in 1947. The majority of SEWA members are of lower castes and religious minorities. SEWA, along with other women's organizations, played an important role in education, awareness-building and dialogue between Muslim and Hindu women, and between women of different castes. SEWA leaders called on all the authorities to act to stop the violence, which mostly affected the poor, but they claimed they were helpless. At this time the Gujarat government was controlled by an extremist and violent wing of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Led by the chief minister at the time (the current prime minister of India), Narendra Modi, the BJP was regarded as polarizing and this contributed to the violence. Almost 40,000 SEWA members in Ahmedabad were directly affected by the violence in urban areas and 52,400 in rural areas. Their livelihoods were severely affected as raw materials were no longer available and no one was coming to collect their finished goods. They lost family members and homes, and some lost all their worldly possessions. Interestingly, SEWA and other women's NGOs worked in the communal harmony frame, which according to Mangala Subramaniam focused more on healing the community than on women's rights and concerns specifically, even though they were acknowledged. This approach seeks to 'interrogate, resist, and reconstruct the notion of communalism by challenging the gendered basis upon which it is perpetrated

and embedded in the broader notions of nationalism' (Subramanian 2014: 76). Thus SEWA did not focus its activities around sexual violence even though it acknowledged it because it felt the communal relations were too fragile to withstand blame.

There are other ideologies that drive women's mobilization around an ethic of care. Many societies conceive of a form of complementarity between the genders that allows for women to mobilize across difference. The potential limitation of such a view is that it locks women and men into prescribed roles and reifies a notion of gender that is fixed rather than fluid. Nevertheless, in Bolivia, for example, one of the reasons that women were able to build a broad coalition and gain legislative quotas, whereas the men of various indigenous groups failed to do so, has, in part, to do with the philosophical understandings within Andean cultures of complementarity between the sexes, which is referred to as *chachawarmi* in Aymara and *qhariwarmi* in Quechua. This dualism influences all spheres of life, including public decision-making, and it allowed women to put aside their political, class and ethnic differences to demand political rights and quotas for all women. In contrast, the movement for indigenous reservations in the legislature was unsuccessful because of the many divisions within the indigenous peoples movement: some won power while others were marginalized (Htun and Ossa 2013). Societies the world over have variations on such dual understandings of male and female spheres, and increasingly they are being used as a basis for demanding political power for women.

In Liberia, understandings of gender are based on a strict duality of female and male spheres, which are found in many parts of Africa. Rather than being a source of women's disempowerment, women claim their political authority from their engagement in this sphere. This moral authority served women peacemakers well in trying to negotiate with the militia to lay down their arms. They also appealed to their authority as mothers. Elizabeth Mulbah and Marian Subah of the Christian Health Association of Liberia called the faction leaders to a peace meeting. Two other important meetings were to be held on the same day, one organized by the Inter-Faith Mediation Council and another by the political parties, but the militia leaders went to the one called by the women because, as one faction leader put it, 'When your mother calls, you must show up' (AWPSG 2004: 28),

Another peace activist, named Peace, explained to me why women were able to build coalitions across difference:

> God gave us women knowledge. We are peacemakers. We have mind to do development, not a mind to destroy. We give birth. We know how to struggle. If someone kills someone, we feel the pain. When children joined the rebels, they smoked, moved about and killed. It was men that herded the children to fight. Now fathers depend on mothers to help them take their

children out of trauma, to talk to them to lea[illegible] fighting, smoking, and to stop moving around stealing.

It is important to note that women often drew on these gendered constructions for political expediency, in order to gain political support, to appeal to donors and to elicit public sympathy at home and abroad. However problematic from a feminist standpoint, women have depicted themselves as mothers who are natural peacemakers and leaders in order to be granted a seat at the peace negotiating table or claim leadership. Ruth Perry explained why she succeeded in conflict management and became head of the Council of State in Liberia in 1996: 'I projected myself as a true mother and stabilizer, using faith, discipline, courage, patience and tolerance. Prior to becoming head of state, I was deeply involved in encouraging and motivating women and all patriotic Liberians to take an active part in the peace process' (AWPSG 2004: 31).

Similarly, Nobel laureate Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who was the first female elected president in Africa, drew on the motherhood trope quite actively. She is known in Liberia as 'Ma Ellen'. A Johnson-Sirleaf campaign T-shirt read: 'All the men have failed Liberia – Let's try a woman.' As she explained in an interview,

> I believe that there are certain attributes in a woman that give her some advantages over a man. Women are usually more honest, more sensitive to issues and bring a stronger sense of commitment and dedication to what they do. Maybe because they were mothers, and being a mother you have that special attention for the family, for the young, for children ... All in all I am glad I am a woman and I think in Liberia today, it is time for women to show what they can do.
>
> (Dukulé 2005)

Towards an ethics of care: Lessons from civil wars

What can we learn from the ethics of care embodied in these movements? First, the ethics of care is found in the quotidian. Peace is the starting point, and seeking peace, often through very quotidian pursuits of seeking water, fuel and shelter, is the way forward. It does not make headlines, it does not (usually) win Nobel Peace Prizes or gain the attention of politicians. It does not garner the spotlight because it is found in the everyday ordinary activities of life. It is remarkable for the lack of attention it draws to itself. Its importance lies in its mundane yet life-changing nature.

Second, an ethics of care points us to unities that help draw people together across difference. More than any other difference, gender difference cuts across the widest array of identities, creating a key building block to allow for such unities to be built. We need to aspire beyond difference and move to a post-identity world in which people can enjoy their cultural differences, but in which those

differences are not tied to economic and political power, which is what can make these differences so powerful and potentially destructive. One of the reasons women's rights activists have been especially adept at building ties across difference is because mobilization around women's rights and participation has the potential to unite the broadest swathe of any society around an issue because it is the broadest identity and it does not map onto wealth and power in the same way that other identities do. Women are generally in poor, middle-class or wealthy classes in equal numbers to men, but other groups can be included or excluded by wealth based on how they are situated within a society. These divisions can potentially lead to tensions and conflict. From the Liberian to the Burundian civil wars, women have mobilized around gender demands. They were able to tap into one of the broadest sets of cross-cutting interests in their societies and thus form new building blocks to build ties across difference. In all cases, women worked across class lines, thus reinforcing the cross-cutting nature of the gender alliance over ascriptive difference.

Third, an understanding of power is integral to an ethics of care. The most successful movements have sought to build alliances with the needs of the weakest and most dispossessed women at the forefront and with these women in leadership. This provides these movements with an ethical compass from which to proceed. When societies have aligned themselves with dominant powerful forces, this has often led to alliances based on racism, tribalism, wealth and other divisions. These are often backed up by ideologies of nationalism, apartheid and sectarianism of various kinds.

Fourth, while theoretically one can develop a notion of a care economy, in practice women activists already have existing frames that articulate versions of an ethics of care in their economic and household activities, but also in building the aforementioned bridges across differences in contexts of conflict and in building their movements. Sometimes these understandings are quite essentialized, based on notions of complementarity or duality of gender roles. However, these societies also find these gendered divisions a basis for building ties across difference. The lived ethics of care is an incomplete project because it appeals primarily to the caregiving tendencies of women rather than incorporating all genders. Thus while the lived experience of creating an ethics of care may provide a foundation on which to develop the project, it needs to be more explicitly detached from its focus on women to embrace all humans and from its essentialized assumptions about gender. Nevertheless, we need to look at such experiences in further developing the concept.

Notes

1. Interview with author, 21 May 2014, Nairobi, Kenya.
2. Interview with author, 22 May 2014, Nairobi, Kenya.
3. Interview with author, 30 May 2014, Maropeng, South Africa.

4. Interview with author, 30 May 2014, Maropeng, South Africa.
5. Interview by Maziar Bahari, translated by Tatien Nkeshimana, edited by David Shem-Tov, *Burundi Voices Project 2006*, http://www.burundivoices.org/eng/yvonne4.asp.
6. http://www.fasngo.org/en/activities/bestpract/linx/glakes/busoro_and_musaga.htm.

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6.2 Toward Critical Analysi

Susan Paulso

Introduction

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