



**UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)**

**The maternity ward as mirror**

*Maternal death, biobureaucracy, and institutional care in the Tanzanian health sector*

Strong, A.E.

[Link to publication](#)

*License*

**Other**

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Strong, A. E. (2017). *The maternity ward as mirror: Maternal death, biobureaucracy, and institutional care in the Tanzanian health sector.*

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

## References

- Aber, E. and H. Drotbohm, eds. 2015. *Anthropological Perspectives on Care: Work, Kinship, and the Life-Course*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- AbouZahr, C. 2003. Safe Motherhood: A brief history of the global movement 1947-2002. *British Medical Bulletin* 67:13-25. DOI: 10.1093/bmb/ldg014
- Adams, V., ed. 2016. *Metrics: What Counts in Global Health*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Afnan-Holmes, H., M. Magoma, T. John, et al. 2015. Tanzania's countdown to 2015: An analysis of two decades of progress and gaps for reproductive, maternal, newborn, and child health, to inform priorities for post-2015. *The Lancet* 3(7):e396-e409. DOI:10.1016/S2214-109X(15)00059-5
- Ahmed, S., A. A. Creanga, D.G. Gillespie, and A.O. Tsui. 2010. Economic status, education and empowerment: implications for maternal health service utilization in developing countries. *PLoS ONE* : 5(6).
- Allard, O. 2012. Bureaucratic anxiety: Asymmetrical interactions and the role of documents in the Orinoco Delta, Venezuela. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2(2):234-256. DOI:10.14318/hau2.2.013
- Allen, D.R. 2004. *Managing Motherhood, Managing Risk: Fertility and Danger in West Central Tanzania*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Amooti-Kaguna, B., and F. Nuwaha. 2000. Factors Influencing Choice of Delivery Sites in Rakai District of Uganda. *Social Science & Medicine* 50(2): 203–213.
- Andaya, E. 2014. *Conceiving Cuba: Reproduction, Women, and the State in the Post-Soviet Era*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Armbruster, D. 2006. Prevention of postpartum hemorrhage: The role of active management of the third stage of labor. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* 94(sup2):S122-123.
- Armstrong, C.E., I.L. Lange, M. Magoma, et al. 2014. Strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of maternal and perinatal death reviews in Tanzania: Perceptions, processes and practice. *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 19(9):1087-1095. DOI:10.1111/tmi.12353
- Aronowitz, R. A. 2009. The Converged Experience of Risk and Disease. *The Milbank Quarterly* 87(2): 417–442.

Auyero, J. 2012. *Patients of the State: The Politics of Waiting in Argentina*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Avotri, J.Y. and V. Walters. 1999. "You just look at our work and see if you have any freedom on earth:" Ghanaian women's accounts of their work and their health. *Social Science & Medicine* 48:1123-1133.

Bazzano, A. N., B. Kirkwood, C. Tawaih-Agyemang, et al. 2008. Social costs of skilled attendance at birth in rural Ghana. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* (102), 91-94. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijgo.2008.02.004

Bech, M.M, Lawi, Y.Q., Massay, D.A., and Rekdal, O.B. 2013. Changing policies and their influence on government health workers in Tanzania, 1967-2009: Perspectives from rural Mbulu district. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46 (1), 61-103.

Beck, A. 1977. Medicine and Society in Tanganyika, 1890-1930; A Historical Inquiry. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 67(3). New Series: 1-59.

Berry, N. S. 2010. *Unsafe Motherhood: Mayan Maternal Mortality and Subjectivity in Post-War Guatemala*, vol.21. Fertility, Reproduction, and Sexuality. New York: Berghahn Books.

Biermann, W. and J. Wagao. 1986. The quest for adjustment: Tanzania and the IMF, 1980-1986. *African Studies Review* 29(4):89-103.

Bixby Center for Global Reproductive Health. 2009. Safe Motherhood Program About NASG. Retrieved from <http://www.safemotherhood.ucsf.edu/nasg/> [Accessed 10 March 2016].

Boesten, J., A. Mdee, and F. Cleaver. 2011. Service delivery on the cheap? Community-based workers in development interventions. *Development in Practice* 21(1):41-58. DOI: 10.1080/09614524.2011.530230

Bohren, M.A., J.P. Vogel, E.C. Hunter, et al. 2015. The mistreatment of women during childbirth in health facilities globally: A mixed-methods systematic review. *PLOS Medicine* 12(6):e1001847. DOI: 10/1371/journal.pmed.1001847.

Boyle, D.A. 2011. Countering compassion fatigue: A requisite nursing agenda. *The Online Journal of Issues in Nursing* 16(1): Manuscript 2. DOI: 10.3912/OJIN.Vol16No01Man02

Bridges, J.M. 1990. Literature review on the images of the nurse and nursing in the media. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 15:850-854.

Bridges, J. and C. Wilkinson. 2011. Achieving dignity for older people with dementia in hospital. *Nursing Standard* 25(29):42-47. DOI: 10.7748/ns2011.03.25.29.42.c8402

Britan, G. M., and Cohen, R. (Eds.). 1980. *Anthropological Perspectives on Bureaucracy: Hierarchy & Society*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Brown, H. 2010. "If we sympathise with them, they'll relax": Fear/respect and medical care in a Kenyan hospital. *Medische Antropologie* 22(1):125-142.

Browner, C. H., and C. F. Sargent, eds. 2011. *Reproduction, Globalization, and the State: New Theoretical and Ethnographic Perspectives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Browner, C.H. and C.F. Sargent. 2007 in F. Saillant and S. Genest, eds. *Medical Anthropology: Regional Perspectives and Shared Concerns*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Brunson, J. 2010. Confronting maternal mortality, controlling birth in Nepal: The gendered politics of receiving biomedical care at birth. *Social Science & Medicine* 71:1719-1727. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.06.013

Butler, J. 1988. Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal* 40(4):519-531.

Cabot, H. 2012. The Governance of things: Documenting limbo in the Greek asylum procedure. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 35:11–29. DOI:10.1111/j.1555-2934.2012.01177.x

Campbell, O. M., and W.J. Graham. 2006. Maternal Survival 2: Strategies for reducing maternal mortality: getting on with what works. *The Lancet* (368), 1284-99. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(06)69381-2

Campbell, H., and H. Stein, eds. 1992. *Tanzania and the IMF: The Dynamics of Liberalization*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cecil, R., ed. 1996. *Anthropology of Pregnancy Loss: Comparative Studies in Miscarriage, Stillbirth and Neo-natal Death. First edition*. London: Bloomsbury Academic Press.

Chambliss, D.F. 1996. *Beyond Caring: Hospitals, Nurses, and the Social Organization of Ethics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Chang, J. and A.D. King. 2011. Towards a genealogy of tropical architecture: Historical fragments of power-knowledge, built environment and climate in the British colonial territories. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 32:283-300. DOI:10.1111/j.1467-9493.2011.00434.x

Chapman, R. R. 2010. *Family Secrets: Risking Reproduction in Central Mozambique*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Chary, A., D. Flood, K. Austad, et al. 2016. Navigating bureaucracy: Accompanying indigenous Maya patients with complex health care needs in Guatemala. *Human Organization* 75(4):305-314.

The Citizen 2015, June 3. Lawmakers query Sh127 billion health debt. *The Citizen*. Retrieved from <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/Lawmakers-query-Sh127-billion-health-debt/>

/1840340/2738158/-/yo0cypz/-/index.html

Cole, J. and L. Thomas. 2009. *Love in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Commonwealth Secretariat. 2008. *Maternal Morbidity: An Overview and a Tanzania Case Study*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat. Retrieved from: [www.appg-popdevrh.org.uk/.../Maternal%20Morbidity%20Hearings/.../9.4.2%20Co...](http://www.appg-popdevrh.org.uk/.../Maternal%20Morbidity%20Hearings/.../9.4.2%20Co...)

Constas, H. 1958. Max Weber's two conceptions of bureaucracy. *American Journal of Sociology* 63(4):400-409.

Cooper, E. and D. Pratten, eds. 2015. *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Crozier, A. 2007. *Practising Colonial Medicine: The Colonial Medical Service in British East Africa*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris.

---2007a. Sensationalizing Africa: British medical impressions of sub-Saharan Africa, 1890-1939. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25(3):393-415.  
DOI:10.1080/03086530701523398

Cunningham, G.F., J. Pritchard, G.D.V. Hankins, et al. 1986. Peripartum heart failure: Idiopathic cardiomyopathy or compounding cardiovascular events? *Obstetrics & Gynecology* 67(2).

Danforth, E. J., M. E. Kruk, P. C. Rockers, et al. 2009. Household Decision-making About Delivery in Health Facilities: Evidence from Tanzania. *Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition* 27(5): 696–703.

Davis, K., A. Fisher, B. Kingsbury, and S.E. Merry. 2012. *Governance by Indicators: Global Power Through Quantification and Rankings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davis-Floyd, R.E. and C.F. Sargent, eds. 1997. *Childbirth and Authoritative Knowledge: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Danel, I., W.J. Graham, and T. Boerma. 2011. Maternal Death Surveillance and Response. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 89:779-779A. DOI:10.2471/BLT.11.097220.

de Klerk, J. 2012. The compassion of concealment: Silence between older caregivers and dying patients in the AIDS era, northwest Tanzania. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 14(S1):S27-S38.  
DOI:10.1080/13691058.2011.631220

---2013. Being tough, being healthy: Local forms of counselling in response to adult death in northwest Tanzania. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 15(S4):S482-S494.  
DOI:10.1080/13691058.2013.809607

Department of Reproductive Health and Research (DRHR), WHO. (2008). *Proportion of births attended by a skilled health worker 2008 updates*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Dilger, H. 2007. Healing the wounds of modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo-Pentacostal church in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37(Fasc. 1):59-83.

---2008. "We are all going to die": Kinship, belonging, and the morality of HIV/AIDS-related illnesses and deaths in rural Tanzania. *Anthropology Quarterly* 81(1):207-232.

Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Drybread, K. 2016. Documents of indiscipline and indifference: The violence of bureaucracy in a Brazilian juvenile prison. *American Ethnologist* 43(3):411-423. DOI: 10.1111/amet.12335

Dubois, V. 2010. *The Bureaucrat and the Poor: Encounters in French Welfare Offices*. (J.-Y. Bart, Trans.) Surrey, England: Ashgate.

Erikson, S.L. 2012. Global health business: The production and performativity of statistics in Sierra Leone and Germany. *Medical Anthropology* 31(4):367-384. DOI:10.1080/01459740.2011.621908

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Family Care International. 2007. Safe Motherhood: A Review. Family Care International. [http://www.familycareintl.org/UserFiles/File/SM%20A%20Review\\_%20Full\\_Report\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.familycareintl.org/UserFiles/File/SM%20A%20Review_%20Full_Report_FINAL.pdf).

Fassin, D. 2008. The elementary forms of care: An empirical approach to ethics in a South African Hospital. *Social Science & Medicine* 67:262-270.

Ferguson, J. 1990. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Fredriksen, S. 2005. Luck, Risk, and Blame. *Journal of Medicine & Philosophy* 30(5): 535–553.

Freedman, L. 2016. Implementation and aspiration gaps: Whose view counts? *The Lancet* 388(10056):2068-2069. DOI:10.1016/S0140-6736(16)31530-6

Gabrysch, S., and O. M. R. Campbell. 2009. Still Too Far to Walk: Literature Review of the Determinants of Delivery Service Use. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth* 9:34.

Gage, A. J. 2007. Barriers to the utilization of maternal health care in rural Mali. *Social Science & Medicine* (65):1666-1682.

Gawande, A. A., Zinner, M. J., Studdert, D. M., and Brennan, T. A. 2003. Analysis of errors reported by surgeons at three teaching hospitals. *Surgery* 133:614-621.

- Geissler, P.W., ed. 2015. *Para-States and Medical Science: Making African Global Health*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Geurts, K.L. 2015, April 27. On the worlding of Accra's rehabilitation training centre. Retrieved from Somatosphere.net: [http://somatosphere.net/2015/04/on-the-worlding-of-accras-rehabilitation-training-centre.html#\\_ednref7](http://somatosphere.net/2015/04/on-the-worlding-of-accras-rehabilitation-training-centre.html#_ednref7)
- Giddens, A. and C. Pierson. 1998. *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ginsburg, F. D. and R. Rapp. 1991. The Politics of Reproduction. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20(1): 311–343.
- Ginsburg, F. D., and R. Rapp, eds. 1995. *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gish, O. 1975. *Planning the Health Sector: The Tanzanian Experience* (2nd Edition ed.). New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc.
- Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York, NY: Anchor.
- Gopfert, M. 2013. Bureaucratic aesthetics: Report writing in the Nigerien gendarmerie. *American Ethnologist* 40(2):324-334. DOI: 10.1111/amer.12024.
- Gordon, D. L. and A. A. Gordon. 2007. *Understanding Contemporary Africa* (4th ed.). A. A. Gordon, and D. L. Gordon, eds. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Greenberg, C.C., Regenbogen, S.E., Studdert, D.M., Lipsitz, S.R., Rogers, S.O., Zinner, M.J., Gawande, A.A. 2007. Patterns of Communication Breakdowns Resulting in Injury to Surgical Patients. *Journal of the American College of Surgeons*, 204(4):533-540.
- Greenwood, A. and H. Topiwala. 2015. *Indian Doctors in Kenya, 1895-1940*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., and Johnson, L. 2006. How Many Interviews Are Enough?: An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Field Methods* 18(1), 59-82.
- Gupta, A. 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gyekye, K. 1997. *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hardy, S. and A. Coronas. 2016. The nurse's uniform as ethopoietic fashion. *Fashion Theory*:1-31. DOI: 10.1080/1362704X.2016.1203090

- Hawkins, K., K. Newman, D. Thomas, and C. Carlson. 2005. *Developing a human rights-based approach to addressing maternal mortality-desk review*. London: DFID Health Resource Center.
- Hegde, N., M.W. Rich, and C. Gayomali. 2006. The cardiomyopathy of iron deficiency. *Texas Heart Institute Journal* 33(3):340-344.
- Henderson, P.C. 2011. *AIDS, Intimacy and Care in Rural KwaZulu-Natal: A Kinship of Bones*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.
- Herzfeld, M. 1992. *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hetherington, K. 2011. *Guerrilla Auditors: The Politics of Transparency in Neoliberal Paraguay*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hill, M. R. 1993. *Archival Strategies and Techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers, Inc.
- Hoag, C. 2011. Assembling partial perspectives: Thoughts on the anthropology of bureaucracy. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 34(1): 81-94.
- Hodgson, G.M. 2006. What are institutions? *Journal of Economic Issues* XL(1):1-25.
- Houweling, L. 2004. Image, function, and style. *The American Journal of Nursing* 104(4):40-48.
- Hull, M.S. 2012. *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hulton, L., Z. Matthews, A. Martin-Hilber, et al. 2014. Using evidence to drive action: A “revolution in accountability” to implement quality care for better maternal and newborn health in Africa. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* 127:96-101.
- Hunt, N. R. 1999. *A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hunter, Mark. 2010. *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Rights, and Gender in South Africa*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.
- Inhorn, M. 2003. *Local Babies, Global Science: Gender, Religion, and In Vitro Fertilization in Egypt*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 2004. Privacy, privatization, and the politics of patronage: Ethnographic challenges to penetrating the secret world of Middle Eastern, hospital-based in vitro fertilization. *Social Science & Medicine* 59:2095-2108. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.012



- 2006. Defining women's health: A Dozen messages from more than 150 ethnographies. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 20(3):345-78.
- Jacob, M-A. 2007. Form-made persons: Consent forms as consent's blind spot. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 30(2):249-268. DOI: 10.1525/pol.2007.30.2.249
- Janes, C. R. and K. K. Corbet. 2009. Anthropology and Global Health. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38:167-83.
- Janzen, J.M. 1981. The needs for a taxonomy of health in the study of African therapeutics. *Social Science & Medicine* 15(3):185-194.
- Jeffery, R. 1988. *The Politics of Health in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jennings, M. 2008. *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- JICA- Japan International Cooperation Agency. 2013 October 18. Tanzania hosts training course on "Quality improvement of health services by 5S-KAIZEN-TQM" for 11 countries of Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.jica.go.jp/tanzania/english/office/topics/press131018.html> [Accessed 14 February 2017]
- Jinks, A.M. and E. Bradley. 2003. Angel, handmaiden, battleaxe or whore? A study which examines changes in newly recruited student nurses' attitudes to gender and nursing stereotypes. *Nurse Education Today* 24:121-127. DOI:10.1016/j.nedt.2003.10.011
- Jordan, B. 1993. *Birth in Four Cultures: A Cross Cultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatan, Holland, Sweden, and the United States*. 4th ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Kesby, J.D. 1977. *The Cultural Regions of East Africa*. London, New York: Academic Press.
- Kickbusch, I., K. A. Hartwig, and J. M. List, eds. 2005. *Globalization, Women, and Health in the Twenty-first Century*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kinambo, I. N. and A. J. Temu, Eds. 1969. *A History of Tanzania*. Nairobi: Published for the Historical Association of Tanzania [by] East African Pub. House.
- Kleinman, A. 2008. Catastrophe and caregiving: The failure of medicine as an art. *The Lancet* 371:22-23.
- Knauff, B. M., ed. 2002. *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Knight, M., D. Tuffnell, S. Kenyon, et al., eds. 2015. Saving Lives, Improving Mothers' Care: Surveillance of maternal deaths in the UK 2011-13 and lessons learned to inform maternity care

from the UK and Ireland Confidential Enquiries into Maternal Deaths and Morbidity 2009-13. Oxford: National Perinatal Epidemiology Unit, University of Oxford.

Koblinsky, M., Z. Matthews, J. Hussein, et al. 2006. Going to Scale with Professional Skilled Care. *The Lancet* 368(9544): 1377–1386.

Kohrman, M. 2005. *Bodies of Difference: Experiences of Disability and Institutional Advocacy in the Making of Modern China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Krabacher, T., E. Kalipeni, and A. Layachi. 2009. *Global Studies: Africa* (12th ed.). Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.

Krippendorff, K. 2013. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Kruk, M.E., S. Kujawski, G. Mbaruku, K. Ramsey, W. Moyo, and L.P. Freedman. 2014. Disrespectful and abusive treatment during facility delivery in Tanzania: a facility and community survey. *Health Policy and Planning* 1-8. DOI: 10.1093/heapol/czu079.

Kuhlmann, E., and E. Annandale, eds. 2010. *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Healthcare*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kyakuwa, M. 2009. Ethnographic experiences of HIV-positive nurses in managing stigma at a clinic in rural Uganda. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 8(3):367-378.

Kyakuwa, M. and A. Hardon. 2012. Concealment tactics among HIV-positive nurses in Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 14(S1):S123-S133.

Kyomuhendo, G. B. 2003. Low use of rural maternity services in Uganda: Impact of women's status, traditional beliefs and limited resources. *Reproductive Health Matters* 11(21): 16–26.

Lambert, S., and D. Sahn. 2002. *Education and Health Expenditure and Poverty Reduction in East Africa: Madagascar and Tanzania*. (C. Morrisson, Ed.) OECD Development Center.

Lambek, M. 2015. *The Ethical Condition: Essays on Action, Person, and Value*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Langwick, S.A. 2008. Articulate(d) bodies: Traditional medicine in a Tanzanian hospital. *American Ethnologist* 35(3):428-439. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00044.x

---2011. *Bodies, Politics, and African Healing: The Matter of Maladies in Tanzania*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

---2012. The choreography of global subjection: the traditional birth attendant in contemporary configurations of global health. In *Medicine, Mobility, and Power in Global Africa*:

*Transnational Health and Healing*, H.J. Dilger, A. Kane, and S.A. Langwick, eds. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Laschinger, H.K.S. and J. Finegan. 2005. Using empowerment to build trust and respect in the workplace: A strategy for addressing the nursing shortage. *Nursing Economics* 23(1):6-13.

Laschinger, H.K.S., M. Leiter, A. Day, and D. Gilin. 2009. Workplace empowerment, incivility, and burnout: Impact on staff nurse recruitment and retention outcomes. *Journal of Nursing Management* 17(3):302-311. DOI: 10.1111/j.1365-2834.2009.00999.x

Leininger, M. 1980. Caring: A central focus for nursing and health care services. *Nursing and Health Care* 1(10):135-143.

--- 2012. Conditions for Work Effectiveness Questionnaire I and II. Western University, Canada.

Lewis, M. 2006. Governance and corruption in public health care systems. Center for Global Development Working Paper no. 78.  
[http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/Corruption%20WP\\_78.pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/Corruption%20WP_78.pdf)

Liamputtong, P. 2007. *The Journey of Becoming a Mother Among Women in Northern Thailand*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Lipsky, M. 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (30th Anniversary Expanded Edition ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Livingston, J. 2012. *Improvising Medicine: An African Oncology Ward in an Emerging Cancer Epidemic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lock, M., J. Freeman, G. Chilibeck, B. Beveridge, and M. Padolsky. 2007. Susceptibility Genes and the Question of Embodied Identity. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 21(3): 256–276.

Lock, M. M., and V. Nguyen. 2010. *An Anthropology of Biomedicine*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lowenkron, L., and L. Ferreira. 2014. Anthropological perspectives on documents. Ethnographic dialogues on the trail of police papers. *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 11(2), 76-112. DOI:10.1590/S1809-43412014000200003

Lubbock, L. A., and R.B. Stephenson. 2008. Utilization of maternal health care services in the department of Matagalpa, Nicaragua. *Pan American Journal of Public Health* 24(2):75-84.

Lurie, A. 1981. *The Language of Clothes*. New York, NY: Random House.

Lyons, M. 2002. *The Colonial Disease: A Social History of Sleeping Sickness in Northern Zaire, 1900-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mabilia, M. 2006. *Breast Feeding and Sexuality: Behaviour, Beliefs and Taboos Among the Gogo Mothers of Tanzania*, vol.5. Mary S. Ash, tran. Fertility, Reproduction, and Sexuality. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Maested, O. and A. Mwisongo. 2011. Informal payments and the quality of health care: Mechanisms revealed by Tanzanian health workers. *Health Policy* 99(2):107-115. DOI:10.1016/j.healthpol.2010.07.011
- Magadi, M. A., N.J. Madise, and R.N. Rodrigues. 2000. Frequency and timing of antenatal care in Kenya: explaining the variations between women of different communities. *Social Science & Medicine* (51), 551-561.
- Mahler, H. 1987. The Safe Motherhood Call to Action. *The Lancet* 1(8534):668-70.
- Maine, D. and A. Rosenfield. 1999. The Safe Motherhood Initiative: Why Has it Stalled? *American Journal of Public Health* 89(4): 480-2.
- Majoko, F., L. Nystrom, S. Munjanja, and G. Lindmark. 2002. Usefulness of risk scoring at booking for antenatal care in predicting adverse pregnancy outcome in a rural African setting. *The Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 22(6):604-609. DOI: 10.1080/0144361021000020358
- Marks, S. 1994. *Divided Sisterhood: Race, Class and Gender in the South African Nursing Profession*. London: St. Martin's Press.
- Martin, H.M. 2009. *Nursing Contradictions: Ideals and Improvisation in Uganda*. Diemen, The Netherlands: AMB Publishers.
- Marwa, S. and A. Strong. 2015. Three case studies and experiences of maternal death at a regional referral hospital in Rukwa, Tanzania in *Maternal Mortality: Risk Factors, Anthropological Perspectives, Prevalence in Developing Countries and Preventative Strategies for Pregnancy-Related Death*. Ed. David Schwartz. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Mattingly, C. and L.C. Garro. 2000. *Narrative and the Cultural Construction of Illness and Healing*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Mayerhoff, M. 1971. *On Caring*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial.
- McAlister, C., and T. F. Baskett. 2006. Female education and maternal mortality: a worldwide survey. *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* :983-990.
- McCarthy, D. 1982. *Colonial Bureaucracy and Creating Underdevelopment: Tanganyika, 1919-1940*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press.
- McClure, E.M., M. Nalubamba-Phiri, and R.L. Goldenberg. 2006. Stillbirth in developing countries. *International Journal of Gynaecology and Obstetrics* 92(2):82-90. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijgo.2006.03.023

- McDonagh, M. 1996. Is antenatal care effective in reducing maternal morbidity and mortality? *Health Policy and Planning* 11(1):1-15.
- McHenry, D. E. 1994. *Limited Choices: The Political Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner.
- McTavish, S., S. Moore, S. Harper, and J. Lynch. 2010. National female literacy, individual socio-economic status, and maternal health care use in sub-Saharan Africa. *Social Science & Medicine* 71:1958-1963.
- Mechanic, D. 1962. Sources of power of lower participants in complex organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 7(3):349-364.
- Merry, S.E. 2011. Measuring the world: Indicators, human rights, and global governance. *Current Anthropology* 52(S3): S83-S95.
- Mhamela, G. 2013. *History of Nursing in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Tanzania Nursing and Midwifery Council.
- Miller, J.P. 1970. Social-psychological implications of Weber's model of bureaucracy: Relations among expertise, control, authority, and legitimacy. *Social Forces* 49(1):91-102.  
DOI:10.1093/sf/49.1.91
- Mills, S. 2011. Maternal Death Audit as a Tool Reducing Maternal Mortality. Retrieved from: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRH/Resources/376374-1278599377733/MaternalDeathAuditMarch22011.pdf>
- Mkoka, D.A., I. Goicolea, A. Kiwara, et al. 2014. Availability of drugs and medical supplies for emergency obstetric care: Experience of health facility managers in a rural district of Tanzania. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth* 14(108). DOI:1671-2393/14/108
- Mol, A. 2008. *The Logic of Care: Health and the Problem of Patient Choice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 2002. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Mol, A., I. Moser, and J. Pols, eds. 2010. *Care in Practice: On Tinkering in Clinics, Homes, and Farms*. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.
- Mrisho, M., J. A. Schellenberg, A. K. Mushi, et al. 2007. Factors Affecting Home Delivery in Rural Tanzania. *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 12(7): 862-872.
- Mulemi, B. 2010. *Coping with Cancer and Adversity: Hospital Ethnography in Kenya*. Leiden, The Netherlands: African Studies Centre.

Mwafisi, M.J. 1999. Corruption in the Health Sector, International Anti-Corruption Conference, Durban, South Africa, October 9-15. Accessed online [http://9iacc.org/papers/day4/ws7/d4ws7\\_mjmwaffisi.html](http://9iacc.org/papers/day4/ws7/d4ws7_mjmwaffisi.html)

National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and ICF Macro. 2011. *Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2010*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: NBS and ICF Macro.

Nelissen, E., Mduma, E., Broerse, J., Ersdal, H., Evjen-Olsen, B., et al. 2013. Applicability of the WHO Maternal Near Miss Criteria in a Low-Resource Setting. *PLOS One* 8(4): e61248.

Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Ujamaa--essays on Socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.

---1973. *Freedom and Development. Uhuru Na Maendeleo. A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1968-1973*. Nairobi, New York: Oxford University Press.

Okafor, C. B. and R.R. Rizzuto. 1994. Women's and health-care providers' views of maternal practices and services in rural Nigeria. *Studies in Family Planning* 25(6):353-361.

Okema, M. 1996. *Political Culture in Tanzania*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.

Olumwullah, O. A. 2002. *Dis-ease in the Colonial State: Medicine, Society, and Social Change Among the AbaNyole of Western Kenya*. Contributions in Medical Studies, no. 47. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.

Oni-Orisan, A. 2016. The Obligation to Count: The Politics of Monitoring Maternal Mortality in Nigeria in Adams, V., ed. 2016. *Metrics: What Counts in Global Health*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Packard, R.M. 1989. *White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Patterson, D. K. 1981. *Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine, and Socio-Economic Change, 1900-1955*. Waltham, MA: Crossroads Press.

Parsons, T. 2006. The consequences of uniformity: The struggle for Boy Scout uniform in colonial Kenya. *Journal of Social History* 40(2):361-383. DOI: 10.1353/jsh.2007.0025

Pembe, A. B., D. P. Urassa, E. Darj, et al. 2008. Qualitative Study on Maternal Referrals in Rural Tanzania: Decision Making and Acceptance of Referral Advice. *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 12(2):120-131.

Pigg, S. L. 1992. Inventing Social Categories through Place: Social Representations and Development in Nepal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34(3):491-513.

- 1997. Authority in Translation: Finding, Knowing, Naming, and Training "Traditional Birth Attendants" in Nepal. In R. E. Davis-Floyd, and C. F. Sargent (Eds.), *Childbirth and Authoritative Knowledge: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (pp. 233-262). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pinto, Sarah. 2008. *Where There Is No Midwife: Birth and Loss in Rural India*, vol.10. Fertility, Reproduction, and Sexuality. New York: Berghahn Books.
- 2014. *Daughters of Parvati: Women and Madness in Contemporary India*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Piot, C. 1999. *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Pratt, M.G. and A. Rafaeli. 1997. Organizational dress as a symbol of multilayered social identities. *Academy of Management* 40(4):862-898. DOI:10.2307/256951
- The Prevention of Maternal Mortality Network. 1992. Barriers to Treatment of Obstetric Emergencies in Rural Communities of West Africa. *Studies in Family Planning* 23(5):279–291.
- Prime Minister’s Office of Regional Administration and Local Government (PMORALG) 2015. Sumbawanga Regional Hospital Comprehensive Hospital Operations Plan. Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.
- Reverby, S. 1987. *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richardson, H. 1997. Kangaroo care: Why does it work? *Midwifery Today* 44:50-51.
- Riles A, ed. 2006. *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Ronsmans, C., and W.J. Graham. 2006. Maternal Survival 1: Maternal mortality: who, when, where, and why. *The Lancet* (368):1189-200. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(06)69380-X
- Ronsmans, C., J. F. Etard, G. Walraven, et al. 2003. Maternal Mortality and Access to Obstetric Services in West Africa. *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 8(10):940–948.
- Rosenfield, A. and D. Maine. 1985. Maternal mortality-A Neglected tragedy. Where is the M in MCH? *The Lancet* :83-85.
- Rossiter, C.E. 1985. Maternal Mortality. *British Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* Supplement 5: 100-115.
- Rottenburg, R. 2009. Social and public experiments and new figurations of science and politics in postcolonial Africa. *Postcolonial Studies* 12(4):423-440.

Rudolph, L.I. and S.H. Rudolph. 1979. Authority and power in bureaucratic and patrimonial administration: A Revisionist interpretation of Weber on bureaucracy. *World Politics* 31(2):195-227.

Rwebangira, M.K. and R. Liljestrom. 1998. *Haraka, Haraka-- Look Before You Leap: Youth at the Crossroad of Custom and Modernity*. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Sargent, Carolyn Fishel. 1982. *The Cultural Context of Therapeutic Choice: Obstetrical Care Decisions Among the Bariba of Benin*. Culture, Illness, and Healing, v. 3. Dordrecht: Boston

---1989. *Maternity, Medicine, and Power: Reproductive Decisions in Urban Benin. Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schantz, M. L. 2007. Compassion: A Concept Analysis. *Nursing Forum* 42:48–55.  
DOI:10.1111/j.1744-6198.2007.00067.x

Scott, S., and C. Ronsmans. 2009. The Relationship between birth with a health professional and maternal mortality in observational studies: A review of the literature. *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 14(12): 1523–1533.

Sikika 2011. Medicines and Supplies Availability Report. Retrieved from <http://sikika.or.tz/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/medicines-and-medical-and-supply-availability-report.pdf>

Skolbekken, J-A. 1995. The Risk Epidemic in Medical Journals. *Social Science & Medicine* 40(3): 291–305.

Smith-Oka, V. 2013. Managing labor and delivery among impoverished populations in Mexico: Cervical examinations as bureaucratic practice. *American Anthropologist* 115(4):959-607.  
DOI:10.1111/AMAN.12046.

Smythe, K. R. 2006. *Fipa Families: Reproduction and Catholic Evangelization in Nkansi, Ufipa, 1880-1960*. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman.

Snyder, K. A. 2005. *The Iraqw of Tanzania: Negotiating Rural Development*. Cambridge, MA: Westview Press.

Spangler, S. A. 2011. “To Open Oneself Is a Poor Woman’s Trouble:” Embodied inequality and childbirth in South–Central Tanzania. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 25(4):479–498.

Starrs, A.M. 2006. Safe motherhood initiative: 20 years and counting. *The Lancet* 368:1130-1132. DOI: 10.1016/S0140- 6736(06)69385-9

Steffen, V., R. Jenkins and H. Jessen, eds. 2005. *Managing Uncertainty: Ethnographic Studies of Illness, Risk and the Struggle for Control*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.



Street, A. 2014. *Biomedicine in an Unstable Place: Infrastructure and Personhood in a Papua New Guinean Hospital* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Street, A. and S. Coleman. 2012. Introduction: Real and imagined spaces. *Space and Culture* 15(1):4-17. DOI: 10.1177/1206331211421852

Strong, A.E. 2014 May 2. Ethical Dilemmas and Medical Malpractice. Retrieved from <https://adrienne-strong.squarespace.com/blog-from-the-field/>

---2016. *The effects of risk and uncertainty on social interactions at a Tanzanian maternity ward*. Manuscript in preparation.

---2017. Working in scarcity: Effects on social interactions at a Tanzanian hospital. *Social Science & Medicine in press* DOI:10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.02.010

Sullivan, N. 2012. Enacting spaces of inequality: Placing global/state governance within a Tanzanian hospital. *Space and Culture* 15(1):57-67. DOI: 10.1177/1206331211426057

Sumbawanga District Council. 2012. *District Profile*. Retrieved from: <http://www.rukwa.go.tz/sumbawangadc.html>

Sumbawanga Regional Referral Hospital. 2013. Rukwa Region Comprehensive Hospital Operational Plan (CHOP). The United Republic of Tanzania Prime Minister Office of Regional Administration and Local Government.

Tanassi, L.M. 2004. Compliance as strategy: The importance of personalized relations in obstetric practice. *Social Science & Medicine* 59:2053-2069. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.009

Tannen, Deborah. 2007. "There is No Unmarked Woman." *50 Essays*. Ed. Samuel Cohen. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's pp. 409-415.

The Tanzania Daily News (2015, July 4). Tanzania: MSD might collapse if debt not paid, state told. *The Tanzania Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://allafrica.com/stories/201507060702.html>

Tanzania Ministry of Health. 1990. *National Health Policy*. Ministry of Health. Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Health.

---2001. *Working Paper No. 1 Progress in Safe Motherhood in Tanzania During the 1990s: Findings Based on NSS/AMMP Monitoring*. Dar es Salaam, TZ: Ministry of Health.

Tanzania Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (TZ MOHSW). 2006. *Guidelines for Maternal and Perinatal Death Reviews*. Dar es Salaam, TZ: Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

---2008. *The National Road Map Strategic Plan to Accelerate Reduction of Maternal, Newborn, and Child Deaths in Tanzania, 2008-2015*.

---2013. *Standards-Based Management and Recognition for Improving Quality in Maternal and Newborn Care: Quality Improvement Standards for Health Centres and Dispensaries, Assessment Tool*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: MoHSW, USAID, MAISHA.

---2014. *Organization of Health Sector*. Retrieved from: <http://hfrportal.ehealth.go.tz>

Tanzania National Archives (TNA), United Republic of Tanzania Records and Archives Management Division. 2011. *Archival Holdings*. Retrieved August 1, 2013, from Tanzania National Archives:  
[http://www.utumishi.go.tz/archives/archives/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=7&Itemid=13](http://www.utumishi.go.tz/archives/archives/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7&Itemid=13)

TNA. Regional Files.  
Ufipa District Book Vol. 2

TNA. Secretariat Files.  
23853 Hospital at Sumbawanga vol. 1  
  
10409 Training of Native Midwives and Welfare Workers, 1927-1929  
  
34300 Maternity and Welfare Clinics and Financial Assistance to Expectant Mothers Vol. 1 and 2

TNA. Medical Department Files, Accession No. 450  
55 Building of the Sumbawanga Hospital, 1936-1957  
  
108/9 Maternity and Child Welfare (General)  
  
189 Expansion of Medical Service: Suggestions for Disposition of Staff  
  
314 Training of Native Midwives (Certificated)  
  
1501/4 Annual Report 1950, Western Region  
  
1614 Annual Report 1957 Prov. Med. Tabora  
  
J/24840 Certain Aspects of the Welfare of Women and Children in Colonies by Dr. Mary Blacklock, M.B., B.Sc., D.I.M.

TNA. Medical Department Files, Accession No. HE  
1172 Medical Development Plan

Tanzania Nurses and Midwives Council. 2009. *Nursing Ethics: A Manual for Nurses*. Dar es Salaam, TZ: Tanzania Nurses and Midwives Council.

Thaddeus, S., and D. Maine. 1994. Too Far to Walk: Maternal Mortality in Context. *Social*

*Science & Medicine* 38(8):1091–1110.

Thomas, L. M. 2003. *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Turner, V. 1968. *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes Among the Ndembu of Zambia*. Oxford, London: Clarendon P.; International African Institute.

Turshen, M. 1984. *The Political Ecology of Disease in Tanzania*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press.

U4.no Anti-Corruption Resource Center. 2014. *U4 Expert Answer Tanzania: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption*. Retrieved from: [www.u4.no/publications/tanzania-overview-of-corruption-and...corruption/.../3465](http://www.u4.no/publications/tanzania-overview-of-corruption-and...corruption/.../3465)

United Nations (UN). 1976. *UN Decade for Women* document 31/136. Retrieved from: <http://www.un-documents.net/a31r136.htm>

---2015. *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*. New York, NY: United Nations.

---2016. *Sustainable Development Goals: 17 Goals to Transform Our World*. Retrieved from: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). 2011. *United Republic of Tanzania Country Profile*. Retrieved October 27, 2013, from The State of the World's Midwifery: [http://www.unfpa.org/sowmy/resources/docs/country\\_info/profile/en\\_URepTanzania\\_SoWMy\\_Profile.pdf](http://www.unfpa.org/sowmy/resources/docs/country_info/profile/en_URepTanzania_SoWMy_Profile.pdf)

United Republic of Tanzania. 2003. *Health*. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from Tanzania National Website: <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/health.html>

van der Geest, S. and K. Finkler. 2004. Hospital ethnography: Introduction. *Social Science & Medicine* 59:1995-2001. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.004

van der Geest, S. and S. Sarkodie. 1998. The fake patient: A research experiment in a Ghanaian hospital. *Social Science & Medicine* 47(9):1373-1381. DOI: 10.1016/S0277-9536(98)00179-8

van der Sijpt, E. and C. Notermans. 2010. Perils to Pregnancies: On Social Sorrows and Strategies Surrounding Pregnancy Loss in Cameroon. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 24(3): 381–398.

Van Hollen, C. 2003. *Birth on the Threshold: Childbirth and Modernity in South India*. First edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Varley, E. 2016. Abandonments, solidarities and logics of care: Hospitals as sites of sectarian conflict in Gilgit-Baltistan. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 40(2):159-180. DOI: 10.1007/s11013-015-9456-5
- Vaughan, M. 1991. *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Vermeulen, E. 2004. Dealing with doubt: Making decisions in the neonatal ward in The Netherlands. *Social Science & Medicine* 59:2071-2085. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.010
- Vierke, C. 2012. Mafumbo: Considering the functions of metaphorical speech in Kiswahili context. In M. R. Marlo, N. B. Adams, C. R. Green, M. Morrison, and T. M. Purvis, eds., *Selected proceedings of the 42<sup>nd</sup> annual conference on African linguistics: African languages in context* (pp. 278-290). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Waiswa, P., M. Kemigisa, J. Kiguli, S. Naikoba, G.W. Pariyo, and S. Peterson. 2008. Acceptability of evidence-based neonatal care practices in rural Uganda- implications for programming. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth* 8(21). DOI:10.1186/1471-2393-8-21
- Weber, M. 1947. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, translators and eds. London: Kegan Paul, Tranch, Trubner & Co., Ltd.
- Weiss, B. 1992. Plastic teeth extraction: The iconography of Haya gastro-sexual affliction. *American Ethnologist* 19(3):538-552. DOI: 10.1525/ae.1992.19.3.02a00070
- Weiss, B., ed. 2004. *Producing African Futures: Ritual and Reproduction in a Neoliberal Age*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Publishers.
- Weiss, R.M. 1983. Weber on bureaucracy: Management consultant or political theorist? *The Academy of Management Review* 8(3):242-248.
- Wendland, C. 2010. *A Heart for the Work: Journeys Through an African Medical School*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2016. Estimating Death: A Close Reading of Maternal Mortality Metrics in Malawi. In Adams, V., ed. 2016. *Metrics: What Counts in Global Health*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- White, P., A. Hillman, and J. Latimer. 2012. Ordering, enrolling, and dismissing: Moments of access across hospital spaces. *Space and Culture* 15(1):68-87. DOI: 10.1177/1206331211426063
- White, L., S. F. Miescher, and D.W. Cohen, Eds. 2001. *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Whyte, S.R. 1997. *Questioning Misfortune: The Pragmatics of Uncertainty in Eastern Uganda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Whyte, S.R. and G.E. Siu. 2015. Contingency: Interpersonal and Historical Dependencies in HIV Care. in Cooper, E. and D. Pratten, eds. 2015. *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Wiley, A. and J. S. Allen. 2009. *Medical Anthropology: A Biocultural Approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Willis, R.G. 1978. Magic and medicine in Ufipa. In P. Morley and R. Wallis (Eds.), *Culture and Curing: Anthropological Perspectives on Traditional Medical Beliefs and Practices*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

--1981 *A State in the Making: Myth, History, and Social Transformation in Pre-Colonial Ufipa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Wind, G. 2008. Negotiated interactive observation: Doing fieldwork in hospital settings. *Anthropology & Medicine* 15(2):79-89. DOI: 10.1080/13648470802127098

Wolf, A. 2012. Health Security on the Move: Biobureaucracy, Solidarity, and the Transfer of Health Insurance to Senegal. In H. Dilger, A. Kane, and S.A. Langwick (Eds.), *Medicine, Mobility, and Power in Global Africa: Transnational Health and Healing* (pp. 92-114). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

World Health Organization. (WHO). 1989. The status of women and maternal mortality. Retrieved from: [http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/1989.9241561289\\_chap4\\_eng.pdf](http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/1989.9241561289_chap4_eng.pdf).

---1996. Normal Pregnancy. Antenatal Care: Report of a Technical Working Group. World Health Organization.

---2012. *Maternal Mortality, Factsheet*. Retrieved October 27, 2012, from World Health Organization: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs348/en/>

---2014. *Health Expenditure Tables Database*. Retrieved from: <http://apps.who.int/nha/database/ViewData/Indicators/en>

---2015. *Trends in Maternal Mortality 1990-2015*. Geneva: World Health Organization Press.

---2015a. *Strategies toward Ending Preventable Maternal Mortality (EPMM)*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

---2016. Maternal mortality ratio (per 100 000 live births). Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/healthinfo/statistics/indmaternalmortality/en/>

---2016a. *Pregnant women must be able to access the right care at the right time, says WHO*. Retrieved from: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2016/antenatal-care->

guidelines/en/?utm\_source=ENews+%2F+SON+Student+lists&utm\_campaign=fccb0090c8-EMAIL\_CAMPAIGN\_2016\_11\_16&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=0\_51937d1242-fccb0090c8-169847505

World Health Organization Maternal Health and Safe Motherhood Program. 1994. World Health Organization Partograph in Management of Labour. *The Lancet* 343:1399-1404.

Yuster, E.A. 1995. Rethinking the Role of the Risk Approach and Antenatal Care in Maternal Mortality Reduction. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics* 50, Supplement 2(0): S59–S61.

Zaman, S. 2004. Poverty and violence, frustration and inventiveness: Hospital ward life in Bangladesh. *Social Science & Medicine* 59:2025-2036. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.007

---2005. *Broken Limbs, Broken Lives: Ethnography of a Hospital Ward in Bangladesh*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis.

---2008. Native among the natives: Physician anthropologist doing hospital ethnography at home. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37(2):135-154. DOI: 10.1177/0891241607312495