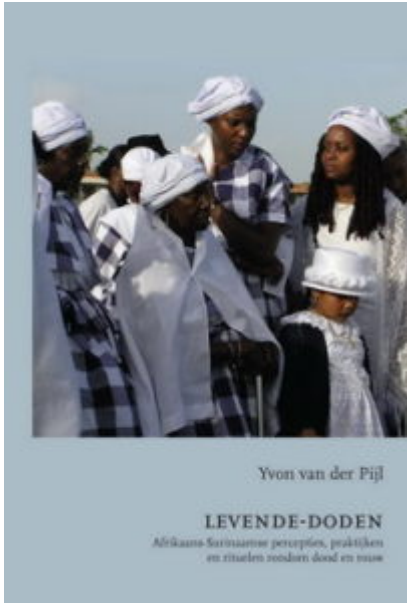# Levende-Doden ~ Summary

'Living-Dead: African-Surinamese perceptions, practices and rituals surrounding death and mourning' describes and interprets the death culture of the descendants of African slaves, Creoles and Maroons, in Suriname. The book offers an integrated approach in which a wide range of attitudes comes to the fore, and uncommon (supernatural, bad or tragic) and common (natural, good) death are studied together. In this way, the study presents a comparative and reflexive perspective that reconciles ethnographic detail with middle range theories.

The book is guided by two leitmotifs. The first concerning the coexistence of tradition and modernity or the phenomenon of multitemporal heterogeneity, arguing that African-Surinamese actors always live, on the one hand, in terms of conflicting demands, desires and expectations associated with voices of authority and, on the other, with the idiosyncratic aspirations of the individual. Processes like creolization, syncretization/anti-syncretization and de-/retraditionalization play a prominent role in this dialectic and, consequently, in the construction of African-Surinamese death culture as well as people's changing attitudes towards dying, death and mourning.

Despite this dynamic nature, African-Surinamese culture is characterized by an inevitable constant that forms the second leitmotif of this study: the living-dead. Throughout this study it appears that within the African-Surinamese worldview and spiritual-religious orientation, (biological) death does not necessarily mean the end of life. Death rather implies a continuation of life in another form, in which contacts between the living and the deceased (or their spirits) are still possible. The dead are not dead: they are the living-dead who might interfere in people's lives – as spiritual entities or simply as a lasting remembrance. Living-dead have therefore to be handled with utmost care and respect, while the rituals regarding death, burial and mourning are considered as the most important *rites de passage* of African-Surinamese culture.

Because of the enormous significance of the living-dead and the subsequent transitional rituals, an important part of this book consists of the description, analysis and interpretation of the ritual process that starts at the deathbed or even before the dying hour. In the conceptualization of death as a process and transition, I draw heavily on Van Gennep's model of rites of passage, Hertz's study of liminal rituals as well as his insights into the relationship between corpse, soul and mourners, and several contemporary followers of these founding fathers. In order to grasp all the different ritual stages that surround the process of dying, death and mourning, one first needs an understanding of the sociocultural and religiousspiritual perceptions behind the ritual practices as well as an outline of the social-economic and political context in which people live, die, bury, grief and mourn.

The introductory chapter of this book discusses therefore not only some key concepts and approaches that molded my notion of conducting ethnographic fieldwork on African-Surinamese death culture, but portrays also the precarious situation in which the Surinamese society found itself during my research (1999, 2000). In brief, the country and a large part of its population suffered enormously by a severe economic crisis and a grinding poverty that, because of political and financial-monetary misgovernment, was becoming structural and most in line with Latin-America. At the edge of a new millennium Suriname had deteriorated into one of the worst functioning economies of the region. The process of marginalization hit many if not all my informants in the field, and caused a chasm between a small and privileged group of rich haves (*gudusma*, *elite*) and a growing mass of poor have-nots (*tye poti*). The latter increasingly lacked access to health care, suffered various sanitary inconveniences and subsequent diseases, and saw itself exposed to all kinds of life-threatening conditions, 'new' diseases and causes of death.

Surprisingly, the generally felt crisis and continuing decline of the living conditions did not result in shocking mortality rates. Neither did the alarming situation hamper Paramaribo's lively funeral industry. Even when the entire city was at a standstill either because of mass demonstrations against the failing government or because of quiet resignation, the local burial grounds formed scenes of overwhelming activity, conspicuous consumption and enormous vitality. The undertaker's business thrived and not because of a spectacular rising mortality but because the living, at all times, had to 'celebrate' and honor

relatives who passed away.

The cultural background to this tremendous ritual and spiritual care is nonetheless not so clear-cut, but marked by a history of sociocultural and religious twists and turns narrated in Part I of this book.

Part I has a strong historical character, yet it does not just sketch bygone times, but outlines also the ways in which these times shaped present-day perceptions, identities and actions: the past as living-dead. Chapter 2 tells the story of slavery and Dutch colonialism. I try to discuss the role of this past in contemporary African-Surinamese identifications. The underlying assumption is that there is an interplay between identity construction on the one hand and attitudes towards dying, death and mourning on the other. I argue furthermore that African-Surinamese identifications are for a significant part created by the experience of the history of slavery and oppression as well as the grievances and resistance against it. It becomes clear that, despite their 'shared history', Maroons and Creoles experience their past, their roots and genesis, in very different ways, providing insight into the processual and relative nature of notions like identity, authenticity, ethnicity and ethno-nationalism. Besides an historical interpretation of diverse African-Surinamese identifications, I also present an analytical-theoretical approach of identity construction in which I underline the important role of change, especially in the guise of creolization. At the same time, however, I do not deny the existence of persistent and sometimes very practical essentialist discourses regarding (ethnic) identity. All actors in the field employed a dual discursive competence by which they switched between alteration and reification to fulfill their needs and realize their goals.

Chapter 3 elaborates this conception further, even though the focus shifts from ethnic identification and creolization to religious identification and syncretization. After a brief theoretical discussion of the concept of syncretism/anti-syncretism, the chapter continues with a description of the different spiritual-religious orientations that shape and structure the death culture of my research population. First, I examine the African-Surinamese 'folk religion' Winti as a varied agglomerate of perceptions, meanings and practices. Second, I describe and analyze the way Dutch colonizers and clergy brought Christianity to Suriname and spread the gospel among African-Surinamese slaves and their descendants. As in the previous chapter, chapter 3 confronts the reader with a history of (forced) assimilation, resistance and ambiguity.

As a result, many African-Surinamese 'believers' waver of sheer necessity between Cross (Christianity) and Calabash (Winti), which might seem very confusing, but which illustrates also the competency and agency of particular actors. They cherish often a very pragmatic vision of Christianity and Winti, and construct by synthesis (syncretization) and resistance (antisyncretization) their own faith and spiritual orientation. Recent developments within the field of religion and spirituality offer clarifying insights into the eclectic, shopping behavior of latemodern African-Surinamese Christians and Winti adherents. It is shown that they increasingly create space for their own individual and spiritual needs and desires. Chapter 3 closes by examining the question to what extent Cross and Calabash have blended. I discuss the role of Christianization and colonization within this process and its possible effects on the development of African-Surinamese attitudes towards death, dying and mourning.

Both 'Colonizer' and 'Church' have affected the way people deal with death, how they grief and mourn. Chapter 4 shows how various authorities and all kinds of observers have created an often negative discourse about the dying Other and mourning relatives. Different historical documents and tracts demonstrate an overt expression of disapproval and disgust concerning 'idolatrous and pagan' death rites. Laws and prohibitions were formulated during Dutch colonial rule to restrict mourners from celebrating and commemorating the livingdead, but certain traditions and practices are too stubborn to be eroded. Rather, the language and practices of rejection have resulted in ambivalent attitudes in which the care for the living-dead, despite feelings of shame and taboo, continue to exist. The second part of chapter 4 describes and interprets the role of the living-dead in the construction of African-Surinamese death culture by studying diverse perceptions about personal and collective immortality. The chapter concludes with an overview of the anthropology of death and death studies. I expound some recent theoretical developments and lessons, after which I propose an integrated approach to understand the ritual process that I began describing and analyzing in Part II.

Chapters 5 and 6 of Part II launch the first series of rites of passage by examining the announcement of death, the ritual and symbolic actions at the deathbed, and the ritual organization and care that follows when somebody dies. These pre-funeral preparations concentrate mainly on the good departure of the deceased and (future) parting between the deceased and the surviving relatives. The

chapters show that the planning and organization of the different transitional rituals are frequently frustrated by serious dissonances between ideal and reality. A good farewell and a decent funeral are usually part of a complex negotiation process in which various relatives seek room for maneuver and compromise to realize the dying wish of the deceased and their own private wishes, without disregarding particular prescriptive codes (*kulturu*).

Within the context of changing attitudes towards death and dying, and diverging perceptions about 'good' death and a respectable farewell, it is shown that there is no ritual planning without argument. The only thing that seems to be sure is the continued existence of the deceased, which is announced and celebrated in this stage of the ritual process by a variety of immortality constructions. Chapter 6 concludes therefore with an analysis of different obituaries to shed some light on the ways African-Surinamese mourners create immortality, announce the living-dead, and make their grief public. In any case, public mourning and insistence on ceremony are important ingredients of a successful ritual process, which is clearly visible in the extensive burial rites and the wake on the eve of the funeral, the *dede oso*, that is the subject of this book's third part.

Part III gives a detailed description of the first important public ceremony in the mourning period, namely the wake on the eve of the funeral that is called *dede oso* or *singineti*. Chapter 7 and 8 present first of all the context and current interpretations of this chief ritual event. Next, the study introduces a number of influential actors within the *dede oso*: the authorities (*singiman*) who are responsible for the course of the ceremony and lead the singing (lamentations).

Chapter 8 deals also with the function and meaning of different symbolic attributes as well as the structure and organization of the wake. It shows that Cross and Calabash (see chapter 3) play a prominent role in the diverse, sometimes conflicting interpretations of mourners and experts like clergymen or *singiman*. Chapter 9 offers an in-depth description of the ceremony itself. It describes the wake from its beginning at eight o'clock in the evening until its final closure at dawn. Within this portrayal there is extensive attention for the different lamentations, mourning songs and prayers that structure the ritual gathering. The chapter shows that these rituals are both for the living and the dead. Loss and attachment, pain and pleasure, sorrow and hope, finiteness and survival are alternately celebrated, commemorated and sung about during the wake. After the performance of the *dede oso*, in which the livingdead are honored and celebrated,

the surviving relatives and the deceased are able to part from one another and enter a following phase in the ritual process dealing with a series of separation rites.

Part IV discusses two key separation ceremonies in the African-Surinamese death culture: the combined parting and leave-taking (*prati* and *teki afscheid*), and the funeral (*beri*). People's fear of different forms of pollution has a prominent place in this stage. Chapter 10 starts therefore at the mortuary and introduces the ritual experts, the *dinari*, who wash, embalm and lay out the corpse of the deceased. I present people's different conceptions about the 'dead' body or the corpse as a dangerous source of contagion, and the ways African-Surinamese *dinari* deal with various dimensions of death and disposal. In order to explain their work (*wasi dede* or *dinariwroko*) chapter 10 continues by sketching the historical and organizational context of *dinari* associations as well as their present-day subculture. Furthermore, the chapter gives a thorough description of the *dinari* work in the mortuary, and some recent technological and commercial developments by which the 'traditional' work is affected. Many people complain that *dinariwroko* as a work of charity has turned into a selfish moneymaking business. Nevertheless, a majority of African-Surinamese mourners rely on the ritual expertise of the *dinari*, especially because these 'servants' also guide surviving relatives in some crucial separation rituals, the *teki afscheid* and *prati* at the day of the funeral. Chapter 10 concludes with a depiction of these rites that have strong spiritual, psychological, emotional and social meanings, and aim at the successful parting of the living and the deceased. Again, conflicting religious orientations lead frequently to ambiguity and friction during the performance of the rites, although all kind of syncretic forms and visions are common too. The latter applies also to various burial rituals described in the next chapter.

Chapter 11 follows the funeral procession from the mortuary to the cemetery, and halts at certain spots by way of leave-taking. At the burial place we meet the *dragiman*, the bearers who will carry the coffin to the grave and take a remarkable part in the performance of specific funerary rites. Besides the *dragiman*, the chapter introduces other actors, like gravediggers and clergymen, who shape African-Surinamese death culture, and populate the different graveyards in Paramaribo. The chapter gives also a lively sketch of the most important burial places at the research location, and analyzes several funeral types – varying from sober and 'traditional' to conspicuous, showy,

commercialized and retraditionalized. The chapter closes with an analysis of the various separation and burial rites at the graveyard, including the service preceding the burial. Special attention is given to the performance and meanings of the way the *dragiman* dance and carry the coffin to the grave. Although the grave or tomb is often associated with the final resting-place of the deceased, the ritual process is not completed at this stage. A series of post-liminal rituals still has to be performed to separate the surviving relatives from the living-dead, and to incorporate both mourners and deceased into a 'new' existence.

The final Part V of this study mainly examines a number of crucial African-Surinamese incorporation and purification rites, and the closure of the formal period of mourning. First, chapter 12 briefly discusses the theoretical approach of collective mourning and personal grief. Special attention is given to the sociocultural prescriptions and constructions of bereavement. The analysis of the different incorporation rituals shows a shift from a shared liminality between the mourners and the living-dead to disbandment and (therapeutic) enjoyment during final wakes and closing purification rituals. Chapter 12 winds up by describing a typical Maroon ceremony that closes off a long period of mourning. The concluding chapter 13 is devoted to memorial and personal grief that often lasts when the mourning period has officially come to an end. Above all, I 'commemorate' the leading actors of this book: the living-dead who oversee the present, past and future. In that way the chapter finally provides for a concluding and recommending reflection in which (the study of) death, once and for all, demands its place in life.

Levende-Doden ~ Glossarium, Bijlagen I, II & Literatuurlijst

Glossarium – PDF

Bijlage I – Interviews – PDF

BIJLAGE I

Interviews

1999

Madame Oerlé, Trudi	2 oktober 1999
Kruisland, Harry	11 oktober 1999
Tjassens, Eveline	19 oktober 1999
Kruisland, Harry	20 oktober 1999
Poppelbach, Elly	25 oktober 1999
Tjassens, Eveline	26 oktober 1999
De Jonge, Carmen	3 november 1999
De Jonge, Carmen	6 november 1999
Pané, Ro	8 november 1999
Cayston, Mikhael	9 november 1999
Albrega, Willy (Master Masters Project)	13 november 1999
Cortenveldes, Maarten (HAKS)	14 november 1999
Zanzeel, Neell (partner EBG)	17 november 1999
Blaaupip, Leon	1 december 1999
Pané, Ro & Carmen de Jonge	3 december 1999
Poppelbach, Elly	3 december 1999
Kruisland, Harry	8 december 1999
Paulission, Vanda	13 december 1999

2000

Ong-A-Kas, dhr. & dhr. Sambehr (KPS)	7 juni 2000
Jurbins, dhr. (Fraternite Bogade)	8 juni 2000
Ludmans, dhr. (Recherche Nieuwe Haven)	8 juni 2000
Wille, Ulbosh (NZV)	9 juni 2000
Kruisland, Harry	10 juni 2000
Lola, dhr. (Recherche Geyersvlei)	13 juni 2000
Pané, Ro	20 juni 2000
Sihmin, John F. (Moiwana86)	20 juni 2000
Pomo, Nadia (Pomo begrafenisonderneming)	24 juni 2000
Lansburg, Carla	25 juni 2000
Henrap, dhr. (Henrap begrafenisonderneming)	26 juni 2000
Karlbuik, dhr. (Naaskert begrafenisonderneming)	28 juni 2000
Bakker, Wim	29 juni 2000
Kruisland, Harry	6 juli 2000
Duisenberg, Wilem	7 juli 2000
Libretto, Richens	14 juli 2000
Lansburg, Carla	15 juli 2000
Paul, Vanda	17 juli 2000
Schuldring, Carmen (ROG)	19 juli 2000
Monnou, Peter	25 & 28 juli 2000
Kruisland, Harry	5 september 2000
Pouwauu, Leander	5 september 2000
Mangroo, Albert	13 september 2000
Kruisland, Harry	18 september 2000
Kruisel, Maarel van (Maxi Lander)	25 & 26 september 2000
Menthes, Edmondo	26 september 2000
Lanbrild, Neyun (Oduny/eiea)	28 september 2000
Grenberg, dhr. (Stichting Lobi)	2 oktober 2000
Denk, Jules	11 oktober 2000
Kruisland, Harry	1 november 2000
Sarioon, Jenny (National Arch Programma)	15 november 2000

Leung, Stanly	9 & 17 november 2000
Mangroo, Albert	16 november 2000
Vernooij, Joop	17 november 2000
Jap-A-Joe, Harold	17 november 2000
Jeffrey, Carlo	19 november 2000
Kruisland, Harry	27 november 2000
Pacenza, Leander	30 november 2000
Jeffrey, Carlo	3 december 2000
Jap-A-Joe, Harold	4 december 2000

Bijlage II – Casussen, situatie-analyses & observaties[i] – PDF

BIJLAGE II

Casussen, situatie-analyses & observaties[1]

i. *Nota bene: het betreft hier volledig uitgewerkte casussen. Veldaantekeningen betreffende allerhande dagelijkse of frequente activiteiten, zoals*

begraafplaatsbezoek, 'routinematig' bijwonen van begrafenissen, mortuariumbezoek, rouwvisite en veel hanging around, zijn niet opgenomen in deze lijst.

Literatuur

Abbenhuis, M.F., *1966 Honderd jaar missiewerk in Suriname door de Redemptoristen*, 1866-1966. Paramaribo: [s.n.].

Agerkop, T., *1982 Saramaka Music and Motion. Anales Del Caribe 2:* 231-245.

Agerkop, T., 2001 *Seketi: Poetic and Musical Eloquence Among the Saramaka Maroons From Suriname.* Proefschrift, Universidade de Brasilia, Brasilia.

Aijmer, G., ed., 1995 *Syncretism and the Commerce of Symbols*. Göteborg: The Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology.

Anderson, B., 1991 [1983] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin on Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, R.S., 1986 *Theology, Death and Dying.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Andersson, J.A., 2002 *Going Places, Staying Home: Rural-Urban Connections and the Significance of Land in Buhera District, Zimbabwe*. Proefschrift, Wageningen Universiteit, Wageningen.

Appadurai, A., 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A., ed., 1986 *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appiah, K.A., 1992 *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Appiah, K.W. & H..L. Gates jr., eds., 1995 *Identities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ariès, P., 1985 [1983] *Images of Man and Death.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ariès, P., 1994 [1974] *Western Attitudes Towards Death From the Middle Ages to the Present.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Ariès, P., 1987 [1977] *Het uur van onze dood: duizend jaar sterven, begraven, rouwen en herdenken.* Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Armstrong, D., 1983 *Political Anatomy of the Body: Medical Knowledge in Britain in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ashforth, A., 2002 An Epidemic of Witchcraft? The Implications of AIDS for the Post-Apartheid
State. *African Studies* 61 (1):121-44.

Austin-Broos, D.J., 1997 *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Austin-Broos, D.J., 2001 *Jamaican Pentecostalism: Transnational Relations and the Nation-State. In Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. A. Corten & R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 142-63. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Badham, P., 1996 *Life and Death in the Light of Eternal Hope. In Facing Death: an Interdisciplinary Approach*. P. Badham & P. Ballard, eds. Pp. 168-82. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Badone, E., 1989 *The Appointed Hour: Death, Worldview and Social Change in Brittany*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ballard, P., 1996 Intimations of Mortality: Some Sociological Considerations. *In Facing Death: an Interdisciplinary Approach.* P. Badham & P. Ballard, eds. Pp. 7-28. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Balutansky, K.M. & M-A Sourieau, ed., 1998 *Caribbean Creolization: Reflections on the Cultural Dynamics of Language, Literature, and Identity*. Gainesville, Fla. & Barbados: University Press of Florida & The University of the West Indies Press.

Banna, Y. & Y. Moy, 1991 *De voorouders en haar winti.* Amsterdam: Powel.

Barley, N., 1996 [1995] *Dansend rond het graf: een opwekkend onderzoek.* 's Gravenhage: BZZTôH.

Barth, F., ed., 1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Cultural Difference.* Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Bastide, R., 1971 *African Civilizations in the New World.* New York: Harper & Row.

Baudrillard, J., 1983 *Simulations.* New York: Semiotext(e).

Baudrillard, J., 1993 *Symbolic Exchange and Death*. London: Sage.

Bauman, Z., 1989 *Legislators and Interpreters: on Modernity, Post-Modernity and Intellectuals.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z., 1992 *Mortality, Immortality and Other Life Strategies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z., 1993 *Postmodern Ethics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bauman, Z., 1996 From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity. In *Questions of Cultural Identity.* S. Hall & P. Du Gay, eds. Pp. 18-37. London: Sage.

Bauman, Z., 1997 *Postmodernity and Its Discontents*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z., 2000 *Globalization: the Human Consequences.* Cambridge: Polity

Press.

Bauman, Z., 2001 Identity in the Globalising World. *Social Anthropology* 9 (2): 121-29.

Baumann, G., 1996 *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baumann, G., 1999 *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities.* New York: Routledge.

Becker, E., 1973 *The Denial of Death.* New York: Free Press.

Beeldsnijder, R., 1994 'Om werk van jullie te hebben': plantageslaven in Suriname, 1730-1750. *Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-Suriname, 16*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.

Beet, C.D., ed., 1995 Skrekiboekoe/Boek der verschrikkingen: visioenen en historische overleveringen van JohannesKing. *Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-Suriname, 17*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht..

Beet, C.D. & R. Price, 1982 De Saramakaanse vrede van 1762: geselecteerde documenten. *Bronnen voor de Studie van Bosnegersamenlevingen, 8.* Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.

Beet, C. & M.E. Sterman, 1981 *People in Between: The Matawai Maroons in Suriname.* Proefschrift, Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht.

Behn, A., 1986 [1688] *Oroonoko, or, the History of the Royal Slave. In Oroonoko and Other Stories* (samengesteld en ingeleid door M. Duffy). London: Methuen.

Beijering, M., 2002 Slavernij: "Ik ben deel van jouw verleden". *Migranten Informatief April:* 26-29.

Bell, C., 1997 *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bell, C., 1992 *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bendann, E., 1930 *Death Customs: An Analytical Study of Burial Rites.* New York: Knopf.

Benjamins, H.D. & Joh. F. Snelleman, eds., 1914-1917 *Encyclopaedia Van Nederlandsch West-Indië.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

Bennet, G. & K.M. Bennet, 2000 The Presence of the Dead: an Empirical Study. *Mortality* 5 (2): 139-58.

Benoit, P.J., 1980 [1839] *Reis door Suriname*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Bentram-Matriotte, H., 1978 *De zwarte cats, of neokolonisatie der Surinaamse volkswijsheid*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Berger, P.L. & T. Luckman 1967 [1966] *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* London: Allen Lane.

Berkum, H. van, 1851 *De Labadie en de Labadisten: eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche hervormde kerk*. Sneek: Van Druten & Bleeker.

Beumers, E., 1989 Dansen voor de doden: het Damafeest bij de Dogon. In *Dodendans: ontdekkingsreis rond de dood in verschillende culturen.* P. van de Klashorst, ed. Pp. 26-42. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Bijnaar, A., 2002 *Kasmoni: een spaartraditie in Suriname en Nederland*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker.

Bilby, K., 1990 *The Remaking of the Aluku: Culture, Politics, and Maroon Ethnicity in French South America.* Proefschrift, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Bilby, K., 1991 The Emergence of an Ethnic Enclave: the Aluku. *SWI Forum* 8 (2): 48-56.

Bilby, K., 1995 The Other Caribbean. In *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music From Rumba to Reggae*. P.

Manuel, K. Bilby & M. Jargey, eds. Pp. 212-26. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bilby, K., 2000 Aleke: nieuwe muziek en nieuwe identiteiten. *Oso: Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek* 19 (1): 49- 58.

Bilby, K., 2001a De voortdurende strijd van de Marrons om zichzelf te identificeren. *Siboga 11* (1): 3-9.

Bilby, K., 2001b New Sounds From a New Nation: Processes of Globalisation and Indigenisation in Surinamese Popular Music. In *20th Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society* R. Hoefte & P. Meel, eds. Pp. 296-329. Kingston/Leiden: Ian Randle Publishers/KITLV Press.

Bilby, K., 2003 Making Modernity in the Hinterlands: New Maroon Musics in the Black Atlantic. In *Afrikanische Diaspora: Out of Africa – Into New Worlds*. W. Zips, ed., Pp. 331-61. Münster: Lit Verlag.

Blaaspijp, L.J.H., 1983 *Sranang Krijoro Koeltoeroe Foe Deng Kongvo Singi*. Paramaribo: L. Blaaspijp/Culturele Vereniging Alomijaba.

Blankenstein, M. van, 1923 *Suriname.* Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar.

Blauner, R., 1976 Death and Social Structure. In *Death and Identity*. R. Fulton, ed. Pp. 35-58. Bowie: The Charles Press.

Bleyen, J., 2005 *De dood in Vlaanderen: opvattingen en praktijken na 1950.* Leuven: Davidsfonds.

Bloch, M., 1971 *Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages and Kinship Organization in Madagascar.* London: Seminar Press.

Bloch, M., 1988 Death and the Concept of a Person. In *On the Meaning of Death:*

Essays on Mortuary and Eschatological Beliefs. S. Cederroth, C. Corlin & J. Lindström, eds. Pp. 11-30. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Bloch, M. & J. Parry, eds., 1999 [1982] *Death and the Regeneration of Life.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blom, A., 1786 *Verhandeling over den landbouw in de colonie Suriname, volgens eene negentien-jaarige ondervinding zamengesteld door Anthony Blom; in orde gebragt en met de noodige ophelderingen en bewysredenen voorzien, door Floris Visscher Heshuysen.* Haarlem: C. Van der Aa.

Boddy, J., 1989 *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zãr Cult in Northern Sudan.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Bodley, J.H., *2000 Cultural Anthropology: Tribes, States, and the Global System.* Mountain View: Mayfield.

Boonzajer Flaes, R.M., 1993 *Bewogen koper: van koloniale kapel tot wereldblaasorkest.* Amsterdam/'s Gravenhage: De Balie/Novib.

Borg, M. ten, 1993 *De dood als het einde: een cultuur-sociologisch essay.* Baarn: Ten Have.

Bossers, A., 1884 *Beknopte geschiedenis der katholieke missie in Suriname door een pater Redemptorist.* Gulpen: Alberts.

Bot, M., 1998 *Een laatste groet: uitvaart- en rouwrituelen in multicultureel Nederland.* Rotterdam: Bot.

Botje, H.E., 2002 Nederland-Ghana: Marlene Ceder uit Amsterdam adviseert koning Nana Adodankwa IV. *Vrij Nederland 63* (3): 46-51.

Bourdieu, P., 1990 *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1997 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourguignon, E., 2000 Relativism and Ambivalence in the Work of M. J. Herskovits. *Ethos* 28 (1): 103- 14.

Bout, J. van den, 1996 *Rouwsluiers: over verliesverwerking.* Utrecht: De Tijdstroom.

Bowen, C., 1999 Searching Obituaries on the Internet. *Editor & Publisher* 132 (1): 50-51.

Bowie, F., 2000 *The Anthropology of Religion: An Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Bowker, J., 1991 *The Meanings of Death.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowlby, J., 1981 *Attachment and Loss* (3 Vols.). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Brana-Shute, G., 1990 Old Shoes and Elephants: Electoral Resistance in

Suriname. In *Resistance and Rebellion in Suriname: Old and New.* G. Brana-Shute, ed. Pp. 213-31. Williamsburg: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary.

Brana-Shute, R., 1976 Women, Clubs and Politics: the Case of a Lower Class Neighborhood in Paramaribo, Suriname. *Urban Anthropology* 5 (2): 157-85.

Brana-Shute, R. & G. Brana-Shute, 1979 Death in the Family: Ritual Therapy in a Creole Community. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 135 (1): 59-84.

Branaman, A., ed., 2001 *Self and Society.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Brave, I., 1999 De Surinaamse Lente. *De Groene Amsterdammer* 2 juni.

Brave, I., 2000 Hoofdcommentaar: een brug te ver. *De Groene Amsterdammer* 3 juni.

Brave, I., 2001 *Zolang ze blijven praten, blijf ik: een boek over de 15 slachtoffers van 8 december 1982.* Paramaribo: Organisatie voor Gerechtigheid en Vrede.

Breeveld, H., 2000. *Jopie Pengel 1916-1970: Leven en werk van een Surinaamse politicus, biografie*. Schoorl: Conserve.

Breeveld, H., 1993 *SAP: Sari, Angri nanga Pina (verdriet, honger en armoede) of Suriname's aanpak programma?* Paramaribo: Hans Breeveld.

Brim, O.G. & G. Williams eds., 1982 [1970] *The Dying Patient.* New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Bröer, C., 1997 Leven met twee landen: de veranderende sociale positie van Surinaamse remigranten. *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 23 (4): 608-39.

Bruijne, A.D. & A. Schalkwijk, 2000 Kondreman en P'Tata: Nederland als referentiekader voor Suriname? In *Suriname in het Jaar 2000*. A.J. Brahim, G.A. Bruijne & R.A.I. van Frederikslust, eds. Pp. 225-41. Baarn: Bosch & Keuning.

Bruijne, G.A. de, ed., 1982 Bijdragen tot de kennis van de kolonie Suriname, dat gedeelte van Guiana het welk bij tractaat ten jare 1815 aan het koningrijk Holland is verbleven, tijdvak 1816 tot 1822. *Bijdragen tot de sociale geografie en planologie, 3*. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.

Bruijning, C. F. & J. Voorhoeve, eds., 1977 *Encyclopedie van Suriname.* Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bruin, H. de, 1999 Liederen uit de praktijk van de duman. *Oso: Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde,letterkunde en geschiedenis 18* (2): 143-54.

Bruma, E., 1963 *De opmars van het nationalisme: de nationalistische ideologie.* Paramaribo: [s.n.].

Bruntink, R., 1997 Wij verzorgen het lichaam alsof hij naar een bruiloft gaat. *Uitvaartwezen, onafhankelijk vakblad voor de uitvaartbranche 6 juni: 21-24.*

Buddingh', H., 2000 *Geschiedenis van Suriname: een volledig overzicht van de*

oorspronkelijke, Indiaanse bewoners en de ontdekking door Europese kolonisten, tot de opkomst van de drugsbaronnen. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.

Buschkens, W.F.L., 1973 *Het familiesysteem der volkscreolen in Paramaribo.* Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Leiden.

Bush, B., 1990 *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*: 1650-1838. Kingston: Heinemann Publishers.

Cairo, E., 1975 *Obja Sa Tan a Brewa: er zal geen einde zijn aan brouwsels van magie.* [S.l.: s.n.].

Cairo, E., 1976 Kollektieve schuld, of wel famir'man-sani. Baarn: Wereldvenster.

Cairo, E., 1980 *Ik ga dood om jullie hoofd.* Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.

Cairo, E., 1984 *Lelu! Lelu! het lied der vervreemding.* Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.

Cairo, E., 1986 [1978] *De doodsboodschapvogel: Elzaro & Yorkafowru, een oraal koningsdrama.* Amsterdam: Kumbalutu.

Campbell, C., 1987 *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells, M., 1996-1998 *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (3 Dl.). Cambridge: Blackwell.

Catédra, M., 1992 *This World, Other Worlds: Sickness, Suicide, Death, and the Afterlife Among the Vaqueiros de Alzada of Spain.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cederroth, S., C. Corlin, & J. Lindström, eds., 1988 *On the Meaning of Death: Essays on Mortuary and Eschatological Beliefs.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

César, W., 2001 From Babel to Pentecost: a Social-Historical-Theological Study of the Growth of

Pentecostalism. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.*

A. Corten & R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 22-41. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Chapman, R., 1987 Mortuary Practices: Society, Theory Building and Archeology. In *Death, Decay and Reconstruction: Approaches to Archeolology and Forensic Practice*. A. Boddington, A. Garland & R. Janaway, eds. Pp. 198-213. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Chatterjee, S.C., 2002 Death and the Discourse of the Body. Omega: *Journal of Death and Dying 45* (4): 321-30.

Chevannes, B., ed., 1998 *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Clark, D., ed., 1993 *The Sociology of Death: Theory, Culture, Practice.* Oxford:

Blackwell Publishers.

Clarke, P.B., 1998a *New Trends and Developments in African Religions.* Westport: Greenwood Press.

Clarke, P.B., 1998b Introduction. In *New Trends and Developments in African Religions.* P.B. Clarke, ed. Pp. vii-xii. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Clarke, P.B., 1998c Accounting for Recent Anti-Syncretist Trends in Candomblé-Catholic Relations. In *New Trends and Developments in African Religions*. P.B. Clarke, ed. Pp. 17-35. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Clifford, J., 1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J. & G.E. Marcus, eds., 1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, A., 1974a Introduction: The Lesson of Ethnicity. In *Urban Ethnicity*. A. Cohen, ed. Pp. ix-xxii. London: Tavistock.

Cohen, A., 1974b *Two-Dimensional Man.* London: Tavistock.

Cohen, A., 1981 *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, A.P., 1985 *The Symbolic Construction of Community.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, A.P., 1994 *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, A.P., ed., 2000 *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, C.B., R. Wilk & B. Stoeltje, eds., 1996 *Beauty Queens: On the Global Stage*. New York: Routledge.

Coll, C. van, 1884 *Beknopte geschiedenis der katholieke missie in Suriname, door een pater Redemptorist.* Gulpen: Alberts.

Comaroff, J., 1985 *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, J. & J. Comaroff, 1992 *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Conklin, B.A., 1995 'Thus Are Our Bodies, Thus Was Our Custom': Mortuary Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society. *American Ethnologist* 22 (1): 75-101.

Conklin, B.A., 2001 *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cooley, C.H., 1964 [1902] *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Scribner's.

Corr, C.A., C.M. Nabe & D.M. Corr, 1997 *Death and Dying, Life and Living.*

Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Corten, A. & R. Marshall-Fratani, eds., 2001 Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cortois, P. & V. Neckebrouck, ed., 2005 *Maskers, missen en meesters: rituelen in en uit de marge.* Kapellen/Kampen: Pelckmans/Klement.

Counts, D.R. & D.A. Counts, eds., 1991 *Coping With the Final Tragedy: Cultural Variation in Dying and Grieving.* Amityville: Baywood.

Crapanzano, V., 1986 Hermes' Dilemma: The Masking of Subversion in Ethnographic Description. In *Writing Culture: Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* J. Clifford & G. Marcus, eds. Pp. 51-77. Berkely: University of California Press.

Csordas, T.J., ed., 1994a *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Csordas, T.J., 1994b *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Danforth, L.M., 1982 *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Davies, D.J., 1997 Death, *Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*. London: Cassell.

Davies, D.J., 2000 Robert Hertz: The Social Triumph Over Death. *Mortality 5* (1): 97-103.

Davies, D.J., 2002 *Anthropology and Theology.* Oxford: Berg.

Davies, D.J., 2005 *A Brief History of Death*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Derveld, F.E.R. & H. Noordegraaf, eds., 1988 *Winti-religie: een Afro-Surinaamse godsdienst in Nederland.* Amersfoort: De Horstink.

Dew, E.M., 1978 The Difficult Flowering of Surinam: Ethnicity and Politics in a Plural Society. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.

Dijck, P. van, 2001 *Introduction. In Suriname, the Economy: Prospects for Sustainable Development.* P. van Dijck, ed. Pp. 1-9. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

Dobru, R., 1969 *Wan Monki Fri: bevrijding en strijd.* Paramaribo: Eldorado.

Donice, A., 1948 Sterfhuis en begrafenis bij Saramakkanen. *West Indische Gids* 29: 175-182.

Donice, A., 1952-1953 Iets over de taal en de sprookjes van Suriname. *De West-Indische Gids* 33: 153-173.

Douglas, M., 1966 *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Douglas, M., 1995 The Cloud God and the Shadow Self. *Social Anthropology* 3 (2): 83-94.

Douglas, M., ed., 1970 *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. London: Tavistock.

Douglass, W.A., 1969 *Death in Murelaga: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Bask Village.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Dragtenstein, F., 2002 De ondraaglijke stoutheid der wegloopers: marronage en koloniaal beleid in

Suriname, 1667-1768. *Bronnen voor de studie van Suriname, 22*. Proefschrift, Universiteit

Utrecht, Utrecht.

Drie, A. de, 1959 Basja Pataka. *Vox Guyanae* 3 (6): 18-20.

Droogers, A., 1989 Syncretism: The Problem of Definition, the Definition of the Problem. In *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* J. Gort, H. Vroom, R. Fernhout & A. Wessels, eds. Pp. 7-26. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Droogers, A., 2001 Globalisation and Pentecostal Success. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.* A. Corten & R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 41-62. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Droogers, A. & S.M. Greenfield, 2001 Recovering and Reconstructing Syncretism. In *Reinventing*

Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas. S.M. Greenfield & A. Droogers, eds. Pp. 21-43. Lanham: Rowmann & Littlefield.

Drummond, L., 1980. The Cultural Continuum: A Theory of Intersystems. *Man 15* (2): 352-374.

Dubelaar, C.N. & A.R.M. Pakosie, 1999 Het Afakaschrift van de Tapanahoni in Suriname. *Bronnen voor de studie van Suriname, 21.* Utrecht/Amsterdam: Universiteit Utrecht/Thela Thesis.

Dullemen, I. van, 2001 *Maria Sibylla: een ongebruikelijke passie.* Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.

Dumont, L., 1985 A Modified View of Our Origins: the Christian Beginnings of Modern Individualism. In *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History.* M. Carrithers, S. Collins & S. Lukes, eds. Pp. 93-123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Durkheim, E., 1995 [1912] *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.* New York: The Free Press.

Durkheim, E., 2002 [1897] *Suicide: A Study in Sociology.* London: Routledge.

Egger, J., 1996 Observaties bij een verkiezingscampagne: Suriname januari-mei

1996. *SWI Forum 13* (2): 14-23.

Elias, N., 1982 [1939] *Het civilisatieproces: sociogenetische en psychogenetische onderzoekingen*. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.

Elias, N., 1984 *De eenzaamheid van stervenden in onze tijd.* Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

Elkins, S.M., 1959 *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eriksen, T.H., 1993 *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives.* London: Pluto Press.

Eriksen, T.H., 1998 *Common Denominators: Ethnicity, Nation-Building and Compromise in Mauritius*. Oxford: Berg.

Eriksen, T.H., 2001 Between Universalism and Relativism: A Critique of the UNESCO Concepts of Culture. In *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives.* J. Cowan, M-B. Dembour & R. Wilson, eds. Pp. 127-48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eriksen, T.H., 2002 *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (Second Edition). London: Pluto Press.

Erikson, E., 1950 *Childhood and Society.* New York: Norton.

Erikson, E., 1968 *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* London: Faber.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E., 1968 [1937] *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ewing, K.P., 1990 The Illusion of Wholeness: Culture, Self and the Experience of Inconsistency. *Ethos 18* (3): 251-78.

Eyerman, R., 2001 *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fabian, J., 1973 How Others Die: Reflections on the Anthropology of Death. In *Death in American Experience.* A. Mack, ed. Pp. 177-201. New York: Schocken.

Fernández Olmos, M. & L. Paravisini-Gebert, 2003 *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction From Vodou and Santeria to Obeah and Espiritismo.* New York: New York University Press.

Ferretti, S.F., 2001 Religious Syncretism in an Afro-Brazilian Cult House. In *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas.* S.M. Greenfield & A. Droogers, eds. Pp. 87- 99. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Field, D., J.L. Hockey & N. Small, eds., 1997 *Death, Gender and Ethnicity.* London: Routledge.

Forster, P.G., 1998 Religion, Magic, Witchcraft, and AIDS in Malawi. *Anthropos 93* (4-6): 537-44.

Foster, G.M., 1988 [1967] *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World.* Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Foucault, M., 2003 [1973] *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* London: Routledge Classics.

Frazer, J.G., 1976 [1890] *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion.* London: Macmillan Press.

Freston, P., 2001 The Transnationalisation of Brazilian Pentecostalism: The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.* R. Marshall-Fratani & A. Corten, eds. Pp. 196-216. London: Hurst.

Freud, S., 1968 [1917] Mourning and Melancholia. In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud.* J. Strachey, ed. Pp. 243-58. London: Hogarth Press.

Freytag, G.A., 1927 Johannes King, *Der Buschland-Prophet: Ein Lebensbild Aus Der Mission Der Brüdergemeine in Suriname.* Hernnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung.

Friedman, J., 1994 *Cultural Identity and Global Process.* London: Sage.

Fulgentius, Fr. M.A.R., 1983 *Een paapjen omtrent het fort: het apostolisch vicariaat van Suriname, een historische schets.* Paramaribo: Vaco.

Fulton, R., ed., 1976 *Death and Identity.* Bowie: The Charles Press.

Gallagher, M., 2002 *Soundings in French Caribbean Writing Since 1950, The Shock of Space and Time.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Geertz, C., 1988 *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist As Author.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Geertz, C., 2000 [1973] *The Interpretation of Cultures: Sellected Essays.* New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C., 2001 *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections in Philosophical Topics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Geest, S. van der, 1990 Culturele tranen op begrafenissen in Ghana. In *Dodendans: ontdekkingsreis rond de dood in verschillende culturen.* P. van de Klashorst, ed. Pp. 58-71. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Geest, S. van der, 1995 Old People and Funerals in an Ghanian Community: Ambiguities in Familycare. South *African Journal of Gerontology 4* (2): 33-40.

Geest, S. van der, 2000 Funerals for the Living: Conversations With Elderly People in Kwahu, Ghana. *African Studies Review 43* (3): 103-129.

Geest, S. van der, 2004 Dying Peacefully: Considering Good Death and Bad Death in Kwahu-Tafo, Ghana. *Social Science & Medicine 58* (5): 899-911.

Gellner, E., 1983 *Nations and Nationalism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gennep, A. van, 1960 [1908] *The Rites of Passage.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Genovese, E.G., 1969 The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method. In *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History.* L. Foner & E.G. Genovese, eds. Pp. 202-210. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

George, M.A., 2002 *Een 'sacramentale' kratafra. In Libi Nanga Bribi: enkele aanzetten tot Surinaamse theologie* (Feestbundel ter ere van Hein Eersel). J. Vernooij, ed. Pp. 49-63. Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Instituut voor Missiologie.

Gergen, K., 1991 The Saturated Self. New York: Basic Books.

Ghorashi, H., 2003 Ways to Survive, Battles to Win: Iranian Women Exiles in the Netherlands and the United States. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Giddens, A., 1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuralism.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, A., 1990 *The Consequences of Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity.

Giddens, A., 1991 *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 1992 *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilroy, P., L. Grossberg & D.A. Moynihan, eds., 2000 Without Guarantees: In *Honour of Stuart Hall.* London: Verso.

Glaser, B.G. & A.L. Strauss, 1965 *Awareness of Dying.* Chicago: Aldine.

Glaser, B.G. & A.L. Strauss, 1968 *Time for Dying.* Chicago: Aldine.

Gobardhan-Rambocus, L., 1995 Het Sranan: ontwikkeling en emancipatie. In *De erfenis van de slavernij.*

Gobardhan-Rambocus, L., 2003 Dag der vrijheden: nooit meer zou een mens hier eigendom kunnen zijn van een ander. *Paramaribo Post 1* (16): 24-25.

Goffman, E., 1959 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E., 1968 *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Goldey, P., 1983 The Good Death: Personal Salvation and Community Identity. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 14 (1): 1-16.

Good, B., 1994 *Medicine, Rationality and Experience: An Anthropological*

Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, J., 1962 *Death, Property and the Ancestors: A Study of the Mortuary Customs of the LoDagaa of West Africa.* London: Tavistock.

Gorer, G., 1965 *Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain.* Garden City: Doubleday.

Gourevitch, P., 1998 *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*. New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux.

Grainger, R., 1998 Let Death Be Death: Lessons From the Irish Wake. *Mortality* 3 (2): 129-42.

Green, B.L., 2000 Traumatic Loss: Conceptual and Empirical Links Between Trauma and Bereavement. *Journal of Personal & Interpersonal Loss* 5 (1): 1-18.

Green, E.C., 1974 *The Matawai Maroons: An Acculturating Afro-American Society.* Proefschrift, The Catholic University of America, Washington.

Green, E.C., 1978 Winti and Christianity: A Study in Religious Change. *Ethnohistory* 25 (3): 251-76.

Greenfield, S.M., 2001 The Reinterpretation of Africa: Convergence and Syncretism in Brazilian Candomblé. In *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas*. S.M. Greenfield & A. Droogers, eds. Pp. 113-131. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Greenfield, S.M. & A. Droogers, eds., 2001 *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Griffioen, S. & H. Tennekes, 2002 Culturele universalia en multicultureel samenleven. In *Nederland multicultureel of pluriform: een aantal conceptuele studies.* J. Lucassen & A. de Ruiter, eds. Pp. 85-141. Amsterdam: Aksant.

Grimes, R., 2000 *Deeply into the Bone: Reinventing Rites of Passage.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Groot, S.W. de, 1974 *Surinaamse granmans in Afrika: vier grootopperhoofden bezoeken het land van hun voorouders*. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.

Guadeloupe, F.E., 2005. *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem: The Politics of Belonging in Saint Martin & Sint Maarten*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg .

Guda, T., 2001 Banya: A Surviving Surinamese Slave Play. In *A History of Literature in the Caribbean.*V.M. Vera, M. Kutzinski, I. Phaf-Rheinberger, J.V. Arnold, N.M. Houston & I. Rolfes, eds. Pp.
615-622. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Gupta, A. & J. Ferguson, eds., 1997 Culture, Power, *Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology.* Durham: Duke University Press .

Guss, D.M., 1994 Syncretic Inventions: 'Indianess' and the Day of the Monkey. In

Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis. C. Stewart & R. Shaw, eds. Pp. 145-61. London: Routledge.

Hall, S., 1991 Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities. In *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. A.D. King, ed. Pp. 41-68. London: Macmillan.

Hall, S., 1996 *Who Needs Identity? In Questions of Cultural Identity.* S. Hall & P. Du Gay, eds. Pp. 1-18. London: Sage.

Hall, S. & P. Du Gay, eds., 1996 *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London: Sage.

Hallam, E. & J. Hockey, 2001 *Death, Memory and Material Culture.* Oxford: Berg.

Hallam, E., Hockey, J. & G. Howarth, 1999 *Beyond the Body: Death and Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Hannerz, U., 1987 The World in Creolization. *Africa* 57 (4): 547-559.

Hannerz, U., 1989 Notes on the Global Ecumene. *Public Culture* 1 (2): 66-75.

Harré, R., ed., 1986 The Social Construction of Emotions. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harrison, R.P., 2003 *The Dominion of the Dead.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Harry, R., Power, H., Heins, J., Hiwat, M. & G. Havertong, eds., 1999 *Nanga Palm... Liederen bij het overlijden, de begrafenis en de rouwverwerking van Afro-Surinamers* [Creoolse Surinamers]. Paramaribo/Den Haag: AB Tholen Consultancy/Adrepak Mailing.

Harvey, D., 1989 *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Hecbert, H. & J. Wilner, 1983 *Sranan Anansi Tori.* Paramaribo: Instituut voor Taalwetenschap.

Heelas, P, 1996a Introduction: Detraditionalization and Its Rivals. In *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity.* P. Heelas, S. Lash & P. Morris, eds. Pp. 1-21. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Heelas, P, 1996b *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Heelas, P., Lash, S. & P. Morris, eds., 1996 *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Heemskerk, M., 2000 *Driving Forces of Small-Scale Gold Mining Among the Ndjuka Maroons: A Cross-Scale Socioeconomic Analysis of Participation in Gold Mining in Suriname.* Proefschrift, Graduateschool of the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Helman, A., ed., 1967 *De Laaiende Stilte.* Amsterdam: Querido.

Helman, A., 1968 *Zaken, zending en bezinning: de romantische kroniek van een tweehonderdjarige Surinaamse firma.* Paramaribo: Kersten.

Helman, A., 1977 *Cultureel mozaïek van Suriname.* Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Herlein, J.D., 1718 *Beschryvinge van de volk-plantinge Zuriname: vertonende de opkomst dier zelver colonie, de aanbouw en bewerkinge der zuiker-plantagien…* Leeuwarden: M. Injema.

Herskovits, M.J., 1937 *Life in a Haitian Valley.* New York: Octagon.

Herskovits, M.J., 1938 *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact.* New York : J. J. Augustin.

Herskovits, M.J., 1953 Note Sur La Divination Judiciaire Par Le Cadavre En Guyane Hollandais. In *Les Afro-Américains. Mémoire de l'Institut Francais de l'Afrique Noire*, ed. Pp. 187-92. Dakar: IFAN.

Herskovits, M.J., 1958 *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Herskovits, M.J., 1964 [1947] *Cultural Dynamics.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Herskovits, M.J., 1966 *The New World Negro.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Herskovits, M.J. & F.S. Herskovits, 1934 *Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Herskovits, M.J. & F.S. Herskovits, 1936 *Suriname Folklore.* New York: Colombia University Press.

Hertz, R., 1960 [1907] *Death and the Right Hand*. Oxford: Cohen & West.

Herzfeld, M., 2001 *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society.* Malden: Blackwell.

Hijlaard, M.Th., 1978 *Zij en ik: jeugdherinneringen*. Paramaribo: Bureau Volkslectuur.

Hilst, E. van der & J. Vernooij, 1988 *Tyari Fri Kon: Wan Tu Prakseri Fu Sdon Denki* (Wan Brifi Fu Fristeri Esteban Kross Na a Okasi Taki a Tron Pristri 2-7-1988). Paramaribo: [s.n.].

Ho Suie Sang, M. & W. Hoogbergen, 2002 Afro-Surinaamse Moslims. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21 (1): 119-35.*

Ho Suie Sang, M. & W. Hoogbergen, 2003 African Surinamese Muslims. In *Afrikanische Diaspora: Out of Africa – Into New Worlds*. W. Zips, ed. Pp. 291-313. Münster: Lit Verlag.

Hobsbawn, E.J., 2002 [1990] *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawn, E. & T. Ranger, eds., 2003 [1983] *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hockey, J.L., 1990 *Experiences of Death: An Anthropological Account.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hoefte, R., 1997 Caribbean Culture, Ethnic Identity Issues: The Case of Surinam.

In *Caribbean Public Policy: Regional, Cultural and Socioeconomic Issues for the 21st Century.* J.A. Braveboy-Wagner & D.J. Gayle, eds. Pp. 99-106. Boulder: Westview Press.

Hoefte, R. & P. Meel, eds., 2001 20th *Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society.* Kingston/Leiden: Ian Randle Publishers/KITLV Press.

Hoekendijk, B., 1962 *Gods werk in de 3 Guyana's*. Putten: Stichting Ben Hoekendijk's Evangelisatie-Campagnes.

Holland, D., Lachicotte jr., W., Skinner, D. & C. Cain, 2001 *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Holst-Warhaft, G., 2000 *The Cue for Passion: Grief and Its Political Uses*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Holstein, J.A. & J.F. Gubrium, 2000 *The Self We Live by: Narrative Identity in a Postmodern World.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoogbergen, W., 1985 De Boni-oorlogen, 1757-1860: marronage en guerilla in Oost-Suriname. *Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-Surinaamse samenlevingen, 11.* Proefschrift, Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht.

Hoogbergen, W., 1992 *De Bosnegers zijn gekomen!* Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Hoogbergen, W., 1996 *Het kamp van Broos en Kaliko: de geschiedenis van een Afro-Surinaamse familie.* Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Hoogbergen, W., 1998 Rituelen voor de doden: Europees-Afrikaanse Wortels. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde, cultuur en geschiedenis 17* (1): 5-22.

Hoogbergen, W. & D. Kruijt, 2004 Gold, 'Garimpeiros' and Maroons: Brazilian Migrants and Ethnic Relationships in Post-War Suriname. *Caribbean Studies 32* (2): 3-44.

Hoogbergen, W. & D. Kruijt, 2005 *De oorlog van de sergeanten: Surinaamse militairen in de politiek*. Amsterdam: Bakker.

Hoogbergen, W., Kruijt, D. & T. Polimé, 2001 Goud en Brazilianen. *Oso: Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 20* (1): 109-127.

Hoogbergen, W. & T. Polimé, 2002 Oostelijk Suriname 1986-2002. Oso: *Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 21*(2): 225-242.

Hoogbergen, W. & H. Ramsoedh, 2002 Suriname, een religieuze mozaïek. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21* (1): 5-15.

Howarth, G., 2000 Dismantling the Boundaries Between Life and Death. *Mortality 5* (2): 127-139.

Huizinga, J., 1997 [1938] *Homo Ludens: proeve ener bepaling van het*

spelelement der cultuur. Amsterdam: Pandora.

Humphreys, S.C. & H. King, eds., 1981 *Mortality and Immortality: The Anthropology and Archaeology of Death.* London: Academic Press.

Huntington, R. & P. Metcalf, 1999 [1979] *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hurbon, L., 2001 Pentecostalism and Transnationalism in the Caribbean. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.* A. Corten & R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 124-42. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Illich, I., 1976 *Limits to Medicine; Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Inda, J.X. & R. Rosaldo, eds., 2002a *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Inda, J.X. & R. Rosaldo, 2002b Introduction: A World in Motion. In *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader,* J.X. Inda & R. Rosaldo, eds. Pp. 1-35. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Ingold, T., 1993 *The Art of Translation in a Continuous World. In Beyond Boundaries: Understanding, Translation, and Anthroplogical Discourse*. G. Pálsson, ed. Pp. 210-230. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Instituut voor Taalwetenschap (SIL), 1995 [1980] *Dri Anansi Tori.* Paramaribo: Instituut voor Taalwetenschap (SIL).

Instituut voor Taalwetenschap (SIL), 1997 [1983] *Sranan Anansi Tori.* Paramaribo: Instituut voor
Taalwetenschap (SIL).

Irion, P., 1977 *The Funeral: Vestige or Value?* New York: Arno Press.

Ivanova, D., 2005 Death As a Practical and Imaginary World: Stories, Memories, Dreams and Songs From the Village of Bela Rechka (conference paper). *The Social Context of Death, Dying and Disposal: 7th International Conference (*University of Bath, UK, 15-18 September 2005), Bath.

Jabini, F.S., 2000 *Het kruis voor een Kankantri: een beknopt overzicht van de Surinaamse kerkgeschiedenis.* Paramaribo: Evangelische Boekhandel 'De Christen'.

Jacobs, L., 2000 Armoede in Suriname en familienetwerken met Nederland. Oso*: Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek* 19 (2): 297-308.

Jacobs, L., 2002 Wateroverlast en sanitaire voorzieningen in Paramaribo. Oso: *Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 21* (1): 338-47.

Jacobson-Widding, A., ed., 1991 *Body and Space: Symbolic Models of Unity and*

Division in African Cosmology and Experience. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell.

James, W., 1961 [1892] *Psychology: The Briefer Course.* New York: Harper & Brothers.

James, W., 2003 [1902] *Varianten van religieuze beleving: een onderzoek naar de menselijke aard*. Amsterdam: De Appelbloesempers/Abraxas.

Jansen van Galen, J., 2001 *Kapotte plantage: een Hollander in Suriname.* Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact.

Jap-A-Joe, H., 1988 De persistentie van etniciteit in de Surinaamse politiek: enkele sociaal-historische notities. SWI Forum 5 (1): 47-58.

Jap-A-Joe, H., 1993 *Tussen kruis en kalebas: acculturatie van het christendom onder gedoopte slaven in Suriname.* Paramaribo: Theologisch seminarie der EBGS.

Jap-A-Joe, H., 2003 Convergentie en divergentie: recente ontwikkelingen op het vlak van Afro-Amerikaanse religies in Suriname (conference paper). *Internationale conferentie ter gelegenheid van de 140ste herdenking van de afschaffing van de slavernij in Suriname op 1 juli 1963*, Theologisch seminarie der EBGS & Anton de Kom Universiteit van Paramaribo, Suriname.

Jap-A-Joe, H., Sjak Shie, P. & J. Vernooij, 2001 The Quest for Respect: Religion and Emancipation in Twentieth-Century Suriname. In *20th Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society.* R. Hoefte & P. Meel, eds. Pp. 198-220. Kingston/Leiden: Ian Randle Publishers/KITLV Press.

Jenkins, R., 1996 *Social Identity. L*ondon: Routledge.

Jones, G., 2002 Door één kerkdeur: over een 'Bakrakerki' in Paramaribo. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21* (1): 110-119.

Jones, J.F., 1981 *Kwakoe en Christus: een beschouwing over de ontmoeting van de Afro-Amerikaanse cultuur en religie met hernhutter zending in Suriname.* Proefschrift, Universitaire Protestantse Faculteit, Brussel.

Jozefzoon, O.J.R., 1959 *De Saramaccaanse wereld*. Paramaribo: Varekamp.

Juergensmeyer, M., 2000 *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kahn, M., 1979 [1931] *Djuka: The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guyana.* New York: AMS Press.

Kaspersen, L.B., 2000 *Anthony Giddens: An Introduction to a Social Theorist.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Kastenbaum, R. & B. Kastenbaum, eds., 198*9 Encyclopedia of Death.* Phoenix: Oryx Press.

Kempen, M. van, 1989 *Surinaamse schrijvers en dichters*. Amsterdam: De

Arbeiderspers.

Kempen, M. van, 1999 *Mama Sranan: 200 jaar Surinaamse verhaalkunst.* Amsterdam: Contact.

Kennedy, R., 2002 Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word. New York: Pantheon Books.

King, J., 1973 Life at Maripaston. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en*

volkenkunde, 64 (ingeleid en samengesteld door H.F. de Ziel). Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff .

Kleinman, A., 199*5 Writing at the Margin: Discourse Between Anthropology and Medicine.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Klinkers, E., 1994 Zending in Coronie. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde, cultuur en geschiedenis 13* (1): 25-43.

Klinkers, E., 1997 Op hoop van vrijheid: van slavensamenleving naar Creoolse gemeenschap in Suriname, 1830-1880. *Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-Surinaamse samenlevingen, 18.* Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Leiden.

Kloos, P., 1990 Aanvaarding en ontkenning: leven en dood in niet-westerse culturen. In *Dodendans: ontdekkingsreis rond de dood in verschillende culturen.* P. van de Klashorst, ed. Pp. 10-18. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Kok, H.L., 2000 *Funerair Lexicon A-Z: encyclopedisch woordenboek over de dood*. Maastricht: Stichting Crematorium Limburg.

Kolfin, E., 1997 *Van de slavenzweep en de muze: twee eeuwen verbeelding van de slavernij in Suriname*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

Kom, A. de, 1975 [1934] *Wij slaven van Suriname.* Amsterdam: Contact.

Koolhof, S. & G. Oostindie, eds., 2003 *Koloniaal dodenkabinet*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

Kopytoff, I., 1971 Ancestors As Elders in Africa. *Africa 41* (2): 129-42.

Krabben, A., 1997 *De dood is springlevend: beleving en praktijk van de dood in Nederland.* 's-Gravenhage: BZZTôH.

Kroeber, A.L. & C. Kluckhohn, 1952 *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology.

Kromhout, M., 1995 *Vrouwen en crisis in Paramaribo: een exploratief onderzoek naar genderverhoudingen in huishoudens in een arme woonwijk.* Amsterdam/Paramaribo: Instituut voor Sociale Geografie/Leo Victor.

Kromhout, M., 2000 *Gedeelde smart is halve smart: hoe vrouwen in Paramaribo*

hun bestaan organiseren. Proefschrift, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Kromhout, M., 2001 Urban Livelihoods in Surinam: Strategies and Partnerships. In *Re-Aligning*

Government, Civil Society and the Market: New Challenges in Urban and Regional Development, Essays in Honour of G. A. De Bruijne. I. Baud, J.H.L. de Post & T. Dietz, eds. Pp. 151-165. Amsterdam: AGIDS.

Kruijer, G., 1973 *Suriname: neokolonie in rijksverband*. Meppel: Boom.

Kruijff, R. de, 1986 Edgar Cairo: ik ben een kind van drie continenten. *Prothese* 40: 5-6.

Kruijt, D. & M. Maks, 2002 De armoede in Suriname, 1980-2000. Oso: *Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 21* (2): 243-260.

Kruijt, D. & M. Maks, 2004 *Een belaste relatie: 25 jaar ontwikkelingssamenwerking Nederland-*

Suriname, 1975-2000. Den Haag/Paramaribo: Ministerie van Buitenlandse zaken/Ministerie van

Planning en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (in Nederland als www.minbuza.nl/een belaste relatie

[in totaal 10 documenten], in Suriname als www.plos.sr/docs/Llrapport [in totaal 4 documenten]

vrijgegeven).

Kübler-Ross, E., 2000 [1969] *Lessen voor levenden: gesprekken met stervenden*. Amsterdam: Ambo.

Kübler-Ross, E., 1969 *On Death and Dying.* New York: Macmillan.

Kübler-Ross, E. & D. Kessler, 2000 *Life Lessons: How Our Mortality Can Teach Us About Life and Dying.* London: Simon & Schuster.

Kunneman, H., 1996 *Van theemutscultuur naar walkman-ego: contouren van postmoderne individualiteit.* Amsterdam: Boom.

Laan, C. van der & P.N. van der Laan, 1982 *Pinksteren in beweging: vijfenzeventig jaar pinkstergeschiedenis in Nederland en Vlaanderen.* Kampen: Kok.

Laderman, G., 2003 Rest in Peace: *A Cultural History of Death in the Funeral Home in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lambek, M., ed., 2002 *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Lampe, A., 2001 *Mission or Submission? Moravian and Catholic Missionaries in the Dutch Caribbean During the 19th Century*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Latour, B., 1994 [1991] *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Leach, E., 1958 Magical Hair. *Journal of the Royal Antrhopological Institute 88 (*2): 149-64.

Leerdam, H., 1957 De invloed van het evangelie in het leven van de Boslandcreolen. *Onze Bosbewoners XXXIII. De West* (22 juni 1957).

Leferink, S.B.L., 2002 *'Wij armen kunnen niet sterven': doodscultuur en marginalisering in Argentinië.* Proefschrift, Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.

Legêne, P., 1949 *Het leven en sterven der Bosnegers in de binnenlanden van Suriname*. Zeist: Zendingsgenootschap der Evangelische Broedergemeente.

Lenders, M., 1996 *Strijders voor het lam: leven en werk van hernhutterbroeders en -zusters in Suriname, 1735-1900*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

Lewis, I.M., 1991 *Estatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*. London: Routledge.

Lichtveld, L., 1930 Op zoek naar de spin. *De West-Indische Gids 12*: 209-230, 305-24.

Lienhardt, G., 1961 *Divinity and Experience: The Religion of the Dinka.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lier, R. van, 1977 [1949] *Samenleving in een grensgebied: een sociaal-historische studie van Suriname*. Amsterdam: S. Emmering.

Lier, R. van, 1983 Bonuman: een studie van zeven religieuze specialisten in Suriname. *ICA Publication, 60*. Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University.

Lifton, R.J., 1988 Understanding the Traumatized Self: Imagery, Symbolization, and Transformation. In *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From Holocaust to Vietnam.* J.P. Wilson, Harel, Z. & B. Kahana, eds. Pp. 7-31. New York: Plenum.

Lifton, R.J. & E. Olson, 1974 *Living and Dying*. London: Wildwood House.

Linde, J.M. van der, 1956 *Het visioen van Hernnhut en het apostolaat der Moravische broeders in Suriname, 1735-1863*. Paramaribo: C. Kersten & Co.

Linde, J.M. van der, 1966 *Surinaamse suikerheren en hun kerk: plantagekolonie en handelskerk ten tijde van Johannes Basseliers, predikant en planter in Suriname, 1667-1689.* Wageningen: Veenman.

Littlewood, J., 1993 The Denial of Death and Rites of Passage in Contemporary Societies. In *The Sociology of Death*. D. Clark, ed. Pp. 69-84. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Lloyd Warner, W., 1976 *The City of the Dead. In Death and Identity*. R. Fulton, ed.

Pp. 363-81. Bowie: Charles Press Publishers.

Lock, M.M., 2002 *Twice Dead: Organ Transplants and the Reinvention of Death.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Long, N., 2001 *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Loswijk, E., 1979 *Nationalisme en evangelie in de moderne Surinaamse literatuur. D*octoraalscriptie, Theologische seminarie der EBGS, Paramaribo.

Lovell, N., 2002 *Cord of Blood: Possession and the Making of Voodoo.* London: Pluto Press.

Lupton, D., 1994 *Medicine As Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies.* London: Sage.

Lutz, C. & L. Abu-Lughod, eds., 1990 *Language and the Politics of Emotion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyon, D., 1993 A Bit of a Circus: Notes on Postmodernity and New Age. *Religion 23* (2): 117-26.

Lyotard, J-F., 1983 *Le Différend.* Paris: Minuit.

MacIntyre, A.C., 1985 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory.* London: Duckworth.

Malajuwara, F., 1998 Begrafenis- en rouwrituelen bij de Kalihna. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis 17* (1): 63-71.

Malinowski, B., 1992 [1925] *Magic, Science and Religion.* Garden City: Doubleday & Company.

Malkki, L., 1992 National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1): 24-44.

Marcus, G.E. & M.M.J. Fischer, 1986 *Anthropology As Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mariz, C.L., 1994 *Coping With Poverty: Pentecostals and Christian Base Communities in Brazil*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Marshall, E., 2003 *Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van het Surinaams nationalisme: natievorming als opgave*. Delft: Uitgeverij Hebron.

Marshall-Fratani, R., 2001 Mediating the Global and Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. R. Marshall-Fratani & A. Corten, eds. Pp. 80-106. London: Hurst.

Martel, S., 2004 *Sterk als de dood: sterven en rouw in joods perspectief*. Delft: Eburon.

Martin, D., 2001 Macroeconomic Developments During the 1990's. In *Suriname,*

the Economy: Prospects for Sustainable Development. P. van Dijck, ed. Pp. 43-91. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

Mbiti, J.S., 1999 *African Religions and Philosophy* (Second Revised and Enlarged Edition). Oxford: Heinemann.

Mc Leod, C., 1997 [1987] *Hoe duur was de suiker?* Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Ooievaar.

McLeod, C. & C.D. Haseth, 2002 *Slavernij en de memorie/slaaf en meester.* Schoorl: Conserve.

Meel, P., 1990. A Reluctant Embrace: Suriname's Idle Quest for Independence. In *Resistance and*

Rebellion in Suriname: Old and New. G. Brana-Shute, ed. Pp. 259-90. Williamsburg: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary.

Meel, P., 1997 Op zoek naar Surinaamse normen: nagelaten geschriften van Jan Voorhoeve (1950-1961). *Bronnen voor de Studie van Suriname, 20*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.

Mellor, P.A. & C. Shilling, 1993 Modernity, Self-Identity and the Sequestration of Death. Sociology: *The Journal of the British Sociological Association 27* (3): 411-432.

Menke, J., 1998 *Restructuring Urban Employment and Poverty: The Case of Suriname.* Paramaribo: SWI Press.

Merridale, C., 2000 *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth Century Russia.* New York: Penguin.

Mestrovic, S.G., 1998 *Anthony Giddens: The Last Modernist.* London: Routledge.

Meye, P., 1997 *Mijn heer en ik: levensbeschrijving van Pudsey Meye.* (Uitgegeven in eigen beheer).

Meyer, B., 1998 Commodities and the Power of Prayer: Pentecostalist Attitutes Towards Consumption in Contemporary Ghana. *Development and Change* 29 (4): 751-776.

Meyer, B., 1999 T*ranslating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Miles, D.J., 1965 Socio-Economic Aspects of Secondary Burial. *Oceania* 35 (3): 161-74.

Mintz, S.W. & R. Price, 1992 *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Mintz, S. & R. Price, 2003 *De geboorte van de Afro-Surinaamse cultuur.* Leiden: KITLV.

Mitford, J., 2000 [1963] *The American Way of Death Revisited*. London: Virago

Press.

Moller, D., 1990 *On Death Without Dignity: The Human Impact of Technological Dying.* Amityville: Baywood Publishing.

Moller, D.W., 1996 *Confronting Death, Values, Institutions and Human Mortality.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Mosquera, G. 1992. Africa in the Art of Latin America. *Art Journal* 5 (4): 30-38.

Mulder, J.H., 2006 De Ancient Order of Foresters in Suriname. Oso: *Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 25* (2): 42-56.

Mulder, J.H. & P. Dikland, 2005 Bedreigde begraafplaatsen in Paramaribo. Oso: *Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek* 24 (2): 263-276.

Muler, C.R., 1988 Winti: pleidooi voor een dialoog. In *Winti-religie: een Afro-Surinaamse godsdienst in Nederland*. F.E.R. Derveld & H. Noordegraaf, eds. Pp. 72-84. Amersfoort: De Horstink.

Mulkay, M., 1993 Social Death in Britain. In *The Sociology of Death.* D. Clark, ed. Pp. 31-49. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Munnichs, J., 1998 *Sterven: beleving, verwerking, begeleiding.* Houten/Diegem: Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum.

Needham, R., ed., 1973 *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Classification.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Neus, H., 2002 Een quaad gerugt?: het verhaal van Alida en Susanna Du Plessis. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21* (2): 305-317.

Neus, H., 2003 *Susanna Du Plessis: portret van een slavenmeesteres.* Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.

Oostindie, G., 1989 R*oosenburg en Mon Bijou: twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Oostindie, G., 1991 On Stedman's 'Narrative', Suriname Slavery, and Editing. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, landen volkenkunde 147* (1): 140-145.

Oostindie, G., 1993a Voltaire, Stedman and Suriname Slavery. *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of*
Comparative Studies 14 (2): 1-34.

Oostindie, G., 1993b The Economics of Surinam Slavery. *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands* 5: 1-24.

Oostindie, G., ed., 1999 Het verleden onder ogen: herdenking van de slavernij. Amsterdam/Den Haag: Arena/Prins Claus Fonds voor Cultuur en Ontwikkeling.

Oostindie, G., 2000b *Actueel dossier – NEDERLAND EN DE SLAVERNIJ – Een monument voor*
de slavernij. Spiegel Historiael 35 (6): 232-239.

Oro, A.P. & P. Semán, 2001 Brazilian Pentecostalism Crosses National Borders. In *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. R. Marshall-Fratani & A. Corten, eds. Pp. 181-196. London: Hurst.

Ortner, S.B., ed., 1999 *The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Otto, T. & H. Driessen, 2000 Protean Perplexities: An Introduction. In *Perplexities of Identification: Anthropological Studies in Cultural Differentiation and the Use of Resources.* H. Driessen & T. Otto, eds. Pp. 9-27. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Pack, S., 2006 How They See Me Vs. How I See Them: The Ethnographic Self and the Personal Self. *Anthropological Quarterly 79* (1): 105-33.

Pakosie, A.R.M., 1990 Dood, rouw en rouwverwerking bij de stam der Ndyuka of Okanisi. Sibigo:

Tijdschrift voor Afro-Surinaamse geschiedenis, kunst en cultuur 1 (1): 4-23.

Pakosie, A.R.M., 1991 Kunu: een onuitwisbare vloek die over een familie hangt. *Siboga* 1 (3): 17-19.

Pakosie, A.R.M., 1995 Een kritische analyse van de ontdekking van de leeuwekoning van de Mandingo: ontdekking of volksbedrog? *Siboga 5* (2): 1-39.

Pakosie, A.R.M., 2001 Marrons zijn niet psychologisch belast met slavernij trauma's. *Siboga 11* (1): 10-16.

Palgi, P. & H. Abramovitch, 1984 Death: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology 13*(1): 385-417.

Parkes, C.M., 1972 *Bereavement: Studies of Grief in Adult Life.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Parkes, C.M., Laungani, P. & B. Young, eds., 1997 *Death and Bereavement Across Cultures*. London: Routledge.

Patton, K.C. & J.S. Hawley, eds., 2005 *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pierce, B.E., 1971 *Kinship and Residence Among the Urban Nengre of Surinam: A Re-Evaluation of Concepts and Theories of the Afro-American Family.* Proefschrift, Tulane University, Tulane.

Pijl, Y. van der, 2002 Een klein verhaal over winti. Oso*: Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21* (1): 76-90.

Pijl, Y. van der, 2003 Room to Roam: Afro-Surinamese Identifications and the Creole Multiple Self. Focaal: *European Journal of Anthropology* 42: 105-14.

Pijl, Y. van der, 2005a Missverkiezingen en de articulatie van etnische identiteit. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 24* (1): 115-36.

Pijl, Y. van der, 2005b Suriname: Ancestors Against Cremation. In *Encyclopedia of Cremation*. D. Davies & L. H. Mates, eds. Pp. 391-392. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Pijl, Y. van der, 2006 De begrafenis van Papa Touwtjie. In A*ntropologie en Afro-Amerika als passie en professie: opstellen aangeboden aan Wim Hoogbergen.* K. Koonings, ed. Pp. 7-21. Maastricht: Shaker.

Platt, L.A. & V.R. Persico, eds., 1992 *Grief in Cross Cultural Perspective: A Case Book.* New York: Garland Publishing.

Polimé, T., 1998 Dood- en begrafenisrituelen bij de Ndyuka. Oso: *Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde,letterkunde, cultuur en geschiedenis 17* (1): 71-73.

Polimé, T., 2000 Reproduktieve rituelen van de Ndjuka. *Oso: Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 19* (2): 241-259.

Porter, R., 1999 The Hour of Philippe Ariès. *Mortality 4* (1): 83-92.

Pos, H., 1988 *De tranen van Den Uyl.* Amsterdam: De Balie.

Postma, J.M., 1990 *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Price, R., 1975 *Saramaka Social Structure: Analysis of a Maroon Society in Surinam.* Piedras: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico.

Price, R., 1976 *The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Price, R., 1983 First-Time: *The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Price, R., 1990 *Alabi's World: Coersion, Colonialism and Resistance on an Afroamerican Frontier.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Price, R., 2002 Maroons in Suriname and Guyane: How Many and Where. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 76* (1&2): 81-88.

Price, R. & S. Price, 1991 *Two Evenings in Saramaka.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Price, R. & S. Price, 2003 *The Root of Roots: Or, How Afro-American Anthroplogy Got Its Start.* Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Price, S., 1984 *Co-Wives and Calabashes.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., 1964 [1922] *The Andaman Islanders.* New York: Free Press.

Ramsoedh, H., 2001 Playing Politics: Ethnicity, Clientelism and the Struggle for Power. In *20th Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society*. R. Hoefte & P. Meel, eds. Pp. 91-111. Kingston/Leiden: Ian Randle Publishers/KITLV Press.

Rebhun, L.A., 1999 *The Heart Is Unknown Country: Love in the Changing Economy of Northeast Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Reynolds, F.E. & E.H. Waugh, eds., 1977 *Religious Encounters With Death: Insights From the History and Anthropology of Religions*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Ricoeur, P., 1984-1988 *Time and Narrative* (3 Dl.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roach, J., 1996 *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Robben, A.C.G.M., 2000 State Terror in the Netherworld: Disappearance and Reburial in Argentina. In *Death Squad: the Anthropology of State Terror.* J.A. Sluka, ed. Pp. 91-113. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Robben, A.C.G.M., ed., 2004a *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Robben, A.C.G.M., 2004b Death and Anthropology: An Introduction. In *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader.* A.C.G.M. Robben, ed. Pp. 1-17. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Rosaldo, R., 1993 *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Rosenblatt, P.C., Walsh, P. & D. A. Jackson, eds., 1976 *Grief and Mourning in a Cross-Culturall Perspective*. New Haven: HRAF Press.

Sankeralli, B., ed., 1995 *At the Crossroads: African Caribbean Religion and Christianity.* St. James, Trinidad & Tobago: Caribbean Conference of Churches.

Santokhi, S., 1990 Omtrent de lijkbezorging bij Hindoes in Suriname: 1873-1969. In *De cultuurgeschiedenis van de dood*. A. van der Zeijden, ed. Pp. 149-173. Balans en perspectief van de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Savornin Lohman, A. de, 1909 *Herinneringen.* Amsterdam: Van Kampen.

Scheff, T.J., 1990 *Microsociology, Discourse, Emotion, and Social Structure.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scheper-Hughes, N., 1993 *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil.* Berkely: University of California Press.

Scheper-Hughes, N. & P. Bourgois, eds., 2003 *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology.* Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

Schoonheym, P.E., 1980 Je geld of... je leven: een sociaal-economische benadering van de religie der Para-Creolen in Suriname. *ICAU mededelingen, 14*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.

Schoonheym, P.E., 1988 Het gebied van Boven-Para en de synthese tussen christendom en Creoolse religie. In *Winti-religie: een Afro-Surinaamse godsdienst in Nederland*. F.E.R. Derveld & H. Noordegraaf, eds. Pp. 52-72. Amersfoort: De Horstink.

Schouten-Elsenhout, J. & E. van der Hilst, 1974 *Sranan Pangi*. Paramaribo: Bureau Volkslektuur.

Scott, J.C., 1990 *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Seale, C., 1998 *Constructing Death: The Sociology of Dying and Bereavement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seale, C. & S. van der Geest, 2004 Good and Bad Death: Introduction. *Social Science & Medicine 58* (5): 883-885.

Sedoc, N.O., 1999 *Aisa winti: Suriname's culturele achtergronden.* Veendam: Stichting Rust en Troost.

Selket, K., 2005 Contagious Contradictions: Western Embalming Rituals and Mäori Tapu (conference paper). *The Social Context of Death, Dying and Disposal: 7th International Conference* (University of Bath, UK, 15-18 September 2005), Bath.

Sens, A., 2001 *'Mensaap, heiden, slaaf': Nederlandse visies op de wereld rond 1800.* Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers. Sheller, M., 2003 *Consuming the Caribbean. From Arawaks to Zombies.* London: Routledge.

Slagveer, J., 1968 *Ik. Moetete: poëzie en proza* 2: 42.

Sluka, J.A., ed., 2000 *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror.* Philadelphia: University of
Pennsylvania Press.

Smart, N., 2003 *The World's Religions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sontag, S., 2003 *Where the Stress Falls: Essays.* London: Vintage.

Spalburg, J.G., 1913 *Bruine Mina de Koto-Missi.* Paramaribo: Wekker.

Spencer, J., 1990 Writing Within: Anthropology, Nationalism, and Culture in Sri Lanka. *Current Anthropology* 31 (3): 283-291.

Stedman, J.G., 1796 *Narrative of a Five-Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South-America; From the Year 1772 to 1777.* London: J. Johnson & J. Edwards.

Stephen, H.J.M., 1986 *De macht van foedoe-winti: foedoe-rituelen in de winti-kultus in Suriname en Nederland.* Amsterdam: Karnak.

Stephen, H.J.M., 1988 *Lexicon van de Surinaamse winti-kultuur*. Amsterdam: H.J.M. Stephen.

Stephen, H.J.M., 1990 *Winti en psychiatrie: geneeswijze als spiegel van een cultuur.* Amsterdam: Karnak.

Stephen, H.J.M., 1998a *Winti Culture: Mysteries, Voodoo and Realities of an Afro-Caribbean Religion in Suriname and the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: H.J.M. Stephen.

Stephen, H.J.M., 1998b *Winti: Afro-Surinaamse religie en magische rituelen bij Surinamers in Suriname en Nederland.* Amsterdam: Karnak.

Stephen, H.J.M., 2000 *Dromen en mystiek: in de westerse en Surinaamse cultuur.* Amsterdam: H.J.M. Stephen.

Stephen, H.J.M., 2002a *Winti: levenshouding en religie.* Kampen: Kok.

Stephen, H.J.M., 2002b *Dede Oso: de dood en rouwverwerking bij Creoolse Surinamers in Suriname en Nederland.* [S.l.: s.n.].

Stewart, C. & R. Shaw (eds.) 1994. *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis.* London & New York: Routledge.

Stipriaan, A. van, 1993a *Surinaams contrast: roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie 1750-1863.* Leiden: KITLV.

Stipriaan, A. van, 1993b 'Een verre verwijderd van trommelen...': ontwikkeling van Afro-Surinaamse muziek en dans in de slavernij. In *De kunstwereld: produktie, distributie en receptie in de wereld van kunst en cultuur.* T. Bevers, Braembussche, A. van den & B.J. Langenberg, eds. Pp. 143-74. *Publikaties van de Faculteit der Historische en Kunstwetenschappen* (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam), 10. Hilversum: Verloren.

Suzuki, H., 2000 *The Price of Death: The Funeral Industry in Contemporary Japan.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Tannenbaum, F., 1946 *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. New York: A.A. Knopf.

Tarlow, S., 1999 *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archeology of Mortality.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Taussig, M.T., 1980 *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Taylor, C., 2003 *Wat betekent religie vandaag?* Kapellen/Kampen: Pelckmans/Klement.

Teenstra, M.D., 1835 *De landbouw in de kolonie Suriname, voorafgegaan door eene geschied- en natuurkkundige beschouwing der kolonie.* Groningen: Eekhoff.

Terborg, J., 2002 *Liefde en conflict: seksualiteit en gender in de Afro-Surinaamse familie*. Proefschrift, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Thoden van Velzen, H.U.E., 1998 African-American Worldviews in the Caribbean.

In *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews.* B. Chevannes, ed. Pp. 196-210. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Turner, B., 1992 *Regulating Bodies: Essays in Medical Sociology.* London: Routledge.

Turner, B., 1996 The Body and Society. London: Sage.

Turner, V., 1974 *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Turner, V., 1997 [1969] *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Uyleman, H. & E. Uyleman, 1990 *Pinkster Zending in Suriname, 25 Jaar.* [S.n.: s.n.]

Veer, P. van der, ed., 1996 *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity.* New York: Routledge.

Veldhoek, J.E., 1960 Hoe begraven wij onze doden in Suriname? *Djogo: officieel orgaan van de vereniging "Het Surinaams Verbond" 3* (2): 4-6.

Venema, T., 1992 *Famiri Nanga Kulturu: Creoolse sociale verhoudingen in Amsterdam.* Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Verlooghen, C., 1960 *Kans op onweer: gedichten.* Paramaribo: Drukkerij Srenang.

Vernooij, J., 1996 *Bosnegers en katholieke kerk: van confrontatie naar dialoog.* Paramaribo: SWI.

Vernooij, J., 1997 *Kerk in de maak: stukken geschiedenis van de r.k. gemeente in Suriname.* Paramaribo: [s.n.].

Vernooij, J., 1998 *De rooms-katholieke gemeente in Suriname: handboek van de geschiedenis van de rooms-katholieke kerk in Suriname.* Paramaribo: Leo Victor.

Vernooij, J., 2002a Kaart van christelijk Suriname. *Oso: Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 21* (1): 26-35.

Vernooij, J., 2002b Er zijn meer huizen dan kerken: winti en katholicisme in Suriname. In *De verleiding van het vreemde: katholieke eigenzinnigheid in de twintigste eeuw.* J. de Raat, Ackermans, G. & P. Nissen, eds. Pp. 110-129. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.

Vernooij, J. & P. Sjak-Shie, 1998 *Een kerk die leert: gedenkboek bij gelegenheid van het 25-jarig bestaan van het katechistisch centrum van Paramaribo.* Paramaribo: Katechistisch Centrum.

Verrijt, M.E., 1957 [1952] *De Surinaamse geschiedenis: voor de hoogste klas van de katholieke scholen.* Paramaribo: Leo Victor.

Voltaire, 1957 *Candide ou l'Optimisme*. Paris: Didier.

Voorhoeve, J., 1960 *De obiaman en zijn invloed: heidense invloeden binnen de*

gemeente. Intern rapport Evangelische Broedergemeente, Paramaribo.

Voorhoeve, J., 1983 The Obiaman and His Influence in the Moravian Parish. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, landen volkenkunde 139* (4): 411-420.

Voorhoeve, J. & U.M. Lichtveld, eds., 1975 *Creole Drum: An Anthology of Creole Literature in Surinam*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Voorhoeve, J. & H.C. Renselaar, 1962 Messianism and Nationalism in Surinam. *Bijdragen tot taal-, landen volkenkunde 118:* 193-216.

Vos, R., Jong, N. de & G. Dijkstra, 2001 Employment, Poverty and Income Distribution. In *Suriname, the Economy: Prospects for Sustainable Development.* P. van Dijck, ed. Pp. 189-221. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

Vries Robbé, E. de, 2005 Goud en drugs in Suriname. *Oso: Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 24* (2): 303-322

Wagner, R., ed., 1981 *The Invention of Culture (Revised and Expanded Edition).* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Walter, T., 1991 Modern Death: Taboo or Not Taboo? *Sociology 25* (2): 293-310.

Walter, T., 1994 *The Revival of Death.* London: Routledge.

Walter, T., 1999 *On Bereavement: The Culture of Grief.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Wekker, G., 1994 *Ik ben een gouden munt: subjectiviteit en seksualiteit van Creoolse volksklasse vrouwen in Paramaribo.* Amsterdam: Feministische Uitgeverij VITA.

Wetering, W. van, 1988 Winti: een pluriforme religie in een pluriforme samenleving. In *Winti religie: een Afro-Surinaamse godsdienst in Nederland.* F.E.R. Derveld & H. Noordegraaf, eds. Pp. 17-32. Amersfoort: De Horstink.

Wetering, W. van, 2001. Polyvocality and Constructions of Syncretism in Winti. In *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas.* S.M. Greenfield & A. Droogers, eds. Pp. 183-201. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Wikan, U., 2002 *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Willemsen, G., 2001 Diaspora, nationalisme en ontwikkeling. *Oso: Tijdschrift Voor Surinamistiek 20* (1): 103-108.

Wooding, C.J., 1981 *Evolving Culture: A Cross-Cultural Study of Suriname, West-Africa and the Caribbean.* Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

Wooding, C.J., 1984 *Geesten genezen: ethnopsychiatrie als nieuwe richting binnen de Nederlandse antropologie.* Groningen: Konstapel.

Wooding, C.J., 1988 *Een Afroamerikaanse godsdienst in Suriname: een*

cultuurhistorische analyse van de cosmologie en het ethnomedische systeem van de Para. Rijswijk: Wooding.

Zamuel, H., 1993 Dit land stimuleert je niet om naar de kerk te gaan. *Wereld en zending: Tijdschrift voor de missiologie 22* (2): 28-34.

Zamuel, H., 1995 Popular Religions and Ecumenism. In *At the Crossroads: African Caribbean Religion and Christianity.* B. Sankeralli, ed. Pp. 6-13. St. James, Trinidad & Tobago: Caribbean Conference of Churches.

Zamuel, H., 1999 Winti en de christelijke kerk in Suriname. *Wereld en zending: Tijdschrift voor de missiologie 28* (2): 66-73.

Zamuel, H.S., 1994 *Johannes King: profeet en apostel van het Surinaamse Bosland.* Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum.

Zeefuik, K.A., 1973 *Hernhutter zending en Haagsche Maatschappij, 1828-1867: een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van zending en emancipatie in Suriname.* Proefschrift, Utrecht Universiteit, Utrecht.

Rapporten & documenten

1917 – Dem Reglement Vo Dem Gemeente Vo Da Evang. Broeder-Gemeente Na Boesikondre. 2e ed.Paramaribo: Kersten & Co.

1983 – Doodsoorzaken in Suriname: 1976-1981. Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Bureau voor Openbare Gezondheidszorg (BOG).

1988 – Doodsoorzaken in Suriname: 1986. Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Afdeling
Epidemiologie.

1991 – Samenvatting beleidskader gezondheidszorg Suriname: werkversie 2 december 1991 (door F. Muller). Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid.

1991 – Aids en prostitutie (deelonderzoek 2): onderzoek onder mannelijke klanten van de dermatologische dienst (door J. Terborg). Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid,
Nationaal Aids Programma.

1991 – Case management van diarree in huis (door I. Krishnadath & S. Caffe). Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Bureau voor Openbare Gezondheidszorg (BOG).

1992 – Projectformuleringsmissie gezondheidszorg Suriname 20 juni – 25 juli 1992: projectvoorstel Medische Zending 5-jarenplan (door A. W. J. Hanekamp). Paramaribo: MZS.

1992 – Vijfde algemene volks- en woningtelling 1980 (definitieve resultaten, geheel Suriname).

Paramaribo: Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek (ABS).

1994 – Sex Differences in Mortality: Suriname 1983-1991. Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid. ProHealth.

1994 – Needs Assessment Study among Street-Based Female Commercial Sex Workers in Paramaribo, Suriname (door O'Carroll et al.). Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Nationaal AIDS Programma.

1995 – Health Conditions in the Americas: Suriname. Pan American Health Organization, Pan

American Sanitary Bureau, Regional Office of the World Health Organization.

1996 – Doodsoorzaken in Suriname: 1992-1994. Paramaribo: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Bureau voor Openbare Gezondheidszorg (BOG).

1996 – Een onderzoek naar de behoeften van mensen met hiv/aids en hun direkte omgeving: een

behoeftenmeting op basis van 80 interviews in Paramaribo, Suriname. Paramaribo: Stichting

MAMIO Namen Projekt & Nationaal AIDS Programma.

1996 – Health Conditions in Suriname (door W. J. Bakker MPH). Paramaribo.

1997 – Ministerie van Volksgezondheid: beleidsnota gezondheidszorg 1997-2001. Paramaribo:

Ministerie van Volksgezondheid.

1997 – Beleidsnota 1997-2001: sociale zekerheid en maatschappelijk welzijn. Paramaribo: Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Volkshuisvesting.

1998 – Aids and Behavior Change: a Population Survey, a KAPB Survey and an HIV Sero-Prevalence Study, in Paramaribo, Suriname (door F. Del Prado et al.). Paramaribo: Anton de Kom

Universiteit van Suriname.

1998 – Suriname: A Strategy for Sustainable Growth and Poverty Reduction. Country Economic

Memorandum. Washington D.C.: The World Bank, Caribbean Country Management Unit

(rapport).

1999 – KPS 2000: Strategisch Businessplan 1999-2003. Paramaribo: Korps Politie Suriname.

1999 Roofovervallen: een analyse van de recentste gevallen van de art. 372 & 377 Sur. Wetb. v. Str. (door analist U. Wills). Paramaribo: DCIV.

2001 – A Security Reform Program for the Caribbean: Suriname as a Case Study (door C. Santhokhi, Commissioner of Police, Paramaribo Suriname). Washington

D.C.: Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies.

2001 – Meerjaren Ontwikkelingsplan 2001-2005. Paramaribo: Stichting Planbureau Suriname.

2001 – Armoedegrenzen en armoede in Suriname. Paramaribo: Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek

(ABS). [Zonder jaar] Een manifest voor de gezondheidszorg: bekeken vanuit de visie van de V.V.S. Paramaribo: de Vereniging van Verpleegkundigen in Suriname (V.V.S.).

Kranten

'Wasi dede dinari', De Ware Tijd, 24 september 1988.

'Traditionele rouw der Creolen', De Ware Tijd, 9 december 1992.

'Creoolse cultuur: het scheiden van een overledene, wasi gron', De Ware Tijd, 16 december 1992.

De Ware Tijd, 21 juni 1993.

De Ware Tijd, 29 juni 1993.

'Rondom de dood', De Ware Tijd, 7 februari 1994.

'Inculturatie als levensstijl', De Ware Tijd, 11 juli 1995.

De Ware Tijd, 10 augustus 1995.

De Ware Tijd, 7 april 1999.

De Ware Tijd, 10 mei 1999.

'Suriname weer in situatie als vóór de coup', De Ware Tijd, 12 mei 1999.

De Ware Tijd, 21 mei 1999.

De Ware Tijd, 7 juli 1999.

'Verkiezingen in Suriname in mei' NRC Handelsblad, 16 juli 1999.

De Ware Tijd, 31 augustus 1999.

'RK-liederen bij uitvaartdiensten taboe?', Omhoog: weekblad voor kerk en samenleving in Suriname, 5

september 1999, jaargang 46 (35).

De Ware Tijd, 9 oktober 1999.

De Ware Tijd, 10 oktober 1999.

'Zingen geeft troost en hoop: Nanga Palm', Weekkrant Suriname, 27 oktober 1999.

'Suriname is religieuze smeltkroes', Nederlands Dagblad, 16 juni 2001.

De Ware Tijd, 8 januari 2002.

'Standbeeld Baron, Boni en Joli Coeur op Heiligenweg', De Ware Tijd, 22 januari 2002.

'Sonny Koeblal en zijn ervaring met scientology', De Ware Tijd, 16 oktober 2002.

'De Surinaamse 'paradox of plenty', De Ware Tijd, 7 juli 2003.

'Aflegwerk levert soms besmettingsgevaar op: nieuwe ziekten oorzaak', De Ware Tijd, 18 augustus 2003.

'Sterftecijfer mannen veel hoger dan vrouwen in 2001', De Ware Tijd, 4 december 2003.

'Eenduidige naam voor eenheidsbevordering Afro-Surinamers', De Ware Tijd, 29 december 2003.

'Bij viering Blakaman Dey in Nickerie: nog steeds ongelijkheid tussen mensen van verschillende rassen en culturen', De Ware Tijd, 5 januari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 17 januari 2004.

'Herdenking executie verzetsstrijders Kodyo, Mentor en Present', De Ware Tijd, 24 januari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 26 januari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 28 januari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 9 februari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 11 februari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 12 februari 2004.

De Ware Tijd, 13 februari 2004.

'Federatie fu 12 Lo's gaat voor eenheidsbevordering', De Ware Tijd, 1 maart 2004.

'Surinaamse begraafplaatsen bomvol', Het Parool, 17 december 2004.

'Ook de duivel is dol op spelletjes', NRC Handelsblad, 12 augustus 2005.

'Je gelooft het of niet', De Ware Tijd, 15 oktober 2005.

'Afleggers werken aan eigen lijkenhuizen', De Ware Tijd, 1 december 2005.

'Computerspel in de strijd tegen dictatuur', NRC Handelsblad, 27 februari 2006.

'Nog geen oplossing voor tekort begraafplaatsen', De Ware Tijd, 2 maart 2006.

'Aids-patiënt sterft na 'hulpweigering' AZP: 'Wij behandelen geen aids-patiënten', De Ware Tijd, 9 maart 2006.

'AZP tilt zwaar aan kwestie overleden aids-patiënt', De Ware Tijd, 10 maart 2006.

Internetbronnen
www.planbureau.net/mop%20final.htm
www.sraga.com/modules
www.si.edu/maroon
www.globalafrikancongress.com
www.parbo.com/news
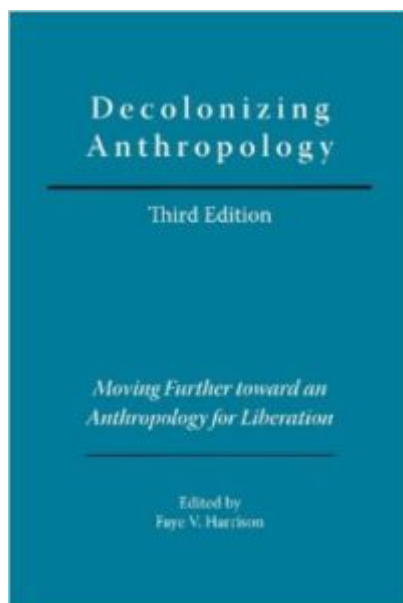
www.aaanet.org

www.apintie.sr

www.dwtonline.com

www.aforcemorepowerful.org

home.hetnet.nl/~krin-yeye/Gadosingi.htm

www.radiostanvaste.com/sitedata/PDF/kulturuwaaier.pdf

Carole McGranahan & Uzma Z. Rizvi (Eds,) ~ Decolonizing Anthropology

Just about 25 years ago Faye Harrison poignantly asked if "an authentic anthropology can emerge from the critical intellectual traditions and counter-hegemonic struggles of Third World peoples? Can a genuine study of humankind arise from dialogues, debates, and reconciliation amongst various non-Western and Western intellectuals — both those with formal credentials and those with other socially meaningful and appreciated qualifications?" (1991:1). In launching this series, we acknowledge the key role that Black anthropologists have played in thinking through how and why to decolonize anthropology, from the 1987 Association of Black Anthropologists' roundtable at the AAAs that preceded the 1991 volume on Decolonizing Anthropology edited by Faye Harrison, to the World Anthropologies Network, to Jafari Sinclaire Allen and Ryan Cecil Jobson's essay out this very month in Current Anthropology on"The Decolonizing Generation: (Race and) Theory in Anthropology since the Eighties."

Read more: http://savageminds.org/series/decolonizing-anthropology/

Fountain Hughes ~ Voices From The Days Of Slavery

Fountain Hughes (age 101 at the time of this interview) recalls his younger years when he and his family lived as slaves as well as some good advice on how to spend money.

The Ndebele Nation

Ndebele home

12-05-2015 ~ *With an Introduction by Milton Keynes*
The Ndebele of Zimbabwe, who today constitute about twenty percent of the population of the country, have a very rich and heroic history. It is partly this rich history that constitutes a resource that reinforces their memories and sense of a particularistic identity and distinctive nation within a predominantly Shona speaking country. It is also partly later developments ranging from the colonial violence of 1893-4 and 1896-7 (*Imfazo* 1 and *Imfazo* 2); Ndebele evictions from their land under the direction of the Rhodesian colonial settler state; recurring droughts in Matabeleland; ethnic forms taken by Zimbabwean nationalism; urban

events happening around the city of Bulawayo; the state-orchestrated and ethnicised violence of the 1980s targeting the Ndebele community, which became known as *Gukurahundi*; and other factors like perceptions and realities of frustrated economic development in Matabeleland together with ever-present threats of repetition of *Gukurahundi*-style violence—that have contributed to the shaping and re-shaping of Ndebele identity within Zimbabwe.

The Ndebele history is traced from the Ndwandwe of Zwide and the Zulu of Shaka. The story of how the Ndebele ended up in Zimbabwe is explained in terms of the impact of the *Mfecane*—a nineteenth century revolution marked by the collapse of the earlier political formations of Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, and Ngwane kingdoms replaced by new ones of the Zulu under Shaka, the Sotho under Moshweshwe, and others built out of *Mfecane* refugees and asylum seekers. The revolution was also characterized by violence and migration that saw some Nguni and Sotho communities burst asunder and fragmenting into fleeing groups such as the Ndebele under Mzilikazi Khumalo, the Kololo under Sebetwane, the Shangaans under Soshangane, the Ngoni under Zwangendaba, and the Swazi under Queen Nyamazana. Out of these migrations emerged new political formations like the Ndebele state, that eventually inscribed itself by a combination of coercion and persuasion in the southwestern part of the Zimbabwean plateau in 1839-1840. The migration and eventual settlement of the Ndebele in Zimbabwe is also part of the historical drama that became intertwined with another dramatic event of the migration of the Boers from Cape Colony into the interior in what is generally referred to as the Great Trek, that began in 1835. It was military clashes with the Boers that forced Mzilikazi and his followers to migrate across the Limpopo River into Zimbabwe.

As a result of the Ndebele community's dramatic history of nation construction, their association with such groups as the Zulu of South Africa renowned for their military prowess, their heroic migration across the Limpopo, their foundation of a nation out of Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, Kalanga, Rozvi and 'Shona' groups, and their practice of raiding that they attracted enormous interest from early white travellers, missionaries and early anthropologists. This interest in the life and history of the Ndebele produced different representations, ranging from the Ndebele as an indomitable 'martial tribe' ranking alongside the Zulu, Maasai and Kikuyu, who also attracted the attention of early white literary observers, as 'warriors' and militaristic groups. This resulted in a combination of exoticisation

and demonization that culminated in the Ndebele earning many labels such as 'bloodthirsty destroyers' and 'noble savages' within Western colonial images of Africa.

Ndebele History

With the passage of time, the Ndebele themselves played up to some of the earlier characterizations as they sought to build a particular identity within an environment in which they were surrounded by numerically superior 'Shona' communities. The warrior identity suited Ndebele hegemonic ideologies. Their Shona neighbours also contributed to the image of the Ndebele as the militaristic and aggressive 'other'. Within this discourse, the Shona portrayed themselves as victims of Ndebele raiders who constantly went away with their livestock and women—disrupting their otherwise orderly and peaceful lives. A mythology thus permeates the whole spectrum of Ndebele history, fed by distortions and exaggerations of Ndebele military prowess, the nature of Ndebele governance institutions, and the general way of life.

My interest is primarily in unpacking and exploding the mythology within Ndebele historiography while at the same time making new sense of Ndebele hegemonic ideologies. My intention is to inform the broader debate on pre-colonial African systems of governance, the conduct of politics, social control, and conceptions of human security. Therefore, the book The Ndebele Nation (see: below) delves deeper into questions of how Ndebele power was constructed, how it was institutionalized and broadcast across people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. These issues are examined across the pre-colonial times up to the mid-twentieth century, a time when power resided with the early Rhodesian colonial state. I touch lightly on the question of whether the violent transition from an Ndebele hegemony to a Rhodesia settler colonial hegemony was in reality a transition from one flawed and coercive regime to another. Broadly speaking this book is an intellectual enterprise in understanding political and social dynamics that made pre-colonial Ndebele states tick; in particular, how power and authority were broadcast and exercised, including the nature of state-society relations.

What emerges from the book is that while the pre-colonial Ndebele state began as an imposition on society of Khumalo and *Zansi* hegemony, the state

simultaneously pursued peaceful and ideological ways of winning the consent of the governed. This became the impetus for the constant and ongoing drive for 'democratization,' so as contain and displace the destructive centripetal forces of rebellion and subversion. Within the Ndebele state, power was constructed around a small Khumalo clan ruling in alliance with some dominant Nguni (*Zansi*) houses over a heterogeneous nation on the Zimbabwean plateau. The key question is how this small Khumalo group in alliance with the *Zansi* managed to extend their power across a majority of people of non-Nguni stock. Earlier historians over-emphasized military coercion as though violence was ever enough as a pillar of nation-building. In this book I delve deeper into a historical interrogation of key dynamics of state formation and nation-building, hegemony construction and inscription, the style of governance, the creation of human rights spaces and openings, and human security provision, in search of those attributes that made the Ndebele state tick and made it survive until it was destroyed by the violent forces of Rhodesian settler colonialism.

The book takes a broad revisionist approach involving systematic revisiting of earlier scholarly works on the Ndebele experiences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and critiquing them. A critical eye is cast on interpretation and making sense of key Ndebele political and social concepts and ideas that do not clearly emerge in existing literature. Throughout the book, the Ndebele historical experiences are consistently discussed in relation to a broad range of historiography and critical social theories of hegemony and human rights, and post-colonial discourses are used as tools of analysis.

Empirically and thematically, the book focuses on the complex historical processes involving the destruction of the autonomy of the decentralized Khumalo clans, their dispersal from their coastal homes in Nguniland, and the construction of Khumalo hegemony that happened in tandem with the formation of the Ndebele state in the midst of the *Mfecane* revolution. It further delves deeper into the examination of the expansion and maturing of the Ndebele State into a heterogeneous settled nation north of the Limpopo River. The colonial encounter with the Ndebele state dating back to the 1860s culminating in the imperialist violence of the 1890s and the subsequent colonization of the Ndebele in 1897 is also subjected to consistent analysis in this book.

What is evident is that the broad spectrum of Ndebele history was shot through with complex ambiguities and contradictions that have so far not been subjected

to serious scholarly analysis. These ambiguities include tendencies and practices of domination versus resistance as the Ndebele rebelled against both pre-colonial African despots like Zwide and Shaka as well as against Rhodesian settler colonial conquest. The Ndebele fought to achieve domination, material security, political autonomy, cultural and political independence, social justice, human dignity, and tolerant governance even within their state in the face of a hegemonic Ndebele ruling elite that sought to maintain its political dominance and material privileges through a delicate combination of patronage, accountability, exploitation, and limited coercion.

The overarching analytical perspective is centred on the problem of the relation between coercion and consent during different phases of Ndebele history up to their encounter with colonialism. Major shifts from clan to state, migration to settlement, and single ethnic group to multi-ethnic society are systematically analyzed with the intention of revealing the concealed contradictions, conflict, tension, and social cleavages that permitted conquest, desertions, raiding, assimilation, domination, and exploitation, as well as social security, communalism, and tolerance. These ideologies, practices and values combined and co-existed uneasily, periodically and tendentiously within the Ndebele society. They were articulated in varied and changing idioms, languages and cultural traditions, and underpinned by complex institutions.

Cecil John Rhodes

The book also demonstrates how the Ndebele cherished their cultural and political independence to the extent of responding violently to equally violent imperialist forces which were intolerant of their sovereignty and cultural autonomy. The fossilisation of tensions between the Ndebele and agents of Western modernity revolved around notions of rights, modes of worshiping God (religion and spirituality), concepts of social status, contestations over gender relations, and general Ndebele modes of political rule. Within the Ndebele state religious, political, judiciary and economic powers were embodied within the

kingship, and the Christian missionaries wanted to separate the spiritual/religious power from the political power. This threatened Ndebele hegemony and was inevitably resisted by the Ndebele kingship. In the end, the British imperialists together with their local agents like Cecil John Rhodes, Charles Rudd, John Smith Moffat, Charles Helm and many others, reached a consensus to use open violence on the Ndebele state so as to destroy it and replace it with a colonial state amenable to Western interests and Christian religion. The invasion, conquest and colonisation of the Ndebele became a tale of unprovoked violence and looting of Ndebele material wealth, particularly cattle, in the period 1893 to1897.

The book ends by grappling with some of the complex ambiguities and contradictions of the colonial encounter and the equally ambiguous Ndebele reactions to early colonial rule during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thus, from a longer-term perspective, the issues raised in this book have important resonance with current concerns around nation building, power construction, democratization, sovereignty, legitimacy, and violence in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

Milton Keynes, United Kingdom, February 2008

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni

Hegemony, Memroy and Historiography

Our kings were sympathetic to their subjects. They tried to ensure happiness for their people. A hungry person is a disgrace in any kingdom... Today leaders never come out to hear voices of their people so that they can know how they are living. Our government is not like it was in the kingdoms of Lobengula, Mzilikazi, and Shaka. Chiefs had power then to say and change the lives of their subjects.

There is an indigenous philosophy deeply embedded in, and inextricably woven with, our culture [which] radiates and permeates through all facets of our lives... It is not necessary for Africans to swallow holus bolus foreign ideologies...It is the duty of African scholars to discern and delineate African solutions to African problems.

If an African statesman concludes today that the wind of democracy is now blowing through Africa, he must be referring to the wind of European democracy. For Africa developed its own democratic principles, yet these were never

recognised as such by Europeans or by Africans educated in Europe.

One of the problematic arguments in African studies is that which views nations, nationalism, good governance, democracy and human rights as phenomena that Western societies invented and that African societies were incapable of inventing. This argument has created a pervasive belief of the West as a zone of *'haves'* and Africa as the zone of *'have nots'* not only in material terms but also in terms of positive history, positive ideologies, progressive human practices and other human inventions like nations. As noted by Ramon Grosfoguel, this is an epistemic strategy crucial for sustenance of Western hegemony, and its genealogy and development has taken the following trajectory:

We went from the sixteenth century characterisation of 'people without writing' to the eighteenth and nineteenth century characterisation of 'people without history,' to the twentieth century characterisation of 'people without development' and more recently, to the twenty-first century of 'people without democracy'. We went from the sixteenth century 'rights of people'... to the eighteenth century 'rights of man' ... and to the late twentieth century 'human rights'.

The net effect of this trajectory on African scholarship is timidity when it comes to discerning such phenomena as nations, human rights, and democracy organic to African history and African experiences. This book challenges such timidity as it makes sense of the key ideological contours of the Ndebele nation and its notions of democracy and human rights.

The Ndebele were a formidable nation in the nineteenth century, with unique institutions of governance, distinct political ideologies, and a worldview that was shaped by their specific historical experiences. The Ndebele nation was a multinational one comprised of Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, Kalanga, Shona, Venda and Tonga ethnic groups. The national language was *IsiNdebele*. Its founding father was Mzilikazi Khumalo, a charismatic leader and a competent nation-builder.

Pre-colonial nations such as this were not products of 'modernity' in the sense of the word as it is used by modernists like Eric J. Hobsbawn, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson. It was a product of what John Omer-Cooper described as a *'Revolution in Bantu Africa,'* and chapter two of this book provides details of this revolution. What emerged from this revolution as an Ndebele social formation

was characterised by a far more self-conscious spirit of community that transcended a parochial ethnicity. Many ethnicities coalesced in the constitution of the nation to create an Ndebele political identity that unified the people under one leader.

The Ndebele nation is one of the most misunderstood polities in Africa. It was described as a unique social formation underwritten and underpinned by a militaristic state. Its government was represented as autocratic and barbaric with all its activities revolving around raiding of its neighbours. To the early missionaries it was an abomination that needed destruction as it stood in the way of Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce. Like many other pre-colonial political formations, it was sometimes described as a *'kingdom,'* or a *'chiefdom,'* or even a *'tribe'*.

The book challenges some of these representations of the Ndebele nation and provides a new understanding of the institutional and organisational set-up of this pre-colonial nation, revealing and making sense of key ideologies that sustained it. The story starts off with explorations of how Mzilikazi Khumalo was able to build a nation out of people of different ethnic backgrounds and why he was successful in constructing a particular national identity out of people of different ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds that still endures today in Matabeleland and the Midlands regions of Zimbabwe.

The book makes a direct contribution to studies of pre-colonial systems of governance, pre-colonial notions of democracy and human rights, that have remained prisoner to mythologies, stereotypes, colonisation and romanticisations. There is a major challenge in studies like this one focusing on interrogation of pre-colonial systems of governance and deciphering pre-colonial practices of rights, entitlements and demands that can collectively give us a picture of notions of democracy and human rights. The key challenge is imposed by sources of information. Colonial archives keep mainly those written documents created by colonial officials whose agenda was to deny the existence of orderly government, let alone democracy and human rights, in pre-colonial Africa.

The other challenge is that of reluctance by non-Africans as well as some Africans to recognise that African pre-colonial people, just like people elsewhere in the world, were capable of building nations, of constructing orderly governments and creating democratic and human rights space for their people. We need to

critically engage those scholars who presented pre-colonial Africa as dominated by *'martial tribes'* with their 'warrior traditions' always out to harm others, to steal cattle and women and to enslave those communities that were weak and vulnerable.

Achille Mbembe

Amudou-Mahtar M'bow, the Director of the United Nations Education and Scientific Council (UNESCO) from 1947-1987 wrote that all kinds of myths and prejudices concealed the real, key contours of African life and institutions. Achille Mbembe, a respected African scholar and brilliant postcolonial theorist, added that:

The upshot is that while we now feel we know nearly everything that African societies and economies are not, we still know absolutely nothing about what they actually are.

This ignorance has given birth to an *'African exceptionalism'* paradigm of various hues, within which everything in Africa is found to be weird and incomprehensible if compared with other parts of the world. This *'African exceptionalism'* thinking is partly fed by the fact that despite numerous burials of the body of prejudices about Africa and Africans, *'the corpse obstinately persists in getting up again every time it is buried and, year in and year out, everyday language and much ostensibly scholarly writing remain largely in thrall to this presupposition'*.

Mbembe noted that writing and speaking rationally about Africa *'is not something that has ever come naturally'*. The *'African human experience constantly appears in the discourse of our time as an experience that can only be understood through*

a negative interpretation. *Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes properly part of 'human nature'*. However, some scholars like Alex Thompson began to study Africans and their politics from a positive perspective with a view to making sense of all of the types of behaviour manifested and the character of the institutions built. To him:

Africans are innately no more violent, no more corrupt, no more greedy and no more stupid than any other human beings that populate the planet. They are no less capable of governing themselves. Not to believe this is to revive the racism that underpinned the ethos of slavery and colonialism. In this sense, African political structures are as rational as any other system of government. If there have been more military coups in Africa than in the United States, then there has to be a reason for this. An explanation also exists for why the continent's political systems are more susceptible to corruption than those of the United Kingdom. By applying reason, the worst excesses of African politics (the dictators and the civil wars) can be accounted for, as can the more common, more mundane, day-to-day features of conflict resolution on the continent.

Indeed an understanding of the African condition today is never complete without digging deeper into the remote history of the continent and its people. Just like all other people elsewhere, Africans created durable states and ceaselessly struggled to create stable nations and to construct democratic modes of rule and governance. Within African societies there was dynamic social and cultural life besides military engagements. Historically grounded approaches are very useful in discerning and delineating those ideologies and those principles that made pre-colonial societies work. Dialo Diop has said clearly that *'some historical depth is a prerequisite... and is indispensable if any prediction about Africa's possible future... is to be made'*.

Africa is today toying with the *'African Renaissance'* as the nodal point around which African unity and development could be achieved. The philosophy of an *'African Renaissance'* foregrounds African history as a resource through which positive values could be discerned and delineated – values that are useful for a new and positive re-imagination of the African continent and the identities of its people. This cannot be achieved without African historians engaging in nuanced and critical interrogations of the continents' past with a view to recovering those values desperately needed for the self-definition of Africans and the re-centring of the continent within global politics.

The agenda of the *'African Renaissance'* and its emphasis of discerning and delineating positive aspects of African history and African civilisation constitute a current broader context justifying the need for nuanced studies with a particular focus on pre-colonial societies like the Ndebele of Zimbabwe.

However, there is a danger in aligning historical studies and research too closely to politically driven agendas like the *'African Renaissance'*. The danger is that of ending up reviving the orthodox nationalist paradigm. This paradigm was in vogue in the 1960s and is well critiqued by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, a brilliant African scholar and an able critic of nationalist historiography. According to Zeleza, nationalist scholarship shot itself in the foot. As he puts it:

Nationalist historiography has been too preoccupied with showing that Africa had produced organised polities, monarchies, and cities, just like Europe, to probe deeper into the historical realities of African material and social life before the advent of colonialism. As for the colonial period, nationalism was made so 'over determining' that only faint efforts were made to provide systematic, comprehensive, and penetrating analyses of imperialism, its changing forms, and their impact, not to mention the process of local class formation and class struggle. By ignoring these themes, nationalist historiography overstated its case: the overall framework in which the 'heroic' African 'initiatives' were as lost, and, in addition, African societies were homogenised into classless utopias.

Thus, nationalist historiography had failed to provide its own 'problematic' … it took over questions as they were posed by imperialist historiography: to the latter's postulation of African backwardness and passivity, nationalist historiography counterpoised with notions of African genius and initiative.

I deploy critical analysis here to avoid this nationalist historiographical pitfall, and I take into account the complexities, contradictions, and ambiguities apparent within the evolution of Ndebele history to ensure that African pre-colonial past is not romanticised but critically examined. I engage here *'disloyally'* even with those issues habitually ignored by nationalist historiography, such as forms of oppression and exploitation within the Ndebele state, as well as with the complex cleavages fashioned by local processes of *'class'* formation and *'class'* dualities, pitting the royals against the non-royals, and the Nguni stock against the captives, for instance. The historical realities of Ndebele material and social life before colonialism are subjected to critical social theoretical interrogation.

There would be no purpose in unpacking and exploding those notions created by early travellers, missionaries, explorers and colonial administrators only to replace them with nationalist-inspired notions that are equally problematic. A new historiography must transcend both. The intellectual endeavour is not to mythologize African realities, but to make new sense of them.

The other pre-occupation of this book is with forms of governance, human rights and democracy as manifested in pre-colonial and early colonial states. The World Bank has formulated a functionalist and instrumentalist definition of governance as:

... the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. This includes (i) the process by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced, (ii) the capacity of the governments to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies, and (iii) the respect of citizens and the state for the instruments that govern economic and social interactions among them.

This definition is cast in modernist and managerial terms but is useful across contexts and historical epochs, as governance is basically about management of public affairs—be it by pre-colonial, colonial, or post-colonial African leaders. Governance is about how power is configured and exercised within a polity. It is also about the issues of delivery or non-delivery of public goods by those in power to the governed. This is central to the accountability of the leadership to the governed. There are various ways of measuring this within the context of a pre-colonial polity. Chapter Three of this book provides details on the nature and dynamics of the Ndebele style of governance in the nineteenth century.

Colonial justifications for the imperial destruction of the Ndebele state in the late nineteenth century brought the discourse of human rights and democracy into the colonial discourses of cultural domination. In the first place, African pre-colonial societies in general and the Ndebele society in particular were said to be bereft of any traces of democracy and human rights. What was said to be at the centre of Ndebele governance was the notion of *amandla* (power). The exercise of this power manifested itself in the raiding of weaker polities and the enslavement of those who were unfortunate enough to be captured. Such colonial notions of Ndebele governance and politics cannot go unchallenged, as they distort the realities on the ground.

The colonial encounters could justifiably be described as a meeting of two hegemonic worlds with differing worldviews. At the centre of the contestations, the negotiations, the blending of peoples, the siphoning off and appropriations of the riches of the land, and even of the different readings of the meaning of the encounter, were issues of rights (individual and collective), entitlements and claims to certain things and certain commodities within the state. Western observers thought that human rights values and the capacity of individual to make choices were absent from and had to be introduced into Ndebele society. Here was a clear case of confusing the lack of a word or a close synonym for it with the lack of what it ultimately signifies. The Ndebele did not use the terms human rights and democracy as the missionaries used them, but they had notions of *amalungelo abantu* (rights, entitlements and claims of the people) which informed their society and their actions as they governed their state. I therefore introduce a theoretical discussion of human rights discourse in Chapter One of the book, after which I proceed to deal with rights, claims and entitlements in Chapters Three, Four, Five, Six and Seven.

The book reveals how early Christian missionaries tried to proselytise the Ndebele people into Christianity through preaching a gospel that emphasised issues of equality, accountability only to God, and other human rights principles as part of a new religious doctrine in the Ndebele state. In other words, it was the Christian missionaries who popularised the liberal-oriented ideologies of Christian civilization as an alternative to the assumed autocracy, barbarism and militarism of the Ndebele state. However, the behaviour of the early Rhodesian settler state, particularly its excessive violence, its militarism and its general disregard for Ndebele rights to land and to their cattle, revealed to the Ndebele the apparent lies and hypocrisy hidden within the professed ideology of Christian civilization and its human rights doctrines. These issues are detailed in chapter seven, where the emergence of what I term '*Ndebele Christianity*' is discussed. It was indeed the despicable behaviour of the early colonial state that caused disillusionment among those Ndebele who had embraced Christianity and who were beginning to accept the professed ideologies of colonial civilization and commerce.

The Ndebele as a Nation
The theme that is dominant throughout this book is that of the Ndebele as a nation with its own ideologies and values of governance. But the questions of what is a '*nation*' and when the nation began to exist have dominated the related

debates on nationalism and identity.

To me the fashionable phrases dominant in mainstream discourse relating to the birth of nations and the rise of nationalism, such as the *'invention of tradition,'* *'imagined communities,'* and *'constructed identities,'* are clearly intellectual endeavours to theorise the importance of human creativity in the foundation of nations and nation-states. Taken together, they express the important point that humanity throughout history has had the power to create its own preferred forms of associations, institutions and identities. They also allude to the creative power of the human mind and the centrality of human agency. But in the course of advancing the frontiers of this intellectual enterprise, the major theorists of the nation and nationalism faltered, as some began to deny this creative power to some civilisations and some people and assign it to some other civilizations and people.

This has generated heated debates. So far, the debates circulate around four key questions: the *'what,' 'when,' 'why,'* and *'how'* of nations and nationalism. In expanded form, in our context, the questions read: What is a nation? When does a nation come into being? Why was the particular nation created? How was the nation formed? The first question asks for the definition of the notion of a nation. The second asks for the provision of the date(s) and time frames of the formation of the particular nation. The third asks for the reason(s) behind the construction of the nation. The fourth asks for identification of the key paths/methodology/strategies of building the nation. The effort to answer these questions has produced four broad general paradigms: primordialism, constructivism, ethno-symbolism and instrumentalism, which are by no means monolithic bodies of thought and neat classifications of the numerous theorists. The key debate in this literature is whether the *'nation'* and *'nationalism'* are primordial phenomena or products of modernity. To primordialists, nations are seen as something intrinsic to human nature, as a type of social organisation that human beings need to form in order to survive. To primordialists nations existed in antiquity as well as in modernity. However, for modernists, nations and nationalism are a phenomenon of the modern era, where nationalism engendered and created nations. In between these two paradigms are ethno-symbolists who occupy the middle ground, accepting that although nationalism is a modern ideology, successful nations are built upon a pre-modern heritage. They also accept that nations could be found even before the onset of modernity.

Nations cannot be formed or constructed out of nothing. There is need for some foundation myth to anchor the nation. Where credible foundation myths were not found, innovative and creative nation-builders constructed these foundation myths alongside the actual construction of the nation. But what is a nation? Anthony D. Smith defined a nation as:

… a named and self-defined community whose members cultivate common myths, memories, symbols and values, processes and disseminate a distinctive public culture, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, and create and disseminate common laws and shared customs'.

Smith's general idea is more useful than the modernists' definition. Modernists defined a nation in terms of a well-defined territory with recognised borders; a unified legal system in accord with other institutions in a given territory; mass participation in social life by all members; a distinctive mass public culture disseminated through a system of standardised, mass public education; collective autonomy institutionalised in a sovereign state for a given nation; membership in an 'inter-national' system or community of nations; and legitimation by and through the ideology of nationalism. Smith's definition is accommodative of those nations that existed prior to the modern age, although it does not fit all cases.

The western bias or orientation within these definitions reduces their power when they are applied to a pre-colonial African nation like that of the Ndebele. But, then, I do not believe that it is possible for any intellectual to come up with a *'one-size-fits-all'* definition of nationhood. Different nations have emerged in different environments and across different historical epochs with different characteristics. Also a nation as an imagined phenomenon is perceived differently by different people, including the theorists of nation and nationalism.

What is useful here, in the current theoretical discussions of nationhood and nationalism is the grasp of the *'constructed-ness'* of these phenomena. Even Smith, who is considered to be a primordialist cum ethno-symbolist, uses terms like *'create'* and *'disseminate'* in his definition, suggesting that he subscribes to the idea that a nation is a construction. Once the concept of the *'constructed-ness'* of a nation is accepted then the issues of artificiality, malleability and fluidity and even the contingency aspect of nations like that of the Ndebele easily make sense.

In accounting for the construction of nations it is necessary to integrate both their historicity and contingency, but when the Hobsbawnian modernist school extended its interest to Africa in the 1980s it provoked an attempt by some scholars to see every African identity as a construction of colonialism. This happened as nationalist-inspired scholars attempted to trace the historical roots of tribalism and negative ethnicity. At the end of the day Europeans, missionaries, colonial officials and early anthropologists were given too much agency in the invention of tribes and ethnicities in Africa. African agency was almost denied by the early version of constructivism in shaping their identities prior to colonialism.

It took time for constructivists to realise their mistakes and for scholars like Terence Ranger to revisit their earlier propositions on ethnicity in Africa. Latter-day constructivists like Carolyn Hamilton and Bruce Berman revised and modified the thesis of colonial inventions of ethnicity, amending it in order to take into account pre-colonial antecedents which had nothing to do with the advent of colonialism. They accepted the idea of the existence of longer pre-colonial processes in which African people were active agents in the imagination and invention of their own identities. On this, Berman wrote that:

The invention of tradition and ethnic identities, along with polities, religions, trading networks and regional economies, were present in Africa long before the European proconsuls arrived to take control and attempt to integrate the continent more directly into the global economy of capitalist modernity.

The Ndebele nation is a typical example of a pre-colonially *'constructed nation'*. Prior to 1820, there was no Ndebele nation to talk of – not until Mzilikazi broke away from the Zulu kingdom to construct such an identity. Chapter Two of the book provides full details of the construction of the Ndebele nation. Memories of migration and offensive as well as defensive warfare in which the Ndebele took part either to replenish their numbers or to defend the nascent nation against other conquering groups later coalesced into the necessary myth of the foundation of the nation.

'Ndebele-ness' was a form of constructed citizenship that never stopped to be reconstructed across historical time. This is why there are numerous misunderstandings around who is an Ndebele. The discernible contours include those that reserve *'Ndebele-ness'* to the royal Khumalo family or clan. This definition is of course too reductionist and clannish in that it does not take into

account the snowballing of Ndebele identity over time and space. To some, Ndebele identity is confused with broader Nguni identity, which includes the Zulu, Xhosa, Shangaans, and Swazi. This is a form of Ngunization of Ndebele identity that is less meaningful to the specific use of the term after the Ndebele had settled in Zimbabwe. Terence Ranger saw this definition as exclusive, narrow and xenophobic.

At other times, being Ndebele is defined linguistically as one who speak Ndebele as a mother tongue. This is a linguistic definition. Yet at another level an Ndebele is defined as any person who resides in Matabeleland regions and those parts of the Midlands region where Ndebele is spoken. This is a regional-geographical definition. The important issue here is that the proliferation of these definitions indicates the contingency, malleability and fluidity of Ndebele identity across space and time, making it subject to different interpretations by even the Ndebele themselves.

The latest in this array of definitions of Ndebele identity is a very political one that emerged during the violence of the 1980s. An Ndebele was any person loyal to PF-ZAPU and Joshua Nkomo. This definition emerged within a politics that tried to *'de-nationalise'* ZAPU and Nkomo in order to *'provincialise'* and *'tribalise'* Ndebele identity. ZANU-PF contributed greatly to the flourishing of this identity, when it openly stated that: *'ZAPU is connected with dissidents and ZAPU is supported by the Ndebele, therefore Ndebele are dissidents'.* Nkomo was presented as the modern king of the Ndebele and the *'father of dissidents'* in this discourse. The Ndebele are neither a clan nor a tribe. In 1983, the ZANU-PF government made efforts to de-*Ndebelecise* the people of Tonga, Kalanga and Nambya stock in the midst of Fifth Brigade atrocities. Its propaganda was that in Binga, Jambezi and Hwange people had:

… particularly requested that the government should draw a clear distinction between them and the rest of Matabeleland. They did not want to be bothered in this talk of seceding Matabeleland [sic], emphasising that they did not belong to Zapu nor were they Nkomo's people. They would like to have their own distinct province to be called Tonga-Nambya Province.

This propaganda strategy did not work, as ZAPU continued to enjoy support in these areas. Fifth Brigade persecutions of ZAPU supporters unintentionally brought Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Rozvi and Nguni close once again, in a

solid Ndebele identity in opposition to Shona identity represented by the state and its violent army. Msindo observed that: *'Zapu-ness seems to have become an engraved local political identity and constituted as part of being Ndebele so much that is was a "till death do us part" matter'*.

Therefore it is no exaggeration to say the Ndebele are a nation which comprises all those people whose ancestors were incorporated into the Ndebele state in the nineteenth century. These include those of Nguni, Sotho, Shona, Kalanga, Tswana, Venda, Tonga and Rozvi extraction. This is the nation which Ndebele hegemony created. This is a historical-pluralistic and inclusive definition of being Ndebele. *IsiNdebele* is the common language spoken by the Ndebele, although such other languages as Kalanga, Venda and Sotho were spoken too and are still spoken alongside *IsiNdebele*. Despite colonial efforts to provincialise Ndebele identity and post-colonial efforts to 'minoritise' Ndebele identity, it has endured and weathered obstacles to its flourishing. Ndebele identity has emerged from the atrocities of *Gukurahundi* reinforced rather than diluted. 'Minoritization' of identities has always been intrinsically linked to struggles over socio-political power, cultural domination and control. *'Minoritorization'* has no necessary factual basis in demography. It is an instrument constructed for use in pursuit of exclusionary political agendas.

Like all constructed identities, *'Ndebele-ness'* remains prone to fluidity, malleability, reinforcement, contestations, acceptance and rejections. Msindo has uncovered a strong Kalanga ethnic consciousness in Matabeleland and is of the opinion that there is a widespread illusion *'that Matabeleland is* Ndebele *land'* – an idea that deserves unpacking and explosion like all myths and illusions. This intervention, however, does not deny the historical reality that Nguni, Sotho, Shona and Kalanga groups subsisted within the Ndebele national identity throughout the existence of the Ndebele state under Mzilikazi and later under Lobengula.

The book therefore offers a nuanced, historically-grounded understanding of the existence of one of Africa's nations. It provides a clear example of where clans and ethnic groups coalesced under a charismatic leader to become over time the heterogeneous Ndebele nation. The processes involved in the construction of the Ndebele nation were diverse and complex, including raiding, and more importantly strategic and delicate deployment of coercion and consent, in a typical hegemonic fashion.

The Ndebele as a minority group

Today, the Ndebele speaking people are part of a *'unitary'* state called Zimbabwe, which is a creation of modern African nationalism. They form about twenty percent of the population of Zimbabwe. Their long and rich history is presently overshadowed by the triumphant Shona history that enjoys state support. The Shona speaking people make up about eighty percent of the Zimbabwean population. Besides constituting the dominant *'ethnie,'* the Shona groups also consider themselves to be more indigenous to Zimbabwe than the Ndebele, who arrived in the area in 1839.

The name of the country is derived from Shona (Karanga) history. Ndebele history has nothing to do with the heritage site of Great Zimbabwe. The ruling elite are predominantly Shona. Feelings of exclusion and marginalisation among the Ndebele have reinforced a particularistic identity. However, it is important to note that the initial version of nationalism of the period 1957-1962 was inclusive of both Ndebele and Shona as oppressed Africans.

This led Msindo to argue that ethnic groups do not always stand as opponents to the development of a nation and that they sometimes complement efforts at developing an inclusive nation. Basing his analysis on ethnic-based societies, clubs and unions formed in Bulawayo, such as the Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society, the Kalanga Cultural Society and the Matabele Patriotic Society, Msindo concluded that ethnicity and nationalism positively supported each other in the period 1950-1963.

It was during this period that ethnic associations produced nationalist leaders, and while ethnicity provided the required pre-colonial heroes and monuments the name 'Zimbabwe' was adopted by nationalist liberation movements for their imagined postcolonial nation. Leading nationalist political formations such as the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC), the National Democratic Party (NDP) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) used ethnicity positively to mobilise the African masses. The ethnic cultural symbols used to this purpose included the traditional leopard skins worm by pre-colonial Shona and Ndebele chiefs and the Nguni hats worn by Ndebele chiefs, which early nationalist leaders like Nkomo, James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Jaison Moyo and Leopold Takawira used to wear when addressing mass rallies. The 'grand' nationalist split of 1963 that saw the birth of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) as a splinter party from ZAPU initiated the negative mobilisation of

ethnicity that characterized the whole of the liberation struggle period and beyond. The Ndebele-Kalanga group constituted the largest supporters of ZAPU until its demise in 1987, whereas ZANU was supported by the Shona groups. This evolution of nationalist politics in an ethnically bifurcated form had devastating implications for identities and nation-building within the postcolonial state. Within two years of independence the Shona-dominated state unleashed its military forces on the Ndebele, under the guise of flushing out some dissidents in Matabeleland and the Midlands regions of Zimbabwe. The *'ethnic cleansing'* raged on from 1982 until 1987, claiming the lives of an estimated twenty-thousand Ndebele speakers. Bjorn Lingren has noted that one of the most serious and long-term consequences of the *Gukurahundi* atrocities has been to solidify the feeling of *'Ndebele-ness'* among the people—*'the people in Matabeleland accused Mugabe, the government and the "Shona" in general of killing the Ndebele'*. Only with the Unity Accord of 22 December 1987 did the atrocities in Matabeleland and the Midlands regions come to an end. But the violence had already polarised the nation beyond repair.

The turn of the millennium saw the state of Zimbabwe shifting its attack to the minority white citizens. Earlier civic forms of nationalism that gave birth to the policy of reconciliation were quickly forgotten and the policy of reconciliation was repudiated. Brian Raftopoulos has noted that *'a revived nationalism delivered in a particularly violent form, with race as the key trope within the discourse, and a selective rendition of the liberation history deployed as an ideological policing agent in the public debate,'* took centre stage in Zimbabwean politics at the beginning of the new millennium. In all of this, the question of who is a Zimbabwean gained new resonances and permeated the wider process of nation-building and re-imagination of the nation. All of this took place as Zimbabwe veered and plunged into unprecedented political and economic crisis.

Zimbabwe crisis and its historiography
The descent of Zimbabwe into an unprecedented crisis at the beginning of the Third Millennium has provoked new research into questions of nation-building, ideologies like nationalism, state-consolidation strategies and modes of rule, as the search for the roots of the crisis became the focus of political and policy analysis. The book, written at a time when Zimbabwe is undergoing one of its worst, multi-level and multi-layered crises engages with similar issues, but deals with a pre-colonial period leading up to the mid-colonial period.

The current crisis pervading Zimbabwe has elicited various interpretations that have yielded various descriptions of the nature of the meltdown. Scholars have competed to generate different epithets for the crisis, ranging from *'state failure,'* *'governance crisis,'* *'exhaustion of patriarchal model of liberation,'* *'malgovernance,'* and *'unfinished business,'* to *'economic crisis'*. Indeed, by 2000 the state and its people found themselves on the edge, marked by serious governance deficits and humanitarian disasters as the state failed to deliver on every front. The crisis became so pervasive and devastating that it puzzled many an academic.

A historiography of the crisis has emerged that has a bearing on the current book. The first body of literature came from journalists with their propensity for instant analysis of grave situations and instant apportionment of blame for the crisis on particular political actors and institutions. Robert Mugabe, the President of Zimbabwe, was personally blamed for the crisis. The second body of literature came from political scientists with their deeper analysis of the murky present, with a view to prescribing the mysterious future. To some scholars, it was a *'mutating millennial crisis,'* *'generated by and generating particular ensembles of politics and practice related to at least three interweaving analytical themes and empirical arenas:* the politics of land and resource distribution; reconstruction of nation and citizenship; and the making of state and modes of rule'.

Historians have not contributed directly to the historiography of the crisis save for one influential article and an edited volume by Terence Ranger. In the edited volume, Ranger directly explores a number of questions on nationalism, democracy and human rights, and makes the following useful observation:

But perhaps there was something inherent in nationalism itself, even before the wars and adoption of socialism, which gave rise to authoritarianism. Maybe nationalism's emphasis on unity at all costs—its subordination of trade unions and churches and all other African organisations to its imperatives—gave rise to an intolerance of pluralism. Maybe nationalism's glorification of leader gave rise to a post-colonial cult of personality. Maybe nationalism's commitment to modernisation, whether socialist or not, inevitably implied a 'commandist' state.

Ranger was concerned to explain the failure of democracy in Zimbabwe and why this failure was attended by the transformation of the state into a militarised and intolerant leviathan. He put the blame at the door of the nature of Zimbabwean

nationalism and its manifestations, which were not amenable to democracy and human rights.

In the article entitled Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe, Ranger dealt with the historiographical implications of the crisis. He noted that:

There has arisen a new variety of historiography ... This goes under the name of 'patriotic history'. It is different from and more narrow than the old nationalist historiography, which celebrated aspiration and modernisation as well as resistance. It resents the 'disloyal' questions raised by historians of nationalism. It regards as irrelevant any history which is not political, and is explicitly antagonistic to academic historiography.

The subject matter of the book counters the current, dominant, state-sponsored narrative of 'patriotic history' and challenges the problematic mantra of *'Zimbabweanism'* based on Shona hegemonies, where there is very little space for articulation of Ndebele hegemonies. The book deals with some of those 'disloyal' questions that are not in tandem with the dictates of *'patriotic history'*. In *'patriotic history'* only race is a problem and ethnicity is never subjected to similar attention. One who raises issues related to ethnicity risks being *'othered'* as unpatriotic. Venturing into research on Ndebele history is automatically considered to be an *'unpatriotic'* exercise within state circles, as it is presumed to raise divisive ethnic problems and dirty histories not useful for nation-building imagined around the Great Zimbabwe heritage site.

The current debates on the crisis are clearly engaging with the issues of nation construction, the difficulties of forging common citizenship out of different racial and ethnic groups, the authoritarian methods of post-colonial state consolidation, and power-building. The study of the case of the formation and expansion of the Ndebele state into a nation reveals arts of nation-building that could be emulated, as well as negative tendencies that sound a warning to current African leadership in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

Based on his observations of how the leaders of Zimbabwe have struggled to build an enduring and stable nation since 1980, Eldred Masunungure wrote: *'Nation-building, like state-building is a work of art and many African leaders have proved to be good state-building artists but poor nation-builders'*.

Nation-building is not about exclusions. It is about inclusions. The Rhodesian state collapsed because it failed to build a nation. It used race as the criterion for excluding all black people from the enjoyment of civil and political rights. Are Zimbabwean leaders not repeating the same mistake by openly excluding whites as foreigners from the nation? What implications and signals does the exclusion of whites provide to such people as the Ndebele, who have not yet been fully integrated into the *'Zimbabwe nation'* ? For how long will minorities be sacrificed at the altar of political expediency and majoritarian politics? Mahmood Mamdani argued that in many postcolonial African societies there is a general failure to transcend colonially crafted political identities to the extent that in engagement with citizenship issues, African regimes only turn the *'colonial world upside down'*. This marked by the fact that the *'native'* now sits on top of the political world designed by the settler.

The civil war of 1982-1987 magnified and reflected the dangers associated with imagining a nation and state in terms of the vision of one ethnic group in the midst of a multiethnic society. If one ethnic group ascends to state power, as was the case with the Shona in 1980, do the other ethnic groups inevitably have to suffer exclusion and marginalisation? Even more dangerous, the ethnic group that had captured state power proceeded to use the state in violently dealing with Ndebele-speaking people. The ethnicised violence of the 1980s left an estimated twenty thousand Ndebele-speaking people dead. *Ndebele-ism* was under state-sanctioned attack. This *Ndebele-ism* was a form of nationalism that was considered to be antagonist to the form of nationalism popularised by the triumphant ZANU-PF around Shona languages, Shona history, Shona heroes and Shona symbols. The ZANU-PF-inspired nationalist idea was to make sure, by all available means including violence, that Ndebele identity was dead.

Up to now, the issue of the Ndebele identity in Zimbabwe remains a potential source of national tension in the country. In 2005, the Vice President of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Gibson Sibanda, was quoted by the *Daily Mirror* as arguing that there was a need to re-build the Ndebele state along the lines of the single-tribe nations of Lesotho and Swaziland. He was quoted as saying *'Ndebeles can only exercise sovereignty through creating their state like Lesotho, which is an independent state in South Africa, and it is not politically*

wrong to have the State of Matabeleland in Zimbabwe'.

Despite the fact that Sibanda later denied ever saying this, the statement encapsulates some emerging sentiments that are common among Ndebele-speakers in Zimbabwe. Since the achievement of independence in 1980, the Ndebele-speaking people have constantly been complaining of exclusion and marginalisation. A group of Ndebele-speaking people based in London calling itself the *Mthwakazi People's Congress* (MPC) has openly called for the creation of a separate Ndebele state to be termed the United Mthwakazi Republic (UMR) comprising of the Matabeleland provinces and the Midlands. They noted that:

… for our part, for our present generation, this Zimbabwe, and any attempts to maintain it in any guise in future as a state that includes uMthwakazi, is as false as it is silly. It is only part of the grand illusion of the whole Zimbabwe project created in 1980. … What we have at the moment, courtesy of Robert Mugabe … is their Zimbabwe, of Shonas, and a fledging state for UMthwakazi which we have called UMR.

Moderate Ndebele politicians inside the country have also clamoured for a federal state within which Matabeleland would run its own political and economic affairs. All of these sentiments indicate the challenges of nation building in post-colonial Zimbabwe that need to be carefully historicised. The significant question is what lessons could post-colonial African leaders learn from pre-colonial leaders like Mzilikazi Khumalo, who created the Ndebele state in Zimbabwe?

Jeffrey Herbst has noted that African leaders across time and space have faced certain similar problems when trying to rule. The key problem was how to broadcast power and to build nation-states. Nation-building and governance remain major issues in post-colonial Africa and one wonders how pre-colonial leaders managed to build nations like that of the Ndebele, and what forms of governance kept the nation together. The choice of mode of rule is a central aspect of state-building and nation-building projects in Africa. The Ndebele state emerged and crystallised around a small Khumalo clan, and eventually matured into a heterogeneous nation incorporating different ethnic groups before its violent destruction by colonial forces in 1893 and 1896. This reality raises a number of relevant questions, which have been taken for granted for too long: How did one qualify to be a Ndebele? Was the Ndebele nation a civic nation or an ethnic nation? How was power configured in this nation? How accommodative

was this state? How did the Ndebele elite deal with tensions of centralisation and decentralisation? How was power distributed? How did the 'citizens' access resources like land and cattle? How was coercion and consent balanced? These are indeed some of the key questions dealt with in this book.

Today the Ndebele suffer from both the perception and the reality of the marginalization of their past. They face the daily reality of playing second fiddle to the majority Shona ethnic group in the economy and in politics. They endure the daily reality of their history, their heroes, and their participation in the liberation struggle being consigned to a secondary role behind that of the triumphant Shona. That they were once a powerful, independent nation created out of migration, bloody wars, courage, resilience, and sacrifice is quickly losing its significance. The imagination, construction, and making of Zimbabwe in 1980 excluded the insights from Ndebele past. A cabinet minister and a historian, Stan Mudenge wrote that:

Present day Zimbabwe, therefore, is not merely a geographical expression created by imperialism during the nineteenth century. It is a reality that has existed for centuries, with a language, a culture and a 'world view' of its own, representing the inner core of the Shona historical experience. Today's Zimbabwe is, for these reasons, therefore, a successor state. As successors to all that has gone before, present Zimbabweans have both materially and culturally, much to build and not little to build on.

The resilient Ndebele language, memory and history were negated in Zimbabwe, since they constituted a *'sub-hegemonic'* wave in the midst of Shona *'hegemony'*. The Shona-dominated ruling elite in Zimbabwe felt that for purposes of nation-building, Ndebele history had to be forgotten – particularly the fact of Ndebele raids on the Shona polities. Ndebele history has therefore been silenced as the Ndebele themselves are written out of the Zimbabwe nation. This silence on Ndebele history led Jocelyn Alexander, Joan McGregor and Terence Ranger to write that:

We wanted to write about Matabeleland in part because silence has surrounded the history of this region of Zimbabwe. As we talked to the people in the districts of Nkayi and Lupane (into which the old Shangani Reserve was divided in the 1950s), we found that this silence had produced a profound sense of exclusion from national memory, and that idea of writing a history of Shangani inspired

great enthusiasm.

One also needs to take into account that the sidelining of Ndebele historical experiences in the imagination of post-colonial Zimbabwe has to do partly with what Ray S. Roberts termed the 'pervasive academic assumption of the centrality of nationalism in our history'. Zimbabwean nationalism has taken the form of majoritarian tyranny and majoritarian hegemonies crystallising in the form of what Roberts terms:

The Whiggish mould of Panglossian unilinear development—from enlargement-of-scale resistance in the 1890s, to modernising organisations of the 1940s, to radicalizing agitation in the 1950s-1960, to liberating chimurenga in the 1970s, and so unifying democracy from the 1980s: from religious-inspired unity from Matopos shrines in 1896-7 to Unity Accord negotiated in Harare in 1987—in short from Mkwati to Nkomo/Mugabe.

Throughout this continuum, Nkomo is a recent addition. Ndebele experiences are just an inconvenience that needed to be crushed if Shona triumphal history was to flow smoothly.

It is no wonder therefore that since 1976 when Julian Cobbing produced his doctoral thesis on Ndebele history no major study has been produced on the pre-colonial history of the Ndebele, as though Cobbing had answered all of the questions and addressed all of issues pertaining to Ndebele ideologies. Cobbing's thesis was never revised into a book, and it remains known only to those in the academy.

On the other hand, the book broadly covers three broad phases of Ndebele historical experience, beginning with the period 1818 to 1842. This is the period of the *Mfecane*, migration, state formation, and the initial settlement of the Ndebele on the Zimbabwean plateau. The second phase is traced from 1842-1893. It is the period of settlement dominated by coalescence of various ethnic groups into a united and heterogeneous Ndebele nation, as well as the consolidation of Khumalo hegemony via the process of the ritualisation of kingship and the delicate balancing of coercion and consent.

The last phase is reconstructed from the first encounter between the Ndebele and the representatives of Western imperialism up to the mid-colonial period. It is the period of engagement with Christian missionaries, the British South Africa

Company, conquest, and interactions between the Ndebele and the early Rhodesian colonial state, up to the mid twentieth century.

The significance of this study lies in its approach to the Ndebele past. It links together historical process, social practice, and cultural mediation in its reconstruction of the Ndebele history. In other words, this book goes beyond the existing increment of positivistic narratives that serve only to disguise the underlying structures of the Ndebele State. It moves away from the common approach confined to the realm of narration of events to the higher level of analysis situated in a scientific understanding of structure, social practice, and transformation.

As noted by Jean Comaroff, the socio-cultural structure and the *'live-in'* world of practice are mutually constitutive: the former, because of the contradictory implications of its component principles and categories, is capable of giving rise to a range of possible outcomes on the ground. The world of practice, because of its inherent conflicts and constantly shifting material circumstances, is capable not only of reproducing the structural order, but also of changing it, either through cumulative shifts or by means of consciously motivated action. For instance, in the Ndebele state it was clear that the pre-colonial structural forms continued to be reproduced as long as the Khumalo leadership exercised control over the primary means of production and over those centralised institutions that underpinned the division of labour.

The approach of the book, therefore, entails a comprehensive re-consideration of Ndebele historical events as the practical embodiments of a more deep-seated structural order. In a way, one significant feature of the Ndebele historical events was to reflect the manner in which the Ndebele themselves struggled to reproduce their socio-cultural forms in different environments and circumstances. In short, the theoretical innovation of this book is predicated on the realisation that there is a need to take into account the interplay of subjects and objects, of the dominant and the subservient, and treat the social process as a dialectic process which is at once both semantic and material. Thus, this book suggests that it is the Ndebele historical experience itself which constitutes the basis for understanding the dialectic in which ideology 'makes' people and people 'make' ideology.

In its endeavour to unpack the complex interactions between the state and society

and to unravel cultural practice and its attendant specificities, the book combines insights from the radical materialist approach to democracy and human rights with the powerful theory of hegemony elaborated by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci's theory is very useful in illuminating the history of society and of cultural practice and specifities.

The book is the first of its kind to delve deeply into the ideological intricacies of the Ndebele state with a view to teasing logical meaning out of what was sometimes dismissed as autocracy, militarism, superstition or barbarism. The book addresses very fundamental questions that have direct implications for the broader debates on governance and politics in Africa: How did the Khumalo establish hegemony? How did they manage to pass their values and ideas on to other members of the Ndebele society? How successful was the Ndebele ruling elite in making the Khumalo ancestors relevant for the consolidation, legitimacy, and dissemination of ideology? How did the Ndebele ruling elite manage conflicting interests within the Ndebele society? What strategies were used to gain support from the people who became part of the new Ndebele nation? What was the content and meaning of Ndebele oral literature? What was the nature of the relationship between the state and society among the Ndebele?

These are indeed fundamental questions whose answers are situated in a deeper reconstruction of the Ndebele history beyond the common narrative and ordinary 'event history'. Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony is effectively employed to penetrate the body politic of the Ndebele state and society. Deploying this theory enabled this book to deal with such new questions as: How, precisely was Ndebele consciousness made and remade? How was it mediated by such distinctions as class, gender, age, and ethnicity? How did some meanings and actions, old and new alike, become conventional – either asserted as collective Ndebele values or just taken for granted – while others became objects of contest and resistance. How, indeed, are we to understand the connections, historically and conceptually, among culture, consciousness, and ideology in the Ndebele context?

These new questions have not been covered adequately in existing historical works on the Ndebele or for other African groups for that matter. Only the works of Tom McCaskie on the Asante in West Africa and Jan Vansina in Central and Equatorial Africa have grappled with these issues in these different geographical areas. Thus, in addition to addressing these issues, the book proceeds to tease

meaning and logic out of the ambiguous and contradictory colonial encounter with the Ndebele. Grappling with the colonial encounter is very important in any study of Zimbabwe because of the way colonial and nationalist history has been appropriated by the ruling elite in contemporary political games and the emergence of what Terence Ranger terms '*patriotic history*' with its simplistic rendition of both the colonial and the nationalist history of the country.

The book is divided into seven chapters where Gramci's theory and insights from the democracy and human rights perspective are employed at various points, where and as they seem appropriate to deepen analysis. In Chapter One the main concern is with theoretical issues that underpin the whole book. It summarises Gramsci's concept of hegemony, it defines the materialist conception of democracy and human rights, and spells out the criteria of human rights adopted in this book. The chapter also discusses the contours of the post-colonial theory that helps in the analysis of the complex dynamics of the colonial encounter and Ndebele responses to it. The chapter also contains a detailed historiography of the Ndebele past, starting with early missionary and settler accounts and proceeding up to the present work of Terence Ranger and Phathisa Nyathi.

Chapter Two is devoted to the formation of the Ndebele state and the emergence and construction of Khumalo hegemony in the midst of the *Mfecane* revolution. Attention is paid to the Khumalo group's search for autonomy and how Mzilikazi Khumalo, here considered as a typical 'traditional organic intellectual' in the Gramscian sense, used the tactic of balancing coercion with consent to build his personal power base and to build the Ndebele state.

The complex processes that are teased out include migration as a tactic of preserving one's autonomy and sovereignty in the face of the violent politics of the *Mfecane* and of powerful enemies. Migration is also viewed as a voluntary enterprise undertaken by ambitious personalities who sought to establish hegemony away from powerful states and powerful leaders. The *Mfecane* is defined and understood as a product of ambitious leaders' hegemonic projects in their decisive phase. The main characteristic of this phase was the rise of new royal houses and clans that sought to challenge the status quo, and that sought to create personal power bases away from other powerful royal houses.

Zimbabwe

Chapter Three investigates the whole gamut of the constitution of a heterogeneous Ndebele nation that was by then permanently entrenched on the western part of the Zimbabwean plateau. The main focus is on how the Khumalo ruling elite was able to construct a durable though unstable hegemony over people of different ethnic groups, how they ceaselessly worked to forge alliances, and how they consistently attempted to convert sectarian ideas into universal truths. It was during this period that the Ndebele ruling elite worked very hard and succeeded to a great extent in capturing the popular mentality and imposing on the people the common conceptions of the world of the Ndebele nation and the form of governance that kept the people together.

This was achieved through various means, including a strategic shift from control by means of violence to control of the means of production, civilianisation of the main Ndebele institutions, strategic distribution of resources, full accommodation of non-Nguni groups, and – above all – ritualization of the kingship. In short, this chapter grapples and teases out the complex ideological matrix that constituted the Ndebele nation. These ideological contours included egalitarianism, clan and family intimacies, mutual assistance, welfarism and communalism, which co-existed with domination, exploitation, the violence of the leaders, insistence on seniority amounting to the entrenching of an aristocracy, authoritarianism and militaristic tendencies – all in turn underpinned by a strong patriarchal cast of mind and the all-embracing ideology of kinship.

Chapter Four takes the debate on governance further and is concerned with secular and religious control and domination exercised by the members of the ruling elite over their subjects during the settled phase of the Ndebele state. This chapter benefits much from insights from Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and it is in this chapter that a considerable body of Ndebele oral

literature is subjected to systematic analysis with a view to distil issues of democracy and human rights contained in them. The institution of *amabutho* is understood here as an ideological school that disseminated and reproduced Ndebele ideology. The annual *inxwala* ceremony is here presented as the centre of religio-politico and economic mingling and the renewal of the Ndebele nation, as well as the fundamental exercise in the continuous ritualisation of the kingship, with a view to constructing consent.

Chapter Five evaluates the initial encounter between European agents of colonialism and the Ndebele State. The focus is on the activities of Christian missionaries. The theoretical framework of this chapter is constructed from the ideas of Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff on the ambiguities of the colonial encounter with African societies in general. According to the Comaroffs, Christian missionaries were not only the vanguard of British colonialism, but were also the most active cultural agents of empire.

The Christian missionaries were driven by the explicit aim of reconstructing the African world in the name of God and European civilization. Unlike the mining magnates, who wanted minerals and the labour of the Africans, the Christian missionaries wanted the African soul. The whole missionary enterprise in Africa was an attempt to replace one form of hegemony with another, and this raised crucial clashes over norms, ideas and the general conception of the world while provoking resistance from the Africans.

Chapter Six is a critique of the colonial conquest of the Ndebele state and the general disregard of Ndebele economic and political rights. It highlights the violence of the imperialists and how the Ndebele tried to defend their sovereignty against the well-armed imperial forces that were intolerant of Ndebele independence. What is poignant in this chapter is how the imperialists looted Ndebele property, particularly cattle and land, in the process reducing the Ndebele to subjects of the colonial state.

Chapter Seven grapples with the crucial ambiguities and contradictions of the colonial encounter, as well as with the resonances of Ndebele memories of their past nation. The conceptual framework of this chapter is constructed from post-colonial theory as articulated by Homi Bhabha, Mahmood Mamdani and others. Mamdani's theory about citizens and subjects in colonial societies helps to explain not only the denial of human rights and democracy to the Ndebele by the early

Rhodesian colonial state, but also the ambiguous responses of the Ndebele to their domination and exploitation by a colonial regime.

On the other hand, Bhabha and Spivak emphasise that the colonised themselves have often played a significant role in colonial constructions of the 'Other'.The chapter also benefits from the insights of the Comaroffs on the colonial encounter, which far transcend a simple paradigm of domination and resistance. Shula Marks' idea of ambiguities of dependency also contributes to the unravelling of the colonial encounter and how the Ndebele contested and adapted to colonialism.

Chapter Eight constitutes the conclusion of this book. In it further meaning, the impact of and the long-term implications of the findings of this study are expressed and related to contemporary issues of governance, power, hegemony, memory and ideology in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular.
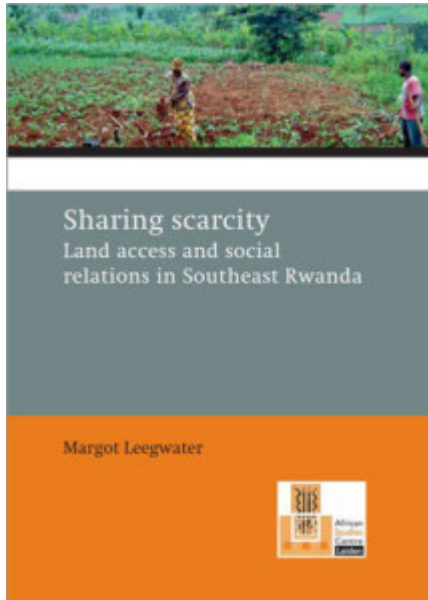
—

[Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni – The Ndebele Nation. Hegemony, Memory, Historiography](#)

www.unisa.ac.za

Margot Leegwater ~ Sharing Scarcity: Land Access And Social Relations In Southeast Rwanda

Land is a crucial yet scarce resource in Rwanda, where about 90% of the population is engaged in subsistence farming, and access to land is increasingly becoming a source of conflict. This study examines the effects of land-access and land-tenure policies on local community relations, including ethnicity, and land conflicts in post-conflict rural Rwanda. Social relations have been characterized by (ethnic) tensions, mistrust, grief and frustration since the end of the 1990-1994 civil war and the 1994 genocide. Focusing on southeastern Rwanda, the study describes the negative consequences on social and inter-ethnic relations of a land-sharing agreement that was imposed on Tutsi returnees and the Hutu population in 1996-1997 and the villagization policy that was introduced at the same time. More recent land reforms, such as land registration and crop specialization, appear to have negatively affected land tenure and food security and have aggravated land conflicts. In addition, programmes and policies that the population have to comply with are leading to widespread poverty among peasants and aggravating communal tensions. Violence has historically often been linked to land, and the current growing resentment and fear surrounding these land-related policies and the ever-increasing land conflicts could jeopardize Rwanda's recovery and stability.

Full text book: http://www.ascleiden.nl/news/sharing-scarcity