

recreated by modernizing processes. The migrant labour system alluded to on page 48 shows how we cannot unproblematically identify the rural with the traditional.

Privatization of the traditional

The self-validation of modern institutions within the colonial and post-colonial context leads to the marginalization of traditional value systems and societies. Bourdillon clearly identifies some of these processes of marginalization. For example, he describes how churches, schools and modern medicine undermine, not necessarily on the basis of evidence, the status and knowledge of traditional wisdom. Thus, 'In the traditional system, rituals were nearly always public affairs' (p. 75), but they have been marginalized to the private sphere where they have been turned into 'attempts to overcome private problems and worries, or to fulfil secret or private desires and ambitions' (p. 76).

Conclusion

Bourdillon has clearly and competently demonstrated that 'Today, we must make sure that Zimbabwean culture is able to adapt to the needs of all its people: the young as well as the old; the poor as well as the wealthy; and the minority as well as the majority' (p. 24). However, although he is sometimes tantalizingly suggestive, he is hesitant to say anything that might begin to give direction as to how we can do this. He relies on the liberal principle that 'rather than criticizing those who behave differently from ourselves, we should try to understand why they behave as they do' (p. 123). Although he wants to talk about 'Zimbabwean culture', he says very little about where White Zimbabweans, for example, might come into play in this culture.

I have selected the above points for discussion to demonstrate how provocative Bourdillon's book is. It should be read by all Zimbabweans and anyone interested in the cultural landscape of Zimbabwe.

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Grassroots Leadership: The Process of Rural Development in Zimbabwe
By C. G. Mararike. Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995, xiv, 114pp., ISBN 0-908307-39-X, Z\$40.

The book *Grassroots Leadership: The Process of Rural Development in Zimbabwe* is based on the author's applied research experience in the Buhera District of Manicaland province. The book, inappropriately titled, revolves on the interaction between grassroots communities and development agents rather than on leadership at the grassroots level.

The book begins with a discussion on research and its place in development. Mararike urges that African countries cannot afford research that has no applied value. All research must contribute to a change in people's lives.

The research theme is followed by a summary of the theoretical approaches that have so far informed development. Most of these theoretical approaches are not related to the textual data and it is difficult to see why the separate theoretical chapter is necessary.

Central to the book is the issue of co-operatives and political control. The author argues throughout the text that national level politicians who claim to support co-operatives are in fact wanting to create patronage relationships. Mararike's analysis of the politics of development provides an important contribution to our understanding of development processes in Zimbabwe.

A subsidiary theme in the book is that people and communities at grassroots levels use symbols to control each other's behaviour. These symbols, which include proverbs, slogans and prayers, are often used by local leaders to control followers.

Another point made in the book is that local communities shun development efforts in which they do not benefit. When they find that they do not benefit from a development project such as a co-operative, local people tend to withdraw from it.

The book refers to development practitioners and their institutions as exploiting the local people. This leaves readers with a misleading picture of passive peasants. The shortcoming of this book lies in the fact that it does not explore the ways and means peasants may devise in order to exploit 'patrons'.

The book can also be faulted on points of data. Its data are incomplete and in many cases do not support the bold conclusions made. There is, for example, the unsupported conclusion that rural people withdraw their membership in cases where they are dissatisfied with development initiative. Similarly there is the frequent claim that people tactically use slogans and prayers to control behaviour even though the textual data do not illustrate the point.

Notwithstanding this, *Grassroots Leadership* remains an important book that among other things seriously questions the motives of those who come in the name of development. The book makes useful reading to students of rural development and development anthropology.

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Harare: The Growth and Problems of the City Edited by L. Zinyama, D. Tevera and S. Cumming. Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1993, xii, 186 pp., ISBN 0-908307-30-6, Z\$45.

Planning Suburban Service Centres in Harare, Zimbabwe By N. D. Mutizwa-Mangiza. Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1991, viii, 169 pp., ISBN 0-908307-21-7, Z\$45.

The first of these books comprises the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Zimbabwe in September 1989, to coincide with the centenary of the founding of Harare in 1890. The conference examined the