

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. Marariki'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

evolution of the city over the last 100 years with particular reference to some of the major problems confronting its residents, planners, administrators and political leaders.

Contributors range from Enos Chikowore, the then Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, to city councillors, city council officials and university lecturers. This wide range of contributors was deliberately chosen in order to provide a 'sufficiently comprehensive view of the multi-faceted and complex processes and problems of urban growth and urbanization in a third world country such as Zimbabwe' (p. ix).

The topics covered by this book include the early history and evolution of the city, city administration, low cost housing problems, municipal services and urban conservation. The book is well presented with photographs and illustrations, making for pleasurable browsing; but it also contains serious and informative discussions by experts in their fields. Most chapters have extensive references and there is a consolidated bibliography at the end of the book.

Many of the chapters deal with urgent and pressing problems and issues faced by the citizens of Harare today such as the changing demands placed on the City Council, how it should be best organized to tackle these problems and its relationship with central government; the housing backlog; extending health care to all sectors of the community; and how people travel to work.

Other chapters, however, are concerned with quite obscure aspects of important issues. For example, the detailed study of the plight of the scavengers at refuse dumps does highlight a particular problem. But there are much greater concerns related to both refuse disposal and the informal employment sector. The disposal of Harare's refuse is in itself a considerable problem. The growth of the city has resulted in the closure of refuse dumps, one by court order, and the cost of disposal is constantly rising in real terms. Recycling of refuse is one option often used to reduce the costs of disposal, and this could be organized in a formal way, employing the scavengers in a much safer work environment. The role that informal employment has to play in the city's economy is a sufficiently important subject to have deserved a paper at the conference, in preference to the rather minor aspect of scavengers.

There is no reference to discussions at the conference, and some critical comment from the editors would have been helpful. For example the chapters on housing seem to accept and are written within the officially approved framework for the provision of housing: minimum stand sizes and minimum standards of infrastructure provision. Is it not appropriate now to reconsider housing provision in terms of what people can afford, so that the funds available determine the standards of the development?

The second book, *Planning Suburban Service Centres in Harare*, could easily have been the basis for a contribution to the first, dealing as it does with one particular aspect of the development of Harare, namely shops. The book achieves its stated purposes, which are, to update the work of M. A. H. Smout on suburban shopping centres in the low density residential areas and extend it to the high density residential areas (HDRAs), thus covering the whole city; to examine the shopping behaviour of the people

living in the HDRAs; and to determine the perceptions related to shopping activities held by residents of HDRAs. Most of the book is concerned with HDRAs on which there is little previous writing.

The book presents a detailed study, conclusions and recommendations, with each point carefully analysed and thorough referencing. It is not light reading, but well worth the required effort.

The book begins with an evaluation of possible theoretical frameworks and a description of Harare, the area of study. All 108 shopping centres are ranked, using an index based on commercial facilities they provide. Surprisingly, Machipisa, in a high density residential area, ranks the highest in Harare.

Patterns of shopping trips in the HDRAs are investigated. People travel longer distances for higher order goods. The poorer HDRAs depend more on the Central Business District than do the more affluent HDRAs.

Mangiza investigated the perceived needs of the residents of the HDRAs, in particular factors considered to influence shopping patterns. This work found that: the range of goods available is unsatisfactory; there are insufficient convenience shops; and the cost of travel to the central business district of Harare is too high. HDRA residents are more sensitive to the cost of goods than to the distance to be travelled and Mangiza concludes therefore that there is an urgent need for small and large supermarkets in the HDRAs.

A hierarchy of shopping centres is proposed based on the frequency of trips for different types of goods and services.

The overall tone of the proposals made in the book is planned intervention. Planners and local authorities should make better provision for shopping in the HDRAs. Mangiza suggests that planners have traditionally dwelt on 'negative/reactive' planning through policy-making and regulatory functions. He proposes that planning authorities should become more involved in the development of shops. Although this type of public intervention was in favour at the time of the study, economic initiatives are now expected to be led more by market forces and the reasons why the HDRAs lack shopping facilities need to be examined from this angle.

There has been some large and significant commercial development in the HDRAs, such as the Chitungwiza Town Centre, financed by Old Mutual. The construction of new shopping facilities or improvements to existing shopping facilities, is very much dependent on private initiative. Banks and building societies are beginning to open branches in HDRAs. Some national supermarket chains are also looking to expand in these areas. For the most part, however, there has not been much improvement in the HDRAs, and this must be seen as a reflection of the spending power of the residents of these areas. Even though Machipisa ranks the highest shopping centre in this study, one wonders whether its total turnover is greater than that of some centres in the low density residential areas such as Avondale (second highest), Newlands, or even Chisipite.

The study is intended to provide information for use in the planning of suburban shopping centres and also to help retail entrepreneurs decide where to establish retail outlets. The advice given to local planning

authorities in the last chapter is sound and logical and is certainly useful. However, the book seems to place little importance on the 'real world' of developers and entrepreneurs, who tend to view shopping as a development opportunity, with the profit motive being fairly important.

Shopping can be a subjective, fashionable activity and opportunities for shopping developments may defy the logical approach. Avondale and the new Borrowdale shops are instances of successful commerce-led shopping developments, which if left solely to planners, would not have been allowed to develop when they did. Despite the prediction that little growth in service centres in low density residential areas can be expected (p. 122), there has been quite a lot of development in these areas. This has to be explained in terms of the higher spending power of residents in the low density areas and in terms of the creation of a demand for shopping in these areas by the development of fashionable shopping environments. These factors are jokers in the pack which do not go along with the theories set out in the book.

The new shopping developments that have occurred in the HDRAs (Chitungwiza Town Centre excluded) tend to be fairly small shops which perpetuate the existing pattern of shopping provision in these areas. If Mangiza's recommendations in this regard are to be followed, then the City Council will have to rethink its approach and allow larger shop chains to establish shops in the HDRAs at the expense of the smaller businessman, in order to provide the local residents with a greater choice in the variety, quality and cost of goods.

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