

The book does, however, have some weaknesses. The author's treatment of the socio-economic and particularly of the religious background of the Southern Shona is disappointing. Instead of filling the southern gap in the ethnography of Shona religion, the author fuses his own observations of the Karanga with studies of the Shona elsewhere and at times it is not clear which group of Shona he is writing about. It seems strange, for example, to write of 'mhondoro' spirits, a name which applies to a number of classes of spirits in Korekore and Zezuru country, but which is rarely used among the Southern Shona and not used at all in some areas.

A second point of criticism is that Dancel sometimes presents us with a clear, over-systematic account of Shona beliefs, such as one might expect from an indigenous informant, but giving no indication of how the beliefs work themselves out in practice. Thus, for example, the author states:

At one stage or another the *Njuzu* possesses its host (hardly ever a male) and leads her to the 'city of the *Njuzu* spirits' (*Guta reNjuzu*) under the nearest dam or river, where she stays for several days (p.129).

Some explanation is needed and none is given. In this section of the book certain European concepts such as 'magic' and 'worship' receive analytical attention which would perhaps have

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been better spent on African concepts and beliefs.

The section on the missionary background to the rise of Independent Churches is a more valuable contribution. Of particular interest is the comparison between the Roman Catholic Church and the Dutch Reformed Church as they operate among the Southern Shona: their remarkable similarities appear to belie fundamental doctrinal differences. The author's discussion of the greater defection from the latter body to the new Independent Churches suggests the lack of elaborate ritual in the Dutch Reformed Church to be more fundamental than the doctrinal, political or administrative differences between the two bodies. For a full discussion, however, of the mass popularity of Independent Churches we must wait for the next volume in the series: in this volume, reasons for independency are considered at the level of leadership rather than of popular support.

The book contains a wealth of material for those who are interested in religion in Rhodesia or in independent religious movements in Africa; and the emphasis on the particular and the detailed case studies complement the more generalized studies of Sundkler and Barrett. It is unfortunate that the price will keep this work confined on the whole to institutional libraries.

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Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia. By A. K. H. Weinrich. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1973, 244 pp. £4.00.

Empirical studies of racial attitudes in Rhodesia are conspicuously rare; consequently, racial views in the political arena achieve most visibility, resulting in the portrayal of such attitudes as essentially uniform and static. A notable exception, of course, is the work by C. A. Rogers and C. Frantz (*Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia*, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1962); however, their study is subject to a number of distinct limitations — it is dated, restricted to a small sample, and provides little, if any, insight into rural attitudes.

Dr Weinrich's recent work, within the con-

text of this 'empirical vacuum', provides valuable insight into the heterogeneity of racial views among Rhodesia's rural black and white elites. Written in conjunction with her previous study (*Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia*, London, Heinemann, 1971) this work focuses on the 'interaction of Europeans who stand in influential and authoritative positions in African communities, and with the emergent African elite' (p.9). Her European sample consisted of fourteen district commissioners, fourteen extension officers, an equal number of missionaries, and eight farmers, while her data on the

African elite included the church, medicine, education, agriculture, and commerce. Applying Banton's hypothesis concerning the influence of initial racial contact, the inequality of subsequent race relations and the duplication of elite structures among subordinate groups, she proceeds to give a descriptive account of both European and African elites. Among the former, farmers and district commissioners tend to reveal high levels of racial paternalism and rejection of African political advancement while extension officers and missionaries, on the other hand, demonstrate more positive views of the African's character and in general favour his economic and social development. Examination of the African elite reveals the extent to which the religious, medical, and agricultural elites are integrated with the African community in general, demonstrating low interest in modern politics, while the educational and commercial elites, subject to higher levels of 'westernization' and direct discriminations also, reveal great interest in the issue of their participation in Rhodesian politics. From these and other results, Weinrich concludes that Banton's principles have been confirmed, subject to their expansion to include the 'marginality' of missionaries, and the radicalizing effects of simultaneous westernization and racial discrimination. Finally, racism is seen as preventing the above differences from producing accurate and objective inter-racial perceptions.

The contribution of this particular work includes insight into racial attitudes within the rural context, the complexity of social stratification in a plural or racially heterogeneous society, variation in intra-racial attitudes, and the operation of social-psychological factors in race relations (i.e., the effects of economic position and occupational socialization on racial attitudes). However, the book as a whole may be criticized on a number of accounts. Firstly, the author's application of Banton's 'hypothesis' is rather simplistic and is not clearly referenced. The 'contact approach' may also be viewed as essentially static and simplistic in its typological delineation of only two 'types' *Florida State University*

of race relations. Furthermore, the application of western conceptual frameworks to colonial situations must be viewed with caution, in view of the potential problem of ethnocentric views of subordinate race groups, as J. W. Blas-singame has shown in his portrayal of American slaves as active and with a culture of their own in contrast to the predominantly passive view of slaves in the work of white historians (*The Slave Community*, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1972).

Secondly, her sample is extremely small and under-documented with respect to distribution and levels of representation. The racial elites also lack comparability in the absence of white doctors and businessmen while the small numbers in general make the examination of 'cor-relations' and comparison with the data of Rogers and Frantz highly problematic.

Thirdly, methodology and measurement are also issues. While Dr Weinrich describes her methods as 'intensive interviewing (p.xi)', no details concerning their structure or indices used to measure items such as 'attitudes towards African social advancement' are provided. The methodological problem implicit in a member of the dominant elite interviewing subordinate Africans also represents a central issue in a study such as this.

Fourthly, her ready use of concepts which have proven to be theoretically and empirically problematic in the past, such as 'marginality', without explication also raises some concern. Lastly, her portraits of the white elites in particular are poorly organized, oscillating between background and attitudinal characteristics.

Such problems in theory and method highlight the need to apply more dynamic and multi-level frameworks to the analysis of structural and social-psychological factors in Rhodesian society in reference to urban and rural elites as well as non-elites among all major race groups. A variety of methodologies is also needed. Such efforts, however, would contribute to greater understanding of this heterogeneous society on a number of levels. It is in such a context that Dr Weinrich's analysis represents a stimulating starting-point as an exploratory case study.

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