Vuorela holds that productive and reproductive relationships both appropriate labour within a given social formation. Although the two types of relationships are interdependent, they may be in opposition when one undercuts the other. For example, the mode of production may use and subordinate the mode of human reproduction in marriage in a way that generates conflicts between the two modes. Msoga village in Tanzania is used to illustrate and validate the author's theory. The fact that the Kwere people in Msoga are matrilineal is interesting because it enables her to elaborate her theory. She points out that matrilineal and patrilineal systems both exist within patrilineal modes of human reproduction.

The theory is interesting and fairly well presented. Vuorela indicates that the discovery of the male role in paternity does not necessarily lead to the supercession of matrilineality by patrilineality. Her approach enables us to analyse human reproduction without accepting the contours imposed by androcentric assumptions. What could be better explained is the process by which fraternal interest groups make the mode of production into a patriarchal one. It is important to note that the strategies that are used by Kwere women have also been noted amongst women in patrilineal societies. Factually, it should be pointed out that it is the sperm that fertilise ova and not the semen. These observations do not detract from the merit of the theory presented by the author in her attempt to elaborate a materialist theory of modes of human reproduction.

Reviewed by Rudo Gaidzanwa, Dept of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe.

Financing Education in Developing Countries — An Exploration of Policy Options, World Bank, Washington DC 1986. Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, Keith Hinchliffe, Croom Helm Ltd, 1987 (189pp, £19,95 hbk).

These two books were written at more or less the same time, during the height of Thatcherite and Reaganite economics, with their emphasis on cutting public expenditure in the social services, including education, and on the deregulation and privatisation of state run institutions, especially those engaged in production. This kind of thinking is being exported to developing countries by Thatcherite and Reaganite intellectuals and the official aid agencies of these countries. It is this philosophy which informs the World Bank Report and to some extent Keith's report, although he takes a more balanced view and questions some of the assumptions that underlie the recommendations made by the World Bank Report.

These two books have also come out during a period of extreme economic hardship in most African countries. During this period both the World Bank and the IMF were pressurising beleagured African governments into restructuring their economies by cutting down on public expenditure and increasing the privatisation of parastatals.

Basically the two books are saying that:

(a) Education, especially university education, has become very expensive. The latter in some cases consumes as much as 20 per cent of the total Education budget, while only benefiting a small élite.

(b) The Public cost of higher education should be recovered through making the student pay an economic fee, by reducing subsidies given to students in the form of grants, and by cutting down on non-teaching staff expenditure.

(c) A credit market for education, together with selective scholarships for the poor, should be established.
(e) Money saved by removing subsidies on higher education should be channelled to the primary and secondary sectors for expansion.
(f) There is a close relationship between levels of education, especially in terms of efficiency and quality graduates. The quality of education at the secondary level affects students' ability to study at the university level. An example is given from Nigeria, where in one year 72 per cent of all those who sat for the West African Certificate failed, especially in Science and Mathematics, necessitating the introduction of pre-degree science courses.
(g) Universities in Africa have failed to deliver the goods especially in terms of producing technical professionals, and science and mathematics teachers. Furthermore the high dependency on expatriates in most African countries continues, even in those countries that have been independent for twenty years. The product of these universities does not justify their high cost.

The World Bank Report puts emphasis on the privatisation of schools in order to increase competition within the system. This is supposed to ensure higher efficiency through greater managerial accountability. The report has incredible faith in the ability of market forces, on their own, to solve the problem of the misallocation of resources among the different levels in education and that they can promote equity through channelling more funds to the primary school level. The Report claims that primary education has the highest rate of return since the largest number of students in developing countries are in this group. This last argument seems to be based on the figures from the early 1960s when it was still relatively easy for Std 6 graduates to get jobs.

Keith's book looks at primary and secondary schooling in Africa in the first two chapters, and tries to relate the output from both levels to the number of jobs available. The author concludes that for the primary school leaver in the 1980s there are virtually no job opportunities in the formal sector. In addition, the land shortage is serious in most African countries, and this closes up the only other channel open to them, ie agriculture. As a result, most primary school graduates are doomed to be petty traders or producers in the informal sector, which is already overburdened by unemployed adults and where rewards are very low.

The future is not so bright either for secondary school graduates, and even university graduates, especially those in the humanities. According to the author there are a number of weaknesses in the arguments put forward by institutions like the World Bank. He maintains that efficiency arguments are not backed by statistics. For example, it is alleged that there is a relationship between private financing and lower repetition and drop out rates and that students will behave more as investors and less as consumers in terms of subject choice, ie they will choose those subjects that have the higher rate of return (science and maths). There is also no guarantee that the monies saved from higher education will automatically be channelled to primary and secondary education. It should be remembered that the decision makers in many countries are able to send their children to élite private schools and there is, therefore, no compulsion for them to transfer large sums of money to improve primary and secondary education. Privatisation in most cases has tended to work against equity, because wealthy communities are always a minority in any country and they resent the transfer of funds to boost schools in peasant or working class areas.

It is interesting to note that in a country like Zimbabwe the most expensive and exclusive schools are in wealthy suburbs or wealthy commercial farming areas.

Keith also makes an important observation with regard to making students pay an economic fee for both tuition and boarding. Many students resent paying more for university education, and governments are wary of giving large loans to students as this would inevitably commit them to giving the students employment once they graduate. He maintains that most of the public sector has very few vacancies for humanities students, but has plenty of vacancies for the technically qualified graduates. He mentions the case of Sudan and Somalia where there is a severe brain drain in terms of science graduates who are emigrating to the Gulf States where jobs are well paid.

Finally, the author makes some suggestions on how to cut costs. These suggestions include, cutting down the number of non-teaching staff in universities, getting universities engaged in viable commercial activities like consulting services, or producing goods like furniture, vegetables, poultry, and beef. They should also abolish free tickets for sabbaticals — and made more resources available for research and teaching.

Feeding and accommodation subsidies should also be reduced, though this is recognised as a political hot potato. Very few governments would survive without resorting to brute force, including closing the universities, should such a decision be taken.

What is missing from both books is a reference to the weaknesses of the African economies. Particularly their inability to develop viable industries for processing the raw materials which are in great abundance on the continent. It is only by adding value to raw materials that more jobs can be created, and so absorb the deluge of graduates from all levels of the educational system.

The North-South relationship has a lot to do with the present crisis in education, though it is true to say that even the capitalist countries of the West are also experiencing the unemployment crisis. Keith tries to relate education to the labour market, but does not relate the labour market to the nature and structure of African economies.

The two books have been produced at an opportune moment, especially for Zimbabwe which has recently established a Commission of Inquiry into the possibility of establishing a Second University Campus. Those involved in the exercise and university administration would benefit from reading the two books. Some of the problems and issues outlined apply equally to Zimbabwe. The two case studies of Nigerian and Ghananian universities contain a wealth of information which is relevant to Zimbabwean and other African universities. Strategies need to be developed to deal with the problem of maintaining present standards while also coping with increasing enrollments.

Reviewed by Taka Mudariki, Harare.

Social Structures: A Network Approach, Barry Wellman and S D Berkowitz (eds), Cambridge University Press, 1988 (513pp, £15,00)

This edited book seems to distinguish and put forward a 'new' structural approach, 'a