

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 Ghanaian 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

network approach', from a variety of structural approaches common in conventional social anthropology and sociology. It disposes of methodological individualism, at one time central to social anthropology, and the reductionism inherent in social psychological analyses. In the process, the editors and fellow contributors to the book provide the reader with an invaluable contribution in respect of a review of the literature.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I, 'Thinking Structurally', outlines the main tenets and concepts of this new structural network approach. It seeks to demonstrate the case for a new brand of structural analysis by giving "examples showing how classical problems in social inquiry can be rethought — and new insights developed — once the phenomena involved are seen as the systematic result of structural forces" (p7). More revealing of what lies behind the 'new' structural network approach, however, is the section by Barry Wellman that attempts to demonstrate how network analysis, sociometry and political economy "are coalescing into a common structural analytic approach" (p7).

The other parts on 'Communities', 'Markets', 'Social Change' and 'Social Mobility' have all one object: to re-interpret existing studies/literature using the 'new' structural network analysis and related concepts. These parts seek to refute, in particular, normative approaches in social anthropology and sociology. For example, in Part IV, 'Social Change', the editors note that there has been a long-standing debate with modernisation theorists "who contend that changes in an individual's norms and values provide the motive force for change" (p327). They suggest, instead, that such individualistic normative explanations ignore the ways the structuralists in this book associate social change with fundamental alterations in patterns of relationships between individuals, groups and organisations. The underlying assumption of their analyses is that norms and values are by-products of structural changes, and not their source (p10).

To come to grips with this 'structural network approach', and hence the book itself, it is necessary that we examine closely how legitimate and useful it is to have this amalgam composed of, as the editors say, political economy, sociometry and network analysis (p7).

One thing is clear, the authors are making an attempt to bridge the gap between, and deal with the weaknesses in, the macro and micro approaches in the social sciences by capturing the best of both worlds. Wholistic approaches often lack detail or are not able to effectively capture small-scale processes, while micro approaches are generally weak in grasping structural issues. Political economy, for instance, bears the merits of macro approaches — of not atomising social reality (see Frank 1967, Wallerstein 1974, 1979). On the other hand, network studies (see for example Bott) and sociometry give detailed and rich empirical data on particular cases.

This is an ambitious and yet worthwhile publication. What is most uncertain about it is whether this synthesis, however desirable, can be achieved through the authors' conceptualisation of 'structural network approach', or viewing social structure as "ordered arrangements of relations that are contingent upon exchange among members of social systems" (p3). The nature or basis of these relations are not explicated. Supposedly, these are interactive relations. Thus the concept of social relations is the key operative concept which is used interchangeably with social ties. It is not clear what underpins these ties or relations which, in any social situation, of

necessity, tend to benefit some more than others. To limit oneself to social relations *per se*, as the authors do in this book, serves to accentuate a particular world-view, that of the market or exchange. That is, relations between groups or nations are basically seen in market terms. Such an approach risks the very weaknesses for which Frank's brand of political economy has been criticised. That is, viewing relationships among nations in terms of exchange. Exchange relations, which are themselves unequal, are a consequence of other underlying relations — relations of production. Any approach that emphasises exchange relations clearly puts the cart before the horse.

Within the bounds of conventional (British and American) sociology and social anthropology, which have tended to emphasise normatively structured behaviour, the book offers an invaluable critique. Further, in the way the authors re-conceptualise structural analysis, the book affords a refinement of the varieties of structuralism, ranging from Durkheim to Levi-Strauss. However, when compared with conceptual advances which have been made in 'political economy', the structural network approach presented in the book is inadequate in as far as it operates at the level of social relations whose underlying premises are as yet unclear. Further, the emphasis lies more on the consequences for individual behaviour in the 'network of social relations'. Little attention has been given to the underlying causes or to what gives rise to such relations. Mention is made of scarce resources or the unequal distribution of resources. In particular, the issue of power, in all its manifestations — economic, political, social, etc — has not received attention; yet it is an issue which is central to political economy. For this reason, at least, the 'new structural network approach' is still very much in its infancy.

Reviewed by Fanual M Nangati, School of Social Work, Harare.

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