

C O N N E C T I O N S

Volume XI

Number 3

Winter, 1988

CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITOR.....	3
TIES AND BONDS	
<i>Barry Wellman</i>	4
MEETING CALENDAR	9
ARTICLES	11
ENCLOSING THE ENCLOSER: THE POLITICAL PROJECT EMERGING FROM THE MARGINS	
<i>Gustavo Esteva</i>	11
EXPOLARY ECONOMIES: A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MARGINS	
<i>Theodor Shanin</i>	18
MANAGER'S RECIPROCAL TRANSACTIONS	
<i>Ágnes Czako & Endre Sik</i>	23
ABSTRACTS	33
BOOKS	33
JOURNAL ARTICLES	39

(c) Susan D. Greenbaum for INSNA 1988
ISSN 0226-1776

CONNECTIONS

EDITORIAL OFFICES: Center for Applied Anthropology;
University of South Florida; Tampa, FL 33620

EDITOR: Susan Greenbaum

MANAGER: Alvin W. Wolfe

TIES AND BONDS SPECIALIST: Barry Wellman

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Walter Carroll; Soc/Anthro;
Bridgewater State Univ; Bridgewater, MA

EUROPEAN EDITORS: Hans Hummell; Soc; Univ of Duisberg
John Scott; Soc; Univ of Leicester

COMPUTER EDITOR: John Sonquist; Soc;
Univ of California-Santa Barbara

CONNECTIONS is published triannually by the International Network for Social Network Analysis at the Center for Applied Anthropology, University of South Florida. INSNA correspondences and CONNECTIONS subscriptions should be sent to the Editorial Offices.

CONNECTIONS is produced by the Editors with voluntary assistance and is supported entirely by subscriptions. The facilities and assistance of the University of South Florida Department of Anthropology and College of Social and Behavioral Sciences are gratefully acknowledged.

CONNECTIONS subscription rate: per volume \$18.00 for individuals including INSNA membership fee (students, \$9.00). Membership/subscription form is at the back of each issue.

INSTITUTIONAL RATES: per volume \$30.00, US or Canadian dollars. Limited number of back issues are available.

Please make all remittances payable to INSNA. Subscribers outside North America, please use an International Money Order drawn on US currency. Payment in advance only, please. These requests are designed to reduce office work and costs.

SOCIAL NETWORKS is published quarterly, in association with INSNA, by North-Holland Publishing Company. Individual INSNA members are entitled to a reduced subscription rate to SOCIAL NETWORKS when combined with a subscription to CONNECTIONS. Subscriptions and renewals to SOCIAL NETWORKS will be accepted through INSNA at a special discount of \$60.00 for SOCIAL NETWORKS plus CONNECTIONS. Back volumes of SOCIAL NETWORKS are offered to individual members of INSNA at a 50% discount off the publisher's standard back volume price. Orders specifically requesting this discount and explicitly stating present membership in INSNA should be sent directly to: North Holland Publishing Co., Molenwerf 1, P.O. Box 211, 1000 Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

CONTRIBUTIONS are encouraged from members and colleagues: research papers of any length, reviews of applications of networks in different fields, comments and critiques, survey articles, computer programs, conference information, abstracts, teaching aids, etc.

FROM THE EDITOR

This issue came out with a little more ease than the last, and although still behind schedule, it is relatively less so. By next one we expect to be right on time.

The next issue will be the first in Volume 12. A renewal notice is enclosed. Please complete and send this back as soon as possible. We are going to issue a new directory of the members.

You will note that there has been a slight increase in the dues. Partly this is the inexorable nature of annual membership dues; they never go down. However, you will also be getting something new and different for the extra charge. Beginning with volume 12, we are planning a change in format to a 6 X 9 bound journal with book weight paper and a glossy cover stock. This will give us greater archival permanence and expand opportunities for institutional subscriptions.

We have received some comments from INSNA members. The following from Clyde Mitchell: "First of all may I list the features of CONNECTIONS which I personally appreciate. Most of all it does not try to be a toffee-nosed academic journal. Instead it operates as a house journal and I feel very strongly that it should retain that character. [The new format will not drive us to pomposity; I promise.] Therefore the news and views section, notices of relevant meetings, etc. are *very* important. I also appreciate the literature review, a sort of networks papers abstract which I find very useful. Thirdly, the computer section is clearly most important. But at the same time, it is a useful medium for floating ideas quickly. The idea one thinks up over a scotch & soda and feels good, but which you know you will never work up into a full blown paper with all the stuffy references. It's a very useful forum and that is how it ought to perform. So I hope there will not be too many changes." He does, however, recommend that we further expand our international focus, especially in view of the fact that the Drizzlebelt (English equivalent of the Sunbelt) appears to be languishing. Another letter writer -- Prof. Hans Hummell -- echoed a similar suggestion. "I think more can be done for continental Europe...I suggest you think about enlarging the board of European editors by getting a colleague from the Netherlands and perhaps one from the Latin countries (France included)."

The editors strongly concur with these comments and would appreciate added correspondence and further suggestions from overseas scholars. In keeping with his recommendation, the articles included in this issue are all from authors outside of the United States (Hungary, Britain and Mexico). They are drawn from the conference on the "Political Economy of the Margins" which was held in Toronto (Erindale College) May 27-28. Barry Wellman, who took part in the conference, described it at length in his *Ties & Bonds* column in the previous issue.

In closing, I would like to acknowledge the student volunteers who helped in getting out this and the last issue of CONNECTIONS. Their assistance -- which includes donkeying to the library to find abstracts, inputting copy, and getting the mailing out -- represent the crucial informal sector resources, without which we simply could not operate. They are: Hongang Yang; Dawn Suarez; Bert Loeb; Alesia Scott-Ford; Diego Salazar; Jiquian Xu; Evelyn Phillips; Lynne Bolton; John Murphy; Maggie Hren; and Joelle Nisolle.

SEE YOU AT THE SUNBELT CONFERENCE.

TIES AND BONDS

Barry Wellman

KISS 'N KIN

"It was just a friendship, of course, while her husband and my wife were still alive." Structuralist literary critic Northrop Frye marries a friend of 60 years. [Toronto *Globe & Mail*, 26 July 88].

FRIENDSHIP SEEDS

"In the farming business, you learn to accept being broke, but you can't do without friends. Friends are what get you through hard times." Canadian farmer Georgina Taylor is sad to leave the farm vacation business. [Toronto *Globe & Mail*, 27 July 88].

TELEPHONE COMMUNITY LOST & FOUND

Apology Sound-Off Line is a Los Angeles telephone service that gets 200 calls/day from folks recording their confessions. Adultery, alcohol, rape, incest, child sexual abuse, crimes, are popular topics. Others pay \$2 a minute to listen to these confessions. Most callers want support for admission of sins. Listening to the confessions of others makes people feel better by "normalizing your sense of guilt over transgressions to realize 100s of others are doing it too," says Philip Zimbardo (Psych, Stanford). "It's the extreme privatization of entertainment," Jerald Jellison (Psych, So Cal). Time magazine, 3 Oct 88. [Or perhaps it's the highest form of American capitalism to charge for a service which the police in many countries provide for free.]

WE DO OUR BEST, BUT...

"Dear Mr. Wellman. From experience, I can tell you that your organization is anti-social." The complete text of a postcard INSNA received (from Anne Theriault, Boston, MA, 9/88).

INFO FLOWS

Tonya Schuster to Andrus Gerontological Ctr, U Southern California.... Peter Blau to Soc, North Carolina.... Judith Blau to Soc, North Carolina.... Elihu Katz new Scientific Director of the [Louis] Guttman Inst of Applied Soc Res, Hebrew U, Jerusalem.... Peter Saunders named to a personal chair at Soc, Sussex.... Ron Rice (Annenberg, So Cal) in Australia this summer on a research fellowship, his co-authored *Research Methods and the New Media* has just been published by Free Press, his co-authored second edition *Public Communication Campaigns* (with Chuck Atkin) will be published by Sage in the spring, then he takes up an appointment 9/89 in Communications, Rutgers....

Harriet Friedmann (Soc, Toronto) chair-elect of ASA's section on Political Economy of World-Systems.... Lois Verbrugge (Pub Health, Michigan) & Blair Wheaton (Soc, McGill & Toronto) on Nominations Cttee of ASA's Medical Soc section.... Peggy Thoits (Soc, Indiana) organizing a session for the 1989 ASA's (in San Francisco), "Social Structure and Mental Health".... Melvin Oliver (Soc, UCLA) organizing 1 on "Social Networks".... James Katz (Bellcore Research, NJ) organizing 1 on "Social Implications of Information Technology".... Jeffrey Salloway appointed Director of the Ctr for Health Promotion & Research, U New Hampshire. [I always thought research was supposed to come before health promotion.]....

William Carroll (Soc, Victoria) received the Cdn Soc & Anthro Assoc's 1988 John Porter award for his *Power & Canadian Capitalism* (Univ of Br Columbia Pr, 1986). The committee noted that this "carefully re-

searched, insightful & highly readable book...successfully challenges many of the conventional wisdoms of dependency theory [sic] ...and...has redirected our thinking about the nature & development of capitalism in Canada. Graham Lowe (Soc, Alberta) got honourable mention for his *Women in the Administrative Revolution*....

Mark Mizruchi (Soc, Columbia) 1 of 148 winners of US Nat'l Sci Fdn's Presidential Young Investigator Award -- good for up to \$100K in research \$\$s over 5 years. [Watch that "up to" Mark!]... Lester Breslow (Pub Health, UCLA) 1 of 3 winners of the 1988 Charles A Dana Awards for Pioneering Achievements in Health & Higher Education "for his pioneering investigations & advocacy of good health practices & disease prevention".

US Nat'l Inst on Aging is developing a program of research & training on "gender & aging: relation to health & longevity" which examines social, behavioural & biological antecedents & consequences of the differences in the life expectancy, health, functioning & well-being of men & women as they grow older. Info: Gender & Aging, Behavioral & Social Research, NIA, Bldg 31, Rm 5C32, Bethesda MD 20892.

Cdn Nat'l Health & Res Dev Prog has a series of competitions on "Community health care & social service aspects of Alzheimer's disease & other dementias". Info: Mark Wheeler, Extramural Res Progs, Health & Welfare Canada, Ottawa K1A 1B4 (613-954-8554).

BUT WILL THEY THANK US FOR OUR CONCERN?

"I don't think our lives [as retired folks] has been a drain on the economy, since almost all of us, in contrast to sociologists such as Kingsley Davis who teaches at the U of So Cal, have had long stretches of useful productive labor. A much more serious drain on the economy are those who live purposeless lives practicing pseudosciences, who are only themselves completely unproductive but far worse, are also wasting the time of college students & diverting them from useful disciplines..." *NY Times*, 2 Nov 88.

WHITHER LAUMANN & COLEMAN?

"David Hamilton's contention that the intellectual right 'has taken over' the U of Chicago is wrong.... "In such important departments as political science & sociology there is strong opposition to reliance on the 'free market' to solve pressing social problems." Phil prof. Edward Waller in the *NY Times*, 30 Sept 88.

NETWORKS = SAMIZDAT = BEACH PARTIES

"In Washington, politicians like to describe their favourite pastime as 'networking' (*vb. act. intr.* Use of lunch/inter-work drink/beach trips with those who share 1's broad political outlook to secure power in next administration). It has started to appear in political Britain; at least, centre- & left-centre Britain (with the start of) a newsletter called Samizdat, [edited by] Prof. Ben Pimlott, 1 of Labour's intellectuals. Its' main interest lies in its editorial board.... Their plan: to form a 'popular front of the mind' against the Thatcher government.... The front-runner for a 'big idea' is a new definition of citizenship [by] Ralf Dahrendorf [who argues] that all in society should have access to some minimum 'entitlements'." *The Economist*, 29 Oct 88.

WILL PERESTROIKA DESTROY OR REORGANIZE NETWORKS?

"40% of the respondents [Soviet emigres] cited merit factors (higher education, knowledge & experience, organization ability) as the most important criteria for job advancement. 45% cited party membership, protection & connections as the most important job advancement criterion, & 11% cited getting along with superiors." [p.248]

"At the highest levels (those supervising 25+ subordinates), a relatively small proportion (29%) cite merit as the most important reason for job advancement. 58% cite, instead, party membership & connections as most important." [p. 266]

"*Blat vyshe chem Stalin* (Pull is above Stalin) used to be a standard refrain." [p. 349] [It appears that] "proclivity to work the system has increased over time." [p. 351]. "Judge by the changes in behavior reported here, the mobilization system, propelled by the fuel of social transformation, has been succeeded thus far by a more conventional, albeit dictatorial, political system lubricated by the grease of *blat* & *proteksiiia*".

From James Millar, ed., *Politics, Work, & Daily Life in the USSR: A Survey of Former Soviet Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge U Pr, 1987. 422 pp.

THE NETWORK CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT

"One of [Madeleine Korbel Albright's] chief assets for the Dukakis campaign has been her ability to collect contacts & to know where the right answers can be found.... [She] described her role in the campaign as giving Mr. Dukakis 'access to as many people from as wide a spectrum as possible on the foreign policy issues. I have a lot of contacts of my own, & a lot of people, once they read my name in the paper, started sending me their paper. There's a whole network of people in think tanks & academia who like to give their ideas to Presidential candidates.'" [Elaine Sciolino, *NY Times*, 26 July 88].

AND ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

"Britain is no longer run by an Establishment. In its place is a Disestablishment comprising men & women whose values, assumptions & habits are those of outsiders. Often they still perceive themselves as outsiders, radicals, anti-Establishment figures, but that is increasingly a pose. They have successfully dethroned much...of the old Establishment, & in many crucial centres of power taken its place.

"The Disestablishment, like the old Establishment, is defined more by its ability to maintain & transmit a set of values, which become the dominant ones in society, than by its power & wealth. The argument is that the values transmitted by the Disestablishment are materialistic, efficient, demotic, hedonistic, internationalist & rule-breaking. These contrast sharply with the ambient values of the old Establishment which was, if not anti-money, certainly not for it; amateurish, even sloppy, in style, paternalistic,...distrustful of pleasures taken beyond a 'decent' point, Anglo-centric..., & jolly keen on the rules.

"The contention is not that the old Establishment has disappeared.... A range of 'bridging' figures span the 2, & offer passage from 1 to the other, often unaware of what they are doing.

"[Recall Henry Fairlie's original definition of the Establishment in the *Spectator*, 23 Sept 1953]: 'By the Establishment I do not mean only the centres of official power -- though they are certainly part of it -- but rather the whole matrix of official & social relations within which power is exercised.'

"There are many defining characteristics of the Disestablishment, but 1 stands out above all. That is, the Disestablishment's members see themselves as cutting with the grain. Their job, often, is to find out what people want & give it to them.... Hence the centrality of the market to their self-definition & to our society." [John Lloyd in the *UK Financial Times*, 16 July 88]. Antidisestablishmentarianism anybody?

VRONSKI

That's the Bulgarian word for networks, according to Eleanor Smolett. Literal translation: "shoelaces".

EFFICIENT NETWORKS ARE BORING NETWORKS

Dilip Bannerji & associates at the U of Guelph (Canada) have devised a program, GREGMAP [named after Greg Heil?], that points out which connections within a microchip can be eliminated & which can be used better. Bannerji contends that the human mind can comprehend the circuit details of chips containing no more than 15K transistors while some chips in personal computers have more than 100K transistors. [*Toronto Globe & Mail*, 7 Aug 88].

Wait a second! Redundancy is how we find out if things are true. Efficient networks wouldn't give us anything to gossip about. Indeed, Eli Gerson has been working with some MIT computer jocks on the opposite tack: building a CPU made up of parallel processors which get together (metaphorically speaking) and work things out when they agree. Their explicit analogy is a scientific community.

I also wonder about Bannerji's math. If we roughly estimate (after Boissevan & Kochen) that we each have 1.5K ties, that we keep (rough) track of who is connected to who in this set, then we have a symmetric who/whom matrix with $1.5K^2/2$ entries = 1,125K. Even if we count only actual connections and estimate that 5% of the who/whom matrix actually is connected, we still wind up with 56K+ actual connections that we take care of. (Moreover, all students of Harrison White know that decoupling absences of connections are as important as coupling connections.) My conclusion is that either Bannerji woefully underestimates the network-mapping capacity of the human brain or that human networks are more mappable than computer networks. For one thing, by categorizing vast arrays of relations into supernodes, we greatly minimize the number of relations we must take note of. Thus, I presume that none of my relations in Florida know any of my colleagues in Toronto (with a few exception clauses thrown in).

ATHENS & MANCHESTER / DAVIS & TILLY

"I agree with [Freeman] Dyson that a major division of style & culture occurs within science, contrasting those who strive for abstract & unifying laws with those who focus on nature's complex particulars -- Athens & Manchester in Dyson's words....

"I become ... disturbed when Mancunians acquiesce in their falsely imposed inferiority & either bow to the prestige of Athens or try to ape Athenian methods in inappropriate situations.... This linear ranking by merit is false & pernicious for 2 basic reasons. 1st, the methods of Mancunian (or historical, or practical) science are different, but as vigorous & fruitful as those undertaken in Athens. Mancunians do not attempt to predict because the contingencies of history permit such a plethora of sensible outcomes; but we can explain after the fact with as much potential confidence as any science can muster. This asymmetry is not a weakness in Mancunian science, but a statement about the nature of history....

"2nd, the results of Mancunian science are both vital & fascinating. We can give no deeper answer than 'just history' to many of the cardinal questions that have troubled & motivated the explorations of science...

"All thru the book, [Dyson] preaches the irreducible value of diversity against a different Athenian approach that derogates overt variety in preference of abstract & timeless laws of nature. Then what does Dyson do as an ultimate justification for diversity -- he tries to establish it as the highest of nature's laws! In other words, he imports Athens to validate Manchester....

"Ultimately, it all depends on where you place the boundary between detail & direct incarnation of law. Dyson would restrict the realm of detail to insignificant & passing incidents of everyday life. Darwin ... explicitly included the origin of any species ... in this realm of historical contingency -- unpredictable from the general laws of nature, & extremely unlikely to ever arise again if the tape of history could be replayed. We must take the message of Manchester seriously. We live in a world of detail, and diversity just is. You may view this as discouraging, if your temperament be dark. You may also find in Manchester the essence of freedom."

Stephen Jay Gould, "Mighty Manchester," in *The New York Review of Books*, 27 Oct 88, a review of Freeman Dyson, *Infinite in all Directions*.

Some derivations:

A good theory & well-observed data should produce a mediocre R^2 . Networks sí; groups, no!

PROBLEM SET

While cleaning files, I came across a list of "Problems" presented to my 1964 Harvard grad. intro. sociology seminar by Alex Inkeles & Harrison White. It reads like a research agenda for the next generation of structural analysts. But a lot is left. Anyone looking for a good research topic (or a nostalgic trip to sociological fads & foibles)? Here's a selection:

"Are the tripartite societies described by Geertz in *The Religion of Java* & by Herberg in *Protestant, Catholic & Jew* essentially similar in structure, process & historical evolution?"

“Are the basic ideas about the proper kind of society put forth by Milton Friedman in *Capitalism & Freedom* a natural consequence of the theory Social Behavior propounded by G. Homans?”

“Test Wynne-Edwards’ ‘all-important proposition that societies exist for the purpose of controlling population, & the corollary that they owe their evolution to the processes of group selection’ [*Animal Dispersion*, p. 275] by applying as many aspects of his theory as possible, generalized where necessary, to Irene Taeuber’s account of *The Population of Japan*.”

“Re-analyze the account of social structure given by Geertz in *The Religion of Java*, using the conceptual framework proposed by S.F. Nadel in *The Theory of Social Structure*.”

“Can we assign the apparent disagreement about the distribution of local community power to the fact that different cities have been studied, or are more fundamental theoretical & methodological problems at the root of our difficulty? Make a start by considering Hunter’s Community Power Structure & Dahl’s *Who Governs?*”

“Why is the world of American chemistry a 1-party polity? Use as your empirical starting point the recent survey of American Chemical Society members by Anselm Strauss, et al, *The Professional Scientist*. Use this case as a test of the theory of the requisites for 2-party democracy developed most recently by Lipset, et al in *Union Democracy* & applied there to the ITU case.”

“Apply the scheme for causal analysis of survey data developed by Lazarsfeld (especially in “The Algebra of Dichotomous Systems”) to the cross-cultural survey by Udy, *Organization of Work*.... A key link in Udy’s analysis on which you might focus is the effect of custodial recruitment.”

MEETING CALENDAR

**Society for Cross Cultural Research; 18th Annual Meeting; New Haven, CT;
February 22-25, 1989.**

Contact: Roy S. Malpass; Behavioral Sciences Prog.; SUNY C, Plattsburg, NY 12901; BITNET MAL-PASRS@SNYPLABA.

**Dutch-Flemish Classification Society; First Official Meeting;
early March, 1989.**

Contact: William J. Heiser; Department of Data Theory; University of Leiden; Middelstegegracht 4, 2312 TW Leiden, The Netherlands; tel. (071)273828; BITNET HEISER@HLERUL55.

**Society for Applied Anthropology; Annual Meeting; Santa Fe, NM;
April 5-9, 1989.**

Theme: Collaboration in research and practice. Contact: Donald D. Stull, Program Chair, Institute for Public Policy; University of Kansas; Lawrence, KS 66045; (913) 864-3701.

**German Classification Society.
April 10-12, 1989.**

Contact: Prof. Otto Optiz; Lehrstuhl für Mathematisches Methoden der Wirtschaftswissenschaften; Universität Augsburg; Memmingerstrasse 14; D-8900 Augsburg, FRG; 0821/598-385.

**Society for Economic Anthropology; Mt. Pleasant, MI;
April 27-29, 1989.**

Theme: Marxist trends in economic anthropology. Contact: Alice Littlefield/Hill Gates; Department of Soc & Anthro; Central Michigan University; Mt. Pleasant, MI 48859; (517) 774-3122.

**Society for Applied Anthropology in Canada; Annual Conference;
Canadian Ethnological Society; University of Ottawa;
May 11-14, 1989.**

Contact: Bruce Cox; Department of Soc & Anthro; Carleton University; Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6.

**International Institute of Sociology; 29th International Congress; Rome, Italy,
June 12-16, 1989.**

Theme: The status of Sociology as a science and social policy formation. Contact: Paolo Ammassari; chair, IIS Congress Committee; Facoltà Scienze Statistiche; Piazzale Aldo Moro, 5; Università di Roma; 00185 Rome, Italy.

**European Meeting of the Psychometric Society; University of Leuven, Belgium;
July 17-19, 1989.**

Submissions due March 1, 1989; should be related to one of the following areas: test theory; data analysis; multidimensional scaling; statistical methods; structural models; correspondence analysis; measurement theory; multivariate analysis; mathematical models; factor analysis; psychophysical scaling; classification. Contact: Professor Geert de Soete; Department of Psychology; University of Ghent; Henri Dunantlaan 2; B-9000 Ghent, Belgium; tel. 32-(0) 91/25 41 00; E-mail; GEERT@BERUG51 (Bitnet)

**Gender and Class: International Developments in Theory and Research; International Colloquium; Women and Society Program; University of Antwerp, Belgium;
September 18-20, 1989.**

Abstracts due April 1, 1989. Contact: Prof. Alison E. Woodward; Department of Political and Social Science; University of Antwerp; Universiteitsplein 1; B-2610 Wilrijk, Belgium; Tel, 3-233-9393.

ARTICLES

ENCLOSING THE ENCLOSER: THE POLITICAL PROJECT EMERGING FROM THE MARGINS

*Gustavo Esteva,
Red Intercultural de Accion Autonoma,
Mexico*

ABSTRACT

I am opposing the political economy of margins with a view from the margins. For us, economics is a threatening political project, and the economy is an instituted process of social interaction encroaching upon our lives. We resisted the economic invasion of our spaces all through the process of colonization and development. When the so-called "crisis" awakened a new awareness and gave us an opportunity for regenerating our own forms of social interaction, we gave our resistance a new political content. We oppose conventional politics and policies with the search for broad political coalitions. Dominant policies doom us either to extinction or to a second-rate social existence. We aim at an inversion of the economic dominance.

To describe the margins and their new political resistance in an affirmative way, instead of dealing with them as residuals of theoretical and social designs, I have constructed an ideal type, in the Weberian sense, giving a new use to an old word. I call "vicinity" a form of social interaction characterizing both groups of some people and a condition of some others. The abstract definition is matched with its process of historical formation. We are challenging the fundamental premises of economics as a scientific discipline, and of the economic rule on society as a sociopolitical condition. By assuming that this rule had a beginning and can have an end, I am trying to define the space beyond conventional wisdom and dominant institutions, in which the margins' political project can be elaborated on and implemented. Its plea: limiting the economy through a political process.

Introduction

Economics is, like all other social sciences, ambiguous and ambivalent about its margins. It claims rights over them, assuming that they belong to its realm and fall in the field covered by its laws or theoretical designs. But it also excludes them: margins are outlaws, they do not fit well into those designs; they are constantly trespassing the boundaries of the economic territory to escape its rules; they resist the claims and negate the rights of the economists. They cannot even be identified and classified within the formal categories of economics. Economics, consequently, loves and hates its margins, constantly seducing and rejecting them: it continuously calls them to existence and continuously destroys and recreates them.

The images of margins included in all economic theories try to hide or dissolve the puzzling paradox of their very existence in a tricky way. They are accepted to the economic family in the category of those "who-are-not-yet-but-will-become." They are kin, since they cannot but belong to the universal species of *homo oeconomicus*. But they are not full-fledged members of the species, since they are still in the process of acquiring all the proper traits.

Like all other social sciences, economics recognizes no limits for its application. This contention is predicated on the assumption that no society is free from the "economic problem," as economists call their definition of social reality. The very emergence of the economic society, or the recent "globalization" of the economy, in the form of the world market, seems both to confirm and to disprove such a contention. It certifies to the globality of the realm of economics and the effective rule of the economy over society. It also challenges the contention, by defining the limit of the beginnings of both economics and the economic rule.

The economists have no fear for this paradox. They proudly acknowledge that their discipline, as a science, was an invention. They love to trace its roots back to antiquity, using Aristotle and his worries about value as a case in point. But they see those ancient insights as just provisional hints heralding the advent of the patron saints

of the science, those who discovered economy in the 18th century. The economy itself, say the economists, has existed since the beginning of time. The founding fathers of the discipline were able to discover it when the time came, when that unavoidable condition of the human society arrived, through a long and difficult evolution, to its full-fledged expression: the economic society which in turn, naturally, became global.

In this document I will try to oppose this view on the margins by economics, with a view from the margins about both economy and economics. We see economics as a dangerous political project. Part of our own political project is to limit the economy and to confine it at our margins. For many years we were told that our resistance to that project militated against our own interests. We were also told that our extinction as people in the margins is both a natural and necessary blessing and a positive transformation of our lives. For us, far from being positive, the event by which many of our ancestors were condemned to physical extinction looks as threatening for us as it was for them. We see ourselves in a different light and conceive of other prospects. The world's economic bankruptcy is confirming our prejudices against both economics and development, and strengthening our resistance. Our own political project is now coming to life.

The Edge of Economy and Economics

Economic history has oscillated between two poles: the history of economic ideas and the account of economic "facts." Only during the last years have some authors attempted to retrace economic history as a chapter in the history of ideas. Louis Dumont, Paul Dumouchel and others have shown that the discovery of the economy through the invention of economics was in fact a process of social construction of ideas and concepts. Supported by their own and previous research, like Polanyi's, they showed that the "economic laws" were in fact deductive inventions, which transformed newly observed patterns of social behavior, adopted with the emergence of the economic society, into universal axioms designed to carry on a new political project. They also showed that the assumption of the previous existence of economic "laws" or "facts" constructed by the economists is untenable when confronted with what we know about ancient societies and cultures.

Histories of economic "facts" and histories of economic "ideas" have something in common. They present economic history as a progressive invasion. Historians of economics recount how a specific thought-style permeated all thinking historians of the economy, tell us how a specific sphere of human interest permeated and subordinated all other realities.

As a conceptual construction, economics strives to subordinate to its rule and to subsume to its logic every other form of social interaction in every society it invades. As a political design and project, adopted by some as their own, economic history is a story of conquest and domination. Far from being the idyllic evolution pictured by the founding fathers of economics, the emergence of the economic society was a story of violence and destruction often adopting a genocidal character. Resistance appeared everywhere.

Establishing economic value requires the disvaluing of all other forms of social interaction and existence (Illich). Disvalue transmogrifies skills into lacks, commons into resources, men and women into commoditized labor, tradition into burden, wisdom into ignorance, autonomy into dependency. It transmogrifies the autonomous activities embodying wants, skills hopes and interactions with others and with the environment into needs whose satisfaction requires the mediation of the market. The helpless individual, whose survival is necessarily dependent on the market, was not an invention of the economists, neither was he born with Adam and Eve, as the economists contend. He was a historical creation. He was created by the economic project redesigning mankind. The transmogrification of autonomous men and women into disvalued *homines oeconomici* was in fact the precondition for the emergence of the economic society and must be constantly renewed, reconfirmed and deepened for economic rule to continue. Disvalue is the secret of economic rule. It cannot be created except with violence and against continuous resistance.

Economic ideas played a role in the legitimation of such violence, but not in a political vacuum. The social construction of ideas and perceptions can never be reduced to intellectual plots. There are usually "thinking collectives" in the point of departure of such construction. Their creations become changes in the "thought styles" of an era or society (Fleck) only when the creations of such "collectives" fall on fertile ground, a social setting in which some social actors are able to transform them into "truths:" statements adopted by the people to govern themselves and others (Foucault).

The economists did not invent the new patterns of behaviour emerging with the economic society, through the creation of the modern market. But the founding fathers of the discipline were able to codify their observations in a form fitting well with the ambitions of the emerging interests: they offered a "scientific" foundation to their political design. When that form was "received" as truth by the public and transferred into common lan-

guage, it was able to transform popular perceptions from within by changing the meaning of previously existing words and assumptions.

The founding fathers of economics chose scarcity as the keystone for their theoretical construction. The word was already in a wide semantic field and was given new meaning, in their time, for new social events associated with the emergence of the economic society. The choice marked the discipline forever. The construction of economics stands on the premise of scarcity, postulated as a universal condition of social life of axiomatic value and the economists were able to transform their choice into a popular prejudice, a self-evident truism for everyone. "Common sense" is now so immersed in the economic way of thinking that no fact of life contradicting it seems enough to provoke a critical awareness of its character, as a leftover of science falling on ordinary speech and perception in order to colonize them.

Scarcity connotes shortage, rarity, restriction, want, insufficiency, even frugality. Since all these connotations alluding to conditions appearing everywhere and at all times are now mixed with the economic denotations of the word, as a *terminus technicus*, the popular prejudice about the universality of economics is constantly reinforced. However, strictly speaking, the "law of scarcity" formulated by the economists and now appearing in every textbook does not allude directly to the common situations connoted by the word. The sudden shortage of clean air during a fire is not scarcity of air in the economic sense; it is not an economic fact. Nor are the restrictions and self-imposed frugality of a monk, the insufficiency of stamina in a boxer, the rarity of a flower, or the last reserve of wheat mentioned by the Egyptian King in what is known as the first historical reference to hunger. The "law of scarcity" was construed by the economists to technically shape the assumption that man's wants are great, not to say infinite, whereas his means are limited though improvable. The assumption implies choices for the allocation of means (resources). This "fact" defines the "economic problem" par excellence, whose "solution" is proposed by the economists through the market or the plan. Popular perception, especially in the Northern part of the world, even shares this technical meaning of the word scarcity, assuming it as a self-evident truism. But it is precisely the universality of this assumption that is no longer tenable. Polanyi, Sahlins, Clastres, and many others have given detailed and well-documented accounts of societies and cultures adopting other assumptions, and limiting this one whenever it appears among them. Those groups called margins by Teodor Shanin find support in that tradition when they now challenge, in theory and in practice, the economic assumptions.

A New Awareness

I am trying to see with the eyes of the margins. After participating for many years in peasants' struggles, during the last decade I associated my life with that of an autonomous space for the free interaction of peasant organizations, urban "marginal" groups and de-professionalized intellectuals like myself. For a long time my vision was affected by the blindspots of the formal categories in which I had been educated. At the same time, I was seeing a reality contradicting them. I experienced the insubordination of real life to scientific and political designs invading it, but was unfit for the understanding or even the perception of it. I was later a witness to the insubordination of the "subjugated knowledges" (Foucault) flourishing in the middle of the so-called "crisis" to better cope with new or traditional predicaments. I thus opted for seeing through the margins' eyes.

I am not speaking here on behalf of anyone. My "we" is not the majestic We of the Pope, nor the populist "we" of politicians or representatives of organized bodies. My first person plural is the cultural "we" of blacks, Indians, women. It is the we of the margins. I am not a peasant. I am not an "urban marginal." But Shanin's proposal for a new usage of the word margins, allows me to use the first person plural to speak from the heterogeneous and dispersed world of people living in the margins, after adopting their view as mine.

For us, for the margins, the economic picture of the world was always both puzzling and ludicrous. To be qualified or disqualified as remnants of the past did not really bother us much, since we fully appreciate our tradition, our historical roots; we, "the people without history," like to reinvent history when needed, for our own purposes. To be "seen" for what we are not (not formal, not developed, not employed, not salaried, not legal, not taxpayers, not in national accounts, not a social class, not central, not organized...) or for our lacks (of capital, of entrepreneurship, of political awareness and organization, of education, of political participation, of infrastructure, of rationality...) i.e., not to be seen, was not very comfortable. But we can thrive in that social invisibility, and break it when we need to. What really shook us was being doomed to extinction. The perception that we must first be subordinated and then "incorporated," disappearing as what we are, was not at all comparable to an academic exercise. In real life, it posed a permanent threat of continuous destruction of our ways of life and environments.

In the post-war era, our difference was redefined. Economics prepared a technical design for Truman, in the tradition of the one prepared for the 18th century bourgeoisie. In the speech later called the Point Four Program, January 10, 1949, Truman launched the political campaign for a world social experiment. Never before had a word

got universal acceptance the very day of its political coinage. We became "underdeveloped." Since then, and for several decades, we were placed in the undignified position of those who have started on a road that others know better, a way towards a goal that others have reached, a one-way street. Development always connotes, for us, at least one thing: escaping from a vague, unspeakable, undignified condition called underdevelopment. The design appeared as the timely counterpart of other political proposals, like those of Gandhi in India and Cardenas in Mexico, around which we were trying to walk on our feet, along our own road, supported on our tradition and experience on that road, and not clinging to ever-changing expert's advice. Through underdevelopment we were offered the magical formula of the "not yet." Rostow construed for it a fantasia-like glamour, offering us step-by-step advancement to become full-fledged economic insects. That light dazzled us. For a couple of decades we adopted an ambivalent reaction toward "incorporation," i.e., the prospect of becoming *homines oeconomici* inserted in the world market. Trying to protect our environments and to strengthen our modes of living we sometimes resisted development. Othertimes, having been lured by the developers' promises, we clamored for our "incorporation." The incorporation succeeded....among a minority. We were transformed into new margins inside the "underdeveloped" societies, themselves margins in the world. We were thus the margins of the margins. Then came the end of the development era, the so-called crisis. If the 70's were the years of confusion, with new labels for development every other day and new "strategies" for every political eve, the 80's represented the opportunity for a new awareness. What we always suspected but did not dare say became evident: development stinks. A new expert establishment documented the facts we already knew. It used as much deodorant as it was able to get in order to properly cosmetize its findings, but offered us enough analytical support to our previous insight: development was a world social experiment that in the experience of the world's majority miserably failed. Our "incorporation" into the world market, on equal and fair conditions, is increasingly unfeasible, while the gap to be closed between the center and the margins is constantly widening. The goals of development are now postponed to a constantly receding point in time -- 3,224 years for Mauritania, according to the World Bank -- exposing the real nature of development beyond any doubt: a malignant myth whose pursuit threatens us, transforming our predicaments into a chronic nightmare, the undignified modernization of poverty.

This new awareness revived and reshaped our determination and allowed us to reshape our resistance. We discovered new forms of resisting the process that created scarcity and scarcity itself. If disvalue transmogrified our skills into lacks, we looked for the inversion, transforming our lacks into hopes. (Our tradition of solidarity, for example, an obstacle for development, is now a strength we cherish.) Our renewed perception impelled us to look for what we still have, in spite of development, abandoning -- once and for all -- its dangerous illusions. We thus started to count our blessings. Thanks to what others called "the crisis," we saw that the paralysis of development is for us an opportunity for regeneration. We have nothing left but our own ways. We can now relax and smile at the modernizers who pretend to "develop" our ways out of existence. By leaping out of others' dreams, we have recovered the dignity of trusting our own noses again, of dreaming again of our own hopes, and this enables us to better cope with our day-to-day predicaments.

Our experience of survival is a powerful evidence undermining the conventional wisdom. In spite of development, we somehow succeeded in protecting and enriching our autonomy. By making visible the way in which we did this, the "crisis" enabled us to regain confidence in the modes of perception which we had disdained, so close were they to our skin, so devalued were they by predominant metropolitan views. The well-known bankruptcy of the educational system now frees us to redefine our need and desire for learning, no longer associating it with standard schools. The paralysis of the transportation system, due to reduced budgets, brought us back to our barrios and communities, where we are now recovering our autonomous mobility. We are talking again, expressing ourselves through eyes, words instead of trying to "communicate".

Our changes of drive became increasingly evident in the face of our new challenges. In the 70's our struggle was still leading to our constitution as a "modern" social class. The "classic peasants" died; the "lumpenproletariat" was marginalized. Their places were taken by new "proletarian" peasants and "marginals" whose mobilization often succeeded in getting them better terms in the interactions with capital or the State. Sometimes we were flirting with the market; sometimes with public institutions. Usually, we were just provisionally reinforcing our own modes of living.

In the 80's, in our new mood beyond development, we witnessed or experienced an impressive collection of success stories of thriving with the "crisis." A renewed reflection on the experience was needed to gain understanding of such luck. The economy itself, not only developers, was revealed as a threat to us. In the new picture, our very existence looked like a limit to the economy. When the paralysis of development gave us an opportunity for regeneration, it became evident that we survived because we had been able, in spite of colonization and development, to keep the economy at our own margins. Whenever we survived, the different forms and degrees of

"incorporation" to the economy remained outside the core of our social settings, still embedded in our own patterns of interaction.

After recognizing our ability to limit the economy in our concrete spaces, it was possible to identify among those fully subsumed in the economic logic some concrete interactions also limiting the encroachment of the economy into their lives. "Economization" was not at all complete. To survive in their economic prison, the alleged *homines oeconomic* of modern society needed to cling in their economic life to realities-other-than-economic, in which the economic logic of life must be incarnated for it to be able to exist.

A concrete hope for new political coalitions loomed in our horizon.

A New Political Resistance

The economy's Faustian nature and all-encompassing project can be subjected to two kinds of limits: "structural impossibilities" and political controls. In the 70's some of the former were exposed, in fora like the Rome Club; and, the ecologists claimed for the latter. In the 80's the "crisis" brought to public debate issues concerning the margins for a long time, and nourished our resistance. Following our creative tradition, we opposed the war-like mode of penetration and domination of the economy with our lively and flexible ability for persistence.

Limiting the economic sphere is not, for us, a mechanical, mimic reaction to the economic invasion of our lives. We are not Luddites. We see our resistance as a creative reconstitution of basic forms of social interaction, in order to liberate them from their economic chains. To describe the content of our new political resistance, I want to give new use to an old word and present it in the form of an ideal type, in the Weberian sense. I constructed it to describe the margins in an affirmative way, in contrast with the usual disqualification which alludes to them in terms of what they are not, or for what they are lacking. I call *vicinity* a form of social interaction characterizing both groups of people whose patterns of behavior are associated with a specific physical and cultural space, and a condition that can be shared by other people even though they are inserted in the economic form of social interaction.

People exercise their art of living in vicinities, mastering their spaces, as opposed to the pretenses of industrial society of mastering time. They live in the present, as opposed to placing daily life under the shadow of the future. They have a personalized form of interaction, as opposed to an institutional one. They are autonomous, as opposed to the heteronomy prevailing in the industrial society. They improvise, instead of planning. They have hopes instead of expectations. They are aesthetic, as opposed to the prevailing anesthesia. They have organizations, as opposed to the inorganic form of insertion, through massification and hierarchization of modern institutions. They keep an active interaction with their social and natural environments, as opposed to the passive dependent way of survival in modern society. They exist in heterogeneity, as opposed to homogeneity. They live in diversity, as opposed to uniformity. They assume and enjoy austerity, as opposed to suffering scarcity. They perceive horizons, instead of frontiers, so they are hospitable in an inhospitable world. They share the joy of living and master the art of suffering, as opposed to individual indifference and the fear of pain and death. All these oppositions do not define dichotomous pairs nor "structural dualism," but suggest asymmetrical interactions and ambiguous complementarities, like in gender.

The vicinities are forms of social interaction that appeared in the post-war era, but people in vicinities are the heirs of a diversified collection of commons, communities and even whole cultures destroyed by the industrial, economic form of social interaction. After the extinction of their subsistence regimes, they tried to adopt different patterns of accommodation to the industrial form. I suspect that the failure of both the industrial society and the remnants of traditional forms of interaction to effect the accommodation created the preconditions for the sociological invention whose consolidation and flourishing has been further stimulated by the so-called "crisis."

For the margins, disembedding from the economic logic -- the market, the plan -- has become a condition for survival. They are forced to confine their economic interaction -- for some, very frequent and intense -- outside of their own modes of living, where they found their last refuge for making a living during the development era. After experiencing what survival is in the economic society, they are now counting the blessings they found in such refuge and also regenerating it. Remedying the damages done by development to their lives and environments imposes on the margins heavy toils and great challenges, but also creative opportunities and deep satisfaction. For them, dismantling economic forms of interaction inside their modes of living and keeping them on the outside is frequently no more than giving up a threatening illusion. After equating education with diplomas, following the economic definition of learning, they lacked teachers and schools; now, after re-embedding learning in culture, they have the affluence of constantly enriching their knowledge with a little help from friends bringing to them experiences and remedies from outside their tradition. After equating health with dependence on medical services, they lacked doctors, health centers, hospitals, drugs; now, after recognizing health again as the autonomous ability to cope with the

environment, they are regenerating their own healing capability, benefitting from the traditional wisdom of their healers and from the richness of the curative capacity of their environments. This too, with a little help from their friends, when something beyond their reach or their traditional realm requires external help. After equating eating with technical activities of production and consumption, linked to the mediation of the market or the State, they lacked income and suffered scarcity of food; now, they are regenerating and enriching their relationships within themselves and with the environment, nourishing again both their lives and their lands, and they are usually coping well with the shortages still affecting them -- as a consequence of the time and effort required to remedy the damages done by development, or their temporary inability to escape from damaging economic interactions they still have to maintain.

Peasants and grassroots groups in the cities are now sharing with people coming from the economic center the ten thousand tricks they have learned to limit the economy, to mock the economic creed or to refunctionalize and reformulate modern technology. The "crisis" deleted from the payroll the people already educated in the dependency of income and the market, people lacking a social setting enabling them to survive by themselves. The margins are now coping with the difficult task of relocating these people. The process poses great challenges and tensions to everyone, but also offers a creative opportunity for regeneration, after discovering how mutually supportive they can be for each other.

The basic logic of human interactions inside vicinities prevents scarcity from appearing in them. They do not assume unlimited ends, since their ends are not more than the other side of their means, their direct expression. If their means are limited, as they are, their ends cannot be unlimited. Within vicinities, needs are defined with verbs that describe activities embodying wants, skills and interactions with others and with the environment. Needs are not separated into different "spheres" of reality: lacks or expectations on one side, and satisfiers on the other, reunited through the market or the plan. One of the most interesting facets of the on-going regeneration of vicinities is precisely the recovery of their own definition of needs, dismantled by development in perception or in practice. By strengthening forms of interaction embedded in the social fabric and by tearing the economic principle of the exchange of equivalents, they are recovering their autonomous way of living. By reinstalling or regenerating forms of trade operating outside the rules of the market or the plan, they are both enriching their daily life and limiting the impact and scope of the commercial operations they still have to maintain, and also reducing the commoditization of their time and of the fruits of their effort.

In vicinities, people settle and dwell, instead of suffering the need for housing. A long tradition supports those activities, which offer a fascinating illustration of their creative initiative and the gentle interaction among individuals, families, friends, informal groups, established communities and society as a whole. The tradition of rural dwelling supported, in Latin American, the innovations for the flourishing of urban dwelling during the demographic "explosion" generated by development in the post-war era. Millions of new settlers rooted in their vicinities all over the historical or modern spaces of Latin American cities. Modernization tried to replace their practices with the creation of needs (a growing deficit of houses) and their satisfiers (a booming "housing industry"). The attempt modernized the cities, accommodating well cars, factories, shopping centers and freeways, but failed in its stated goal of "housing the poor," for reasons of both quantity and quality. In 1980, 70% of the "houses" existing in Mexico had been built by the dwellers themselves. The now well-documented experience implied the factual elimination, in the spaces for such dwelling, of the market of land, labor and money.

In the early 80's Mexico's official planners elaborated a long-term perspective and found that in 20 years the country would have to build more "houses" than during her whole history. No foreseeable development effort could be able to build almost a million "houses" every year with the industrial, economic approach. The margins offered an option. They helped public agencies in charge of "popular housing" formulate an innovative approach that in fact adapted the consitutional vocation for construction and financing "houses" to the settlers' style of dwelling. The virtual elimination of the market of land, labor and money always imposed great tension and effort on the dwellers and on the whole of society. The new approach softened those tensions, limiting the intervention of the economy and public institutions to a more or less satisfactory level. A great variety of arrangements were put in operation, many of them within a configuration that fits very well the patterns of rural or urban dwellers to establish or regenerate their vicinities. The September 19, 1985 earthquake posed in this context a special challenge. Almost 100,000 "houses" were to be built in a short time and in very restricted spaces in downtown Mexico City. Developers were immediately set in motion by the calamity, trying to use the opportunity to redefine the housing policy in Mexico. With the help of national and foreign professionals and institutions, they pressed for a typical industrial "solution." The final result was more or less ambiguous, relative to the construction style in the area, but the event was a blessing in disguise for many dwellers. Thousands of earthquake victims have been able to build by themselves, in downtown Mexico City, in record time and quality, two- and three-story dwellings appropriately conceived for the kind of conviviality they are longing for in their vicinities. The process offered them

better shelter and strengthened their free and solidary forms of interaction. Many of them are now advancing quickly in limiting the economy in other areas of their life.

The experience, though limited in time, space and results, illustrates the new political form of social movements coming from the margins. The leading actor of the economy, *homo oeconomicus*, finds no feasible answers to cope with the "crisis" and frequently reacts with desolation, exhaustion, even desperation. He constantly fails in the political game of claims and promises, or the economic game of carpetbagging the present for the future, or hopes for expectations. In contrast, the leading actor of vicinity, the neighbor, dissolves or prevents scarcity in his imaginative efforts to cope with his predicaments. He looks for no more than free spaces or limited support to his initiatives. He can mix them in political coalitions increasingly capable of reorienting policies and changing political styles. Supported on recent experiences, the new awareness emerging from the margins can awaken others, broadening those coalitions towards the critical point in which an inversion of the economic dominance begins to be feasible.

Modern societies, as a whole, are immersed in the economic mechanism -- the market or the plan -- which in turn appears as a self-regulated sphere of social reality, disembedded from society. However, that economic mechanism ruling over the lives of men is not independent of realities-other-than-economic. *Homo oeconomicus* is in fact an improbable species. Man cannot survive as man if he accepts such a reduction of his being. The economy economists talk about is nothing but a logical statement, a set of rules by which modern societies are governed. Men or society are not economic, even after having created institutions and forms of interaction of an economic nature, even after having instituted the economy. And those economic rules are derived from a chronic condition of modern society, scarcity, that far from being the iron law of every human society, it is a historical accident: it had a beginning and can have an end. The time has come for its end. Ours is the time of the margins.

In spite of the economy, the margins have been able to keep alive another logic, another set of rules. In contrast with the economy, this logic is embedded in the social fabric. The time has come to confine the economy to its place: a marginal one. As the margins have done.

EXPOLARY ECONOMIES: A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MARGINS

Theodor Shanin, Dept. of Sociology, University of Manchester

A. The Image of Margins: The Poles and the Pendulum

All images of political economy carry an assumption of margins. As against systemic models of full consistency stands social reality which is invariably less pure. Images and explanatory logic tend to dismiss such impurities from the picture as irrelevant, accidental or unsubstantiated. When the massive nature of impurities and the more subtle minds begin to militate against such simplification, the impurities are admitted; but then, usually, categorized out of the center of the analytical field through some form of conceptualization which defines them as "marginal." Two fundamental scholarly traditions of the 19th c. social sciences, that of political economy and that of evolutionist historiography, meet at this point. "At margins" lay forms of political economy which are structured differently from the prevailing system, its general dynamics and its assumed logic (to a Marxist, the dominant mode of production). Once evolutionism is injected (or taken for granted), the status of the margins becomes that of the not-yet-dissolved "past in present" and/or a cul-de-sac with no autonomous dynamic and no long term future. Their survival is due to social inertia and/or to the transitional service they may offer to the core/mainstream of power and economy, dynamics and forms. The margin's subsumption to core must result in their eventual demise.

The experiential root of this overarching epistemology of contemporary societies and economies seems clear enough. It lies in a romanticised history of industrialization. This fundamental social experience established the basic plausibility and the taken-for-granted assumptions of endlessly ascending material demands matched by their unrestricted fulfillment through the tapping of unlimited riches, where more and more combines with the technological larger and larger. All these together with scientific endeavour, popular welfare, mass education, and individual liberty have been treated as related necessarily to each other. This endless multiple ascent, entitled Progress, means also rapid unification, universalization and standardization of the world around us. All societies are seen as moving from the heterogeneity of inadequacies and irrationalities to the true, the logical and the uniform, while anything else is pushed to the margin, to be followed by its natural oblivion.

This fundamental outlook entered the dualised post-WW2 world of power blocks, systems of political economy, ideological images and propaganda. The category of margins and the dismissive reading of their characteristics was built consequently into the two broad ideologies *cum* historiographies *cum* programmes on offer, linked to the two superpowers. Both views/programmes carry the unmistakable birthmarks of 19th c. Evolutionism and share its optimistic postulate -- that the inevitable, the rational, the good and the programmatic are the same. Both of the paradigms reinforced each other by adopting a logical either/or stand expressed as the socialist "state plan" as against the liberal *cum* capitalist "free market," the "East" vs. the "West." On the one hand the planned economy, executed by the rational state in a scenario by which it was bound to devour and transform, after its own image, any societal diversities and inconsistencies in its own society. Strengthened accordingly, it was also to out-compete its sole alternative i.e. the "free market" economy of capitalism, and to emerge triumphantly as the new, uniform and total world of riches and of humans made free. On the other side, the same was being claimed for the "free market" economy making short shrift of anything else within its direct reach, and then "rolling back" the statist monsters outside its own political frontiers (followed by another inevitable crescendo of the future better world of a universal Texas).

The assumption was either/or, i.e., either state plan or free market, with nothing else to offer. The inevitable logical conclusion drawn from the harsh self-criticism and partial reversal of the rules of the game in the state socialist societies of the 1980s (be it China's de-collectivisation or Gorbachev's reforms) is self-evident proof of the superiority of the capitalist economy and/or of a move toward it. The socialists are becoming (sensibly) "like us." Alternatively we have a scale between the two exclusive possibilities. One cures state planned economies by injecting more of a capitalist market, or vice versa cures capitalism by some increase in state intervention. And the pendulum is now swinging against the state planners equated with socialism.

The unrealistic nature of the logical scheme which sustains all these views, i.e., the assumption of the exclusivity of two socio-economic forms -- the capitalist free market and the socialist state plan, is not even usually considered. Nor is the highly relevant experience of the 1970s/80s parallel structural crisis of both of the super systems of political economy taken into account. Inability to reassume the 1950/60 rates of growth, to eradicate poverty, unemployment or underemployment, to overcome global diversities and local slums, to make ones system "work" i.e., to fulfill its earlier declared promise, has been as true of the USA as of the USSR. To include the lesser powers and, especially, the so called "developing societies," would accentuate the more this message of con-

temporary experience. Ours has been a period of massive reductions downwards of the ambitious long-term plans and of the assumptions of rapidly and constantly improving social welfare. It is also manifest that "margins" are not being reduced, indeed, the extent of actual economic action taking place outside the dominant systems and logics of the political economy has been growing.

By now evidence which contradicts the available analytical devices and axioms has matured to the point where re-analysis of the whole paradigm of explanation seems necessary. A way to consider it anew is to bring into focus and to study actual evidence concerning "margins" of the existing political economies and to review our representations of them. Let us name this social syndrome and order the related pieces of evidence which do not fit the poles-and-pendulum view of contemporary societies and economies, before trying to make better sense of them. For reasons to be spelt out presently we shall call the syndrome expolary economics.¹

B. An Inventory of Analytical Dissonances

1. There is less and less reason to assume the Evolutionist model, which was accepted by the mainstream of the social sciences and presented anew in the 1950/60s by the Modernization Theories of the day. Neither can endless economic ascent and global unlimited resources be simply postulated, or growth of rationality and of human liberty (or even the tides of struggle for them) to be seen as in necessary ascent. Unilinear schemes of history linked to taken-for-granted optimism are unrealistic.

Changes have occurred and the global linkages of units and types of economy have grown, but social and economic forms have not moved from the heterogeneous to the uniform, but rather from one internally contradictory complexity to another. Much of it was totally unexpected.

2. The conflict between the two basic types of political economy, backed by the prevailing political super-powers has been anything but a 1:0 game. The failure of one of the forms did not necessarily imply the success or the advance of the other. The eulogists of free market and of planned economy who engaged in criticism of the mote in the other's eye were both right in their criticism; neither "worked" by its own standards. Also, none of the initial master-theories offers a satisfactory working plan to set this right on its own terms, i.e., to secure limitless and rapid "economic growth" resolving all social ills. Furthermore, both poles, or mixture of their characteristics, do not exhaust social reality and its potentials. The parallel crises of both super-projects, and the growing disbelief in its transitional nature call for thorough consideration of alternative economic forms in evidence.

3. In this context one must also refuse the status of self-evident truth to what we shall call the Midas Finger Principle. Whichever this king of legend touched turned to gold, and likewise, to some analysts, the prevalent political economy necessarily transforms after their own image any economic forms within their reach and impact. Not only that the expolary economics at systemic "margins" failed to decline, but they have often shown high vitality and capacity "to deliver the goods" in so far as human welfare and the creativity of social and productive forms of survival are concerned. Nor is there reason to believe that their functioning is only a reflection of the "needs" or the dictate of a dominant "core" economy. When looked at outwardly the core economies failed to colonise fully their "margins." Looked at from the opposite aspect, the expolary forms show autonomy, logic, dynamics and capacity to manipulate their environment (while, of course, responding at the same time to the broader social context). They also show capacity for social reproduction. The actual structures and forms which hide under such anti-concepts as the "second economy," "petty bourgeoisie" or "informal economy" must be cognosed and considered on their own terms.

4. There is growing evidence that societal systems of political economy which are more complex and contradictory, are also logically paradoxical in their composition (i.e., less advanced by the usually adopted historiographic standards of Progress, and less pure when logical models are concerned). By the standards of excellence formally assumed by economic planners of today, they also prove more effective for the well-being of the population and the growth and functioning of the national economy.

Expolary economies often seem to act as the necessary admixture, lubricant or catalyst, for the effective functioning of the existing socio-economic systems. A society's index of non-incorporation i.e., extent of non-purity, of mixing "state plan," "free market" with economies which cannot be so defined, corresponds well enough with its place in the success league of comparable countries: the economy of Hungary is "healthier" than that of the USSR, Japan is more "dynamic" than the USA, Italy has seen in the last two decades faster economic and welfare advance than the UK. It goes without saying that all this is relative, in all of the examples chosen most of the long term predictions by social scientists in the 1980s were full of gloom.

5. The demystification of parallel economic forms must be taken through a number of stages to reach the point at which the issue of our concern can be made fully apparent. First and easiest to accept, there is deliberate falsity built into both the "free market" and the "planned economy" assumptions -- reality "is not like that," models

caricature it through overstatement. No market economy was ever free of state intervention nor was there ever a planned economy totally structured by a plan (which would apply also, naturally, to any theoretical model of the expolary economies).

More important and controversial, we must take on board that actual economies are not a set of diverse mixtures of two polar principles, i.e., something in between (and therefore too much planning can be cured by a judicious injection of market and vice versa). The scale itself is a falsity for it obscures economic forms which do not fit its "either/or" analytical and ideological message. Nor can one save this analytical scale by admitting to "other things," but then promptly labeling them "the survivors of the past" (why do they survive?), or assuming them to be simple reflection of "the needs" of the "big boys" on the scene and, thereby in no need of further explanation. To repeat, the social economy of the off-scene, its capacity to survive, its internal logic and its overall impact must be brought into the field of vision.

The expression, expolary economies, stresses two characteristics of the phenomena in question. First is its being external to Polis (. . .) when, like in ancient Greece, the Polis stands for the state as well as for origins of the market society (particularly true to Athens).² Second, it stands outside the two poles of the enshrined analytical scale of either "plan" or "market," indeed defies the scale itself. This still misses some important characteristics e.g., the deeper social embeddedness of such economies, but no term would have it all in a single word. We assume also the readers' understanding that no total isolation of forms is envisaged, but a system combining diversities. One should not rush into production of neologisms, but a term which helps to circumscribe a social syndrome and a field of study can serve the good purpose of advanced clarification.

A final comment. The blossoming of the expolary economies cannot be de-problematised as just the result of the contemporary economic crisis. Crises of the dominant systems did indeed correspond with the expansion of the "marginal" economies, but the crisis of the 1970s/80s unfolded not as a temporary downturn but as the condition of contemporary human existence. It is realistic to assume that the end-of-the-millennium socio-economic history will be one of permanent crises. The economic forms of our time should be considered in this given framework.

C. Expolary Economies: The Categories of the Species

Our initial definitions of "margins" *cum* expolary economies have been relational and negative in delimiting mostly what these are not. We are facing consequently a number of overlapping forms and characteristics. Their specification must form a step of the analysis. Actual economic forms which come under the category of expolarity can be listed as follows:

1. *The Family Production Unit*

When the absence (or limited use) of wage labour, family centred consumption, the mutual, non-contractual, long-term support and loyalty anticipation as well as the inheritance patterns, result in a different operational logic from that of the two supra-systems discussed (and, the more so, of the theoretical models of "free market" or of "state plan").

2. *The Specialised (Monopolising) Small Unit*

The separate "free land" existence, of which *vis-a-vis* the large-scale bureaucratic-industrial complexes, is based on its monopoly of skills, higher flexibility of response, personalised contact or privileged access to some capacities or resources. Alternatively, the vitality of the small unit may be based on the diseconomies of scale operating in a particular field.

3. *The inter-family Reproduction of Labour*

The form of labour-use which shares with (a) above, the family production units, their non-monetary characteristics, the lack of simple transfer into alternatives which are market-related, the gender structure and "informality." On the other hand its aims are consumption and welfare-directed and socially reproductive of family, rather than productive of marketable goods. It may be therefore treated, historically, as family production units stripped by "modernization" of its major productive functions and re-focussed to handle the expanding task of children's socialization and new needs rooted in the bureaucratization of, and emotional upheaval in, a rapidly "atomising" and anomic society, which increasingly depends on educational certification.

Chauffeur children of middle classes between the ballet and the music schools of a large city becomes a mother's role as time consuming and as socially necessary as a part-time job, while there has been no economical-ly feasible, state or capitalism produced, alternatives which are as effective.

4. *The "Second" Economy, as defined by the Hungarian social scientists, the part-time employment or contractual work outside the mainstream of waged labour (in Hungary, outside the state-owned or cooperative enterprises and organization).*

Looked at from the vantage point of those engaged in it, the second economy operates as supernumerary source of income through the use of one's "free time." The social scientists of Hungary accentuated in their designation the particularities of the operational rules of the game and of the social organization of this phenomenon when compared to the "first" i.e. large-scale and official economy, to its functioning, regulation and structure.

5. *The Black Economy (described by the Hungarians as "third"), that is, manufacturing and services outside of those legally permissible – operations which if uncovered would lead to criminal charges.*

Vis-a-vis the "planned economy," such activity usually represents the illicit use of scarce resources monopolised by the state (possibly blending into the "second economy"). The open market economies find their own extensive terrain of "shoddy deals," in the tax-evasion industry as much as in smuggling, pimping and "organised crime."

This review accentuated the expolary economies' diversity as much as their relational nature i.e., the existence of a powerful system and a logic of a "core" or a "mainstream" with which expolary forms link, by which they are influenced, but from which they structurally differ. Nobody would argue that, for instance, the role of a shoe-maker or a farmer of contemporary Punjab are identical with the shoe-makers or farmers of pre-colonial India (or those occupations in Hungary or Italy of today). They differ because they have to fit into different environments; to all of them the co-existence with the dominant social system or mode of production are a matter of necessity. But the concept carries also the assumption of substantive particularities, as against the operational logic of the rules of the game; and that the bureaucratic structures at the core of the contemporary political economy are not purely epiphenomenal, lacking their own sources of causality. The consequent image of nation-wide political economies is complex and shot through with contradictions, but the more realistic and dynamic for it.

The next major step must be to define the common characteristics, if any, of the "margins" which could justify their analytical generalization expressed in the term, the "expolary economies." Let us begin with generalization, i.e., the characteristics in which the above mentioned actual forms tend to overlap. What stands out is the informal and personalised (rather than bureaucratic, legalistic and stereotyped) format of arrangements which guide production, services, exchange, financing and remuneration. There are also the particular and usually extra-legal (not thereby necessarily illegal!) methods of securing and enforcing agreements, tasks and payments. The same is true insofar as the employer/employee relations are concerned. Painted with a thick brush, all this is expressed in the tendency of expolary types of economic action to be more deeply "embedded" or "dissolved" within the broader patterns of human interaction, i.e., to be seldom purely profit-oriented or orders-execution directed (and narrowly "rational" in this sense). It is thereby more explicitly "social," i.e., defined by norms of primary communities and individualised choices by families or the individual participants.

One should add here, secondly, the specific types of budgetary arrangements which go with the more socialised economy, inclusive of the extent of "family purse" arrangements, the lesser significance given to the money-and-wages nexus *vis-a-vis* barter, inter-family and intra-family informal cooperation, self-consumption and such considerations as patronage and clientalism, kinship loyalties and factional hostilities. There is no way of full quantification-and-accounting in this field. As significant is that, while the participants try to optimise, they see the result of their effort in terms of survival, welfare, social reproduction and of "being," rather than of limitless capital accumulation aiming to overturn (through "shooting up" in social power and rank) their existing social and economic status. These relationships must not be romanticised, for personalised interdependence would be at times highly exploitative. The point is that, be this as it may, it will always differ in form and results from bureaucratic procedure or depersonalised limitless competition.

Third, such economies operate in a way that often shows particularly high levels of flexibility and adjustability in the use of labour, especially when effective use of unsupervised labour is concerned. This, as well as the other reasons already discussed, make many of major socio-economic functions impossible to carry out as effectively through the use of state-directed or market defined institutions and monetary networks.

The tendency for the characteristics discussed to combine (and the structural reasons for this) explains why we should speak here of a type rather than of an eclectic "shopping" list of behavioural items or an epiphenomena of something else. Moreover, the particularities of the expolary economies are represented not only in the way they function, but also in the patterns of their social reproduction and structural transformation -- not only in the way they operate and survive but also in the ways they transform. We are talking of a particular and consistent and self-reproducing set of social institutions, and of related operational logic's (anti-logics i.e., areas of irrationality if looked at from the point of view of the dominant system).

D. The Direction of Further Advance

The term "expolary" was used to circumscribe a territory which tends to escape systematic viewing, but is central for the realistic study of the economic and social forms of our time. One can speak of it alternatively as of the modes of non-incorporation into the dominant political economy, ever remembering the relative and partial nature of such "non-incorporation." Social and functional characteristics which are particular, which combine and which consistently differ from the assumed logic of "the poles" of state economy and market economy *sensu strictu* define it positively. To test its significance and to specify its characteristics is to establish analytically and empirically the alternative ways expolary economies operate *vis-a-vis* the dominant political economies of "state plan" or "free market" and especially the industrial/bureaucratic complexes at their centre. The basic operational dimensions for such further analysis and study are in this view:

- (i) labour-use and the family budget strategies;
- (ii) information and uncertainty;
- (iii) operational goals (especially consumption *vis-a-vis* expansion);
- (iv) technology, resources and skills (and of economic segmentation);
- (v) drudgery and boredom *vis-a-vis* the existential and social goals.

The significance of the thesis stands or falls on further work along these lines.

Notes

1. This thesis is offered as a starting point in debate and a "kicking off" paper for the colloquium devoted to alternative economies due in May 1988 in Toronto. A parallel copy in Russian is currently being put to use in the USSR as a starting point of their debate of "alternative forms of socialism." The initial text was prepared in Ann Arbor with the help of Akos Rona-Tas to whom it owes some of its elements, e.g., the risk and information aspect of expolary economies etc. Thanks are due to Margaret Carey for help with the semantics of the term introduced.
2. K. Polanyi, C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Glencoe, 1957.

MANAGER'S RECIPROCAL TRANSACTIONS

Ágnes Czákó,
Dept. of Sociology,
Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest;

Endre Sik,
Institute of Social Sciences, Budapest

Reciprocal exchange is a widespread institution in contemporary Hungary. Households use this institution either as a means of coping with unexpected crises or as a means to eliminate temporary shortages in labour, money, goods, care and services. (Sik, 1985; Sik forthcoming)

It is the domestic economy in which the reciprocal transactions can be considered as a "natural phenomenon," i.e., these are the sort of transactions which can be embedded smoothly into domestic production processes and operate efficiently (though not without conflicts) within the interhousehold network.

In case a firm is faced with shortages (Kornai, 1980), a solution can be sought in the market or the redistribution system. However, reciprocal transactions are very widespread among managers in a socialist economy. In this article we suggest that the causes of the spread of this institution are identical to what we found in the analysis of the household sector, i.e. coping with shortages, perpetual crises, and lack of proper market or redistributive mechanisms.

Our thesis is that, on the one hand, managers are fully aware that for the sake of survival they should maintain these networks; on the other hand, there are interdependent, long-term, direct networks among the managers, which are necessary for the realization of reciprocal exchanges. Contrary to the low effectiveness of contractual law among enterprises in the socialist economy, or to the bureaucratic, prodigal and expensive distribution by public authorities, this network makes the reciprocal exchange reliable by ensuring reciprocation. The enterprise uses the reciprocal exchange of labour as if it were a "household." It acts according to the logic of substantive rationality; its aim is to survive, and to overcome the negative effects of a socialist economy which is characterized by permanent shortages of goods and bureaucratic distribution.

1. The concept of Managers' Reciprocal Transactions (MRT)

The main principles of MRT are the following:

- a) A transaction's primary aim is to facilitate the operation of the unit. It is a non-formalized institution conforming to particular norms in which the managers concerned act in the interest of their organizations. The managers personify the interests of their economic units in these transactions.
- b) Being non-formalized means that in the course of MRT there are no officially accepted procedures (e.g. bureaucracy, formal hierarchy, written commitments). At the same time there exists a system of norms that provides security to the parties involved, guarantees the performance of the agreement and reduces the risk entailed by the transaction not being official. It is a "gentlemen's agreement" strengthened by defenselessness, interdependence and illegality. This ability and behavioral pattern of the managers can be seen as a managerial group consciousness implying solidarity, loyalty and well-known and acknowledged ceremonies.
- c) The personification of the firm's interest also means that the transactions are conducted within a system of personal relations among managers. This system can also be seen as a long-term network designating the scope of these transactions. If need be, newer and newer transactions can be initiated which may produce a chain of linked-up transactions.
- d) Regarding the relations of dependence of those involved in MRT we can distinguish vertical and horizontal transactions. "Soliciting," a typical phenomenon of centralized economies, can be taken as a vertical transaction, in which a manager solicits the help of a manager of higher authority on behalf of the solicitor's firm. As the organizational power of managers involved in soliciting differs greatly, so do the results of bargaining.

Hungarian economists and sociologists discuss this phenomenon in conjunction with the analyses of bargain mechanisms and processes of regional distribution.¹ Their main conclusions regarding soliciting are the following:

- Soliciting is a personal relationship, which is both acquired through common school, place of work, association, membership, origin etc., and concomitant on the official position. To initiate a communication and engage in bargaining, the partners make use of both their personal relationship and official positions. This means that "soliciting" is neither a private affair, nor a purely official contact.
- Although the bargaining partners while soliciting are in very unbalanced positions, both parties eventually win. Firms procure resources (gratis or cheap, jumping the queue for goods in permanent shortage, in better-than-average quality etc.) and allowances (looser deadline, long-term credit, foreign exchange, plan alteration etc.), and in exchange the central organization earns the gratitude of the enterprise in forms such as: voluntary plan overfulfilment, loyalty in organizational transformation and personal policy, production of shortage goods etc.

The horizontal relations established by managers are different from those of soliciting. These actions involve fewer bargain elements and give rise to more or less balanced reciprocal exchange relations. It must be emphasized, however, that this does not mean equality. There can be a relatively persistent positional difference between the participants of horizontal transactions as well.

- e) Phenomena similar to MRT can be detected in market economies as well. Let us briefly survey them, pointing out their similarities and dissimilarities to MRT described among socialist circumstances above. The interlocking directorship of large enterprises are formalized organizations of more or less stable composition in which top executives of firms exchange information, co-ordinate their marketing activities, work out development projects etc. (Mills 1960). Naturally, interlocking is not limited to enterprise managers. According to Galbraith (1973) the basic unit of an operative system of planning and the token of organizational power should be the joint staffs of state offices, banks and large enterprises. One has only to take one further step in this logic to reach the functional connection between political power and interlocking.² The most conspicuous difference between MRT, as the concept is used here, and the enterprises' interlocking directorships is that the latter's operation is formalized: they meet regularly, have fixed membership, an agenda for each meeting etc.³

To sum up: MRT is an officially unregulated activity carried out by managers within the framework of personal relations primarily for the sake of the participating managers' firms. The direction of a transaction can be vertical or horizontal, determined by the relations of dependence between the participants. This paper is only concerned with horizontal MRTs.⁴

As regards their function, horizontal MRTs can be of two kinds: ceremonial or trouble-shooting. The function or purpose of ceremonial MRT is to preserve and strengthen the network. This means that the partners also meet and keep in touch when actually there is no need for help. This is a form of prevention: only well-founded, and permanently maintained contacts can be of use to managers who seek to uphold their positions. The forms of "keeping-in-touch" are not strictly prescribed. Any kind of transaction may be applied that preserves the warmth of the relationship: friendly greetings, courtesies, symbolic favours, smaller gifts, invitations etc. The norms observed in ceremonial transactions are not too strict either, but violating them entails some risk: the deterioration of cordial relations may cause a manager's exclusion from among the beneficiaries of a partner, that is, he will slip back on the "waiting list."

The function of trouble-shooting transactions is to solve an unexpected problem of adverse consequences in purchases, production or sales which the manager or the firm cannot solve alone. The goal is the elimination of an actual problem. The subject of a trouble-shooting transaction can be anything that may help settle the issue including information, labour, products, money, services etc. However various the forms of transactions may be, they must comply with the rules of financial accounting and the stock-books. Most frequently, trouble-shooting transactions are loan transactions, hiring out, leasing, surrendering gratis and selling a product originally not meant for sale. In these transactions, especially when it is about products or money, the partners mutually accept some risk: the assisting partner surrenders a resource temporarily that he might need later, so he must get it back later. This is why honesty and reliability are highly valued in trouble-shooting transactions, as this ensures the observance of the basic norm of reciprocity. A breach of the norm entails severe sanctions in trouble-shooting transactions: a partner who fails to meet his obligations expels himself from the network, i.e., from the circle of those who mutually help each other.

2. Characteristic features of MRT

2.1 How widespread are MRTs?

You are often left to yourself. It's no use approaching a firm without any personal connections saying I need this and this, 'cause the guy just says all right, we'll see what we can do, put your request down in writing, then you'll get it. Then I get it or not. What you can do is this: you make a roll-call of your friends and acquaintances, then if you have a chum, a good friend, a classmate, acquaintance or someone you made friends with here on the construction, you consider if he might be able to help. Then it's all different, then you're lucky because you can approach not only officially, in writing, but saying Hallo, how're you doing, I need this and this, do you have it or not? Things can be arranged easily then. Of course, it's not official but giving a crate of apples or pears isn't exactly a criminal deed, is it? (Detail of an interview from Czakó, 1982).

When analyzing MRT, we used three kinds of approach:

- *looking at the personal connections of a manager gauged by the potential partner organizations.* We asked the managers if they had personal contacts with the organizations we listed.
- *looking at the MRTs (ceremonial and trouble-shooting) in general, meaning the asking and granting of help within the network of relations.* We asked the executives if in the past year they gave help to, or asked help from, the partners we listed.
- *looking at trouble-shooting transactions denoting loans or help in any other form.* To clarify the nature of trouble-shooting transactions, we asked the managers if they borrowed or lent, hired or hired out, got or gave for free something during the last year.

Among the managers the network is wide-spread and the MRT is frequent (see Table 1). The differences between the transactions are easy to explain. Agricultural cooperatives far outnumber state farms, thus cooperatives can be more helpful neighbours. Because of its oligopolistic power in Hungarian agriculture AGROKER has a very distinguished place among managerial contacts. It works out the new technology of production and sells this technology to its members. The reason for the extensive relations between an economic unit and the local school and council is that communities are usually patronized by local enterprises.

Table 1. Network of Managerial Relations and Spread of Transactions in General by Partner Organization (N = 501).

	% has contacts	% got transactions in year ^{**}	% gave ^{***}	G/G ^{***}
Village council	97	29	75	0.38
Village party organ	87	21	31	0.68
Local school	97	46	79	0.58
Neighbouring cooperative	100	— ⁺⁺	— ⁺⁺	—
Neighbouring state farm	87	—	—	—
Police	90	43	32	1.34
Military	64	35	26	1.35
Agroker ^a	99	77	33	2.33
Agrotek ^b	87	35	6	6.00
Production system ^c	92	70	93	1.62

* If all have relations with the given organization, the value of the indicator is 100%.

** Out of the total number of managers.

*** The G/G (gave/got) ratio was applied to show the position of the manager in the transaction: if its value is 1.0, the relation with the partner organization is balanced; if it is below 1.0, the economic unit has a patronizing role; if it is above 1.0, it is to some extent at the mercy of its partner.

⁺⁺ The question was not put.

^a Oligopolistic commercial firm of all kinds of agricultural goods

^b Monopolistic commercial firm of agricultural machinery.

^c Non-profit oriented associations of agricultural firms. Their role is decisive in the allocation of the means of production (high tech) and in the innovation of flow.

The listed partner organizations are formally (legally) of equal rank with the examined economic unit, but the direction of realized transactions clearly reveals that, as partners, their relations are not in equilibrium. Agricultural firms are unequivocally patronizing towards local communal organizations, but are exposed to the mercy of trading companies. First of all the agrotek handles the allocation of valuable machines, but the managers get in touch with this organization comparatively rarely.

Some specific trouble-shooting transactions are wide-spread. In every layer of management, at least 95% of managers engaged in loan transactions; 85% also reported engaging in several other transactions (hiring out, surrendering freely, selling a not-for-sale product).

2.2 Managerial transactions in everyday practice: the frequency of transactions

Table 2. Frequency of Transactions by Their Direction (N = 501).

Frequency	% Gives	% Gets Help
Daily	13	7
Weekly	26	19
Monthly	33	38
Less frequently	25	5
Total	100	100

Transactions have become an indispensable and widespread part of managerial work. One-third of managers give, and one-fourth get, help weekly or more frequently. Monthly transactions have the highest share.

Loans are the most frequent kind of trouble-shooting transactions; 60% of loan transactions take place weekly, 32% monthly and 8% very rarely. Other (than loan) transactions are less frequent; monthly transactions are most frequent (40%) and the rate of rarer transactions is also much higher (42%).

2.3 Are managerial transactions successful?

The question is whether these transactions promote efficiency in the manager's work. The extent of their use suggests that they do. This also permits the assumption that transactions are approved by the leaders, with no counteracting norms prevailing. All this suggests that transactions imply good partnership mostly without conflicts. Our findings attest to this.

The respondents graded the intensity of transactions (and their relations) with a scale (1 = cold, 5 = hot); 64% of transactions of all kinds took place in either warm or hot relationships; 36% in cool or lukewarm ones. We get a subtler picture if we analyze the managers' connections by partner organizations.

The relationship with the local non-productive units appears to be very good (at least according to the respondents). Conflicts are more frequent with organizations that are important for production (functional dependence). The less extensive contacts show the extremes: they are very good with the Agrotek. Managers also rate those extensive partnerships in which they are the clients as being very good (Agroker, production system).

2.4 The operation of transactions: Division of labour in the exchange relations

The most important factor in determining the initiation and operation of a transaction is the division of labour between the participants. We have assumed that the wider the scale of rights implied by the managerial position, the more extensive the operation of the transactions will be. Again, the specialization of managerial posts will presumably bring about a certain degree of specialization in the transactions as well. It is also important to see whether a manager normally in a patronizing position is a patron in every transaction or not. Is there is a special layer among those involved in transactions who deal with negotiation and mediation, whose assistance may counteract the establishment of patron-client relations that strengthen personal dependence?

The possibilities of managerial transactions are well illustrated by the range of organizations that are turned to in transactions. We have examined whether geographical distance affects the choice of a partner. This defines the spatial distribution of relations.

Table 3. Intensity of Managerial Relations by Partner Organizations.

	Cold-cool	Luke-warm	Warm	Hot	Total
Village council	4	17	35	44	100
Village party organ	2	6	29	63	100
Local school	2	10	30	58	100
Neighbouring cooperative	1	16	44	39	100
Neighbouring state farm	5	23	36	36	100
Neighbouring industrial firm	9	28	35	27	100
Police	3	12	35	27	100
Military	2	8	29	61	100
Agroker	1	16	42	41	100
Agrotek	6	34	36	24	100
Production system	2	13	38	47	100

2.4.1 The spatial organization of transactions: The partner organizations most commonly involved in MRT were already mentioned a propos the frequency and intensity of managerial relations. They were the local communal and administrative organs, as well as the organizations functionally linked to the economic units, first those of trade. It comes from the very nature of trouble-shooting transactions that the partner is chosen from among the units needed for the elimination of the trouble. The key question is whether geographical distance, and the sector (state or cooperative) and branch to which the unit belongs, has a determining role in the choice of the partner. Do these factors decide the structure of trouble-shooting transactions, and whether the structure has any correlation with the frequency of transactions?

The distribution of transactions by partner (Table 4) clearly shows that the "shortest way" is a main guideline in choosing the partner. Nearby units are preferred to distant ones. In the agricultural enterprises that were studied, the transactions take place among themselves, with industrial and other organizations remaining in the background. The role of neighbouring cooperatives is most salient in actual problem-solving, for the simple reason that there are considerably more cooperatives than state farms. The chances are better for a close-by cooperative than a state farm. However, if we also examine whether the managers turn for help to a sectoral neighbour of the same position (belonging to the same supreme authority administratively), we find such a tendency as well. The reason may be that the leaders of economic units choose from among potential partners those who are in similar plight, struggling with similar difficulties and belonging to the same gang. A cooperative manager has more faith in another cooperative manager; the head of a state farm has more faith in another state farm leader.

Intensive relations (daily loan transactions) normally develop between nearby units; 96% of transactions with neighbouring cooperative, 76% with adjacent state farm. Weekly and monthly transactions widen the circle of participants; 99% of all transactions being loans from the neighbouring cooperative both weekly and monthly, the corresponding figures for state farms being 26%). Although loans from cooperatives have a very high rate in the transactions (96% daily and 99% less frequently), this percentage is slightly lower in other types of transactions (84% daily and 98% less often). In trouble-shooting transactions other than loans, more distant industrial and other units are involved to a greater degree than in loan transactions, which suggests relatively rare and special transactions (e.g. the acquisition of a spare part which is scarce as without it a new capital project cannot start operation). The rate of daily transactions with distant cooperatives other than loans is 23% daily, and 37% weekly; with industrial units non-loan transactions are 5-8% as compared to 3-5% of loans.

Thus geographical vicinity is decisive in bringing about trouble-shooting transactions, a contributory factor being the identical economic sector and branch. Managers tend to choose nearby neighbours belonging to the same sector; daily transactions take place in a narrow circle, the circle of partners expanding with the decreasing intensity of transactions.

2.4.2 Is there a broker in transactions? "Naturally, if you know somebody you will go right to him to ask who you should go to see or someone should receive you. Then it's plain sailing. We usually go to someone I've known a longer time. It's useful because if it isn't his business, he takes me round to the right person, I introduce myself, tell him where I've come from and what the problem is. Then I go back and thank him, tell him we've discussed it, we'll see if it goes or not." (Å. Czako, 1985)

Table 4. Frequency of Trouble-Shooting Transactions by Direction of Transactions and Nature of Partner Organization.

	N	% Nearby				% Distant					Total
		Coop- era- tive	State farm	Indus- trial firm	Other tem	Sys-	Coop- era- tive	State farm	Indus- trial firm	Other	
Respondent:											
lends to	1284	36	24	8	8	5	11	5	1	2	100
borrow from	1295	40	36	7	4	6	10	4	1	2	100
Gives											
in other way	1041	40	23	7	6	3	12	5	2	2	100
Gets											
in other way	1033	39	24	7	4	8	10	4	3	1	100

We had assumed that the large extent and intensity of use of transactions might have produced a network specialized in negotiating, connections that might work as efficient mediators ("match-makers") on a large scale bringing together partners in need of each other. This would also imply that the relationship between partners would not be burdened with personal dependence.

The modal values have shown that brokerage is not a dominant form of establishing contacts in transactions. No strong correlation has been found between the intensity of transactions and the employment of a broker, but it is evident that where there is no mediation, the relationships are warmer, that is, the warmth of personal contacts guarantees good partnership and success without a "large-scale" broker. It can be concluded then that the widely spread and highly intensive transactions are dominated by personal and direct relations which enhances the chance of establishing and stabilizing patron-client relations

Table 5. Frequency of Negotiated Transactions.

	Rate of negotiated transactions	Gets	Gives help
	0	10	6
	1 - 10	21	16
	11 - 30	29	36
	31 - 50	23	29
	51 - 90	15	12
	over 91	2	1
		100	100

2.4.3 The goods exchanged: We only examine here the articles exchanged in the course of trouble-shooting transactions. It is important to stress again that the product or resource lent, hired out, surrendered for nothing, leased out etc. has been acquired or produced by the unit for itself and originally they did not mean to part with it. They were only compelled to do so by the "trouble," the shortage of material, spare part or resources.

Typical subjects of trouble-shooting transactions are spare parts and machines, and also money in loan transactions. The exchange goods listed in the table find new users via different sorts of transactions; machines usually feature in rare transactions. Labour and fertilizers are also intensely lent by agricultural units (see Table 6).

The manager's official position (rank) predetermines his position in the transactions. There is, of course, some differentiation: top-level executives spoke more often of personal contacts with local administration than their subordinates. However, the values do not show much scatter (top state farm executives are linked to the local party committee just as much as cooperative middle managers are). The technical chiefs of cooperatives have a somewhat closer contact with trading organizations than the rest of the managerial stratum.

Table 6. Distribution of the Subjects of Trouble-Shooting Transactions by the Direction of Transactions.

	N	Spare parts	Seedgrain fertilizer etc. building material	Labour	Machine	Money	Total
The questionee							
Lends to	1295	34	24	9	32	1	100
Borrows from	1093	38	20	7	34	1	100
Gives otherwise	896	40	26	7	28	0	100
Gets otherwise	879	42	23	7	28	0	100

Table 7. The Spread of the Network of Leadership Relations by Partner and Position. *

	% Top-Level		% Middle-Level			Total
	State farm	Coop-erative	State farm	Coop. technical	Coop. general	
Village council	96	99	92	98	97	97
Village party organ	88	89	85	81	88	87
Local school	99	99	97	96	94	97
Neighbouring cooperative	100	99	100	100	100	100
Neighbouring state farm	91	87	95	85	80	87
Neighbouring industrial firm	86	81	91	85	77	84
Police	95	95	83	80	91	90
Military	88	61	77	57	51	64
Agroker	100	88	88	100	99	99
Agrotek	74	60	79	76	54	67
Production system	96	92	91	91	87	92

* If everyone has, the value is 100%.

Regarding the frequency of transactions in general, some difference can be observed: middle-level (technical) managers are more active, especially in weekly transactions. When it comes to daily transactions, all layers of managers are equally active in asking for help, while top executives are more active in giving help.

The spatial structure of trouble-shooting transactions vary by position: the transactions of top managers are limited to the nearby neighbourhood. Within the total of transactions, 46% as against the average 40% are loans given by top state farm leaders to neighbouring state farms. Among top cooperative managers, the rate of non-loan transactions is 50% (up from the average 45%). Middle-level managers choose their partners from a wider circle of state farms, give and get loans from distant units at a higher than average rate, 49% and 35% respectively. Technical managers of cooperatives deviate from the mean by virtue of their all-round connections.

The range of goods exchanged in transactions also shows some difference by managerial position. For example, building materials are more likely to be given or asked for by top managers, but they do not have exclusive rights over them (Table 8). Everyone can exchange anything but money, which belongs to the jurisdiction of the upper circle. The most sought-after resources in exchanges are spare parts and machines.

In view of the above-mentioned aspects of managerial transactions it can be concluded that the division of labour is undifferentiated among managers. In space it is strongly attached to nearby neighbours who, with few exceptions, are within the same sector and branch as well. Distant economic units can only be occasional and special partners in transactions. Spatial limitations chiefly apply to trouble-shooting transactions: it is only reasonable to get the necessary product from the vicinity, cheaply and quickly to eliminate the problem.

Brokers are rarely utilized by managers. Though we cannot prove conclusively whether or not there exists a smaller network of mediation, the relationship with partner organizations (C/G ratio), which indicated several con-

Table 8. Subject of Trouble-Shooting Transactions by Position.

Subject	State farm top mgr.		Cooperative top mgr.		State farm middle mgr. mgr.		Cooperative middle mgr. (tech.)		Cooperative middle mgr. (gen.)	
	gives	gets	gives	gets	give	gets	gives	gets	gives	gets
Machine	85	80	90	86	83	82	81	74	90	80
Spare part	92	95	86	89	91	93	97	93	91	91
Building material	21	18	18	9	5	9	6	4	4	9
Seed-grain	12	10	19	17	10	10	13	10	17	7
Fertilizer	37	22	42	30	20	19	17	16	29	18
Labour	21	17	28	21	27	18	14	6	22	10
Fodder	5	3	10	8	4	0	4	5	1	3
Money	3	0	10	7	0	0	0	0	1	1

crete cases of dependence, allows the assumption that today there is no professional network of brokering in Hungary. Managers tend to, or are forced to, favour personal arrangements and direct contacts. The goods exchanged in trouble-shooting transactions are almost always products, without any differentiation as to which managerial layer disposes of what. Money was very rarely exchanged in loan transactions.

All this confirms that, in general, the function of transactions is to fill the lesser or greater gaps in the system of preconditions for operating the economy. The extent and intensity of the use of transactions offer evidence that such gaps still abound.

3. On the causes of the wide-spread use of transactions among managers

As was pointed out in section 1, the main function of MRT is to help get rid of a crisis in production or economic management, to help prevent or get over emergency situations and eliminate shortages so typical of this economy.

As we see it, the reasons behind transactions are related to the deficiencies in the system of economic institutions, especially in those through which the enterprises acquire the resources they need. Thus the structural and technical shortcomings of distribution, the organization of production and trade, the management of firms and the system of regulation -- all the defects that most conspicuously appear in today's Hungarian economy in the form of shortages -- have a basic role in producing these transactions. In concrete situations troubles, disorders, scarcities may turn up unexpectedly; but shortage, as such, is a stable feature of contemporary Hungarian economy, a symptom of its "normal" state.

Today enterprises acquire the necessary resources through two institutional systems, state redistribution and the market, the operation of which is essentially determined by shortages.⁵ Every actor in the economy is forced by permanent disorders to react to this situation by erecting and maintaining defensive institutions. This is how the institution of exchange, a characteristic feature of traditional economies, is revived in the disguise of trouble-shooting transactions.

A transaction is thus neither the sign of corruption in the system of state distribution, nor the distortion of the market; but should be seen as an economic institution in its own right, with close kinship to barter (Dalton, 1982) and the *kalaka* (Sik forthcoming). Transactions enable the managers to solve emergent problems relatively quickly and purposefully, by-passing the official system of redistribution and trying to create the conditions of production in the shortest and most expedient way possible, through the network of their personal connections.

MRT is a stable but flexible self-defensive system promoting the work of the managers because it is regulated by the strict traditional norms of solidarity and reciprocity. The survival (or revival) of this traditional economic institution in today's economy is a natural phenomenon since, on the one hand, the dominant-modern forms of distribution need supplementation in certain special cases, and on the other, during major economic or social disturbances (crises, natural disasters etc.) the traditional institutions are more reliable than the vulnerable dominant-modern ones.

In sum: a managerial transaction is a non-market, non-redistributive distribution for the purpose of eliminating permanent trouble, used by the managers mostly in the form of goods exchange through their personal contacts, to protect themselves against problems cropping up daily in the economy.

Notes

1. Theoretically, one can arrive at the analysis of economic and political power structures by elaborating the phenomenon of "soliciting." The road leading to this, however, is the thorny and winding path of patron-client theories of social organization emphasizing conflicts and inner inequalities (Kaufman, 1974, Eisenstadt-Roninger, 1980).
2. This concept has links to the theory of the "managerial class", e.g. Bourdieu's "joint interest groups" (1973/1978). A basic instrument of the relations between enterprises. Zeitlin (1975) studied Chile's 37 largest enterprises in 1964-66. He proved the existence of so-called "Kinecon" groups: small groups of families, relatives, friends interlace the directorial boards of enterprises. They are the minority everywhere, yet their power is decisive as they acquire information fast and their interests are identical.

Crocombe (1978) gives an extreme example of the interpenetration of the economic and political spheres. Since 1965 "Papa Premis" has been the president in the Cook Islands, his wife "Mama Pepe" also being some leader. The head of the secretariat is their daughter. Their son, the minister of the police, is a Parliamentary representative for an island he has never lived on. Yet he got this post not by force but by the traditions of nepotism and the hope of the islanders that in this way they might also partake of power. In 1976 21 out of the 27 ministers were relatives of the president. What sustains nepotism in the Cook Islands? Its primary source is tradition. When the tribal aristocracy or clans ruled nepotism was the "official" practice of communication and distribution. Its anachronistic survival was facilitated by the deliberate policy of the colonizers, by the aggressive and talented presidential policy, by the emigration of the young (that is, their indifference to changes), by economic prosperity producing good incomes and an economic boom which can shut up people's mouths.

3. In centralized economies the committees of central authorities (and not the associations like hunting societies, clubs etc.) can be likened to the interlocking directorships.

Many have used the term informal economy and relations to describe the unofficial transactions. In Hungary the most detailed elaborations are to the credit of Földvári (1976) and Juhász (1982). Földvári writes of informalism: "The concept of informalism does not merely denote the existence of informal relations and organizations but also their hypertrophy, their effect running counter to the goals and aspirations of formal organizations. The symptoms of informalism are the concomitant of the rigidity, inefficiency, impracticability of the formal system of regulation. However, the causes of informalism only partly root in insufficient formal regulation. A most intricate texture of traditions, social conditions and the ruling social character constitutes the ground on which informalism proliferates." Juhász describes it as an independent (third) economy, endowing the non-official transactions of the official economy with more or less the same functions as above.

4. Simplifications made to facilitate empirical research always hinder theoretical generalization. We have applied yet another limitation to make our empirical research easier: we only examined the horizontal MRTs of agricultural productive enterprises and ignored the similar transactions of the industrial and central organizations and, of the whole non-productive sphere. It is highly likely that MRTs described in this paper, between incumbents of positions in agricultural firms not super- or subordinated to one another, differ from transactions in other spheres, and also from "soliciting."
5. State redistribution no longer means that an enterprise acquires the necessary resources free of charge, but that the centre has the right of disposal over the goods to be distributed which reach the enterprises via trading organizations at regulated prices. (The centre can set up an order of preferences among the enterprises.) A characteristic feature of central distribution is permanent shortage -- the subject of which, however, constantly changes. The causes of shortage situations include the import restrictions, the unevenness of domestic production, the technical hardships of distribution (lack of efficient organization, telex, telephone service, regional inequalities), as well as the bureaucracy, rigidity of the oligopolistic quasi-trading firms.

The market, on the other hand, is also incapable of providing enterprises with the necessary tools of production, as it is incalculable due to the monopoly position of producing and trading firms and the lack

of contractual discipline. Also, shortages are a constant factor disturbing the market. Besides the inefficiency of the institutes of distribution, the situation is further aggravated because production itself is badly organized and planned. Thus overstocking and accumulations are simultaneously present in the economy with shortage of materials, liquidity with overspending, squandering with wastage

References

- Bourdieu, Pierre, L. Boltanski and M. de Saint-Martini. 1973. Les stratégies de reconversion. *Informations sur les sciences sociales* 12: 61-115.
- Czakó, Ágnes. 1982. *Érdekérvényesítő eszközök és kapcsolatok a vállalati gazdálkodásban.* (Tools and relations to promote interests in enterprises.) Budapest: AKI.
- Czakó, Ágnes. 1985. A szakszervezetek közötti cserekapcsolatok. (Transactions between trade unions.) *Szociológia, No. 1-2:159-173.*
- Czakó, Ágnes and Endre Sik. 1987. Managers' Reciprocal Transactions in Education, Mobility and Network of Leaders in a Planned Economy. in Lengyel Gy (ed.), *Sociological Working Papers No. 3*, Budapest: Department of Sociology, Karl Marx University of Economics.
- Crocombe, R. 1978. Nepotism in the Cook Islands. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 14:166-72.
- Dalton, G. 1982. Barter. *Journal of Economic Issues* (March).
- Eisenstadt, S.N. and L. Roninger. 1980. Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22:44-77.
- Földvári, T. 1976. *Az ipari szövetkezetek és az állami iparvállalatok külső kapcsolatainak néhány kérdése.* (Some questions of the external relations of industrial cooperatives and firms.) Budapest: Research Institute for Cooperatives.
- Galbraith, John. 1973. *Economics and the Public Purpose.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Juhász, P. 1982. Agrárpiac, kisÜzem, nagyÜzem. (Agrarian market, small-scale firm, large-scale firm.) *Medvetánc* 1:117-140.
- Kaufman, R.R. 1974. The Patron-Client Concept and Macropolitics: Prospects and Problems. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16:284-308.
- Kornai, J. 1980. *The Economics of Shortage.* Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Laky, T. 1982. *Érdekviszonyok a vállalati döntésekben.* (Interest relations in firm decisions.) Budapest: KJK.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1960. *The Power Elite.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sik, Endre. 1985. 'Small is Useful' or the Reciprocal Exchange of Labour. in P. Galasi and Gy. Sziráczy (eds.), *Labour Market and Second Economy in Hungary.* Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
- Sik, Endre. forthcoming. Reciprocal Exchange of Labour in Hungary. in Ray Pahl (ed.), *On Work.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

ABSTRACTS

Books

Arabie, Phipps, Carroll, J.D., & DeSarbo, Wayne S. (1987). *Three-Way Scaling and Clustering*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (92 pp.).

Published in the series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, this monograph directly follows the earlier volume on multidimensional scaling (#11, Kruskal & Wish 1978). Assuming knowledge of two-way proximity analysis and some basic matrix algebra, it targets advanced undergraduate and graduate courses.

Beneria, Lourdes, & Roldan, Martha. (1987). *The Crossroads of Class and Gender*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (204 pp., \$15.95).

Subtitled "Industrial Homework, Subcontracting, and Household Dynamics in Mexico City," the authors provide empirical data on industrial piecework performed by women and glimpses of these women's lives. Tracing the stages of production from home to jobber, workshop, and manufacturer (often a multinational corporation), they examine ways in which the work and lives of the women are connected through subcontracting to the national and often international system of production.

Collani, Gernot von. (1987). *Zur Stabilität und Veränderung in sozialen Netzwerken*. (The stability and change in social networks: methods, models, applications.) Toronto: Huber.

Duck, Steve. (1988). *Handbook of Personal Relationships*. NY: John Wiley & Sons. (702 pp., \$153.50).

The book is organized across disciplines to reflect the nature of the field. The Handbook is divided into sections that reflect and describe the inputs of the different disciplines: Communication; Community and Clinical Psychology; Developmental and Life-cycle Psychology; Social Psychology and Sociology. There is also a section on Conceptualizations and Methods, including a chapter from the tradition of research into personality. The Handbook reflects the view that the field of research in personal relationships is not created nor sustained by the efforts of only one section of the community of scholars alone, but instead feeds and grows from the interaction of many different schools of thought, all of which need to be informed about the work of the others.

Espinoza, Vicente. (1988). *Para una Historia de Los Pobres de la Ciudad*. Santiago: Chile Sur. (359 pp.).

En 1906 se aprobo la ley de Habitaciones Obreras como respuesta a la creciente agitacion popular de principios de siglo. En 1968 se aprobo la ley de Juntas de Vecinos y otras Organizaciones Comunitarias, que busco abrir el espacio institucional a un sector calificado de marginal. En el periodo que media ambas leyes, los pobres urbanos desplegaron su accion en variados conflictos y reclamaron su integracion en el espacio urbano. Los ricos y los poderosos gustan dejar testimonio y registro de sus hazanas y su participacion en ellas: los pobres, comparativamente, se quedan sin voz en la historia. Este libro se propone un objetivo simple: reconstruir la historia de los pobres de Santiago durante el siglo XX. Es una historia hecha a partir de fragmentos, de tentativas del pobre urbano por crear su espacio y concertirse en movimiento social. Los pobladores tirnen una historia con que contar, pues no solo estan, sino que vienen construyendo ciudad desde hace tiempo ya.

Fennell, Mary L., & Warneche, Richard B. (1988). *The Diffusion of Medical Innovations*. NY: Plenum. (300 pp., \$34.50).

In the late seventies, the National Cancer Institute adopted the "network" strategy as a method for disseminating state-of-the-art cancer treatment information. The authors synthesize the results of their study of this program in this book, providing readers with a view of a major organizational effort to distribute scientific information from research centers to community practitioners and hospitals. Fennell and Warneche present an approach to assessing interorganizational innovation diffusion by linking contemporary organizational theory with the more person-centered diffusion theory.

Ferman, Louis A., Henry, Stuart, & Hoyman, Michele. (1987). *The Informal Economy*. Newbury Park CA: Sage. (220 pp., \$7.95).

For a number of years it has been clear that considerable economic activity occurs on a daily basis that is not measured or monitored by any agency in society. This special issue of *The Annals* examines the theories, research strategies, and substantive issues that have arisen in response to informal economics.

Ferrand, Alexis (Ed.). (1988). *Les Reseaux Sociaux*. France: La Celle St. Cloud. (200 pp.).

L'analyse de reseaux est d'abord identifiable comme methode d'observation et modele ("paradigme") d'analyse: elle cherche a construire une representation des processus sociaux en ce qu'ils seraient constitues par des flux d'information, de services, d'affects, d'influence, etc... au sein d'un ensemble de partenaires. En ce sens c'est une observation systematique d'un ou plusieurs types de RELATIONS soit DANS une entite sociale predefinee; soit, ce qui est plus original, des relations qui se deployent AU DELA DES FRONTIERES des groupes d'appartenance ou des institutions. Dans cette conjoncture, il s'agit d'examiner les apports et limites de l'analyse en terme de reseaux sociaux dans des travaux francais, en regardant, en contrepoint, ou en sont nos collegues d'outre atlantique. A chacun des trois niveaux, de la production des donnees, des langages qui en formalisent les resultats, et des concepts qui les interpretent, la question serait d'evaluer ce que permet de "de-couvrir" cette approche, relativement a ce que nous faisons d'habitude. Que "donne a voir" ce type d'observation, que nous ne connaissions pas deja? Des questions problematiques nouvelles doivent-elles etre formulees? Les interpretations anterieures sont elles incapables d'y repondre? La diversite des textes presentes ici balise en partie la diversite de l'espace intellectuel "reseau social" dans la sociologie francaise; espace multidimensionnel: formalisme abstrait/ethnographie sensible, constellation de relations d'un individu/reseau large; utilite des relations pour un acteur/fonctions collectives du reseau ou de certains "roles" particuliers; approche genetique/description structurale du reseau, etc... representent quelques axes qui permettent de particulariser les travaux.

Flap, Hendrik Derk. (1988). *Conflict, Loyalty, and Violence*. NY: Verlag Peter Lang. (158 pp.).

This study is the fourth volume in the series "Beitrag Gesellschaftsforschung." Flap investigates a specific kind of network effect, namely, the importance of social networks for the regulation of conflicts. The author's focus is on the "crisscross effect," which is well-known from the anthropological branch of network studies. The crisscross argument states that conflicting loyalties in networks with crosscutting social cleavages induce a peaceful regulation and solution of conflicts and the avoidance of violence. Numerous anthropological studies seemingly yield corroborating evidence for the crisscross argument. Flap provides a systematic review of empirical research into the crisscross argument. He provides an explanatory model that is embedded in the structural-individualistic research program and uses rational choice assumptions. It is shown that the pacifying effect of conflicting loyalties does not only depend on the internal network structure of a society. The effect depends on further internal as well as external conditions which are specified in the model.

Garnsey, Peter, & Saller, Richard. (1987). *The Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (231 pp.).

During the first, stable period of the Principate when the empire reached its maximum extent, Roman society and culture were radically transformed. But how was the vast territory of the empire controlled? Did the demands of central government stimulate economic growth, or endanger survival? What forces of cohesion operated to balance the social and economic inequalities and high mortality rates? In an overall account of the society, economy and culture of the Roman empire, Garnsey presents a study of the life and outlook of the ordinary inhabitants of the Roman world.

Gottlieb, Benjamin H. (Ed.). (1988). *Marshaling Social Support*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (336 pp., \$16.95).

Marshaling Social Support offers guidelines and methods of designing and evaluating interventions involving the mobilization of social support. This comprehensive volume addresses many of the issues raised by the intervention guidelines generated at the National Institute for Mental Health. The contributors discuss the challenge of creating conditions conducive to the expression of support which include the development of support groups, helping partnerships, and other types of support strategies. They also discuss the interpersonal and psychological processes underlying social support's mechanisms of action, the types of support germane to different stages of health habit change, the tensions surrounding the expression of support between people who are in close relationship, the different types of support needed at different stages, and the necessity of proper training for support partners.

Grieco, Margaret. (1988). *Keeping it in the Family*. London: Tavistock. (204 pp., \$63.00).

Examines family and social networks as a source for those seeking employment. Contrary to current orthodox views, Grieco argues that social networks continue to be of the greatest importance in the search for a job in

modern industrial society. Describing the mechanisms through which employees act as sources of information and sponsors for family members, she also explores the reasons why employers are prepared to condone and even encourage these patterns of influence, revealing benefits in terms of savings on training and recruitment and improved control over the workforce.

Hennig, Cecilia, Lieberg, Mats, & Linden, Karin Palm. (1987). *Boende, omsorg och sociala natverk. Kommunal omsorg i narmiljon.* (Housing, care and social networks: Municipal care in the local environment.) Swedish trans. Stockholm: Sw Krona. (120 pp.).

A new method of integrating municipal care of children and the elderly with the social life of the housing area is being tested at Lambohov in Linkoping. Recreation centres and day-care centres for children are closely concentrated in the district and are used by all residents for leisure activities. Sheltered homes and flats for elderly persons are also located close to other homes. The physical environment has been planned and designed with the express aim of promoting everyday contact between neighbours. The "Linkoping model" also includes an experimental scheme of special neighbourly responsibility as a means of supporting families in difficulty. The book describes this attempt to create social networks in the local environment. It includes viewpoints from municipal caring service staff and residents.

van der Heijden, Peter G.M. (1987). *Correspondence Analysis of Longitudinal Categorical Data.* Leiden, Netherlands: DWSO Press. (271 pp.).

This text simultaneously covers a specific statistical technique (Correspondence Analysis) and a specific category of application: longitudinal data. Although the book does not contain clustering algorithms, it may be of interest for those readers concerned with exploratory approaches for longitudinal data.

Lachmann, Richard. (1987). *From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. (165 pp., \$17.75).

Over the century from 1536 to 1640, a profound historical transformation occurred in England. Feudalism as a system of labor organization and production gave way to market capitalism. In England, the transition to capitalism was not a slow process. At no time from 1086 to 1567 were more than twelve percent of all English peasants paid wages for labor, yet by 1620, fully forty percent of all peasants were wage laborers (p.17). The speed of the transition is remarkable and that it occurred first in England a puzzle. It is this puzzle that Richard Lachmann focuses on in *From Manor to Market*.

Leistriz, F. Larry, & Ekstrom, Brenda L. (1987). *Interdependencies of Agriculture and Rural Communities.* NY: Garland. (224 pp., \$35.00).

This work focuses on socioeconomic change in rural communities and how shifts in agricultural structure and technology stimulated such change. The books, journal articles, research reports, dissertations, and selected unpublished papers cited review economic, demographic, public service, fiscal, and social changes in rural communities over the past several decades, examine the influence of agricultural structure and technology on communities, investigate the increasing propensity of farm households to engage in off-farm employment, and describe the effects of the current economic stress, and rural communities.

Lowe, Graham. (1987). *Women in the Administrative Revolution.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (234 pp., \$16.95).

In contemporary Western societies the great majority of office workers are women. But less than a century ago, clerical work was an exclusively male domain. How has this dramatic shift from male to female employment taken place? How are we to understand the origins and development of low-grade, low-paid, dead-end jobs for women in the office? Focusing particularly on the inter-war period in Canada, Lowe provides an account of the feminization of clerical work. Lowe situates this process within the context of the growth of large-scale organizations in industry and in the public sphere. He shows that the mechanization and rationalization of offices went hand-in-hand with a shift from male to female clerical workers. But the rate at which female employees entered the office, and the specific character of the work they performed, varied from one industry to another and were the outcome of particular strategies, practices and conditions.

Mangen, David J., Bengtson, Vern L., & Landry, Pierre H., Jr. (1988). *Measurement of Intergenerational Relations.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (253 pp.).

In 1980, we began a secondary analysis of the original data. Our focus was on the family relations between the oldest grandparent and middle (parents) generations. This study examined some of the dimensions of solidarity or

cohesion in families, with a special emphasis on the overall measurement properties of the instruments used in the original instrument. Later, we extended this analysis to include consideration of the youngest (grandchild) generation. This book reports the detailed results of our analysis of the measurement properties of the instruments used to measure solidarity in the original Southern California Three Generations Data. This book is laid out in three major sections. Part I, focuses on the conceptual and methodological underpinnings of the research that we report. Part II focuses on the measurement of one of the six dimensions of solidarity. The conceptual background and operationalization of each dimension are presented, and the measurement properties of the data gathered in the original study are analyzed. Part III attempts to consolidate some of the findings of our work. An empirical consolidation is attempted by developing a typology of families based upon four of the six dimensions of solidarity. This typology clearly illustrates that simple linear models do not adequately explain the complex relationships among the dimensions of solidarity in these data. The final section pulls together the wide-ranging findings of the substantive chapters and presents recommendations for future work in the measurement of solidarity as an aspect of intergenerational relationships.

Markovitz, Irving Leonard. (1987). *Studies in Power and Class in Africa*. NY: Oxford University Press. (415 pp., \$14.95).

The daily lives of African people during and after the colonial period.

Marvin, Carolyn. (1988). *When Old Technologies Were New*. NY: Oxford University Press. (269 pp., \$34.50).

In the history of electric communication, the last quarter of the 19th century holds a special place, for this period saw the invention of the telephone, phonograph, electric light, wireless, and cinema. Marvin's book examines the public reaction to electric invention and reveals how these "new technologies" affected a vast network of social habits and customs. The introduction of electric light and the telephone caused both uneasiness and enthusiasms. The telephone disrupted established social relations, allowing associations between people that had previously been forbidden, and unsettled customary ways of dividing the private person and family from the more public setting of the community. Electric light, on the other hand, inspired a variety of experimental applications that have since been abandoned -- such as image projection on clouds at night. Marvin also explains how new electrical technologies became a focus for debates about competing ways of understanding the world -- between experts who claimed a privileged status on the basis of superior technological literacy, and lay persons whose comprehension of electric technology was limited to direct bodily experience.

Milardo, Robert M. (Ed.). (1988). *Families and Social Networks*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

The intention in preparing this book was to encourage the systematic and integrated study of personal relationships, some intimate and enduring, others rather ordinary and brief, in addition to examining the structures that these relationships created. Throughout, several theoretical and methodological perspectives are presented. In each contribution, the authors address issues concerning families and social networks, although their views differ as a function of their own theoretical perspectives.

Pappi, Franz Urban. (1987). *Techniken der empirischen Sozialforschung: Methoden der Netzwerkanalyse*. Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag.

Inhaltsverzeichnis: 1. EINLEITUNG 1.1 Die Netzwerkanalyse aus soziologischer Perspektive (Franz Urban Pappi) 2. TEILGRUPPENBILDUNG IN NETZWERKEN 2.1 Cliquenanalyse. Die Bestimmung von intern verbundenen Teilgruppen in Netzwerken (Peter Kappelhoff) 2.2 Positionen in sozialen Raumen. Die multivariate Analyse multipler Netzwerke (Rolf Ziegler) 2.3 Blockmodellanalyse: Positionen, Rollen und Rollenstrukturen (Peter Kappelhoff) 3. MIKROSTURKTUREN VON GESAMTNETZWERKEN 3.1 Triaden- und Tripletzensus als Mittel der Strukturbeschreibung (Hans J. Hummell und Wolfgang Sodeur) 3.2 Die Triade als System dichotomer Variablen (Peter Kappelhoff) 3.3 Strukturbeschreibung von Positionen in sozialen Beziehungsnetzen (Hans J. Hummell und Wolfgang Sodeur) 4. ANWENDUNGSGEBIET SOZIALPSYCHOLOGIE 4.1 Netzwerkanalyse in Kleingruppen: Datenarten, Strukturregeln und Strukturmodelle (Hubert Feger) 5. DATENANALYSE 5.1 SONIS: Ein Datenbanksystem zur Netzwerkanalyse (Franz Urban Pappi und Klaus Stelck)

Sauer, William J., & Coward, Raymond T. (1987). *Social Support Networks and the Care of the Elderly: Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York: Springer Publishing Co. (275 pp.).

Contents: State of the Art; Family Relations; Community Relations; Social Networks under Special Circumstances; The Applications of [network] Theory and Research [to the field of aging].

Scheurell, Robert P. (1987). *Introduction to Human Service Networks: History, Organization and Professions.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America. (956pp., \$67.50).

To understand social work as a profession, one needs to see where it interacts with other professions in the delivery of social services within the same social network. The text is organized into five separate but related chapters: Overview of service economy, social organization and human services; Non-human service networks; General human service networks; Specific human service networks (social welfare); and Special populations and major themes and issues. Of interest to students and scholars of sociology and public policy.

Scott, James C. (1987). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (389pp., \$14.95).

Peasants rebellions are comparatively rare and, when they do occur, usually futile. This book focuses instead on the everyday forms of peasant resistance -- the constant and circumspect struggle waged by peasants against their oppressors -- that may represent the most significant means of class struggle in the long run. On the basis of data gained from two years of fieldwork in rural Malaysia, Scott presents a picture of such typical forms of peasant resistance as foot-dragging, desertion, pilfering, sabotage, and arson. He shows that these techniques of evasion and resistance avoid direct confrontations with authority, rely on implicit understandings and informal networks, require little coordination or planning, and represent a guerrilla warfare of attrition to which the social organization of the peasantry is best suited. Rich and poor are engaged in an unremitting if silent struggle to define changes in tenure, mechanization, and employment, to advance their own interests, and to use values that they all share to control the distribution of status, land, work, and grain.

Steinmetz, Suzanne K. (Ed.). (1988). *Family and Support Systems across the Life Span.* New York: Plenum. (304 pp., \$35).

The contributors to this volume present a variety of papers, all of which share a common thread -- the intricate intertwining of the family and support systems throughout the life cycle. The volume opens with two articles by Marvin B. Sussman -- to whom the book is dedicated -- that provide a foundation and linkage with the chapters that follow. Other contributions discuss theoretical, definitional and research approaches to studying the family, cultural influences and cross-cultural differences, reciprocal interactions between parent and child over the life span, and the interface between the health care professional and the family. The contributions suggest approaches for gathering data, ways to interpret the findings, and strategies for maximizing the efficacy of the family's utilization of support systems.

Stone, Leroy O. (1988). *Family and Friendship Ties among Canada's Seniors.* Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Government Publishing Centre. (76pp., Can\$ 20).

How much can Canadians who need help, because of physical or mental difficulties, rely upon getting help from others? In other words, to what degree is Canada a caring society? This book tries to cast light upon some of the reasons why this question will be asked with increasing frequency and urgency in the years ahead. This book identifies a network comprised of relatives and close friends as a potential support group; a kind of kinship or quasi-kinship group. Close friendship now needs explicit recognition in data and analyses because of the increasing number of de facto families that are based upon common law, and because close friendship often provides psychic or emotional support that may be lacking, in many instances, from family members. The potential support group contains the human resources from which the real support group of a person is drawn. These two kinds of groups should not be considered as equivalent. Each is important in its own right. As a generation ages and loses members through death, the capacity to keep its real support groups strong is directly linked to the nature of the potential support groups.

Tardy, Charles H. (1988). *A Handbook for the Study of Human Communication: Methods and Instruments for Observing, Measuring, and Assessing Communication Processes.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation. (432pp., \$32.50).

This book presents 15 chapters focusing on communication concepts, components, and processes. It offers useful guidance for the conduct of research and provides actual copies of research tools. The volume describes the available options, and the rationale for selecting among them, for observing, measuring, or assessing processes of communication. The approach contrasts radically to that in many preceding volumes which explain the applicability of general types of quantitative research. This book focuses on the methodological problems and solutions unique to the study of interpersonal communication and provides the reader with an outline of the choices and/or alternative and strategies that face the researcher. The authors assess the state-of-the-art on methods utilized in a particular area. Within each chapter a construct is described and measures or research strategies for studying the construct

are explained. After reviewing reliability and validity evidence, each chapter concludes by advising the appropriate use of specific procedures. In addition to a discussion of the research instruments, the Handbook provides copies of six instructions for their use and suggestions for the use of many others.

Taylor, Ralph B. (1986). *Urban Neighborhoods: Research and Policy*. New York: Praeger. (376 pp., \$35.00).

This collection helps to flesh out the picture of what happened to America's neighborhoods during the 1980s, through a series of articles on current neighborhood research and policy. Includes consideration of "hedonic" analysis of real estate prices, the importance of commercial centers, informal social control, neighborhood satisfaction, and neighboring patterns, and the politics of neighborhood planning.

Trager, Lillian. (1988). *Between Village and City. Migration and Family Interdependence in the Philippines*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. (cloth \$32.50, paper \$11.95).

This study of third world migration examines the complex structural, cultural, and social networks that exist between Filipino migrants working in cities and their relatives living in rural barrios.

Turner, Jonathan H. (1988). *A Theory of Social Interaction*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. (224pp., \$35).

In contrast to Talcott Parsons and others, the book argues that social interaction, rather than action and behavior, is sociology's most basic unit of analysis. This unit is conceptualized as involving three processes: (1) motivational, or the process of mobilizing and energizing interactive behavior, (2) interactional, or the process of mutual signaling and interpreting with symbols, and (3) structuring, or the process of repeating and organizing social interactions in time and place. For each of these three constituent processes, the relevant theories are analyzed and then synthesized into composite models and general laws. Finally, the author combines these composite models to produce a general theory of micro dynamics in sociology.

Van Vliet, Willem, Choldin, Harvey, Michelson, William, & Popenoe, David (Eds.). (1987). *Housing and Neighborhoods: Theoretical and Empirical Contributions*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press/Praeger Publishers.

A sample of the literature on and developments in recent and current research on housing and neighborhoods including socioeconomic aspects of housing policy approaches in Western Europe; the role of the state in the provision of new housing; new developments in housing tenure; and redevelopment strategies.

Varady, David. (1986). *Neighborhood Upgrading: A Realistic Assessment*. Albany: SUNY Press. (184 pp.).

Neighborhood Upgrading is an evaluation of HUD's Urban Homesteading Program, initiated in 1975. As the subtitle indicates ("realistic" being the current code word for pessimistic in policy circles), his conclusion is that this program had little impact on neighborhood stability, and that even the most decentralized governmental housing programs tend to be ineffective in preserving neighborhoods, particularly in the face of racial change.

Weller, Susan, & Romney, A. Kimball. (1988). *Systematic Data Collection*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (96pp., \$12.50c, \$6.00p).

Data collection in field settings can be done in a structured, systematic and scientific way. The authors show us how. They focus first on the importance of finding out the best questions to ask in order to elicit accurate responses. Then, by providing a variety of formats such as triadic comparisons and rating scales for data collection, Weller and Romney suggest methods not only to improve the data collected, but also the interpretation and analysis of such data.

Journal Articles

Antonucci, Tonu C., & Akiyama, H. (1987). An examination of sex differences in social support among older men and women. *Sex Roles, 17*, 732-???

This paper is designed to empirically investigate sex differences in social support. Several types of sex differences are examined, including quantity and quality of support, the relationship between quantitative and qualitative measures of support, the number and source of support provided and received, and the relative predictive power of quality and quantity of support on well-being. The data are taken from the Support of the Elderly, a national survey of older people (Kahn and Antonucci, 1984). Included in the present study are 214 men and 166 women ranging in age from 50 to 95 who are married and have at least one child. The analyses reveal that women have larger networks and receive support from multiple sources, while men tend to rely on their spouses exclusively. Men report greater satisfaction with marriage than women. Quantitative supports are more related to qualitative supports for women than for men. For both sexes, the quality of support rather than the quantity of support has significantly greater effects on well-being; both the quantity and quality of social support have a greater impact on the well-being of women compared to men.

Blyth, Dale A., & Foster-Clarck, Frederick S. (1987). Gender differences in perceived intimacy with different members of adolescents social networks. *Sex Roles, 17*, 689-719.

Previous research has clearly established important gender differences in how intimacy is viewed within a narrow set of relationships, primarily those with same-sex peers. This article presents a new social pressures model that delineates a set of diverse forces believed to influence gender differences in intimacy across a much wider set of social relationships during early adolescence. Although it was impossible to examine the actual operation of the postulated pressures, an extensive data set on all the important people in the lives of over 2000 seventh-through-tenth-grade white suburban adolescents made it possible to test a set of 22 hypotheses derived from the model. These hypotheses covered relationships with nuclear, extended family, and non-kin members of the social network who were of different ages and genders. Results indicated that, while gender differences in the perceived intimacy of relationships were widespread, they were neither present in all types of relationships nor were those found always in the same direction. Furthermore, the social pressures model developed accurately predicted both the location and direction of the gender differences across most of the 22 different types of relationships. Suggestions for an elaboration of the model are noted, along with additional research issues that need to be addressed.

Bradshaw, York W. (1988). Reassessing economic dependency and uneven development: The Kenyan experience. *American Sociological Review, 53*, 693-708.

Over the past decade, students of development have conducted a substantial number of quantitative cross-national studies. On balance, these studies provide support for some portions of the dependency world system theory, showing a negative relationship between foreign capital penetration and both economic growth and equality. However, case studies indicate that the dependency perspective should not be generalized across countries. Individual countries have unique circumstances that govern the level and type of economic dependency affecting them. This paper uses time series analysis to test the validity of dependency arguments in post independence Kenya. The results suggest that Kenya is experiencing a transition from classical dependency to dependent development. This process is characterized by an increase in foreign investment in manufacturing prompting economic expansion in the modern sectors of the country. Such uneven development tends to enrich elites associated with foreign capital.

Bridges, George S., Crutchfield, Robert D., & Simpson Edith E. (1987). Crime, social structure and criminal punishment: White and nonwhite rates of imprisonment. *Social Problems, 34*, 345-362.

Durkheimian, Marxist, and Weberian theories provide contrasting views of the influences of the social structure of areas and communities on law and the legal process. In light of these theories, we examine how various aspects of community social structure differentially affect criminal punishments administered to whites and nonwhites. Using county-level data from the state of Washington, we regress white and nonwhite rates of imprisonment on measures of crime and arrest rates, county social structure, and court workload. This analysis indicates that nonwhites -- but not whites -- are particularly likely to be sentenced to prison in urbanized counties and in counties with relatively large minority populations. We conclude by presenting material from interviews with justice officials which sheds light on the perceptual and political processes that link structural conditions to patterns of criminal punishment.

Burt, Ronald S. (1988). Some properties of structural equivalence measures derived from sociometric choice data. *Social Networks*, 10, 1-28.

I discuss and illustrate the extent to which different relation measures and pattern similarity measures can be expected to generate different structural equivalence results. Measures of network relations and pattern similarity are reviewed to establish clear comparisons between structural equivalence measures. Using Monte Carlo sociometric choice data drawn from four strategically designed study populations, alternative relation and pattern similarity measures are combined in a factorial design generating six measures of structural equivalence within each study population. I report the magnitudes of differences between structural equivalence measures within populations, compared across populations. Three conclusions are drawn: (1) There is significant reliability across alternative measures. (2) This reliability increases with the clarity of boundaries between statuses in a study population. (3) The noticeable differences between structural equivalence measures that exist under conditions at all weaker than strong equivalence are principally a function of how relations' pattern similarities are measured. Two inferences are drawn for applied network analysis: (1) Structural equivalence should be computed from path distance measures of network relations (however normalized) rather than being computed directly from patterns of binary choice data. (2) Renewed methodological attention should shift from how we measure pattern similarity to how we measure relationships.

Burt, Ronald S. (1988). The stability of American markets. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 356-95.

Much of the evidence of coordination between corporations and their markets comes from cross-sectional studies conducted within portions of the American economy during the past two decades. We know, especially for manufacturing during the late 1960's, that certain structural qualities of markets predict profits and the organization of large firms. But this evidence is open to an uncomfortable empirical question: to what extent did the social-cultural qualities determining resource dependence in American markets change during the 1960's and the 1970's so as to limit the generalizability of cross-sectional evidence? The analysis here shows that markets were dramatically stable in the social structure of production relations known to predict the structure of large firms. Relying principally on the Department of Commerce data, the article traces the American economy through the 1960's and 1970's in terms of 77 broadly defined markets, describing the stability of markets boundaries and patterns of transactions with suppliers and consumers, the enduring profit inequalities generated by the social structure of the markets, and the constant sources of market constraint to be managed by firm designed to operate within each market. The implications are that organizational research with cross-sectional data can be generalized (within specified limits) to other periods of time, organizations can be selected for study from a stable sampling frame of corporate markets, and organizational behavior can be studied over time for its success or failure as an adaptation to known market constraints.

Caldeira, Gregory A. (1988). Legal precedent: Structures of communication between state supreme courts. *Social Networks*, 10, 29-56.

In making and justifying choices, state supreme courts rely on many sources of authority, including the precedents of other courts. To the extent that appellate judges borrow, reject, and review each other's decisions, the several state supreme courts form a network for the communication of political information. In this paper I focus on identifying, describing, and explaining the bases of discrete networks among the state supreme courts. More specifically, using all interstate references to uncover coherent and consistent "networks" and discriminant analysis to ferret out the essential bases of the groupings of state supreme courts. Do interpretable blocks of state supreme courts emerge? If so, what binds these sets of appellate courts? Do constellations of leaders and followers develop? Do networks go beyond particular regions?

Coates, Deborah L. (1987). Gender differences in the structure and support characteristics of black adolescents' social networks. *Sex Roles*, 17, 667-688.

This study explores gender differences in the social network characteristics of 390 Black American adolescents with a mean age of 14.8. Each adolescent completed the Social Network Record (SNR), which yields scores representing the organizational/demographic structure and the quality of emotional support in the network. It was hypothesized that males and females would construct different network profiles. Gender differences in both structural and support characteristics were found. Females indicated that they had more frequent contact with network members, that their network was on average slightly older, and that they tended to see network members in more private settings. Females also estimated that they know more people than males, although there were no differences between males and females in the actual number of network members listed and described. Males were much more likely to report having larger groups of intimate friends than did females. While females tended to nominate family members as role models and were more likely to indicate feeling close to both male and female peers,

males indicated overwhelmingly that they felt close to male peers. The differences indicate that male and female adolescents experience very differently structured forms of social support. These results are discussed as they relate to gender differences found in achievement and other indices of competence during adolescence.

Cohen, Sheldon, & Wills, Thomas A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98, 310-357.

The purpose of this article is to determine whether the positive association between social support and well-being is attributable more to an overall beneficial effect of support (main- or direct-effect model) or to a process of support protecting persons from potentially adverse effects of stressful events (buffering model). The review of studies is organized according to (a) whether a measure assesses support structure or functions and (b) the degree of specificity (vs. globality) of the scale. By structure we mean simply the existence of relationships, and by functions we mean the extent to which one's interpersonal relationships provide particular resources. Special attention is paid to methodological characteristics that are requisite for a fair comparison of the models. Evidence for a buffering model is found when the social support measure assesses the perceived availability of interpersonal resources that are responsive to the needs elicited by stressful events. Evidence for a main effect model is found when the support measure assesses a person's degree of integration in a large social network. Both conceptualizations of social support are correct in some respects, but each represents a different process through which social support may affect well-being. Implications of these conclusions for theories of social support processes and for the design of preventive interventions are discussed.

Coleman, James S. (1986-87). The emergence of norms in varying social structures. *Angewandte Sozialforschung*, 14, 1.

This paper extends the recent work of Axelrod and others on the growth of cooperation over time in prisoners' dilemma type situations, iterated over a number of periods. That work has been concerned with the emergence of types of behavior, or the "evolution of strategies" over time, mirroring this process by use of computer simulations of interactions. This paper uses the same method to study how the social structure of interaction affects the degree of cooperation. In particular, I examine the effect of the degree of closure of the structure: how likely it is that the same two persons will meet again in the near future. The results show evolution of strategies toward cooperative or norm-observant behavior in structures with high closure, and evolution in the other direction, toward non-cooperative behavior, in structures with low closure.

von Collani, Gernot. (1987). Testing and running algorithms for the detection of cliques (with a FORTRAN program). *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie*, 18, 131-133.

Taking up the critical comments by Freeman & Libhart (1986) on a well known clique detection algorithm, several alternative computational procedures for the detection of cliques in social networks are compared and tested. Special emphasis is laid on algorithms which seems to be relatively unfamiliar in the field of social network analysis. It is concluded that the algorithm of Bron & Kerbosch (1973) is clearly superior in nearly every respect. Finally, a modification of this algorithm is presented together with a FORTRAN subroutine.

Lang, Gladys E., & Lang, Kurt. (1988). Recognition and renown: The survival of artistic reputation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 79-109.

This inquiry into one aspect of collective memory -- the differential survival of reputation -- distinguishes between two components of reputation: recognition by peers and more universal renown. Before their style of working went out of fashion in the 1930's, all the artists studied had been recognized as painter-etchers, but had achieved a level of renown that guaranteed the preservation of their original oeuvres, a condition that, in the instance of visual artists is a sine qua non for being remembered. Where such preservation was not assured, the posthumous durability of reputation depended on the artist's own lifetime efforts to protect or project that reputation, survivors with a stake in preserving or enhancing the artist's reputation, linkages to networks facilitating entry into the cultural archives, and retrospective interest leading to the rediscovery of the artist as the symbolic representative of emerging cultural or political identities. Similar conditions for remembering exist in other areas of culture production; these are affected by the rate at which "old" work loses relevance, the nature of the creative achievement, and the medium in which it is preserved.

D'Ercole, Ann. (1988). Single mothers: Stress, coping, and social support. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 16, 41-54.

Measures of economic hardship, coping, self-esteem, and social support from friends and co-workers predicted nearly 25% of the variation in financial strain in a sample of 83 single mothers in New York City. Social support ap-

peared to function as a protector in the face of stress, though evidence for the buffer effect was meager. Support from co-workers and friends rather than family was positively related to well-being. Self-esteem strongly affected the well-being of single mothers, accounting for a unique 5% of the variation in strain. Implications for community psychologists are discussed.

Escolier, J.C., & Reichman, S. (1987). Analyse des reseaux sociaux des patients psychotiques apres sortie de l'hopital et/ ou le sejour dans un foyer de postcure (Les Celestins). *Revue Francaise de Psychiatrie*, 5, 50.

The first results concerning the transverse phase of an evaluation study in a programme of resocialization of psychotic patients, are presented with reference to the theoretical model of vulnerability and to the analysis of social networks. Although the rate of rehospitalization and the extent to which post-care facilities are among the most used indicators in evaluation studies. The significance of their relationship is controversial. Our results, concerning 16 patients released from hospital and having stayed in a post-care center, indicate that the existence of clusters (a structural property of networks) as well as the direction and the content of the relationships (interactional properties) represent pertinent indicators of the likelihood of rehospitalization.

Everett, Martin G., & Borgatti, Steve. (1988). Calculating role similarities: An algorithm that helps determine the orbits of a graph. *Social Networks*, 10, 77-92.

The orbits of a graph, digraph or network provide an effective definition for role equivalence since they are a natural generalization of the principle of substitutability of structural equivalence. Calculation of the orbits is a computationally difficult task but in this paper we present a fast and efficient algorithm which finds the orbits of a large class of graphs. In addition, we suggest a simple measure of role similarity based upon the constructions contained within the algorithm. This makes it possible to perform a role analysis when only a limited number of automorphisms exist.

Feiring, Candice, & Lewis, Michael. (1987). The child's social network: Sex differences from three to six years. *Sex roles*, 17, 621-636.

The social networks of 815 young children as they make the transition from a home-centered to a more school-centered existence are examined using longitudinal data. When the children were three and six years of age, their mothers completed a questionnaire of network structure; at six years both the child and mother independently reported the friends that the child would invite to a birthday party. The effects of age and sex of child on the number and daily contacts with peers, adults, kin, non-kin, males, and females were found. As expected, as children reached formal school age, they had increased contact with peers and decreased contact with kin, while adult contact remained fairly consistent over the three-to six-year age period. Sex differences were also apparent. As predicted, children as early as three years, and to an even greater extent at six years, showed more same-sex compared to opposite-sex peer contact. At six years both children and mothers reported more same-as compared to opposite-sex friends who would be invited by the child to a birthday party. The findings suggest how children's social networks, as shaped by their parents and themselves, provide a framework within which experience and interaction is structured to fit cultural norms.

Fisher, Claude, S. (1987). Technology's retreat: The decline of rural telephony in the United States, 1920-1940. *Social Science History*, 11, 295-327.

One million fewer American farms had telephones in 1940 than in 1920; the instrument was disconnected in at least a third of the farm homes that once had it. Knowing how and why this "devolution" (Mattingly and Aspbury, 1985) occurred can expand our understanding of the social role of technology, diffusion of innovation, and more generally, twentieth-century modernization in America. Although rural telephony was to recover later, thanks to an economic boom and government assistance, the widespread abandonment of the technology poses a puzzle. Farmers, at least outside the south had welcomed the telephone enthusiastically and claimed that it played a central role in farm life (see Fisher, 1987). Falling farm prices in the 1920's and 1930's help but do not suffice to explain the relinquishing of the telephone. This "retreat" thus raises questions about theoretical views of material modernization: whether it is unilinear, cumulative, hegemonic and irreversible. After briefly describing the history of rural telephony, this paper examines the plausibility of various explanations for the decline, using four kinds of evidence: contemporary observations and data, a statistical observation of farm telephone diffusion across the states, and more briefly, comparisons with other technologies, and comparisons with telephone development elsewhere. These data point to competing technologies and corporate marketing strategies, within the contexts of financial stringencies and of lack of government involvement, as the key factors in the "retreat."

Fisher, Claude S., & Carroll, Glenn R. (1988). Telephone and automobile diffusion in the United States, 1902-1937. *American Journal of Sociology*, 93, 1153-78.

Although the telephone and the automobile are two of the most significant technological developments of the modern era, we know little empirically about the conditions that encouraged their adoption. This paper attempts to describe their diffusion across the 48 contiguous states during the time of their initial popularization and fastest growth and examines which macrostructural attributes of states encouraged or discouraged their widespread adoption. It also examines whether these technologies stimulated or inhibited each other. The findings suggest that commercialization in urban centers spurred adoption of both the telephone and automobile. A more complex process occurred in rural America. States with many well-off independent farmers were relatively quick adopters of both technologies. But states with many tenants farmers -- primarily southern -- were slow to adopt. The data also point to an important historical watershed, World War I: many of the accelerating factors before the war were less critical after the war, and, perhaps more important, the interaction between the technologies changed around the time of the war.

Gartrell, C. David. (1987). Network approaches to social evaluation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 49-66.

Social evaluation -- the way that people learn about themselves by comparing themselves with others -- is a prosaic, age-old process. Periodic efforts have been made to integrate theories and empirical studies of reference groups, social comparison, equity and justice, and relative deprivation (e.g., Pettigrew 1967). Despite these efforts, research has remained fragmented and continues to be dominated by psychologists. Network imagery, models and findings run through this literature as far back as the last century and play a central role in contemporary applications of social evaluation to research on social support, class consciousness, and the diffusion of innovations. I argue that the network approach will help to resolve fundamental, unanswered questions about social evaluation first raised in 1950 by Merton and Rossi -- specifically, the origins of comparative frameworks and the relation between individual and categorical or group reference points. Such an approach provides an integrative focus for sociological research in this area.

Gold, Deborah. (1987). Siblings in old age: Something special. *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 6, 199.

This paper reports the findings of a qualitative examination of sibling relationships in old age. Interviews with sixty people over the age of sixty-five revealed that interactions with sisters and brothers took on new meaning in late life. A shared history of lifetime experiences made the sibling relationship unique in social networks in old age. Those who had positive relationships with siblings found that interactions decreased feelings of loneliness, provided emotional support and validation of earlier life experiences, and built feelings of closeness and sibling solidarity. Even those who had negative sibling relationships indicated a shift in feelings. The intensity of feeling about siblings in old age suggests that further study of the later-life sibling bond might increase understanding of ways in which the social and emotional needs of older people can be met. Interviews provided an effective method for gathering rich data about these complex social and emotional interactions.

Halaby, Charles N. (1988). Action and information in the job mobility process: The search decision. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 9-25.

Current sociological models of job mobility suppress the intervening action and information mechanisms that link structural constraints to job shifts. To remedy this, this paper joins core features of structural-mobility models to key elements of economic approaches to job change in an analysis of the employed worker's decision to search the market for a better job. The analysis highlights the complementarity of structural and action approaches by conceptualizing the forces governing the search decision in terms of the principal dimensions -- opportunities and achievement gains -- underlying job mobility models. The basic framework is extended to include the quality of a worker's initial screen of a prospective job as a mechanism that promotes search. The concepts of opportunities, gains, and screen quality are then used to explain male-female differences in mobility orientations. The empirical findings both reinforce structuralist assumptions and underscore the promise of applying to the study of mobility processes the kind of action approach recently advocated by Coleman (1986).

Hamilton, V. Lee, & Sanders, Joseph. (1988). Punishment and the individual in the United States and in Japan. *Law and Society Review*, 22, 301-328.

In this paper we argue that differences in the conceptualization of individual actors in networks provide the most parsimonious explanation for differences that occur *between* American and Japanese views of sanctions and *between* actors in different role relationships *within* each society. Our empirical tests drew on respondents' hypothetical punishment choices and punishment rationales in surveys of Detroit, Michigan, and Yokohama and Kanazawa, Japan. As predicted, American views of punishment for everyday misdeeds were more likely to favor isolation or

retribution and American rationales for imprisonment were significantly more retributive than in Japan. Within each culture, offenses between intimates were least likely to evoke isolative or retributive punishments whereas offenses between strangers were more likely to do so. We conclude by considering alternatives to our structuralist explanation of these findings and by suggesting some implications of legal culture for dispute resolution in the United States versus Japan.

Hellgren, Bo, & Stjernberg, Torbjorn. (1987). Networks, an analytical tool for understanding complex decisions processes. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, 17, 88-102.

In the beginning of the 1980s an urban center called "Ringgen" (the Ring), was constructed in Stockholm. It contains 15000 square meters of local shopping and services, and 390 rented flats. A study, at that time financed by Swedish Work Environment Fund, regarding the possibilities for the future employers to influence the forming of their future work environment was carried out. The research project has later widened its focus and is at present concerned with studying the effectiveness in a more total perspective of the planning and decision-making in networks of organizations. The article summarizes the actors and their motives for being part of the forming of "Ringgen." The network is illustrated in a model, and the dynamic changes in the power of the parties in this network are discussed.

House, James S. Landis, Karl R., & Umberson, Debra. (1988). Social relationships and health. *Science*, 29, 540-545.

Recent scientific work has established both a theoretical basis and strong empirical evidence for a causal impact of social relationships on health. Prospective studies, which control for baseline health status, consistently show increased risk of death among persons with a low quantity, and sometimes low quality, of social relationships. Experimental and quasi-experimental studies of humans and animals also suggest that social isolation is a major risk factor for mortality from widely varying causes. The mechanisms through which social relationships affect health and the factors that promote or inhibit the development and maintenance of social relationships remain to be explored.

Lachmann, Richard. (1988). Graffiti as career and ideology. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 229-250.

This paper identifies the organizational and ideological sources for the creation and structural evolution of New York City graffiti art. The stages and types of graffiti careers are traced through interviews with 25 graffiti writers and their gallery and gang patrons. The ethnographic analysis serves to build a framework for joining the usually separate sociological literatures on subcultures, deviant careers, and art worlds. Geographical and social proximity to other writers is the principal determinant of entry into graffiti writing and of whether that activity develops into a career. From their social relations with other writers, graffiti writers gain a sense of audience and a belief that graffiti will give them fame. Recently, police repression and the recruitment of a few writers to paint graffiti canvases for sale in galleries have fragmented the graffiti art world. The conclusion suggests that modifications in labeling and subculture theories are needed to explain the causal connections between social relations and ideological meaning.

Lennarson Greer, Ann. (1988). The state of the art versus the state of the science. *International Journal of Technology Assessment in Health Care*, 4, 5-26.

This paper offers a theory to explain the diffusion of new medical technologies into local practice. Based on several hundreds interviews with community hospital physicians, it anchors technology decisions in the norms and relationships of local practice. Physician descriptions of their use of different types of assessment information provide insight into the way in which local consensus on appropriate practice are formed, guide behavior, and change. To understand new technology adoption, it is necessary to (a) differentiate "formed" (complete) and "dynamic" (still developing) technologies, and (b) appreciate the extent to which medical practice is locally organized. Concepts from organizational literature, then, become useful in explaining the penetration of these medical communities and the circumstances under which a new modality takes hold in them. Within the framework presented, previously puzzling findings regarding variations in local practice and the poor relationship between practice behavior and the published literature become understandable.

Lewis, Earl. (1987). Afro-American adaptive strategies: The visiting habits of kith and kin among black Norfolksians during the first migration. *Journal of Family History*, 12, 407- 420.

This article contends that contrary to what was thought at the time, the migration of large numbers of Afro-Americans to urban areas during the First Great Migration (1900-1920) failed in many instances to cause the severing of affective bonds of kinship and friendship. Instead, blacks devised a number of adaptive strategies that

enabled them to maintain contact with those deemed important. The present findings also reveal the complex nature of the migratory process and the central role played by women in maintaining family and friendship ties despite geographic separation.

Lian-Hwang, Chiu. (1987). Sociometric status and self-esteem of American and Chinese school children. *The Journal of Psychology*, 121, 547-552.

This study examined the relationship between children's sociometric status and self-esteem in the United States and Taiwan. A sample of 258 American children was administered the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, Form B, and a sociometric measure. The same instruments were used for a sample of 438 Chinese children. The results showed that, for both boys and girls, in both cultures, those with high sociometric status were significantly higher in self esteem than those with medium or low sociometric status. No difference in self-esteem was found between children with medium and low sociometric status.

Levitt, Mary J., Clarck, Cherie M., Rotton, James, & Finley, Gordon E. (1987). Social support, perceived control, and well-being: A study of an environmentally stressed population. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 25, 247-258.

Interviews were conducted with elderly residents of an area targeted for massive redevelopment. Social support was considered simultaneously with health and personal control beliefs in relation to well-being, and the unresolved issue of the support figure was explored. Health, control, and support each emerged as independent predictors of affect and life satisfaction and affect was significantly lower for those with no close support figure than for those with close relationship. The results suggest that one close support figure may be sufficient to promote well-being, but alternative interpretations are possible.

London, Bruce. (1988). Dependence, distorted development, and fertility trends in non-core nations: A structural analysis of cross-national data. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 606-618.

The results of quantitative, cross-national studies of the effect of dependency/world system position on fertility trends in non-core nations are contradictory. Some provide support for the view that dependency distorts development and, in turn, impedes fertility decline. Others either qualify or refute this finding. This study criticizes the methods, measures, and approaches used in previous research. It then conducts a new analysis based on those criticisms. Results suggest that dependency does distort development and impede fertility decline.

Markoff, John. (1988). Allies and opponents: Nobility and third estate in the spring of 1789. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 477-496.

Scholars continue to debate the nature of the bitter political polarization in the French Revolution of 1789. One view is that prosperous urban notables (property-holders, office incumbents, elite professionals, entrepreneurs) held a coherent world-view at odds with that held by nobles. Other argue that the prosperous, nobles and non-nobles alike, shared a vision of social change. I use statements of grievances drawn up at the beginning of the French Revolution -- the *cahiers de doléances* -- to measure local variation in the extent to which nobles and prosperous commoners agreed on their programs for the future of France. This variation is used as the dependent variable in a multiple regression analysis to identify the social processes that helped either forge elite unity or drive the two groups apart. Unity was more characteristic of the prosperous areas of the kingdom and the regions more directly administered by the central government, while increasing town size promoted divisions. Mobility opportunities played no role. If the organized activities of intellectuals played a role, it was a unifying force (although a weak one). Finally, the more severe the immediate economic crisis, the more the elites found common ground, perhaps through common concern over revolt from below.

Marsden, Peter V. (1988). Homogeneity in confining relations. *Social Networks* 10, 57-76.

Patterns of inbreeding (or homophily) and social distance in data from the 1985 General Social Survey on dyads discussing important matters are examined. Stratifying variables include age, education, race/ethnicity, religion, and sex. Discussion indicates relations are most constrained by race/ethnicity, and least by sex and education. Inbreeding effects are present for all five stratifying variables, and account for virtually all structure in dyads classified by race/ethnicity and religion. Appreciable social distance biases in the formation of these strong ties are found for age and education, but not for other stratifying variables. The analysis illustrates the use of loglinear and log-multiplicative association models in the analysis of cross-classifications of attributes of alters and respondents.

Marsden, Peter V., & Hurlbert, Jeanne S. (1988). Social resources and mobility outcomes: A replication and extension. *Social Forces*, 66, 1038-1059.

We replicate and extend studies of job-matching by Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) and Bridges and Villemez (1986), concentrating on the effects of social network resources on the following outcomes of job-changes: occupational prestige, usages, industrial sector, firm size, possession of authority, and closeness of supervision. Our replication confirms major findings of prior work, and demonstrates that these are not affected by incidental selection bias or the absence of controls for the immediately preceding levels of outcome variables. Our extensions, however, qualify the social resources argument by indicating that effects of different social resource measures are largely outcome-specific: no single measure among those studied appears as a general indicator of "social capital" providing advantages in matching people to a broad range of valued outcomes. The analyses also show no significant net effects of tie strength on either mobility outcomes or access to social resources.

Marshall, Victor W., Rosenthal, Carolyn J., & Daciuk, Joanne. (1987). Older parents' expectation for filial support. *Social Justice Research*, 1, 405.

A measure of general filial obligation expectations is presented. With data from a representative sample aged 70 and older, we show that generalized expectations for support from adult children are not patterned systematically by sociodemographic factors or by health needs of the older respondents. A typology is presented which relates expectations for help to judgments of the level received. This typology is meaningfully related to social indicators presumably related to need such as marital status and socioeconomic status. Whether one is dissatisfied, satisfied, or pleasantly surprised by the assistance one receives is associated with evaluative judgments of children. The parent-child bond is affected not only by exchange patterns but by the fit between expectations and exchange patterns.

Marwell, Gerald, Oliver, Pamela E., & Prahl, Ralph. (1988). Social networks and collective action: A theory of the critical mass. III. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 502-534.

Most analyses of collective action agree that overcoming the freerider problem requires organizing potential contributors, thus making their decisions interdependent. The potential for organizing depends on the social ties in the group, particularly on the overall density or frequency of ties, on the extent to which they are centralized in a few individuals, and on the costs of communicating and coordinating actions through these ties. Mathematical analysis and computer simulations extend a formal microsocial theory of interdependent collective action to treat social networks and organization costs. As expected, the overall density of social ties in a group improves its prospects for collective action. More significant, because less expected, are the findings that show that the centralization of network ties always has a positive effect on collective action and that the negative effect of costs on collective action declines as the group's resource or interest heterogeneity increases. These non-obvious results are due to the powerful effects of selectivity, the organizer's ability to concentrate organizing efforts on those individuals whose potential contributions are the largest.

Mintz, Beth, & Schwartz, Michael. (1986). Capital flows and the process of financial hegemony. *Theory and Society*, 15, 77-101.

Crucial to this debate is the empirical proposition that the centralization of the financial sector (banks, insurance companies, and investments companies) allows for coordinated decision making over the disposition of investment capital. Because of the importance of outside funding in fueling economic expansion and weathering ongoing economic crisis, such centralized decision-making over capital flows confers upon financial leadership the intermittent capacity to coordinate activity among a wide range of economic actors. They, thus, achieve the capability of planning and executing economic and social policies that depend upon the compliance of other corporations (and even governments), even when such actions do not directly benefit all institutional participants. We are now in a position to offer a rough outline of the mechanisms and processes that condition financial hegemony. First and foremost, financial power rests on three unique qualities of capital as a resource. First, capital is the universal commodity of the business world. Suppliers of capital, unlike suppliers of other resources, deal with the entire economy and, unlike members of other industrial sectors, are central units in the system of power and influence created by the network of resource dependencies. Suppliers of capital, unlike other suppliers, become temporary or permanent partners in the enterprise they serve. There are four mechanisms through which financial decisions over capital flows are transformed into coherent economic profiles. First, lenders or institutional investors may decide to encourage development of a promising area. Second, lenders or institutional investors may de-escalate economic commitment in a declining or threatened sector. Third, financial institutions may decrease their commitment to a sector or a company or a country as a signal of declining confidence in its economic viability. Fourth, capital withdrawal or refusal can be used to intervene in the internal workings of a company or an economy. Only

the fourth possibility, which might be called disciplinary action, resembles control in the traditional sense in which the term has been used. The other three modes of influence involve a degree of structural distance and a set of processes unfamiliar to students of intercorporate power. The key element in this domination is structural constraint.

Morgan, David L. (1988). Age differences in social network participation. *Journal of Gerontology*, 43, 129-137.

Differences in participation in social networks were analyzed as a function of age, drawing on a theoretical model of substitution processes. Using an empirical approach from the study of participation in voluntary organizations, I separated the direct effects of age from indirect effects via age-based declines in resources. The results show that a substantial proportion of the age-based decrease in level of activity in social networks was due to declines in resources, but similar analyses for the sources of participation in networks showed effects of age that persisted after controlling for resources. These results point to some important distinctions among measures of social networks.

Mutran, Elizabeth. (1987). Family, social ties and self meaning in old age: The development of an affective identity. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 4, 463-80.

The meaning of self in old age is examined from an interactionist perspective, employing a variation of recently developed methodological technique (Burke & Tully, 1977). The identity of the older person is found to incorporate a dimension of affectiveness versus effectiveness. In addition, the analysis related identity directly with age, poor health and widowhood. For men, lack of social involvement and the empty nest also contribute to a sense of affectiveness, but appears to have no effect on women. It is concluded that although differences in the environment, including poor health and role losses, are related to differences in the self meaning of the elderly, the meaning is not necessarily a negative or pathological one.

Oliver, Pamela E., & Marwell, Gerald. (1988). The paradox of group size in collective action: A theory of the critical mass. II. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 1-8.

Many sociologists incorrectly believe that larger groups are less likely to support collective action than smaller ones. The effect of group size, in fact, depends on costs. If the costs of collective goods rise with the number who share in them, larger groups act less frequently than smaller ones. If the costs vary little with group size, larger groups should exhibit more collective action than smaller ones because larger groups have more resources and are more likely to have a critical mass of highly interested and resourceful actors. The positive effects of group size increase with group heterogeneity and nonrandom social ties. Paradoxically, when groups are heterogeneous, fewer contributors may be needed to provide a good to larger groups, making collective action less complex and less expensive.

Oliveri, Mary Ellen. (1987). Social networks of family members: Distinctive roles of mothers and fathers. *Sex roles*, 17, 719-736.

The personal social networks of fathers, mothers and adolescent children in a sample of intact family triads were examined in order to explore the effect of sex role on parent-adolescent continuities in social orientations. Comparison of father adolescent and mother adolescent association in characteristics of personal networks revealed, overall the adolescents were more consonant with mothers than with fathers, particularly in the area of kinship relations. Father's distinctive associations with adolescent were in the area of friendship relations and concerned affective aspects of relationships. These patterns of associations were not dependent on gender of adolescent. Findings are interpreted in terms of the documented role of mothers as kinkeepers in family affairs and in terms of merging work suggesting the salience of interaction with fathers for children's development of sensitivity to affective cues.

Ornstein, Michael. (1988). Corporate involvement in Canadian hospital and university boards, 1946-1977. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 25, 365-388.

This paper examines interlocking between the boards of the 100 largest Canadian corporations and the boards of major hospitals and universities, between 1946 and 1977. Interlocking between corporations and universities declined dramatically in the 1960s and there was a similar but weaker decline in interlocking with hospitals. Interlocks with hospitals and universities are concentrated among the Canadian-controlled corporations in the financial, utility and transportation sectors which are generally viewed as central to the Canadian capitalist class. Long established, major universities in Atlantic Canada, Quebec and Ontario are found to have more interlocks with corporations than universities in Western Canada. Indirect ties between corporations, which result from two or more corporations being represented on the board of a hospital or university, reinforce the regional and local subnetworks of this national network.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. (1988). A critique of world system theory. *International Sociology*, 3, 251-266.

Contemporary social science needs to formulate a world sociology, and with regard to this problematic, world system theory occupies an important place. At an earlier stage, world system theory has been criticized for overemphasizing the world market while neglecting forces and relations of production. The present critique focuses on conceptual dimensions of world system theory and on the relationship between its conceptual structure and the way it theorizes social change and action. World system theory is a theory of the world system without a system theory. Its actual conceptual units are "social systems," one of which is the "modern world system." The assumptions which define these need to be examined as well as how they are thought to relate to one another and how one changes into another. This is one of the fundamental conceptual problems of world system theory. It shares this difficulty in conceptualizing structure change with other "structural" approaches, such as structural history of the Annales school. In world system theory, this is combined with neo-Marxist dependency theory and an, in other respects, conventional Marxism, replicating several of the deficiencies of these approaches -- the centrism of dependency thinking and the materialism and determinism of conventional Marxism. To address the question of structure change, in particular how the "modern world system" can be transformed to a successor social system, world system theory revives the Marxist theory of the crisis of capitalism, i.e., one of the weakest theorems of Marxist thought.

Plutzer, Eric. (1988). Work life, family life, and women's support of feminism. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 640-649.

Recent research has attempted to explain wide ideological divisions among women in term of their different lifestyles and their subjective commitment to them. Special attention has been given to the potential effects of women's work and family life on their attitudes. This paper uses a large representative sample of American women to systematically evaluate these explanations for the first time. The evidence suggests that various aspects of women's family and work life do have consistent effects on women's support of a range of feminist goals, but the effects are smaller than several previous studies suggested. The analysis also suggests that the relative importance of these factors may be increasing and that work and family differences may become important lines of political cleavage in the future.

Rice, Ronald E. (1987). Computer-mediated communication and organizational innovation. *Journal of Communication*, 37, 65.

Computer-mediated communication systems not only process information about innovation but are also an innovation that organizations must process, a circumstance that provides organizations with opportunities and challenges for enhancing their resourcefulness and responsiveness.

Rogler, Lloyd H., & Procinado, Mary E. (1986). The effect of social networks on marital roles: A test of the Bott Hypothesis in an intergenerational context. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 693-701.

On the basis of an exploratory study of 20 young London couples, Bott (1957) proposed that the connectedness of social networks to which spouses belong influences the segregation of marital role activities. However, empirical tests of this hypothesis have been inconclusive because of conceptual and methodological limitations. In the present study Bott's hypothesis was tested with a group of 100 Puerto Rican migrant spouse pairs and 100 pairs of their adult married children. The result failed to confirm Bott's hypothesis. Network characteristics appear to be influenced by the individual's sex; marital role characteristics, by generational differences and by wife's education. Limitations of Bott's hypothesis are discussed and theoretical alternatives are proposed.

Rosario, Margaret, Shinn, Maribeth, Morch, Hanne, & Huckabee, Carol B. (1988). Gender differences in coping and social supports: Testing socialization and role constraint theories. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 16, 55-69.

Two theories have been advanced to explain gender differences in coping. Socialization theory states that women are socialized into using less effective strategies than men. Role constraint theory affirms that no gender differences in coping exist when men and women occupy the same roles. Three studies, where the roles occupied by women and men were the same, were conducted to test the theories. Two of them also compared role constraint and socialization theories for social support. The results for coping did not support the socialization theory and partially supported the role constraint theory. With one exception, men and women did not differ in the ways they coped with similar role stressors. The results for social support indicated that women reported using more support than men in similar role situations. These findings suggest that a higher level of psychological disturbance among women cannot be attributed to their coping style independent of their social role.

Sampson, Robert J. (1988). Local friendship ties and community attachment in mass society: A multilevel systemic model. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 766-779.

This study presents a multilevel empirical test of a systemic theory of community attachment in mass society. The data bases are derived from a recent national sample of 10,905 residents of 238 localities in Great Britain that vary across an urban-rural continuum. The first stage of analysis examines the structural determinants of between-community variations in local friendship ties, collective attachment, and rates of local social participation. Community residential stability has positive effects on all three dimensions of community social integration, independent of urbanization, density, and numerous other controls. The second stage of analysis examines the extent to which community characteristics affect individual-level local social bonds. Residential stability has both individual-level and contextual effects on locality-based friendships and on participation in social and leisure activities. The results support the systemic model and demonstrate the importance of linking the micro- and macro-level dimensions of local community bonds.

Sapadin, Linda A. (1988). Friendship and gender: Perspectives of professional men and women. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 5, IV.

Same- and cross-sex friendships of 156 professional men and women were investigated using a self-report questionnaire consisting of rating scales and open-ended questions. Results indicated that while both sexes viewed the characteristics of an ideal friendship in similar ways, their actual experiences of friendships differed. Women's same-sex friendships were rated higher for overall quality, intimacy, enjoyment and nurturance. Men, on the other hand, rated their cross-sex friendships higher in these areas, with the exception of intimacy which was rated the same by men in both same- and cross-sex friendships. Cross-sex friendships provided both sexes with new understandings and perspectives of the opposite sex. Both sexes generally kept their friendships and sexual relationships separate though sexual feelings and tensions still existed in many cross-sex friendships. These results are similar to findings from studies with college students, indicating that women's participation in professional roles has not resulted in dramatic changes in friendship patterns. Gender differences in same- and cross-sex friendships remain strong, despite new career roles for women.

Seeman, Teresa E., & Berkman, Lisa F. (1988). Structural characteristics of social networks and their relationship with social support in the elderly: Who provides support. *Social Science Medicine*, 26, 737-749.

The analyses presented here examine relationships between structural characteristics of social networks and two types of support (instrumental and emotional support) in a sample of community-dwelling individuals aged 65 and older. For each type of support two dimensions are examined (1) the availability of such support and (2) the perceived adequacy of that support. Regression models, adjusting for age, sex, race and income show that structural characteristics such as total network size, number of face-to-face contacts and numbers of proximal ties are associated with greater availability of both instrumental and emotional support. The perceived adequacy of both types of support is most strongly related to the number of monthly face-to-face contacts. Comparisons of specific types of ties show that neither ones' spouse nor ones' children are primary sources of support. Rather the presence of a confidant is strongly associated with both dimensions of instrumental and emotional support; the presence of a spouse is not. And, while ties with children are most strongly related to aspects of instrumental support, ties with close friends and relatives are more strongly related to aspects of emotional support. Analyses of possible interactions show that for those without a spouse, confidant assume greater importance in providing emotional support. For those without children, ties with close friends and relatives assume a larger role relative to the perceived adequacy of both emotional and instrumental support.

Shea, Laurie, Thompson, Linda, & Blieszner, Rosemary. (1988). Resources in older adults' old and new friendships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 5, 83-96.

This research investigated the exchange of resources in old and new friendships with a sample of twenty-seven older adults who had recently relocated to a retirement community. Using quantitative measures, the study documented specific short-term changes in resource exchange (love, status, information and services) and measured relative changes in affection. Open-ended interviews were used to tap the participants' views of the importance of resource exchange in developing and maintaining friendships, the role of each resource in each friendship, and the differences between old and new friendships. Old friendships remained stable in resource exchange and affection, while newly developing friendships increased in both dimensions. Supporting the quantitative results, participants' comments emphasized continuity as an essential quality of old friendships. Participants also spoke about the somewhat different meanings of love, status, information and services in old and new friendships.

Sik, Endre. (1986-87). A casual labor market. *Angewandte Sozialforschung*, 14, 63-71.

The economic reforms in Hungary lead to important changes in the labour market. Regarding the working contracts the law enables casual labour contracts. The author takes the example of the social science labour market to show some of the effects of this type of work. The basic condition of the casual labour market is the existence of a network providing the exchange of information. As one of the effects, the author shows a double strategy of the employees: as the work in the casual labour market is usually an additional one, there is a tendency of the employees to concentrate in the occasional occupation and to neglect to a certain extent the regular job. The relation between demand and supply leads to certain disadvantages in the casual sector: the work there is often paid pretty badly and the scientific outcomes are claimed by the employer. Nevertheless the author assesses the stabilization of the casual labour market due to the decrease of the real wages and to the advantages the casual labour market offers to the employers.

Sproul, Lee, & Kiesler, Sarah. (1986). Reducing social context cues: Electronic mail in organizational communication. *Management Science*, 32, 1492-1512.

This paper examines electronic mail in organizational communication. Based on ideas about how social context cues within a communication setting affect information exchange, it argues that electronic mail does not simply speed up the exchange of information but leads to the exchange of new information as well. In a field study in a Fortune 500 company, we used questionnaire data and actual messages to examine electronic mail communication at all levels of the organization. Based on hypotheses from research on social communication, we explored effects of electronic communication related to self-absorption, status equalization, and uninhibited behavior. Consistent with experimental studies, we found that decreasing social context cues has substantial deregulating effects on communication. And we found that much of the information conveyed through electronic mail was information that would not have been conveyed through another medium.

Stagni, Elena. (1986). Identita, senso e reti di relazione nel sociale complesso. *Sociologia Urbana e Rurale*, 19, 187-195.

Il mio intervento è volto ad esplorare le connessioni fra il concetto di identità e le forme di relazione possibili nel sociale complesso, in un'ipotesi conseguente di lettura del territorio.

Sudan, Seymour. (1988). Experiments in measuring neighbor and relative social networks. *Social Networks* 10 93-108.

This paper reports the results of a series of experiments on the measurement of the size of neighbor and relative social networks. This is a continuation of work that was done earlier to test alternative methods of measuring social network size in work, church and social groups.

Surra, Catherine A., Arizzi, Peggy, & Asmussen, Linda A. (1988). The association between reasons for commitment and the development and outcome of marital relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 5, 47-63.

This study examined the relationship between reasons given for changes in commitment, on the one hand, and the development of commitment and later marital satisfaction, on the other. Forty-one newlywed couples were interviewed to obtain graphs of changes in commitment during courtship and reasons for the changes, which were coded into fourteen categories. Four years later thirty-nine of the original participants completed a marital happiness questionnaire. Reasons involving intrapersonal norms were related to commitments formed rapidly. Reasons that concerned interaction with and attributions about the network were associated with dramatic changes in commitment, accelerated commitments, and lower marital satisfaction. Reasons involving alternative dating partners were connected to moderate changes in commitment; long, rocky courtships; and lower marital satisfaction. The association between dyadic reasons and the development of commitment was weak, although reasons that concerned agreement on stage of involvement, disclosure, and behavioral interdependence were related to marital happiness. We discuss two types of commitment processes, event-driven and relationship-driven, and their implications for marital outcomes.

Thiessen, Victor, & Davis, Anthony. (1988). Recruitment to small boat fishing and public policy in the Atlantic Canadian fisheries. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 25, 603-627.

For many in Atlantic Canada the income returns from commercial fishing are insufficient relative to participation and household costs. Yet, tens of thousands continue to enter and pursue fishing as their primary occupation. In this essay, we examine case study and survey data for the purpose of determining reasons why the occupation continues to attract and hold participants. Our analyses reveal that occupational attachment is strongest in the petty

commodity sector and weakest in the industrial- capitalist sector, primarily because recruitment and participation in the former occurs in a social landscape of family, familiarity, community and control over labour processes. We argue that these social conditions take precedence over economic/income considerations in the consciousness of fishermen, a consciousness reflective of occupational, familial and community solidarities and rationalities. In concluding, we argue that state fisheries policy and social scientific analyses largely ignore the rationality of occupational and community attachment. As a result, both state policy and social research facilitate the bureaucratization and, consequent, dehumanization of the occupation.

Tinsley, Barbara J., & Parke, Ross D. (1987). Grandparents as interactive and social support agents for families with young infants. *International Journal Aging and Human Development*, 25, 259-278.

The role of grandparents in infancy was examined in a comparative analysis of grandparent/infant/grandchild and parent/infant interaction patterns. A second focus of the study was an exploration of the extent to which grandparents function as social support agents for their children and infant grandchildren. Grandparents (30 grandmothers and 212 grandfathers) and parents (30 mothers and 30 fathers) of seven month old infants were observed in individual five minute dyadic play sessions with the infant in the parent homes, yielding 20 minutes of parent infant interaction. The observation were scored using both time sampling and global coding schemes. Information on grandparental support for the young parents and infants, relative to other social support sources, were also obtained from grandparents and parents. Results indicated that both grandmothers and grandfathers are interactive and support agents, with a pattern of similarities and differences in interactive style across generation and gender. Although there was a high degree of overlap in parents and grandparents interaction styles, parents were rated as more competent. Gender consistencies were found between female agents (mothers and grandmothers) and male agents (fathers and grandfathers). High levels of intergenerational contacts were reported, with both parents and grandparents highly satisfied with the contact. The results of this study support an expanded view of the effects of various agents in young children's social environment.

Troll, Lillian E. (1987). Gender differences in cross-generation networks. *Sex Roles*, 17, 751.

In later life, cross-generational networks are primarily among kin; friends are considered to be of the same cohort. Kin networks are likely to have an integrity of their own, independent of any of their members. Members are likely to share basic values or to avoid issues that might cause conflict or estrangement. Sex differences are profound. Mother-daughter bonds are both strongest throughout life and most complex, serving to link household units into modified extended family networks. Major life events like marriage of a daughter, birth of a child, or illness of a parent alternatively loosen or strengthen these bonds. Critical conceptual/methodological problems abound, such as definitions of the basic constructs like "closeness", and "affect".

Tschann, Jeanne M. (1988). Self-disclosure in adult friendship: Gender and marital status differences. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 5, 65-81.

This research examines whether self-disclosure in adult friendship differs according to gender and marital status. Sixty-seven women and fifty-three men were asked about intimate and non-intimate self-disclosure to closest same-sex friends. Disclosure to spouse among married respondents was also assessed. The intimate disclosure of married men to friends was lower than that of unmarried men, married women and unmarried women; the intimate disclosure of these last three groups was similar. Married people's non-intimate disclosure to friends was lower than that of unmarried people, regardless of gender. Married people's intimate disclosure to their spouses was high regardless of gender; in comparison, married men's intimate disclosure to their friends was low, while married women's disclosure to their friends was moderate or even as high as disclosure to their spouses. The results suggest that sex roles are not the only determinant of gender differences in disclosure to friends. Marital status appears to have an important influence on disclosure in friendship for men but not for women. It was concluded that research on gender differences in self-disclosure and friendship has neglected an important variable, that of marital status.

Vaux, Alan. (1987). Appraisals of social support: Love, respect, and involvement. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 15, 493-502.

The multifaceted nature social support has become more widely recognized in theory and research. Specifically, a consensus is emerging on the distinction among support resources, behavior and appraisals. The pressure study focuses on support appraisals with the aim of studying the degree to which the Social Support Appraisals Scale (SS-A) might be used to assess distinct appraisals of respect love and involvement. SS-A data from, five heterogeneous samples (including students, mature women students, fathers and adolescents) were subjected to factor analysis. The factors that emerged were highly invariant across samples and largely reflected respect, involvement and love, though the love factor might also be interpreted as a family factor. Patterns of convergent and diver-

gent validity with subscales reflecting constructs of love, respect and involvement from two other support appraisal measures were equivocal. Some implications for theory and research differentiating support appraisals are discussed.

Vaux, Alan, & Athanassopoulou, Mary. (1987). Social support appraisals and network resources. *Journal of Community Psychology, 15*, 493-537.

The conceptual and empirical distinction of social support networks and subjective appraisals of support is increasingly evident in the social support literature. Support appraisals appear especially important in promoting well being and may serve as a focus of preventive interventions. Yet little is known about the support network resources that promote positive appraisals of support. One hundred thirty eight community residents participated in a telephone interview, yielding extensive data on the size, composition and relationship characteristics of networks providing five kinds of support, satisfaction with support and perceptions of support from family, friends and other. Regression and canonical correlation analyses yielded complex findings. Support perception and to much lesser extent satisfaction, were associated with a variety of resource variables, most prominently the size of emotional and socializing networks, the reciprocity and complexity of network relationships and the proportion of close friends and family members in the network. The implications of the findings for support based interventions are briefly discussed.

Warin, Philippe. (1988). D'un voisinage a l'autre. *Architecture et Comportement/Architecture Behaviour, 4*, 43-58.

To settle down in a new residential area requires, upon arrival, the capability to redefine ones situation. This question has, for a long time, interested urban ethnographers concerned with migration. The article will show the importance of the maintenance of an intellectual structure in creating categories for representing the neighbourhood when people move to a new environment. The hypothesis is that the possibility to take along to the new environment a schema of neighbourhood relationships is an important structural factor for the integration of the migrant.

Wellman, Barry, & Wortley, Scot. (1988). Brothers' keepers: Situating kinship relations in broader networks of social support. *Center for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto, Research Paper No. 167.*

We evaluate the importance of *kin* in providing four different dimensions of social support: emotional aid, services, financial aid, and companionship. Our analysis uses both quantitative and interview data from the East York (Toronto) studies of social networks. Kin comprise slightly less than half of these networks: an average of five ties out of twelve. Parents and adult children are highly supportive network members, providing high levels of emotional aid, services and financial aid (they avoid companionship, however). Siblings complement and substitute for parents and children, especially in the provision of services. Because there are many more ties between siblings than there are between parents and children, siblings (along with friends and neighbours) provide a substantial proportion of the support East Yorkers receive. By contrast, *extended kin* tend to be the least supportive and least companionable of network members. If kinship systems did not keep extended kin in contact, few would be active network members.

Wright, Paul H. (1988). Interpreting research on gender differences in friendship: A case for moderation and a plea for caution. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 5*, 367-373.

Research on gender and friendship has yielded a modal pattern of differences between women and men that is impressively robust. However, these differences are reported in ways that are sometimes misleading and often exaggerated, and that generally leave the impression of greater within-gender uniformity than is actually the case. In sum, the importance of gender differences in friendship is overemphasized. The present paper addresses some possible meanings of "importance" as applied to social research. It is intended to be a reminder of some widely acknowledged but easily overlooked points of interpretation concerning the kinds of data with which relationship researchers usually deal. Specific issues are the tendency to reify statistical significance, to overlook within-group variability, and to disregard the implications of gender as a subject variable. Moderation in interpreting and reporting differences and healthy skepticism are offered as simple hedges against exaggerating the importance of gender differences in friendship.