

'anti-participatory mode', the 'participatory mode', the 'manipulative mode', and the 'incremental mode'. They rightly point out that these are ideal responses that may not fit the real world and that there are combinations of these ideal responses that are possible.

In their effort to examine the role of the state and its attitude toward community participation in the major fields of social development, the authors draw on current literature, as well as their own knowledge and experience. Clearly the authors acknowledge the limitations of the study and do not pretend to arrive at any final conclusions. At best they point to general trends and patterns in state responses to community participation in social development which could be the basis for further research. Perhaps further research could focus on the role of dynamic social movements in influencing the state attitude and role in being responsible to community participation. The authors do not see present day government responses to community participation as anti-participatory in nature. However, they also do not see state responses to community participation as falling into the participatory mode, as specified in their typology. While there is evidence of government encouragement for community participation through, for example, financial and staff support, often it is conditional and falls short of the ideals of democratic sharing and self determination. Despite the limitations of the study and the fact that the authors are not in a position to arrive at anything conclusive, the book covers new ground in the questions raised and the discussions of key issues and will be of interest to scholars and educators in the social sciences, social work, social policy and development studies.

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Manufacturing in the Backyard: Case Studies on Accumulation and Employment in Small-scale Brazilian Industry, Hubert Schmitz, Frances Pinter (Publishers) Ltd, London, 1982 (pp 232, no price given).

Book titles can serve either to seduce or to lose their potential readership. In the case in question, the author exploits current imagery to his advantage with the result that more readers than would normally be interested in this somewhat specialised area will peruse this book. Whether they will read the full text is open to question.

The author adopts an innovative, case-study approach to venture into the popular area of debate centering around the potential for expansion of small scale manufacturing industries in underdeveloped economies. Rather than engaging in the somewhat academic luxury of debating the heuristic value of the informal sector concept, Schmitz argues convincingly for the value of branch-specific case studies which span the formal/informal divide. He claims that they serve to supplement rather than replace the more popularised cross-

sectional survey, providing comparative, longitudinal data on the particular conditions that characterise the selected branch of industry. Field investigation carried out while the author worked on research and consultancy assignments for international organisations in Brazil is used to substantiate and illustrate his argument. The central issue, as seen by the author, is not *whether* small enterprises possess potential for growth and employment promotion, but *under what conditions*.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I provides a useful, wide ranging review of the relevant literature in the field, with regard to two key issues. Firstly the viability of small scale production units is considered. Internal and external constraints to growth are outlined and optimistic and pessimistic views of the growth potential of small scale industries are reviewed. The need for further empirical investigation is highlighted, particularly in view of the contradictory conclusions reported in the literature. Particular mention is made of the inadequate substantiation of the 'optimistic' recommendations made by the ILO Kenya Report, which served as both a research document and a politically sensitive consultancy report. According to Schmitz a major limitation of previous studies is that most have relied on one-off cross-section surveys, have studied individuals rather than enterprises, and have failed to investigate the 'external' context in which small producers function.

With regard to the second major issue of concern, namely the earning potential of small scale enterprises, Schmitz contends that existing evidence is non-conclusive. Not all small scale operators are poor. However, failure to disaggregate earnings and enterprises has led to a number of mistaken but popular assumptions regarding 'unrestricted entry' into the sector and its role as a 'stepping stone' or 'gateway' to formal employment for those who have previously failed to find it. Although Schmitz cites findings that suggest the contrary, he argues for the necessity of further empirical information on these and other key points.

Part 2 of the book is devoted to the presentation of three case studies of selected branches of the Brazilian manufacturing sector, all falling within the broadly-defined textile and clothing industry. This is chosen because it affords the highest share of employment in the Brazilian manufacturing sector, because of its heterogeneity and the known proliferation of small scale enterprises, registered and unregistered. After a brief overview of the income and employment distribution within the Brazilian economy, case studies of the following branches are presented: the knitting and clothing industry of Petrópolis (in the state of Rio de Janeiro), the hammock industry of Fortaleza (in the state of Ceará) and the weaving industry of Americana (in the state of Sao Paulo). In each case, a similar pattern is followed. Statistical information relating to the branch in general is presented, together with an indication of the branch as an entity. Factors affecting the survival and growth of small scale enterprises are considered, followed by detailed data obtained from

interviews and field observation regarding mode of operation, employment and income conditions. In order to address the important question of linkages between large and small scale enterprises, the author interviewed managers of large firms as well as those of workshops with less than ten workers.

In Part 3, the author draws general implications from the three branch case studies presented, duly acknowledging the limitations inherent in generalisations derived from only a few cases. With regard to employment and income, two main conclusions are reached. Firstly, levels of earnings of small-scale producers are found to differ widely according to whether they are owners or wage workers, independent or sub-contracting producers, and whether they are internal or 'out' workers. This differentiation corroborates recent findings reported elsewhere in the literature. Secondly, the establishment of small scale enterprises is found to be a means of upward mobility for former wage workers with related skills rather than on the initiative of out-of-work job seekers.

With regard to the second main area of consideration, namely growth constraints, the findings are less conclusive. External constraints relating to access to raw materials, markets and technological advancement vary, but are found to be more important than internal constraints in hampering expansion of small enterprises. The author highlights the important inhibiting influence of government policies. By defining the problem in terms of internal constraints (poor management and inadequate training), the blame for failure of small enterprise is conveniently placed on the people who run them, rather than on the exigencies of the socio-political and economic environment in which they operate. So, the author concludes, meaningful change in the near future is unlikely because policies are largely determined by the state machinery which in turn is maintained by large-scale capital and reflect the latter's interests.

The final section of Part 3 is devoted to a brief somewhat diversionary discussion of the relative merits and demerits of the cross-sectional survey and the 'branch-specific' case study for the investigation of small scale enterprise. While it is acknowledged that a combination of both types of methodology is necessary, neither is deemed sufficient without adequate investigation of changes in the wider context, the national and global economy. Ultimately it is the author's contention that branch-specific studies are essential for an in-depth understanding of the operation of small-scale manufacturing enterprises in the Third World.

Manufacturing in the Backyard is an informative and thought-provoking addition to the proliferating literature on the so-called 'informal sector' and small industry. The book has detailed notes at the end of each section, and includes a comprehensive bi-lingual bibliography, slanted somewhat in favour of the Latin American literature. Regrettably, there is no subject or author index — an unfortunate omission in a text of this nature and one which limits

its use as a reference source. Inclusion of the interview guide used in the investigation is, however, a welcome departure from the norm. The book is clearly structured, written in a readable but scholarly style, and includes a thoughtful critique of related literature.

One must however note that the direct relevance of this book to the African setting is contestable. Certainly for those directly involved in small scale industry promotion, in policy formulation and planning as well as development economists in an academic setting, it is a valuable resource and a basis for comparative research. Nevertheless, it is geared to a somewhat selective readership. Differences between the Brazilian and African settings are marked, and the 'backyard industries' of Brazil can be argued to bear only superficial resemblance to those of African urban centres. However, some similarities are suggested. The book highlights a number of key linkages between large and small scale enterprises that have as yet received scant attention in the African literature. Particularly notable is the area of sub-contracting, aptly illustrated by the case study of the hammock industry of Fortaleza. The applicability to local textile and handwork enterprises warrants investigation.

With regard to the methodology employed, a number of questions emerge. While the author acknowledges limitations affecting the selection of a representative sample of small enterprises in a field where clandestine operations predominate, measures taken to offset this difficulty are open to debate. Although the author argues for the view from below that is made possible through the case study approach adopted, insufficient attention is paid to the fact that it is an 'elite' group of owners/managers of small scale enterprises who are interviewed. There is no indication of interviews having been sought with the family members and/or employees whose view from below can be expected to differ significantly from that of the head of the enterprise.

Although Schmitz argues that the case studies, in contrast to snapshot cross-sectional surveys allowed for in-depth insight into changes over time within specific branches of industry, it is difficult to establish how this is achieved in practice. Considering the importance placed on the 'dynamic' aspects of small scale industry, surprisingly little attention is given to the historical profile and development of the actual workshops investigated, either in the interview guide or in the findings presented. The case studies themselves relied on 'one-off' investigations.

While the methodological issue is of central importance to the author it is likely to be of less interest to the reader seeking planning and policy implications. The inclusion of a final section on methodology leaves the reader with the sense of the primacy of methodological rather than content considerations, and detracts somewhat from the conclusiveness of the work. The reader is left with many questions — not only those raised rather than

resolved by the author, but also those emerging from a critical assessment of the role of academic research in addressing the pressing development issues touching the Third World urban poor.

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