Journal für Entwicklungspolitik XIV/1, 1998, S. 193–212

Ana C. Fernandes

Economic Integration of a Peripheral Region: From State *Developmentism* to Globalisation in Northeast Brazil

1. Introduction

This paper raises the question of whether contemporary economic policy can reconcile the objectives of competitiveness and industrial efficiency with those of regional policy in general and regional equity in particular. Within the framework of current adjustments to globalisation, it analyses the possibilities of an alternative socio-economic development of peripheral regions within peripheral nations. Some observers suggest that increases in industrial competitiveness and productivity in developing countries lead to fragmentation instead of regional convergence. Global restructuring appears to be threatening Brasil's federalism in the 1990s as regional disparities are said to have increased over the decade (Diniz 1995; Cano 1997; Araújo 1997), thus reversing the previous tendencies towards balance observed during the fifteen years from 1970 onwards (Fiori 1995; Falcão et al. 1995; Guimarães Neto 1997).

The main theses put forward in this paper is that regional convergence can be fostered, along with improving industrial competitiveness, in the presence of a traditional development strategy. This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the implications of the 1980s Brazilian export expansion on the country's less-favoured region, the Northeast, based on input-output tables for 1980 and 1985. The late 1970s investments have undoubtedly laid the foundations for this process, inducing a new position of the Northeast in the country's division of labour. The Northeast performed better than the national economy, its export performance as well as its potential for profit, due to the 1990s investment decentralisation and to commercial liberalisation and implementation of the Mercosur.

The paper starts with a brief historical overview of the integration of the Northeast in the national, so called domestic, economy as this constitutes an important reference period for the case study under investigation. Attention will then shift to the nature of the recent Brazilian export policy and to the empirical results of the study on the Northeast's export performance. Conclusions will differ from the alleged adverse effects of export policies on backward regional economies, arguing for the possibility of efficiency coupled with regional convergence.

2. Economic integration in Brazil and the Northeast

The Northeast has, for almost a century, been the country's poorest region.[1] It houses 30% of the country's total population, occupies 18% of its territory, and bears the largest proportion of poverty in South America.[2] The backwardness of the Northeast was long considered due to its adverse climatic conditions, which affect most of its area and still constitute a regional concern. The semi-arid *sertão* and the less-unfavourable *agreste* cover about 67% of the Northeastern territory. This climatic explanation of poverty laid the basis for disaster relief action which characterised both government efforts in the area, and established its position in the national spatial division of labour as supplier of primary commodities for world markets and foreign currency to the domestic economy. By the late 1950s, after a prolonged drought period, and in line with the then increasing acceptance of the Keynesian concern about regional disparities in Brazil, the regional problem was conceptualized in a different way.

Following regional pressure, the government set up a commission (the so-called *Grupo de Trabalho para o Desenvolvimento do Nordeste* – GTDN) to study the regional problem and to propose development strategies. It was lead by Celso Furtado, a leading economist of CEPAL, who was inspired by structuralist views about development, which differed from the then-dominant liberal free-market perspective. The GTDN report proposed a shift of emphasis in the state action away from drought relief to supporting regional industrialisation by promoting investments in social overhead capital and social and economic infrastructure. It claimed that the Northeast's backwardness stemmed from restrictions caused by the region's specialisation in the production of primary commodities for export rather than climatic problems as previously believed. The region's terms of trade, it was advised, would continue to deteriorate unless the government stimulated the establishment of a diversified and intrarregionally linked industrial structure in order to shift production towards higher value added goods. According to the GTDN report, industrialisation would create jobs for the semi-nomadic population of the dry areas, develop an indigenous entrepreneurial class and relatively autonomous technology, modernise the labour market, improve education standards and retain capital within the region, thus furthering investment. With the establishment of strategic industries, imports would be successively displaced as forward and backward linkages between local sectors would build up as each stage of substitution proceeded. A system of incentives would provide the necessary financial instruments. In 1958, a regional development agency *(Superintendência de Desenvolvimento do Nordeste* – SUDENE) based on the empirical experience of the Italian Cassa per il Mezzogiorno replaced the GTDN aiming at implementing the report's proposals. These were to be financed through a new-born system of regional incentives (known as *Artigo 34/18* which evolved to the current form called *FINOR).* Industrialisation was then stimulated as a viable option for the development of the Northeast and set in motion the integration of the Northeast in the domestic economy.

Furtado's project had to face severe difficulties as his industrialisation approach found opposition from the conservative land-owners-led alliance that has traditionally dominated politics in the region. Industrialisation threatened their power, as a new bourgeois leadership might arise from investments in education, land reform and integration of agriculture and industrial activities that were combined in Furtado's project. Associated with the spread of leftwing initiatives that took place throughout the country in the first half of the 1960s, the economist was turned of office in 1964 as one of the first measures of the military regime. Sudene was preserved, but its industrialisation project lost important features, particularly those targetting social cohesion and creation of an indigenous regional technology and industrial bourgeoisie. The conservative coalition benefitting from the authoritarian context not only maintained social polarisation but also managed to articulate national and regional interests. Regional policy was thus diminished to a set of actions which included conventional instruments, such as public investment in infrastructure, availability of public funds for industrial transfers, and the incentives system. This type of support was welcomed by three groups: by private capital from the Southeast, which planned inward investment in the region, anticipated high returns from investments and had no other lucrative investment opportunities, by local industrialists who did reduce their production costs, and by local political elite in search of revenues and legitimisation.

The new incentive system was now functional to the national industrial core in Sao Paulo. From 1950s to 1980s, the Brazilian economy was undergoing a fast import substitution industrialisation that integrated and expanded the domestic market along capitalist lines. This process was based on substantial state support regarding infrastructure and public funds to finance industrialisation throughout the period, which resulted in an 8.7% annual average rate of industrial growth between 1970 and 1980 (and 5.2% between 1970 and 1996). Geographically, the result was an extreme concentration of economic activity and income in the Southeast. This region's ability to transfer savings accumulated from its previous coffee economy to industry thereby permitted it to play a central role in national industrialisation. Once established as the dominant centre, regional policies of capital incentives became advantegous to Southeast's capital. Regional policy led to capital inflows to the Northeast and other peripheral regions, in search of regional natural resources and markets to exploit, thereby establishing new sectors or modernising traditional ones.

Integration of domestic economy improved, but it was only in the mid 1970s that regional industrialisation in the Northeast accelerated. The acceleration was driven by investments related to the II PND or *Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento* (2nd National Development Plan), which was a response to the adverse effects of the so-called first oil shock on the Brazilian balance of payments. Making use of the international financial liquidity that followed the shock, the government improved import substitution and reinforced regional industrialisation. As for the Northeast, the plan intensified the region's new position as supplier of intermediate industrial goods to the domestic market, to which the establishment of the petrochemical pole of Camaçari in the state of Bahia contributed heavily. By 1980, the Northeast had established an important industrial structure, based on inward investments, large firms and more capital intensive processes, which analysts came to refer to as the *new industry*. Along with the latter, the region's trade relations underwent major transformations. Complementary trade that brought industrial goods from the Southeast became increasingly stronger as traditional international trade flows lost relevance. Similar trends integrated the region's financial and retailing sectors.

2.1 Integration under 'conservative modernisation'

Criticism of the Northeast's *new industry* and the society that resulted from the so-called *developmentist* project was strong. Critisism was well founded concerning social justice, employment generation, and intraregional disparities. In a word, the "true development" mentioned by Furtado (1992), which leads to social homogenisation, did not come about. For these analysts, integration of the Northeast into the national production structure was reduced to a phenomenon Furtado called "modernisation", as opposed to development. Modernisation implied technological transfer that supported life styles of upper classes instead of development, understood as the transformation of the production and distribution structure.[3] Critics argued that dependence on the Southeast 'de--regionalised' the Northeastern economy (Oliveira 1990), that resulted inevitably in a structurally negative trade balance with the Southeast. The inflow of capital from the most dynamic centre – São Paulo – was the decisive factor in rapidly transforming the periphery's production base (Guimarães Neto 1990), the inflow of which was only made possible due to massive state support (Oliveira 1990; Fiori 1994).

The dynamism and production structure of the remaining regional economies was subordinated to the needs of the Southeast (Guimarães Neto 1994), which led to significant economic centralisation on a national scale. The establishment of the *new industry* thus corresponded to the unification of the domestic economy, which moved from market integration towards a nation-wide production network whose dynamism and intersectoral structure were determined by investment decisions of transnational and Southeastern leading industries. By subordinating themselves to the role of a minor partner of Southeast and international capital large parts of the regional bourgeoisie were able to recycle them, so their traditional regional political leadership remained unchallenged. They remained decisive and indispensable, as they co-operated with the industrial process. Concentrated land tenure suited large scale capitalist agriculture and the regionally rooted capital of traditional rural elites. The degree of labour power reproduction remained at the lowest scale, so 'modernisation' hindered reduction of social inequalities, blocked labour resistance, any sort of initiative to implement land reform, the establishment of a welfare base of social services and redistribution measures to raise employment and income during the growth period.

In 1990, the Northeast's participation in the national product remained far below the region's share in national population. Moreover, social indicators show that the region failed to raise its backward social standards, especially regarding employment. The Northeast's GDP per capita continued to reflect this reality: in 1990, it still accounted for only about half of the national average (54.6%), following twenty-years of high growth performance. By 1980, the region's infant mortality rate reached 121,4 deaths per one thousand births, and life expectancy was 58.7 years; over 48% of employed persons earned less than one minimum wage (in 1997 less than US$ 120) in 1985, as compared to a national average of 32.0%; literacy reached only 53% of children between 7 and 15 years old in 1985, against the national average of 28.2%; finally, 31.6% of households had water supply and only 5.6% had sanitation (as compared to the national averages of 54.9% and 27.7%, respectively) in 1980.

The solidarity between national and regional interest groups reinforced the dual character of society and economy in the Northeast (Oliveira 1974; 1991). As Fiori (1994) points out, this alliance also lies at the root of the recurrent financial and political crises that paralysed the Brazilian state in the 1980s. It is responsible for the lack of investment in civil research and development, information technology, education and vocational training. This has blocked the country's shift from import substitution industrialisation to higher-quality industrial production. Finally, some authors have pointed out that the *new industry* also fostered intraregional imbalances as industrial development in the Northeast was restricted to a few main urban centres, while concentration of land ownership and credit led to replacement of food crops by large scale production of primary commodities, migration to impoverished urban areas, underemployment and shanty-towns. Inward investment and public expenditures were the basic elements to "homogenize" the Brazilian Northeast according to the needs of capitalist expansion. However, this did not improve the traditional unequal patterns of income distribution and political representation that have long characterised the backward region.

2.2 Deeper inside the *New Industry*

After decades of *developmentism* the Northeast continues having Brazil's poorest living standards, but it also turned the region into its third largest industrial area. These characteristics reflect the region's dualism, but also reflect a process of industrial decentralisation from the Southeast. Conservative modernisation notwithstanding, one must acknowledge that the Northeast's *new industry* that resulted from the *developmentist* project was more efficient and competitive than analysts could have detected, particularly those who studied the regional economy only partially – limiting themselves to the incentive industries. In spite of breeding social dualism and an inability to develop indigeneous technology, conservative modernisation set the conditions for the greatest changes that have taken place in the region's socio-economy so far.

Industrial investment in the Northeast increased considerably to nearly half (49.8%) of the regional gross fixed capital formation in 1978 as compared to 34.4% in 1965. According to Sudene (1990), investment in the Northeast's industry grew 8.6 times between 1965 and 1983 which represents an average rate of change of 12.7% per year in the period. By 1980, industry accounted for 29.3% of the regional GDP, as compared to 22.1% in 1960. The revenue generated by incentive-supported industrial projects for the region's global tax collection also soared to the degree that in 1988 they represented 51% of the federal industrial product tax (IPI), 67% of the state tax on the circulation of industrial goods (ICMS), and 24% of the global revenue from state tax on the circulation of goods.

As table 1 shows, the Northeast's share of Brazilian GDP and per capita income also improved with the growth of the *new industry*. In spite of the Northeast's negative migration balance of over 2 million people (34% of the total increase in population) between 1960 and 1980, drawn by the Southeast's industrial supremacy, the Northeast's industrialisation can be acknowledged as a major source of increase in the regional GDP per capita. The latter rose from $740 in 1970 to $1,380 in 1980 and to $1,592 in 1990 (SUDENE 1994, 1993 constant prices). This growth allowed the regional share of the national GDP to increase from 40.5% to 44.8% over the ten years from 1970 and continued to increase up to the end of the 1980s (44.8% in 1980, 54.6% by 1990), though more slowly.

	Population	GDP	GDP per head	Gross capital formation	Investment coefficient (GFKF/ GDP)	Net emigration rate	
						Northeast	Brazil
1960	31.7	13.2	41.9	–	19.5[1]	14.87	12.56
1970	30,2	12.3	40.5	12.4	–	16.26	14.34
1980	29.3	13.2	44.8	12.8	–	19.46	15.46
1985	28.9	15.5	54.2	17.5	–	–	–
1990	28.5	15.8	54,6	14.5[2]		–	–
1965–70		12.4	40.2	–	23.2		
1970–80	–3.1	12.5	42.3	–	26.8	–	–
1980–90	–2.6	15.7	54.0	–	20.5	–	–
1990–95		16.1	55.9	–	16.9		

Source: Conjuntura Econômica, Especiais Contas Nacionais, and SUDENE/GCR
GDP per head in 1980 cruzeiros (Cr$) prices
[1] Value refers to 1965.
[2] Value refers to 1986.
Table 1: Selected social and economic indicators
Share of the Northeast in Brazil's population, GDP, GDP per head and capital formation
Investment coefficient and net immigration rates of the Northeast

Due to the huge previous gap, regional growth was not strong enough to significantly raise the Northeast's participation in the country's economy. As table 1 also shows, its share of the gross national capital formation increased from

12.4% in 1970 to 17.5% ten years later but dropped to 14.5% in 1986, when the domestic economy experienced a remarkable growth. As a percentage of its own GDP, the region's average capital formation increased during the 1970s (26.8%), but dropped further during the 1980s (20.5%). As for the region's participation in the national GDP figures rose from 13.2% to 15.8% between 1960 and 1990.

During the 1980s, the sharp rise of international interest rates, the debt crisis, the decline of economic activity and the profound fiscal and financial crisis of central government changed the political context. The financial mechanisms used to support the *developmentist* growth strategy did not resist these changes. The government eventually sought IMF's support, public investment in infrastructure and social services then halted, and the political regime was replaced, putting the state's economic role into question. The same conservative coalition ruled throughout the 1980s within an instable political regime, thereby favouring short-term macroeconomic measures in response to the debt crisis. Economic stabilisation was at the centre of the official rhetoric, but high financial returns from inflation boosted diversification and extension of financial markets and caused the failure of successive stabilisation plans.

It is worth pointing out that the apparent failure to meet the IMF's targets reveals more than the lack of political will to meet them. It also reflects the fact that the IMF's approach to stabilisation and "structural reform" was not able to deal with the specific problems of the Brazilian socio-economy at that time: Brazil's dominant groups could not afford to close down the large and diversified economic structure that was developed in the past. Structural reform would have meant a considerable de-valuation and "proletarisation" of a large share of Brazilian entrepreneurs who could not bear the burden of industrial restructuring aimed at improving US international comparative advantage. It would have required the devaluation of massive amounts of capital invested in the domestic economy, such as in the cases of Chile and Mexico.

During the 1980s, therefore, private gains from uncertainty, political instability and the 'success' of the earlier industrialisation process postponed the decision over which development model to implement after the completion and exhaustion of the preceding model of investment and financing. Over the decade, government limited its measures to overcome the debt crisis and made serious attempts to raise the country's foreign reserves. These included high interest rates paid on government borrowing, on the one hand, and import controls coupled with state support for foreign exports, on the other hand.

The previous tendency towards regional cohesion was obviously affected. Regional policy did not end, but its measures were limited to lower fiscal benefits designed to attract investment into less developed areas and to stimulate production for regional exports. However, the Northeastern economy continued to grow faster than the domestic one. The investment in import substitution in its last phase had improved competitiveness of the regional economy, which allowed it to improve international and interregional exports, and to find alternative outlets to the constrained domestic market. Therefore, even during the 1980s crisis – or because of it, some authors argue – economic growth was higher in the Northeast than in the core regions, allowing the de-concentration trend to continue.

3. The *new industry's* trade structure

Following Furtado's influence, critics have not been able to either accept or seriously evaluate three important effects. First, the *new industry* developed strong inter-industrial and intra-regional linkages, instead of the expected 'footloose', import-dependent industrial structure. Second, the effect of this industry on the region's trade balance were positive. And finally, its foreign exports of manufactured goods improved in spite of alleged antagonisms between export expansion and regional development. Based on an input-output analysis[4] I shall discuss these arguments one for one.

3.1 Leakage or interindustrial linkage?

Polarisation and the 'hollowing out' of regional value added and employment due to fragile intersectoral articulation are argued as stemming from integration of the Northeast into the national market and production structure through the setting up of the *new industry*. Following this argumentation, less developed economies characteristically show a rather 'footloose', import-dependent industrial structure. Sector investment tends to leak because of the import content built in these economies' industrial projects – which derives particularly from these projects' needs for capital goods – and their consumption structure (both intermediate and final). As a result, the import structure constrains the level of employment and income of these economies whilst it stimulates scale economies in more advanced areas. Investments in such industrial structures tend thus to "leak". Inspired by these assumptions, critics (Goodman/Albuquerque 1974; Magalhães 1983; PIMES 1984; Guimarães Neto/Araújo 1985; Guimarães Neto/Galindo Filho/Duarte/Araújo 1988; Guimarães Neto 1989; Gomes 1991; Duarte 1994; Araújo 1994) have pointed out that footloose industry backed by state support was functional to concentration of industrial activity in the Southeast, and fostered uneven capital accumulation. All these studies agree that economic integration has led to results very far from those proposed in Furtado's report concerning the region's intersectoral and interregional linkages. These findings, however, are based on primary surveys of the *incentive firms* in different periods, that is, researchers have focused on only one, though an important, part of the regional industry. Their conclusions have pointed out the extreme fragility of the Northeastern industrial structure *vis à vis* its Southeastern counterpart as a result of stronger economic articulation between the two regions.

However, the so-called "extraregional dependency standard" as claimed by Goodman and Albuquerque does not hold true as far as the Northeast's I-O matrices are concerned. Table 2 shows that industrial complementarity within the regional economy was relevant regarding its intermediate consumption of manufactured goods. Estimates show that – differently from expected – in both cases the great majority of the Northeast's total input expenditure is made locally and has even increased between 1980 and 1985. The great relevance of regional sourcing shows that the regional economy has fostered local complementarity. Moreover, intermediate goods sectors - those most closely connected with the new industry and understood as major source of leakages - not only sourced the majority of inputs regionally, but also substantially expanded their local supplies (at an average rate of 4.6% per annum) to 82.7% by 1985. Indeed, the intermediate industries' 1985 input purchases from domestic suppliers have been reduced to under two thirds of their 1980 share. Table 2 also shows the steep fall of overseas supply of inputs which more than halved to a mere 3% of the region's totals by 1985. Except for mineral extraction and intermediate goods producers, domestic supply has replaced those from abroad so that the former has benefited from the expanded total demand for inputs.

	Northeast		Domestic		Rest of the world		Total Input Demand		Change
	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980–85
Total intermediate consumption									
Agriculture	86.5	79.8	11.9	19.6	1.6	0.6	84,692	98,829	16.7
Mineral extraction	65.1	79.9	24.4	7.0	10.5	13.1	8,014	15,254	90.3
Manufacturing	73.4	80.9	17.3	15.9	9.4	3.1	562,463	648,095	15.2
Non-durable consumer goods	81.8	80.2'	10.7	16.1	7.6	3.6	262,650	286,868	9.2
Intermediate goods	66.2	82.7	22.8	14.7	10.9	2.6	278,902	339,054	21.6
Consumer durab. & cap. Goods	62.6	62.5	26.2	31.4	11.2	6.0	20,911	22,174	6.0
Total	75.0	80.8	16.7	16.2	8.4	3.0	655,169	762,178	16.3

Source: IBGE/BNB, Matriz de Insumo-Produto do Nordeste 1980 & 1985
Note: Taxes and dummy sectors not included. Values in 1980 constant cruzeiros

Table 2: Origin of the Northeast's total and manufactured intermediate demand for goods, 1980–1985, in percent

Estimates thus indicate that among the activities observed, those that present an input structure more susceptible to 'expenditure cuts' are precisely the consumer durable and capital goods industries. The I-O estimates only confirm Guimarães Neto's argument that these industries have increasingly favoured domestic suppliers at the expenses of foreign ones. Yet, these industries sourced locally over half of their total needs for manufactured inputs in both years, having even shown a small increase in the period. The I-O linkage estimates confirm the critics' claim that the *new industry* has supported the Northeast's integration in the domestic economy. Furthermore, they also support their understanding that integration has fostered increasing complementarity between the Northeast and the rest of the Brazilian economy in which the former predominantly provided for the latter's demand for intermediate goods. The estimates have not confirmed however the claims regarding the outcome of this interregional complementarity. The cumulative effects of the *new industry* investments on the regional economy proved to be rather more relevant than expected. The regional structure of production that arose from the calculation of linkages relied significantly upon regional inputs and markets. This finding invalidates the commonly argued idea that the Northeast transfers elsewhere the majority of dynamic impacts of those investments. Furthermore, the region's foreign trade links have been fostered rather than reduced, as defended in the literature, in spite of the domestic orientation of the region's 1970s' integration-led adjustment. Studying the impact of this adjustment on the region's trade will give further evidence about eventual gains the Northeast might have obtained from this process.

3.2 Export policy and the Northeast's recent trade performance

In the late 1970s the Northeast replaced trade with other regions within the country by trade with foreign countries at a time when public and private inward transfers were high. This reduced, so the use of the argument according to Guimarães Neto and Araújo (1985), foreign exports as a substitute for the stagnating national market in the 1980s. Contrary to this argumentation, the I-O results show that the new industry adjusted the Northeast's production capacity to improve its responsiveness to the stimulus of the crisis-led 1980s export policy. Export expansion in the 1980s fostered once again the contribution of the Southeast to Brazilian exports, while the Northeast decreased its aggregate share (table 3). The Northeast's total exports dropped from 11.5% in 1980 to 9.7% in 1990. The region's traditional specialisation on exports of primary commodities and the interregional orientation of its new industry underwent a constant decline of the Northeast's contribution to the Brazilian exports during the period.

Nevertheless, as table 3 shows, the relative position of the region's, both industrial and manufactured exports increased. Faster than the former, the latter rose by 30% between 1980 and 1990 after having lost its position in the late 1970s when, on the one hand, the main investments in the region's industrialisation were in progress, and on the other hand, the country grew rapidly and experienced the highest ever had rates of export growth.

	Total	Primary	Industrial	Manufactured
1975	17.2	20.8	12.8	7.8
1978	13.1	14.7	11.7	4.9
1980	11.5	14.8	9.2	6.1
1982	9.8	10.6	9.4	8.0
1984	11.3	13.2	10.7	9.5
1986	10.1	13.1	9.1	6.6
1988	9.3	9.8	9.2	7.0
1990	9.7	8.6	10.2	7.9

Source: CACEX, Relatório Anual 1978 and DECEX/CTIC 1991
Current US$ million; excluding 'non-declared zones'.

Table 3: Percentage share of the Northeast in the Brazilian exports by type of product, 1975–90

The Northeast's increased industrial export capacity reflects a two-fold situation: the region's stronger manufacturing industry and the new situation of the 1980s crisis-hit domestic economy. Sales abroad became a necessary alternative for an increasing number of firms. Most of the expansion of manufactured exports was concentrated in the early years of the decade when the region's relative position in Brazilian manufactured exports nearly doubled from 4.9% to 9.5% between 1980 and 1984. At that time recession forced São Paulo's manufacturing sector to lose its position in the nation's exports, whilst that of the Northeast's *new industry* increased. Meanwhile, the region's primary exports declined sharply, thus underlying the reduced relative position of the Northeast in the Brazilian totals, offsetting the performance of the region's trade in manufactured goods.

Breaking exports down to the Northeast's main markets, expansion of foreign exports is most significant as it grew faster than the region's average, thus improving their share of the region's totals at an annual average rate of 6.59% to a little less than 40% of total exports. Growth of foreign exports was unique among the different markets for the Northeast's exports, thus becoming an alternative source of growth for the regional GDP. Expansion of foreign exports in the period under study expresses an event of particular importance for understanding the recent developments of the Northeastern economy. Manufacturing accounted for over 88% of total exports in 1980 and managed to increase its share steadily to 90.6% through the period. Manufactured exports outperformed the region's totals as they had a higher growth rate per year (2.52% as compared to total exports' rate of 1.95%). Deliveries to São Paulo and overseas markets contributed signifcantly to this faster growth. The former made up for the largest share of manufacturing exports throughout the period, although table 4 registers that they have stagnated at around 44.0%. The latter performed particularly well.

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1985	1980–85 average growth
Percentage Share						
Domestic exports	75.3	64.9	76.0	65.1	63.8	–3.27
Exports to S.Paulo	44.0	38.4	46.6	43.6	43.5	–0.22
Exports to the rest of the country	31.3	26.5	29.4	21.5	20.2	–8.35
Foreign exports	24.7	35.1	24.0	34.9	36.2	7.97
Total manufactured exports	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	–
Manufactured/total exports	88.1	89.6	90.3	90.6	90.6	0.56

Source: SUDENE, unpublished trade vectors. Sum may not match due to rounded numbers

Table 4: 1980–85 change of the Northeast's manufactured exports
Percentage shares

Manufactured exports to overseas markets increased participation in the region's totals to 36.2% in 1985 as compared to 24.7% in 1980. This represents an average rate of growth of 7.97% per year. As a result, by 1983, the gap between the relative position of foreign markets and that of São Paulo had contracted significantly. Consequently, deliveries to overseas exceeded those to 'the rest of the country' the Northeast's second largest ones, also regarding manufacturing. Table 4 indicates that manufacturing has provided the major source of growth for the Northeast's exports during the period under study and that an increasing part of that growth derived from the – for some analysts unexpected – expansion of sales of manufactured goods to foreign markets.

3.3 The trade balance

Analyses of both the Northeast's exports and imports indicate the marked changes the *new industry* caused in the region's trade balance. In line with previous estimates by Souza (1986), regional industrialisation has nourished a highly specialised industry by which the Northeast's economy was integrated with the national production. It has also empowered the region to divert from its previous deficit-prone balance tendency. In 1980 trade deficit dropped to 1.7% of the regional product (Cr –24.8 billion), and be changed to a surplus equivalent to 2.7% (Cr 51.2 billion) of GDP in 1985. This trend in the trade performance reflects changes in Northeastern economy diverging from the pattern dominant for decades. It has been argued that the *new industry* potentially enlarging the Northeast's trade deficit due to its particular links with industries from São Paulo and from the rest of the Southeast.

The early 1980s macroeconomic situation has fostered that tendency. Instability and tight wage and credit policies at the national level as well as export incentives, favourable exchange rates and import restrictions at the foreign side together with the emerging *new industry* changed the path of Northeast's imports and exports. It is, however, worth to note that these new trends have already started well before the debt crisis (Souza 1986). The trade relevant framework changed earlier although post-debt crisis macroeconomics helped in shortening the path to achieve a surplus in the trade balance.

	São Paulo		Rest of the country		Domestic		Foreign		Total	
	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985
Agriculture	*1.348*	*–1.011*	*977*	*–3.404*	*2.326*	*–4.415*	*18.302*	*21.948*	*20.628*	*17.533*
Mineral extraction	*1.368*	*676*	*2.115*	*2.019*	*3.483*	*2.695*	*–13.139*	*–4.355*	*–9.656*	*–1.660*
Manufacturing	*–43.667*	*–19.097*	*–23.883*	*–29.304*	*–67.550*	*–48.401*	*28.014*	*83.732*	*–39.536*	*41.944*
Non-durables	*–25.106*	*–27.941*	*–25.940*	*–27.025*	*–51.045*	*–54.966*	*43.594*	*43.995*	*–3.660*	*–10.969*
Pharmac.&vet. prods	–1.512	–2.849	–425	–846	–1.936	–3.694	41	73	1.895	–3.622
Perf., soaps&candles	–2.221	–1.871	–514	–670	–2.736	–2.542	–65	–10	–2.800	–2.551
Textiles	1	–2.279	–6.470	–8.664	–6.470	–10.943	5.337	5.622	–1.133	–5.321
Garments & shoes	–8.317	–9.179	–5.624	–2.682	–13.941	–11.861	101	517	–13.840	–11.344
Foodstuffs	–7.701	–5.153	–9.110	–9.845	–16.811	–14.998	35.728	36.625	18.917	21.628
Beverages	–539	–1.725	–1.171	–817	–1.710	–2.542	–189	–309	–1.898	–2.850
Tobacco	8	107	3	–150	11	–43	2.639	1.485	2.650	1.442
Editing & graphics	–3.167	–2.576	–1.243	–664	–4.409	–3.240	–17	–10	–4.426	–3.250
Furniture	–1.658	–2.416	–1.386	–2.687	–3.044	–5.103	19	2	–3.025	–5.101
Intermediates	*24.583*	*47.980*	*10.790*	*10.856*	*35.373*	*58.835*	*–4.672*	*46.138*	*30.701*	*104.973*
Non-metal. minerals	–3.789	–2.957	–1.922	–406	–5.712	–3.363	106	103	–5.606	–3.260
Metallurgy	–695	13.330	3.663	5.589	2.968	18.919	–1.525	8.410	1.443	27.329
Wood	–388	–925	–1.020	–1.163	–1.407	–2.088	105	24	–1.302	–2.064
Paper & cardboard	–3.947	–3.361	–888	–617	–4.835	–3.978	–494	–156	–5.329	–4.134
Rubber	–3.195	–3.830	–158	–876	–3.353	–4.706	–256	–83	–3.609	–4.790
Leather	28	117	320	747	348	864	1.163	1.750	1.511	2.614
Chemicals	38.784	47.963	11.712	8.237	50.495	56.199	–3.780	35.702	46.715	91.902
Plastics	–2.215	–2.357	–917	–655	–3.131	–3.012	9	388	–3.122	–2.624
Consumer durables & capital goods	*–43,145*	*–39.136*	*–8.733*	*–13.136*	*–51.877*	*–52.273*	*–10.910*	*–6.401*	*–62.788*	*–58.674*
Mechanical engineer.	–14.933	–9.812	–2.714	–4.169	–17.646	–13.981	–6.532	–3.001	–24.179	–16.982
Elect.&comms.equip.	–13.739	–14.239	–3.035	–5.679	–16.774	–19.918	–3.865	–2.854	–20.639	–22.772
Transport equipment	–9.376	–10.141	–1.289	–1.745	–10.665	–11.886	–314	–420	–10.979	–12.306
Various	–5.097	–4.944	–1.695	–1.543	–6.792	–6.488	–199	–126	–6.991	–6.614
Total	*–40.952*	*–19.432*	–20.791	*–30.690*	*–61.740*	*–50.124*	*33.175*	*101.325*	*–24.775*	*51.203*

Source: SUDENE, unpublished trade vectors

Table 5: 1980–1985 Trade Balance
Constant 1980 Cr million

Estimates thus suggest that trade surplus is an outcome of the *new industry*. It was the base for the average growth of the region's GDP of 4.3% per year between 1980 and 1985 – a period which comprised recession years in the Brazilian economy as a whole. As table 5 shows, only the intermediates use and those new or modernised industries within the remaining industrial uses (such as mechanical engineering within durable, and garments within non-durable industries) presented either a surplus or a reduced deficit in 1985 as compared to 1980. Intermediate industries, in general, and chemicals, in particular, represent by far the major part of the 1985 trade surplus. These industries' surplus increased 3.4 times in the period to account for 5.2% of GDP, within which the chemicals surplus alone contributed with 87.5% of that of intermediates. Chemicals' surplus (Cr 91.9 billion) accounted for 1.6 times the regional one in 1985, which is equivalent to nearly two times its 1980 surplus.

Last, but not least, concerning the Northeast's trade partners, it is worth noting two main aspects: the traditional trade surplus with foreign markets has enlarged and even supported the region's overall trade relationship. From Cr 33.2 billion in 1980 it increased to Cr 101.3 billion, in 1985. Secondly, the traditional deficit out of domestic trading has declined by 18.8% to Cr 50.1 billion, basically because of better terms of trade with São Paulo. For every evidence that estimates have produced, there are few doubts that it has been investment made to set up the *new industry,* that underlie the shifts in the Northeast's intersectoral linkages and trade balance.

4. Uncertainty and economic stabilisation: the regional configuration in the liberal 1990s

The gains from *developmentism* have probably been significantly affected by the 1990s structural adjustment. The 1980s political crisis continued unsolved until the implementation of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's *Plano Real,* at this time designed in perfect accordance with the IMF's *structural adjustment* programs. This benefitted from the early 1990s international financial euphoria, as Fiori (1995) calls it, and turned to be more than a macroeconomic initiative, a coupled phenomenon – economic as well as political – devised to implement the political stability necessary for redefinition and legitimisation of a new economic order in the country. This required the replacement of the previous tripod of economic agents that characterised the *developmentist* years – the state, national and international capital – with a composition in which the international capital takes the lead, the national capital is to reduce to a rather minor position, whilst the state is left to co-ordinate public funds, renouncing from its role as public entrepreneur. Convincing the national capital to assume its "role of minor associate of multinational capital", as Cardoso puts it, after a resistance that lasted 15 years, was certainly a result of a long political crisis coupled with the rise of the myth of globalisation. Brazilian industry benefited from the *developmentist* protectionism in a way that hindered productivity and efficiency in spite of its considerable capital formation, to which the long inflation crisis added difficulties. Once Cardoso's strategy was to condition economic stabilisation to internationalisation of the domestic economy, industrialists faced unpleasant alternatives. Political support from those who might had opposed this policy was finally obtained, stimulated by the even less attractive, but only available alternative of a Workers Party's government. International insertion became to be understood among them as an unavoidable process to which they would have to contribute by increasing their efficiency.

It is worth pointing out that Cardoso's predecessor – Collor de Mello – had started the internationalisation of the Brazilian economy by liberalising the financial market and reducing import tariffs. However, it was under Cardoso's leadership that political disputes within the government benches were settled along with stabilisation. The new international insertion which has been implemented along with stabilisation has certainly affected capital goods, technology-intensive industrial sectors, which had to carry the main burden of immediate international competition, in the context of extremely uneven interest rates. For the critics of the *structural adjustment* approach, globalisation would inevitably lead to either de-industrialisation or acquisition of vast numbers of industries by multinational corporations.

Regarding regional balance, the previous tendency towards deconcentration is understood as already halted in the face of limited public investment associated to the current prevailing orthodox theses of stabilisation, trade liberalisation, deregulation of financial and labour markets and reduction of the state. The current "competitive integration" trend would, according to their view, lead to either fragmentation of regional spaces (Araújo 1997; Diniz 1995) or *commercial regression* (Cano 1997) as long as national targets of efficiency would exclude those less-competitive areas and labour out of any development prospect with the associated de-industrialisation effects. Moreover, the increasing importance of the South American trade block Mercosur would aggravate the peripherality of those low income, low efficiency regions, which in addition are geographically far away from the leading markets and trade flows (Southeast and South Brazil, North Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, more recently), for in this line of reasoning efficiency and equity are excludent targets. Regional cohesion and even the federalist pact would thus be under threat, resuming the concentration tendency previous to the *developmentist state.*

Other views (Guimarães Neto 1997) are not that affirmative. Based on contradictory data – investment intention of private agents, public sector investment, state level fiscal policy – the author assumes that the investment distribution would remain quite unchanged.[5] For Guimarães Neto, the argument in favour of the fragmentation resulting from the recent "globalisation"-led integration would derive not actually from reduction of investment in the region but from an intensification of intra-regional disparities, as long as the intended investments by private agents as well as the public loans and investments would target fewer locations (the state of Bahia gets 53.4% of the Northeast's total intended industrial investment between 1995 and 2000). The author also points out that the regional industry would be enhancing its specialisation into more labour-intensive, light sectors as well as those connected with the region's natural resources, such as textiles, transformation of non-metallic minerals, petrochemicals and paper and cardboard. In a few words, the current tendency as compared with the industrial concentration pattern which resulted from the 1970s investments has hardly changed. There are signs for of a consolidation of the regional division of labour due to these investments. The Southeast would remain the leading industrial location for heavy and higher technology-intensive sectors.[6]

In spite of the constraints of the 1980s debt, financial and political crisis and the 1990s structural adjustment, the debate on de-concentration of development and reduction of regional disparities remains inconclusive. On the one hand, the

Northeast's share of Brazilian GDP and GDP per head[7] continued to grow during the 1980s and through the following decade (see table 1). The number of households provided with water supply and sanitation also increased (52.7% and 8.9%, respectively, in 1991), as did life expectancy (61.5 years in 1995), whilst 7–15 year-olds illiteracy and infant mortality fell to 35.7% (1994) and 63.1 deaths per thousand births (1995), respectively. On the other hand, average growth rate of the Northeast's economy in the 1990–96 period is smaller than that in the 1980s, and nearly three times smaller than that in the 1970s (2.8%, 3.3% and 8.7%, respectively). This certainly reflects the reduction of both public and private investment rates that the long fiscal and financial crisis of the state has caused. Whilst in the 1970s the average investment rate was 26.8%, in the first half of the 1990s it dropped to 16.9%. Moreover, this performance is mainly due to contraction of public investment (–6.3% during 1990–95), whose importance for the Northeast's capital formation was extremely large.

Despite the uncertainties that characterise this debate, especially considering the country's increased vulnerability to international financial speculation connected with Cardoso's adjustment approach, it is worth remarking that, if Guimarães Neto is right, this is certainly due to the 1970s and II PND-related investments and regional de-concentration they delivered under the *developmentist* state. They have taken the region out of stagnation, reduced regional income gaps, modernised and 'formalised' peripheral labour markets so that the spatial structure of the national economy was changed by the end of the 1970s. It presented efficient locations and business opportunities in peripheral regions for post-*Real* investors. Moreover, the political side of the new order has certainly stimulated economic agents to prefer these locations, particularly in the case of the Northeast. The regional-national co-operation in traditional Brazilian politics once again was set in motion in favour of Cardoso's presidential election as it now assures his congress majority. Not only the vice-president comes from the Northeast but also the president of the National Congress – the latter, former governor of the emergent state of Bahia, has undoubtedly become one of Brazil's most powerful politicians. Probably the contradictory alliance that united their right-wing liberal party (PFL) to Cardoso's 'modern' PSDB (Brazilian Socio-democracy Party) has helped the president to break the resistance of Southeastern industrialists and get them into the globalisation myth. Meanwhile, for the transfer of entire sectors to the Northeast with subsidies from public funds of all government levels has been granted.

5. Conclusions

The analysis showed that from the viewpoint of regional trade, the new, complementary manufacturing industries, particularly the intermediate ones, have contributed remarkably to the improvement of the Northeast's intersectoral linkages and trade performance regarding domestic as well as foreign markets. According to the estimates, sales of intermediate goods to both destinations were responsible for the reduction of the region's traditional trade deficit, and may have turned it into a surplus by the end of the period. This is a particularly relevant finding faced with the assumption commonly accepted in the literature that, by concentrating on production of intermediate goods, the Northeastern economy would have enlarged its trade deficit. Instead, the estimates indicate that, on the one hand, the *new industry* reduced the deficit in the trade with São Paulo, and on the other hand, it has provided for the region's remarkable increase in its trade surplus with foreign markets.

Activities in which the region has developed complementary trade links with the domestic economy – like the intermediate industries – are precisely those more capital-intensive. The results of the I-O analysis indicate that the effects of the early 1980s export expansion on the regional economy have been different from the one registered in the previous decade. The region has managed to foster remarkably overseas exports of manufactured goods which was a result of the 1970s investment in new industries. If this new trend is to continue in the future, at least as far as the region's trade relations are concerned, investment in those industries should gather pace again and emphasise the shift towards high skilled employment and value-added goods. The analysis therefore leds to the conclusion that these new industrial activities have contributed to the region's ability to benefit from export expansion and to improve export earnings with a positive impact upon industrial employment. This is not a dilemma-free strategy, because of the high employment costs these investments involve and the intraregional income gap they have fostered.

This article cannot end without recognising the large gap between these results and those targeted by Furtado. In spite of having changed the economic perspectives of the region as a whole, the *developmentist project* has led to further concentration of capital and employment in a few locations within the region, especially in the state of Bahia and has not reduced neither income concentration nor unemployment. Therefore it has to be acknowledged that, as far as regional development is concerned, the *new industry* still has a long way to go towards 'true development'. The long argued proposals of critics of the *new industry* concerning the necessity of improving articulation of potentially competitive activities in order to incorporate scattered capital and labour into a regional production network still seem to be necessary and urgent mid-way strategies. Hopefully, however, this article contributes to overcome these critics' belief about the particularly small impact of those investments on regional employment and income. However partial and constrained to specific industries and places it may have been, the *new industry* has brought about important shifts that improved the Northeast's trade relations and its export-linked employment and labour conditions. These aspects have created conditions for progressive political leadership in the region to identify new alternative technological and social projects which can ensure that together with economic competitiveness and efficiency more collective gains can be achieved in the region as a whole in the future.

Abstracts

In diesem Artikel wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob die Ziele der Wettbewerbsfähigkeit und der industriellen Effizienz im Rahmen der Regionalpolitik ebenso verfolgt werden können, wie das Ziel der Gleichheit. Das Thema wird aus der Perspektive der Peripherie des Weltkapitalismus untersucht, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der ökonomischen Integration während der Zeit des brasilianischen Entwicklungsparadigmas liegt. Die Auswirkungen der Expansion der Exporte in den 80er Jahren werden für die Jahre 1980 und 1985 anhand von Input-Output-Tabellen in der benachteiligsten Region des Landes, dem Nordosten, untersucht. Dabei kann festgestellt werden, daß sogar bei Vorherrschen der traditionellen Entwicklungsstrategie zunehmende regionale Konvergenz mit Verbesserungen der industriellen Wettbewerbsfähigkeit einher gehen können. Branchen, die von der Industriepolitik gefördert wurden, wiesen höhere Exportkoeffizienten und eine schnellere Expansion der Exporte aus. Trotzdem hat sich die soziale Polarisation auch bei einem erhöhten pro Kopf Einkommen und der zunehmenden Interdependenz zwischen regionalen Unternehmen nicht verringert.

This paper analyses whether contemporary economic policy can reconcile the objectives of competitiveness and industrial efficiency with those of regional policy in general and regional equity in particular. It addresses this issue from the standpoint of the periphery of world capitalism by focusing on the case of economic integration under developmentist Brazil. The case study is based on input-output-analyses for 1980 and 1985 concerning the implications of the 1980s Brazilian export expansion of the country's less-favoured region, the Northeast. The case study supports the view that regional convergence can be fostered along with improvements in industrial competitiveness, even in the presence of a traditional development strategy. Industries targeted in the past by industrial policy were also those that presented higher export coefficients and faster rates of export expansion in the changed political environment. Nevertheless, the increase of per capita income and the interdependency between regional firms has not reduced social polarisation.

Notes

1 The Northeast comprises nine states: Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia. For the purposes of incentive concession, part of the state of Minas Gerais (which is located in the Southeast) is also under the jurisdiction of the regional development agency due to similar climatic conditions to those of the Northeast.

2 The Northeast's population in 1980 (35 million) was larger than that of Argentina (28 million) and Colombia (26 million) whereas its GDP corresponded to 80 per cent of that of Colombia and only 55 per cent of that of Argentina. Bolivia and Guyana were the only Latin American countries with a smaller GDP per head than that of the Northeast in that year (World Bank 1987: 2).

3 In spite of this already pejorative meaning in Furtado's understanding of modernisation, authors inspired on his studies adopted the qualification "conservative" to the term (see Guimarães Neto 1988).

4 This analysis builds upon and further extends the Northeast's input-output matrices for 1980 and 1985, which comprise 86 sectors and 129 products each. From these basic matrices, "market share" matrices and inverses were calculated for each year, from which the linkage analysis was made and trade and employment vectors applied. These comprise international, domestic, and commerce with São Paulo, so that a fourth vector of trade with 'the rest of the country' was inferred. The 1985 vectors were deflated to 1980 values (see Fernandes 1994, for details).

5 Guimarães Neto (1997) notes that the Northeast will account for 17,6 per cent of investment opportunities of industrial projects between 1995 and 2000 (Banco Central e Ministério da Indústria, Comércio e Turismo), 14 per cent of BNDES loan disbursements in 1995, 18 per cent of those by Caixa Econômica Federal in 1994, and 6,4 per cent of credit by Banco do Brasil, an average of 22,7 per cent of state-owned companies in 1994–95, 22,6 per cent of approved projects by COFIEX (Comissão de Financiamento Externo) and 27,3 per cent of investment included in the federal government expenditure plan "Plano Brasil em Ação".

6 The author also notes that comparison between the first and last years of the period studied shows a clear reduction of investments in the Northeast, at least those supported by public financial institution such as BNDES and Caixa Econômica Federal. This could point to increasing regional divergence, but could similarly reflect the division of labour mentioned, as a large amount of recent investments by BNDES are related to recent capital goods-led industrial policy and privatisation of telecommunications, sectors which seek more efficient Southeastern locations.

7 Sudene (1997) estimates that the regional GDP per capita reached US$ 2,437 in 1995, as compared to the national average of US$ 4,417.

Bibliography

Araújo, T. B. 1994. "O setor público e o Nordeste". In: Araújo, T. B. et al. eds. *O GTDN da proposta à realidade: ensaios sobre a questão regional,* 138–151.

Campolina, C., M. B. Lemos. 1989. "Dinâmica Regional e suas Perspectivas no Brasil". *Para a década de 90: prioridades e perspectivas de políticas públicas.* Brasilia, IPEA/IPLAN, 161–200.

Cano, W. 1991. *Brasil: desenvolvimento econômico e questão regional: 1930–1990.* Mimeo, paper presented at the 47th International Congress of Americanists, New Orleans, July.

Cano, W. 1990. *Raízes da concentração industrial em São Paulo.* São Paulo: Hucitec, 3rd edition.

Cano, W., Guimarães Neto, L. 1987. "A Questão Regional no Brasil: Traços Gerais de sua Evolução Histórica". *Pensamiento Ibero-americano Revista de Economia Politica,* 167–183.

Fernandes, A. C. 1996. *Conflicts in Regional and Trade Policies: a Case Study of Northeast Brazil in the 1980s.* University of Sussex, Dept. of Geography, Ph.D. Thesis.

Fiori, J. 1995. "Em busca do dissenso perdido". *Folha de São Paulo* 01/10.

Fiori, J. 1994. "O nó cego do desenvolvimento brasileiro". *Novos Estudos* 40, 125–144.

Guimarães Neto, L. 1994. "Desigualdades regionais e federalismo: exame do conjunto das regiões brasileiras". *Balanço e perspectivas do federalismo fiscal no Brasil.* IESP/FUNDAP, Relatório de pesquisa, v. 9, tomo 1.
Guimarães Neto, L. 1990. "Questão regional no Brasil: reflexões sobre processos recentes". *Cadernos de Estudos Sociais* 6 (1), 131–164, Recife: FUNDAJ/INPSO.
Guimarães Neto, L. 1989. *Introdução à Formação Econômica do Nordeste.* Recife: Massangana.
Guimarães Neto, L. 1988. *Notas sobre os impactos sociais da evolução econômica recente do Nordeste.* Recife: FUNDAJ, mimeo.
Guimarães Neto, L. T. Araújo. 1985. *Importações e exportações do Nordeste do Brasil 1974–80. Análise econômica dos resultados.* Recife: SUDENE.
Harvey, D. 1984. *The limits to capital.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Lipietz, A. 1987. *Mirages and Miracles. The crisis of global Fordism.* London: Verso.
Lipietz, A. 1985. *The enchanted world: inflation, credit and the world crisis.* London: Verso.
Lipietz, A. 1980: "The structuration of space, the problem of land, and spatial policy". In: Carney, J., R. Hudson, J. Lewis. eds. *Regions in Crisis.* 60–75.
Piore, M., C. Sabel. 1984. *The second industrial divide.* New York: Basic Books.
Redwood III, J. 1976. "Algumas notas sobre exportações e desenvolvimento regional". *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 6 (2), 431–460.
Sayer, A., R. Walker. 1992. *The social economy: rethinking the division of labour.* Oxford: Blackwell.
Scott, A. 1988. *New industrial spaces.* London: Pion.
Scott, A. M. Storper. eds. 1986. *Production, work, territory: the geographical anatomy of industrial capitalism.* Boston: Allen and Unwin.
Souza, A. do V. 1986. *Política de industrialização, emprego e integração regional: o caso do Nordeste do Brasil.* Recife: MPhil dissertation, UFPE/PIMES.
Storper, M. 1991. *Industrialization, economic development and the regional question in the third world. From import substitution to flexible production.* London: Pion.
Storper, M. R. Walker. 1989. *The capitalist imperative. Territory, technology and industrial growth.* New York: Basil Blackwell.
Sudene. 1994. *Agregados econômicos regionais. Produto e formação bruta de capital. Nordeste do Brasil 1965–92.* Recife: SUDENE/DPG/PSU.
Sudene. 1992. *Relatório da pesquisa sobre o desempenho da indústria incentivada do Nordeste, 1988.* Recife: SUDENE.
Sudene. 1990. *Modernização regional em curso: 30 anos de Sudene.* Recife: MINTER/SUDENE.
Sudene. 1988. *Uma política espacial para o Nordeste.* Recife: mimeo.
Sudene. 1985. *Importações e exportações do Nordeste do Brasil 1974–80.* Recife: SUDENE/CPR.
Sudene/BNB. 1984. *Aspectos Gerais da Economia e da Sociedade do Nordeste.* Recife: MINTER/SUDENE/BNB, Série Projeto Nordeste.
Sudene/BNB. 1986. *O sistema Finor: resultados e sugestões de aperfeiçoamento.* Fortaleza: BNB.

Ana C. Fernandes, Department of Civil Engineering, Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Via Washington Luís, km 235, Cx. Postal 676, 13566–905, São Carlos, SP, Brazil

Journal für Entwicklungspolitik XIV/2, 1998, S. 213–222

Pedersen, Poul Ove, Arni Sverrisson and Meine Pieter van Dijk. Ed. 1994. Flexible Specialisation. The dynamics of small-scale industries in the south. London: Intermediate Technology Publications 1994.

The book is a result of the discussions of the working group at the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) conference, which was held in Oslo in 1990. As the terminology flexible specialisation, new competition and industrial districts is predominantly used in the context of small-scale enterprises and industries located in the southern hemisphere, the book tries now to firstly, combine theoretical knowledge with practical examples and secondly, show on different case studies the different patterns of small-scale industry development concerning flexible specialisation strategies.

After an introduction about the general terms of discussion, the book is structured into three main parts. Each of them covers the experiences of small-scale enterprises with flexible specialisation in three areas of the world, Africa, Asia and Mexico. In subchapters, which are dealing with specific countries, the most recent results of research are discussed, whereas both, the field experiences, and the theoretical aspects concerning flexible specialisation are covered. The book takes the latest research issues and interdisciplinary approaches as a main task, which is reflected by the topics dealt within the different chapters. The general aim of this book seems to be on the one hand to reflect the research and experiences of different countries and on the other hand to point out problems of generalisation and asking about the prospects and sustainability of flexible enterprises in the South.

It shows how different cases can be connected with different schemes, outlayed in the introduction. The first issues discussed in the introduction are the different properties, which are important for both, small-scale industries and flexible specialisation. In a brief paragraph the differences between industrialisation in the North, which is closely linked to "Fordism" and in the South, which is mainly associated with clustering of small firms and division of labour (Just-in-Time production) are pointed out. The introduction also puts emphasis on the link between the enterprise itself to the environment in which it operates, and therefore the possibility of subcontracting (Marshallian districts).

In this overview about flexible specialisation issues other general aspects, like flexible labour force, job training, etc. are introduced.

After an overview of the basic properties of flexible specialisation mentioned above, a brief historical review concerning the development of the importance of flexible specialisation in third world countries is given. Here, the difference between the demand for flexible specialisation in the North and in the South is explained. In industrial countries flexible specialisation is a result from a lack of meeting the demands for niche products within large-scale firms. The production of these products requires a certain degree of mechanisation, using often non standard machinery, on which small-scale enterprises are specialised. In developing countries, large-scale production only emerged through promotion from donor agencies or governments, which was the main development policy during the last two decades. This laid to an absence of small-scale service establishments in the local environment, and therefore intermediate producers established themselves to satisfy the demands of the semi-subsistence producers and consumers.

Another concept, beside and within the context of flexible specialisation used in this book is the "new competition" framework theory, which is discussed in the introduction. The main task of this recent approach is the establishment of strategic actions for shaping the markets rather than responding to them. This new competition approach is also discussed in several articles throughout the book. It is, however, clearly already pointed out in the introduction that firstly, the new competition approach is more relevant to the exporting sector, because it includes the macro- and microeconomic environment. Secondly it is a more general concept than flexible specialisation, which is only affecting technology, division of labour rather than also the improvement of methods, products and processes. The linkage between these two approaches is based on the increasing demand on research about the organisational and institutional aspects of flexible specialisation production.

The introduction also covers the main characteristics of small-scale enterprises, i.e. technology and networking. These are two aspects described in almost every theoretical or introductional work on small-scale enterprises, however it is here also pointed out that one cannot generalise technological or social network issues for all developing countries. This stands in a logical context with the arrangement and outlay of the book itself.

The main first part after the introduction deals with case studies from Africa, Asia and Mexico. They are located in Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso and Kenya. All three are described from a different angle, firstly, Zimbabwe from a network concept of the enterprise, secondly, Kenya in comparison to Zimbabwe regarding technological networks and gradual mechanisation in carpentry enterprises and thirdly, Burkina Faso concerning the new competition theory.

The Zimbabwean case study by Poul Ove Pedersen focuses on small rural towns as intermediaries on the one hand between the rural economies and on the other hand the formal, mainly urban biased national industry. The reader gets both, a theoretical framework concerning networking and an empirical approach of the three main sectors in the Zimbawean economy: agro processing and marketing, building and clothing. Large-scale and small and medium-scale enterprises, which are linked to each other are located in all three sectors. Illustrated with figures the interdependence between those enterprises is shown. In the explainations the problems associated with establishing small and medium enterprises like credit possibilities, marketing, gender aspects and administrative

problems are mentioned. In Zimbabwe, as the author points out, structural adjustment programmes and their aim to liberalize the market are mainly responsible for those problems. It seems that flexible specialisation is caused by the general structure of the markets, like being generally instable, segmented caused by instable incomes, lack of infrastructure, etc. Apparently, flexible specialisation in Zimbabwe differs from those in other countries concerning on its reliance on family networks and hierarchical patron client relationships, rather than on contracts.

All in all this article emphasizes that flexible specialisation is an effect of segmentation of the markets concerning delivery services (transportation, credit and commodity availability) rather than being a result of product specialisation. The author concludes that the use of flexible specialisation would leave more room for manoeuvre concerning economies of scale and collective efficiency.

The second African case study is written more theoretically, however the author, Arni Sverrisson, also covers empirical examples located in Kenya and Zimbabwe. The interesting comparison of two different African countries shows both, the danger and the advantages of a direct comparison. The author puts emphasis on technological networks and explains the differences between flexible and integrated enterprises first. A special division is made on the stages of integration which are distinguished by the used technology. Also the social circumstances and the importance of other factors like the division of labour, allocation of specialised workers within the factory, etc. are mentioned. Sverrisson discusses the important issue of the need of skilled/unskilled workers when establishing flexible specialisation. In both case studies the experience has shown that broadly skilled workers make the process of flexible specialisation easier. The demand for them often is created from import restrictions which make the replacement of machines impossible, and the flexible specialisation process therefore demands simple machinery which can be maintained by local manufacturers.

After this introduction of flexible and integrated enterprises, the issue of networking is discussed. On charts the networks in the carpentry industries of both countries are shown. The charts are based on the relationship between the peasant society and the governments, and how issues like training, money, customers outlets, input supply, machinery, and other carpenters are connected to the focal enterprise. These links are described on two case study examples in a brief way, whereas also the problems of diffusion are illustrated.

The author concludes that people are more likely to upgrade their already existing way of production rather than adapting a complete new technology or way of production. This is argued from the social point of view and how new technology demands highly skilled workers and affects social structure. The experience of these case studies showed also that there cannot be any generalisation and that theoretical knowledge often is not reflected in empirical contexts.

The last subchapter within the African chapter compares an African with an Asian country, namely Burkina Faso and Indonesia. Both countries have been the main research field of the author, Meine Peter van Dijk. In addition to the latter African case studies the author tries here to put the two countries into the "new competition" framework. The initial theoretical angle is the structure-conduct-performance theory. The author tries to establish indicators to assess the empirical relevance of flexible specialisation and the new competition theory. Flexible specialisation, although there is no general definition, can be measured in various variables, e.g. subcontracting, clustering and networking, but it lacks of paying attention of the broader developments in the world economy. Theoretically there is only distinguished between mass production and flexible specialisation. This fact leads the author to the conclusion of putting the flexible specialisation theory into the context of the new competition theory. Different variables for measuring the degree of flexible specialisation, the dynamics of enterprises (large, small and medium) have been established in a very logic, interesting way. Measurements are made on the key variables, like technology, innovation and interfirm co-operation, and the results show that firms often follow both approaches, rather than only one.

Another important factor which is mentioned in this article is how government participation concerning finance influence small-scale industry performance. Empirical evidence showed that firms, following both, flexible specialisation and the new competition approach gain higher profits without government participation in their capital.

The paper concludes that the new competition approach should be included in the discussion about flexible specialisation, because it also stresses economic variables on the macroeconomic side, i.e. competition, globalisation, the role of small, medium and large enterprises and world market issues.

The next four chapters are focusing on Asian experiences. The main contents of the first three case studies are clusters in different areas, i.e. rural and urban. The fourth subchapter deals with one of the NICs, South Korea and its way to success in adapting flexible specialisation strategies.

Peter Knorringa writes about a footwear cluster in Agra, India. This cluster is based on the interaction between traders and producers. Here the emphasis is put on industrial networks and its actors. The cluster located in Agra fulfils certain properties, e.g. linkage units, which are associated with successful implementation of flexible specialisation. Emphasis is given to the trust relationships on which the interaction between the actors is dependent and their co-operation is based on. However, as the paper stresses out, this interaction lacks from interdependency between production and marketing units, resulting from the irregularity of work, which is the main characteristic in Agra. The paper tries to find reasons for these problems in various "structural problems", such as the cluster in general, the network structure and the socio-cultural structure.

The cluster in Agra is highly specialised and produces all kinds of different shoes. Beside the workers, mainly women, middlemen try to establish an effective system, which is linked to a large subcontracting system. Tables illustrate that around 60000 people are involved in the production which ranges from

large-scale to small-scale industries. The products are determined to both, the export and the domestic market, whereas export shoes are cheap and domestic ones expensive. Networking between marketing and production is described in the next section, where also a definition is given. Concerning networking, reference is made to the framework of the "new institutional economics", which measures the interaction between market agents and small enterprises within the concept of transaction costs. Again, it is mentioned that useful co-ordination principles can only be carried out in a trustful relationship between the actors. The author points out the different linkages between the people involved, which are determined by price, authority and trust, but are dominated by the market factors. In the footwear cluster also exist conflicting interests between the actors, which are in another focus of the paper. These are a result of the traditionally determined roles of different castes in the footwear production process. Traders, for example are mainly Hindus and Muslims whereas the actual manufactors are Jatavas, a traditionally "low" caste, which leads to problems concerning trust between the various groups. Therefore conflicts occur rather than effective co-operation between the two groups and disturb a developmental process like it happened in countries like Italy, Japan, China and Indonesia. The summary again points out the importance of trust for successful and efficient networking.

The second Asian case study takes place in central Java and deals with roof tile enterprises. The author, Henry Sandee, observed also a cluster. The article puts emphasis on how a substantial change in technology leads to changes in the organisational structure of production and marketing. Sandee carried out a special research method, i.e. a subsector approach, which facilitates the analysis of technological development. The research compares the situation of the cluster before and after the change in technology. On different tables the differences and the results of the improvement are illustrated. In general this article also showed that clustered networks are not only determined from technological factors but also from economical ones. Evidence showed that small firms behave risk-averse concerning the adaptation of new technologies. Therefore it can be concluded that introducing new technology does not necessarily lead to networking, which is a result of economic circumstances.

The third case study about an Asian country contains the research results regarding trade networks for flexible rural industries. The author, Hermine Weijland, focuses on the rural area, where "rural cottage industries" (RCI) are the centre of this study. It is argued that RCI are flexible and industrialised, which leads to increased connections to the global development. The empirical data was gained from Indonesia, where general survey data was used, and gave an evidence for the growing importance of RCI. This is the first article of the whole book, which gives a list of characteristics or enhancements for achieving flexibility. Weijland explains those points in the context of RCI, and the following can be regarded as important: yielding a labour reserve, becoming part of industrial trade networks and forming special types of rural industrial districts (clusters)

(p. 98). Concerning these three points emphasis was given at the research and hence in that paper. Moreover the regional developments have been put into a wider macroeconomic context, which can now be linked to the new competition approach. The article establishes a model about the linkage between outward orientation and the role of middlemen, who encourage more women to enter the market. In this model, the different patterns, advantages and disadvantages on various economicland non-economic variables are explained. The results of this model are shown in tables and graphs, which are, because of the complexity of the model, sometimes difficult to follow.

All in all it can be concluded that the success of the RCI depends on the wider market networks and the presence of middlemen who give access to the markets. Additionally, the general success depends very much on the location of the RCI, the better populated the more likely are the chances of establishing trade networks. Furthermore the success of RCI depend very much on intermediation of marketing of outputs and financing of inputs, which can be achieved through regional policies concerning subcontracting between manufacturers and traders.

So far the case studies were from LDCs, whose economic performance can be improved. The last chapter about an Asian country is written by Myung – Rae Cho who researched in one of the NICs, South Korea. As South Korea has a substantial economic growth, the pressure towards technological competitiveness has risen. In achieving this aim, new paths of production improvements have to be explored, which was done through the reconfiguration of the relationship of large and small firms. Flexible specialisation, as the author points out, is a main task in improving the international competitiveness. Firstly, Cho describes the historical development, i.e. shifting Korea's industry to be a high technological competitor, also emphasising the role of the risen interfirm relations and the traditional chaebols. The further were developed through subcontracting, the latter are conglomerate businesses. Both forms of this development show the relation between large and small industries. The author looks in particular on three regional clusters, with three different patterns of specialisation and in three different environments. The first, a case study of the micro electronics industry describes the promotion of new technology in the Seoul metropolitan region. This was mainly done in large conglomerates with vertically integrated networks (New Fordist), which are highly diversified and cover multisectoral networks. The second case study is about automobiles in Ulsan industrial town, which is organised through subcontracting firms, which are following an JIT production mode, which demands high flexibility. Another important point is the foundation of subcontracting systems determined from the price mechanism, but based on different ties, i.e. blood, family, religions, etc. The third industry area written about is the textile area. It is also located in an urban environment. Here also the division of labour is essential, a system of "little owners" is established, i.e. the production line is splitted into several independent units each with an autonomous manager. All get different kind of supports, like financial aid, constant supply contracts, government support for the promotion of the products, etc. To exploit those supports a cluster network between the firms has been established. Additionally, there also exist different collaborative associations or co-operatives, which are providing support to the producers, therefore additional support to a network between large and small firms is given.

The second part of the article goes into detail concerning a theory of flexible specialisation. Cho tries to explain that flexibility is a relational mode, which comes from a network, where all agents are brought together in a complex social division of labour. A second argument emphasises the role of small firms in the specialisation process, which is determined by co-operation possibilities with large firms, the division of labour and interaction between large and small firms. The third theory concerning flexible specialisation is based on spatial and clustering issues, i.e. that flexible specialisation is dependent on interaction in the local context. Again, the author points out that there is, however, no single pathway to one flexible specialisation paradigm.

The third part of the book covers two articles, which are dealing both with Mexican case studies: One is about footwear and one about garment industry.

The first article by Roberta Rabelloti focuses on a comparison between two districts in Mexico, both clusters of footwear industries with backward and forward linkages between the firms. The aim of this study was to put the two district experiences into an "industrial district scheme". The research method is precisely described and recent performance illustrated in various tables. The analysis of different issues, like labour market, technology changes, relation to the suppliers, distribution channels and market analysis, formal and informal cooperation between the firms and institutional support are made. All those properties are given in both investigated clusters. Again the interaction between the agents seems to be a premise for a working flexible specialisation scheme. These interactions have not only to cover the flow of goods, but also the information, knowledge and people, also it is pointed out that flexibility, internal and external circumstances are important and lead, if collective efficiency and flexible specialisation is applied, to a positive impact on growth.

The last chapter deals with the Mexican garment industry and the importance of new competition, i.e. the inclusion of the environment of both, a micro and macro level. The article by Fiona Wilson is a reflection on the past development of industrialisation processes and first describes one particular area in Mexico before discussing the issue on a more country wide level. The main point of discussion is how political circumstances affect small-scale industries, which is clearly discussed. Wilson describes the historical development concerning rural industry on the example of sweater producing enterprises in one little town. Both, prosperous times with high availability of machinery and other features which ease flexible specialisation production, and the effects of the debt crisis are worked out. Additionally, the general prospects of the garment production in Mexico are elaborated.

All in all Wilson writes about the political economy and the wider political circumstances, which affect flexible specialisation and gives a good historical overview about the development of Mexican garment industry during the last decades.

Overall the book provides a good overview about its subject matter with good case study examples. Both, the theoretical and the empirical issues are covered well. Most of the articles are addressed to the reader, who already have basic knowledge about small-scale issues, but it is can also be recommended to the interested reader who likes to get an overview about the topic and wants to make use of the extensive references.

Kristin Duchâteau

Feldbauer, Karl Husa, Erich Pilz, Irene Stacher. Hg. 1997. MEGA-CITIES. Die Metropolen des Südens zwischen Globalisierung und Fragmentierung. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel/Südwind.

Den Metropolen des Nordens kam im Zuge der boomenden „Global City"-Diskussion in letzter Zeit nicht nur in der Stadtforschung, sondern fächerübergreifend über mehrere Disziplinen hinweg, wachsendes Interesse zugute. Währenddessen blieb die Analyse der Städte des Südens zumeist den jeweiligen Spezialisten überlassen und damit genauso peripher wie die Regionen selbst. Die Frage nach der Marginalisierung der Metropolen des Südens steht nun auch im Mittelpunkt dieses Sammelbandes. Diese stehen hinsichtlich räumlicher und demographischer Größe den Metropolen der Zentren um nichts nach, doch geht damit keineswegs eine ebenso große ökonomische oder politische Bedeutung in der internationalen Städte-Hierarchie einher. Von den im Buch analysierten Städten (Bombay, Delhi, Bangalore, Bangkok, Jakarta, Shanghai, Nairobi, Lagos, Teheran, São Paulo, Mexiko City) kommt einzig und allein dem brasilianischen São Paulo der Status einer immerhin „peripheren Weltstadt" zu, die nicht nur im südamerikanischen Raum als wichtiges Kontroll- und Entscheidungszentrum fungiert, sondern in den letzten Jahren auch in erheblichem Ausmaß von der Dynamik der internationalen Finanzmärkte „profitiert" hat. Wie schnell diese Dynamik verpuffen kann und wie akut die Frage nach Weltstadtfunktion oder Peripherisierung werden kann, zeigen die jüngsten Ereignisse in Asien (Spekulationskrise, Währungsabwertung etc.). Obwohl deren Auswirkungen auf asiatische Agglomerationen im Band noch nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte, zeigen die vorgelegten Analysen bereits die Ambivalenz forcierter Weltmarktanbindung: der wirtschaftliche Boom geht einher mit zunehmender Arm-Reich-Polarisierung, Verkehrsinfarkten, ökologischen Problemen, der Prekarisierung und Informalisierung von Arbeitsverhältnissen usw. Den oftmals analytisch wie empirisch unterbelichteten Aspekten informeller Arbeit sowie Migration wird im übrigen in „MEGA-CITIES" besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, obwohl sie sich hinsichtlich dieser zwei Faktoren – wie im Buch auch betont wird – von den Metropolen des Nordens nicht unbedingt unterscheiden.

Vanessa Redak

Arge Entwicklungspolitische Hochschulwochen Hg. 1997. Analysen & Alternativen zu einer neoliberalen Welt. Ein Reader. Wien: Südwind. 164 Seiten.

Heuer fand sie bereits zum zweiten Mal statt, die entwicklungspolitische Hochschulwoche, veranstaltet von entwicklungspolitisch engagierten und interessierten StudentInnen, die mit dem Anspruch antreten, den entwicklungspolitischen Diskurs an den österreichischen Universitäten weiterzuentwickeln. Die Dokumentation der ersten Hochschulwoche, die seit Jänner 1998 (nach langen Mühen der HerausgeberInnen) vorliegt, kann durchaus als gelungener Beitrag in diese Richtung bezeichnet werden. Er schafft nämlich das gar nicht so häufige Kunststück, in einer relativ großen Anzahl relativ kurzer Beiträge einerseits eine disziplinäre und thematische Vielfalt zu versammeln, andererseits aber über die Wiederholung und Zusammenfassung sattsam Bekannten hinauszugehen. Die 19 Texte spannen einen Bogen von der Politischen Ökonomie zur Diskursanalyse, von feministischer Kritik am neoliberalen Modell bis zu konkreten Fragen der Entwicklungspolitik und -zusammenarbeit, von Osteuropa über Ghana bis Kuba, vom großen historischen Überblick bis zur zeitgeschichtlichen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Zapatisten-Aufstand im mexikanischen Chiapas, vom Empowerment bis zur neuen Geographie des Kapitalismus. Generell sind die Beiträge (mit wenigen Ausnahmen) originär, spannend, gut lesbar und führen trotz der Kürze differenzierte Argumente. In der Analyse wird Neoliberalismus bzw. Globalisierung von mehreren AutorInnen als Konsequenz einer tiefen Krise des kapitalistischen Weltsystems begriffen, die zu einer Neugestaltung der Kapital-Arbeit- und Kapital-Raum-Verhältnisse führt. Diese „Strukturanpassung" genannte Neuordnung geht zu Lasten der Mehrheit der Menschen in den Peripherien – und zwar den städtischen Peripherien in den Industriestaaten, der europäischen Peripherie im ehemaligen RGW, der globalen Peripherie, und den gesellschaftlichen Peripherien, v.a. weiblichen Geschlechts, überall. Insofern ist Neoliberalismus in erster Linie eine Kampfansage bzw. ein praktizierter Kampf. Daß es mit seinem theoretischen Fundament nicht weit her ist (nichts als „Scheiße", heißt es ist im derzeit wohl unverzichtbaren Zitat des Subcomandante Marcos, das das Cover schmückt), wird im vorliegenden Reader mehr als deutlich. Der zweite Schwerpunkt der Dokumentation (die Alternativen zur neoliberalen Welt) bleibt dankenswerterweise erstens skeptisch und zweitens konkret. So werden Modebegriffe und -konzepte (wie Empowerment oder globale Zivilgesellschaft) nicht nachgebetet, sondern kritisch untersucht – etwa indem darauf hingewiesen wird, wie sehr sich herrschende Institutionen wie die Weltbank einen (ehemals) emanzipatorischen Diskurs angeeignet haben. Sehr positiv fällt auch auf, daß Gegenmodelle sehr gegenständlich diskutiert werden (z.B. Subsistenzperspektive oder die Anpassungs- und Überlebensstrategien Kubas). Auf diese Weise liegen die politischen und/oder ökonomischen Schwächen von Alternativen zwar offen, die Darstellung wird aber gerade dadurch dem realpolitischen Charakter dieser Versuche (und damit auch ihrer realpolitischen Möglichkeiten) gerecht. Als (kleine) Mängeln seien angeführt, daß sich nicht alle in den Beiträgen zitierte AutorInnen dann auch in der Bibliographie wiederfinden, und daß das „Journal für Entwicklungspolitik" in der Rubrik „Zeitschriften zum Thema" nicht aufscheint. Obwohl, der letztgenannte Punkte ist durchaus auch als Selbstkritik aufzufassen – daß das JEP dort fehlt, deutet doch wohl nicht auf mangelnde Präsenz unter den Studierenden hin?

Alles in allem eine würdige Dokumentation einer guten Veranstaltung – und hoffentlich nicht der letzte Reader dieser Art.

Christof Parnreiter

Journal für Entwicklungspolitik XIV/2, 1998, S. 223

Über Autoren und Autorinnen

Becker, Joachim, hat Volkswirtschaft, Politikwissenschaft und Afrikanistik in Marburg/Lahn studiert und ist Assistent am Institut für Volkswirtschaftstheorie und -politik der Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien. Seine Forschungsschwerpunkte sind Staatstheorie, Regulationstheorie und vergleichende Analyse regionaler Integrationsprozesse.

Bertola, Luis, ist Wirtschaftshistoriker und leitet die Unidad Multidisciplinaria an der Universidad de la República in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Faria, Luiz Augusto Estrella, Ökonom der Fundação de Económia e Estatística de Rio Grande do Sul (FEE); Ökonomieprofessor an der Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Doktorant am Ökonomieinstitut der Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ).

Marques-Pereira, Jaime, ist Ökonom am Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine (IHEAL) der Universität von Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle. Ebenso hielt er eine Professur an der Bundesuniversität von Permambuco/Brasilien inne. Forschungsgebiete: Öffentliche Politik, Wirtschaftsregulierung und politische Legitimität.

Fernandes, Ana C., Professorin an der Bundesuniversität von Sao Carlos/Brasilien. Forschungsschwerpunkt: regionalen Auswirkungen wirtschaftlicher Integrationsprozesse.

Informationen für Autoren

Manuskripte sind zu senden an: Journal für Entwicklungspolitik, Währinger Straße 17/104, A-1090 Wien. Senden Sie zwei Kopien. Diese werden zwei externen Begutachtern zur Stellungnahme vorgelegt. Der Beitrag darf komplett den Umfang von 20 Seiten (2zeilig) nicht überschreiten. Legen Sie ein kurzes englisches Abstract, ein deutsches Abstract (je ca. 100 Worte) und eine Kurzcharakteristik ihrer wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit bei. Auf dem Manuskript sollte Ihr Name nicht angegeben sein. Zitierweise: Generell sollte ein Verzeichnis aller ver- und bearbeiteten Literatur am Ende des Beitrages stehen. Im Text selbst geben Sie bitte den Namen, das Jahr und bei wörtlichen Zitaten die jeweilige Seite an. Schicken Sie Ihren Beitrag zusätzlich auf Diskette, wobei das Manuskript mit Word für Windows oder einem anderen Windows-compatiblen Programm erfaßt sein sollte. Redaktionsschluß für das Heft Nr. 1 ist der 31.12., für das Heft Nr. 2 der 31.3., für das Heft Nr. 3 der 30.6. und für das Heft Nr. 4 der 30.9.

Information for Contributors

Submit manuscripts to: Austrian Journal of Development Studies, Währinger Straße 17/104, A-1090 Vienna, Austria. Submit two copies and retain the original for your files. All papers deemed appropriate for the AJDS are sent out anonymously to referees. A full-length article should not be longer than 20 manuscript pages, including title page, abstract, text, references, footnotes, tables, and figures. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced. Include a brief english abstract, a german abstract (each fewer than 100 words) and a short curriculum vitae (not more than 40 words). Delete all identifying references from your manuscript. Reference Format: In the appendix: List all items alphabetically and, within author, by year of publication. In the text: All source references are to be identified at the appropriate point in the text by the last name of the author, year of publication, and pagination where needed. Additionally submit the article in machine-readable form, possible file-formats are Word for Windows or other word-processing programs for Windows. The deadline for the issue no. 1 is Dec. 31, for issue no. 2 March 31, for issue no. 3 June 30, and for issue no. 4 Sept. 30.

Die folgenden Hefte

Heft 3/1998: Offenes Heft
Heft 4/1998: Megastädte
Heft 1/1999: WTO/GATT