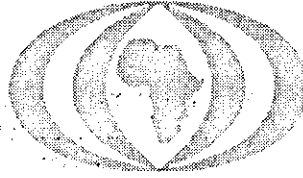


**DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VAN INTERNASIONALE AANGELEENTHEDE  
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JAN SMUTS HOUSE: SECOND INTERNATIONAL THEORY WORKSHOP

23 June, 1982  
12h00.

Summary -

Dominance, Dependence and Modernisation, with specific reference  
to Southern Africa.

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In this working paper an attempt will be made to distinguish among various usages and conceptualisation of the concepts 'dominance', 'dependency' and 'modernisation' as they occur in social science literature. Briefly the paper sets out to trace the origins, intellectual traditions and applications of two paradigms used in comparative analysis of the so-called Third World - that of dependency and modernisation. The paper concludes with some critical reflections on both of these two paradigms.

Part One of the paper discusses the content of the dependency paradigm of Third World underdevelopment. Drawing on the more systematic and elaborate statements of the main theses associated with this paradigm in the literature, the variety of intellectual traditions on which the dependency paradigm is based, are outlined.

In his elaboration of theory of imperialism Lenin referred to the concept of dependency. He understood capitalist imperialism to be a manifestation of the struggle among the colonial powers for the economic and political division of the world. Although the colonial powers were distinguishable from the colonies, formally independent yet dependent countries also were evident. Lenin, wrote as follows:

"Not only are there two main groups of countries, those owning colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency". (Lenin, 1967, I: 742-743)

The dependency paradigm as know today evolved in Latin America during the 1960s. Most scholars agree that there is no single theory of dependency, but rather as Roxborough, remarked :

"... the notion of dependency defines a paradigm rather than a specific theory". (Roxborough, 1979: 43)

In a useful synthesis of the literature on dependency and imperialism, Chilcote (1981), shows that the intellectual reaction that followed - principally from the less developed nations - on the notion of diffusionist capitalist development, included differing perspectives both non-Marxist and Marxist. The non-Marxist reaction sprang from the economists associated with the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), under the aegis of Raúl Prebisch of Argentina.

While Celso Furtado and the other ECLA economists critiqued, then modified, bourgeois theories of development, André Gunder Frank and others - notably Paul Baran, Mauro Marini, Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin - attempted to formulate a theory of underdevelopment within a Marxist perspective.

Drawing on the overviews of Cardoso (1972), Palma (1981), Chilcote (1981) and Roxborough (1979) of the dependency paradigm, a classification of the various perspectives will be attempted. The multiple uses of the concepts 'dependency' and 'underdevelopment' will be emphasised, while an attempt will be made to distinguish between two analytically useful usages of the concept in question. On the other hand, dependency will be conceptualised as some form of boundary interchange, as the dependence of one system on another. This may be labeled 'external dependency', or 'dependency as a relationship'. On the other hand it is possible to view dependency as a conditioning factor which alters the internal functioning and articulation of the elements of the dependent social formation.

The implications of this for the dependency paradigm will be analysed, while the various conceptualisations and applications of the concept dependency will be critically assessed. Attention will be given to the tendency among dependency theorists toward conceptual polarity; toward a linear conception of history and their lack of consideration as to the specificity of the history and socio-economic structures of peripheral or satellite nations. The charges levied at dependency theorists of economic determinism, and of over generalization in concepts and theory will also be investigated.

Part Two comprises a critical discussion of the origin, premises and usages of the modernisation paradigm. Specific reference will be made to the contributions of Parsons (1952), Eisenstadt (1964), Levy (1966), Nisbet (1969), Rostow (1960) and their influence upon political scientists, notably Organski (1965), Apter (1965) and Huntington (1965 & 1968).

Critique against the modernisation paradigm will be advanced, while the similarities and differences between the two paradigms in question will be highlighted.

Finally, the last section provides some reflections on the significance and applications of these two paradigms for Southern Africa. While the gist of the paper is theoretical, it is hoped that this section will provide a link-up with Johan Graaff's paper which is of an applied and more specific nature.

## DEPENDENCE THEORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS <sup>\*</sup>

A major theme of this paper will be comparison of the dependency positions of the S.A. homeland areas (HL's) and the other Southern African states, mainly the BLS countries, (taken together I will use the term Southern African periphery (SAP) because:

- (i) a number of writers have argued that the S.A. HL's fit the model of a dependent economy better than that of a backward region of a developed country. Certainly, dependency theorists would see no difference in their contribution to the S.A. core-area (the P/W-complex). In this paper I work from the assumption that the problems and development options of HL's and the BLS countries overlap substantially and can be very fruitfully compared within the dependency theory paradigm. International boundaries are, in fact, dispensable to dependency theory and are certainly of the same order of importance as influx control measures.
- (ii) dependency theory explicitly rejects as artificial divisions into political, economic, social, etc. disciplines. The problems of an area transcend disciplines and I hope to show they include subjects like culture, education, psychology, agriculture, land tenure, etc. which do not normally fall within the ambit of international theory.
- (iii) dependency theory is some times accused of "mechanico-formalistic" theorising which does not fit the facts (Palma: 64). A more detailed case-study will hopefully avoid this accusation. For this reason, I shall concentrate on the implications of migrant labour (ML) within the Southern African framework.

### Dimensions of Dependence -

The significance of dependence can be seen from a number of different perspectives. The word itself hides a number of different uses in the literature.

- (i) Dependence can be seen as the economic disadvantages which a region suffers as a result of its less profitable investment potential. The economies of agglomeration (which function in both capitalist and socialist economies) determine that bigger cities are better places to invest than smaller towns or rural areas. By its proximity to such larger units, peripheral regions become by the spontaneous functioning of the free market, integrated into services of the richer unit. As a result they lose a substantial measure of control over their own economic decisions. The power relationship between them becomes asymmetric. This becomes particularly acute when the peripheral region also qualifies as a small country, as all the SAP countries do.
- (ii) Such an asymmetric power relationship in a "free market" situation allows the potential for interventions in the market of both an economic and political nature. In this sense, dependence means the subjection of the periphery to policies purposefully designed to circumvent the market (extra-economic action) with the aim of nullifying resistance, competition or other dysfunction in the service by the periphery of the core. Used crudely this kind of dependence becomes conspiracy theory.

<sup>\*</sup>I have used the title "Preliminary Thoughts" rather than "Summary of a longer paper" because "a longer paper" does not yet exist. This sketch will, however, cover most of the same ground and, therefore, serves the same purpose of introduction.  
By J.F. De V. Graaf, Dept. of Development Studies, University of Bophuthatswana (May, 1982).

(iii) In a third sense, dependence refers to the disastrous consequences to the periphery in the event of overt retaliation by the core or of some crisis in the core (like a trade boycott). In this sense, different features of dependence become prominent like railway lines and food imports. (Green: 1981)

A fundamental difference exists between the kind of dependence discussed in paragraph (i) and those in paragraphs (ii) and (iii). The existence of a difference in investment potential between core and periphery influences investment decisions continuously and automatically. In most cases, it does not require action to put them into play - which it does in cases (ii) and (iii). The latter types are potential areas of action. The fact of their existence does not mean that they are actually used (or even threatened). This has important implications for research methodology in deducing the degree of control actually exercised by the core over the periphery. To say, for example, (of H.L. dependence on S.A. for financial support) that "(t)he implications for political control in this situation are too obvious to require spelling out" (Cleary: 8 - my own emphasis) misses crucial aspects of the dependency relationship. It says nothing about when or how the available instruments of power will be brought into play by the core nor when or how these moves will be opposed, avoided or softened by the periphery. To begin to understand these dynamics entails a detailed examination of the interests of, and combinations between, dominant pressure groups at both core and periphery as well as the negotiating skills of individuals in leadership positions. To quote Seers -

"The motivation, willpower, judgement and intelligence of actual or potential leaders evidently differ significantly. The importance of these personal characteristics follows from the very multiplicity of constraints which have been described". (Seers: 144)

A position of dependence does not imply that the periphery is totally powerless, nor that the actors from the core area are omnipotent, 100% efficient, static, unequivocal or unopposed in their decisions. Dependency theory should not allow the desire for theoretical elegance or emotional satisfaction to negate the ambiguity and uncertainty inherent in matching theory and reality. This means detailed historical studies of the power constellation and ideology of the core. At periphery level, the style of leadership appears, if anything, to be even more crucial and will entail juggling, not only internal interests but also the alliances and clashes between different elements of the periphery, for they compete among one another for scarce investment resources.

(iv) There is a fourth kind of dependence which relates to the development potential of the SAP economy. While an SAP area may not be totally powerless or without considerable benefit in its participation in the Southern African economic complex, the kind of economic pattern which has been imposed on it by the core makes any development which it may undertake necessarily core-oriented. It is necessarily complementary to core-needs. In dependency theory language this is referred to as the international division of labour. There is, for example, very little chance that any of the SAP areas will develop sufficient industrial capacity to employ their respective economically active populations. Employment is typically highest in the government sectors. The resultant system of M.L. seriously undermines the prospects of viable agricultural progress.

### Migrant Labour

While in many Third World countries dependency theory concentrates on multi-national companies, balance of trade, technological dependence etc., in Southern Africa these are overshadowed by the extent and emotional trauma of M.L. This is the most visible and brutal symptom of the dependency relationship. It remains, however, only an intervening variable in a longer causal chain which starts in the power constellations at the core and ends in agricultural, educational, psychological and cultural spheres in the periphery.

An understanding of the nature of the core-periphery relationship in Southern Africa cannot avoid an appreciation of the thrust of the policy of Separate Development. This is an immense area of debate in the South African social sciences which cannot be discussed in any detail here. Suffice it to say that dependency theorists would see negligible difference between the S.A. HL's and the other SAP areas. Their major contribution is to act as a source of cheap labour and as a dumping ground for the cyclical and structural unemployment trends in the core-economy.

The dimensions of dependence flowing from the ML system, as conventionally explained in the literature can be briefly summarised as follows:  
(This section will be considerably expanded in the full version of the paper)

- a) A large proportion of the area's income originates outside its boundaries. This is often expressed as the relationship of GDP (income generated within its borders) to GNI (total income accruing to the area). 1976 figures for Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu are 0.42, 0.37 and 0.25 (Calculated from Survey, 1976). In 1977/8 the wages paid from mining to Lesotho migrants was equivalent to 72% of GDP. (Knight & Lenta) Percentage of national income from external sources in Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland for 1976 were respectively 80%, 50% and 33%. (Lipton).
- b) Because migrants (and commuters) work outside the area's borders and are influenced by these values, (especially consumer values) they also spend significant amounts of their income there. A more valid indication of the area's income would then be Area Income calculated as 100% of commuter earnings, 20% of migrant earnings and 5% of earnings by those permanently resident in the core-area. (Butler et al: 139)
- c) The core-area receives the benefit of education, health, welfare and food expenditure in the periphery. This means that the periphery is actually subsidising the development of the core-area.
- d) Since migrants are typically younger, more educated and male, the ML system is depriving the periphery of its most skilled, dynamic and physically capable manpower. This has particular importance for the agricultural sector since the absence of males effectively disrupts, inter alia, the authority and decision-making processes in family units. The disruption of family life is well known.
- e) The discrepancy between periphery and core-area incomes renders the periphery a place to live but not to work. Particularly in agriculture, where income differentials can be as high as twenty times (compared, for example, to the mining sector), there is very little motivation to invest in agriculture.

(f) The / ...

(f) The absence of security in the core area (i.e. both pension & medical aid schemes, unemployment insurance and ownership of immovable property and influx control) makes the periphery reluctant to relinquish his rights to land in the periphery. This means, again for agriculture, that significant percentages of arable land area (up to 60%) lie unused. Potentially successful farmers are, in their turn, unable to gain access to viable areas of land and are also forced into migrancy and part-time agricultural activity. In some areas, tribal custom requires that, for a man to retain his claim to a particular piece of land, he simply plough it once a year. This means that he ploughs at unseasonable times of the year without planting, thereby significantly aggravating chances of erosion.

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