

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF

"UNDERDEVELOPMENT"

— An Approach from Dependence Theory —

LEE, SEE-JAE

Note: This is a brief summary of a thesis for a Degree of M.A. in the Department of Sociology, Graduate School, University of Tokyo, in the year of 1976. The thesis was originally written in Japanese, under title of "Teikaihatsu no Shakaikozo (Social Structure of Underdevelopment)".

1. Tasks and Significance.

Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of a group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others (Dos, Santos, 1969, p76.) In the conditioning situation, the countries with technological, commercial, capital, and socio-political and cultural predominance over others can exploit the surplus produced in the countries which are dependent on the former. Dependence arises from the international division of labor. Dependence never happens between countries which do not have any economic relations. In the history of Western capitalism, the international division of labor is one of the prime means for capital accumulation in the Centres of capitalism. Therefore, dependence conditions the possibility and limits of activities of the people of underdeveloped countries, not only in economic life, but also in terms of socio-political and cultural life. Dependence, however, is not simply related to "external" factors, but "internal" factors as well. Dependence is not likely to occur without any supporting groups of actors who also gain advantages from the dependence relations in the underdeveloped countries.

On the basis of the concept of Dependence outlined above, I explain the social structure of underdeveloped countries. As existing dependence theories deal with the economic phenomena between the capitalist centres and underdeveloped peripheries, it is necessary to translate the economic dependence into social and structural dependence. However, most of the materials used in this thesis are secondary data. Therefore, this thesis is largely a theoretical work without support of primary,

empirical data. Existing dependence theories ---mostly concerning economic relations--- are extensively used to diversify and deepen the theories about the social structure of underdeveloped countries.

In this thesis, a particular area is not taken up as an object of analysis. However, we presume that the main object of analysis is the underdeveloped society with colonial or semi-colonial experience. We excluded the socialist underdeveloped countries from our objects of analysis, for we may have to add different variables in order to ascertain socialist dependence. We also excluded from our objects of analysis the internal dynamism of the Metropolitan Centres.

Besides concept of dependence, we chose to use the concept of national economy. There are two advantages in using the concept of national economy; first, in national economy is included the concept of the social division of labor. The social division of labor is nothing but the structure of the allocation of social resources and population, from which we can deduce the concept of social structure. By so doing, we can interconnect the economic phenomena with social structure. Secondly, the concept of national economy can serve to demonstrate the non-existence of national economy in the underdeveloped countries as compared with the national economy of Western capitalism. From this concept of national economy, we can not only disprove the existence of the national economy in the underdeveloped countries, but expose the fallacy of the categories such as nation-state, national society and social class in the dependent societies. To be confirmed here, however, is not that we try to set up a national economy in the underdeveloped society. Such an attempt would be conceptually a great fallacy, if we understand the dependent character of the social structure of the underdeveloped countries.

The significance of this thesis is, first of all, to explain the social structure of underdeveloped society with regards to the relation with the capitalist metropolitan centres. We understand basically that world capitalism is not an arithmetic accumulation, but an organic totality of societies, and that the underdeveloped societies are parts of the western capitalism in its growth and expansion. Therefore, theories of underdevelopment in our thesis are diametrically in opposition to the so-called theories of modernisation, theories of growth, diffusion-acculturation and theories of "dual" society. All of them are based on an assumption that the underdeveloped countries are an organic whole, independent from the development of the world capitalism. Particularly the theory of economic growth (that of W.W. Rostow in particular) assumes a kind of unilinear his-

torical development and exogenous development; that is, underdeveloped countries are in a certain stage of Western capitalism, and by in-putting some production factors from outside, the underdeveloped countries can overcome their underdevelopment. But this kind of assumption turns out to be a complete fallacy in the dependence theory.

In this thesis, we developed a theoretical moment for liberation of the dependent society from its dependence on world capitalism.

2. "Development of Underdevelopment"

Dependence theory seeks the causes of underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries, not in the internal stagnation of the traditional societies, but rather in the relations with the expansion of world capitalism. Andre Gunder Frank insists that the underdevelopment of Latin America comes from the contradictions of the capitalism peculiar to the European capitalist expansion into Latin America since the period of mercantile capitalism. He summarised three contradictions: first, contradictions of expropriation/appropriation of economic surplus, second, contradictions of polarisation between the Metropolis and Satellites; thirdly, the contradictions of continuity in change. His observation of Latin American economic history reveals that European capitalism in Latin America expropriates the economic surplus produced therein and appropriates them in Europe, thus reproducing the underdevelopment in Latin America, and through this kind of expropriation/appropriation, metropolis-satelliterelations between Europe and Latin America are reproduced in Latin America, interconnecting the local metropolis and regional metropolis, the big landlords and sharecroppers, big business and small shopkeepers, so on and so on. Furthermore, disregarding the stages of capitalist economy (mercantalism, free-tradism, imperialism and so on), expropriation/appropriation of economic surplus from Latin America, through the metropolis-satellite chain-connection, has not changed. Therefore, the above contradictions of capitalism have been diachronical phenomena since the Latin America economy was incorporated into the European capitalist economy.

On the basis of the above contradictions of capitalism, Frank proposes the following five theses on Latin American underdevelopment.

First, economic development does not occur in a succession of capitalist stages and today's underdeveloped countries are not in a stage of history through which the now developed countries passed long ago.

Second, the contemporary underdevelopment of a country can not be understood as the product or reflection solely

of its own economic, political, social and cultural characteristics or structure. Contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries.

Thirdly, it is wrong to maintain a theory of "dual" societies and economies in the underdeveloped countries by the observation of evident inequalities of income and differences in culture. Even the most remote and "feudal" sectors of a Latin American society are incorporated in the machine of metropolis-satellite relations through the contradictions of the expropriation/appropriation of the economic surplus.

Fourthly, M - S relation does not only stand on the imperial or international level, but it also penetrates the internal levels of Latin American economic, political, and social life, thus multiplying itself in various levels of economic, political, social, and cultural hierarchies.

Fifthly, by denying the existence of "dual" societies in Latin America, he negates any possibility of modernisation by replacement of the "traditional" sectors by "modern" sector, and the two-stage revolutions which the conventional Marxists insist.

Frank sets up some theoretical hypotheses from the above theses. He assumes that the development of the metropolis within satellites (Sm) is limited and not autonomous, because its existence itself is conditioned by M - S relation, and that weakening or absence of M - S relation would bring forth an involution in the Latin American society; that is, satellites of Latin America would either develop economically (positive involution), or involute into the subsistence economy (negative involution) once again when the metropolis loosens or withdraws its domination over satellites.

Critique on Frank's theory of underdevelopment of Latin America has been done from various sides. I adopted to use Laclau's critique on Frank's conception of capitalism. It is pointed out that Frank's understanding of capitalism is misled on the ground that Frank understands that commodity relations would characterise capitalism, whereas Laclau insists that capitalism should be confirmed by existence of capitalist mode of production, in which capitalism should be characterised particularly by existence of capitalist relations of production. Laclau argues that in Latin America there are not free laborers (proletarianisation) much enough to ascertain the existence of capitalism.

From this debate, though we come to see theoretical shortage of Frank's understanding of Latin American society, we still find that the theses he presents on capitalist contradictions and metropolis-satellite relations are conceptually resourceful. His way of understanding of the "dual" societies should be corrected definitely, at least by complement-

ing empirical differences between so-called traditional and modern sector, even though we should admit "structural" connections between two sectors. Metropolis-satellite thesis should be also revised, for M - S relations between Metropolis-Satellite set on the level of "national" economy and Sm and Ss set should be distinguished by evident differences of ethnic characteristics. In satellites, people share relatively strong homogeneity in terms of language, culture, social organisation, and political institutions as compared with relation to the outer-groups of the Metropolis. Finally, involution thesis raises questions as to liberation of the underdeveloped countries from dependence structure. While Frank positively evaluates the involution (particularly positive involution), he did not make it clear why the positive involution is prone to return to dependence relations once again, when Metropolis recovers from its own structural cracks.

On these questions, Samir Amin's theories of peripheral capitalist social formations will provide us more clear concepts and raises more resourceful arguments. Samir Amin defines the underdeveloped capitalist society as les formations sociales du capitalisme peripherique, and denies addressing it as dualism (as developmentalists do), or feudalist (as conventional Marxists insist), or capitalist (as Frank does) society. Amin insists that the present underdeveloped societies have been in evolution in relation with the advanced capitalist societies. Therefore, they are not capitalist societies as in West Europe, they are even less purely feudal.

In order to define social formations of the underdeveloped societies, Amin distinguished conceptually social formations from modes of production. He insists that, unlike capitalist societies of West Europe, in the periphery, a number of modes of production are incorporated in a single social formation. The history of underdeveloped societies reveals that a former stage of present society is not a feudal society, but a tributary one in which tributes were collected through the hierarchical structure of power, and in which the upper, dominant classes exchanged the collected tributes with the luxurious goods through long distance trade with outside. However, under tributary social formation, land was appropriated by community, unlike the feudal system in which the feudal lords kept dominium-emineus (exclusive appropriation) over land. When capitalism flourished in West Europe, and expanded into the outer world, the tributary social formation transformed itself into the peripheral capitalist social formations. Peripheral capitalist social formation came into being by three factors: types of precapitalist, tributary social formation; types of

European capitalism with which the precapitalist social formations come into contact; and types of political powers in the periphery.

Combined with these factors, the industrial structure of the precapitalist social formations are transformed and the subsistence structure of the precapitalist society undergoes tremendous distortions. First, the major economic activities are distorted toward export activities, secondly, population of the tertiary industry is bulked enormously, and thirdly, in manufacturing industry, the peripheral societies are forced to specialise themselves in light industry and light technology. These distortions of economic structure influence and bring forth distortions in the social structure of the precapitalist social formations itself. The structural characteristics of the peripheral social formations, derived from distortions in the economic and industrial structure, are firstly, the unevenness of productivity as between spheres, secondly, disarticulation of the social structure, and economic domination from outside.

Therefore, present underdeveloped societies are not a former stage of the West European history of capitalism. The present underdeveloped societies are contemporary to the world capitalism. It is therefore misleading to consider that the underdeveloped societies are independent from influence of the world capitalism. Particularly, we have to give attention to disarticulations of the social structure of the underdeveloped societies, and economic and social domination from outside.

Frank's theory of underdevelopment of Latin America, and Samir Amin's theory of peripheral capitalist social formations enable us to draw up the following characters of dependence relations.

a. Dependence relations are basically Metropolis-Satellite (M - S) relations---monopolistic relation of domination and dependence---, penetrating the depth of underdeveloped societies, though there are some refractions in ethnic groups in the underdeveloped societies.

b. Various sectors of the underdeveloped societies are extremely disarticulated, polarised, and extraverted, whereas some of them are closely articulated with certain sectors of the metropolitan societies. However, it is misleading to address this kind of structure as "dual".

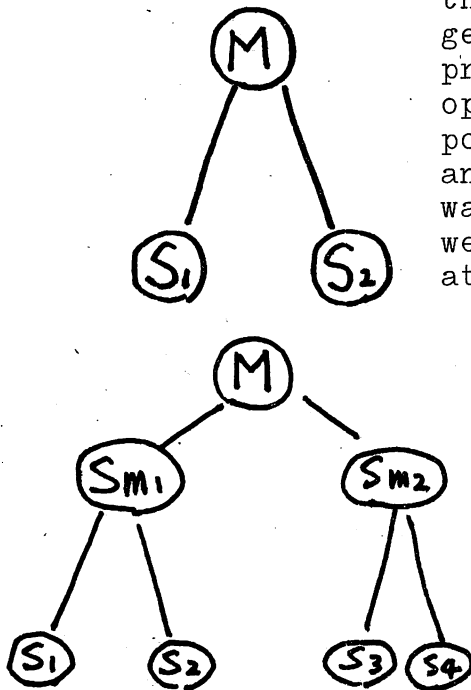
c. One of the major determinants of the dependence relations is the hierarchised power structure of the peripheral society. Therefore, bublation of the hierarchised power structure of the peripheral society will provide an important moment in order to abolish the dependence structure.

Ascertaining the above these on underdeveloped societies provides us ample, theoretical orientations as to understanding

and theorising the social structure of the underdeveloped societies. However, the above theories are history-laden, derived from historical analysis of the underdeveloped economies and societies. We need to conceptualise mechanisms of dependence from these economic, historical theories.

3. Mechanism of Dependence.

We defined that the determinants of the dependence relations from the theories of economic dependence. Those are, first, differences of the resources---materials, information, relational, and human resources---between countries in terms of their flows and stocks, secondly, degree of organic combinations of needs-structure, and thirdly, the distance---not merely in terms of geographical distance, but in social terms--between the actors or a group of actors. Then we find that the M-S relations do not only stand between two actors, but rather in general terms, between one Metropolis and a plural number of Satellites. We simplified the complex relations of Metropolis and Satellites as following; a prototype of M-S relation is made up with one Metropolis and two Satellites, thus making a triangular. In this type, there exist asymmetric relations between the Metropolis and the Satellites, however there are fairly no relations between the Satellites.



However, this type can not explain the reality of M-S relations all together. We need to hierarchise this prototype. That is, in the underdeveloped societies, there found sub-metropolis, which represent the Metropolis, and dominate the satellites. As it was made clear in the theory of Frank, we have to multiply the prototype into at least two stages.

From these variations of M-S relations, we can get three new variants ---Sm, M-Sm relations, Sm-s relations ---besides M-S relations and Satellites itself. Particularly Sm is very important element in order to define character of the dependent societies. The social and political functions of the Sm are very important determinants in the social formation of the underdeveloped societies. Sm, whatever type it is, plays the

a role of metropolis and satellites as well. As conditioned by M-S relations, Sm, however, has limited power of monopoly over the surplus expropriated in the satellites and appropriated in the metropolis. Sm has a function of cutting distance between metropolis and satellites. A concrete Sm is in nature to fill the role of "Sm", which is structurally pre-existing. Therefore, Sm is an alienated being, taking up a role imposed by M-S relations. In this sense, Sm is a part of "object" structure of M-S relation.

4. Social Structure of Dependent Societies.

In order to develop a theory of social structure of dependent society, it is necessary to examine the relevance of the structural-functional concept of the social structure. Our examination shows that the structural-functional concept of social structure are not relevant, because they assume a society as an organic whole, with a "national economy", and the structural-functional concepts are formulated on the basis of an assumption that human action is done and conducted by shared social norms and human prudence. However, in fact, in the dependent societies, we can not find the existence of national economy as it was in the history of West European capitalism, and human action in the dependent societies are not necessarily conditioned by the shared social norms or human prudence, but rather by M-S relations and its sub-system in the underdeveloped societies. From standpoint of the dependence theory, the concepts of structural-functional analysis can not work, if not at all, in explaining the social structure of dependent societies. Therefore, we attempted to formulate some basic concepts which can illuminate the reality of dependent society and its liberation from within as well

We define that the basic elements of social structure are made of actors and their relations. Actors are mediated into relations by media (resources, words, and human beings). The nature of relations between actors is determined by the relation between actor and media. We define two modes of relations; Animate Modes of Relations, and Inanimate Mode of Relations. In animate mode of relations, the actors can control or manage the media, whereas in the inanimate mode of relations, actors are controlled and managed by the media themselves. From these framework of concepts, we presume that in the dependent societies, we can develop the animate modes of relation, in which we can find out important moments by which we can overcome the M-S relations, a typical inanimate mode of relations.

In order to define social structure of dependent societies, we have to start from analysis of the structural relations between metropolis and satellites on the level of "national" economy. In the metropolis, functional requisites of individuals are institutionalised in the framework of institutions, even though there are some refractions in the course of articulation of individual needs. And functional requisites of institutions furtherly form, on the higher level, functional requisites of social system. However, in satellites, functional requisites of social system are determined in advance by the metropolis-satellite relations, and in a response to the metropolitan needs-structure. Therefore, individuals in satellites act not from their own genuine needs-structure, but from the alien needs-structure of metropolis.

Commodity relations between the metropolis and the satellites lead us to assume that the satellite societies are moving in response to the metropolitan social demands. In the process of capital accumulation on the world level, capitalism develops by extending the circles of international division of labor. The division of labor is a way to incorporate the unorganic "labors"---resources and man-power--- into the machine of capitalism. We therefore address this division of labor between metropolis and satellites as a linkage system. In this linkage system of the M-S relations, lives of satellite population are conditioned in their potentials of development.

In this way, dependence theory denies the existence of a "national" society--- with a support of national economy--- in the dependent societies. In the history of Europe, national societies emerged from Volksgemeinschaft, and through secularisation of the social, economic, and political life, Volksgemeinschaft transforms itself into Nationalgesellschaft, which is, what we call, the national society. However, in the satellites, the societies did not undergo this kind of evolution. Therefore, it is hard to call the present underdeveloped societies as a national society.

State in dependent societies is not a "nation"-state in a pure form, because the post-colonial states of the underdeveloped areas are not genuine articulation of aspirations and culture of the population in the area concerned, but came into being through the division and redivision process of the areas in conflicts between the imperial powers. Therefore, presently, the state in the underdeveloped areas incorporates a plural number of ethnic groups in a single body of state. Therefore, the concept of nation-state should be redefined in order to explain the reality of dependent societies. From nature of evolution of state in the underdeveloped areas, the state plays a function of

linkage between metropolis and satellites.

In a dependent society, a plural number of ethnic groups form a hierarchy along with the M-S relations. Particularly, a minor ethnic group en masse is incorporated into the a certain position in a hierarchy of the structure of M-S relation. In other words, communal(gemeinschaftlich) ethnic groups are incorporated, en masse, into the associational(gesellschaftlich) linkages of the M-S relations. In this way, the communal ethnic groups are alienated en masse by being forced to be placed in an objective structure of M-S relations. In this sense, within ethnic groups, actors are related each other by the media on which they can exercise control. But when the ethnic groups are incorporated in the structure of M-S relations, their social relations with outside world become inanimate, because they communicate with the media that they can not control. Particularly when they are forced to produce surplus values which are needed to the metropolitan societies, their sole media connecting themselves to the metropolis are the material being that they can not exercise control over them.

Revision should be made on the concept of "social class." Usually, the determinants of social class are appropriation and expropriation of the means of production. But in dependent society, even the "bourgeois" class does not possess exclusively the means of production, if not mediated by M-S relations. Therefore, the "proletariats" in the dependent societies do stand in opposition to the Metropolitan bourgeoisies whom they can not visualise in their life environment, if not mediated by material relations. What they confront in their life environment is not possessor of means of production, but a "proxy" of the metropolitan bourgeoisies. Therefore, strategies of class struggle in dependent societies should be focused not in the level of "national" societies, but should be extended on the level of international class struggles.

As it is made clear already in Amin's theory of peripheral capitalist social formation; economic structure of the dependent societies are extremely disarticulated. So is true with social structure. Social structure is by definition for this thesis, is sets of social relations in which the media are in flow. That is, social structure is a structure of allocation of resources and man-power. Disarticulation is prevalent first in urban life of underdeveloped societies. There are basically two different groups of population. One is positively linked to the M-S relations and the other is negatively linked to it. The group in positive linkage get advantages as much as the M-S relations strengthens or extends to the depth of satellites. On the other hand, the group in the negative linkage get deprived of any opportunity and advantages from what they produce by being negatively incorporated into M-S relations.

The same structure of positive and negative linkages extends in the rural community. Therefore, the insertion of M-S structure in the dependent societies divides and polarises the population into two. Between them, there are distinct differences in income, life-style, and cultural, political, social life. But between them, M-S relations penetrates the dependent society combining them in the machine of the international division of labor---- a process of capital accumulation on a world level.

Disarticulation also proceeds into industrialisation of the dependent societies. In the course of import-substitution industrialisation, the underdeveloped countries specialise themselves in production of consumer goods with low technology, while importing capital goods from outside. Therefore, the import-substitution industrialisation is not a solution to the liberation of the dependent society and economy from the M-S relations, but reinforce dependence to the developed countries. Same is true, essentially, in the export industrialisation. In order to meet the international competition in trade, the underdeveloped countries import more capital, technology, and resources from the developed countries. Industrialisation such as not only deepens dependency but works to disarticulate the traditional industrial structure by inputting major domestic resources into export activities.

Here, we have to redefine the historical roles of "national bourgeoisie". National bourgeoisie is a typical example of the metropolis in the satellites (Sm). They pretend to be "nationalistic", whereas their objective, historical roles are that of bourgeoisie----even though they are not genuinely bourgeoisie by definition. In order to reveal a true nature of present political leaders of the underdeveloped countries, we have to confirm historical, objective roles of national bourgeoisie.

From the basic concepts we defined for social structure of dependent society, I described inanimate nature of social division of labor in the dependent society, and we defined particular media which mediate actors into inanimate mode of relations. Based on the above argument, I developed a set of concepts to expose fictitiousness of "nation-state" in the dependent society.

I conceptualise the animate nature of the dependent society with which I aimed to develop a theoretical framework for social movement in the dependent society. We find that the emerging sprouts of human liberation should be sought in the animate mode of social relations. Therefore, We give a special attention to the "culture of silence."

We seek the possibility of sublation of the inanimate modes of relations in potentials of ethnic groups, because the ethnic groups have the potential sub-structure of the animate mode of relations. Particularly, the "Word" of people should be given attention, because in the Words of people, people's "suffering" and "aspiration" are expressed, though they may not be necessarily be conscious of it. That is, in the word of people, the objective structure of the M-S relations is reflected as sufferings and aspirations of people. We want to conceptualise the aspiration of people as people's genuine ideology and the sufferings of them as objective structure of domination.

5. Dependent society and Social Movement.

Social movements in dependent society, aiming at overcoming the dependence structure, should be directed to dissolution of the M-S relations. M-S relations should be abolished not only on the level of the international, imperial relationship, but on the domestic levels, and furtherly sublation of M-S relations by human subjects, that is, sublation of the media by actors, and recovering animate structure of society, in which human beings can become subjects of history.

We examined the existing movements--economic and political--to change international order of domination. And we found that presently the economic and political movement on the international level could not solve M-S relations eventually. Those movements, led by political leaders of the "Third World", try to redraw the map of power relations on the international level, but they keep intact internal hierarchies and domination. Therefore, as long as internal M-S relations persists, the international M-S relations can not be abolished conclusively, rather such a internal power relation would revive the international M-S relations.

Therefore, we suggest that we should begin by defining the concept of "people". We have to define the potentialities and resourcefulness of people, and then we should be made aware that only people is the sole subject in history, though they are put aside, and suppressed by the objective structure of domination. And we analyse the structure of people's consciousness in the dependent societies. People's consciousness is presently intransitive. But once they find the structural cracks of the objective M-S relation, they begin to produce "Words" and story, which represent the sufferings and aspirations of people, and from which people begin to find themselves in intransitive consciousness. It is a beginning of conscientization.

Conscientization is not a mere prise de conscience, but an insertion of conscious man into the practical world. Conscientization process is, in a word, a programming, deprogramming, and reprogramming of objective environmental world by man in practice. Through the practice of conscientization, man find true solidari-

ty, this is a starting point from which the M-S relation on the domestic, and international levels can be overcome, and through which a man can liberate himself from the inanimate mode of relations.

Note: References and footnotes are omitted from this summary. In this summary, there are many logical jumps, and some are disarticulated. Particularly, theoretical argument on the animate structure of dependent societies, and inanimate nature of the social division of labor of the dependent societies are not fully developed in this paper. On conscientization process, please refer to the original thesis and Paulo Freire's Cultural Action for Freedom (Penguin, 1974).

Claude Lévi-Strauss 関連文献表

を近く入手する予定がありますので、希望者には
実費でお頒けします。内外の論文数百を網羅し、
研究者の座右に欠かせないもの。

なお、『親族の基本構造』(粗訳文) XERONEGA も
ありますので、希望者は下記へ。

(東大文学部社会学研究室 橋爪大三郎)