

The Emergence of Hegemonic Social Sciences and Strategies of Non (counter) Hegemonic Social Sciences

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Introduction

Theories of the social sciences developed in the West have dominated theoretical discourses and empirical research in the non-Western world since the nineteenth century. Though modern social sciences emerged first from Middle East, represented by Ibn Khaldun, the social sciences developed in the West since the nineteenth century became the dominant mode of social sciences nowadays. As higher education and academic credentials were introduced in the colonized countries by colonial governments or religious missionaries, Western social sciences were transplanted to those countries. Thus, the university system in the non-European regions emulated the Western university system in terms of degree, academic schedule and curriculum. Universities in those countries suffered from the shortage of appropriate staffs who could teach university students. Thus, foreign born professors or local scholars educated in the West took positions at the universities.

The institution of higher education and the social sciences experienced interruption and discontinuity when colonial countries were liberated from imperialist rule after the World War II. Thus, the higher education in the newly liberated countries did not properly function as educational institutes until teaching staffs and administrative system were fully established to accommodate students' demands. At the time, the major role of universities was teaching rather than research. Mostly, the contents of teaching in the social sciences were social theories developed in the West. Indigenous social thoughts and social theories were not introduced at university curriculum yet.

Theoretical discourses in academic journals and books in the West overrode local and indigenous social discourses that persisted for several centuries in non-Western regions. “Local social sciences” at a rudimentary stage were completely removed from the modern education system as they were regarded as pre-scientific or non-scientific. The social sciences in the West have dominated the social sciences in the non-Western regions even after countries were liberated from the imperial rule.

Hegemony of the Western social sciences was already established as the West dominated non-European countries as their colonies. Newly established universities taught medicine, natural sciences, humanities, and the social sciences. Those universities had authority over modernity and power over knowledge by monopolizing symbolic spaces, and the new and highest education system. Domination on colonies by imperialist countries was not done simply by coercive power but hegemonic power which shaped the ways in which the people in colonies perceived the world they lived. The power of the Western social sciences shaped how to define issues and how to deal with the issues. To use Foucault’s term (1970), the Western social sciences affected a new episteme in the social sciences in postcolonial countries, operating as unrecognized, unnoticed and untold underlying assumption about legitimate knowledge.

Even in the postcolonial period, social theories have been produced mostly in the West and consumption or application of those social theories through translation or transplantation has been continued in non-Western regions. For example, relevance and validity of those social theories in different social, cultural, historical context have not been fully interrogated by scholars in the non-West. Cultural and social contexts of those social theories were not recognized as legitimate factors to adjudicate social theories. Thus social theories developed in the West have been considered as abstract universal theories beyond spatial and temporal boundaries.

In this paper, I explore the nature of hegemonic social sciences, revealing institutional bases of hegemonic social theories after the World War II. Analyzing modernization theory and neo-classical economics, I address how the state, institutions, and market jointly operate in shaping hegemony of social theories. After that, I will discuss double indigenization, symmetrical comparison, denationalization so as to seek for the possibility of alternative social sciences which intends the non-hegemonic social sciences. Double indigenization refers to theoretical reflection through re-contextualizing Western social theories in the West and contextualizing local social theories in the non-West. Then I propose

asymmetrical comparison to overcome limits of comparative approaches that contribute to undermine the hegemonic social sciences since the late twentieth century. I also suggest the necessity of rethinking the unit of the social sciences. Implicitly the nation state has been assumed to be equal to society. Mostly the social sciences in the West equate the nation state to society. Globalization has been restructuring boundaries of “the social” beyond the national state, transforming conventional conceptions of society and sociological discourses themselves as well.

What Do Hegemonic Social Sciences Mean Today?

While dominance of the Western social sciences has been an undeniable truth since the colonial period in non-Western countries, there have been different understandings of the meaning of dominance of the Western social sciences. While some social scientists in the non-Western countries regard it as natural since the social sciences in the West have been advanced much earlier than those in the non-Western countries, others perceive it as continuation of knowledge production controlled by the West in the name of universal science. Social theories and empirical research by scholars and institutes in the West dominated the global academic fields. Institutional bases of knowledge production such as publication of books and journals were also established much earlier in the West than in the non-West, as the knowledge market, selling books and journals and possessing copy rights, became lucrative. The West preoccupies the position of knowledge producer and supplier, whereas the non-West tends to import those produced knowledge, including social theories and research output not through academic activities. Unbalanced knowledge markets affect not only the flows of knowledge from the West to the non-West but also relations of knowledge power between the West and the non-West, operating through ideas and institutions.

Hegemonic social sciences of the West have established as scholars in the non-West accepted concepts and theories of the social sciences of the West. Modernization theorists, for instance, suggest a general framework for social development in non-Western countries, identifying key factors promoting social development such as technology, education and literacy, rational personality, achievement motives etc. (Inkeles 1974; McClelland 1961). Industrialization and technical changes contribute to emergence of free enterprises and autonomous civic organizations. Backwardness of the third world was considered as an outcome of underdevelopment of

technology and sciences. The final stage of social development is democratization in which rational and autonomous citizens engage in political process (Lipset 1960). In addition, developed countries in the West can be a model of the future of less-developed countries when they are modernized enough in the long-term perspective. Thus, endogenous social changes are necessary for overcoming backwardness of non-Western countries, following the trajectory of social progress of the Western countries.

Ascendance of modernization theory in the 1960s and the early 1970s influenced discourse on development in the social sciences including economics, political science and sociology in the Third World. In particular, the Third World countries pursuing economic development accepted core arguments of modernization theories in their government policies. Politicians and scholars who were influenced by modernization theory attempted to transplant economic and social policies of the advanced societies into their countries, emphasizing the endogenous factors.

One of critical weaknesses of modernization theory is that it fails to recognize historical processes of social changes in a longer perspective. Assuming that social development of the West was an outcome of endogenous factors within each Western country, modernization theory completely ignores the fact that the imperialist experience of core Western countries was a significant factor for development of the West over two centuries (Frank 1970; Cardoso and Falleto 1979). As the cold war system was intensified, however, core assumptions of modernization theory became adopted by the Kennedy government and modernization theories went beyond academic circles (Latham 2000). Thus, modernization theory was charged with highly politicized social theory in the 1970s and 1980s. Ironically, however, as political democracy and market economy become a dominant social system in an era of globalization, “a loose or weak version of it is experiencing a revival in the academy as well” (Berman 2009).

We can discern another type of hegemonic social sciences reinforced by institutions including the market, different from modernization theory directly engaged by the state. Because of increasing theoretical struggles among the social sciences theories, some social theories in the West do not dominate the whole intellectual fields. However, it sets the limit of critiques or the boundaries of discontents by emphasizing the nature of the social sciences as a scientific endeavor, defined by narrow disciplinary doctrine. For instance, neoclassical economics and economists preoccupy

major institutions such as university and economic institutes and reproduce neoclassical economists, excluding different economic theories and research (Blaug 1997). Thus issues that cannot be proved or disproved due to limits of analytical technique or empirical data are regarded beyond academic discourses. Or heterodox economics with different perspectives and different analytical methodology are completely excluded from the academic discourse. For a while, for instance, critical theories on globalization have been ignored by mainstream economists simply because some arguments are hard to be proved or styles of writing are not confirming to the standard economists' format. The practice of boundary maintenance has been accompanied by professional education at graduate level. Even after the financial crisis in the USA in 2008, the model of education of students in mainstream economics remained intact simply because those who initiate reform are subjects to be reformed or because those who are educated in heterodox economics experienced hard time to find jobs after graduations (Alberti 2012). Though economists trained in the USA recognize the failure of academic economics, the principle that "analytical rigor is everything and relevance is nothing" was internalized among economists (Colander et al. 2009). In short, as Rosenberg (1992) argues, economists did not succeed in providing economic theories of real economy. Nevertheless, they do not know how to escape from the dilemma yet, simply because they are parts of institutions composed of professors, students and curriculum which are not replaceable in a short period.

From the above discussion, we can identify three modes of the hegemonic social sciences. The first one is hegemony based on paradigms developed in the West. Some paradigms prevail over the global academic fields including both the West and the non-West. As Kuhn (1962) argues, a paradigm determines legitimate problematic, research methods and mode of presentation of research results. While dominant paradigms in the social sciences are much less than in natural sciences, there are many weak versions of paradigms in the social sciences. In the social sciences, there are contending social theories. However, there are dominant social theories accepted by scholars in the Third World. Translation and transplantation of social theories in the West has contributed to the dominance of Western social theories in the non-Western countries.

The second is an institutional hegemony by which some concepts and theories dominate graduate schools, academic journals, research funding organizations and economic organizations. Those who do not follow those rules are excluded in the game. Research articles that do not accept

dominant perspectives are not accepted by major journals. Thus, the dominance of particular concepts and theories is associated with power explicitly associated with institutions. In addition, it is also strongly linked with languages used in analyzing issues. Thus, though there are several official languages used in international academic meetings, English is the most commonly used language and dominates academic discourses. Language barrier plays a significant role in marginalizing local concepts and theories written in other language than English in the global social sciences.

The third is the contested hegemony that refers to the situation in which concepts and theories are regarded as less valid and questionable but alternative concepts and theories are not available yet. When there is not a theory with better explanatory power than the existing one, in spite of serious problems, the existing theories cannot be rejected. To use Lakatos' term (1978), the existing concepts and theories persist until a "progressive research program" emerges. The less valid research program will be replaced by an alternative research program only when the alternative research program will be available. For example, scholars in the Third World accept agenda and research topics defined by the existing theories in the West, even though they are critical of those theories.

Search for Non-hegemonic Social Sciences

New tides

Recently, comparative historical approaches and cultural psychology provide good example to incorporate spatial and temporal context in the social sciences. Above all, acknowledging cross-national differences, comparative research has emerged as less hegemonic social sciences in the West. One of the most significant contributions to the social sciences is made in the field of comparative historical analysis over the past decades (Steinmo, Thelen and Longstrech 1992; Mahoney and Rueschemeyer et al. 2003; Crouch 2006). Comparative political economy and comparative historical sociology begins to emphasize the limit of universal social theories by contextualizing them with regard to institutions or socio-political dynamics. The growth of comparative historical perspectives in the social sciences undermines relevance of social theories mostly developed in a single country rather than reinforces them. Comparative approaches seek social theories based on particular culture and society, recognizing variation of social systems due to differences in history,

culture and institutions. In other words, comparative historical approaches contribute to perceive the reality in one country within a spatial-temporal context, usually captured by “temporal process and path dependence” (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003: 6). Furthermore, it also allows us to conceive concepts and theories in the West from a comparative perspective.

The rise of comparative research in the late twentieth century shows two distinct things. One is that while cultural dimension was emphasized in the human sciences in the nineteenth century, institutional dimension is more accentuated in the social sciences in the twentieth century. For example, Giambattista Vico (1668-1774) and Johan Gottfried Herder (1744-1891) advocated a new understanding of human sciences, suggesting peculiar culture in each society. Unlike natural sciences, they argue, cultural forms such as literature, customs, a *volksgeist* shape different historical paths in each society. Comparative historical researchers in the social sciences in the twentieth century, such as Barrington Moore (1966), Theda Skocpol (1979), Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990), Charles Tilly (2004), did not pay much attentions to culture.¹ Instead they focus on the state, policies, economic changes, social and political movements etc. Looking at historical trajectories of political transformation or systemic variation, they compare socio-political changes across among countries at the macro level.

Another is that while comparative research in the social sciences undermines relevance of the internal (theoretical) hegemony of the social sciences in the West, it also does not significantly change the external (institutional) hegemony of the social sciences in the West. Most of comparative research has been produced by American social scientists, though they do not claim overarching general/universal theories.² Accumulation of data and information about other societies requires advanced information technology, sufficient financial resources and long term engagement of researchers. Without much research funds and trained researchers, it is impossible to do comparative research in a large scale. Thus only top research universities in the West provide financial supports

¹ The meaning of culture here is very different from that in cultural studies in which culture covers from ideology to popular culture or subcultures. For varieties of usage of culture, see During (2005).

² One exception might be Kiser and Hechter who argue that a general theory is necessary to test the research conducted (1998).

for comparative research for several years. Thus the rise of comparative research in the social sciences is not directly related with the development of the social sciences in the Third World. It is a new trend only for scholars and research institutes with more efficient technical and institutional bases in the West.

Cultural psychology is an alternative approach to universal and unified psychology, by uniting culture, society and psychology. It challenges the mainstream psychology that assumes psychology of human being as universal. Instead, it emphasizes that psychological processes are culturally bounded and culture shapes emotion, cognition, value and attitude (Fiske et al. 1998; Nisbett 2003; Shweder 1991). It also assumes that there are qualitatively different cultures across countries or regions. Although geographic boundary is not necessarily equivalent to cultural boundary, multiplicity of cultures persists and generates different cognitive and emotional psychology. In other words, cultural psychology tries to understand “ethnic and cultural sources of diversity in emotional and somatic functioning, self-organization, moral evaluation, social cognition and human development” (Shweder 2000: 210). Instead of searching for psychological concepts and theories universally applicable, cultural sociology seeks for locally valid multiple psychologies. Contrary to mainstream neoclassical economics, cultural psychology considers social actions and economic decision making as an outcome affected by culturally inherited cognitive factors (Valsiner and Rosa ed. 2007: 23-39).

However, emphasis on culture generates some difficulty in defining culture. Does China have one culture? Can East Asia be considered to have same culture? Some suggests cultural group as a unit of analysis in cultural psychology. For example, Hwang (2005) argues that religious groups such as Confucian, Muslim or Buddhist groups are suggested to be object of research because of distinctiveness of life styles, beliefs, cognitions, emotions and behavior. It might be reasonable to agree that cognitions and emotions are solely dependent on religion. But it might be also reasonable to assert that there are variations in cognitions and emotions within the same religious society. Furthermore, many societies are multi-religious societies which deny any simple classification of a country by religion. We can conclude that as Elster (2007: 160-161) correctly argues, some emotions are universal and other emotions are not universal. How we classify countries by religion remains as an unsettled issue.

Double Indigenization

Focusing on spatiality and temporality of the social sciences, we discuss two issues associated with hegemonic social sciences of the West and the possibility of non (counter) hegemonic social science in non-Western regions. The first one is *double indigenization*: The first order indigenization refers to consider the Western social sciences as indigenous social sciences rooted in the West. For example, Karl Marx's theory and Max Weber's theory are derived from social changes in the Western Europe or Germany. They tried to capture the nature and direction of social changes in the Western Europe in the nineteenth century. The validity of their theories can be judged not only by the internal logics in each theory but also by its relevance with social changes in the Western Europe in the nineteenth century (see 1 in Figure 1). Indigenization of sociology and development of local social sciences emphasize specificity of each society by contextualization of the social sciences in the West and re-contextualization of local knowledge. Contextualizing the Western concepts and theories within the Western societies allows us to comprehend the relationship between theories and societies at the spatial-temporal dimension, identifying unique contextual factors tacitly incorporated in the theories. It implies that the Western concepts and theories can be considered as indigenous concepts associated with the Western societies.

The second order indigenization is to compare the relationship between social theories and social reality in the West (1 in Figure 1) with that in the local societies in the Non-Western World (4 in Figure 1). We need to understand both society A and society B so as to compare the relationship between theory and society. Without contextualizing social theories in the West, they can be directly applied to other societies (3). While some regards (4) as the indigenization of the social sciences, it is incomplete in that it does not pay sufficient attention to the applicability of theory A to society B. Neoclassical economists among others display strong disposition to apply abstract theories developed in the West to the Third world, mimicking physics in natural sciences. Sometimes, mathematical models displaying a relationship among economic factors are considered to be universal economic models to be applied to any economic system. Without critical reflections, concepts and theories developed in society A are introduced to society B (2). The second order indigenization requires reasonable understanding of both A and B, which might be demanding for sociologists in the society B as well as the society A.

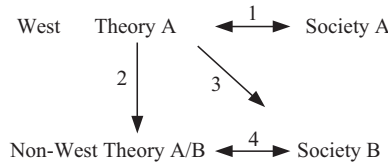


Fig 1 Diagram for Double Indigenization

Through the process of double indigenization we can reach at theory B, applicable to society B.

Limited generalization refers to an attempt to generalize within a restricted condition. Though overarching generalization of the social sciences is impossible, we should avoid unrestricted and limitless plural social sciences. Thus the compromise between universalism and localism is a *limited generalization* which searches for the social sciences valid under the certain conditions. Which conditions are required to talk about limited generalization? The elaboration of the conditions is the major concern of those who search for the non-hegemonic the social sciences.

Regardless of radical or conservative social theories, all social theories are indigenous social theories. However, we can move from a single society to more broad societies by double indigenization. Without double indigenization, an imposition of radical theories or conservative theories developed in the West to the non-Western society could distort the reality of the non-Western society. In short, it fails to promote better understanding of local societies as well as Western societies. The core of double indigenization is that Western social theories themselves should be considered as indigenous social theories based on Western countries.

Symmetrical Comparison

As we observe, resurgence of comparative historical research in the social sciences significantly contributes to weaken hegemonic social sciences in the West. Today comparative research, which was considered as a marginal field in sociology, political sciences and psychology until 1980s, becomes a core research field among major universities. As globalization proceeds, comparative perspectives are gaining more attentions from academics as well as business. As global communication through the Internet and other communication technology has been advanced, knowledge and information about other societies has been drastically increased. The growth of comparative perspectives has changed the tide of academic

research in the social sciences in the West.

However, comparative research in the social sciences in the West tends to marginalize small countries in the non-Western countries, mainly focusing on big countries in the West or big countries in the non-Western countries. Small and less developed countries in the Third World are easily ignored by social scientists in their comparative research. There has been asymmetrical relationship between big countries and small countries and between advanced countries and less developed countries in comparative research in the West. The Third World countries are not so visible in comparative research in sociology and political sciences. Thus the society and the people in the less developed small countries are forgotten in major theoretical discourses in the social sciences.

In order to advance the social sciences reflecting social change and culture, social scientists should expand their scope of comparative research by incorporating small and less developed countries in their research. Biases skewed toward advanced countries or big countries undermine validity and reliability of research outcomes. In order to test theoretical arguments developed from the research on big countries, comparative research on small countries might be a good research strategy to promote more comprehensive or universally applicable social theories. It can serve as method for hypothesis test and parallel demonstration of theory for theory development (Skocpol and Somers 1980).

How do we do comparative research in the social science? There are many good text books on comparative research methods (Ragin 1987; Landman 2000; Bradly and Collier 2004). I would not address new methods or technical issues. Rather here I discuss meta-theoretical issues that might be addressed in the tradition of current comparative research and suggest symmetrical comparison as an alternative to it. The current comparative research has distinct features that restrict a full-fledged comparative perspective in a global era. Regarding meta-theoretical issues in comparative research, I will focus on two related issues; one is ontological and another is institutional.

An ontological issue is related with the local asymmetry underlying in the comparative social science research. Researchers are trying to capture causal mechanism which operates across societies. However, some comparative researches have a limited spatial scope in their analysis but they do not make a statement clearly by assuming their research results as universal or by ignoring other societies excluded in their comparative research. For instance, comparative researches on varieties of capitalism

(VOC) (Hall and Sockice 2001) and welfare regimes (Esping-Anderson 1990) mostly focus on European cases or societies in the West. Since they do not include other societies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, they are completely Eurocentric. However, their theories are treated as universal theories on capitalism and welfare regime. Thus they contribute to recognize heterogeneity of social formation in contemporary capitalist countries but they still reflect the unequal distribution of global power (Quijano 2000; Wallerstein 2006). Even though the theory can be a starting point of discussion, it will be possible to discuss more varieties of capitalism by symmetrical comparison by which other institutional characteristics can be captured by comparison of the West and the non-West in a balanced way.

Another issue is an institutional asymmetry in comparative research. Comparative research has been done mostly by social scientists in universities and institutes in the USA and some European countries. Thus the ascendancy of comparative research is not a global phenomenon but an academic phenomenon in the advanced industrial countries. Consequently it contributes to the dominance of a weak version of academic hegemony of the West over the rest. A weak version of academic hegemony refers to the hegemony of academic research in one society or one regime over the rest, based on the natural monopoly of academic discourse by one society or by one region. For instance, the USA takes the dominant position in the global academic ecology, restricting diverse local voices and local perspectives of the Third World countries. The voices and perspectives of the powerless are not visible not because of the lack of validity or reliability of their voices but because of the powerless status of scholars of the Third World in the global academic ecology. While academic imperialism ended up with the end of colonial system, the weak version of academic hegemony of the West persists in various new forms after the Cold War and in the era of globalization.

Changing Boundaries of the Social

One of the most striking developments of the contemporary world is the compression of space and time in a remarkable pace. Globalization has completely transformed the economic environment and life of the people in the world, destroying traditional national territory and national identity. Mobility of commodity, capital, labor power, information and culture has been precipitated since the late twentieth century.

Globalization gives rise to serious doubt to the validity of traditional sociological theories which assume the national state as a natural unit of analysis. The meaning of “the social” in sociological discourse was regarded as equivalent to the social within the nation state. Globalization begins to blur the meaning of geographical territory of the nation state. Through the Internet and telecommunication, the boundary of imaginary community has been expanded beyond territorial unit. The formation of multicultural society through migration has transformed cultural identity shared by racial or ethnic groups living in a given territory.

Globalization generates fluidity of symbolic demarcation accompanied by geographic territory and classificatory boundary. Thus traditional concepts and theories based on the nation state produce difficulty in explaining newly emerging social and political phenomena. For example, while there has been the continuous rise of class inequality, the working class struggle has been weakened in the non-West as well as in the West. The flow of migrant workers and the formation of the transnational capitalist class have revealed the limit of the traditional working class struggle, shattering the social base of class conflict (Robinson 2004; Sklair 2001).

Globalization changes the traditional conception of the social that has been rooted in the nation state. The social as a foundation of the traditional sociology has been changed through ever increasing fluidity of symbolic and cultural boundaries and ever expanding imaginary communities via Internet and mobile networks. To use Bauman’s term (2000), liquid modernity, emerging global system has brought the unprecedented fluid state of life world of human being. Shifting boundary of the social has also brought the new possibility of articulating new concepts and theories rooted in the local, lower unit than the nation.

Concluding Remarks

Knowledge production in the social sciences has been organized by complex political, institutional and material power of a society. While the boundary of the nation state has weakened with ever accelerating globalization, the social sciences in the world have persistently shown the dominance of the Western social sciences over the rest. Over the Cold War period, the social sciences in the USA dominated the global social sciences, influencing research agenda setting, research questions and theoretical perspectives in other countries. Both the state and the market power increasingly have affected social scientific research in the USA during the

Cold War period and even in the post-Cold War. Thus the hegemony of the Western social sciences, particularly that of the USA, still has not diminished in the era of globalization. The social sciences of the advanced or big countries dominates the social sciences of the less developed or small countries. In particular, the social sciences in the Third World have been strongly affected by the social sciences of the West.

The rise of East Asia opens a new way to reconsider the issue of the hegemony of the social sciences in the West over the rest. In the 1970s, dependency theories in Latin America provided an opportunity to critically examine the hegemony of modernization theory. Indigenous social scientists in Latin America began to challenge social theories developed in the West critically, recognizing economic reality in Latin American countries. In the 1990s, social scientists in East Asia began to reconsider the validity of social theories based on European or American experiences. As classical social sciences in the nineteenth century in Europe reflected European social changes, they begin to think that new social theories based on East Asian social changes might develop. Though they are not so big in number, they might challenge the hegemony of the West in the social sciences.

This paper suggests double indigenization of the social sciences and symmetrical comparison as a new way to construct non-hegemonic or counter hegemonic social sciences against the hegemonic social sciences of the West. The double indigenization is to consider concepts and theories of the West as indigenous concepts and theories rooted in the social changes and history of the West and to evaluate them in the context of the non-West. Symmetrical comparison is to carry out comparative research in consideration of possible logical asymmetry, spatial limitation of comparative research, and institutional asymmetry, the dominance of the West in disciplinary organizations such as social scientists and institutes of the social sciences.

The rise of the social science in the early nineteenth century in Europe has prevailed for almost two centuries. The hegemony of social sciences of the West over the rest has also persisted for that period. Globalization begins to transform the hegemony by undermining validity of social theories developed in Europe and America and by rising East Asia in generating anomaly of concepts and theories of the social sciences in Europe. In addition, critical thinking of the relationship between knowledge and power provides an opportunity of scholars in the Third World to reexamine the social sciences in the Third World in a reflexive

way. Globalization has reorganized the global economy, damaging validity of traditional social theories in economics and the political sciences. The process of reorganizing knowledge and power provides a room for the possibility of alternative concepts and theories reflecting voices and perspectives of the powerless in general and the small and less developed countries in particular.

The non (counter) hegemonic social sciences remains as an open and possible issue in the twenty-first century. Unlike optimistic visions of globalization, neoliberal globalization has shattered basic rights of the mass in the Third World as well as in Europe and America. Those who do not have a chance to express their voices and perspectives are the real social base of non (counter) hegemonic social sciences. Recognizing the fact that knowledge in the social sciences in the West has reflected power unbalance at the global level is the first step for constructing the non (counter) hegemonic social sciences in the non-West. Yet, it also requires recognition of institutional weakness of social science research in the non-West.

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