

Complex Adaptive Systems in the Behavioral and Social Sciences

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This article examines applications of complexity theory within the behavioral and social sciences. Specific attention is given to the fundamental characteristics of complex adaptive systems (CAS)—such as individuals, groups, and societies—including the underlying structure of CAS, the internal dynamics of evolving CAS, and how CAS respond to their environment. Examples drawn from psychology, sociology, economics, and political science include attitude formation, majority–minority relations, social networks, family systems, psychotherapy, norm formation, organizational development, coalition formation, economic instabilities, urban development, the electoral process, political transitions, international relations, social movements, drug policy, and criminal behavior. The discussion also addresses the obstacles to implementing the CAS perspective in the behavioral and social sciences and implications for research methodology.

Over the past decade, investigators in many fields have increasingly directed their attention toward the dynamic processes and global patterns that emerge from the collective interactions of a system's individual components (e.g., Cowan, Pines, & Meltzer, 1994; Holland, 1995). Using theoretical models and research strategies that focus on nonlinear effects and temporal change, complexity theory researchers have discovered that a system's evolution and behavior often defy many commonly held assumptions about the world. For example, their findings reveal that randomness and determinism often coexist, that the whole cannot always be understood by reducing it to simpler parts, that instability is commonplace, and that change is frequently abrupt and discontinuous (e.g., Casti, 1994).

Although most of the principles of complexity theory have originated in the physical and natural sciences, Gell-Mann (1995) is among those who see the potential for a much broader impact: "Even more exciting is the possibility of useful contributions to the life sciences, the social and behavioral sciences, and even matters of policy for human society" (p. 322). Indeed, many areas of the behavioral and social sciences have already attracted the attention of complexity investigators; among these fields are attitude

formation, majority–minority relations, social networks, family systems, psychotherapy, norm formation, organizational development, coalition formation, economic instabilities, urban development, the electoral process, political transitions, international relations, social movements, drug policy, and criminal behavior.

But despite the enthusiasm of its interdisciplinary proponents, the study of nonlinear dynamical systems has thus far failed to generate widespread interest and application within the community of behavioral and social scientists. A number of interrelated factors have contributed to this situation. First, there is currently much confusion over the concepts and definitions central to this relatively new area of scientific inquiry. The term *complexity* itself is burdened with a multitude of different technical meanings, including the amount of thermodynamic entropy in a system, the degree to which information is shared by a system's components, and the diversity displayed by the hierarchical levels of a system (Horgan, 1995). When researchers in diverse fields use their own particular translations of fundamental terminology, the resultant "interdisciplinary Tower of Babel" (Scott, 1991) serves only to further muddy the scientific waters. Vague distinctions between rigorous and metaphorical implementations, such as with the notion of chaos, also beset complexity theory at the present time (e.g., Abraham, 1995; Barton, 1994).

Certain basic assumptions in the social sci-

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Complex Adaptive Systems In The Behavioral And Social Sciences

Arturo Cuomo



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