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<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Szell, Gyorgy; Yazawa, Shujiro</td>
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<td>Citation</td>
<td>Hitotsubashi journal of social studies, 25(2): 103-114</td>
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<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>1993-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
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<td>Text Version</td>
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<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15057/8381">http://doi.org/10.15057/8381</a></td>
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THE RE-INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES: METHODOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF INTEGRATED SOCIAL SCIENCES

GYÖRGY SZÉLL AND YAZAWA SHUJIRO

I. Abstract

In the paper we argue that originally modern social sciences were integrated at their very beginning in the 19th century and before. It was a common corpus of epistemology and methodology. Also the teaching and research was integrated.

The process of differentiation and disintegration from philosophy and political economy into economics, business studies, history, geography, psychology, sociology, educational sciences, political sciences started at the end of the last century. The main driving forces were the enormous increase in scientific institutions, staff and students; the dissolution of the old middle-classes; the socialization of knowledge production and the scientification of society; and the explosion of innovation and knowledge production. At the end of this process we find a very partialized, specialized knowledge not relinked anymore.

Modern sciences have by that contributed to the destruction of the natural and human environment. Today’s crises are human-made and may characterised as “organized irresponsibility.” They can only be overcome through a new approach, sometimes defined as sustainable development.

The need for reintegration of social sciences is therefore strongly in most domains of politics, the economy and other social fields. Though there is continuity in some institutions of social research and teaching, the necessity of a large-scale revision of curricula is more and more felt.

We give some concrete examples of this reintegration from France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States.

II. On the History

Sociology, Economics, Psychology, History, Geography and Educational Sciences are the children of philosophy and theology. In pre-modern times the interpretation how the world functions and what its reason is were proposed in a coherent “Weltanschauung,” based on religious and traditional beliefs.

Modern sciences—natural as well as social—were the emancipation from these tradi-
tional forms of thinking and interpretation. This emancipation resulted in the questioning of the social structures linked to these thinkings and beliefs. Feudalism and the churches defended in Europe with force their existence and their interests. Social revolutions had to overcome their resistance. Modern sciences were liberated from their ideological burdens.

New ideologies developed not only to interpret the world differently, but to change it, as the 11th thesis on Feuerbach by Karl Marx put it. Socialism, anarchism, Owenism, syndicalism, but also nationalism and fascism spread as new ideologies.

But the social bases of society had changed first. Modern capitalism developed from the 12th century on in Europe. First in Italy, then spreading to the Netherlands, England and other European nations. Europe had the unique experience—though other cultures like China, India or the Ottoman Empire may have had at that time even more sophisticated cultural, economic and political elements—to integrate scientific discovery into practical economic and technological systems. Some authors like Max Weber, and Joseph Schumpeter saw the breakthrough in the individual entrepreneur. But it may rightly be argued that Chinese, Arab or Indian entrepreneurs existed as well. So the explanation for the unique way in human history of the European model has to lie somewhere else.

Thanks to modern sciences the European modern nations developed modern technologies, navigation and arms which allowed them to conquer nearly the whole of the rest of the world.¹

The beginning of modernity is at the same time linked with social revolutions and social crises. Social sciences developed in this context as driving forces for change or as apologies. We may state that until the end of the 19th century and even the beginning of the 20th century we still had largely in the social sciences a common corpus of methodology and epistemology. Social sciences were still integrated, though the first differentiations into economics, psychology, sociology, or history took place at the turn of last century.

But in general the teaching was still unified. The B.A., M.A., or Ph.D. were at the end of studies in arts and humanities. No special title was delivered based on disciplines.

Though there existed political and other differences between the authors and their schools there was a common knowledge, and a common language in social sciences. The modern disciplines and specializations had not yet broken up the universality of the university. The faculty itself was and is an expression of integration. Faculties discuss common issues and nominate together new staff members with an equal vote for every faculty member.

The most famous authors and thinkers, the most influential personalities in social sciences up to now are those who had or who have an integrated view and approach of social sciences. For a general theory of society cannot be produced with partial or partialized knowledge.²

¹ With the notable exceptions of Japan, Yemen, and Ethiopia.

² This argument shall not mean that we can reserve the wheel of history, and abandon specialization. Specializations will remain a necessary feature of modern sciences. The important point is that they should be not so far driven that the individual researcher is not able anymore to interconnect his findings and knowledge into a larger and broader context of knowledge, but that this has to be done by other specialists of general knowledge.

On the other hand students have to integrate the dispersed knowledge which is taught by themselves to apply it for decision-making procedures as professionals or citizens.
In naming the following thinkers of integrated social sciences it is by far not a complete and comprehensive list, but may serve as an illustration of the point we want to make: Hobbes, Hume, Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Lorenz von Stein, Max Weber, Werner Sombart, Ferdinand Tönnies, Vilfredo Pareto, Herbert Spencer, ... The Figure 1 may also be helpful to see the lines of development:

III. The Process of Differentiation and Disintegration

Within the process of modernity social differentiation took place on a large level. This included the scientific system as well. The scientific community exploded literally. The number of students, teaching staff, institutions of higher education increased enormously about one hundred years ago.

These phenomena were especially to be observed in the United States of America. The relative freedom and affluence allowed the creation of new institutions and different schools.
Many scientists, especially social scientists, who fled oppression in Europe or other parts of the world found a haven in the U.S. Soon the U.S. spent the largest amount of funds for science and universities of all countries in the world. This led to a large amount of scientists. The scientific community which could easily be organized and overlooked until then outgrew social dimensions and had to be reorganized around other criteria. Just for pragmatic reasons but also for the career specializations became necessary.

A further reason for this development is another social change. Though the Western societies became more and more affluent, at the same time the traditional bourgeois classes were diminished within the process of capital concentration. Especially the traditional middle-classes, if they could not give anymore a company, a business to their children, at least they wanted to give them a good education so that their children could become managers or public officials. So, more and more parents started to send their children to university or college. The new middle-classes were created.

A further development which contributed to the disintegration and differentiation of social sciences was the massive socialization of sciences through capital. Since science has been discovered as a productive force, i.e. a way to increase productivity it has been systematically promoted. Research and development centres did not only develop in the public sphere but also in private companies. Also social sciences were more and more used for the improvement of work organization, motivation, and training. The socialization of sciences went hand in hand with the scientification of society.

Within this process also the increase of knowledge grew permanently. Until the beginning of this century it took hundreds of years to double human knowledge. Nowadays it doubles every five years. The speed of innovation in all fields makes it that only very few specialists are still able to overlook these advances and contribute to them. The figure of the extreme specialist developed who is only interested in his narrow speciality and does not see the totality of his/her discipline anymore. Normally he does not reflect on methodological or epistemological questions. In Germany such a person is called "Fachidiot" (specialized idiot).

IV. Crisis of Modern Society

Scientific and technological progress promised until recently that we can create the paradise on Earth within a generation or two. The most recent Delphi in Japan last year, realized by ISTEC, projected the fulfilment of nearly all human dreams within the next generation. Scientists and engineers dream still to subdue nature, including the human nature, with the help of technologies. Questions of ethics or moral have disappeared with Prometheus' liberation. (Landes, Jonas) But who is responsible today? Who takes responsibilities? Who has an overall assessment of our doings? Who sets the priorities?

During the development of the first atomic bomb within the Manhattan-project during World War II only very few scientists and politicians knew what was really going on. And if we believe the most recent informations concerning the development of atomic bombs in South Africa, also only a handful of scientists and politicians were initiated into the over-

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3 Japan has with 83 percent the highest rate of private R+D.
This situation is true for even much less harmful projects, though the military-industrial complex with his many thousand fold overkill capacity of humankind remains the most dangerous and secret system.

In most companies engineers and scientists work on piece-meal technologies without any knowledge of the end product. And which government in a free-market economy has the right to intervene? So, we are surrounded by specialists who do not see the forest due to the many trees anymore.

This increasing specialization has led to the increasing destruction of our natural and human environment. Even the survival of humankind is at stake. Against the naïve-optimistic Delphi poll more serious social scientists and institutions like the Club of Rome or Worldwatch Institute raise their voices. The “organized irresponsibility” as the Hungarian economist Alexander Kornai characterized the system of really existing socialism has become a common global phenomenon of all modern societies and even more of those which try to cope with them. The principle of “Wertfreiheit” (value free) in modern sciences propagated by Max Weber has certainly also contributed to this increasing irresponsibility, because the individual scientists does not feel himself responsible anymore for the results of his doings, as the director of the institute, the company, the politicians, state bureaucracy which fund his/her research seem to be responsible. A new ethics, like Hans Jonas demands it, is certainly necessary but not sufficient, as we see in military research, in bio-technology. Where power and huge amount of money is at stake, the temptations are very great. So, the social, democratic control of science and the science system has to be increased by society. Not everything which is feasible should be allowed to be done.

The late German social scientist Norbert Müller published in 1989 and 1991 the two volumes of his “Civilization Dynamics.” There he forecasts on the basis of very solid simulations that our complete world system will break down economically, politically, socially around the year 2030, if we do not change the mode of production radically.

Perhaps the biggest challenge since the end of the Second World War is the break-down of really existing socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Marxism-Leninism has pretended to give a comprehensive “Weltanschauung.” Though it termed itself as “scientific socialism” it was neither scientific nor socialism. So, it may be a good chance that the end of the Cold War liberated classical Marxian thinking from its deformations through Marxism-Leninism, and that we can now freely approach the fundamental problems of humankind and of Western societies without being squeezed into the East-West conflict.

V. The Need for Re-integration

The real world is not divided into disciplines or specialities. In real life we are confronted with cities, nations, regions, companies, families, nature. They are totally integrated social units. To understand their functioning and their respective differences we need the

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4 Though we should not forget that it still exists in mainland China, North Korea, and Myanmar for example.
contribution of all social sciences. That is more than just adding partial knowledges. The sum in social life is more than the cumulation of elements. Social sciences is more than mathematics. The need is felt by more and more decision-makers in public life and the economy.5

Naturally not all social scientists have given up the tradition of integrated social sciences. Just to name a few examples who come to our mind: C. W. Mills, Karl Polanyi, the members of the Frankfurt School, the French group of the Annales at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (E.H.E.S.S.) in Paris, or the New York New School for Social Research, etc.

From another side contributions for a re-integration of social sciences have been produced by anthropologists, by Behaviourism, or Positivism, the systems theory (Luhmann). The problem in these cases for a full re-integratoin is the lack of historical dimension. But apparently the necessity for a comprehensive methodological and epistemological structure of social sciences is also felt and expressed there.

VI. Practical Examples

As we do not need always more specialized knowledge to overcome the challenges of the future, so we need a reintegration also in teaching. Because it depends very much on the next generation, how our and their future will look like.

Certainly it is much more difficult and demanding to have an integrated curriculum in social sciences instead of the addition of some subjects in majors and minors.6 This kind of integrated teaching has also to be more than just a collection of items. A new relationship between theory and practice, between empirical and theoretical foundations has to be developed.

Partly based on the older traditions, but partly also on the background of recent social developments and challenges in many countries we find a number of educational experiments as well on the undergraduate as on the graduate level.

France

The already mentioned E.H.E.S.S. in Paris, founded after World War II, with graduate courses is probably the best known example and one of the most prestigious institutions of social sciences in the world, certainly the most prestigious in the French-speaking world.

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5 As we will not be able to or we should not destroy specializations, so also disciplines have their role in modern sciences. There are the corpus of accumulated knowledge over generations in a field. Though they are mostly not directly linked to a given profession—with the exceptions of medicine or law—they promote scientific research and training. The danger in all scientific disciplines that they naturally tend to dogmatize their corpus of knowledge. As Kuhn has described in his theory of scientific revolutions it is often very difficult to change these disciplines according to new discoveries, as they are often controlled politically.

6 It is estimated to ask for about 20-30% more time for integrated curriculum of social sciences, as well as on the side of the students as for the teaching staff. But the increase in quality of the results is certainly at least this percentage.
Germany

In Germany there are many experiments since the sixties who founded, refounded the teaching of integrated social sciences. In the first place there is to name the University for Economics and Politics in Hamburg founded just after World War II with support of the Trade Unions.

Long traditions existed at the universities in Cologne, Erlangen and Göttingen. But the main trust came in the sixties with the creation of new, “reform-universities” like Konstanz, Bochum, Bielefeld, Bremen, and Osnabrück. The Figure 2 is giving an example of a curriculum for integrated social sciences on the example of the University of Osnabrück.

Italy

In the sixties the University of Trento was created and developed with the aim to reintegrate social sciences. It is a very successful experiment with some of the best social scientists assembled in this relatively small town north of Milan.

**Figure 2. The Curriculum in Social Sciences at the University of Osnabrück**

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<td>Number of Students: 1,150 (Diploma in socio-economics: 700; M.A. Sociology or Political Sciences: 300; Ph.D. 150)</td>
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<td>Teaching staff: 26 full-time, 10 part-time, 20 tutors</td>
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**Semesters**

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United Kingdom

The London School of Economics has still in its name only Economics but has developed over the years to a fully integrated social sciences institution. Besides that the old universities of Cambridge and Oxford, but also new yellow-brick universities like Warwick or Sussex have very much integrated social science curricula.

United States

In the U.S. besides the already mentioned New School for Social Research mainly graduate schools in famous Ivy League institutions like Harvard, Stanford, Princeton, Berkeley, Ithaca, etc. but also the Boston College have programmes of integrated social sciences. To be honest, these are still more the exception than the rule. However, it may be a good sign that just the most prestigious and international universities favour this approach.

Besides these full-term institutions of higher education we find spreading all over the world special institutions and research centres on different social problems like population, technology, work, family, migration, development or concerned with regions (Africa, South-East Asia, North-America, etc.) which teach graduate or doctoral courses as an integrated social science approach.

VII. Conclusion

There is an apparent trend to the reintegration of social sciences over the last couple of years all over the world. It is supported partly by the older generation who is re-establishing the ideal or continuing in this tradition, partly by younger scholars who question a too narrow approach of teaching and researching in the social sciences. But the real challenge is the growing complexity of our social system which becomes more and more international and global. There a more and more detailed and specialized approach is failing to understand and explain the fundamental issues.

The problems created by modernity, the natural sciences and technology can only be solved politically, i.e. with the help of integrated social sciences. Technology Assessment for example is such an important case.

The answer to the questions for the future of humankind lies in a kind of “Sustainable development.” This is more than any of our separated disciplines or specialities can produce. So, let’s put our forces together. It is worthwhile.

University of Osnabrück and Hitotsubashi University

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INTEGRATED SOCIAL SCIENCES

The intention of the following bibliography is to give a comprehensive, concise overview over the main contributions in the field. The access is concentrated on publications
in English, German and French. The basic assumption is that the pillars of social sciences are history, philosophy, economics, sociology, psychology, political sciences, theology and statistics. In the early times of social sciences, at the beginning of the 19th century these sciences and disciplines were integrated within the classical political economy or/and philosophy. Nowadays with the splitting up of disciplines over the last decades into more and more sub-disciplines we tend “not to see the forest anymore due to too many trees”—as a German proverb is saying. The task of reintegration of social sciences—because the reality was never divided according to disciplines or sub-disciplines—has to be done around concrete topics. At the same time we need a general theory and epistemology. The same holds true for methods and methodology. We propose to discuss the reintegration around three of the major problems for humankind at the moment and in the future:

1) environment
2) democracy and participation
3) the North-South conflict.

The list is in an alphabetical order; for different purposes it has to be rearranged. Proposed are authors who in general unite practical and theoretical influence.


BERTHELOT, Jean-Michel: *L'intelligence du social (The intelligence of the social)*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1990, 249 p. This very important contribution by a young Frenchman is putting some order into the epistemological disorder by taking seriously the complexity of social structures and therefore their intellegibility.

BOTTOMORE, Tom & William OUTHWAITE (eds.): *Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought*. Oxford, Blackwell (in print). Gives with the help of several hundred entries by authors from all parts of the world the broadest and most recent assessment of all domains of modern social thinking. The editors from Britain have been influencing already over the last decades largely the scientific community and the decision-makers in East and West, North and South.

BRAUDEL, Fernand: *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe-XVIIIe siècle (Material Civilisation, Economy and Capitalism)*. Paris, A. Colin, 1979, 3 vols. The founder of the famous French school of social history presents here the foundations of a world history with the development of the “market” as key concept.


BRUNDTLAND, Gro Harlem et al. UNITED NATIONS: *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press, 1987, XV + 400 p. The report by the United Nations Comission on Environment and Development headed by the Prime Minister of Norway. An interdisciplinary document by practitioners and intellectuals, essential for the survival-
of humankind in which the term of “sustainable development” is coined.


ELIAS, Norbert: *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen (On the Process of Civilization. Socio-genetic and Psycho-genetic Studies)*. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp, 1978, 2 vols, 334 pp+492 pp. The German born author who recently died at the age of 90 in the Netherlands has developed an approach between Marx and Weber on the explanation of social development. It is not a study in the sense of 19th century “evolution” nor of 20th century “social change.” His nondogmatic, empirically based social theory can explain social processes in general and specific social developments as well. It is definitely one of today’s most original contributions in social sciences.

HABERMAS, Jürgen: *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns (Theory of communicative action)*. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp, 1981, 2 vols, 534 pp+641 pp. It may sound biased that we propose a large number of German authors, but I think you can argue with good reason that in effect they have contributed to a very large part of the constitution of modern social sciences after the British and French had laid the foundations in earlier times. Hebermas is without doubt the most influential representative of a critical social theory.

HEGEL; Georg W.F.: *Phänomenologie des Geistes (Phenomenology of the Spirit)*. Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1970 (1807), 622 p. Probably it is not necessary to explain the Oeuvre by Hegel. The only question is why not include in this list as well Husserl, Kant, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, etc. This can be done, but for the above purpose Hegel remains the first choice.

HELLER, Frank (ed.): *The Use and Abuse of Social Sciences*. London etc., Sage, 1986, 294 p. A collection of essays by the Austrian born British of the Tavistock Institute. The book is divided into two parts: “evidence” and “theory and experience.” It covers a large number of fields and touches a question which remained largely out of mainstream concerns. But the abuse of social sciences in authoritarian regimes is one of the crucial questions for students and practitioners.


Lefebvre, French thinker, who died in 1991 was one of the most important disciples of Marx in our times. He developed Marxian thinker in an original way around the concept of “everyday-life.” He applied his theory in many fields of social life, as the region, the city, the rural, the space in general. Many of his books were translated into Japanese.


MORIN, Edgar: *La Méthode* (*The method*). Paris, Seuil, 1977/1981/1986, 3 vols. Certainly one of the most influential living French social scientists. His basic work integrates different methods into a comprehensive non-dogmatic original approach which has much praxis relevance.

MÜLLER, Norbert: *Civilization Dynamics I (Fundamentals of a Model-Oriented Description) & II (Nine Simulation Models)*. Avebury, Aldershot etc., 2 vols., 1989 & 1991. The German social scientist who just passed away left as his heritage these two volumes where he developed in a historical perspective computerized models of societal development.


OKAMOTO, Hermann: *Collective bargaining and industrial democracy in Western Europe, North America and Japan*. Tokyo, Hosei University Press, 1981. May be of interest for students who are working on comparative studies.


POLANYI, Karl: *The Great Transformation*. New York, 1944, 448 pp. The Austrian-Hungarian author, emigrating later to Britain and the US, has developed a general theory of modern society which transcends Marx and Weber as he integrates findings of ethnology to explain the transformation from ‘integrated societies’ through the market
economy to modern ‘self-destructive societies.’

POPPER, Karl, R.: *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1965 (1934/5), 480p. “... one of the most important documents of the twentieth century.” (P. B. Medawar, *The New Scientist*) The intellectual heritage of the German-speaking emigrant to Britain and New Zealand who recently died is now widely accepted. His “critical rationalism” may be regarded as the ideological base of liberal societies.

STEIN, Lorenz von: *Begriff und Wesen der Gesellschaft (Concept and Essence of Society)*. Köln & Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1956 (1884). The founder of conservative modern social theory who had a special impact on Japan.

SZÉLL, György: *Participation, Worker’s Control and Self-Management*. London, SAGE, 1988 (Current Sociology 36/3) IX+269 pp. On the background of social thinking over the last three hundred years an assessment of the future of democracy in regard to challenges of the modern world is made. An interdisciplinary approach with a large commented bibliography.

WEBER, Max: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Economy and Society)*. Köln/Berlin, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1964 (1919), xvi+1138 pp. It is not clear who is the most important figure in the social sciences in the 20th century. But without a question once again a German, Max Weber, with this very rich manuscript influenced all generations of social scientists. His theory covers all cultures and is the answer to Marx’ materialist approach, and has to be included and to be studied again and again by all scholars in the field.

Apparently this bibliography cannot be exhaustive and is biased by personal experiences and subjectivity. Still we guess—having a good knowledge of a great number of writings—this list can be a good base for teaching and further research.

We would propose to select some 10–12 main books to be published in Japanese as paperback in a shelf under the title “Basic Books on Integrated Social Sciences.” This collection should be the basic library for any student in the field. A reader or one volume with selected pieces is just not enough to cover the diversity of theories, methods, cultures and would give only a superficial knowledge.