



CREATING SOCIAL TRUST IN POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION

EDITED BY JÁNOS KORNAI, BO ROTHSTEIN,
AND SUSAN ROSE-ACKERMAN

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Edited by
János Kornai,
Bo Rothstein,
and
Susan Rose-Ackerman

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P R E F A C E

The problems of dishonesty and distrust are ubiquitous in Eastern Europe and the Soviet successor states. These issues are aired daily in the press and on television and are discussed at home, at work, and among friends. Corruption, deception, lying, and abuse of trust are mentioned more often these days than they were before the change of system. Although distrust and dishonesty permeated social relations before the transition, these problems were concealed, or it was forbidden to talk about them.

Research on honesty and trust is wide ranging and covers many fields of inquiry. The Collegium Budapest project, *Honesty and Trust: Theory and Experience in the Light of Post-Socialist Transformation*, aimed to integrate that disparate activity and to draw some lessons for the transition countries. The project sought to foster integration in at least three senses: in research approaches, in international coverage, and in disciplinary reach.

The huge international literature on the subject centers around two major topics. One of these is *trust* and its relation to *social capital*. What is meant by these concepts? What helps or hinders their formation? What are the beneficial or detrimental effects of trust in its various guises, and how is it related to social capital and democratic consolidation? The second is concerned with the *institutional* roots of *dishonest behavior* and with the difficulty of promoting *honesty*. Many authors study various forms of dishonesty: corruption, conflicts of interest, deception of business partners or the state, or the theft of others' property.

In the world of science and scholarship, these two research themes have hardly been cognizant of each other. Exponents of one scarcely ever cite work of the other, let alone attend each other's conferences. The project set out to bring together some prominent representatives of each group and prompt them to exchange and integrate their ideas.

The group was *international*, with over 50 scholars recruited from 17 countries of the "East" and "West." Researchers came from Bulgaria, Canada, China, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. (See the list of participants following the preface.) Some were experts on the post-socialist transition. Others were invited because

they showed a willingness to learn and to cooperate with those who specialize in analyzing the post-socialist transition. Most importantly, the members of the group agreed to think seriously about what lessons could be drawn for the post-socialist region from research—both theoretical and empirical—dealing with other parts of the world.

The research was *interdisciplinary*. The disciplines represented were political science, economics, sociology, law, anthropology, and political philosophy. We hope that those who take the baton onward will be able to extend the cooperation further by including history and ethical philosophy.

If those doing research in neighboring topics hardly know each other's work, that was all the more so between different disciplines. The papers that participants submitted when they joined the project tended to cite works within their own discipline, mainly because that was almost exclusively what they had studied. This limitation relaxed somewhat in the course of the project. The personal conversations, seminars, and workshops helped to familiarize members of the group with each other's work and with the approaches, methodologies, methods of argument, and styles prevalent in "neighboring" disciplines.

Interdisciplinary work, apart from being thought-provoking and helping to enrich everyone's set of research tools, also exerts a disciplinary force in another sense. Every field becomes inured to its own, narrowly employed and narrowly understood jargon. Interdisciplinary discourse obliges people to talk and write in a way comprehensible to a wider intellectual circle. This also forces people to clarify their ideas.

Within each discipline, there is general acceptance of certain simplifying assumptions, abstract schemata, and accepted criteria for convincing argument or a valid defense of a statement. As one climbs out of one's disciplinary bunker, it immediately becomes clear that such "generally accepted" abstractions, simplified assumptions, or techniques of argument are by no means self-evident or convincing to exponents of another field. Interdisciplinary confrontation did indeed prompt the members of the group to explain themselves, revise lines of argument, and reappraise assumptions.

The purpose of the project was not to arrive at a uniform point of view. This was not a "task force" exercise designed to produce a joint report. On the contrary, it was designed to stimulate debate, and there were several important problems on which no agreement was reached. Respecting each other's points of view, the participants cooperated and differed in a friendly manner. That is natural enough in democracies with a long history behind them, but far from common in the post-socialist region of the world, where the academic world all too often reflects the impatience and antagonism of political divisions.

When a research group assembles to examine a big subject, there are a number of organizational principles to choose from. One possibility is to draw up in advance, plainly and accurately, a limited number of questions and designate clearly which members are expected to respond to which

questions. If answers to one question are expected from several researchers, prior agreement is reached on methodological principles as well, so that the responses become comparable. The upshot of collective work organized in such a decisive, even strict, fashion will be a publication whose parts constitute a coherent, rigorously structured whole. Equally likely is a collection that is artificial and uninteresting.

The project directors were aware of this organizational strategy and its inherent advantages. Nonetheless, it was deliberately set aside in favor of a different course. Pursuing the integrating purpose outlined earlier meant drawing the members of the group from a very wide area. Recruiting leading researchers from different disciplines and countries meant allowing each to write on a subject of his or her own choice. The members could not be confined to a Procrustean bed of compulsory, previously formulated questions. The most important thing was to build on their individual initiatives and ideas to produce papers that spoke to the broad themes of our project.

Given the integrating objectives already described, it is hard to imagine a more favorable organizational setting than Collegium Budapest. This institution, founded in 1991 during the post-socialist transition's first great burst of organization and creation, belongs to a genus of scientific institutions usually referred to (after the original institute at Princeton) as "institutes for advanced study." Others include the Palo Alto Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin (which initiated the foundation of Collegium Budapest), and similar bodies in the Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Sweden, and elsewhere. There is no teaching in such institutions, only research. Each operates with a small permanent staff, and most of the researchers are guest fellows invited for a year or less. Each institute is international and interdisciplinary in its makeup.

The fellows invited to Collegium Budapest pursue their research individually. But it has become a tradition to have one or two "focus groups" each year in which a number of scholars approach a specific theme. The project on Honesty and Trust was such a focus group, and it was the largest focus group in the Collegium's history.

Many of the authors of the studies in this book and its companion volume, *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition*, spent shorter or longer periods as fellows or visiting scholars at the Collegium. The interaction among them was not confined to a brief conference but lasted for weeks or months. The fellows had lunch together every day, and each author led an intensive seminar on his or her own research. Furthermore, there were many informal discussions that provided opportunities for exchanging views or debating about each others' ideas and writings. In addition, three workshops, each of two days, were organized at Collegium Budapest for fellows in residence along with invited experts. These larger gatherings were also attended by group members unable to spend an extended period at the Collegium. Results and findings were posted on the

Internet (<http://www.colbud.hu/honesty-trust>) as working documents while the research continued.

The most tangible products of this project were two volumes—*Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition* (edited by János Kornai and Susan Rose-Ackerman) and *Creating Social Trust in Post-Socialist Transition* (edited by János Kornai, Bo Rothstein, and Susan Rose-Ackerman). In addition, many members of the group will subsequently publish articles and books begun in Budapest. However, the success of the project should not be measured simply in terms of published pages. Another important product of the project was the discourse and the intellectual influence that members exerted on each other while at the Collegium Budapest, housed in a lovely Baroque building in the historic Castle District of the city. The spirit of that discourse, we hope, was valued by all participants who will disseminate it in their own environments.

We would like to express thanks on behalf of all group members for the intellectual inspiration contributed by the rector of Collegium Budapest, Professor Imre Kondor, the institution's permanent fellows, and the research fellows whose visits to the Collegium coincided with the project. We are especially grateful to Katalin Szabó, János Varga, and the Collegium staff for their manifold kind and attentive help and to Julianna Partí for her excellent editorial assistance in preparing the manuscript and the indices. Bo Rothstein, a member of the focus group, assisted us with the editorship of *Creating Social Trust in Post-Socialist Transition*, and we are very grateful for his contributions. David Pervin, the books' editor at Palgrave, has been a great help in shepherding the book through the production process.

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