

Appendix

**of Concept Paper on tolerance enhancing
measures in rural Tajikistan
for GTZ**

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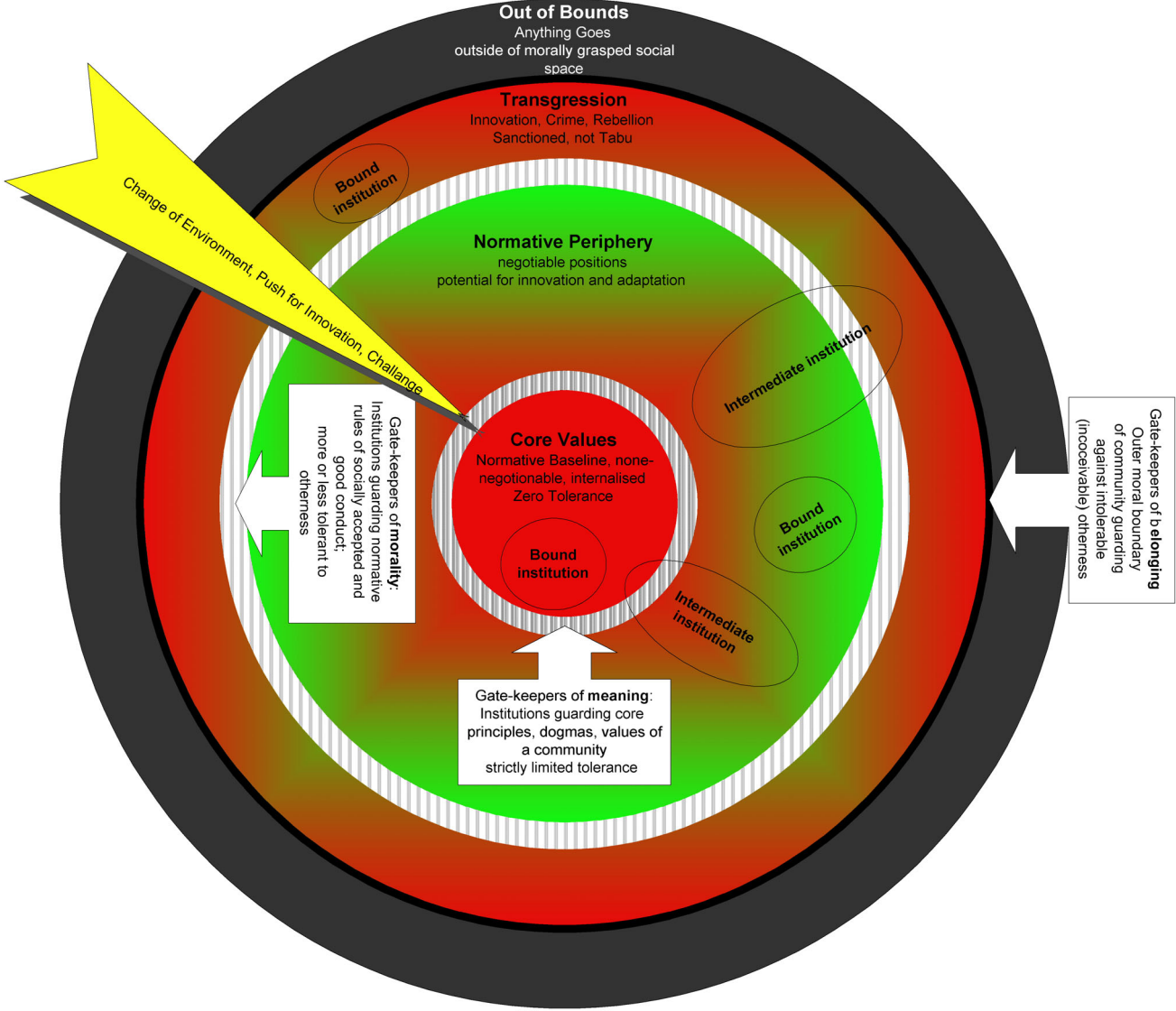
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Scheme I: Normative spaces in society and the limits to tolerance



Scheme I

Explanation

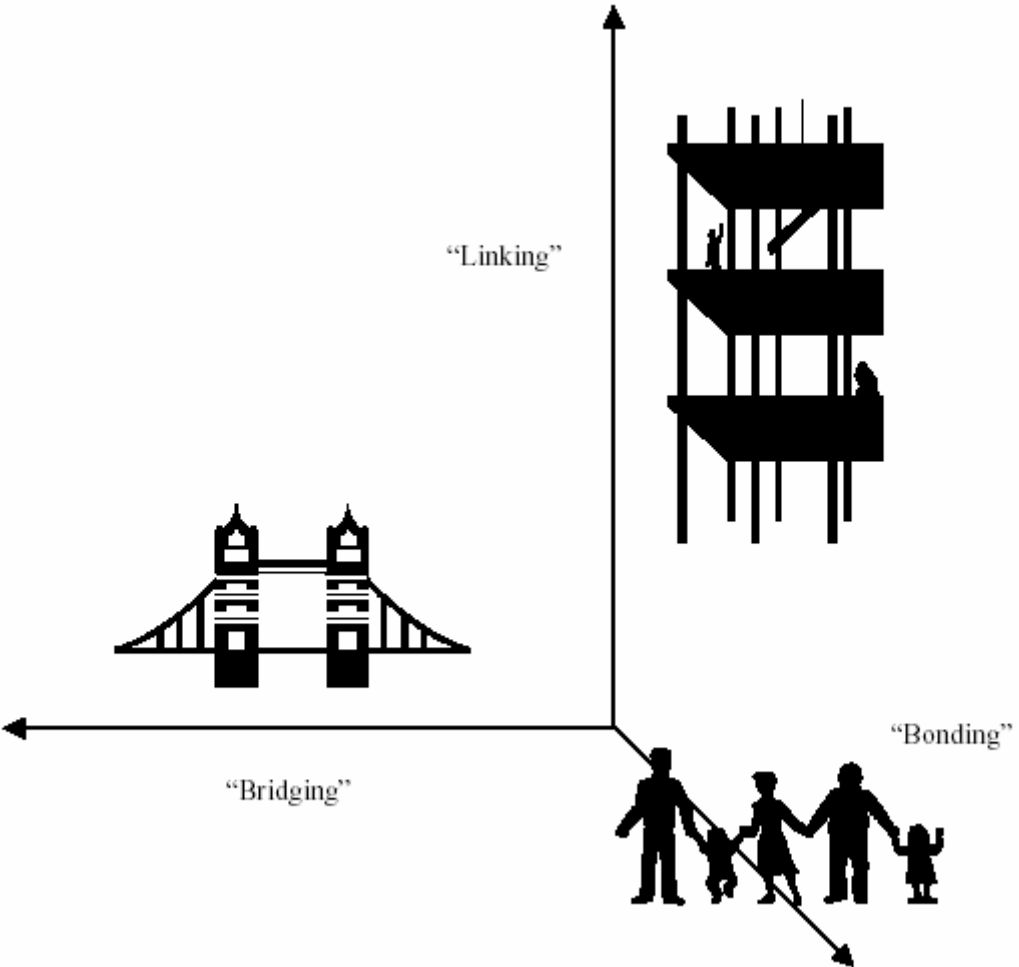
Core: Normative foundation of a given society or distinct social unit. The core values may be religious or ideological in nature. They may be dogmatic, formalised in constitutions but usually are internalised and “go without saying”. In theory they are non-negotiable and are either changing only very slowly or through revolution (radical change of the system as a whole). The core-values are protected by norms enforced through institutions authorised to deal with meaning (anything from religious authorities via councils of elders to constitutional courts). Those *gatekeepers of meaning* strictly limit the capacity of the core for adaptation and innovation in changing environments. Some societies provide complicated procedures to allow for controlled change of aspects of those founding principles (e.g. change of constitutional arrangements). As a rule, however, conflicting with the core values is not tolerated and is seen as either-or conflicts questioning the social order as such. Such revolutionary threats if they arise are perceived as alien to the rules of society (out of bounds in the scheme).

Periphery: Social space of negotiated order. The rules governing this space to a certain degree tolerate adaptation and innovation. It is the residing space for societies most important institutions designed to deal with conflicting interests on a day-to-day basis, like parliaments, courts, councils of mediators, markets and bazaars. Arising challenges, competition over resources, ideas or meaning are typically dealt with as more-or-less conflicts, encouraging compromise and allowing for win-win outcomes. Some institutions, like the bazaar or the religious organisations may cross over the outer or inner boundary and sharing aspects of transgression (e.g. shadow economy) or core-values (e.g. religious ritual or dogma) respectively.

Transgression: Space of bad, immoral or even criminal social organisation that is, however, still perceived as part of the normative system of “us”. This space may be fenced off by mechanisms of social control like sanctions targeting the reputation of an individual or his family (in particular in face-to-face communities) or by formal institutions with sanction capacity. The relationship between the spaces of normative periphery and transgression are symmetric as long as core principles are not broken. Intermediate institutions – like socially or physically mobile youth-groups, the bazaar, networks of patrons and clients or organised crime – may stimulate innovation even in rather closed communities.

Out of Bounds: Moral space outside the boundaries of the semantics of good and bad of a given society. Rules governing social organisation in this space are either unknown to the given society or are not perceived as rules but rather as chaos, anarchy, insanity. When confrontation with this outer space is unavoidable the gate-keeping institutions are under increased stress. Reactions vary widely and depend, among others, on the power balance between the community under “attack” and the outside intruder: from violent defence via exclusion to temporary inclusion into the moral space (as, for example, in the form of guest-right). If a whole period is perceived as out of bounds – for example a rapid change of the relationship between the generations or the sexes in prolonged civil war – strategies of oblivion may be applied to reorganise moral normality after such a period.

Scheme IIa: Social Capital on Community Level



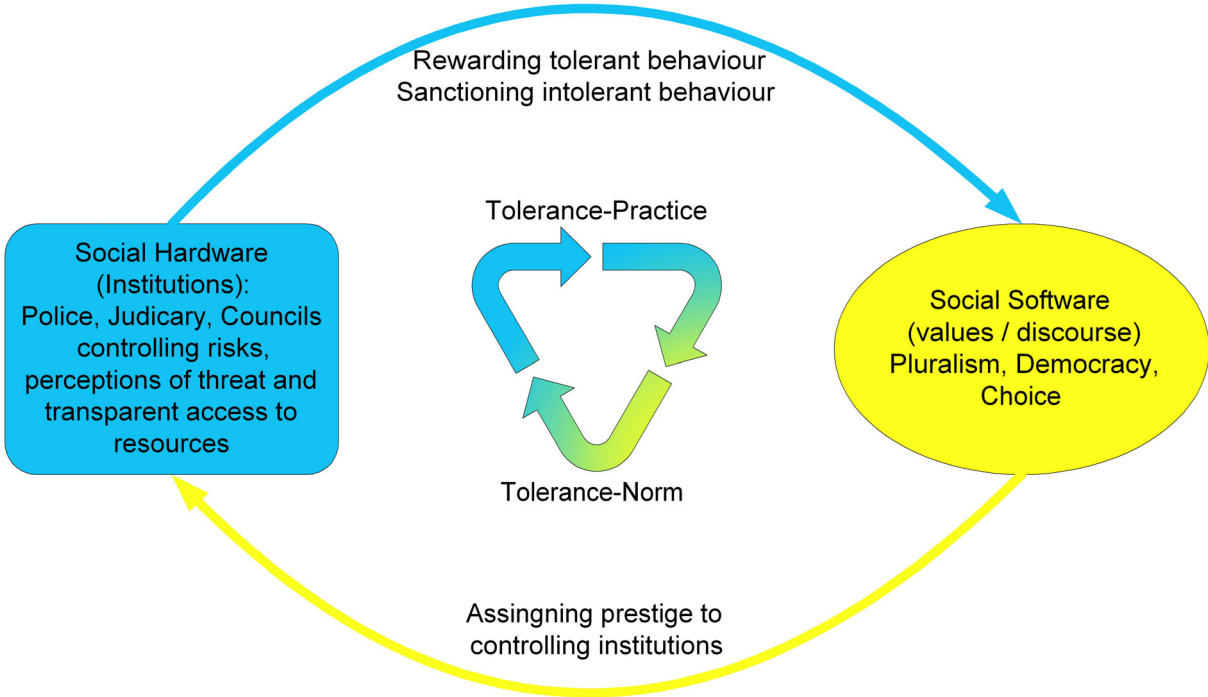
Scheme IIa

“One approach to reconciling social capital’s costs and benefits is to recognize that it is multi-dimensional, that different combinations of these dimensions might yield different outcomes. For example, while the poor may possess some forms of social capital, they may well be lacking in others, particularly those providing access to formal institutions. Moreover, the social capital they do possess may impose serious non-economic constraints on their well-being, as is the case when “community expectations” conspire to remove girls from school in north India. The most familiar dimensions of social capital are those Granovetter (1973) referred to as “strong” and “weak” ties, the former representing immediate family members, close friends, and professional colleagues, the latter encompassing more distant associates and acquaintances. In the recent literature it has become popular to refer to these two dimensions as “bonding” and “bridging” social capital (Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Narayan, 1999). Others have stressed, however, that social capital also has a vertical dimension (Fox, 1996; Heller, 1996), that poverty is a function of powerlessness and exclusion, and that a key task for development practitioners is ensuring that the activities of the poor not only “reach out”, but are also “scaled up.” An important component of this strategy entails forging alliances with sympathetic individuals in positions of power (Brown and Fox, 1998), an approach Hirschman (1968) wryly calls “revolution by stealth.” To further extend the Hirschmanian discourse, this vertical dimension can be called “linkages.” The three basic dimensions of

civic social capital—bonds, bridges, and linkages—are summarized in Figure 5. All three are necessary for generating sustainable economic development.”

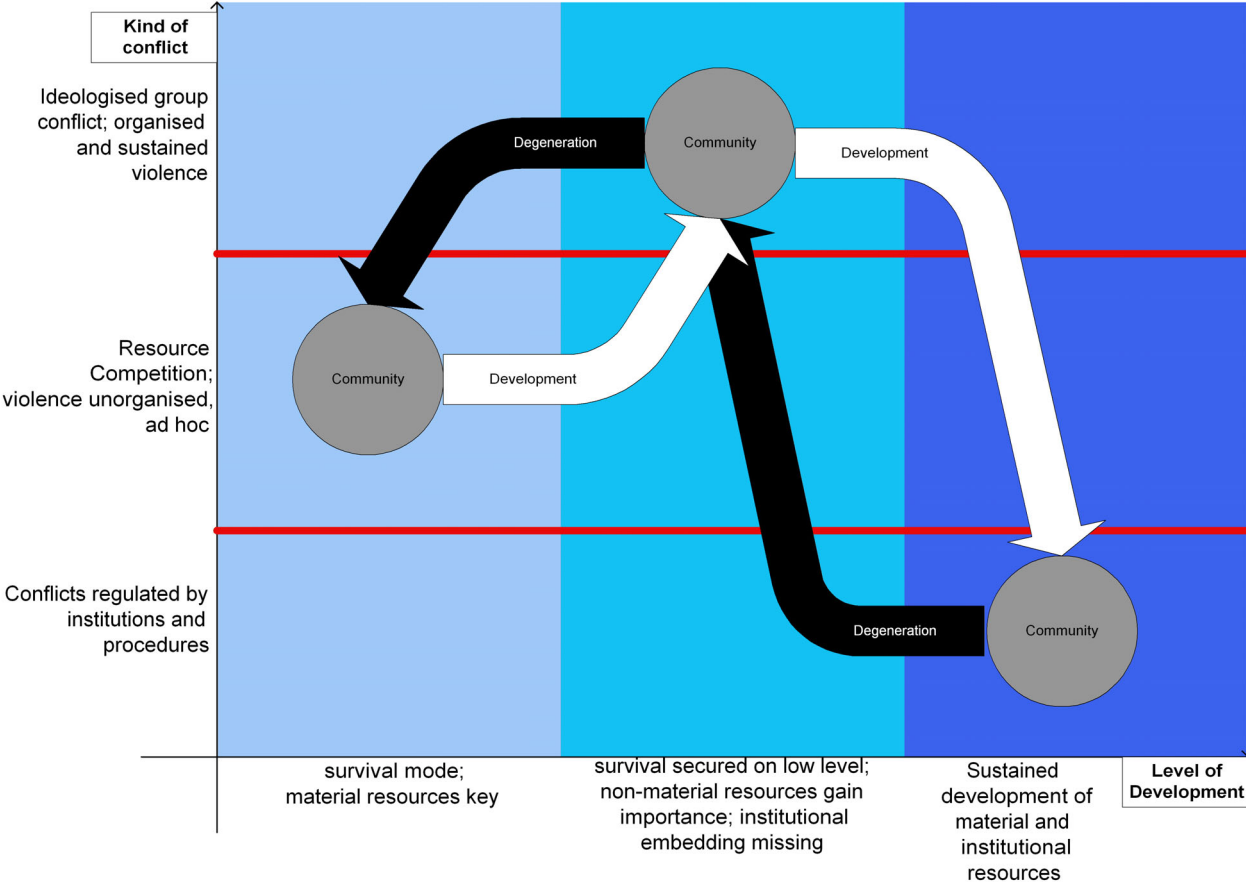
Taken from Woolcock 1999

Scheme IIb: Social Capital fostering Tolerance



Scheme IIb

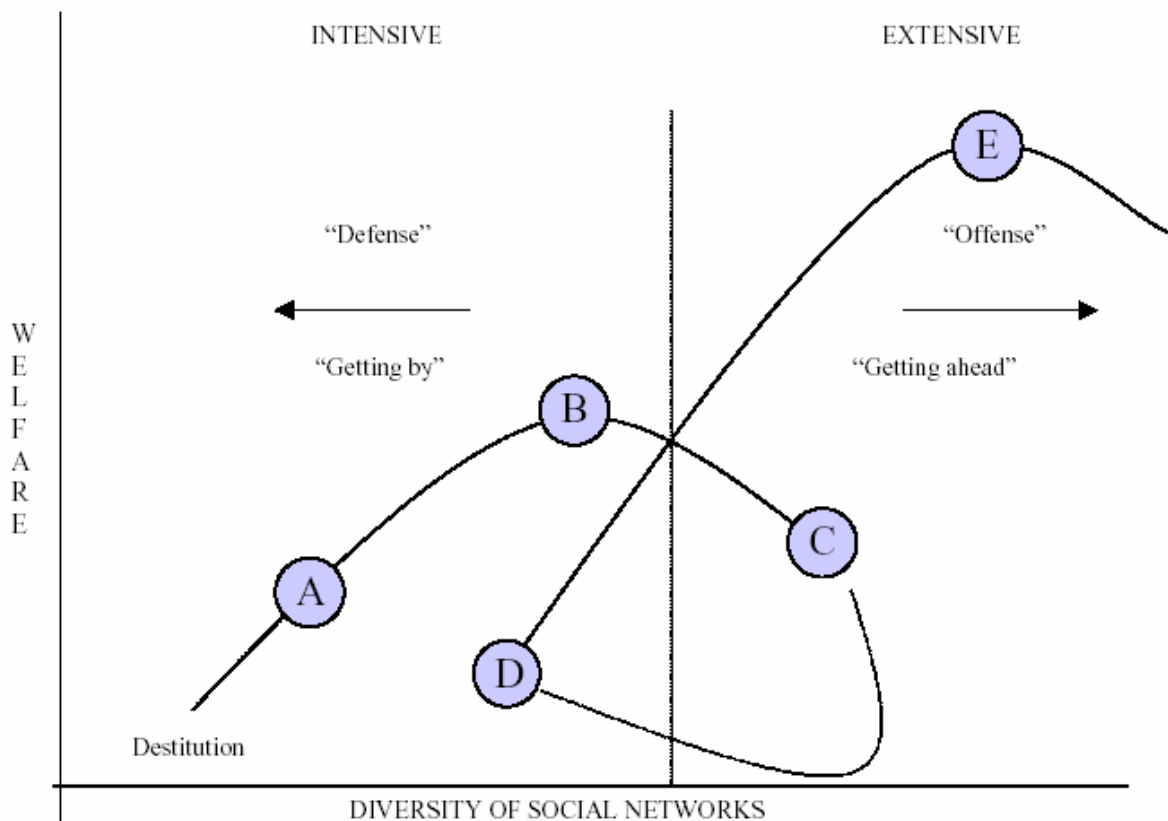
Scheme III: Development and Conflict



Scheme III

Scheme IV: Social capital and social mobility

Scheme IV



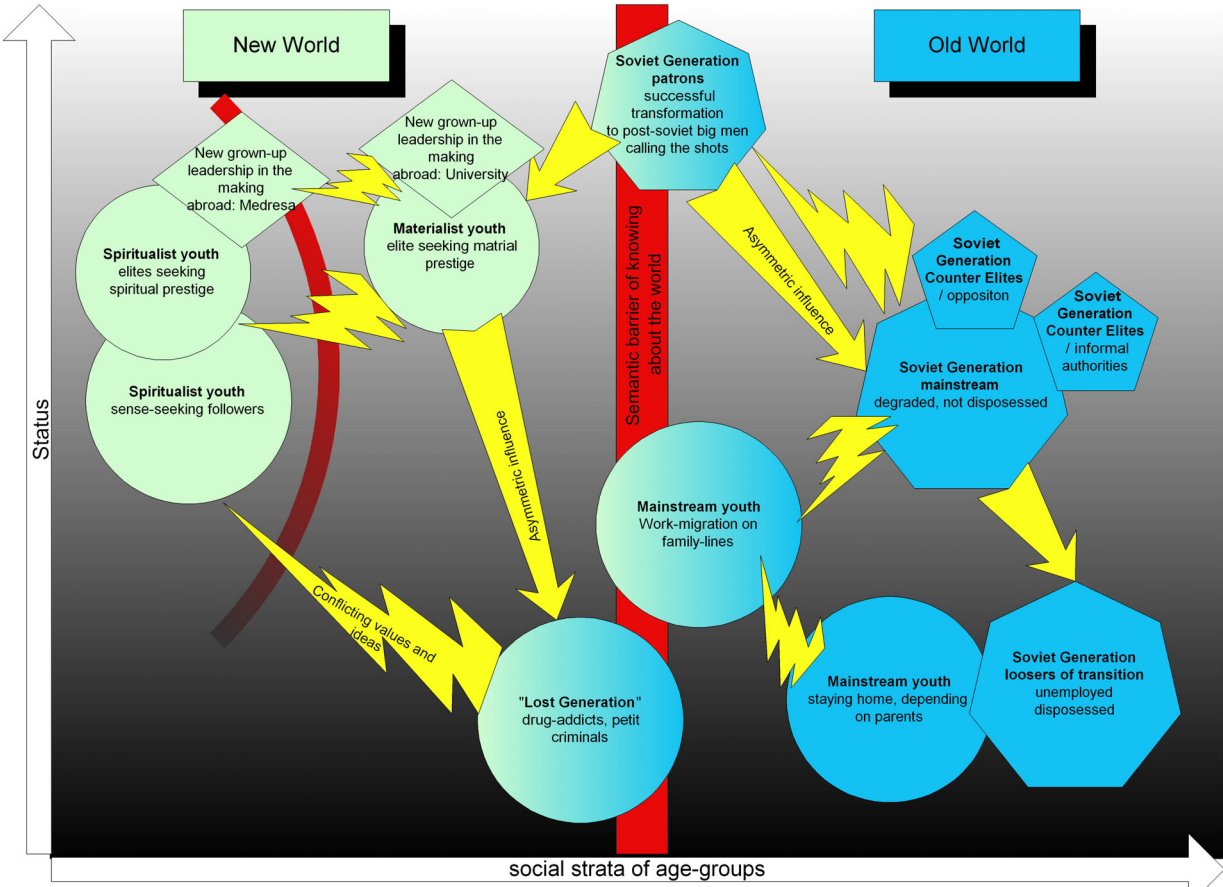
“...[A]s the diversity of the social networks of the poor expands, so too does their welfare (A), but to a point (B). In the case of immigrant communities, for example, the arrival of subsequent cohorts may overwhelm the existing network, thereby reducing well-being for long-established members (C). Similarly, members of group-based credit programs may be able to leverage their existing social ties to expand their entrepreneurial ventures, but over time, obligations to fellow group members may become an obstacle to further advancement for those who are more ambitious. The solution taken by many poor people is to divest themselves of their immediate community ties (D), and to move to where networks are more diverse, and hence economic opportunities more promising (E). Migration from villages to cities is the most dramatic example (Massey and Espinosa, 1997), but Portes and Sensenbrenner’s (1993) name-changing Asian immigrants are doing essentially the same thing. (An analogous experience for western readers is graduating from high school, where one leaves the security and familiarity of home to join a more diverse and better-connected set of social networks in college.) It is a difficult, even traumatic, transition for anyone, but “necessary” if more efficient economic activity on a larger scale and scope is to be undertaken (cf. Stiglitz, 1998).”

“For both countries and communities, then, managing risk, shocks, and opportunities is a key ingredient in the quest to achieve sustainable economic development. Whether shocks manifest themselves as terms of trade declines, natural disasters, strikes, disputes over access to water, domestic violence, or the death of a spouse, those social entities able to weather the

storm will be those that are more likely to prosper. But development is more than just a matter of playing good “defense”; it also entails knowing how to initiate and maintain strategic “offense.” From large public-private partnerships (Tendler, 1995) to village-level development programs (Bebbington and Carroll, 1999), success turns on the extent to which ways and means can be found to forge mutually beneficial and accountable ties between different agents and agencies of expertise. It is in this sense that I argue that “getting the social relations right” (Woolcock, 2000) is a crucial component of both the means and ends of development. If the idea and the ideals of social capital help move us in this direction, then it more than justifies its place in the new development lexicon.”

Taken from Woolcock 1999

Scheme V: Gaps of knowledge about the world - generation



Scheme V