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BRIDGING THE MACRO WITH THE MICRO THROUGH THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF THE COMMUNITY: THE CALCHA OF BOLIVIA AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

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Abstract

Community development planning depends, for its success, on a bottom-up approach and a deep understanding of local culture. In this paper, a case of economic development planning involving the Calcha, an ethnic group living in southern Bolivia, is used to illustrate how different the understanding of a same reality can be for planners and for local residents. Planners are urged to look at communities not as given objects but as cultural entities being continuously created and adapted through the interpretive work of individuals and households interacting with one another and with their changing environment.

Introduction

Theories of Third World development and underdevelopment have focused on the macro-structural processes of capital penetration and accumulation, colonialism or neo-colonialism, modernization, polarization, and dependency, and the way in which these processes have transformed societies through space and time. These theories tend to share several myths about "peripheral" societies. First, their authors assume that in peripheral societies, the primary concern of production has been subsistence farming. Second, they view these societies as classless, homogenous, and sometimes tribal in nature. Third, they disregard outside trading and primitive accumulation occurring in these societies. Finally, they see them as static and unchanging.

This paper examines the concept of community in development studies and argues that community-building is a process of social learning. Community is not static but constantly in flux and conflict-ridden. This concept of community differs from the mainstream view of community which has informed development planning for so long and for the most part goes unquestioned. After briefly reviewing the theoretical framework within which the life of the community is understood to be a process of social learning, the paper uses a case-study on the Calcha in Bolivia to illustrate the ways in which community is constructed in the everyday life of households. The interpretive work done by community members through social interaction can help planners understand the process of adaptation, modification, and resistance to structural changes as members actively participate in "development."

The paper suggests the need for incorporating community studies into the information-gathering process of planning. It critiques mainstream planning practice and reconceptualizes planning as a process of social learning, a process that requires demystifying planning and unveiling the unequal power relations hidden by mainstream planning discourse. The example of the Calcha people in southern Bolivia illustrates the frustration of local development planners in understanding indigenous Andean communities.

Development Theory

Development theory has often assumed that the history of third-world societies begins with European contact and domination. It has tended to take the grand view and has not paid enough attention to the differentiated social formations in pre-capitalist society—to the pre-existing political economies prior to capitalist penetration. In fact, colonialism was introduced into specific situations and European colonialists attempted to integrate existing social relations into commodity production and consumption. Community development theory revolves around this process of integrating the "backward" within the "modern."

In *Europe and the People Without History*, Eric Wolf argues that colonialism was not simply implanted upon a "tabula rasa" and allowed to grow freely and unabated. Rather, violence and conflict often accompanied colonialism. Nor was colonialism homogeneous; colonialist penetration took on different forms in its utilization of space. Some areas were designated for mineral extraction or large agricultural plantations, others for European settlement, and others for commodity subsistent crops for internal consumption. Furthermore, Wolf goes on to argue, native people did not take their new situation for grated but interpreted and acted upon external forces, contributing to the type of development that actually arose.

Thus, development theory, whether it stresses the process of capital accumulation and polarization or the "trickling down" of the benefits of growth, underestimates the role of human agency and uncertainty. It fails to appreciate the interpretive work done by communities in coping, adapting, modifying, and resisting the macro structures which are used to explain social change and development or underdevelopment.

By understanding community dynamics, we can begin to better understand larger societal changes. The strength of local or community studies is that they allow us to address development from within. These studies allow us to explain, for instance, why penetration has failed to eradicate pre-capitalist modes of production in rural and small urban centers and how pre-capitalist social relations are being modified by capitalist penetration. This way, we can perhaps begin to address the

question of why indigenous communities have not been fully integrated into eitheer capitalist or socialist national development. With this approach, we begin to look at the people and communities within their own historical development.

Community

What do we mean by community? This has been one of the most perplexing questions of the social sciences. One problem when dealing with the term "community" is the confusion produced by the subjective feelings that the term conjures up, and the ensuing lack of clarity between empirical description and normative prescription, between what community is and what people feel it should be (Bell and Newby 1972). In order to study community, if such an animal exists, we must develop a better operational definition for purposes of analysis. In defining community, some writers have stressed the geographic locality that binds members to a particular community of place. Others have stressed the common interests that can go beyond the boundedness of geographic locality to form a community of interests—for instance, mutual-aid organizations. From this perspective, the focus lies not on place but on social identifications and interactions. However, writers who study the community of interest tend to emphasize single-stranded relationships.

Peter Willmont (1986) argues that another way of looking at communities of interest is to look at social networks made up of varied types of relationships. Bell and Newby (1972) argue that community is about multi-stranded ("multiplex") relationships which involve social ties at various levels of interaction. On the other hand, these multiplex relationships occur in space. Therefore, it is unavoidable to accept that the clustering of people for residence and sustenance involves a relationship of social interaction within a geographic locality. These two notions, community of interest and community of place, are not mutually exclusive. However, these two concepts are not sufficient in themselves. There is a third dimension of community that concerns people's emotions and the patterns of relationships that sustain and encourage those emotions. Emotions give rise to a sense of belonging. Terms such as "sense of community" or "spirit of community" suggest this important idea (Willmont 1986). The question is whether, and to what extent, a particular territorial or interest community has the third ingredient of community as well. Thus, social interaction in a locality and a sense of identity can reinforce each other to form what Peter Willmont has called "community of attachment." Here, geographic identity is also solidarity with others who share that place.

Territorial communities exist at a variety of scales, from the neighborhood and the village to the nation and the world as a whole. However,

the local community is the focal point of this paper. In dealing with local communities, it is important to recognize the variations almong them. What makes one place a community while another is not? Willmont (1986) helps to identify those variables that influence the extent of local interaction and local identity. He divides these variables into two categories. The first deals with the ecological basis of solidarity and interaction; it includes characteristics which do not require a deliberate, formal effort from residents to foster the growth of local relationships and loyalties. These characteristics are residential stability, strong kinship ties, ethnic and class ties, work in a dominant local industry, physical isolation, and physical form.

By contrast, the second set of variables depends on the voluntary action of people. These characteristics include the presence of many locally based organizations, the existence of an external threat, and the extent to which some are more prone than others to join formal organizations. This variation, in turn, depends on the different ways in which people interpret and perceive the actions of others. This last point is crucial: both the relationship of people to their environment and their social interaction requires continuous *interpretive* work on their part. Relationships between objects and human beings are continuously being reconstituted and affirmed through social interaction and interpretation.

Community Identity as a Learning Process

The interpretive process that is involved in interaction is central to the development and reinforcement of a sense of community. This process begins at the household level and extends to kinship, ethnic, occupational, class, and organizational ties among people sharing a geographic locality and beyond it. Interpretation involves a learning process on the part of individuals. Alfred Shutz (1967) argues that a very small part of one's knowledge of the world originates from one's personal experience. The greater part is socially derived. It is handed down by parents, siblings, friends, neighbors, teachers, etc. One is taught how to define the environment and how to form typical constructs in accordance with the anonymous system of relevances of the in-group. This stock of knowledge is derived from past experiences which have been translated into "trustworthy recipes," or common-sense knowledge.

It is with this stock of knowledge that people encounter daily life. A set of shared assumptions help actors resolve the tension between their experience of the world as a shared world and their experience as individuals with a unique biography. These assumptions create a world of *typical* objects and experiences, and new things or events must be integrated into that system. Shutz goes on to argue that, in their daily lives,

people are concerned merely with certain objects that stand out over and against the unquestioned field of pre-experienced objects.

In face-to-face relationships, a certain sector of the outer world is equally within reach of each participant or actor and contains objects of common interests and relevance. Participants share a community of space. Face-to-face relationships also involve people in one another's biography and make them share a community of time or collective history. In other, more-or less anonymous relationships, however, there is a greater need to construct a typification in order to grasp the "other" and his/her behavior.

Forging a community of attachment, then, involves a process of learning, through interaction, to use the stock of common-sense knowledge and past experience of the in-group. The household acts as the primary in-group for individuals. Face-to-face relationships provide opportunities to share a common experience through time. This interaction gives the individual a sense of identity and belonging to the in-group. Face-to-face interactions between members of different households create a common experience and help develop a collective memory and a common stock of knowledge. Thus, objects, whether physical, social, or abstract, are interpreted collectively to create meaning for households in a geographic locality.

The geographic locality itself takes on meaning as households interact with their environment. The geographic locality is an intersubjective construct because we live in it as human beings among other human beings, bound together through common experience, understanding others and being understood by them. From the outset, the world of everyday life is a universe of significance to us —that is, a texture of meaning which we have to interpret in order to find our bearings within it and come to terms with it.

Berger & Luckman (1966) suggest that what emerges, then, is a social dialectic between the producers and the products of culture. The world of culture exists over and beyond the individuals who happen to embody it at the moment. Institutions within this social world are now experienced as possessing a reality of its own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact (structure). Only in this way, as an o*bjective* world, can social formations be transmitted to a new generation. In this dialectic, the products (social world), in turn, act back upon the producers by shaping their identity and their interpretation of events. Through this relationship, a historical process of social learning occurs as the stock of knowledge expands and is modified through successive generations.

Community as Methodology

The concept and the study of communities can be approached by studying the way households interpret and define the world around theM through interaction within a given geographic locality. Therefore, community must not be treated as a fixed object of study in and of itself, but, rather, as a set of meanings constructed by the daily lived experiences of human interaction in a given place. This approach to community and community studies can help us understand the manner in which people interpret change in their daily lives, and how they cope, adapt, modify, and resist change. Moreover, it can make us understand the relationship between community and development.

This view of community as methodology differs from a traditional approach to community in that the unit of analysis is not the community as a whole, but rather the social interaction and linkage between households within a local, regional, and national geography. Traditional case studies tend to generalize, taking community as a given, in their attempt to explain larger structures of social change. The proposed perspective highlights the differences among communities. It is a method of study in which social transactions, whether they take place in the market, in the political sphere, or in the social sphere, are studied in order to understand the active role of participants in social change.

This method of study is useful to planners, in that, all too frequently, their plans fail to achieve the proposed goals because of their fundamental lack of understanding of the dynamics by which community members construct and reproduce their community. By incorporating information offered by this approach, planners can begin to combine their specialized knowledge with local knowledge and begin to open up the planning process. They can learn to see the social construction of rationality underlying a collective meaning and action. In short, by focussing community studies on the active participation of members in processes of social change, planners can better understand the dynamics of development.

One community study, of the Calcha in Bolivia, has been selected as a way of illustrating the kinds of questions this type of exploration might formalize. This community study deals with everyday life in an Andean community. It explores the dynamics of adaptation, modification, and resistance to change in an attempt to maintain community.

It is important to keep in mind who is doing the study and from what perspective the researcher enters a community. The study was done by an anthropologist studying two women representing two generations in an Andean Quechua-speaking ethnic village. Through her analysis of community dynamics, she learned about the interpretation process

among households as they create meaning in a rapidly changing world. In these circumstances, community is created or lost. This case-study will also enable us to see the implications that this type of inquiry has for planning and community development.

The Calcha of Bolivia

Mary Ann Medlin (1987) has examined in detail the interrelationships of weaving, social organization, gender roles, and division of labor in Calcha life. In the biographies of two female Calcha weavers, Medlin discusses the meaning of weaving, the impact of new demands made by contemporary life, and the resilience of the cultural importance of hand-woven clothes made by the women of the community. Medlin illustrates the idea of "remaining true to the phenomenon" and Blumer's call for "sensitizing the concepts" by exploring and inspecting the everyday actions and experiences of human beings living in a different world from that of the researcher. In the tradition of Elliot Leibow's study of low-income blacks coping in an urban environment, Medlin attempts to record and interpret Calcha life through ordinary people, "on their grounds and on their terms" (Leibow 1971).

The Calcha have been an organized group living in southern Bolivia for hundreds of years. They felt the impact of the Inca conquest of their territory in the 14th century. In the 16th century, they were forced by the Spaniards to supply labor for colonial silver mines and goods for the large nearby mining city of Potosi. They were not isolated from the out-side or from other ethnic groups, with whom they had trade relation-ships. In the past, they met unavoidable demands from both Inca and colonial administrators. Today, they pay taxes and send their children to school and their young men to military service because they are required to do so by the State.

This is the basis of the collective biography of the Calcha: a people constantly adapting to outside forces, women and men working together as members of families and settlements, doing all the tasks necessary for their families to survive. Though women and men have distinctive tasks in the fields and in their household compounds, all see textile-weaving as the focal point of their social identity.

Through the daily lives of Doña Sara and Doña Juana (two pseudo-nyms), we see the meaning of handwoven textiles undergoing a particu-lar change as modernization forces are interpreted by these two women. The daily dress of the Calcha was traditionally handwoven. When, at times, men would cross over to northern Argentina for periodic work on the sugar plantations, they would give up the traditional dress and wear manufactured clothing because only "civilized" men were allowed to cross the border. Upon coming home, the men would return to the tra-

ditional dress. This was the world of Doña Sara, born in 1914, in which weaving was a part of the everyday tasks of women. Respectable young women prepared their dress with care for the fiestas in the nearby town. Young men and women from all of the dispersed hamlets attended the celebrations.   Couples would pair up late at night and evaluate one another as prospective marriage partners. Young men would look at the fiesta dresses of young women to get a good idea of the skill of the weaver, her industriousness, and the resources of her family, who had made weaving supplies available to her. The finalization of the marriage occurred in the first year of marriage, when the couple prepared a set of clothing for each other.   The husband provided the wife with the materials, and she would weave for them both. Dressed in these new outfits, they appeared before their families, who then officially recognized the marriage. The giving of highly prized handwoven textiles to kin and neighbors was regarded as acts of bonding.

In 1960, "modern" life began to encroach upon the community. Modernization was interpreted by the Calcha community to mean a money economy (wages and the availability of cheap manufactured clothing), and that resulted in an increased out-migration of males to Argentina. This was due to the worsening soil erosion due to planting in the same region for centuries, making crop yields smaller each year. More people began to seek jobs for wages to supplement the household income. Doña Sara's husband managed to find a job in a jail in the city of Potosi. In the 1970s and 1980s, the younger Doña Juana's husband was among many Calcha men who migrated to Buenos Aires to work in construction for extended periods.   This male migration to Argentina for long periods of work has affected the meaning of weaving for the women of Doña Sara's generation.

By the end of the 1960s, Calcha women no longer produced all of their families' clothing. Young men who had changed back to Calcha clothing at the border when returning from wage labor stopped wearing Calcha dress daily. Young women were given manufactured clothing for daily use by brothers and husbands who had returned from wage labor. Finally, by the early 1980s, the older women, including Dona Sara, had carefully stored their daily Calcha dress and put on the manufactured skirts and sweaters that their son's wages had purchased.

Today, the weaving of Calcha women is not used in daily dress. Their families are not in want of clothing because they can and do buy manufactured clothes, although they often buy it secondhand. It is cheaper for them to wear purchased clothing. Both the materials needed for weaving and the time women must invest at the loom has become increasingly scarce as men leave the region for wage labor. Today, women like Doña Juana more often have primary responsibility for, or

share significant aspects of, the agricultural labor that must still be done in order for their families to eat. When men go to work, their wages do not pay for all the expenses of their families. Their mothers, wives, and children, who remain in Calcha, must still labor to provide the food the family will eat. Though Calcha women must still weave the textiles that are necessary for their culture, they must also see to it that other productive activities are carried out.

Despite these growing pressures to weave less, young and older women usually manage to weave the basic textiles a household needs. All households need certain textiles for planting, for holding "mink'as" (cooperative work among neighbors), and for weddings. The purchase of clothing does somewhat free them from having to weave, but it also more tightly binds their families to a market economy and to other purchased goods, which may only be obtained when men leave the region to work for wages.

With the continued deterioration of the Bolivian economy, most families in Calcha will need increased cash incomes not available within the region. Social ties and previous experience make work in Argentina attractive to young men in Calcha. Doña Sara and Doña Juana know that their families need money, that they can no longer survive just by farming. They also realize from their own experience that it is their farming that feeds their families.

Farming feeds them, but the men's wages buy the goods they cannot make themselves. Weavers like Doña Sara and Doña Juana understand this, even though their families will not be able to make or trade for everything they need in a "modern" world. In particular, their weaving is still a very important resource in sustaining the community. To the outsider, the insistence on weaving would seem irrational. Weaving is an irrational use of productive time. However, this attitude on the part of the weavers follows from interpretive work as they attempt to define their situation. The weaving of Calcha women identifies them as individuals and as members of an ethnic group. The weaving is seen by these women as being a major part of their efforts to keep their families working together, continuously recreating community in the process. Their gifts of cloth make these ties stronger. They obligate kin to help one another as a family and as an ethnic group. While women are doing more in agriculture, they also weave the cloth that binds their families and community together, and in the process are sustaining Calcha social structure.

The meaning of the activity of weaving is derived from the social interaction among members sharing a collective memory of themselves and a common identification with a particular textile. The weavers confront a modern world through a specific stock of knowledge,

interpreting their environment and re-specifying the meaning of weaving in their initial stock of knowledge. Thus, the meaning of weaving and the cloth it produces has been modified in order to redefine and reconstitute the meaning of kin and to sustain the values of the community.

Such behavior on the part of the weavers should not be viewed as a process of internalization of exogenous norms and values, but rather as an on-going process of endogenous interpretive work of constructing meanings. A community such as the Calcha, which is being confronted by larger structural forces, is continuously redefining its situation through this endogenous interpretive process which, necessarily, is embedded in the everyday common-sense knowledge of a people. The textile itself becomes a resource for ethnic identity and community. It symbolizes both resistance and adaptation to the penetration of a market economy. From Doña Sara's time to Doña Juana's time, the use of woven textile has been modified to create a second layer of meaning that instills ethnic identity and community as the Calchas enter more fully into a market economy.

Community Development in Latin America

The United Nation's experience in community development has emphasized the contribution community development makes to both economic and social development. The central concern of community development is to increase human resources in ways which assure their optimum contribution to the national goals of balanced economic and social development. Although this definition of community development can be hotly debated, the fact of the matter is that development policies at the local level have been influenced by this particular interpretation. Thus, the role of community development, at least in the Andean republics of South America, is to facilitate the integration of "marginal" or "folk" communities into the broader economic and social development schemes of the nation-state. Two aspects of the implementation of community development schemes deserve closer attention. One is the requirement of rational planning and the other is the need for institution-building.

Both of these aspectsl relate to the role of the state and to community participation. Historically, government in Latin America has all too often assumed a large, if not dominant, role in the community-development process. The heavy hand of government has often tended to undermine spontaneous or locally organized initiatives. What exacerbates this problem is the fact that, too often, community development planning and program development are conceived by the national government in the national capital. Decision-making, then, is centralized politically and spatially. The lack of local institutions capable of carrying

out planning activities and coordinating community development programs, at least in Latin America, has strengthened this concentration of decision-making hundreds of kilometers away from the people who are targeted for "development."

Within this context, government officials envision their task as the incorporation of means of analysis and evaluation that are capable of increasing their understanding of the development and planning process, reducing trial and error to the minimum, and creating the perception of a planned development based on sustained growth. Valid knowledge is objective, rationalist, and scientific. The planning process is reduced to organizational and operational diagnosis. It would greatly benefit from community studies and in several ways.

The first step of this diagnosis is to establish the relationship between national development requirements and the social-economic situation of communities. The inability of sectoral programs designed in the ministries of education, public health, agriculture, finance, and public works to unify this knowledge and to combine it with data of local governments and communities makes impossible an integrated approach in programming for specific kinds of actions and regions. Community studies offer a frame of reference within which these diverse elements can be integrated.

Second, diagnosis leads to a classification and description of the dynamic factors which condition the present standards of living and the capacity for social mobilization. In this respect, community development planners may turn to the social scientist for explanations of the processes of social and institutional change and the structural dynamics of the social system of the nation.

Third, the analytical process includes a prognosis. Despite methodological problems associated with projections, the accepted knowledge is that, by projecting demographic and migration trends, it is possible to foretell to what degree the situation of the urban and rural poor will deteriorate or ameliorate if present tendencies continue. The implications of these prognoses become identifiable problems when the trends are particularized for given cities and rural areas and the social groups involved. This application of general trends to specific situations can benefit from intimate knowledge of local communities.

Finally, the implementation of community development programs are coordinated from the national level down to the local government. Despite the increasing usage of the term "public participation" in community development schemes, there is little if any real participation in the decision-making process. Community studies which focus on the

process of social learning that accompanies change can directly involve residents in the planning of change.

Sooner or later, a problem arises in diagnosis which calls for an operational concept of "community" that can be applied in programming. Every community development program presupposes the existence of communities. Fundamental to all the concepts and principles of this type of action is the assumption that local groups exist which evince social organization and cohesion.

This assumption rasies a number of questions. It is important to note that community groups do not exist universally throughout the rural society of Latin America. This empirical fact raises doubts that the methods of community development are applicable in large areas of the continent. If the "community" is lacking, then the basic building of the whole system of programming crumbles to fragments too small for combined action.

Disagreement between government officials, professionals, and academics over the viability of community development has reinforced the bifurcation of development planning, at least in Latin America, between macro-development planning, with its emphasis on national sectoral economic planning, and local community planning, with its strong territorial component and focus on the provision of services. Both approaches, however, rely on the professional technician/planner for providing valid knowledge in diagnosing the social world and planning for its "development."

The social scientist constructs a "rational" model and applies it to everyday life to show how individuals are rational or irrational. Rationality, in this sense, is the search for universal knowledge. This knowledge is transformed into applied knowledge (planning) by means of standard methods for understanding everyday life and for intervening in it in order to "develop." In contrast to this, those being "developed" are not interested in universal knowledge per se, but rather in practical knowledge in order to achieve their projects in everyday life. What is needed, then, is a better understanding of the way rationality is constructed in everyday life.

Development policies and programs are created on the basis of what is known as the rational model of planning. This model requires various studies of the given region. Demographic data is collected. The economic base and its links to the wider regional economy are studied. Projections of demographic and economic growth are then made on the basis of such studies. Geological studies of the soil and topographical features are conducted. From these studies, specific recommendations are derived, each with its own consequences. The planner evaluates the

various alternatives and arrives at the "best" recommendation. Once the plan is approved and funding is provided through the appropriate channels, the implementation is left to the local provincial and municipal bureaucracies.

This process is repeated for virtually every single problem in planning. The rational model of decision-making is similar to rational models of behavior which social scientists construct and apply to everyday life in order to show how individuals are rational or irrational. These models simplify human behavior according to idealized conceptions of human beings. Thus, in neo-classical economics, each human being is a "homo economicus"; and in marxist sociology, people are alienated and exploited through unequal relationships of production but will overcome alienation and exploitation through revolution. In the planning model mentioned above, human being are reduced to numbers in statistical tables. Abstract entities such as market forces and State intervention are given as the primary factors for economic growth for the region.

Planning and Community Development in the Southern Andes of Bolivia

The issues confronting a planner in this particular region of the southern Andes are related to the persistent poverty found in a predominantly rural and stagnant economy, with a high rate of out-migration. The problem of the planner is how to intervene to change conditions in order to facilitate "development" of the region.

The manner in which we view "peasant" or "marginalized" communities has particular planning implications, particularly at the local community level. Thus, a populist view would lead to policies targeting small farmers as the catalysts of progressive rural development and, possibly, small town development. A capitalist view would encourage policies favoring efficient production and maximization of profits. A socialist view would promote policies calling for the elimination of small lots and the collectivization of production in larger units of production. The difference between these views lies, in part, in different ideas of the local community. Therefore, the manner in which we interpret and understand "community" is crucial to understanding development at the local level.

In the case of the micro-region of the southern Andes of Bolivia where the Calcha people live, development planning brings together a native ethnic group and western professionals. Most of the citizens of this region are not familiar with western schooling or concepts. Rather, they have a deep understanding of their relationship to the local environment, which their ancestors have inhabited for centuries before the Inca and Spanish conquests. These people are confronting the intrusion of a

money economy, an increasing rate of male out-migration, and persistent poverty, threatening the social structure of the community.

The professional planners, on the other hand, have received a western education, some time in Europe or North America. They construct their own social reality from this collective memory. Whether they are committed to an ideology of logical progression from rural backwardness to urban modernity in the development of his or her nation-state, or to an ideology of social change and struggle in the face of structural dependency and capitalist exploitation, they see development as a structural process where the primary agent is the "ism," i.e. modernism, capitalism, urbanism, socialism, etc.

The planners, then, regard Calcha social structure as traditional and backward, indeed as the source of underdevelopment. Development policy for the micro-region of Calcha is indistinguishable from other micro-regions that make up the department of Tarija in southern Bolivia. All human settlements within the department are analyzed and treated the same way, and community development programs conform to national goals that deal with, for the most part, macro-economic structures of growth and integration. Many times, the national policies derived from macro-sectoral economic planning (monetarist, import substitution, etc.) tend to have spatial ramifications that contradict stated national goals of a regionally balanced economic growth and decentralization. Planners for the Calcha micro-region are concerned with the social and economic integration of indigenous groups into Bolivian national life. Therefore, the term "indigenous" is not used in the planning documents, but rather the expression "peasant farmers." Development policy for the department of Tarija aims at the economic integration of a poor agricultural region, and community development revolves around this orientation of planning. It is this denial of the other and of difference that makes community development planning problematic.

The human beings living in the actual micro-region being planned for by professionals in the capital city, hundreds of kilometers away to the north, are not interested in the planner's concern for universal knowledge, but, rather, in *practical* knowledge in order to achieve their projects in everyday life.

Using community experience as a method of analysis, planners can try to understand the everyday activities of the Calcha. They can learn how the Calcha interpret the encroachment of "modern" life and act upon their changing environment. These studies should be included along with the conventional planning studies mentioned above in order to bring in a new dimension or set of knowledge into the planning process. The space- and time-specific nature of community development requires that planners be sensitized to the social world of

the community being studied. In this case, it requires that planners realize the meaning and importance of weaving for the Calcha. Although modern life has forced changes in the way textiles are used, it has not altered the craft, or the pride, of the community or the women who weave them.

The planner is called to intervene in this *lebenswelt* (everyday life experience) and to introduce factors to ameliorate the daily lives of the Calcha and facilitate "development." A mechanism by which a planner can become sensitized to the aspirations and needs of the Calcha is active participatory planning. Much has been said and written about active participatory planning where the planner meets the community in face-to-face interaction (Friedmann 1973; Etzioni 1969). However, an ethnomethodological perspective in the analysis in this process can begin to look at the inner complexities of participatory planning.

Planners and community members come together, each having two distinct basic discourses. Both have the objective of sustaining a sense of community among the Calcha. Both wish to maintain the viability of the community. However, the stock of knowledge of the planner is embedded in positivist, scientific methods of inquiry, meaning that development under scarce resources would stress the efficiency of productive activities within the context of a dependent capitalist economy. Calcha integration into the market economy, on the other hand, is needed in order to provide male employment closer to home. Thus, "viability" and "community" mean different things for both planner and Calcha. Integrated development programs provide for the accessibility of schools, medical care, and family planning (i.e., urban amenities) to the Calcha. The Calcha understand these changes, but from a different set of practical activities or structures—namely, the intricacies of a redistributive, family-based subsistence economy based on the exchange of corn for Argentinian wool. Such activities and structures have been progressively marginalized and disaffirmed by the planners' western practices. Planners have a hard time making sense of Calcha behavior because they incorrectly assume the Calcha are proceeding with a worldview similar to theirs.

The solutions usually arrived at tend to be disappointing in part because they reflect the political and geographical constructs of center and periphery, whereas the Calcha relate to their environment as "*Mama Pacha*" (Mother Earth). Calcha people take allegiance to the land, and are themselves of the land. Calcha textiles bond this specific region to its people and vice-versa. Thus, the seemingly archaic and traditional activity of weaving and its product help the community identify and sustain itself in a particular region.

One possible strategy for community development is the production and sale of traditional woven textiles for the national and tourist market. The liberal planner attempts to integrate Calcha society into the Bolivian mainstream by introducing market opportunities and transforming weaving into an income-producing activity. Failure to understand the importance of weaving as an activity that helps build community leads the planner to blame the failure of such a project to peasant conservatism and ignorance. The Calcha understand the importance of income-generating activities in the market; however, they see weaving not in terms of exchange value but as a means of asserting and re-asserting a sense of community.

The planner's disappointment also lies, in part, in the use of community development resources—wages, equipment, medicine, services—by the community to sustain and promote relationships of extended household, kin, village, or ethnic group. In other words, assistance is used to reproduce traditional Calcha social structure, much to the frustration of the planner who aspires to more "rational," "positive," "modern" development, breaking the impediments to social change found in this archaic social structure. The planner knows that public resources are used for private ends in his society as well, in violation of the universal norms to which it subscribes.

Community Development Planning and Ethnomethodology

Social phenomena are only understandable if they can be traced to human activities; and human activities are only understandable if one can imagine that one would behave in the same way if one were in the same situation. This requires that one share a common sense of the world and a common discourse to discuss one's actions.

Yet the two basic discourses, of the planner and of the Calcha, appear to be incommensurable. They only meet or overlap in the frankly pragmatic use of Western discourse by the Calcha. The two discourses are practically incommensurable because of the hegemonic realism of the discourse of the planner. Despite the pronouncements of cultural sensitivity, the notion of a true continuous, empirical reality across time and space still dominates planning. This particular construction of rationality hides unequal power relations; it makes Calcha discourse and others unavailable to the planner. At least the Calcha know that the use of Western discourse formulates a world, even if it is not their own.

The rational model of planning is itself a construct of the construct of planning as an activity. The phenomenon, from an ethnomethodological perspective, to which we must remain "loyal" now becomes the planning process itself. We must, therefore, look critically at the original phenomenon, which is the *doing* of planning. From an ethnometh-

odological perspective, the production of rationality is an endogenous process, in which interpretation and power interplay, as opposed to an external process of reasoning. How are procedures used to assess a situation? For ethnomethodology, the question is not how the planners and the Calcha apply rational reasoning but rather how they *do* rationality.

Conclusion

Community as methodology allows for the study of how members construct rationality in their daily project of survival. Analyzing social interaction among individuals and households can provide crucial information to the planner interested in maintaining the viability and improving the living standards of "marginal" communities. An ethnomethodological/social learning approach to community development planning allows for an appreciation of the active participation of rural communities in coping, adapting, modifying, and resisting structural change. The challenge for planners is to identify those activities of adaptation and modification which can promote planned change.

Perhaps through the active process of mutual learning, one of liberation for the Calcha and for the planner, to use Paulo Friere's terminology, can the process of *doing* planning in the ethnomethodological sense be actively achieved. Doing planning in Garfinkel's "en vivo" worksite can be seen as a mutual learning process where planner and the community learn together what daily community development consists of as a locally produced achievement.

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