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INDIGENOUS-HYBRID ORGANISATIONS IN COLOMBIA: A MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSIS WITHIN THE BUEN VIVIR MODEL

ANDRÉS MORALES

A thesis submitted to the Open University in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The Open University Business School
Department for Public Leadership and Social Enterprise

November 2018

Acknowledgements

I thank the following people for their support and immense contribution towards this study. First of all, I am grateful to Dr Michael Ngoasong, Professor Roger Spear and Dr Silvia Sacchetti for their input and guidance throughout the research process. It has been a privilege for me to be working under their distinguished, meticulous and persevering PhD supervision. I also thank Michael Murphy for his proofreading supervision and support. This thesis could not have been completed without the considerable cooperation and support of the indigenous community-based organisations and their leaders that agreed to take part in this research. I thank them for sharing their stories and views which enabled me to undertake this study. Further, I thank all my friends at the Open University and in London for their friendship and support, and for making me feel that I am not completely alone in this journey.

My special appreciation goes to my Colombian family for their encouragement; were it not for them, I would not have reached this point in my education. I would also like to offer my in-depth appreciation to my in laws for their unconditional love and support. Last but not least, this thesis would not have been possible without the constant understanding and support – through the many hours when I have been absent or preoccupied with completing this work – of my dear partner, Sara Calvo, and my beloved son, Yaku, who has helped me to manage my time more effectively and enjoy life. Thank you!

Abstract

There has been a recent increase in the number of publications about the indigenous philosophy of Buen Vivir (BV) as an alternative paradigm to mainstream development theory. However, there is a dearth of theoretically grounded empirical research that interrogates the impact of BV as an alternative development model within the social and solidarity economy (SSE) in Latin America. Therefore, this thesis aims to address this research gap by investigating the development of indigenous community based organisations (ICOs) that are located within the SSE in Colombia, examining to what extent their experiences embody key tenets of the BV model. By drawing upon insights from post-development (BV) and postcolonial theories (Bhabha's mimicry and hybridity), this thesis develops and critically explores a multi-level model for understanding the development of ICOs in Colombia, considering the micro, meso and macro levels.

Using participatory video research, this research draws upon evidence from a multiple case study research with five indigenous communities (Curripaco, Puinave, Yanacona, Misak and Wayuu) in three geographic regions (the Amazons, Cauca and Guajira). The thesis uses the following types of data collection: secondary data sources, video focus groups, video semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes. The analysis of the multiple case study using Nvivo, discovers that ICOs operate as hybrid organisations that are influenced by their indigenous cultural practices, as well as the dominant Western forms legitimised by the SSE norms (mimicry). Overall, this thesis reveals that the ICOs' experiences are consistent with the values and pillars that embody the key tenets of the BV model. The findings demonstrate that the current policy discourse provides little scope for engagement for ICOs in Colombia, even though evidence shows their contribution to the national economy. In doing so, this thesis offers an opportunity for policy makers to rethink and re-evaluate the existing policies in relation to indigenous communities and the SSE sector, to provide a pathway consistent with some elements of the BV model to contribute to the national development plan.

Key words: Buen Vivir; indigenous community-based organisations; social and solidarity economy; post-development; post-colonial; hybridisation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS: Asociación de Artisans y Artesanas de Shiruria
AJBD: Asociación Jardín Botánico de las Delicias
ANSPE: National Agency for Overcoming Extreme Poverty
ASCOOP: Asociación Colombiana de Cooperativas
BV: Buen Vivir
CAFAM: Caja de Compensación Familiar
CBO: Community-based Organisation
CID: Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias
CIS: The Social Innovation Centre
CDA: Corporación para el Desarrollo
COICA: Coordinadora de la Organizaciones Indigenas de la Cuenca Amazónica
CONES: Consejo Nacional de Economía Solidaria
COLACOT: The Latin America Confederation of Workers Cooperatives
COOPEUCH: Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito de Chile
CRIC: Consejo Nacional de los Indios del Cauca
CS: Case Study
CS1: Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias / Asociación Jardín Botánico las Delicias
CS2: Finca Lechera el Paraíso
CS3: Akayú
CS4: Asociación Dugjin
CS5: Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria
CSE: Case Study Example
DANCOOP: National Department of Cooperatives
DANSOCIAL: The Administrative Department of the Solidarity Economy
DNP: Departamento Nacional de Planeaciòn
DPS: Department for Social Prosperity
DSO: Development Solidarity Organisation
ELN: Ejército de Liberación Nacional
EPL: Ejército Popular de Liberación
FARC: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FG: Focus Group
FLP: Finca Lechera el Paraiso
FONES: The National Fund for the Solidarity Economy
FP: for profit
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GM: Genetically Modified Seed
GN: Global North
GRESP: Red Peruana de Economía Solidaria
GS: Global South
ICO: Indigenous Community-Based Organisation
INCORA: National Institute of Agrarian Reform
INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

IOG: Indigenous People Organised Group
ISE: Indigenous Social Enterprise
ITAs: Indigenous Traditional Authorities
LA: Latin America
M19: Movimiento 19 de abril
MAS: Movimiento al Socialismo
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MCG: Modernity Coloniality Group
MERCOSUR: Mercado Común del Sur
No: Number
NGO: Non-Governmental-Organisation
NNIS: The Social Innovation National Node
NFP: Not for profit
OEA: Organización de los Estados Americanos
ONIC: Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia
OPIAC: Organizacion Nacional de los Pueblos Indigenas de Colombia
OS: Organisational Structure
PSE: Popular Solidarity Economy
PVR: Participatory Video Research
RCES: Red Chilena de Economía Solidaria
RELACC: Latin American Network of Community-based Marketing
RILES: Network of Latin American Researchers of Social Solidarity Economy
RIPESS: Red Intercontinental de la Promoción de la Economía Social y Solidaria
SAPs: The Structural Adjustment Programmes
SCBGs: The Socially Committed Business Groups
SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals
SE: Social Enterprise
SENA: Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje
SEO: Solidarity Economy Organisation
SI: Social Innovation
SGDs: Sustainable Development Goals
SSE: Social and Solidarity Economy
TDs: Transition Theories
UAEOS: Unidad Administrativa Especial de Organizaciones Sociales
USA: United States of America

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CHAPTER 1
WHY IS THE STUDY OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS IN COLOMBIA OF INTEREST?

1.1 Rationale for the Study

This PhD research project evolved out of the researcher's ongoing interest in the social and solidarity economy (SSE) in Latin America (LA), and more in particular, Colombia, his country of origin. This interest and concern developed after the author conducted an extensive review of existing literature to understand the historical processes for the construction of the SSE sector in the Andean region[1] where the researcher conducted a comparative study using Colombia and Ecuador as case study countries (Calvo and Morales, 2017). Despite increasing recognition of a plurality of SSE organisations and of indigenous entrepreneurial and collective solidarity traditions (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Lee and Nowell, 2015; Spencer *et al.* 2016), particularly in the LA region (Giovannini, 2016, 2012; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017, 2016), there remains little understanding of the development and operations of indigenous community-based organisations (ICOs) in LA. Therefore, this thesis aims to address this research gap by investigating the development of ICOs in Colombia.

Colombia has been chosen as the case study country in which to explore the involvement of indigenous people within the SSE sector. Colombia provides a particularly interesting setting in which to investigate the development of the SSE in the Global South (GS),[2] as it has traditionally been a country that has looked to the Global North (GN) for its model of development; one characterised by an exploitation of natural resources with little consideration for environmental sustainability. Recurrent periods of political instability and the armed conflict have also limited development

[1] For this thesis, the Andean region is used to refer to all seven countries that the Andes runs through, regions with a shared culture primarily spread during the times of the Inca Empire. The countries that are included within the Andean region are: Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile.

[2] Throughout this thesis, the terms Global North (GN) and Global South (GS) will be used to refer to the socio-economic and political division of the globe (Mignolo, 2000), understanding that the GS is compounded of the regions of Africa, Latin America, developing Asia and even the Middle East, and the GN constituted by Western Europe, the United States of America (USA), Canada, and the particular case of Japan, Australia and New Zealand (Wallerstein, 1989).

capacities in the country (Meléndez, 2005). Although there are studies that investigate the SSE in the country, there is currently no evidence of empirical work done in relation to indigenous people and the SSE sector (e.g., Alvarez, 2010; Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006; Alvaro, 2007; Bedoya and Caruso, 2006; Calderon *et al.* 2008). This is particularly interesting, since the author has identified in his field trips that there are a number of informal and formal collective ways of organisation/cooperation among indigenous communities that are aligned within the SSE.

Besides this, and although there are studies that investigate indigenous communities in Colombia, they focus on the ontology, history or contemporary context of these communities rather than their organisational activities and operations (e.g., Gros, 2000, 1997, 1991; Rodríguez, 2017). Five different ICOs that belong to five different indigenous community groups (Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Wayuu and Puinave) located in three different Colombian regions (the Amazons, Cauca and Guajira) were selected for this thesis to represent the diversity of ICOs in the country. The author chose to study different indigenous communities in the country as each location in Colombia has its own historical context and geographical conditions that determine the cultural features of indigenous communities, and therefore the development of ICOs.

The author considers it crucial to combine both postdevelopment theory, and in particular the Buen Vivir (BV) theory (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* 2014; Gudynas, 2011; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, 2016; Huanacuni, 2010; Walsh, 2010) and postcolonial theory with Bhabha's (1984) notion of mimicry and hybridity. These combined theories help us to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia by developing a multiple level model that looks at the micro, meso and macro levels (see Diagram 3.4 in Chapter 3 for more details).

Although there has been a recent increase in the number of publications about the indigenous paradigm of BV as an alternative to development (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017; 2016; Vanhulst, 2015) and it has been used as a political project in some Andean countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador, there is a general lack of empirical research into its varied forms of application (Acosta, 2013; Acosta; 2015; Escobar, 2015; Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010). Despite the fact that there are few empirical studies that explore the BV and indigenous communities in Colombia, these studies do not

explore BV within the SSE (Chaves e*t al.* 2018; Pinilla Arteta, 2014). The author suggests that BV, which draws upon principles of social organisation – such as communality, holism, and harmony with the environment – can provide a distinctive spatially based alternative developmental model to understand the SSE, and particularly ICOs in Colombia. Furthermore, existing studies that explore the heterogeneity and hybridity that characterises organisational practice, have rooted their analysis within institutionalist (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000) and culturalist approaches (Ghiselli and Porter, 1966; Hofstede, 2001).

For this thesis, key concepts such as *isomorphism* and *hybridity* are strongly associated with Global North contexts, or at least are widely used to understand the relationship of organisations and institutions in former colonies (for example, Jackson, 2011). These terms are integrated in the thesis to explore the relationship of indigenous organisations as agencies and their institutions in their Colombian context through post-colonial studies to illustrate clearly the conceptual positions of organisational studies (i.e., institutionalists, culturalist and post-colonialists). The researcher acknowledges the limitations of exploring indigenous organisations through Global North rooted concepts within a Buen Vivir framework, but it was necessary to incorporate the 'northern' world's approaches to provide existing studies from other contexts and further the understanding of BV and ICOs, building on other examples with similar characteristics (see Anderson et al., 2006; Cahn, 2008; Vázquez Maguirre et al., 2017).

Yet, the role of the agency and power are often ignored (Jackson, 2011). Therefore, this thesis applies postcolonial theories, in particular Bhabha's (1984) mimicry and hybridity theory to examine the development of ICOs in Colombia, considering indigenous people in a '*subaltern position*' (Spivak, 1988) and their organisations as agents.

This thesis contributes to existing literature on the fields of (I) indigenous studies, by looking at their traditional practices, (II) organisational studies, by examining how indigenous people construct organisational structures, (III) SSE, by illustrating the motivations, characteristics and experiences of these initiatives in Colombia, (IV) postcolonial studies, by looking at the organisations characteristics inherited from colonisation and (V) postdevelopment studies, by examining the interpretations of the BV model by looking at different indigenous communities. The thesis makes three

original contributions. Firstly, to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia, this study contributes to theory through the development of a multilevel model, that includes Bhabha's (1984) mimicry and hybridity and the BV theory. Secondly, this study contributes empirically by providing primary data to describe and more profoundly comprehend the processes that shape the development of ICOs in Colombia, particularly in three regions: the Amazons, the Caribbean and the Cauca region. Thirdly, this thesis provides a methodological contribution by building a research method coherent with the post-colonial literature with the use of video participation to carry out multiple case study research for studying indigenous communities and the SSE sector, in particular ICOs.

1.2 Definition of key Concepts Used for the Study

Before going on to discuss the objectives, research questions, theory and methodology used for this PhD thesis, it is important to first clarify the main concepts used in this study. These concepts are Buen Vivir, the social and solidarity economy, community-based organisations (CBOs), indigenous communities, indigenous people organised groups (IOGs) and ICOs, which are explained below.

1.2.1 Buen Vivir

Buen Vivir, translatable as *Living Well* or *Good Living* is considered in its purest sense as an ancestral-spiritual phenomenon inspired by indigenous peoples' philosophy (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* 2014; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, 2016). BV is the Spanish translation of *Sumak Kawsay* or *Suma Qamaña*, an ancestral philosophy exercised by the *Quechuas and Aymaras* (indigenous peoples located in the Andes) since pre-Columbian times, which means a spiritual harmony and balance between nature and community (Albó, 2009; Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012). The cosmovision of what community is and how it is perceived for the Andean indigenous people rests on the fact that society is horizontally bound with nature. Thus, for them, nature, in the broader sense, is considered an inseparable interconnection between every being: men, women and nature that are part of *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and *Cosmos* (Father Earth). Hence, community has an added

spiritual dimension, as there is a communion and dialogue based on a common rituality that claims nature as a sacred being (Acosta, 2013; Albó, 2009; Huanacuni, 2010; Prada Alcoreza, 2012; Simbaña, 2012).

BV comprises a collective approach to wellbeing that engenders principles of reciprocity, solidarity and complementarity, and promotes collective rights and a localised, community-based model of production (Gudynas, 2011). With this in mind, BV is, in effect, the institutional, socio-economic and political appropriation of the *Sumak Kawsay* or *Suma Qamaña*. The origins and the conceptualisation of BV is rooted within the following traditions: (I) the indigenist approach, (II) the socialist/statist approach, and (III) the ecologist/developmentalist approach which is later reviewed to identify the BV values and pillars (see Chapter 2 for more detail).

1.2.2 The Social and Solidarity Economy and Community-Based Organisations

The SSE discourse refers to a political and economic development model based on the principles of solidarity, participation, cooperation and reciprocity[3] (Borzaga *et al*. 2017; Calvo and Morales, 2017; Laville, 2013; Laville *et al.* 2016; Utting, 2015). This model is opposed to neo-liberal development approaches and economic models centred on self-interest, profit maximisation and consumerism (Scarlato, 2013). On the one hand, the SSE can be seen as Gaiger and Correa (2010) suggest, as a system in which the spirit of entrepreneurship is combined with community-solidarity. This approach recognises two logics of action: (i) the instrumental logic of entrepreneurship that needs realism and pragmatism in its drive to ensure workable solutions in the realisation of an economic alternative, (ii) the balance with its ideological values (explained below), focusing on the aspiration for collective and social change, requiring commitment to others and above all the conviction that the such transformation will add social values (2010, pp. 164–166). In this PhD thesis, entrepreneurship is a concept that is used to reflect on the ICOs within the SSE scenario, rather than a concept that studied as a core part of this thesis.

[3] For this thesis, the author uses the term 'SSE' rather than other terms, such as social economy and social innovation (SI) initiatives, as the concept is rooted within the Latin American context and in a wider context to approach development.

On the other hand, Nyssens and Petrella cited in Laville *et al.* (2016) refer to the SSE as a quasi-collective sector[4] that aims to provide goods and/or services to their members or to a community, rather than generating profits, and their specific governance rules (independent management, democratic decision-making process and primacy of people and labour over capital in the distribution of income) thereby express a quest for economic democracy.

Despite the different ways of understanding the SSE, overall the sector includes the following entities and/or organisations: cooperatives, mutual associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engaged in income generating activities, women self-help groups, community forestry and other organisations, associations of informal sector workers, social enterprise and fair trade organizations and networks (Calvo and Morales, 2017; Utting, 2015). The author uses the term 'ICOs', rooted in the concept of 'CBO', rather than the term 'SSE' to refer to indigenous solidarity economic organisational forms, since these organisations are the result of a process in which the community acts entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure (see Chapter 3 for more detail). The definition is taken from Peredo and Chrisman (2006, p. 4) who define a CBO as "*a community acting corporately as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good*".

1.2.3 Indigenous Communities, Indigenous People Organised Groups and Indigenous Community-Based Organisations

For the purpose of clarity and understanding it is necessary to explain the terms used when referring to indigenous people: *indigenous communities, indigenous people organised groups (IOGs)* and *indigenous community-based organisations* (ICOs). One of the existing

[4] These authors refer to the SSE as a quasi-collective because while the user and his/her consumption can be clearly identified, the benefits created are collective. These benefits are not always take into account in agents' consumption or production choices, which leads to suboptimal situations in terms of the general interest. Quasi-collective products and services include childcare services, social integration through economic activity, short-circuit cooperatives, social finance etc., (Nyssens and Petrella, cited in Laville *et al.* 2016).

issues in the literature is defining indigenous communities[5]. Despite the different definitions used, it is important to apply the definition used in the Colombia context. The Constitutional Court defines "indigenous communities" as subjects of collective (fundamental) rights. The legal definition that appears in the decree 2001 of 1988, article 2.18, defines indigenous communities as: *"The group of families of Amerindian descent that share feelings of identification with their aboriginal past and maintain traits and values of their traditional culture as forms of government and internal social control that distinguish them from other rural communities"* (Semper, 2006, p. 765).

Indigenous people organised groups (IOGs) can be defined as those informal indigenous collective modes of cooperation and solidarity practices (e.g.; minga and ranti-ranti practices as indicated in Table 3.1, see Chapter 3). That is to say, the term organisation (when referring to ICOs) is added only if indigenous communities are legally bound and formalised in a variety of forms that are allocated within the SSE sector (for example, social enterprise, associations, cooperatives, NGOs engaged in income generating activities).

1.3 Objectives, Research Questions, Theory and Methodology

The main objective of this research project is to understand the development of indigenous community-based organisations in Colombia, particularly in the following three regions: the Andes, the Amazons and the Caribbean. The three research questions of this thesis are:

(RQ1) What are the characteristics of ICOs in Colombia?
(RQ2) How do the processes of mimicry and hybridity influence the development of ICOs in Colombia?
(RQ3) In what ways do ICOs' experiences in Colombia embody the key tenets of the Buen Vivir model?

[5] Although the author recognises that "indigenous community" is not a perfect term when referring to a single community (for example, the Yanacona community), it is convenient to use as an umbrella term to refer to indigenous groups as a collective. When referring to a single community, it will be referred to as the Yanacona community. It is acknowledged that there are different terms used when referring to indigenous communities, such as 'native', 'aboriginal' and Indian among others. Here, the term 'indigenous communities' will be used, as it is the term used by the communities that participated in the study.

To address the research questions above, this thesis integrates the post-development (Buen Vivir), postcolonial theories (see Bhabha (1984) on mimicry and hybridity) and on SSE as applied to indigenous community organisation initiatives (Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006; Alvaro, 2007; Gaiger and Correa, 2010). The main focus of the study is on RQs 2 and 3; however, these cannot be effectively addressed without understanding and clarifying the characteristics of ICOs in Colombia (RQ1). Analysing ICOs to identify their general attributes and establishing what makes them distinctive from other SSE organisations therefore justifies the framing of RQ1. This research adopts a multiple case study applying a participatory video research approach (Blazek and Hraňová, 2012; Gubrium and Harper, 2013; Sitter, 2012). The data analysis followed an inductive coding process informed by the research questions, in which key themes were identified from the data and were refined as the analysis evolved using Nvivo.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains seven chapters. This first chapter introduces the rationale for the study and the contribution to knowledge, objectives, research questions, the theoretical framework and methodology.

Chapter 2, "Imagining Other Worlds: 'Buen Vivir', a Decolonial Approach to Development", aims to develop an enhanced understanding of development and post development theories. This chapter explains the Buen Vivir theory looking at the different traditions that try to conceptualise it. The chapter concludes with the development of a BV model with its main values and pillars based on the revisited literature.

Chapter 3, "Encountering Post-development and Post-Colonial Theories: Mimicry and Hybridity to Understand the Social and Solidarity Economy in Latin America", considers postcolonial theories and in particular the concept of mimicry and hybridity by Bhabha (1984). The chapter concludes by presenting a multi-level approach model looking at the micro, meso and macro levels to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia.

Chapter 4, "Methodology", sets out the rationale behind the choice of the research design. Moreover, this chapter explains the methods of data collection and analysis, the issues of reflexibility (credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) and the limitations that may arise during the course of the research, whilst detailing how they are to be addressed. Then, ethical and legal considerations related to this research are discussed.

Chapter 5, "The Social and Solidarity Economy, Buen Vivir and Indigenous People in Colombia: The Context for the development of ICOs in the Andes, the Amazons and the Caribbean", provides an overview of the construction of the SSE in Colombia, as well as a brief historical view of indigenous peoples in Colombia. The chapter examines the existing literature about Buen Vivir and indigenous communities in Colombia then moves on to explain the context of the five different indigenous community groups selected for this study (Misak, Yanacona, Puinave, Curripaco and Wayuu).

Chapter 6, "The Hybridisation of ICOS: Influential Factors in the Formalisation of IOGs in Colombia", presents the transformation from the informal (IOGs) to the formal stage (ICOs) by looking at the reasons of existence and the characteristics of the case study organisations. The chapter draws on the multi-level model of micro, meso and macro levels developed in Chapter 3 to analyse the development of ICOs in Colombia, and thereby uncovering the hybrid forms of formalisation across the five case studies.

Chapter 7, "Exploring the Relationship of the Buen Vivir Model and ICOs in Colombia", discusses the BV notions of each selected indigenous community. The chapter then analyses how the BV notions influence each of the studied ICOs. Finally, the chapter examines the consistencies and distinctions of the five ICOs' experiences and the extent to which they embody the main values and pillars of the "Buen Vivir" model developed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 8, "Conclusions: Contributions and Implications for Future Research", draws upon the findings to respond to the thesis research questions and discusses the theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions of the study. Then, the author discusses the methodology limitations and the practical and political implications of this research project, making recommendations for further research.

A bibliography and appendices follow. Included in the appendices are a description of each case study organisation, a copy of the request letter consent form that was made available to participants, the equipment used for data collection, a copy of the questions that were used as a guide for the interviews and focus groups, details of participants for both the focus groups and interviews, and photos taken during fieldwork.

CHAPTER 2
IMAGINING OTHER WORLDS: 'BUEN VIVIR', A DECOLONIAL APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

"There is nothing better than imagining other worlds to forget how painful it is the world in which we live. At least so I thought so then. I had not yet understood that, imagining other worlds, we eventually ending up changing this one."

Umberto Eco, cited in (Acosta, 2012, p.1)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims firstly, to review succinctly the main development theories in order to position the Buen Vivir within development theory (Franz Tödtling, 2010; Lowe *et al*. 1995; Vázquez-Barquero, 2003; Clarke, 2001; Laurie *et al.* 2005; N'Kaschama, 2012; Zuñiga, 1995; AIPPF, 2012; Giovannini, 2012; Tauli-Corpuz, 1996). BV emerges as a consequence of the failures of development, and is built upon the objective to identify '*alternatives to development*', rather than '*development alternatives*', as a concrete possibility through ecological and cultural transitions (Escobar, 2015; Acosta, 2013; Gudynas, 2011). Then, the emergence and rational of BV is explained, elaborating on BV reasoning by employing the work of Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* (2014); Hidalgo-and Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, (2015; 2017), who identify the three traditions that influence the present concept of BV: (i) the indigenist approach; (ii) the socialist/statist approach; and (iii) the ecologist/developmentalist approach.

A systematic literature review was conducted using a combination of key words, such as Buen Vivir, cosmovision, Latin American, Andean Region and Colombia, where the author gathered information from journal articles, books and other relevant online material (see the work of Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* 2014; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2015; 2017 and Vanhulst, 2015). Out of this in-depth review, three values are identified: (i) Community, (ii) Solidarity and Reciprocity, (iii) Harmony and Complementarity. Six pillars are also identified: (i) Rights of Nature, (ii) Community Wellbeing, (iii) Decolonisation, (iv) Plurinational State, (v)Economic Pluralism, (vi) Democratisation. Examples of Ecuador and Bolivia are invoked throughout the chapter to depict the advancements in the BV implementation. This helps the author to set a scenario for the study of BV in Colombia. The chapter later discusses the main BV

criticisms (Bretón, 2013; Caria and Domínguez, 2016; Correa, 2008, 2007; Esteva, 1992; Lalander, 2016; Stefanoni, 2011, 2010). Finally, the chapter concludes by suggesting a BV model that depicts distinctive values and pillars, as the basis for analysing the development of ICOs in Colombia in the empirical analyses later in Chapter 7.

2.2 The Tales of 'Development': The Failure of its Implementations

Development is a concept that is still under discussion and subject to a myriad of definitions. As Cowen and Shenton (1996) suggest, development can be categorised as *Immanent Development (*the spontaneous development as in the historical trajectory of capitalism) and; *Intentional development (*attempts to improve material conditions in response to the consequences of immanent development, for example, poverty and unemployment). Their argument is constructed under the basis of its classical origin, by which development is understood as a natural process in which phases of renewal, expansion, contraction and decomposition follow each other sequentially, according to a perpetually recurrent cycle (Cowen and Shenton; 1996). With this in mind, development in the context of the 'developing' or 'least developed' world, represents the dichotomy suggested by these scholars: the implementation of *development* recipes (intentional development) to encounter the negative outcomes of the natural cycle of capitalism (immanent development) to generate a sort of endless perverse development cycle.

According to Fukuyama (2001), development is strongly associated with economic development based on the increasing GDP per capita, and is built upon different dimensions: i) *Economic Growth;* ii) *Social Mobilisation (*expressed in two forms: Civil Society that represents the whole society, and Political Parties that represent parts of the society); iii) *Political Development* shaped by the State, Rule of Law and Democracy. His argument is elaborated based on the claim that economic growth nurtures social mobilisation, as it creates change in society and that change generates different forms of social organisation that leads to the eventual political development. The point that Fukuyama makes is crucial for the later elaboration of BV. He argues that economic development is in essence the orthodox objective that most of the work in development is based on in order to improve living standards and decrease societal needs (Friedman, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Rostow, 1960, 1952; Schumpeter, 1961; Warren, 1980).

Although later works on development suggest that development cannot be only measured or led by economic growth, thus human development is subject to other forms that may enable the improvement of societal living standards (Sen, 2001, 2000; Sen and Anand, 2000), the economy of a society is still an important feature to determine the development of humans to attain individual/societal wellbeing. Despite the fact that orthodox development approaches move away from economy-based recipes towards more humane and sustainably-oriented methodologies, the enhancement of human wellbeing is directed and guided by a development agenda to readdress the failures of the immanent development cycles (based on economy-based development theories, see in Hettne, 1983) influenced strongly by economic factors but with a sustainable ingredient. As can be seen, development is claimed to be a key determinant for societal progress manifested in the enhancement of living standards and therefore a mechanism-generator of human wellbeing. The disappointment with the experiences of earlier development theories led the international community to come up with new development paradigms. These new paradigms echoed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 where the meaning of development is derived from structural reforms that mark a global mobilization to achieve a set of important social priorities worldwide that are related to poverty, hunger, disease, unmet schooling, gender inequality and environment degradation. This was followed by the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that set targets that call all countries to action, no matter how developed they are (Sachs, 2012).

Development in both dimensions: theoretically, as an assumption and empirically, as an implemented-framework, has been a subject of debates and studies. LA scholars from the Modernity Coloniality Group (MCG) located in the Global South claim that development is the legacy of colonialism and is considered a landmark to bring about the conditions necessary to replicate other worlds (or the 'civilised' world) over the features that characterise the "advanced" societies (mainly from the Global North), such as high levels of industrialisation and urbanisation, industrialisation of agriculture, rapid growth of material production and living standards, media communication, technology and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values (Acosta, 2013, 2012; Albó, 2009; Escobar, 2012a, 2004, 2000, 1992; Gudynas, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010; Lander, 2000; Mignolo, 2014a, 2010, 2001; Quijano, 2011, 2000). The MCG group of scholars evoke 'epistemic disobedience' to analyse historical processes in the region, and

agree that to create another paradigm it is necessary to create a new epistemological system built on ancestral/cultural ontologies (Walsh, 2012). They argue, in particular, for the need to be moving away from a hegemonic Eurocentric "*universe*" (unique thinking) towards what they call a 'pluriverse' world (acknowledging others' views to observe the planet). From this perspective, BV appears as a theoretical challenge to create another system of philosophical and ethical principles inspired by LA ancestral ontologies (Dussel, 2011; Mignolo, 2000).

The concept of development is claimed to be a Western invention, indoctrinated and institutionally imposed during colonisation, and it can be seen as a conceptual regime of sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which colonised actors' expectations converge in a given (mostly coercively) idea of how society should be and live (Acosta, 2012; 2013; Escobar, 2012a; Mignolo, 2014a; Quijano, 2000a). Development is, as Acosta (2013, p. 68) puts it, "*the lighthouse to warn, mark or guide society to reach the ideal world, avoiding dangerous coastlines, hazardous shoals or reefs of the 'uncivilised' world. Development is a modern concept imported during colonialism, subordinating the colonised regions*". Similarly, but less symbolically, Escobar (2012a) views development as a historical and singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action, constituted by: i) the forms of knowledge that refer to it (theories), ii) the system of power that regulates its practice (institutions), iii) the symbolic archetype-generator mechanism (developed versus underdeveloped/developing).

As observed, in the current LA context, development is critically approached and heavily assessed and scrutinised by the regional scholars, practitioners, advocators and intellectuals in a post-development[6] scenario as a result of development failure of implementation (Acosta, 2013). Some criticise development from an institutional point of view, in which a system of classification is created to legitimise Western hegemony

[6] This thesis views post-development as an approach that has always been unjust, never worked, and at this point has clearly failed. Although there are different takes on post-development studies, this thesis accords with the work on post-development studies of (Escobar, 2000; Esteva, 1992; Latouche, 2009; Sachs, 2005) that points out that models of development are often ethnocentric (in this case Eurocentric), universalist, and based on Western models of industrialization that are unsustainable in this world of limited resources, and ineffective due to their ignorance of the local, cultural and historical contexts of the people to which they are applied. In essence, the problem post-development theorists see in developmental practice is an imbalance of influence or domination by the West, thus different approaches of development are sourced from other epistemologies.

and reinforce hierarchical differences worldwide that had been forged since colonialization (international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organisation). The fact that international development indicators are established to classify countries between 'developed', 'developing' and 'least developing' determined by a variety of factors (i.e., life expectancy, education level, GDP per capita and so on), demonstrates that a global hierarchy determinant is designed institutionally to marginalise one country from another and demonise those who are not supposedly meeting 'development' living standards for human wellbeing (Acosta, 2012; Escobar, 2012b; Gudynas, 2011). Others condemn development from an epistemic perspective, calling for an epistemic disobedience, as they claim that there are other forms of colonisation (i.e., knowledge) and the 'ex-colonies' are still enslaved and dominated by the colonisers' epistemic ideology (see the work of Escobar, 2004; Lander, 2000; Mignolo, 2014a, 2001, Quijano, 2011, 2000a).

There are other criticisms by intellectuals, activists and academics that emerge out of grassroots organisations and social movements, which are very critical to development and its recipes, claiming that these benefit the few and worsen the situation of the majority. One of the groups that is against development formulas in the LA region is the indigenous people. Natural resources exploitation and land expropriation and divestment for development projects have been some of the many negative outcomes of development formulas. The majority of these groups argue for a more inclusive, local-oriented and sustainably performed development project implementation (Albó, 2009; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). Grassroots organisations and social movements led by indigenous, Afro-descendants, and peasants refer to the crisis of western civilisation model as the root cause of the global social, economic and ecological crises, thus suggesting a more efficient and sustainably long-term change, in some cases the creation of a new civilizational project (Escobar, 2015; Mamani, 2006). Others suggest a more radical change for development and perceive development formulas as a threat to their communities and society in general. The environmental and social struggles around extractivism (strategic tool for economic growth) have triggered off a more radical approach to challenge development (Svampa, 2012).

The reality in the region, suggested by the existing literature, is that there is a significant and substantial possibility of a new development paradigm: BV is an example of this.

However, the emergence of new approaches that challenge the existing development frameworks are not exclusive to the LA region, nor to the GS, there is a wave of other forms of thinking that are also challenging and offering an amalgam of solutions to either substitute or enhance development formulas. For instance *degrowth*[7] (i.e., Kallis *et al.* 2012; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Schneider *et al*. 2010), often associated with work on 'commoning' and the commons (see the work of Bollier, 2014; Bollier and Helfrich, 2012). Although ideas to rechannelling the *development* curse of society are proposed from both the GN and GS, it seems that a profound bilateral conversation and the creation of a binary collateral participation are needed (see the work Escobar, 2015), particularly when attempting to break down the barriers between the GN and GS in regards to development thinking.

Table 2.1 is designed to succinctly describe the main development theories to simplify the understanding of BV and how it can be interpreted. Therefore, it is crucial for the elaboration of this thesis to ascertain BV within post-development studies produced in the GS, assuring that BV will be seen from an epistemic view generated, debated and discussed by development actors in the LA region. Rather than illustrate and debate BV through LA spectacles, or from a position of BV within post-development studies, this thesis embraces the idea that BV is presented as a post-development project as a consequence of development failure (Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2012a; Mignolo, 2001; Quijano, 2011). Table 2.1 is divided into three categories: classic theories, emergent theories and transition theories (TDs).

Table 2.1 shows in a simple radiograph for the development theory, the frameworks that *development* has set to provide a systematic solution to achieve human wellbeing and meet societal living standards. The paradigms within the category of *emergent development,* still valid and promulgated institutionally and politically by states and international institutions (i.e., the Millennium Development Goals by the United Nations) are considered an improvement of the *classic theories* category. These development frameworks propose a more inclusive, participative and sustainably-oriented path to

[7] On a large scale, degrowth is the concept of downscaling production and consumption, it is seen as the contraction of economies arguing that overconsumption lies at the root of long term environmental issues and social inequalities (i.e., Kallis *et al.* 2012; Schneider *et al.* 2010). Degrowth is also a political, economic and social movement based on ecological economic, anti-consumerist and anti-capitalist ideas (see examples in Escobar, 2015; Martinez-Alier, 2002).

achieve human wellbeing. This category is located chronologically at the second stage, as it seems to propose an alternative pathway to achieve human wellbeing, but it is subject to traditional development economic principles (economic growth to lead societal transformation but with a sustainable ingredient). Although emergent theories propose novelty ideas and offer a set of inclusive and sustainably-oriented menu, they hardly challenge the root of the development failures (Acosta, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014).

Arguably paradigms such as *Endogenous vs Exogenous Development, Ethnodevelopment* and *Development Aggression* are contemplated as confrontational schemes that problematize development pitfalls; these are located in the second stage of development theory. These paradigms highlight other ways to pave the way for development (inclusiveness, participation and sustainability) in contradiction to those suggested by the classic ones (market-oriented, free trade, i.e., see the work of Giovannini, 2012), but do not suggest a paradigmatic shift of *development* as the TDs do. While generally the TDs propose a more radical approach by seeking a transformational society based upon a paradigmatic shift that moves away from economic-oriented frameworks, *emergent theories* advocate for an improvement of the economic practices (i.e., green or blue economy). The TDs are constituted by *degrowth* and *post-development* frameworks and are separate regionally (GN and GS). Drawing on Escobar's (2015; 2012; 2004) work, societal struggles in the GN are expressed in post-growth, post-materialist, post-economic, post-capitalist, and post-human terms, those for the GS are expressed in terms of post-development, non-liberal, post/non-capitalist, biocentric and post-extractivist theories. For this reason, BV is located within post-development frameworks. As discussed in Chapter 1, the BV theory has been applied to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia. This theoretical framework is explained in detail in the following section. .

Table 2.1. Development Theory Radiography

CATEGORIES	CLASSIC THEORIES					EMERGENT THEORIES				TRANSITION THEORIES	
PARADIGM	Market-oriented	Modernisation	Neoliberal Development & Globalisation	Dependency Theories & World Systems	Human Development Theory	Sustainable Development	Endogenous vs Exogenous Development	Ethnodevelopment	Development Aggression	Degrowth	Post-Development
REGION[8]	GN	GN	GN	GN/GS	GN	GN	GN	GN/GS	GN/GS	GN	GS
KEY CONCEPTS	- Market - State - Economic liberalism	- Society - Primitivism - Modernity - Economic growth	- Free-market - Neo-liberalism - Deregulation - Structural adjustment programs (SAPs)	- Post colonialism - Economic dependency - 'Developed', 'developing' & 'least developing'	- Human capabilities - Human freedom of choice	-Natural resources -Ecosystem services - Reduction of carbon foot print - SDGs	- Localism - Local-economies - Bottom-up approaches - Participatory processes	- Ethnicity - Ethnocide - Marginalisation - Bottom-up - Ethnic values and culture	- Mining - Extractivism -Indigenous peoples	- Post-growth - Post-human - Ecology-oriented economics	- Non-liberal - Post-non-capitalist - Biocentric - Post-extractivist
OBJECT OF THE STUDY	It assumes that the best economic consequences will result if free from any form of governmental constrain to make their own economic decisions.	It refers to a model of progressive transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' or 'primitive' to a 'modern' society.	It is associated with the laissez-faire economic liberation. It claims that a global free market will enable all the countries of the world to prosper.	The hierarchical relations between the 'developed' and the 'under-developed' world. Economic dependency.	The expansion of human capabilities, a widening of choices, 'an enhancement of freedom, and a fulfilment of human rights.	The study of an environmentally oriented economy.	Endogenous development is based on local peoples' own criteria of development, and takes into account the material, social and spiritual wellbeing of people.	Countering ethnocide by enabling ethnic, minority, and/or exploited groups to revive values of their specific culture with a focus on strengthening their ability to resist exploitation and oppression.	The study of development projects that violate indigenous peoples' human rights.	Strategies for down-scaling of production and consumption.	Construction of other forms of thinking to challenge hegemonic development ideas spreading from the West.
REFERENCES	(i.e., Friedman, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Rostow, 1952, 1960).	(i.e., Arat, 1988; Aya, 1978; Bernstein, 1971; Rostow, 1952, 1960; Weber, 2002).	(i.e., Friedman, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Lemaître and Helmsing, 2012; Springer *et al.* 2016).	(i.e., Amin, 1978; Baran, 1958, 1952; Cardoso and Falletto, 1979; Dos Santos, 1968; Harris, 1989; Kay, 1998; Prebisch, 1994; Wallerstein, 1989, 1989, 1974)	(i.e., Sen, 2001, 2001).	(i.e., Giddings *et al.* 2002; Hopwood *et al.* 2005; Smit and Pilifosova, 2003).	(i.e., Franz Tödtling, 2010; Lowe *et al.* 1995; Vázquez-Barquero, 2003).	(i.e., Clarke, 2001; Laurie *et al.* 2005; N'Kaschama, 2012; Partridge *et al.* 1996).	(i.e., Asian Indigneous Peoples Pact Foundation (AIPPF), 2012; Gedicks, 2001; Giovannini, 2012; Tauli-Corpuz, 1996).	(i.e., Kallis *et al.* 2012; Latouche, 2009; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Schneider *et al.* 2010).	(Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2015, 2010, 1992; Lander, 2000; Mignolo, 2000).

Source: Compiled by the author

[8] Region is a category established by the author to determine where the development theory is sourced from. It will help the reader to understand the epistemic antagonism between the GN and GS.

2.3 The emerging concept of Buen Vivir

BV is inspired and influenced by the Andean 'cosmovision' (worldview) of indigenous people in Latin America. In fact, BV is the Spanish language translation of *Sumak Kawsay* and *Suma Qamaña* in the *Quechua* and *Aymara* languages, respectively (Albó, 2009; Huanacuni, 2010). Both *Quechuas* and *Aymaras* are indigenous communities spread out over the whole Andean region. The *Quechuas* people are allocated in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile and Colombia. The *Aymaras* people live in Bolivia (*Aymara* is the second and most widely spoken language in the country), Peru, Chile and Argentina (Acosta, 2013; Albó, 2009; Huanacuni, 2010). Notably, although both indigenous communities are connected to the Inca Empire, the *Aymaran* ancestors may be traced back in the region before becoming a subject people of the Inca Empire in the late 15th or early 16th century, and later of the Spanish in the 16th century (Acosta, 2013, 2012; Albó, 2009; Gudynas, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010). The legacy of the Inca Empire is manifested in the current ways that the *Quechuas* and *Aymaras* people (and other indigenous groups such as the *Pastos* and *Yanaconas* in Colombia) are organised and operate (i.e., social structures shaped by hierarchies, in which everybody participates and is involved in practices such as *Minca*, *Ayni* or *Mita* as well as in decision-making for the benefit of the whole community).

Interestingly, *Sumak Kawsay*/*Suma Qamaña* is not an exclusive object-oriented project of society. Table 2.2 depicts that there are many versions of *Sumak Kawsay*/*Suma Qamaña* within indigenous communities across the LA continent nurtured by their own *cosmovisión*. For instance, in the south of the continent, the *Mapuche* in Chile and the *Kolla* in Argentina, refer to it as *Kümen Mogen* and *Vivir Bien* respectively. These two share views with the Quechuas and Aymara communities in relation to *nature community*, both nurture society and pave the way to reach societal wellbeing (Coraggio, 2011; Razeto, 2000). The *Guaraní,* one of the largest indigenous communities in LA, spread out through Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay, identify the *Sumak Kawsay*/*Suma Qamaña* as *Teko Kavi* in their own language: the wellbeing is related to the harmony of human beings with nature and the jungle (Santos, 2007). In the North of the region, the COICA (in Spanish, *Coordinadora de la Organizaciones Indigenas de la Cuenca Amazónica*) in the Amazons and the Maya in Mexico also coincide with the Andean principles (Acosta, 2013; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). It is important to point out that these indigenous communities have not been involved in the development processes

described earlier in Table 2.1, with the exception of post-development theories which includes the BV that highlights the important role played by indigenous people traditions and cultural values. .

Table 2.2. Sumak Kawsay/Suma Qamaña in Other Latin American Indigenous Communities

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES	MAPUCHE	AYMARA	KICHWA/QUECHUA	KOLLA	COICA	MAYA	GUARANÍ
COUNTRY	Chile	Mostly Bolivia, but presence in Peru, Chile and Argentina	Mostly Ecuador but presence in Colombia, Bolivia Peru and Argentina	Argentina	Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Venezuela and Bolivia	Mostly Mexico and some presence in Belize	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay
TERMINOLOGY USED	Kümen Mogen	Suma Qamaña	Sumak Kawsay	Vivir Bien	Volver a la Maloka	Ronojerl K'o uchak upatan (RKU) & Ronojerl jastaq ki chapon kib' (RJCK)	Teko Kavi
DESCRIPTION	- A permanent relationship with nature. - Harmony and balance with Mother Earth. - Living without violence. - Living with affection and empathy.	Suma: fullness, sublime, superb, magnificent, beautiful. Qamaña: live, live well, good life. -Fullness of life. -Live good. -Know how to live. -How to live. -Live in balance and harmony.	Sumak: fullness, sublime, superb, magnificent, beautiful. Kawsay: life, be still. - The process of the fullness of life. - Life in material and spiritual balance. -The sublime magnificence is expressed in harmony, in the internal and external balance of a community.	- Living in community. - Living under the principles of harmony and balance. - Growing with nature and not against it. - "The human being is a land that goes".	- Return to ourselves. - Value ancestral knowledge. - Live in harmony with the environment. - Enjoy the feeling that links the body and the spirit. - Protect our wisdoms, knowledge and sacred places. - Community over individual - Live in a cyclical time of the great return, where the future is always behind.	(RKU): All have a role and a reason for being (RJCK): Ronojerl Jastaq ki chapon kib': All elements of the universe are connected and interconnected. - To Recognize that Earth is the mother, who gives birth to life, feeds us, shelters us, listens to us and takes care of us. - The human being is an element of the universe.	- Respect life. -"You are right when you're well with nature, with the spirits, with the elderly, with children and with everything that is around you, that is to live well. "
KEY REFERENCES	(Razeto, 2000)	(Albó, 2009)	(Acosta, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010)	(Coraggio, 2011; Gudynas, 2011)	(Acosta, 2012, 2013)	(Pilataxi Iechon, 2014)	(Santos, 2007)

Source: Compiled by the author

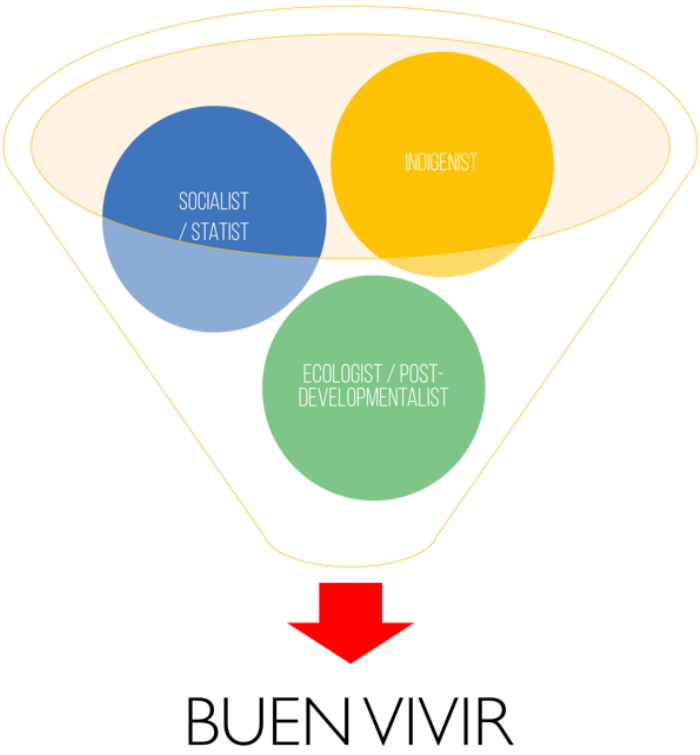
BV echoes the Sumak Kawsay/Suma Qamaña principles of (i) community (ii) solidarity and reciprocity, and (iii) harmony and complementarity, principles that will be addressed later in this section (Acosta, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012). Existing literature suggests that BV is considered within post-development theory and is a consequentialist project built upon Andean indigenous peoples (Escobar, 2010). Following the post-development approach, BV emerged from what the author calls development fatigue: the evident development failure in the LA region, particularly the negative consequences of extractive projects (i.e., see the extensive works of Coraggio, 2011; Escobar, 2010; Razeto, 1984 about development and its pitfalls) and the interlinked connection with the environmental crises (i.e., See Gudynas, 2011; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Shiva, 2008) which triggered the emergence of BV. Although BV advocates the reflourishing of ancestral indigenous people's practices, particularly those related to environmental care, it also attempts to integrate (at least in its discourse) the struggle of other groups in the LA region, such as peasants, Afro descendants, environmentalists, students, women and youth.

In practice, BV stems from the social periphery of the global periphery (Tortosa, 2009 cited in Acosta, 2013). BV constitutes a new horizon of historical meaning, emerging from the long history of the indigenous resistance against the Eurocentric modern/colonial world system. As Acosta (2013) states, BV grew out of several decades of indigenous struggles as articulated by peasants with manifold social change agendas: Afro descendants, environmentalists, students, women and youth. Thus, at this stage, BV provides an opportunity for the collective construction of a new form of living.

2.4 The Conceptualisation of Buen Vivir

BV has been defined earlier in Chapter 1 as an on-going project to build a different society sustained in the coexistence of human beings in their diversity and in harmony with oneself (identity), society (equity) and nature (sustainability), which is based on the recognition of the diverse cultural values existing in each country and worldwide (Acosta, 2013; Gudynas, 2011). In order to clarify the concept of BV, it has been defined in this thesis through the work of Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* (2014) and Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, (2015, 2017, 2016) who identify three fundamental traditions: (I) the indigenist approach, (II) the socialist/statist approach and (III) the ecologist/developmentalist approach.

Figure 2.1. The Conceptualisation of Buen Vivir



Source: Compiled by the author

Firstly, in the *indigenist* approach, ancient indigenous thought is at the core of the BV, particularly of the Andean indigenous people. This tradition prioritises indigenous identity and aims for a more plural and inclusive society in which indigenous people legalise self-determination in their territories and propose a transformation from nation-sate to plurinational state (i.e., Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012). Indigenous people, indigenous social movements and social-actors/advocators/intellectuals that are sympathetic with the indigenous world are supporting this approach (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017). They advocate the recreation of the life conditions of the *AbyaYala* people, a term which in the Kuna language means 'lands in its full maturity'. This term 'AbyaYala' is used by those people in America to refer to their continent before colonisation took place (Dávalos, 2011). This approach gives great importance to the self-determination of the indigenous peoples and proposes the conversion of the LA nation states into plurinational states. In fact, plurinationality is the ultimate purpose for the use of BV (Simbaña, 2012).

Secondly, in the *socialist/statist* approach, societal equity is prioritised and is strongly influenced by neo-Marxism. This tradition is led by the intellectuals involved in the institutionalisation of BV, echoing indigenous ontologies in the countries of Ecuador and Bolivia (i.e., Coraggio, 2011, 1994; García-Linera, 2010; Ramírez-Gallegos, 2011, 2010; Santos, 2010). Through this revolutionary concept known as 'citizen revolution' in Ecuador and as 'democratic and cultural revolution' in Bolivia, these intellectuals propose to implement a new development model that essentially seeks to improve equity. This conception of BV has spread from the intellectual circles of the governments of Ecuador and Bolivia to the intellectual circles of other LA left-governments, many of which have incorporated in their political discourse the socialist and statist notion of BV (Ramírez-Gallegos, 2010).

Thirdly, in the *ecologist/developmentalist* approach, development theory and praxis are strongly criticised, and biocentrism is the final objective (i.e., Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2010; Gudynas, 2011; Walsh, 2012). This BV tradition relates to the ecological and post-development thinking of intellectuals linked to the critique of development and LA social movements. This approach attaches great importance to the role that civil society must play. These intellectuals propose the creation of local processes of social participation, so that each community can define its own BV (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* 2014). This approach considers different social movements (e.g., indigenous, environmentalists, feminists, workers, peasants, pacifists and/or solidarity groups) in the definition and implementation of BV, and perceives them as the main political agents that should be heard and respect by LA governments, regardless of the degree of political representation they may reach (Gudynas, 2011).

This interdisciplinary and interdimensional combination exemplifies the advancements on the conceptualisation of BV. Despite the differences amongst the suggested approaches, BV can be categorised as an alternative or a neo model that offers another development vehicle to reach a completely different set of societal living standards for human wellbeing. On in-depth examination of the existing literature on BV, the following values and pillars have been identified.

2.4.1 Buen Vivir Values

While some BV advocators, the most moderate ones, suggest that a new set of values must be either transferred or encouraged in society in order to shift to a new development paradigm – particularly the ones that highlight the importance of the relationship of human society with nature (i.e., Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2010; Esteva, 1992; Walsh, 2012) – others from a more radical point of view, claim that modern values that were coercively imposed during colonialisation in the LA region, must be replaced completely, as they legitimise *class* bias and *racism* (Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010; Mignolo, 2014b; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Quijano, 2000). Although, it can be difficult to establish what modern values are (as there are many) and whether everybody in the so-called West are universally aligned with them, the BV literature suggests that the BV values stated below are different from the modern ones and distant themselves from *individualism.*

Community*: *Ayllu

Community or *Ayllu* is an essential aspect for indigenous people in the Andes, and the exercise of community cohesion is inherited by their ancestors (particularly the Incas). On the one hand, community, in its more practical expression, is a social group determined by their kinship and is located in a common territory that has its own form of government. On the other hand, community, in its more spiritual dimension (cosmovisión), is constituted by human beings, the spirits of their ancestors and their deities (physically represented in nature) (Huanacuni, 2010). In fact, the head of the *Ayllu*, for the Aymaras, is denominated *Mallku*, a condor, and represents the top of the hierarchy (Albó, 2009). Community is strongly related with nature and therefore, emphasizes the importance of protecting the environment, which is why the rights of nature are demanded (Acosta *et al.* 2007).

Indigenous peoples distance themselves from Western perspectives in many ways (i.e., cosmovision, relationship with nature, beliefs and so on), but community is of utmost importance as it is conceived as one part of the whole system that is above the individual and is married to nature. For them, Western societies are disconnected from non-human domains as well as separate from community and the spiritual aspect (faith and reason). That is, that the BV advocators differ from the ontological conclusion of modernity in Western perspectives, where although an individual is protected by the

universal declaration of equality in the social contract, nature has been forgotten and has been, in the BV perspective, over exploited and abused (Albó, 2009; Aylwin, 2013; Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012). Therefore, they claim to have reconnected with each other and with the non-human world, and in so doing, community prevails, as their ancestors and the upcoming generations are interconnected spiritually (Huanacuni, 2010, p. 146; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014, p. 58).

Although there are several ways to conceive and understand community: by their geographical place (Willmott, 1986), their common interest and communion (Crow and Allan, 1994; Lee and Newby, 1983; Willmott, 1989), as a symbol (Cohen, 1985, 1982), as a social network (Lee and Newby, 1983) or as a value (De Tocqueville, 1994; Frazer, 2000; Putnam, 2001), it is claimed that in the formulation of what community is and how it operates, the voices of indigenous people are needed, particularly in the way that community is constituted. For them, it needs to transcend an anthropocentric point of view, thus it is necessary to include natural rights as an essential part of societal construction.

Solidarity and Reciprocity: Yanapay and Ayni

Solidarity (*Yanapay)* and reciprocity (*Ayni)* are fundamental values of BV and have been rooted within communitarian and collective practices that are pivotal for the analysis of the BV. *Ayni* refers to the reciprocal and mutual practices performed by the *Quechua* and *Aymara* ancestors. *Ayni* as practiced, is ruled by the idea that everything in the world (human beings, the spirit of ancestors and deities are materialised in nature) is interconnected, and therefore rules the everyday life of the indigenous communities. *Ayni* is naturally enforced as it is embedded in the Andean culture (Simbaña, 2012). The members of a community or *Ayllu* are mandated to participate in *Ayni* tasks when a member of a community is in need: tasks such as agricultural work, housing construction and economic emergency (Pilataxi Lechón, 2014).

Yanapay is claimed to be a spontaneous/natural behaviour, an embedded cultural value related to the *Pachamama* (Huanacuni, 2010). BV advocators suggest that both *Yanapay* and *Ayni* are cultural values that dictate every action in Quechua and Aymara societies, hence the spontaneous behaviour to protect every member of the community and the

natural environment (i.e., see the work of Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Leon, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). For instance, their agricultural system is dictated by the weather conditions, and land exploitation is subject to time cycles. Generally speaking, Andean indigenous communities are self-sustained and produce on a small-scale, thus the land rests until it is ready for production. The members of the community are self-conscious of this and let the land rest as an act of solidarity (*Yanapay*) with nature (Huanacuni, 2010). S*olidarity* and *reciprocity* are seen to be dictated by biocentrism and anthropocentrism rather than encouraged structurally (i.e., policies, institutions or legal forms) (Acosta *et al.* 2007; Escobar, 2000; Gudynas, 2010; Gudynas, 2011a; Huanacuni, 2010). Table 2.3 illustrates some indigenous people's practices that still exist in contemporary society that are guided by the principles of solidarity and reciprocity (Meléndez, 2005; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Santos, 2007; Huanacuni, 2010; Temple, 2003a; 2003b). These collective practices have often been ignored by the main development theories discussed earlier in Table 2.1 but are crucial to understand the phenomenon of the development of the SSE in Colombia, and in particular ICOs, as some of these socio-economic practices can be allocated within the sector.

Harmony and *Complementarity*: *Turaq and Hunt'ay*

Complementarity (Hunt'ay) is generally defined as a relationship or situation in which two or more different things improve or emphasise each other's qualities. *Harmony (Turaq)* is seen as a consistent, orderly, or pleasing arrangement of parts). Harmony or *Turaq* (as there is not a direct translation in Quechua) is understood as the action of maintaining the world in equilibrium and balance. *Harmony* relates directly to the interrelation between humans and their deities (materialised in nature). The *Pachamama* natural cycle dictates an indigenous communities' calendar, which is built upon the equinoxes and solstices corresponding to the path of the sun (Huanacuni, 2010).

Indigenous communities try to examine behaviour of nature and then make decisions accordingly to determine the social order (Andean indigenous communities organise society in this way) (Guandinango Vinueza, 2013). The winter solstice[9] is a key date, as it marks the beginning of the new cycle of life. *The* winter solstice is considered as rebirth by indigenous peoples, as is the time of the year when nature renews itself (Pilataxi

[9] In the southern hemisphere this occurs in June, between the 20th and 24th.

Lechón, 2014). Within the indigenous peoples' literature, the over exploitation and contamination of the *Pachamama* constrains a harmonious relationship between community and nature (i.,e., Huanacuni, 2010; Leon, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012).

Table 2.3. Latin American Practices Based on Solidarity and Reciprocity

PRACTICES	TEQUIO	YUNKI	GUELAGUETZA	MINGA	AYNI	MUTIRÃO	MALOKA
REGION	Mexico	LA Region	Mexico	The Andes Region	Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile	Brazil	Colombia & Brazil
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	Zapotec Culture	Quechuas, Aymaras, Mayas, Mapuches, Misak, Guaranies etc.	Zapotec Culture	Quechuas, Aymaras, Misak etc.	Quechuas & Aymaras	Tupi	Amazon Regions
DESCRIPTION	Community members contribute materials or labour to carry out construction work for the community.	Exchange (goods or services) for other goods or services without using money. In some of the LA regions it is very popular to swap seeds (seed-swapping) to fight against the genetically modified GM[10] seeds.	A reciprocal exchange of goods and services. Its practice is woven from the reciprocal relations that tie people together. It's the starting point for family and even village and territory-wide cooperative networks. In its broadest conception, the *Guelaguetza* represents not only cooperating, but a whole attitude or quality with which each individual is born. For instance, respect and love for the Zapotec inhabitant and respecting nature and life.	An ancestral mechanism for collective work. The common objective is always more important than any individual benefit.	It is a term with a meaning that's closely related to minga. It is a reciprocal practice when a member of a community gives something to another and is entitled to receive something back. It means reciprocity in Quechua.	An expression originally used in field work for the civil construction of community houses where everyone is a beneficiary and offers mutual help through a rotating, non-hierarchical system.	It is an indigenous communal house found in the indigenous Amazon region of Colombia and Brazil. These are cohabited by different families. Property is collective, as in Europe's squatter communities.

Source: Compiled by the author

[10] Genetically modified (GM) food/seed is a real issue in countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Chile and Peru. Indigenous peoples cannot grow and trade any food that are not certified by the state. The seeds that are certified are the ones that are claimed to be GM seeds (Kloppenburg, 2010).

Complementarity is the one value that equalises and brings equilibrium to this equation to achieve *Turaq*. Thus, for indigenous peoples, complementarity is the acknowledgement of the pluriversal relation amongst human beings and nature; that is, each element within the community is different but complement one another. There is no power play in such a relationship but there is a horizontal non-hierarchical and inter-relational (natural and spontaneous) connection between each entity in the community (Albó, 2009; Huanacuni, 2010). For indigenous communities, all members of the community play a role in the social cohesion, and they are all active contributors for the status quo of society (including nature as an active member of this community). Hence, none would be able to exist without the existence of the other (Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). For instance, in the *Ayni* practice, for any societal transaction of either *Yunki* or seed swapping, there must be different societal actors that are considered experts to achieve these objectives. If there is a seed for *quinoa* that grows effectively and better in *x* location for the local conditions (height, weather, soil) and is produced by the x community, it might be possible to exchange the seed with another community that produces another type of seed (coca, maize, araucaria). Using the same rationale but with a more conventional transaction, the dual interrelation between the *producer* and the *merchant* is expertise, and they naturally complement and need each other to achieve the transaction (Albó, 2009).

2.4.2 Buen Vivir Pillars

As mentioned earlier, the BV identified values are a set of principles influenced by the Sumak Kawsay/Suma Qamaña cosmovision. As BV is considered a project that echoes indigenous principles, BV pillars are regarded as reliable, providing essential support for the BV model. According to the existing literature, the BV identified pillars are explained below. They are established in a non-particular hierarchical order as they are all interrelated to each other.

Rights of Nature

One of the innovations of BV is the advocacy to establish nature as a living entity to be protected and equally treated. Most notably in the case of Ecuador and Bolivia, the *Rights of Nature* have been constitutionalised in the Constitutions of 2008 and 2009 respectively (SENPLADES, 2012, 2011, 2009). The identification of nature with

Pachamama and the fact that it is endowed with "rights" goes beyond environmental political correctness, given that the *pachamama* cannot be easily fitted into the philosophical structure of the modern constitution, where nature is seen as an inert object for humans to be appropriated. That said, nature should be treated differently and with respect, and has to be constitutionalised to preserve the way that it has been unsustainably exploited (Escobar, 2012). BV advocators argue for a holistic transformation of the system, and the search for an ecological – non-dualistic – self that reconnects with all beings. BV implies an expanded ecological notion of the self, in which the liberal notion (claimed to be rooted in the GN) sees the self as deeply interconnected with all the living beings and ultimately, with the planet as a whole (Acosta, 2012; Gudynas, 2011). That said, *the rights of nature* influenced by the cosmovision of the indigenous peoples of the region is one of the pillars for the BV perspective and it relates to the threefold set of values.

BV advocates a plural type of citizenship involving cultural and ecological dimensions that require both environmental and ecological justice for the protection of people and nature. For instance, in this sense, BV intersects with other global thoughts, mainly associated with TDs. Examples of this include TDs based on 'deep ecology'[11] and the view of the ecological self (Gudynas, 2011; Macey, 2010) which include: post-carbon and post-fossil fuel economies to maintain and invest in the environment for long-term societal projects (Shiva, 2008, 2005, 2004); the governance of natural resources that support a healthy society (Ostrom, 1990); the inclusion of a spiritual dimension to society based on a deep transformation of values, considering nature as the principal axis of change (Hanh, 2008); self-sufficient projects (i.e., away from the oil dependency) generated by local communities or small groups called *transitional towns* (Hopkins, 2008). Here, the BV pillar of nature appears as a very serious multidimensional proposal that emerges from the LA region and is combined with other TDs through ecological issues; it could not be otherwise, given that all these neo-thoughts are triggered by and respond to the interrelated crises of energy, food, climate and poverty.

[11] Arnes Naess was a Norwegian philosopher who coined the term "deep ecology" and was an important intellectual and inspirational figure within the environmental movement of the late twentieth century. Deep ecology argues that the natural world is a subtle balance of complex inter-relationships in which the existence of organisms is dependent on the existence of others within ecosystems. Human interference with or destruction of the natural world poses a threat therefore, not only to humans but to all organisms constituting the natural order (Naess, 1973).

Community Wellbeing

This BV pillar essentially suggests building up a new society based on different notions of living standards (moving away from the ones suggested by modernity that are strongly subjected to economic growth) influenced by the Sumak Kawsay/Suma Qamaña, in which nature is respected and sustainably treated (Huanacuni, 2010). As can be seen, community wellbeing, environmental protection and community care is an added dimension of the living standards of society: the less harm that can be possibly made to the environment (i.e., see the the example of TIPNIS in Aylwin, 2013). Another important dimension to community wellbeing is participation. This pillar suggests that community must participate and be included in the decision-making process at local, regional and national levels. Hence, the need to create spaces of participation different from the electoral system (a referendum took place in the elaboration of the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia and local authorities played an important role organising community meetings). For instance, indigenous people's authorities endorse members of their communities to attend to local events, and to be part of conversations that matter to their regions. They usually refer to it as '*Minga* of *knowledge' (in Spanish, Minga de pensamiento)*, in which all members of the community discuss and debate relevant matters and play an important role in future decisions (i.e., see the Misak example in Gow and Jaramillo, 2013). In sum, this pillar envisions community wellbeing based on BV values.

At a practical level, progress in the objective of achieving community wellbeing in conjunction with other 'standards' is at an advanced stage/level in the institutional developments of BV in Ecuador and Bolivia. In the context of Ecuador, the development plan named '*El Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir 2013 – 2017*' (National plan of BV) was planned and designed following the BV constitutional standards, and proposed to deliver an enhancement of living standards by encouraging the business sector and the population in general to get involved in a new model of generating products and services that help conserve the environment by decreasing the use of natural resources as a raw material for export. Cross-sectoral (i.e., universities, business) financial investment was budgeted to ensure an inclusive and participatory strategy to achieve advancements in the sustainably-oriented development project of BV (Yánez, 2015, p. 105).

Economic growth is still an important dimension to enhance the living standards of society, thus the need to transform its practice to reinforce community wellbeing is more important than financial capital, and is the only principle that governs the state. Improvements in economic frameworks such as the SSE are seen crucial for the construction of another development paradigm. For instance, in Bolivia the SSE has been empowered, reinforced and strengthened. Previously, it contributed to the 25% of the GDP but at the present time it is reaching 35% (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 2016).

Decolonisation

Although at an early stage, decolonisation has become a key component for the conceptualisation of BV (i.e., see Acosta, 2013). In a more radical way, the literature claims that only by detachment from the Western modes of production and worldview, indigenous peoples, Afro descendants, women and nature will be recognised, and will dismantle hegemonic social structures (based on race and class) (Celiberti, 2010; Escobar, 2012, 2010; Leon, 2010). Decolonisation is considered essential to transform society from universality to 'pluriversality'. A shift to a new cultural and economic paradigm is globally recognised both as needed and as actively under construction (Escobar, 2012).

In the Government of Bolivia, led by president Evo Morales since 2006, decolonisation has been a main theme in its political discourse (i.e., see the example of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) that influenced Morales political ideology in Paco, 2007). Political decolonisation has been institutionalised and constitutionalised, bringing cultural value to the voiceless or marginalised groups (Leon, 2010; Vanhulst, 2015), particularly as in modernisation theory (see section 2.2) indigenous peoples are considered either an obstacle to '*development*' or a 'primitive' entity to be civilised (seen as inferior communities). In the process of modernisation, indigenous communities are seen to be socially marginalised and demonised as enemies of the development recipes, particularly as they inhabit regions rich in natural resources (Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). In this respect, indigenous social movements identified with decolonisation approaches, have played an important role in the region bringing about, to some degree, justice to their communities (Mueses, 2012; Paco, 2007, 2004; Ulloa, 2004).

Plurinational State

Plurality is a key concept of the BV project and is cited frequently in the BV literature, particularly among the authors that are more related with the indigenist approach (i.e., Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014; Simbaña, 2012). BV advocators in the majority, agree that only with a more plural (inclusive and participatory) society the construction of a new paradigm would be possible. In the perspective of Escobar (2012), BV argues for a non-hegemonic system and can be considered as a transformational, intercultural and plural project proposal in order for society to achieve more symmetrical relations among cultures. Hypothetically speaking, the BV project demands an acute awareness of the rights of communities upon their territories and resources, of the marked uneven patterns of global consumption, environmental impacts and structures of exploitation maintained by capitalism, and of the concomitant need for social and environmental justice (Acosta, 2013, 2012; Calvo and Morales, 2013a; Escobar, 2012; Gudynas, 2011).

A plurinational state is formulated in the BV literature as a political mechanism operated by a decentralised political and administrative system that must be culturally heterogeneous and allows the participation of all the social sectors and groups within society (Escobar, 2010; Paco, 2007, 2004). A plurinational state must ensure societal wellbeing by taking into account everyone's living standards. Thus, a plural perspective is suggested by BV, in which living standards are neither guided nor determined by Western criteria (i.e., the SDGs) (Gudynas, 2011; Leon, 2010; Santos, 2003). Indigenous people's, peasant and Afro-descendant worldviews are presented as particularly important sources for the debate on alternative civilizational models (Escobar, 2015). This pillar is strongly related to politics and how the government should act. In fact, Ramírez-Gallegos (2010) asserts that BV has been redefined in the political projects of Bolivia and Ecuador. He claims that plurality in both the state and the economy enables the last stage of BV: a 'bio-egalitarian republic'[12], where the rights of nature are recognised as social-egalitarian, and there is concern for future generations in an expanding democracy (political and economic inclusiveness based on pluralism). It uses

[12] In the socialist/statist approach, BV is understood as the socialism of Sumak Kawsay (Ramírez-Gallegos, 2011, 2010) or the Andean Community Socialism (García-Linera, 2010) in Ecuador and Bolivia respectively.

the term 'republican' as it tries to connect the state and the citizens, based on rights and responsibilities.

Ramírez-Gallegos (2010) also states that BV should be seen in the panoply of pioneering constitutional innovations, particularly as it is proposing a different idea of nation than the orthodox view of "one flag, one land, one hand, one nation" (Holmes, 1895, p71). BV in this respect pursues an intercultural and pluri-ethnic nation, that recognise not only the native people but also others, such the settlers, the mestizos, afro-descendants and romans, who have the right to be autonomous and self-determining in their own destiny. For example, in Bolivia, the state is declared as an "unitary, plurinational, communitarian, free, independent, sovereign, democratic, social decentralised state, with territorial autonomies" that is founded on political, economic, judicial, cultural and linguistic pluralism, as well as being assembled through autonomy, communal democracy (non-representative) and plural participation (García-Linera, 2010; Paco, 2007, 2004). This pillar is particularly interesting when we examine the case of Colombia, as indigenous people in the country hold an autonomous status but are still attached in a centralised political system (see Chapter 5 for more details).

Economic Pluralism

The economy is one of the main areas that the BV project is challenging, and is attempting to modify its perspective (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, 2016). The majority of the BV literature concerning the economy tends to focus on post-extractivist (i.e., Gudynas, 2011), post-neoliberal (i.e., García-Linera, 2010; Ramírez-Gallegos, 2010), biocentric (i.e, Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010) and alternative economies (i.,e, Acosta, 2015; Coraggio, 2007; Razeto, 1984). That is why the economy is considered plural. The economic approach within the BV literature is argued to be the result of the processes of reflection of many intellectuals, who are diversely influenced by other intellectuals both in the LA region and in other parts of the world (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017; Vanhulst, 2015).

Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* (2014) and Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara (2017) have identified manifold elements that have influenced the BV economic plural approximation, and that includes: the happiness economy (i.e., Coll and Ferrás, (2017), the subsistence feminism or care economy (see León-Trujillo, 2009), the indigenous

community-based economy (see Mutuberria and Chiroque, 2011) and the SSE (Coraggio, 2007; Escobar, 2015; Razeto, 1984; Unceta, 2014).

The history of development in the region demonstrates that all intended/implemented recipes of economic recovery are made to resume economic growth, but yet nothing has been proposed by/from the "orthodox-development box". Rather, LA regional policies have followed foreign indications and guidance (mainly from the GN) and have outsourced assistance to deal with local issues (Santos, 2003). With this in mind, economic pluralism appears as a critical topic that needs to be developed in the BV literature. Hence, the main objective of the pillar is to move away from mainstream economics, which in the region is determined by the private sector, towards a more inclusive and interdisciplinary approach to promote heterodox sectors within the region that are guided by the BV (Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2010; Gudynas, 2011; Lander, 2000; Razeto, 1984).

Democratisation

BV advocators claim that there is no other away to create another development paradigm unless democratic processes are revised, and participation made accessible to everyone. This pillar is essentially constructed by the objective of dismantling representative democracy,[13] and take forward practices of communal democracy. *Aymara* leaders have referred semantically to Bolivia's representative democracy as *q'aracracia*', a term that combines q'ara' ('plucked, bare or hairless in *Aymara* and white person in *Quechua*) with *democracia* (democracy in English). Building on these concepts, President Evo Morales claims that Bolivia's democracy is imported and does not represent the local cultural values of the population (García-Linera, 2010; Paco, 2007, 2004). Hence, communal democracy, which as Toledo (2009) claims, is meant to emerge from citizen movements, would not be possible without the right of autonomy for indigenous groups. Autonomy in the case of Bolivia is legal and can be described in terms of a very radical democracy, cultural self-determination and self-governance.

Communal democracy (legally recognised in *Art 11, I* in the Bolivian Constitution), as one of the most concrete proposals, builds upon values of communal solidarity, equality

[13] By representative democracy the author refers to a type of democracy founded on the principle of elected officials representing a group of people.

and consensus, differs fundamentally from the individualistic principles that lie at the root of the liberal representative democratic model (individual freedom, limited government, popular sovereignty and plurality involve a commitment to settling disputes through political discourse and engagement). In the case of Bolivia, assembly union democracy and communal indigenous democracy work as exemplary models of direct, unmediated representation, where all deliberate until they reach a consensus and a decision is made (*Minga of knowledge*). These forms of democratisation do not reduce participation to voting, nor representation to delegation of power and representatives (*psephocracy*) (García-Linera, 2010; Paco, 2007, 2004). Unlike conventional democratic purposes, participation is an obligation linked to the economic, political and ritual duties of the members of the community. Leadership is another important aspect, as it is a duty, and it is rotated among all community members. In a communal democracy, all participants must abide by collective decisions, which are reached through long deliberations aimed at reaching a consensus (in Huanacuni, 2010; Macas, 1991; Paco, 2007, 2004). Thus, with this intention, individual rights are subordinated to collective rights, as in indigenous communities' democratic rules do not apply, but there is a form of authoritarianism based on consensus. Consequently, the members of the community who oppose and do not respect and follow collective decisions are considered defectors: a crime punishable by measures such as monetary fines, ostracism and occasionally by means of physical penalties, such as whipping (Paco, 2007, 2004; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014).

2.5 Criticisms of Buen Vivir

There have been a number of criticisms of the BV theory (Bretón, 2013; Caria and Domínguez, 2016; Lalander, 2016). BV theory is seen to be rooted within different traditions, as discussed earlier in the Chapter (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.* 2014; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017). In fact, many of the contributions in relation to the BV respond to very different thinking logics (Vanhulst, 2015). As some scholars have argued, BV is a concept that is under construction that has passed through many different stages and can be seen as a polysemic concept that is evoked different positions (Bretón, 2013; Caria and Domínguez, 2016). The critical discourses towards BV (and often central in the LA academic network) are generally the least performative at the level of public policies.

There are three fundamental discursive approaches that are critical of BV (Cubillo-Guevara *et al*. (2014) and Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, (2017): the indigenist, the socialist/statist and the ecologist/developmentalist approach. For instance, the *indigenist* approach supporters are described by some intellectuals of the other two traditions as *pachamamistas*[14] (Stefanoni, 2011, 2010) trapped in a 'childish indigenist' discourse without the capacity to implement and achieve the BV (Correa, 2008, 2007). The supporters of the socialist/statist approa*ch* are considered by some intellectuals of the other traditions as practitioners of a senile development, referring to orthodox or GN approaches to development (Lalander, 2016; Svampa, 2012, 2011). The advocators of this approach are accused of replacing the term 'development' with the term 'BV', emulating the same development recipes but creating a 'socialist version' of it (Acosta, 2015; Caria and Domínguez Martín, 2014; Caria and Domínguez, 2016). Finally, the supporters of the ecologist/postdevelopmentalist approach, are accused by some intellectuals of the other traditions of lacking political pragmatism, of being trapped in a discourse of a romantic 'ecologism' (Correa, 2008, 2007). They claim that they have distorted the original meaning of BV by complementing it with GN contents that are alien to the Andean cosmovision (Oviedo, 2011). Thus, it can be argued that the critics of BV are the same intellectuals that advocate the BV but are influenced by different traditions. However, the strongest criticisms are the ones concerning the implementation of BV (i.e., one of the biggest detractors of the BV institutionalization is Acosta, 2015). Particularly, as BV is seen in this context as an appropriated concept of the *Sumak Kawsay*/*Suma Qamaña*, and is argued to be very distant from the principles borrowed by the indigenous peoples, principally with the extractive projects (mining) that are taking place in Ecuador and Bolivia (i,e., see Acosta, 2013, 2012; Aylwin, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Leon, 2010). For instance, Lalander (2016) claims that there are deep contradictions between the constitutional prescriptions in the BV-oriented Ecuadorian 2008 constitution (see SENPLADES, 2012) and the praxis of law protecting the natural resources.

Other criticisms are concerned with the role of indigenous communities and the idealisation of these groups (Correa, 2008, 2007). Some intellectuals claim that it is

[14] The term pachamamismo is generally used negatively, and seen as a indigenous political discourse that only relies on the indigenous peoples' cosmovisión; it is considered populist and not coherent with the reality of societal needs (Stefanoni, 2010).

convenient not to fall into an idealised conception of indigenous cultures as non-conflicting and horizontal. The indigenous world was not (and is not) free of problems, conflicts and various forms of domination and asymmetries. Therefore, as Vanhulst (2015) argues, contemporary discourses of BV are inspired (with greater or lesser strength) from traditional principles reconstructed, reinvented by contemporary social actors (indigenous and non-indigenous) that seek to redefine development trajectories. Despite these criticisms, the author considers that the BV theory that has been developed with the combination of the three different identified approaches (the indigenist, the socialist/statist and the ecologist/developmentalist) provides a useful starting point to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia. Applying this theory to the study of indigenous people and the SSE in the Colombian context, allows the author to explore in detail the extent to which ICOs' experiences are consistent with the BV model.

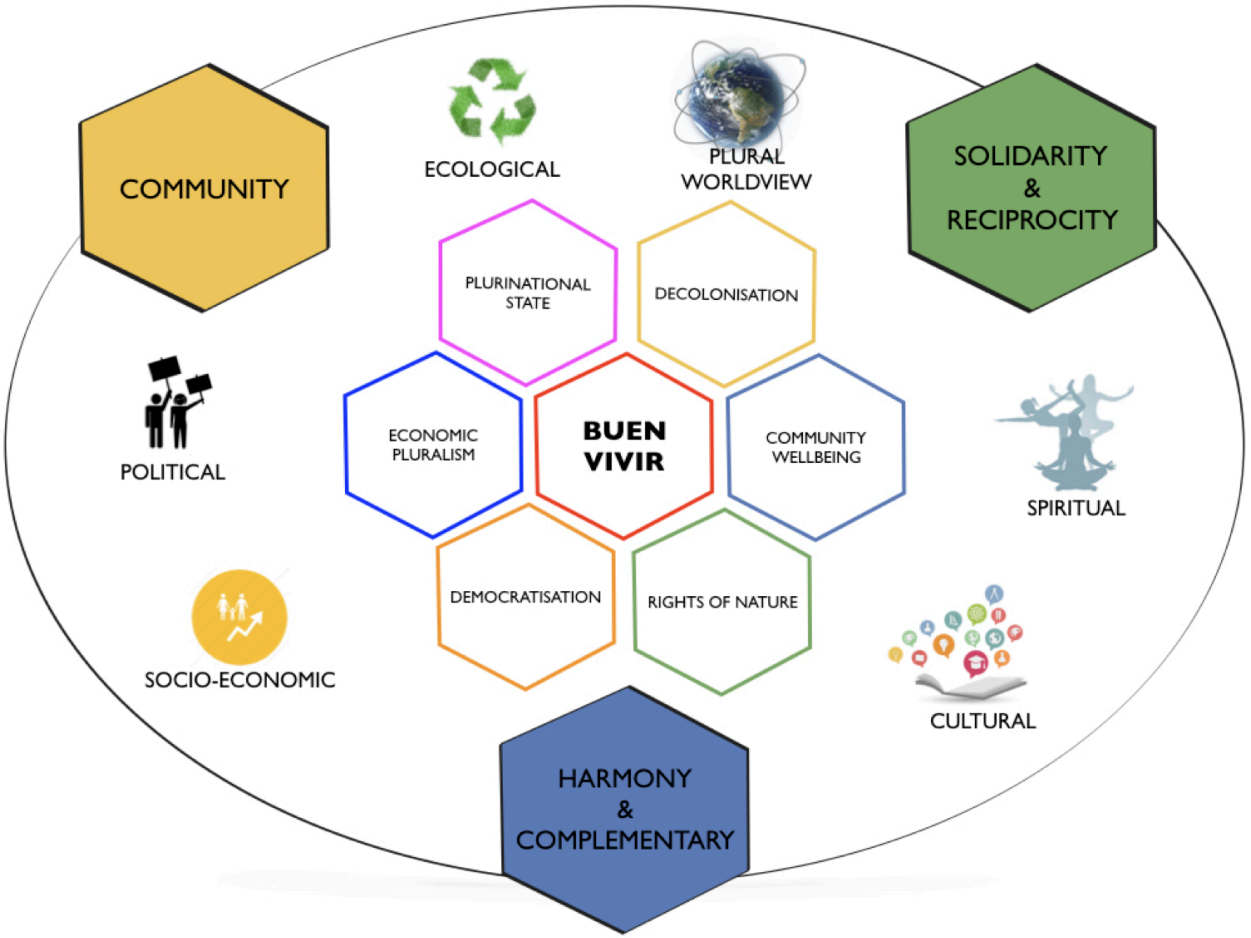
2.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has first explored briefly the main development theories, in particular the classic, emergent and transition discourse theories of development. As explained in the chapter, most of these development frameworks have not been developed from indigenous people's struggles and constructed under the basis of indigenous peoples' values and traditions (Huanacuni, 2010; Mignolo, 2001; Quijano, 2011). Secondly, the author has revisited the existing literature on the BV theory to understand the phenomenon of the development of ICOs in Colombia. This is done to provide a broader perspective about the relevance of the BV project in development approaches and ICOs. An in-depth exploration of the conceptualisation of the BV is needed to understand whether such a project is an alternative or a neo-strategy for development. The chapter illustrates some examples that show the advancements of the BV in the LA region, as well as presenting its values and pillars. The author argues that although there are some criticisms to BV, the model cannot be dismissed conceptually or empirically, as there is evidence of the impact that the appropriation of BV has generated in some LA countries (see the examples of Bolivia and Ecuador).

Based on the existing BV literature, Diagram 2.2 presents the BV model depicting its distinctive values and pillars. This model will assist in the development of a conceptual framework for analysing the influence of BV in the development of ICOs in Colombia

throughout this thesis. As seen in Diagram 2.2, the BV values, echoing indigenous peoples' principles, are community, solidarity and reciprocity, harmony and complementarity. The BV pillars designed to be implemented within a *pluriverse* constituted by ecological, spiritual, political, socio-economic, cultural and plural-worldview-oriented dimensions, are as follows: decolonisation, plurinational state, economic pluralism, democratisation, rights of nature and community wellbeing.

Figure 2.2. The Values and Pillars of the Buen Vivir Model



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CHAPTER 3
ENCOUNTERING POST-DEVELOPMENT AND POST-COLONIAL THEORIES: MIMICRY AND HYBRIDITY TO UNDERSTAND THE SOCIAL AND SOLIDARITY ECONOMY IN LATIN AMERICA

"Mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called an itself that is behind. The effect of mimicry is camouflage, in the strictly technical sense. It is not a question of harmonizing with the background but, against a mottled background, of becoming mottled – exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare"
(Lacan cited in Xu, 1995, p.76)

3.1 Introduction

As highlighted in Chapter 1, there is limited theorization on indigenous people and their role in the SSE scenario, particularly ICOs. Drawing upon insights from postcolonial theory, as it has become enormously influential as a framework for understanding the GS, this chapter sets out the conceptual framework used in this study. The author suggests that a historical hybridity perspective serves as a crucial heuristic tool to understand the development of contemporary ICOs in Colombia. For this thesis, the author specifically adopts Bhabha's, (1984) framework of mimicry and hybridity to study the development of ICOs in Colombia. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, ICOs are defined as the result of a formalisation process by which IOGs comply with the SSE norms. However, the operationalization of this definition varies across academic domains.

The chapter begins by first presenting Bhabha's (1984) theoretical perspective of post-colonial studies through his work on mimicry and hybridity. Secondly, the author discusses the SSE literature in terms of relevance and applicability to understanding values and pillars. Later, by using Bhabha's framework, a historic outlook is presented to illustrate the evolution of the SSE in the LA region to set up a macro scenario to later examine the sector in the Colombian context (see Chapter 5). Then, existing literature in relation to indigenous entrepreneurship (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Congreve and Burgess, 2017; Dana and Anderson, 2007; Peredo and McLean, 2013; Tshikovhi *et al.* 2017) and the interplay between indigenous people and the SSE is presented (Giovannini, 2016, 2012; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017, 2016) in order to gain a better understanding of

ICOs in Colombia. The chapter concludes with the development of an enhanced theoretical multi-level model in which post-development studies (in particular BV) and post-colonial theories (applying Bhabha's mimicry and hybridity theory) are integrated into a theoretical framework for analyzing the development of ICOs in Colombia, viewing this development at the micro, meso and macro levels.

3.2 Postcolonial Theory: Mimicry and Hybridity

In organisational studies, organisational behaviour can be examined through two different schools of thought: *institutionalist* (DiMaggio, 1991; DiMaggio and Powell, 2000) and *culturalist* (Ghiselli and Porter, 1966; Hofstede, 2001). On the one hand, by drawing on institutional theory, an ICO can be seen as an isomorphic organisation, as it is supposed to be shaped by the SSE norms that guides the ICOs' organisational behaviour and any other SSE organisations. Thus, the ICOs' behaviour is believed to be shaped by their institutional context and its rules, which in this context are the SSE norms. On the other hand, the culturalist school of thought suggests that organisational behaviour is determined by the beliefs and values of the people who are part of these organisations. Therefore, the ICOs' behaviour can be understood by examining the cosmovision of their members.

However, aiming to understand the ICOs' behaviour, in which both institutional and cultural approaches are integrated, this thesis incorporates the work of Jackson (2011), who claims that there is an explicit discrepancy between institutionalist and culturalist approaches, as they are located at opposite poles when looking into organisations. Thus, an optical way to complement such a discussion is by building a bridge between these two, bringing insights from post-colonial theory. He claims that by only looking at the institutional approach the role of *agency* and *power* are ignored. Therefore, the author considers that the interaction effects amongst rules (institutions), values (culture) and control (power) is the way forward to understand cross-cultural management theory.

The fact that the ICOs are constituted by indigenous people, provides another dimension to understanding their organisational behaviour. Indigenous people in post-colonial studies are considered as the 'other' and are part of what Spivak (1988) calls a '*subaltern position*'. That is, the individual or subgroup that is not part of the hegemonic power structure is considered *voiceless* in society as a consequence of colonialism. In

this respect, post-colonialism[15] is a key concept to understand the nature, the role and the position[16] of indigenous people and the ICOs' behaviour as agents in the LA region, particularly in Colombia, since issues of power and knowledge are central to their representation and understanding of the 'self' and the 'other' (who are often located in the GS) within a 'subaltern position' (see in Bhabha, 2012; Lye, 2017; Said, 2012; Spivak, 1988).

Thus, in simple terms, post-colonial theory highlights the disadvantaged position in which indigenous people are located within society (Lye, 2017, 1998). The legacy of colonialism is characterised by a binary relation between the *coloniser* (self) and the *colonised* (other) and although the physical colonization was supposed to end with the independence of the regions, a cultural hegemony[17] was inherited and still present in most of the liberated societies (see the concept of *coloniality* introduced early in this thesis by Quijano, 2011, 2000, 1997). Post-colonial studies then, problematise the relationship between the central and the peripheral[18] [or 'centre' and periphery' by building on the concept of hegemony (or domination by consent). Hegemony is theorised as a particular condition of dominance that momentarily outweighs coercion (Said, 2012, 2004). With this in mind, the author suggests that the ICOs' behaviour has been influenced by an isomorphic process in which SSE norms played a role as authoritative guidelines for organisational behaviour (institutionalist). It is not only important to examine this through the cosmovision (values and beliefs) of the ICOs' members , but also the power relations of the ICOs, as they are constituted by indigenous people as a colonised subject (Jackson, 2011). Therefore, there is a need to understand the ICOs' nature, role and behaviour by drawing on post-colonial studies , particularly Bhabha's (1984) notions of mimicry and hybridity.

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[15] Post-colonialism is the total sum of all the social, political, cultural and economic changes brought about by the impact of colonialism (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012).

[16] The author refers to the position of the indigenous people in the socio-economic and political hierarchy.

[17] Cultural hegemony in post-colonial studies is influenced by the work of Gramsci (1971), who claims that cultural hegemony is the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class who manipulate the culture of that society: the ruling class' beliefs, explanations, perceptions, and values, are accepted as cultural norm. In the context of this work, the ruling class is referred to as the colonizer.

[18] "Center" and "periphery" are key terms of dependency theories developed in the 1960s and 1970s in order to explain development and underdevelopment (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012).

Following Spivak's (1988) 'subaltern' concept, in which indigenous people are silenced by the oppressive hegemonic (cultural hegemony) and inherited colonising forces (the ruling class that descend from the colonisers), the ICOs are located in a disadvantaged position as they are developed by the colonised subjects and subordinated during colonisation (see Chapter 5 for more details about the history of indigenous people in Colombia). The colonisers at present are referred to in post-colonial theory as the group of settlers that either descend or are mixed with natives (or slaves) during colonization, and maintain the power of society[19] (Said, 2012). However, there are moments of contestation (resistance) when the colonising power interacts or clashes with the colonised groups (Spivak, 1988b). Those moments of contestation (or resistance) offer a space that Bhabha (2012) calls the *third space* (or interstitial or in-between space) where the colonised subject can and do articulate and negotiate their own identity. This third space represents what Bhabha (1984) defines as *hybridity*. Hybridity exemplifies the contested (resistance) of what constitute indigenous values and the traditional responses of accommodation and resistance to forces of historical change by these indigenous societies (Bhabha, 1984, 2012a). In other words, the colonised subject negotiates and articulates her or his identity by creating a new point of view or perspective from the resistance and/or negotiation of the two or more worlds: the worlds of the 'subaltern' and of the cultural hegemony.

Before exploring this cultural hegemony, there is a concept that is key to understanding Bhabha's work: mimicry. For Bhabha (1984) mimicry is a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline that appropriates the 'other' as it visualises power. Bhabha claims that the process of mimicry rather than simply mimicking the coloniser's culture, is an analytical tool that reveals the ambivalent effect of domination and hegemony. On the one hand, mimicry can be seen as a metaphor for a process of acculturation[20] and adaptation of imposed cultural concepts and patterns by the coloniser. On the other hand, it can be seen as a strategic adaptation by the colonised subject as a subtle act of

[19] It cannot be forgotten that colonialism was a process of very violent subjugation (see historian Galeano, 1997). Colonialism or the process of establishing colonies is essentially a violent process because it involves forcibly occupying the land and using the territorial resources that originally belonged to someone else. Colonies are therefore sites of hostility and violence (see Said, 2012; Spivak, 1999). In Colombia, as in many other LA countries, the indigenous population was nearly wiped out and today represent a minority population within a territory that belonged to them in pre-colonial times (Gros, 1997).

[20] Acculturation is the process of social, psychological and cultural change that stems from blending cultures.

resistance (Lye, 2017; 1998). In either of these cases, domination and hegemony are never complete, he argues. In emulating the coloniser (because of the idea that they are superior), a kind of carbon copy is created in which the colonised is reproduced as '*almost the same but not quite*'', and mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowment (Bhabha, 1984, p. 126). Institutional theory argues that uncertainty and ambiguity, resulting from, for example, sectoral changes, may encourage organisations to imitate models that are perceived to be more legitimate or successful, but in reality organisational behavior does not necessarily achieve the same results (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012; Jackson, 2011).

Thus, mimicry works as a moment of contestation that leads to hybrid forms. As such, hybridity captures Bhabha's conception of the third space, in which the process of mimicry generates the construction of an object that is new, neither one nor the other (Bhabha, 1984, 2012). It can be seen that Bhabha's mimicry and hybridity captures both institutionalist and culturalist schools of thought and complements them by looking at the power relations of colonised subjects, in this case, indigenous people, from the 'subaltern position'. Firstly, the process of mimicry paralleling institutional isomorphism, depicts how the colonised subject is encouraged to mimic the coloniser by adopting the coloniser's cultural habits, assumptions, institutions and values as a process of homogenisation, through which organisational models can be transferred and can occur through three forms of isomorphism: mimetic, coercive and normative, which operate behind the processes of institutional change (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000). DiMaggio and Powell (2000) identify three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphic change occurs: coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism. Coercive isomorphism occurs where external agencies impose changes on organisations. Mimetic isomorphism describes the achievement of conformity through imitation of other organisations operating in the same organisational field. As DiMaggio and Powell (2000) argue, this results from uncertainty. They imitate organisations that they consider more successful. Normative isomorphism, stems primarily from professionalization processes within an organisational field (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000). The process of becoming more business-like is accompanied by a drive to be more professional. DiMaggio and Powell (2000) point out two aspects of professionalization that strongly influence isomorphic change. These are formal education and the growth of professional networks. It is

important to say that Mimicry in Bhabha's terms is not the same as mimetic isomorphism, mimicry is only used when referring to colonised subjects.

Secondly, hybridity captures the culturalist position, as the outcome of cross-culturalism is encountered at the global interface. For Bhabha (2012), cultural hybridity results from various forms of colonisation, which lead to cultural collision and interchanges. In the attempt to assert colonial power in order to create 'anglicised' subjects, the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different: a mutation, a hybrid. Having said that, mimicry for this work is considered as the process of internalisation, and hybridity as an expression of creative resistance (or contestation moments) which allows the analysis to address the critique directed at institutional theory but it does not adequately account for process, agency and power (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012).

Despite this, Bhabha's work has been a subject of debate and criticism from different disciplines of study. With regards to literary style, during the twentieth century, Fanon, (2008) and Naipaul (2002, 2001) further criticized this phenomenon. For Fanon, the colonized loses his /her autonomous cultural identity under the influence of mimicry. He argues that the colonised subjects fall into psychological trauma when they realise that they can never attain the whiteness that they have been taught to desire. Mimicry, in his terms, is the result of a colonial process of indoctrination through which Caribbean men and women are denied an autonomous cultural identity, as they have been coerced into seeking legitimacy through the imitation of Western models – through the strategic adoption of 'white masks'. Thus, Fanon] urges Caribbean writers to free themselves from mimicry (2008, p. 76). Naipaul, on the other hand, takes the position that there is no alternative to becoming a 'mimic man'. This analysis informs his view on cultural power as he attempts to explore the fact that in colonial Caribbean society, the impact of hybridisation is not 'sharing' but mimicry or imitation of the former imperial power and knowledge. He claims that in post-colonial literature, "*hybridity is celebrated because of its sense of mixing*" (2002, p. 75).

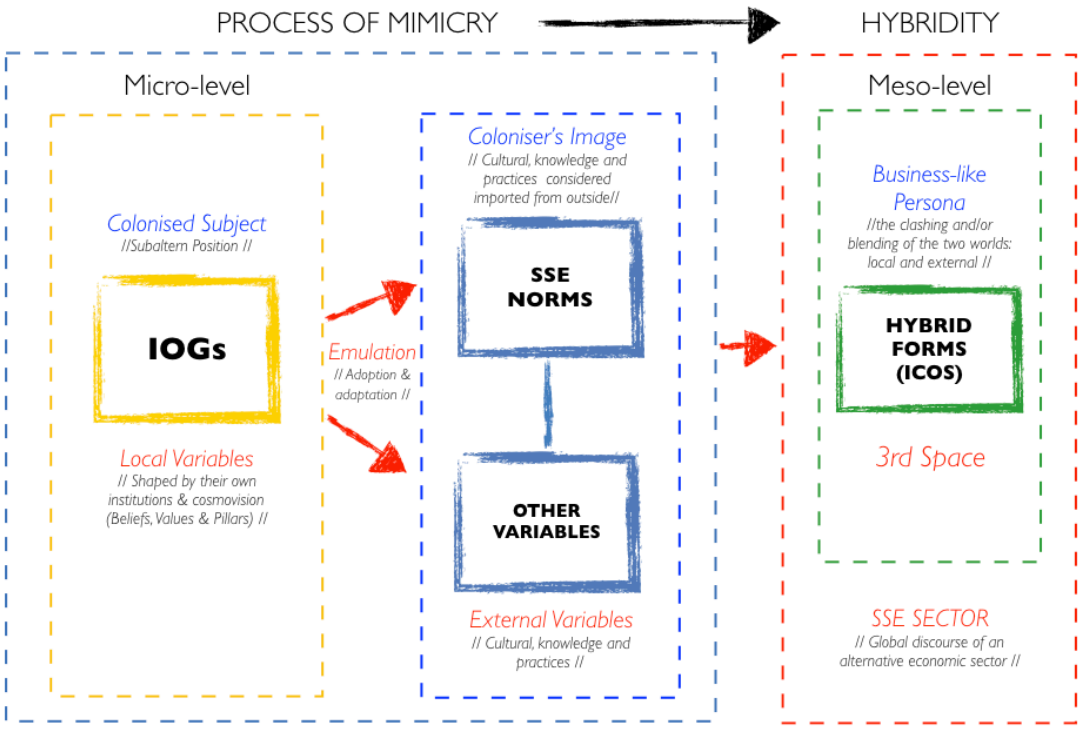
Acheraïou, (2011) is also critical towards Bhabha's works. He claims that Bhabha examines hybridity from a narrow perspective, and that it is confined to the 19th century. Moreover, he reproaches this theory as it ignores racial connotations, evading the

discussion of race and racism, which in his opinion should be a central concern in hybridity theory. Acheraïou takes Bhaba's "third space" to task, going on to argue that although many postcolonial writers and critics use hybridity as a way to contest binaries and essentialism, this does not take into account the numerous ways in which hybridity has been used to maintain inequalities (i.e., the miscegenation[21]). Despite these criticisms, the author considers that Bhabha's (1984, 2012) mimicry and hybridity theory provides elements that can be used to explain the development of ICOs in Colombia. It can be particularly useful to explain how hybrid organisational forms emerge from a formalisation process. Diagram 3.1 depicts the process in which IOGs become ICOs by drawing on Bhabha's and incorporating elements from the institutionalist (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000) and culturalist (Ghiselli and Porter, 1966; Hofstede, 2001) schools of thought. The theoretical underpinnings of these elements are as it follows. Firstly, IOGs are understood as colonised subjects that are located in a disadvantage position ('subaltern position') as a consequence of colonialism. In fact, indigenous organisational forms are hardly recognised in the Colombian context and their practices are invisible (see Chapter 5 for more details). The IOGs' organisational behaviour is shaped by their own institutions (i.e., cabildos[22]) and cosmovision (beliefs, values and pillars) (see indigenous movements in Gros, 2000, 1997).

[21] Miscegenation is the interbreeding of people considered to be of different racial types. Acheraïou (2011) criticises Bhabha's work because of his limited arguments in understanding racial encounters. For instance, he does not consider the cultural identity of the population that is born from the processes of miscegenation and the power that they hold in the post-colonial societies.

[22] The recognised indigenous government located on each indigenous resguardo, which is a territorial unit comprising communal and inalienable lands administered by native authorities and legitimized by colonial titles granted to indigenous communities.

Figure 3.1. ICOs as a Hybrid Form



Source: Compiled by the author

Secondly, in the process of mimicry, organisational change occurs by the colonised subject's emulation (adoption and adaptation) of external variables that embodies abstractly the coloniser's image, synthetized in culture, knowledge and practice. That is to say that the external variables are characterised by the SSE norms and other variables (i.e., managerial, entrepreneurial and organisational strategies)[23] that set out a structure that determines how organisations have to behave based on their values and pillars, as indicated in Section 3.3. Supposedly, the IOGs are formalised (ICOs) to become more 'business-like', entering to an economic setting (SSE sector), by the myth of economic development based upon collectiveness, fairness, inclusiveness and associative practices (e.g., Coraggio, 2007; Gaiger, 1999; Laville, 2013; Utting, 2015). However, the SSE reflects a global discourse on economic alternatives underpinned by managerialist modes of thinking that may be inappropriate to their contexts. Thirdly, the result of IOG

[23] In post-colonial studies knowledge is a fundamental concept. It is argued that the power influences knowledge and discourse, and since the colonised have the power the colonised subject's knowledge is suppressed and considered inferior (Bhabha, 1984; Lye, 1998; Said, 2004; Spivak, 1999).

acculturation, rather than assimilation[24] is the generation of a 'third space' (Bhabha, 2012a), where indigenous people negotiate and articulate their identity by creating a hybrid form (ICO) from the clashing and/or blending of the two or more worlds (translated as local and external variables) (Bhabha, 1984). Thus, the process of mimicry is referred to the internalisation development, and hybridity is the result of the creative resistance by the contestation of the IOGs at the 'third space' (i.e., Jackson, 2011). The following section introduces the SSE model underpinning its pillars and values.

3.3 The Social and Solidarity Economy in Latin America

This section briefly summarises the history of the SSE in Latin America taking into account Bhabha's (1984) mimicry and hybridity theory. The SSE has be seen as an opportunity to help overcome this by redistributing resources to socially marginalised groups, and by producing merit goods that can strengthen social cohesion (Borzaga *et al.* 2017; Laville, 2013). It is undeniable that the LA region states have made significant strides in reducing income inequality in recent years and the region has experienced a faster economic growth; however, most countries still face high poverty rates. The recent social movements in the LA region and the expansion of new forms of collective action against neo-liberal policies have given rise to a quest for more radical social and political change. There has been a recent recognition by many governments of the SSE to address poverty and inequality, and enhance socio-economic development in the region (Calvo and Morales, 2017; Coraggio, 2011; Razeto, 2000, 1984).

There are also several scholars and organisations that have contributed to the discussion of the SSE in the region. Luis Razeto, a Professor at the University of Chile, published *Solidarity Economy and a Democratic Market* in 1984, which had a significant influence among the popular economy initiatives and the Catholic Church. In 2000 he opened a network[25] where Latin American researchers could publish their studies and debate about the field. In Brazil, the SSE movements began to be promoted by NGOs and

[24] Assimilation in the post-colonial context means erasing much of the indigenous culture and ways of life. For instance, in North America, residential schools were used to indoctrinate indigenous people into European civilisation (Lye, 2017).

[25] See www.economiasolidaria.net and www.economiasolidaria.net).

academics in the 1990s. Professor Paul Singer[26] has been key in supporting the sector. In Argentina, there has been much work done in the field of employee takeover companies, as well as complementary currencies. Professor Jose Luis Coraggio, from Universidad Nacional General Sarmiento, has intensively conducted research about the SSE in Latin America (Guerra, 2002).

Moreover, the Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social and Solidarity Economies (RIPESS) is prominent in the LA region, bringing together two Latin American networks, seven national networks and 10 sub-national or national organizations, and has a presence in 12 countries). RIPESS also participates in the World Social Forum process. There is also the Network of Latin American Researchers of Social Solidarity Economy (RILESS), a network of researchers committed to developing a theoretical debate and research on the solidarity economy from a Latin American perspective. Some networks such as the Latin American Network of Community-based Marketing (RELACC) prioritize capacity-building and the visibility of SSE producers, while others engage in regional governance issues as those that participate in the MERCOSUR Social and Solidarity Program (Saguier and Brent, 2017). In the Andean region, the Latin America Confederation of Workers Cooperatives (COLACOT), which is based in Colombia, has been key in the promotion of such initiatives in the region. In Peru, the Solidarity Economy Network (GRESP) has been supporting such initiatives at national and international levels.

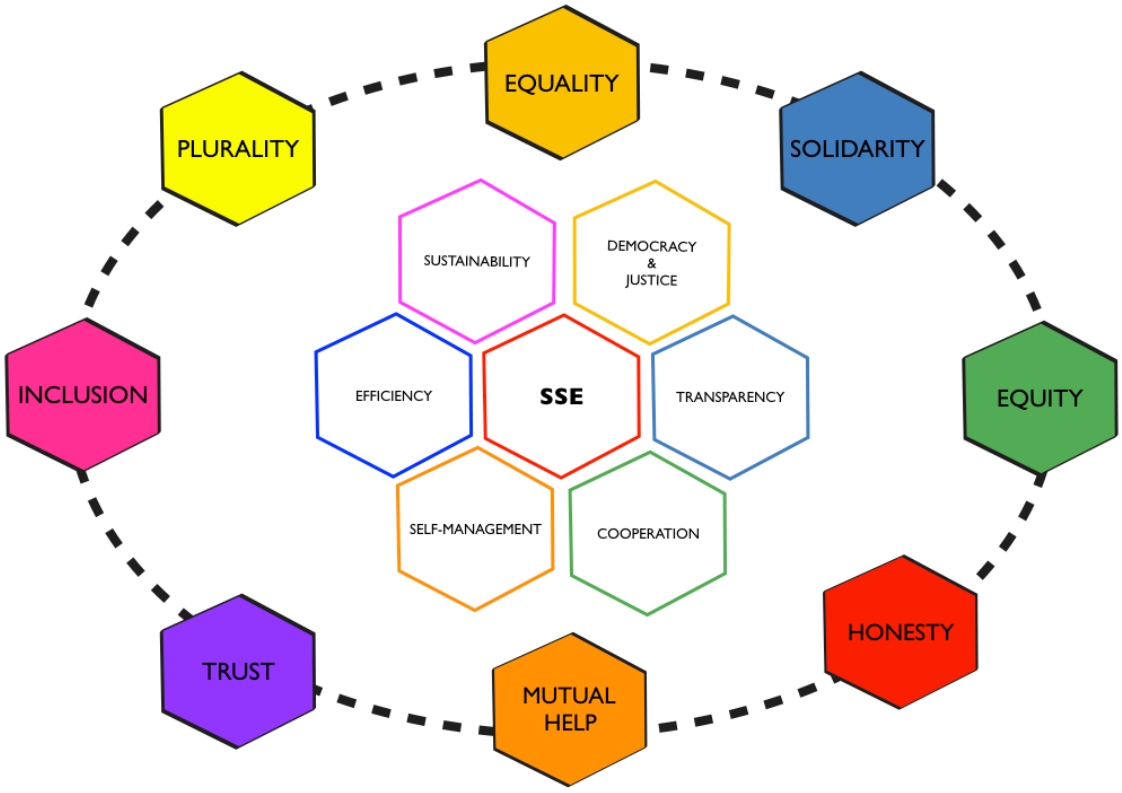
The emergence and significant forms of SSE activity forms in LA in recent years can be explained by the combination of a bottom-up phenomenon involving formal adaptations to new practices and demands generated by society and a top-down process entailing policy (Calvo and Morales, 2017). Moreover, and in relation to this thesis, the theoretical frameworks for studying the SSE in LA must be reinterpreted to accommodate the different practices that have shaped the region. Previous studies have suggested that the development of SSE initiatives in the region are determined by factors related to civil society, state capacity, market functioning and international aid, disregarding the importance of indigenous collective practices in the process (Kerlin, 2010a, 2010b). Later

[26] In 2011, he worked with the federal government as National Secretary for Solidarity Economy of the Ministry of Labour and Employment.

in the Chapter, the discussion concentrates on the rationale that colonisation/subaltern traditions have created the SSE hybrid model in Latin America.

After the review of existing literature, the author suggests that the SSE can be explained with the following identified values and pillars, which in fact determine how SSE organisations behave (see Diagram 3.2.).

Figure 3.2. Understanding the SSE Model and Norms by the Identification of its Pillars and Values



Source: Compiled by the author

Eight values have been identified in the existing SSE literature that shape the current organisational behaviour of these initiatives. These values are: *(i) solidarity*, (II) *mutual help, (III) plurality*, (IV) *inclusion, (V) trust, (VI) honesty, (VII) equity* and (VIII) *equality* (Coraggio, 2011, 2007, 1994; Laville, 2013; Laville *et al*. 2016; Razeto, 2000, 1984; Utting, 2015). The SSE values work over the capital. Its aim is to meet the needs of individuals and communities rather than trying to maximize profits or financial gains. Economic organisations guided by these values are based on a model of democratic decision-making, and a participatory and transparent management to ensure collective

governance and responsibility, as well as ongoing mobilisation to ensure its success (Saguier and Brent, 2017).

Yet, it is important to mention that the SSE is at the heart of a system (norms) that is built upon pillars that rule and regulate the SSE organisations' characteristics. The pillars include: (I) *democracy and justice* – democratic governance is needed in SSE organisations where through participatory and all-inclusive processes, societal justice may be delivered (i.e., Laville, 2013); (II) *transparency* – generally SSE organisations are led by assemblies, and the chosen directors must present results and discuss decisions transparently where all stakeholders must be informed (i.e., Coraggio, 2011); (III) *cooperation* – this must be implemented internally and externally (across the SSE sector), where a collective approach must be embraced by all the SSE organisations to enhance the societal impact in both directions, social and environmental. It is generally referred to as values and practices of mutual collaboration, mutuality and social commitment (i.e, Razeto, 2000; Utting, 2015). The fourth, fifth and sixth pillars are: (IV) *self-management* – the SSE is normally linked with democracy, participation and autonomy and relating both to individual partners as organisations and external forces (see the work Gaiger, 1999); (V and VI) *efficiency* and *sustainability* – SSE organisations must ensure the survival of the organisation and generate the financial and non-financial (organisational processes) conditions to either maintain or scale up the organisation to enhance the social and/or environmental value (i.e., Gaiger and Corrêa, 2010).

3.4 Mimicry and Hybridity to Understand the Evolution of the SSE in Latin America

Having determined that Bhabha's theoretical framework of mimicry and hybridity will serve the purpose of understanding the development of ICOs in Colombia, a historical outlook is essential in order to understand the given conditions that organisations have taken to develop what the author refers to as hybrid forms; particularly, in the attempt to understand the historical construction of the SSE scenario in LA. Contemporary SSE practice in LA is comprised of a number of distinct historical SSE traditions that interplay differently across varied socio-spatial contexts. These traditions include indigenous collective practice, cooperative practice, social movement and community-led practice and individualist market-based practice (see Table 3.1). The relative importance and

nature of each of these traditions varies spatially and routinely, coming together to constitute a range of contextually rooted, hybrid forms of SSE activity.

3.4.1 A review of the history of SSE practices in Latin America

The historical view of the SSE sector in LA can be explained with three main phases: the pre-colonial and colonial era, the early post-colonial era and the present post-colonial era. Each is reviewed here to get a better understanding of the construction and development of the SSE practices in Latin America, taking into account the mimicry and hybridization theoretical perspective.

Pre-Colonial and Colonial Era

The history of SSE practices in LA can be tracked back to labour organisational forms of 'native' communities (e.g., Quechua, Incas, Aymara, Mayans, Chimú), which consist of collective solidarity action and mutual benefit community-based models, often accompanied by celebrations and rituals (Uquillas and Larreamendy, 2006). These collective practices have been rooted within communitarianism, solidarity and reciprocity values. Integral to these organisational forms is the sustainable management of natural resources, deep respect for the knowledge of elders, and a close spiritual attachment to ancestors and mother earth, or what is referred to as *Pachamama* (Berkes and Adhikari, 2006; Peredo, 2001). Chapter 2 (see table 2.3) illustrates some examples of these indigenous collective modes of cooperation and solidarity practices that includes: *minga*, *ranti-ranti*, *makinmañachina*, *makipurarina*, *uyanza*, *chukchina*, *uniguilla*, *waki* and *makikuna*.

However, colonisation saw the European colonisers impose their practices and legacies in social orders and forms of knowledge (feudalism), eroding and replacing indigenous collective modes of cooperation and solidarity practices. The *encomienda system*, a new modus of production exchange, evolved to control the labour force and work, and to stigmatise indigenous groups, their traditions and entrepreneurial practices (Behrman *et al.* 2003; Rudolph, 1991). The encomienda system, in brief, is a formal hierarchical form, by which the conquistadors, settlers, priests and colonial officials were given large land grants (*latifundium*), and indigenous people were required to work in exchange for protection. As a result of this, and since the European colonisation took place, there was

an imposition of new forms of production that prescribed value to certain societies, peoples and traditions while disenfranchising others (Quijano, 2007).

Early Post-Colonial Period

Following the independence of LA, colonialism continued to wreak havoc on the minds of the ex-colonised regions after the end of direct colonialism. The local elite (oligarchy), mostly *mestizos* and settlers, began to form a 'stable society' influenced by Western standards and based on ideas of modernity and industrialisation, where a new exported-oriented economy was established in the region: an attempt to imitate foreign organised and institutionalised forms (Mimicry) (Larrain, 2000). During the nineteenth century, a new SSE tradition emerged in Latin America, largely based on European traditions imported by European immigrant populations. The SSE movement was strongly influenced by some sectors within the Catholic Church with the distribution of lands for peasants and indigenous communities, and support to help these communities organise themselves in cooperatives and associations.

The Latin America Episcopal Conference (in Spanish, Conferencia Episcopado LatinoAmericano), first organised in Medellín, Colombia in 1968, was crucial in the transformation of the role of the Catholic Church in the region to fight against domination and injustice, promoting solidarity and cooperation, and alternative economic models to support disadvantaged communities in the region (Da Ros, 2007). The development of the cooperative movement saw the first cooperatives established in Mexico in 1839, Brazil (1847) and Argentina (1875) (Shaffer, 1999). Cooperative activity was also enabled by national governments through the introduction of laws that permitted the further development of the sector (e.g., Cooperative Law in Colombia in 1931). However, it was not until the late 1960s that the cooperative sector began to grow more significantly in the region (due to the change of public policies in favour of cooperativism). For example, in Bolivia, there were still only 193 cooperatives in 1963, but this increased to 1,262 and 2,181 in 1973 and 1983 respectively (Organizacion de los Estados Americanos (OEA), 1984).

The economic crisis of the late 1990s and early 21st century sponsored a further wave of development in many Latin American countries, as populations sought more resilient enterprise models. This history means that across the region there exists a number of

large, well-established, high profile cooperatives such as *Cruz Azul* founded in 1881 in Mexico, and others founded in the 1960s, such as the ASCOOP in Colombia and COOPEUCH in Chile. Moreover, since the Argentina post crisis in 2001, there has been a growth within the cooperative sector with 20 million cooperators and 5 million members of mutual societies (Birchall, 2014).

Present Post-Colonial Era

A third tradition of SSE initiatives in Latin America became apparent from the 1980s with the emergence of social movements (for example, women, workers, peasants, environmentalists). These were motivated by anti-imperialist feelings against the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) emerging from the Washington Consensus and neo-liberal reform agendas (Caruana and Srnec, 2013). New forms of cooperation and solidarity economic forms emerged, including community-based organisations, associations such as community committees (Justas de Acción Communal) and foundations. These focused on altruist and equality values and building a community voice based on social justice and communitarianism (Barnes, 1999), often promoted by local networks, fellowship organisations and international third sector organisations (Alvaro, 2007; Esteves, 2014). Examples of enabling solidarity networks include *Red Peruana de Economia Solidaria* (GRESP) founded in 1997 in Peru, and *Red Chilena de Economia Solidaria* (RCES) founded in 2001 in Chile.

This period also witnessed a growing influence of international, mostly Global North, practitioner networks and fellowship organisations seeking to promote the development of social enterprise (SE)[27] or socially/environmentally oriented business in LA. This form of SSE practice aligns organisational practices with discourses of neo-liberal marketization and entrepreneurship; although the foundation of SEs would not fit easily with the contemporary view of SSE (Coraggio, 2007). The emphasis here is on the role of individuals and businesses to address socio-economic problems, and a recasting of the traditional relationships between private, third and public sectors (see Nicholls, 2012 and his framework of social enterprise discourses). This tradition has been driven by the presence of a growing number of influential international networks, government

[27] 'Social Enterprise' is a term originated in GN countries and refers to an organisation that trades for social or environment purposes.

policies[28], academic networks and organisations, which provide training and support providers. These include *Ashoka*, the *Grameen Foundation*, *Skoll Foundation*, *Schwab Foundation* and *Impact Hub*, amongst others (see the case of *Impact Hub* and how it operates in the link below[29]).

[28] There were very little policies with regard to the SE sector in LA. Primarily because the term is hardly known (see Calvo and Morales, 2017, 2013).
[29] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g2uxkRhfpH0

Table 3.1 SSE Traditions in Latin America

TRADITION	KEY CHARACTERISTICS	EXAMPLES
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S COLLECTIVE PRACTICE	- Native communities (e.g., Incas, Aymaras, Mayans, Chimú) - Collective solidarity action & mutual benefit community-based model. - Solidarity and reciprocity; harmony and complementarity. - Respect for natural resources, elders, ancestors and *Pachamama.*	Varied indigenous collective modes of cooperation & solidarity practice - Minga - Ranti-ranti - Makinmañachina - Makipurarina - Uyanza - Chukchina
COOPERATIVE PRACTICE	- European cooperative models in post-colonial period: joint ownership, democratic control & operation for mutual benefit. - Social doctrine of Catholic Church - Enabled by national state legislation. - Response to economic crises since late 1990s: cooperatives as 'resilient' enterprise models.	- Variable spatial development of cooperative movement. - High profile, established cooperatives: Cruz Azul (Mexico founded 1881); Ascopp (Colombia; 1960); Coopeuch (Chile; 1967) - Growth of cooperative sector in Argentina post 2001 crisis to 20 million co-operators and 5 million members of mutual societies by 2009.
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND COMMUNITY-LED PRACTICE	- Building community voice. - Agendas of social justice & communitarianism. - New organisational forms: community-based organisations, associations, community committees, foundations. - Local support networks & fellowships.	Enabling solidarity economy networks: - Red Peruana de Economia Solidaria (GRESP) founded in 1997 in Peru. - Red Chilena de Economia Solidaria (RCES) founded in 2001 in Chile.
INDIVIDUALISTIC & MARKET-BASED PRACTICE	- Role of social entrepreneurs as 'heroes' - Business models to achieve social/ environmental aims - Destiny of society lies in the relationship between private, third and public sectors.	International networks/organisations providing training and support: - Ashoka Fellows. - Skoll Foundation. - Schwab Foundation. - Grameen Foundation.

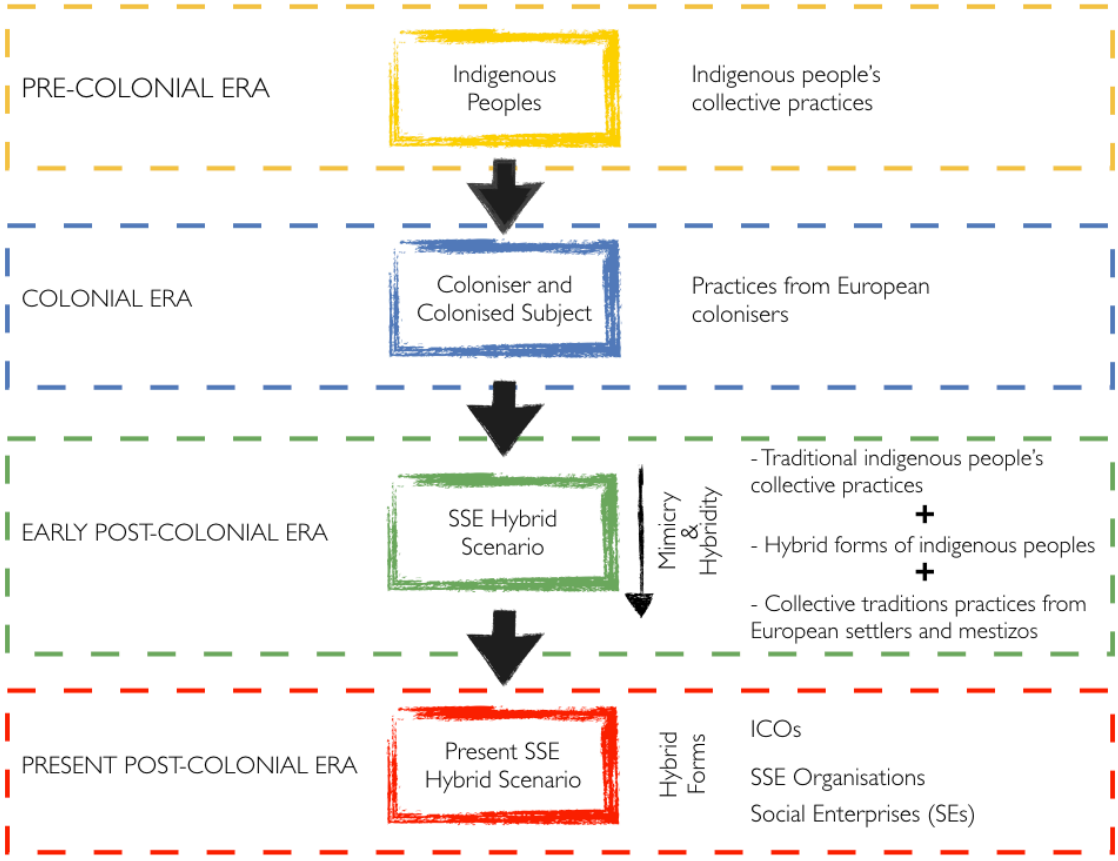
Source: Compiled by the author

With regard to policies promoting the SSE sector, evidence suggests that since the 1930s, Latin American governments have incorporated laws and legislations to support cooperatives and the SSE activities more generally: *associations*, *mutual organisations, credit unions* and *foundations*. However, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this political support has been more prominent since 2000 where, in many Latin American countries, the government has incorporated the SSE as a key protagonist in their public policy design; for instance, in Ecuador and Bolivia, where the states have introduced the BV and the popular and solidarity economy (PSE) in the 2008 and 2009 Constitutions (Calvo and Morales, 2017).

3.4.2 Understanding the 'Hybrid Scenario' of the SSE in Latin America

Any understanding of the contemporary SSE sector in LA needs sensitivity to the different traditions explained in Table 3.1, and their development over time in relation to wider changes in civil society, state capacity and market functioning. As Diagram 3.3 illustrates, the current SSE emerged from a historic hybridisation process divided into four phases: *pre-colonial, colonial, early post-colonial* and *present post-colonial*. At present the SSE scenario in the LA region is a hotchpot of organisational forms influenced by both internal and external traditions. As Diagram 3.3 depicts, the expansion of meanings attached to the SSE is a reflection of the dynamic interplay of the hybrids, as it incorporates foreign discourses (in management, entrepreneurship and organisational behaviour) within their traditional community discourse, which indeed is a combination of domestic and coloniser influences. This will be explored in more detail in this thesis by exploring the developing of ICOs using the case study of Colombia.

Figure 3.3. The hybrid scenario of the SSE sector in Latin America



Source: Compiled by the author

3.5 Perspectives on Indigenous Entrepreneurship and the SSE

Entrepreneurship in post-colonial studies is introduced as an imported concept from the former colonies in the colonised countries, particularly when studying organisations (Jack et al., 2011; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2009). In fact, entrepreneurship as a theory is dated back to Schumpeter, and the field owed much to his contributions (in Brenkert, (2002). Hence, for this thesis, indigenous entrepreneurship is conceived as a step forward to understand the indigenous organisational behaviour in the contemporary society influenced by (or in some cases institutionally imposed by) western knowledge.

There is no consensus among management scholars as to what, precisely, constitutes indigenous entrepreneurship (Tshikovhi *et al.* 2017). Whilst Dana and Anderson (2005:61) define it as "*the creation, management, and development of new ventures by*

indigenous people", Gallagher and Lawrence (2010) recognise the exploitation of opportunity elements, such as innovation, risk acceptance and resourcefulness of indigenous communities by indigenous people.

While there are some studies about the contribution of indigenous people worldwide to the economy, research on how indigenous people appropriate entrepreneurial life tools is in its infancy (i.e., Anderson *et al.* 2006; Cahn, 2008; Dana, 2007; Dana and Anderson, 2007; Hindle and Lansdowne, 2005; Peredo, 2001; Peredo *et al*. 2004; Peredo and Chrisman, 2006; Peredo and McLean, 2013; Tapsell and Woods, 2008). According to the work of Henderson (2018), indigenous entrepreneurship is rooted in the incorporation of their traditional culture and values into entrepreneurship, and therefore it encompasses a broad range of economic activities and business forms. There are some relevant examples within the literature that highlight some characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurship and their aim to create social and environmental change.

A study conducted by Henry (2012) suggests that indigenous enterprises are contextually embedded, culturally, socially and physically in time and space, within communities that seek both the emancipatory ends social innovations offer, but also have within themselves the means (human capabilities) to enact the social change they seek. Another study conducted by Congreve and Burgess, (2017) draws on their experience and analysis in remote indigenous communities in Australia to discuss the complex roles of art centres. Using Altman's (2007) concept of the hybrid economy, the authors draw attention to competing expectations placed on art centres as guardians of customary artistic expression, as agents for the sale of cultural art in local and global markets, as providers of state-funded services, and as community development organisations.

Some scholars suggest that there are several commonalities between indigenous entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. Particularly, the fact that in the majority of the cases, indigenous enterprise initiatives are driven by social and environmental change. These studies have been conducted principally in Canada and Australia (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Henderson, 2018; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Tapsell and Woods, 2008). Anderson *et al.* (2006) in a study conducted in Canada found that social entrepreneurship coupled with indigenous peoples' activities are key elements for

business development activities that lead to an economy-oriented contribution at national level and community wellbeing. In fact, the authors explore indigenous development and social entrepreneurship, and discuss indigenous development within the Canadian land rights (2006). As they claim, indigenous people, at least in this context, are struggling to reinvigorate their nationhood and lands are inseparable from the people, their culture and identity as a nation. Traditional lands and resources are the foundation upon which indigenous people intend to rebuild the economies of their nations, and so improve the socio-economic circumstances of their people – individuals, families, communities, and nations.

On a similar line, Spencer *et al.* (2016) analyses the activities of indigenous social enterprises (ISEs) in the town of Yirrkala, northern territory of Australia. Their work focuses on the effectiveness of ISEs and their ability to help generate income and employment and drive social capital development. Their case study is on the *Nuwul* environmental services located in the northeast of Arnhem Land. This particular ISE is owned and run by the *Rirratjingu* clan and focuses on the dual objective of environmental stewardship that addresses the social needs of the local community by providing employment opportunities and training to improve literacy, numeracy skills and financial management, and restoring personal and community pride. By looking at this ISE through the Lee and Nowell (2015) framework for assessing the performance of non-profit organisations,[30] the authors suggest that the measured effectiveness of this case study highlights the need for targeted policy support for ISEs, as these kind of initiatives are more likely to be successful in a supportive government policy environment. They also argue that the critical need in the Australian context is to encourage the creation of ISEs to tackle poverty and marginalisation (Spencer *et al.* 2016).

Other studies have explored the contribution of indigenous peoples' 'economic-oriented' activities at a more theoretical level and claim that by readdressing the approach of economic and entrepreneurial activities towards a more indigenous people-centred approach, where a potential instrument of relief from endemic poverty and

[30] Seven core perspectives of non-profit performance are integrated in Lee and Nowell's (2015) framework as follows: (1) inputs, (2) organizational capacity, (3) outputs, (4) outcome: behavioural and environmental changes, (5) outcome: client/customer satisfaction, (6) public value accomplishment and (7) network and institutional legitimacy.

disadvantage may emerge. This is discussed in the work of Peredo and McLean, (2013), where they argue that the indigenous peoples' contribution to the economy and society is undermined, mainly because economy and entrepreneurship are built out of narrow economic and cultural assumptions. Unlike, orthodox, or non-indigenous people-centred approach, thinking indigenous peoples in LA following ancestral traditions have not risen much above subsistence for many years, but this is seldom experienced as hardship, let alone poverty. Access to the means of life is generally determined by one's membership of the community, and not by the ability to receive an income. In this instance, it is claimed that there are societies in which the means of livelihood are made available to their citizens largely, or even entirely, by means other than market-based exchange. Analysing the economic life of these societies in terms of classical standards, neoclassical economic assumptions distorts and misrepresents the economic realities of those societies.

As observed, the existing literature of indigenous entrepreneurship and the SSE suggest that there is a lot of potential for developing entrepreneurial business opportunities for indigenous people as a strategy to reduce their socio-economic disadvantage, and to tackle environmental issues taking advantage of their ancestral knowledge (e.g., Lounsbury and Strang, 2009; Pearson and Helms, 2013). However, a critical perspective from the literature is also found when highlighting the tensions and the contradictions of indigenous cultural practices and entrepreneurship (e.g., Anderson *et al.* 2006; Henderson, 2018; Lee and Nowell, 2015). The author acknowledges that there is more to explore, analyse and examine about indigenous communities and organisational activities, analysing them within a cultural approach taking into account their views and perspectives. The following section discusses existing studies on indigenous SSE studies in Latin America.

3.6 Indigenous Social and Solidarity Economy Studies in Latin America

There are limited studies conducted about indigenous communities and the SSE in the LA region (i.e., Giovannini, 2012; 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. 2017; 2016). A research study conducted by Giovannini (2016; 2012) with indigenous community enterprises in Chiapas (Mexico) evaluates the factors that support the emergence of these organisations, as well as the impact they have had on improving the indigenous BV

model. For Chiapa indigenous community enterprises, the main enabling factor for their emergence is related to their existing relationship of those leaders involved with other social movements. The findings also demonstrated organisations' contributions to BV, which derive from their embeddedness in the indigenous communities and their pursuit of a plurality of goals.[31]

A similar study conducted by Maguirre et al., (2016) focuses on the study of ISEs in the context of the Zapotec community in the Southern part of Mexico. They found a strong relationship between the Zapotec community wellbeing and women empowerment within those ISEs selected for the study. Women's participation in these organisations has broken gender-barriers demonstrating that women can take a more important role in their community by participating in political and managerial decision-making and inspiring more women in the community work in this type of organisation. Here, this aspect is crucial because, at least in the Mexican context, indigenous communities tend to be patriarchal, and indigenous women, suffer a condition of double discrimination: at a micro level, for being women, and at macro level for being indigenous. Thus, in the context of social entrepreneurship, social enterprises can sustain female empowerment or the weakest social sectors.

In another study conducted by Maguirre *et al.* (2017), the author looked at examples of ISEs in Mexico and Peru, and in particular with the case studies of *Ixtlan Group* and *Granja Porcón* communities. The findings demonstrate that ISEs are essential in contributing to the rural community's sustainable development, improving the quality of life (living standards) of its inhabitants. Their work also suggests that ISEs used four main mechanisms to promote rural sustainable development in the community: (1) labour as source of quality of life; (2) gender equality; (3) sustainable exploitation; and (4) the equitable distribution of benefits between the economic, social and environmental decisions. Interestingly, their work's findings demonstrate that in both cases ISEs deliver prosperity in their contexts, even generating jobs for neighbouring locations (for example, salaries are higher than the national salary average). There are also clear

[31] Although the author is aware that this study connects the BV and indigenous community organisations which can be considered within the SSE sector, he argues that this study focused on the agency, ignoring structural factors that are relevant to understand the development of such initiatives by using postdevelopment and postcolonial theories.

concerns in relation to the urbanisation of their communities, that they may lead to the ethno-extinction of their culture. Although economic growth enables indigenous communities to enhance households (power of buying building materials), and provide better education for their children, there is an increasing concern among community leaders, as some of the children are not coming back to the region after finishing university in urban areas. Finally, the authors identified a conflict created between the managers and other stakeholders within the case study organisations, where the former prioritized the economic versus the social dimension.

3.7 Concluding Remarks: a multi-level Model for Studying ICOs in Colombia

This chapter has identified the values and pillars within the SSE (as indicated in Diagram 3.2) as well as the elements that have shaped the historical construction of the SSE in Latin America. The author suggests that it is important to examine ICOs through the cosmovision (values and beliefs) of their members (culturalis*t approach*), as well as through an understanding of its *power* relations (institutionalist approach). By drawing on Jackson (2011), ICOs are seen to be characterised by elements of agency and power in order to understand their role in the SSE sector. Therefore, there is a need to understand the ICOs' nature, role and behaviour by drawing on post-colonial studies, particularly Bhabha's (1984) notions of mimicry and hybridity. It is apparent that external influences (SSE norms that include its values and pillars) and other factors combined with the local practices of indigenous people (traditions and cosmology that relate to their values and pillars) have produced what the author calls ICOs as a consequence of indigenous peoples' contestations towards organisational change, or what Bhabha (2012) calls a 'third space'.

Studies in relation to indigenous people and entrepreneurship, with more emphasis on studies related to the SSE at an international level (and specifically within the Latin American context), were also introduced in the chapter to better understand the external and internal influences in the development of these organisations (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Giovannini, 2016, 2012; Peredo and McLean, 2013; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017, 2016).

Evidence on indigenous entrepreneurship and the SSE suggests that in order to study the actual contribution of indigenous people to the economy, and society in general, it is necessary to examine their practices with other conceptual lenses (from the indigenous people's perspective) and try to incorporate different insights to understand their organisational behavior; particularly, by looking at the power relations that indigenous people have within a society (Spivak's (1988) *subaltern position*). Thus, the author considers it necessary to set out a multi-level model for examining the development of ICOs by incorporating the BV as a post development theory and Bhabha's (1984) mimicry and hybridity postcolonial theory. By using this suggested model, the author attempts to examine the transition from informality (from IOGs) to formality, in which indigenous people operate under an informal basis, where Indigenous groups formalise their practices and become an ICO. Then the thesis will examine the transition towards *institutionality*, to explore the extent to which these ICOs experience shape the whole society, as it has been suggested in the existing BV literature (see Chapter 2).

The model illustrated below is based on three main propositions (see Diagram 3.4):

1) At a micro-level, groups of indigenous families (black small circles) are organised informally within the same indigenous community, establishing what the author named as Indigenous People Organised Groups. At this level, IOGs are influenced by an indigenous community context in which mainly indigenous values and pillars (based on their traditions and cosmologies) influence the development and the processes of their group activities. At this level, IOGs comply with the norms of their resguardos and their authorities, and are free to practice ancestral practices (for example, minga, ayni, bartering and seed swapping).
2) At a meso-level, the IOGs enter the SSE sector by formalising their activities and become what the author calls ICOs (the blue small circles). By drawing on postcolonial theory approach, particularly the mimicry and hybridity work from Bhabha (1984), the author tries to examine the transition from informality to formality (green arrow), when IOGs formalise themselves and become ICOs (small red arrows at the first level). At this level, an ICO is suggested to be a hybrid form as a result of local variables influenced by indigenous values and pillars, and external variables dictated by the SSE norms (with its values and pillars) and other factors (i.e., managerial and entrepreneurial Western

dominant discourses or national policies). Thus, this external influence seems to shape the development of ICOs and guide their activities which are also influenced by indigenous traditions and cosmologies. At this level, there are also other SSE organisations (small grey circles).

3) At the macro-level, the author attempts to explore the extent to which ICOs' experiences are consistent or not with the BV model (red small arrows at meso-level) taking into account its values and pillars, as illustrated in Diagram 2.1. This is done in order to evaluate whether or not it is possible to influence the institutionality at a macro level (blue arrow). In theory, the BV model at an institutional level echoes indigenous traditions and cosmologies (yellow arrow). The author will use this multi-level theoretical framework for analysing the development of ICOs in Colombia in Chapters 6 and 7. The following Chapter 4 will present the research methodology for this thesis.
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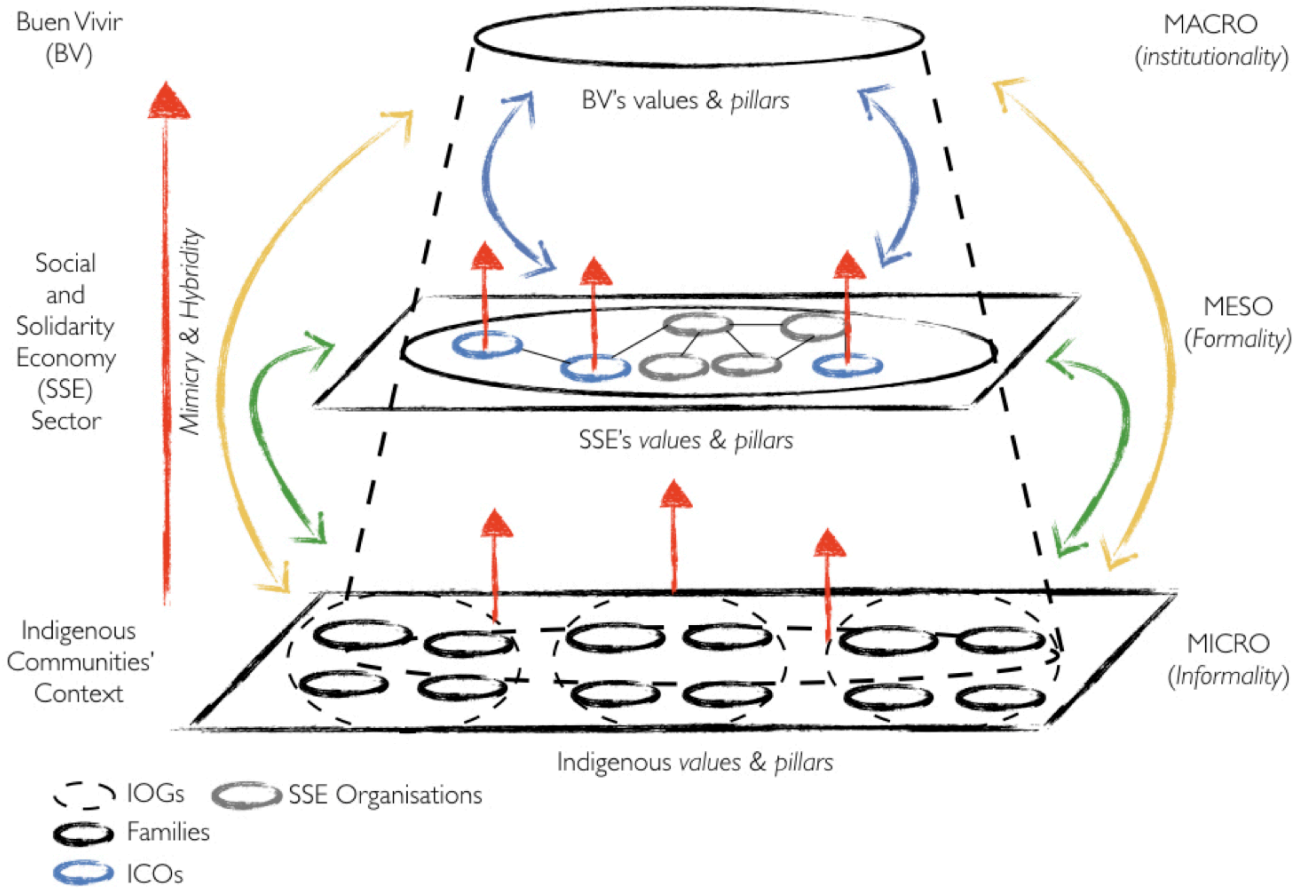
Figure 3.4. A multi-level model as the theoretical framework for analyzing the development of ICOs



Source: developed by the author

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

"Visual art and writing doesn't exist on an aesthetic hierarchy that positions one above the other, because each is capable of things the other can't do at all. Sometimes one picture is equal to 30 pages of discourse, just as there are things images are completely incapable of communicating". (William Burroughs, *cited in* Calvo and Morales, 2017, p. 7

4.1. Introduction

The previous two chapters provide the theoretical basis for this thesis. The current chapter outlines the methodological insights to study the development of ICOs in Colombia. Firstly, the chapter illustrates the rationale behind choosing a participatory video research (PVR), which addresses the philosophical paradigms and outlines the potentials and constraints of the use of participatory video research. A close look is then taken at the multiple case study design and the protocol, which explains the logical sequence in which the study will be carried out, the units of analysis aligned with the thesis research questions. Consequently, the author explains in detail the sampling, methods of data collection and analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the methodological limitations, the issues of reflexibility (credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) as well as the ethical and legal considerations that are made in the empirical work.

4.2 The use of Participatory Video Research to study ICOs in Colombia

PVR has been selected for this research study as the key objective is to empower those researched (Sitter, 2012). Blazek and Hraňová, (2012) describe PVR as *"a production of a video by a group of people, or, by a community*" (p.152). PVR can be considered as one of the many manifestations of the relationship between media and development, and also as a tool under the umbrella of participatory action methodologies or participatory action research. PVR was first piloted in the 1960s on Fogo Island, Canada, where islanders were invited to make short films about their own lives (Gubrium and Harper, 2013). Thereafter, the use of video was made increasingly possible given the technological advancements of the late 1970s and early 1980s. By the 1990s, video was

widely employed (Blazek and Hraňová, 2012). Rather than creating strictly representational pieces, PVR opens up the pedagogical space to see video making as a 'performative act', as Lovett (2007) calls it. PVR departs from the practice of filmmakers holding the narrative power over subjects (Mistry and Berardi, 2012). In so doing, it makes a significant leap away from other visual genres, namely documentary filmmaking. As Sitter (2015) puts it, participatory video "*enables people to explore, debate, and honour their own knowledge and experiences*" (p. 911). PVR does not try to capture reality through video; instead, it treats experiences as dynamic as opposed to static and unchanging.

One of the more important aspects of PVR is "participation" and is the key to distinguish it from video research (Gubrium and Harper, 2013). Thus, there is a need to consider what the author means when referring to the term 'participatory' in conjunction with visual methods. By participatory, the author used the definition of Gubrium and Harper (2013, p. 45) that refers to "*methodology approaches or techniques that afford the subject, community member or field site, greater narrative latitude when it comes to ethnographic knowledge production and received lay and academic audiences alike*". Participation is blended with the participatory action research approach, that is, to seek the meaning of the interventions (research events) for the groups willing to be studied (in this case the ICOs) and from many different perspectives (Holm, 2008; Jewitt, 2012).

Therefore, applying a PVR approach to study ICOs may produce rich multimodal and narrative data, guided by the participants' interests and priorities, putting the methods literally in the hands of the participants themselves, and allowing them greater access to knowledge beyond the academic one (Gubrium and Harper, 2013). There are limited studies that apply PVR as a research method to explore the SSE. In fact, the only example found is the work conducted by Tremblay and Peredo (2014) with a recycling cooperative in Brazil. In this paper, the authors reflect on the applicability of PVR and its contributions to build transformative capacity in participating members, as well as the use for creating new spaces for inclusive policy. There are some studies that explore indigenous communities using PVR. For example, the study conducted by Sinclair *et al.* (2015) that used PVR as a means of engaging indigenous children as participants in health research. However, there is no evidence of studies that apply PVR to the study of indigenous people and the SSE.

PVR is a suitable approach because of indigenous peoples' representation. Generally, research in and on indigenous peoples, be it academic, government-funded or for-profit, has typically been non-consultative and almost exclusively for the benefit of anybody but the participants (research subjects). As stated by an indigenous peoples' participant in Canada: "Academics come up here, do their research, then leave. They don't do so much as send us a copy of their thesis. It's just another example of the way first nation's people continue to be exploited in the interests of white people from the South" (Beaton and Fiddler, 2004 cited in Ferreira, 2006, p. 85).

In the case of this research project, ICOs have the opportunity to enhance and contribute the construction of their own image, giving voice to an invisible group. Through collaboration and participation, even in the first phase of the study, ICOs were invited to improve the planning of the thesis project. It is essential to understand that visual images can also act as a source of power and social capital. Indeed, researchers consciously choose PVR so that members of oppressed groups may challenge dominant representations and make themselves seen and heard (Tremblay and Peredo, 2014). Firstly, PVR enables self-empowerment as it implies the "do-it-yourself" type project, in which participants are in the long term sole producers of their videos, particularly as PVR participants might be involved in the projects in different ways, such as through script drafting, storyboarding, editing in a variety of ways, and in the final production (Gubrium and Harper, 2013).

The author has chosen to conduct a study of five ICOs, namely, Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Puinave and Wayuu in three different regions – the Caribbean, the Andes and the Amazon – and particularly in the departments of Cauca, Guainia and Guajira, to explore the characteristics of these ICOs, taking into account the processes of mimicry and hybridity, and the organisations consistency with the BV model. According to the Colombian constitution, indigenous communities are recognised as one group and their differences are ignored (Gros, 1991), whilst recognising that indigenous communities in Colombia are very diverse and are dispersed throughout the country (see Chapter 5 for more details). Hence, in accordance with what has just been stated, the aim of the author is firstly, to explore indigenous communities as different entities with common values, acknowledging their diversity and respecting each of their cultures, and secondly,

to examine ICOs in different regions to widen the spectrum when studying the Buen Vivir and the SSE, as there are different contextual elements that may enhance the purpose of the study. Likewise, in Ferreira's (2006) work with indigenous peoples in Canada, he argues that any type of research methodology applied to indigenous people must firstly consider their history, directly or indirectly (see the importance of post-colonial studies in chapter 3), to understand their behaviours (see Chapter 5 for details about the communities selected for this study).

4.2.1 Philosophical Insights: Using Participatory Video Research to Study ICOs

The philosophical paradigms or positions that inform the knowledge created within ICOs must be considered when conducting a study, as these inevitably influence and underpin the research process (Mair and Martí, 2006; Short *et al.* 2009). As suggested by Seymour (2012), a researcher is required to investigate a phenomenon and provide a set of answers to the following three crucial questions:

- Ontological: What is the nature of the 'knowable'? Or, what is the nature of reality?
- Epistemological: What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)?
- Methodological: How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?

There has been an ongoing debate within social science between objectivist and subjectivist approaches over whether truth resides in the object or the subject, in the relationship between them, or elsewhere (Seymour, 2012). While the objectivists (or defenders of positivism) suggest that the purpose of any science (natural or social) is to offer causal explanations of social, behavioural and physical phenomena, the subjectivists perceive that social phenomena are created from perceptions and consequent actions of those social actors concerned with their existence. From these basic assumptions, research 'schools' have developed different philosophical paradigms (positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism) to provide different sets of answers to the three questions mentioned earlier. However, the answers contained within different paradigms are ideally not to be perceived as 'absolutely correct'; in fact, on occasions these boundaries are blurred.

As illustrated in Table 4.1, there are particular differences between objectivist and subjectivist approaches when using PVR. When researchers work within the objectivist approach, visuals tend to be perceived as evidence of reality 'captured' in an image which, when used as scientific data, can in turn be used to create objective scientific knowledge, where textual or visual references to researchers are rarely included (Rakić and Chambers, 2010). An example is where researchers and co-researchers[32] create a video marked by as little camera movement as possible, and little editing or no editing at all to quantify the times an individual moves his or her hands (Rakić and Chambers, 2010). In contrast, within the subjectivist approach, visuals are mainly seen as representations of a reality as perceived and recorded by those who create the image in a particular context of time and space.

Table 4.1. **Key Paradigms and Potential Implications for PVR**

OBJECTIVIST APPROACH		**SUBJECTIVIST APPROACH**	
POSITIVISM	**POST-POSITIVISM**	**CRITICAL THEORY**	**CONSTRUCTIVISM**
Ontology (the nature of reality) [Naïve] realism: the reality is driven by unchanging natural laws; it can be discovered.	[Critical] realism: the reality is driven by unchanging natural laws, can only be partly perceived/discovered.	[Critical/historical/ value-laden] realism: reality is virtual; can only be perceived through prism of values.	Relativism: realities are multiple, individually and collectively constructed, local and specific.
Epistemology (relationship of the knower and known). Objectivist: researcher is an objective observer, bias excluded, findings considered true.	Modified objectivist: researchers strive towards a 'regulatory ideal' of objectivity, findings probably true.	Subjectivist/ Transactional: values mediate and influence the findings.	Subjectivist/ Transactional: findings co-created through interaction.
Methodology (theory and principles of inquiry). Hypotheses/ Research questions, created and tested in controlled environment	Modified experimentation, more grounded theory, triangulation, and significantly wider range of data.	Dialogic/ Transformative/ Interactive/seeks to challenge and raise consciousness.	Hermeneutical/ Dialectical, reconstruction of realities, aimed at generating one or more constructions through consensus.

[32] People selected from the ICOs participated on this PVR project. These people participated in the preproduction, production and postproduction stages of this study.

Methods (tools within inquiry). In the main, quantitative.	Along with quantitative, introduces more qualitative.	Mostly qualitative/ interpretation.	Mostly qualitative/ interpretation.

Source: adapted from Rakić and Chambers (2011) for this research project

With this approach, researchers and co-researchers are more likely to appear in their footage as well as to rely on author-reflexive narrative when editing and consequently, screening their audio-visual work (Rakić and Chambers, 2010). The question the author asks is: how can the constructivist approach inform and influence the research process, from its initial stages through to fieldwork, analysis and interpretation, to the representation of the findings? The author's approach is to treat 'reality' as relative, personally and collectively constructed, and 'knowledge' as subjective, co-created and situated. Hence, this means that the author (the researcher) would perceive himself as a situated researcher co-creating knowledge with indigenous communities (co-researchers), rather than seeing himself as a researcher looking for 'objective universal truth'.

4.2.2 Potentials and Constraints of the use of Participatory Video Research

PVR has particular qualities and features that differ significantly from other kinds of data. The potentials, constraints and considerations to take into account when using participatory video as an instrument for research will be discussed in this section. PVR is a more plural and collective approach to produce knowledge. It offers a framework for breaking down barriers between researchers and 'subjects', and between analysis and praxis. It creates a more horizontal approach to forge collaborative research relationships in which the community and ICOs can take an active role in studying problems alongside a traditional researcher to develop strategies for change (Gubrium and Harper, 2013; Jewitt, 2012; Kissmann, 2009). Within the PVR approach, the researcher becomes an "alongsider" rather than an "asider" and serves the role of facilitator. Therefore, the researcher's function is to serve as a resource for those being studied – typically, disadvantaged groups – presenting an opportunity for them to act effectively in their own interest (Kissmann, 2009). As Mitchell (2005 cited in Gubrium and Harper, 2013, p. 91) argues, in PVR "nothing is accidental" and everything is available

as a point of social construction and identity performance. For instance, in a study by Harte *et al*. (2014) using PVR for the study of birth in the early postnatal period, the women, their birth supporters and midwives who attended them during labour, participated in an interview where the video footage was used to stimulate discussion and reflection. The women participated actively during the process (collection of video data) and all the steps were prearranged but even then, there were decisions made at the birth event. Thus, PVR can be highly collaborative, reflecting social concerns and group effort. Group effort determines very effective knowledge construction (Gubrium and Harper, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, the implementation of a PVR approach offers special opportunities for building a more ethical and horizontal relationship between research institutions or researchers and the communities they study and serve (Lassiter, 2006 cited in Gubrium and Harper, 2013). Moreover, PVR provides both the researcher and participants the possibility to revisit the data and reawaken the memories and experiences. Participatory videos are shareable with participants, as they are invited to reflect and contribute to the findings, taking into account the different stages of video production: preproduction, production and postproduction. This approach also allows the researchers to present the findings in different non-conventional ways, such as with a film or short video, making sure it is available for a wider audience as well as the participants being able to use PVR approach for the purpose of reflection.

Despite the power of using PVR as a potential research instrument, there are several constraints that need to be taken into account. The first relates to the complexity of the data produced with PVR, which, if not managed appropriately, can lead to a descriptive and weak analysis (Jewitt, 2012). Video data are limited and partial as they include and exclude elements of the reality when studying a particular phenomenon (Jewitt, 2012). Moreover, video is primarily focused on the material external expression and can represent the order of events in different ways, providing one perspective of an event or phenomenon. Indeed, it generally records interaction over short periods of time and the data collection is quite demanding, requiring the work of more than one researcher. This can be linked to the technological challenges that can occur with collecting data, such as audio and lighting problems (Rakić and Chambers, 2010). PVR projects are a commitment on behalf of all participants, and require a significant investment of time and energy, they are often more time consuming and costlier than other methods

(Marion and Crowder, 2013). Not all people in all communities are able to dedicate so much time and energy, and participation might drop once the 'co-researchers' (participants) become caught up with other competing responsibilities (Cahill, 2007a, 2007b).

There are other aspects to consider preventing problems when using PVR. The first aspect is the importance of linking video data to social theories and themes (Jewitt, 2012). The researcher should become familiar with the setting to make sure the data is understood in context, as well as to consider whether PVR will be used as a sole method or in combination with other methods (Heath and Hindmarsh, 2002). The researchers need to decide the data that need to be collected to address the research question as well as understand the constraints of using PVR, discussing this with the participants (co-researchers) and their level of involvement. Some researchers have criticized the process, arguing that most researchers using PVR methods have assumed it to be a non-problematic process that enables less powerful groups to gain power and participate in social change. However, a study conducted by Singh *et al.* (2017) with an NGO that worked with young women in a community in Hyderabad, India, suggests that while PVR can enable participants to gain agency, it is equally challenging to do so in the presence of power relations. Finally, as seen in Section 4.8, the number of ethical and legal implications of PVR needs to be taken into account, such as the ownership of the material created and the dissemination of such material (Pink, 2007; Prosser and Loxley, 2008; Prosser, 2000).

4.3. Research Design: A Multiple Case Study Research

Given the lack of existing literature, empirical evidence and related theory on the topic (Bryman, 2016), this study adopts an exploratory (inductive) approach as the main focus of the research to gain insight and familiarity into the phenomenon under investigation (ICOs in Colombia). The exploratory nature of this research influenced the decision to choose a case study research[33] as the most appropriate method to accommodate such analysis, as it provides the means to explore and explain a contemporary phenomenon of which little is currently understood. As Robson, 1993, p. 53) states:

[33] In this study, the case study is used as a research strategy, which comprises the research design, methods of data collection and data analysis, and as a method of data collection within an in-depth study of five ICOs in the Colombia SSE scenario (Yin, 2017).

A case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence; and at the heart of this idea is that the case is studied in its own right, not as a sample from a population.

Perhaps the most unique aspect of case study strategy is the probing, flexible character of research as a rich way of understanding the dynamics and behaviour within a given context and setting (Eisenhardt, 1989). A spatially specific context is particularly important for this study because indigenous groups are often spatially concentrated, and because the development of ICOs is often rooted within particular contexts. However, despite the strengths of case study research, there is a need to be aware of the limitations in utilising this research strategy. Case study research has often been criticised for being time consuming and providing very little ground for quantification and generalisation (Sarantakos, 1998). It is important to acknowledge the advantages and disadvantages of using a multi-case study approach. On the one hand, it helps the researcher to collect detailed data that is not normally easily obtained by other research designs (it unravels the idiosyncrasies of the context) and it helps the researcher to understand the studied context, as a multi-case studies are grounded in 'lived reality' (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2013). On the other hand, one of the main criticisms is that the data collected cannot necessarily be generalised to the wider population, and this leads to data being collected over longitudinal case studies that are not always relevant or particularly useful. Also, multiple cases usually require extensive resources and time (Crowe *et al.* 2011; Flyvbjerg, 2006).

4.3.1. Case Study Protocol

According to Yin (2017), within a case study design, decisions have to be taken about the logical sequence for carrying out the study, as well as the elements of the study: its methods of data collection and analysis. In case study research, the design is contained in the case study protocol, which shows the different phases of the research (see Table 4.2). This includes the objectives and research questions, the units of analysis, the logic that links the methods of data collection to the objectives and research questions, the methods of data collection and the criteria for interpreting the findings (Sarantakos, 1998).

Table 4.2. Case Study Protocol

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	Deciding on the main objectives and research questions of the study.
THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS	Selecting the case: ICOs
	Selecting the context: Colombia.
LINKING METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	Objectives and research questions to be responded to by the methods of data collection.
METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	Use of mixed methods of data collection (secondary data sources, video focus groups and interviews, observations and field notes).
DATA ANALYSIS	Analysis of qualitative data using NVivo11

Source: Compiled by the author

4.4 Sampling: Selecting the ICOs in Colombia

According to Stake (2013), there are different reasons for focusing on a particular case when doing research. For example, it may be because of its uniqueness that it requires study, or because it illustrates the issues that the researcher is interested in, or the case reflects an outlier or seems to disprove conventional theory. Stake (2013) argues that the first criterion for selecting cases is to think about what we can learn, and then choose a case that is likely to lead to understandings and assertions, and perhaps to modifying previous beliefs about a phenomenon. In case study research, it is also very important to set out the context of the case clearly to give the reader a sense of "being there", which effectively relates to the previous conversation of the interdependency of PVR and the research environment. This involves situating the case within its geographical, social, economic and historical context. In this study, ICOs have been selected as the 'case' of the study as an unexplored research area that requires study. Colombia is chosen as the geographical context as there are no existing studies that explore Buen Vivir, indigenous communities and the SSE in the country. Moreover, Colombia has a very diverse indigenous population with some very different geographical settings and has an interesting historical context (see Chapter 5 for further details about the context). The depth of enquiry possible through a case study is significantly greater than some other research methods, as it goes beyond a superficial evaluation and allows a study of units of analysis in their totality. Hence, a case study allows a detailed understanding of

the situation rather than a representative picture (Gomm *et al.* 2000; Yin, 2017). There is no established benchmark in terms of the number of cases a project might use to claim academic rigour. Although most authors suggest that ten cases or fewer would be ideal, Yin (2017) warns against going beyond 15 cases as this makes the study "unwieldy".

4.4.1 Selection of Case Study Examples

A holistic multiple (comparative) case study method is used with the selection of five case study examples (CSEs) of ICOs with five different indigenous community groups (Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Puinave and Wayuu) in three different regions (the Andes, the Amazons and the Caribbean). The selection of the case examples is built upon key contacts made with academics that have previously worked in the regions. The selection of these cases is driven by the need to address the purpose of research, which is to gain a depth of understanding of the development of ICOs in Colombia, as well as to identify the extent to which their experiences are aligned with the BV model, taking into account their own cultural values and cosmovisions. The author selected organisations that had different indigenous community groups, organisational activities (e.g., cooperatives, associations, for profit company) and years of establishment (e.g., some ICOs are well-established while others are recent start-up organisations). There were also other practical considerations made, such as how receptive the potential cases were to participating in the study (Ferreira, 2006; Stake, 2013). See Appendix I with a description of the ICOs selected for this study, as well as a table that summarises relevant information from each organisation.

These ICOs are surviving/successful organisations. Although it would have been interesting to look at those non-successful, this appeared difficult in practical terms. Drawing on the work of Ferreira (2006) with indigenous people in Canada, stakeholder interviews are selected through nonprobability sampling. An email outlining the research objectives soliciting their participation in the research study was sent to the leaders of the ICOs selected. A request letter and a consent form were attached (see Appendix II[34] for details about this). The email was followed up with telephone calls to establish a suitable date for both the researcher and stakeholder informants involved. Some

[34] The email was sent in the Spanish language and it was translated by the author.

organisations refused to participate in the study claiming to be over-researched and inundated with requests to take part in research by universities, consultants, local authorities, central government, and policy makers. Prior to conducting the collection of data from these five case studies, a pilot case study was carried out between December 2015 and January 2016 visiting two ICOs: one in the Cauca region and the other one in the Amazons. Lessons were learned from this pilot experience to reflect on the research design and methods of data collection. From April to September 2017 data was gathered for the five organisations selected for this thesis.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

As seen in Table 4.3, a four-stage methodological process is used for this research to collect data: a review of secondary data source, a preproduction stage, a production stage and a postproduction stage. It is important to highlight that the researcher used the same methodological process with the five ICOs.

Table 4.3 Summary of the Four-stage Methodological Process

STAGE	METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS	EXPLANATION
1	Literature review	A review of secondary data sources
2	Preproduction	Preparation before the fieldwork (workshop material and equipment)
3	Production stage	Data collection
4	Postproduction stage	Video production and closing event

Source: Compiled by the author

4.5.1 A Review of Secondary Data Sources

At the first stage, a general overview of the literature related to development, Buen Vivir, post-colonial theories, the historical context of indigenous communities and the SSE in LA and Colombia was undertaken. Secondary sources included books, journal articles, historical reports, textbooks and grey literature. Then, in order to understand the context where the ICOs are located, a literature review (available mainly in the Spanish language) was carried out in relation to each of the indigenous communities selected in

the three regions of the country (the Amazons, Cauca and Guajira) (see Chapter 5 for more details).

4.5.2 Preproduction Stage: Research Material and Equipment for the Data Collection

To conduct this PVR study, the author prepared several materials to set up this project in an appropriate way:

- A presentation for the opening event where the author introduced his PhD research project, as well as the Buen Vivir theory to the members of the ICOs selected.
- A preparation of preliminary research questions for the focus group and semi-structured interviews based on a review of existing literature, taking into account the objectives and research questions of the study.
- A preparation for the training activity to teach co-researchers on the different elements of video research (including pre-production, production and postproduction).
- A preparation of the equipment used for the project.

It is evident that to develop a PVR project, it is essential to have appropriate technology. There is a wide range of video cameras, microphones, tripods, light kits, wind cutters and recorders that can be used to collect data, and selecting which to use is aligned with the research design. For example, small hand-held cameras are often chosen for studies that require mobility and detail. There are also cameras that are better to use for PVR projects, and larger cameras for projects where the researcher(s) have the required skills and where the locations are convenient. The budget available for the equipment is also an important consideration. The equipment that was provided by the Open University Business School to collect the data is illustrated in Appendix III.

4.5.3 Production Stage: During the Fieldwork

As seen in Table 4.4, for the first five days the researcher attended various meetings and made an agreement for the research project with the leader and other community members within the ICO. The benefits for the ICO were discussed with the leaders and

other representatives of the ICOs selected for this study. Then, an opening event (Phase 2) was organised where the researcher invited stakeholders from the ICOs selected. For this event, the author introduced himself and his PhD research project, as well as invited participants to attend the video focus group about their Buen Vivir and how it influenced their ICOs.

Table 4.4 Summary of the PVR Activities Undertaken (Five Phases)

PHASE	RESEARCH METHOD	EXPLANATION
1	Meetings	- Meetings with the leaders and other stakeholders of each of the ICO selected for the study.
2	Opening up event	- An introductory event
3	Video-recorded focus group	- A focus group was conducted with each ICO selected. - An invitation to participate in the production of videos.
4	Training workshop about PVR	- Role of co-researchers and introduction to PVR - Preproduction, production and postproduction training sessions. - Interviews and storyboard plan.
5	Filming session	- Video interviews were conducted. - Filming was done in the ICOs location and related activities.

Source: Compiled by the author

The author introduced the topic of Buen Vivir and invited participants to participate in a focus group to discuss about their BV, their traditions and values, and how these are applied in their ICOs (Phase 3). A focus group was established as the author considered this to be an appropriate method of data collection, as it is a good way to perceive agreements and disagreements between members of the indigenous communities about what BV is and how this influences their ICOs. This is something that cannot be captured with interviews (Flick, 2014). The schedule of the focus group comprised open-ended questions, different from the interview schedule (see Appendix IV). Open-ended questions were chosen, as the author considered these to be more effective than structured and unstructured interviews, as additional questions can be incorporated if considered relevant during the focus group. See Appendix V with tables that summarise the number of participants that participated in the video focus groups. The focus group was video recorded, it was conducted at the organisation premises and lasted one hour. Those participants selected, sat around a table with the researcher and were asked to take turns when discussing the questions.

When the focus group ended, the author invited participants to participate in the data collection of interviews. He invited those people from the ICOs interested in participating on this research project to attend a three-intensive day training workshop about filming, taking into account the preproduction, production and postproduction stages. On this training workshop, the author introduced the importance of PVR, the multiple roles when conducting a PVR project (the roles participants were going to adopt as co-researchers) and explained how to use the equipment and edit video materials. Then the author and co-researchers discussed the role of each of them in the collection of data and analysis, the people who they will interview, and the questions for the interviewees. The participants created a storyboard plan together.

Face-to-face video-recorded semi-structured interviews were done primarily with the organisations' leaders and other relevant ICO stakeholders. See Appendix V with tables that summarise the number of participants that participated in the video and semi-structured interviews for each ICO, and a table with the demographic characteristics of the people that participated in the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to complement the data gathered in the focus groups, as well as to gain more detail information about the development of the ICOs selected for the study. Semi-structured interviews were chosen, as the researcher considered these to be more effective than structured and unstructured interviews in terms of broaching important issues for the researcher, as well as ensuring that the core questions are covered but allowing the flexibility from the co-researchers to add additional questions. However, semi-structured interviews have certain limitations as a method of data collection. For instance, they are costlier and more time-consuming than other methods (Bryman, 2016).

At the first stage, the researcher and co-researchers interviewed the leader/director of each organisation. Then, other key members were also video interviewed. The questions are mainly related to the formation and development of these ICO initiatives in the SSE scenario, in addition to their challenges, successes, future prospects and policy support received (see Appendix IV for more details). Moreover, in each ICO, the co-researchers also incorporated questions that they considered relevant. On average, each interview lasted 60-120 minutes with leaders, 10-40 minutes with staff and 10-20 minutes with stakeholders. In relation to the setting, the organisations' base was considered as a suitable location to collect the information for the study. Some photos were taken during

fieldwork[35] (see Appendix VI for more details). Additional filming (shootings of landscape and ICO premises) was carried out for the production of the short movies (see the postproduction stage).

Besides this, the researcher conducted observations during his stay in each ICO to gain additional information about the topic investigated. Field notes were taken immediately from informal meetings, workshops, conversations and participants' interactions in the field (Flick, 2014). Lofland and Lofland (1984) recommend that researchers use a 'cloistered rigour' in following the commandment to make notes immediately after the field contact, as researchers can estimate the same amount of time for noting the observation than for writing notes about this. Examples of observed activities where notes were taken included observing a bartering activity with the Misak community where more than 3,000 people attended the event or participated in a cultural dancing activity in the Guainia region. Documentary sources, which included company reports and notice of meetings, are also used to develop a deeper understanding of the selected case examples, and to complement the information obtained from interviews. This allowed the researcher to highlight the discrepancies between what the interviewees said about the organisation and what the reality was in terms of what had been documented about it (Slack and Rowley, 2000).

4.5.4 Post-Production Stage: Video Production and Closing Event

Five short videos (one for each ICO selected for the study) were produced by the researcher and co-researchers with the editing programme (Movie Maker) who previously received training on video editing to encapsulate the case study initiatives for this research project. The author has translated them from Spanish to English for research purposes. Then, a final event was conducted at the ICOs' premises where the videos produced by the members of the ICO were shown, and after that discussed with members of the ICOs selected. During this event, there were debates and reflections about the experience of participating in a research project (PVR methodology). Due to the fact that the author needed to focus on responding to the main research questions highlighted in Chapter 1, this data is not included in the findings.

[35] It is important to highlight that photos were not used for data analysis in this PhD thesis.

The links to the videos produced can be seen here:

1. https://youtu.be/lxVVIWO0bTY
2. https://youtu.be/VW8SptIcxXc
3. https://youtu.be/UcQS_-5UntQ
4. https://youtu.be/I_La31ZvTaE
5. https://youtu.be/xy7IU9sGhu8

4.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of the holistic case study, which includes a video focus groups and semi-structured interviews, field notes, observations and documentary sources, was conducted using Nvivo 11 version. As seen in Table 4.5, firstly, the researcher became familiarised with the data by looking at the material obtained from the video focus groups and semi-structured interviews to get initial ideas. Then, and to facilitate the analysis, the author inserted the material from the interviews and focus groups in Nvivo 11 version. Watching the videotape at a speed that is slower or faster than normal, only listening to the audio, or watching the video without audio helped the author to focus his attention on particular aspects of interest. With this in mind, this phase consisted of transcribing the material selected. Videos are understood as visual texts, transformed into text by transcription or by recounting the stories contained in them, and then analysed as such.

Table 4.5 Stages of Analysis for Case Study Initiatives Selected for the Study

STAGES	DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESS
1. Familiarisation of the data	Watching videos from the focus group and semi-structured interviews and other relevant materials (documentary sources, observations and field notes) for each case study.
2. Transcriptions	Creating transcriptions and noting down initial ideas.
3. Identifying and refining nodes in NVivo11.	Identifying and refining nodes by looking at words that were repeated by participants in the word cloud.
4. Spider diagram	The development of themes and subthemes (within case and cross case analysis) to connect this with research objectives and questions.

Source: Compiled by the author

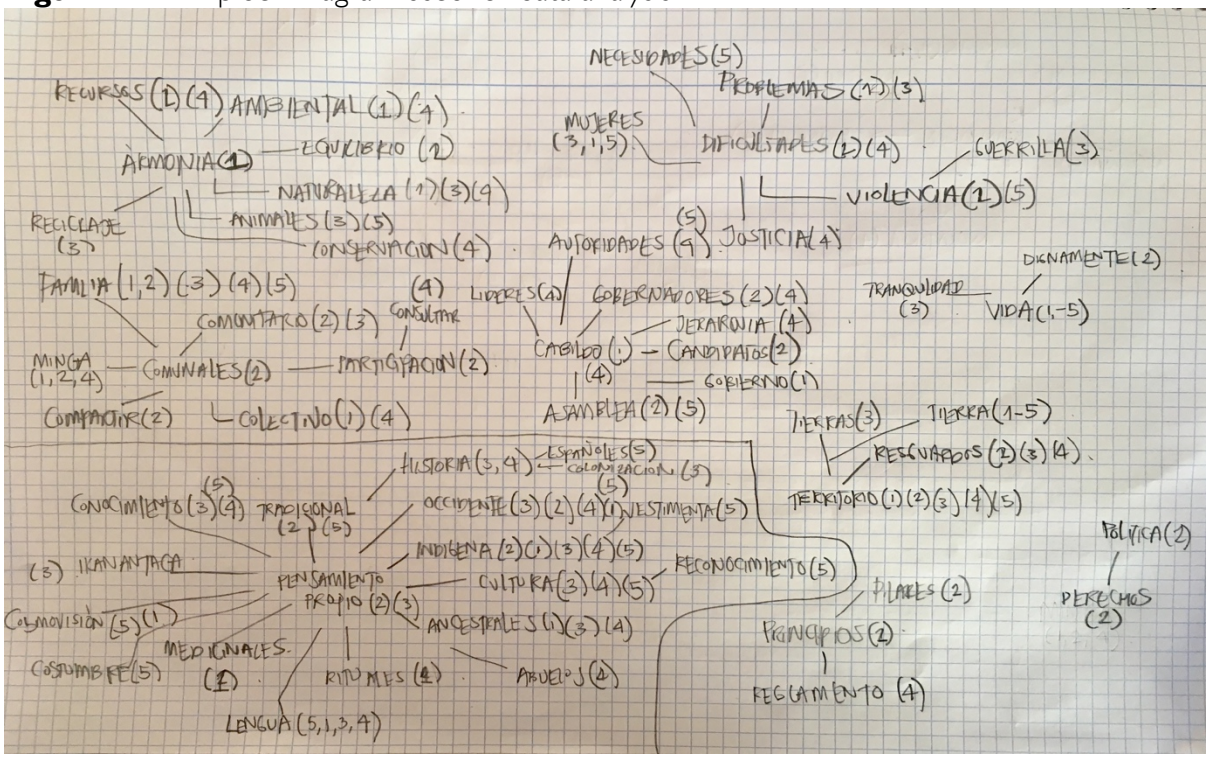
Within this study, the author considered it relevant to translate the video interviews and focus group materials (verbal and non-verbal) to another medium to improve analysis of the data (Flick, 2014). The next phase with the case study data analysis was identifying and refining nodes. For this project, the data analysis followed an inductive coding process informed by the research objectives and questions, in which nodes were identified using the word cloud in NVivo11 (see Figure 4.1 for an example).

Figure 4.1: A word cloud analysis generated by Nvivo

After this, the researcher decided to create spider diagrams for cross-analysis where key themes and subthemes were identified from the data and were refined as the analysis evolved (see Figure 4.2 as an example of this). This analysis was a recursive rather than a linear process, involving a constant moving back and forth between the entire data set, the nodes and extracts from the data that the author identified, and the data produced (based on the triangulation between secondary sources, video interviews, focus groups and field notes taken from general observations). This was done with each of the case studies and then comparisons were made within the five CSEs and cross-CSEs to look for similarities and differences to draw and discuss the conclusions of the study, set out what had been learned and suggest possible ways of taking this knowledge forward in academic, practical and political arenas. The researcher did not analyse the non-verbal

behaviour of the interviewees for this research project but focused on the verbal transcriptions from the videos (Ferreira, 2006; Pink, 2008; Turner, 1992).

Figure 4.2 A Spider Diagram used for data analysis



4.7 Reflexivity and Methodological Limitations

In qualitative research, researchers often claim that their studies have to be measured in qualitative terms and offer different indicators to establish a quality of study more effectively and coherently than validity, generalisability and reliability (see Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2016). As they suggest, reflexivity is key to evaluate a good qualitative study, and parallels the traditional qualitative criteria. The author considered the four following variables to evaluate the study: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Firstly, *credibility*, which parallels internal validity, indicates how believable the study is, and how the study's conclusions can be validated. In this case, the author has articulated conclusions by developing factual variables that are well defined and can be measured and controlled. Within the holistic case study method, techniques such as cross-case and within-case examination help to ensure internal validity (Coemans *et al.* 2015; McNely,

2015). Initially, for the within-case study analysis, detailed write-ups were completed for understanding each of the ICOs selected. Then, for cross-case analysis, a matrix comparing several categories and cases was created to ensure the validity of the study (see Chapters 6 and 7 for more details). Secondly, *transferability,* which parallels external validity, indicates to what extent the study can be transferred to other contexts, and it is normally enhanced by the use of abundant descriptions of the context of data collection. As seen, this research explains in detail the proceedings used for using PVR for the collection of data, as well as detail information of the ICO selected for the study. Thirdly, *dependability,* that parallels internal reliability, refers to the stability of data over time and conditions, and the ability to repeat the study as a consequence of consistency. In this study, the use of case study protocol with detailed explanations of the procedures that were followed during the research, aids other researchers to repeat the study in other settings and so provide methodological consistency (Yin, 2017). Fourthly, *confirmability*, which parallels objectivity, indicates the level of objectivity that the researcher has demonstrated in the study by not allowing values that may intrude on the neutrality of the study. In this case, the researcher ensured the objectivity by illustrating the procedures of data collection and analysis, and bringing in the findings' examples and elements that contradict and contrast the results (Crowe e*t al.* 2011).

There are some methodological limitations that need to be considered, such as the fact that some of the stakeholders invited to participate in the study were not native Spanish speakers. However, all of the co-researchers spoke Spanish fluently. This is a particular aspect to consider as the discrepancy in language and culture between participants and the researcher can influence the research results (Bryman, 2016). To solve this, co-researchers from the indigenous group helped with the simultaneous translation and the transcriptions in the postproduction stage. Another aspect that has to be taken into consideration is that participants can feel uncomfortable when being filmed. The kind of information obtained often depends on the nature of the interviewer's relationship with participants. Participants can be reluctant to use the camera. Two techniques were used for this study to guarantee rapport with the participants prior to and during the research process. The first technique used informal talks with the researcher and co-researchers before interviewing them, informing them about the research project, and then discussing their initiative in general. The second technique used was designed to keep the participants' focus away from the camera by asking them to look at the interviewer

instead of the camera. It is important to highlight that interviewees felt more comfortable on camera because the members of the community were conducting the interviews. As Rakić and Chambers (2010) suggest, by making the participants feel comfortable and keeping the focus away from the camera, a more natural experience is likely to be recorded.

4.8 Ethical and Legal Considerations

There are numerous ethical and legal issues when conducting PVR case study research regarding the privacy of participants or subjects, ownership of the material and the display and dissemination of video materials (Pink, 2013, 2008, 2007). The first aspect is the use of materials in which individuals are recognisable, or potentially recognisable, and the challenges this raises in relation to issues of anonymity and confidentiality (Wiles and Boddy, 2013). This is particularly critical when working with children, where there are limits imposed on how they are visually represented (Allan and Cullen, 2008).

For this research, it was impossible and illogical to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. This project was aligned with the Open University requirements for ethical research and the ethics application was approved by the university's Human Ethics Committee (HREC/2016/2385/Morales-Pachon/1). Firstly, the author informed the participants about the project and explained in detail what was going to be done with the data collected. This was done through the information sheet provided to each participant. He also mentioned that they would have the opportunity to review the material before dissemination. Gaining informed consent for visual material is critical (Pink, 2012). As illustrated in Appendix II, written consent was obtained, and signed copies were kept in files. Participants and co-researchers were at all times aware that they could stop the videotaping at any stage if they felt uncomfortable and/or did not want to record or to be recorded. On occasions, where sensitive material was being discussed, the author and co-researchers respected that, and these interactions were not videotaped. On these occasions, the author incorporated field notes to ensure that he could record these interactions where he could not use the video camera.

Another aspect relates to the issue of legal ownership and the display and dissemination of the findings, with questions around who owns visual data and who has the right to use, display and reuse the material. PVR data is the result of a researcher-participant

collaboration and so the ownership of images is not straightforward. It is important to inform the researchers and participants about the risks of disseminating the material, as once it is in the public realm, the researcher and participants do not have control over how videos are read, and can struggle to prevent people using the material for different purposes (Pink, 2013). For this research project, the author informed the participants both verbally and in writing (on the consent form) how the material would be used for the writing up of the case studies. The researcher also explained other ways he could disseminate this material (for example, in conference papers and journal articles). The researcher agreed with the participants of the ICOs selected that videos produced could be used by the organisation to promote their work. For example, one of the ICOs used the video to apply for a government funding application. Access to the research findings was given to those participants who expressed their interest in the study by providing them with a three-page document in Spanish that summarised the main findings obtained from the research.

4.9 Concluding Remarks

In summary, this chapter has set out the research design and methods that are used, explaining why and how they are adopted. The author believes that the time is right for PVR in management and organisational studies, and particularly within indigenous communities and the SSE sector, since it offers a means of generating new and interesting insights. A multiple case study approach is adopted within a four-stage methodological process, and its use as a tool is justified and discussed here. Several methods are used that include secondary data sources, video focus groups and semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes, as it allows for a better understanding of the development of ICOs in Colombia. Limitations and reflexivity (credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) as well as ethical and legal considerations in the empirical work are considered. However, further discussion will take place through subsequent chapters in terms of the data collected and analysis. The following chapter (5), 'The Social and Solidarity Economy, Buen Vivir and Indigenous People in Colombia: the Context for the Establishment of ICOs in the Andes, the Amazons and the Caribbean', provides an historical overview of indigenous communities and the SSE in Colombia, and includes an introduction to the context of the indigenous communities selected within the three different regions in the country: the Andes, the Caribbean and the Amazons.

CHAPTER 5
THE SOCIAL AND SOLIDARITY ECONOMY, BUEN VIVIR AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN COLOMBIA: THE CONTEXT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ICOs IN THE ANDES, THE AMAZONS AND THE CARIBBEAN

"They came. They had the bible and we had the land. And they told us: "close your eyes and pray". And when we opened our eyes, they had the land and we had the bible" (Galeano, 1997, p.145)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to gain a general understanding of the contextual factors that have influenced the development of ICOs in Colombia. To achieve this, the chapter first examines the history of indigenous communities in Colombia and its particular socio-economic, demographic and political contexts inherited from colonialism to understand the power relations of the indigenous people in Colombia as a subaltern group. The researcher is highly aware of the amount of literature both in Spanish and English regarding the history of the indigenous people in Colombia; therefore, this chapter will try to be succinct and articulate to address the most important matters in order to connect the presented content with the objectives of this thesis.

Secondly, a brief explanation of the existing studies that have discussed indigenous communities and Buen Vivir in Colombia is presented. Thirdly, a presentation of the worldview, history, traditions, culture and the economic legacy of the five indigenous communities selected for this study (Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Puinave and Wayuu) in the specific regions of the Andes (Cauca), the Amazons (Guainía) and the Caribbean (Guajira) is presented briefly to help the reader better understand their context, as well as to interrelate the ICOs selected with the theoretical framework proposed in the early chapters (micro-level). Finally, the history of the construction and development of the SSE in Colombia is presented in order to understand the institutional platform in which ICOs operate. In this section, key aspects of the SSE sector are described and discussed (norms, laws and institutions).

5.2. The History of Indigenous Communities in Colombia

This section explores the history of indigenous people in Colombia, particularly the socio-economic, demographic and political contexts.

Pre-Columbian Times in the Context of Colombia

As Table 5.1 shows, in the Pre-Columbian era, the cultural inheritance of indigenous communities, such as the Taironas, Muiscas, Quimbayas, Calimas and Zenues, were found in the Andes and Caribbean regions in the Abya Yala.

Table 5.1. The history of indigenous communities in Colombia

PERIOD	CHARACTERISTICS
Pre-Columbian Era	- Evidence of the existence of the cultural inheritance of indigenous communities such as the Taironas, Muiscas, Quimbayas, Calimas and Zenues found in the Abya Yala.
Invasion and Colonial Era	- It began in 1499 and lasted until 1550. - The territory was divided into two: capitulations and cabildos. - Encomienda system. - Christian indoctrination. - Division of labour was imported.
Postcolonial and Independence Era	- Independence happened in 1953. - This did not have a positive significance for the indigenous people. - Law 11 of October of 1821 (the redistribution of resguardos). 'Missions for the reductions of the barbarians" was declared as a decree in 1824. - The Cacicazgos system in the country was forbidden in 1925.
Indigenous Social Movements and the Constitution Era	- Active role of the indigenous people in social movements. - Quintiniadas (1915-1917), an indigenous movement led and inspired by Manuel Quintin Lame. - The foundation in the 1970s of Consejo Nacional Indígena del Cauca. - The foundation of the ONIC in 1982.
The Constitution of 1991 and the Recognition of the State	- With the Constitution of 1991, indigenous people's rights were eventually recognised. - Álvaro Ulcué Chocué Educational Fund (promote indigenous communities' education).

Source: Compiled by the author

They have all had very interesting political-administrative, organisational and socio-economic structures. For example, the Muiscas evolved from a small family group organisational structure until it reached the official confirmation of a confederation of Cacicazgos[36] now known as Muisca Confederation, with a uniform system of roads, language, taxes, religion and laws.

Invasion, Colonisation, Slavery, Acculturation and Ethnocide

The period of invasion and colonisation was a crucial stage in LA history, as it is considered the era in which indigenous people's civilisations were exterminated, made extinct and suppressed by the Western colonisers (González Rojas, 2014; Gros, 1991;

[36] Cacicazgo is the term used for the lands ruled by a cacique (Indigenous leader). It is a sort of federal state in which each territory is led by a cacique, and it is autonomously managed and administrated, but it functions for the whole territory.

Zapata, 2010). In Colombia in the Colonisation era, there were quite a few indigenous communities with differences in traditions, practices and language, and they were separated geographically. Although in the South of the country, there were settlements of post-Inca groups (today the Yanacona is one of the indigenous communities that descend from the Incas), the majority of the indigenous communities were spread out over the whole region, and had small populations (except those such as the Muiscas that were divided into Cacicazgos) (Langebaelak, 2005, 1987).

The invasion and conquest of Colombia was completed in stages, rather than in one sweep. In fact, the whole process began in 1499 and lasted until 1550 (Bushnell and Montilla, 2002). The Spaniards arrived in the country from the North and founded various cities along the Caribbean coast (from Panama to La Guajira) in the beginning, until they gradually conquered the whole region. During the process of colonisation, the space and territory of indigenous people faced drastic changes in Colombia. The use, tenure and distribution of the territory was divided into two: capitulations and cabildos, managed and administrated by colonial authorities (Viceroys, Captains and Governors). The cabildo was a socio-economic, administrative and political local power imported by the settlers, inspired by the medieval Castile times in Spain. The cabildos were sometimes appointed (by the Spanish monarchy) or elected by the people that the cabildo represented: landowning heads of house known as vecinos[37] (neighbours). The duties of the calbildo, amongst others, were military, jurisdictional, health and public affairs, public works and finance (Sánchez and Arango, 2004). The other statutory form was the Capitulations, a legal document that certifies the concession (everything was owned by the Spanish Crown) of a piece of land or territory to an individual or a group, in which there is a contractual agreement concerning tax for the Crown for such benefit. Both forms were aligned to a system described in Chapter 3 called Encomienda,[38] a socio-economic system developed by the Spanish monarchy to administer their "new territories" remotely.

[37] Vecinos were considered those individuals or groups that lived next to the plaza mayor (in English main square) of the colonial cities.

[38] Encomienda was a socio-economic institution in which a group of individuals had to reciprocate others in work, species or otherwise, for the enjoyment of a good or for a benefit that would have received (see Chapter 3 for more information).

However, external conditions such as the economic crises of the Spanish Crown in the XVI century, the abuse of authority, extreme methods of slavery legitimated by the Encomienda system, and the scarce work force and food production obliged the Spanish Crown to modify the use, distribution and land tenure by creating more taxes, introducing mechanisms for land sales, auctioning of wastelands and selling administrative positions in the viceroyalties and thereby, leading to the benefit of recognising the territories of the indigenous people of the region (usually recognised by demonstrating their Amerindian descent) (Ulloa, 2004).

Culture was also imposed during this period. Besides the Western economy, Christian indoctrination was a fundamental key to the process of acculturation[39] and indigenous religious indoctrination (Gros, 1997; Meléndez, 2005; Zapata, 2010). Studies regarding colonisation argue that indigenous people not only faced genocide but also ethnocide.[40] The indigenous cultural identity was overlooked and almost shattered by Western ideas about the world and society. The indigenous cultural transformation from a plural to a singular view of humanity and nature happened gradually in the Latin American region through military intervention, extension of government control, land/territory policies, cultural modification policies, education policies and economic progress (Gros, 2000). The indigenous social structure was also dismantled. Traditional local social institutions, such as family, religion, education and economy were replaced by Spanish ones (Palacios and Safford, 2002). Division of labour was also imported; by the end of the eighteenth century, all of the workforce was sustained by the indigenous people, the Black and the Mestizo (or creoles). Statuses and roles were also modified. Ascribed statuses such as class, race, gender and age were introduced by the Spanish (Gros, 2000, 1991). For instance, social class was divided mainly by race: the administrators, Viceroy, Captains and Governor, were at the top of the hierarchy, and all were Spanish, followed by the Mestizos (or Creoles) (the Spanish descendants or born in the viceroyalties), who could not perform high but low administrative jobs, and in fact, were restricted by law (no marriages, properties or business in the colonies) and considered as Spanish second-class citizens (Rueda, 1994). The majority of them were landowners and some had positions in the cabildos. The bottom of the pyramid was populated by 'Sambos' (mixed

[39] Acculturation is considered the transfer of values and customs from one group to another.
[40] The deliberate and systematic destruction of the culture of an ethnic group.

between indigenous and black people): black people were brought from Africa and considered to be inferior (and all were slaves), the indigenous people represented the workforce of society (i.e., subaltern groups in Spivak, 1988).

The Nineteenth Century: *Postcolonial and "Independence" Period: The role of Indigenous Communities in a Democratic Project of a Democratic Nation*

Independence in the region from the monarchy did not happen until the beginning of the XIX century (A process from 1810 – 1824). The indigenous people divided their political sympathies between those who defended the Spanish monarchy, and those who proclaimed the need to break the colonial control and constitute independent and sovereign nations in the region (Ulloa, 2004). Land/territory property was an essential motivation for the indigenous people to decide on what side they wanted to be. Friede (1976, p. 86) suggests that more or less, the indigenous people consciously felt that the loss of their land constituted the end of their existence. During the colonisation period, the indigenous people had maintained or even increased their attachment to their territory as a form of protection. In fact, the Spanish authorities had a more positive attitude towards resguardos than the republican authorities after the wars of independence. They felt that the 'rights' given by the Spanish monarchy were threatened by republican legislation (as later demonstrated).

Twentieth Century: Indigenous Social Movements, Drug Trafficking and the *Armed Conflict within the Resguardos*

The beginning of the XX century demonstrated that the commitment of the Colombian government to the indigenous people was not serious, and there was an objective for the extinction of the resguardos throughout neo-agricultural policies. In fact, in the period between 1905 and 1919, two laws were put into practice and were fundamentally against the indigenous people: Law 5 of 1905 that enabled the legal sale of the resguardos through public auction, and Law 104 of 1919 that legitimated the division of the resguardos and the disposition of the territory, and imposed several punishments on the indigenous people who were opposed to this norm (González Rojas, 2014). Overall, the contempt for the indigenous people at a national level increased, and was even exacerbated in the XX century. Indigenous people were

considered as an obstacle in the project of modernisation and development. The intended or unintended consequences of the national socio-economic and political plan generated conflict on the indigenous people population (González Rojas, 2014).

Indigenous people's struggles can be apportioned geographically: those that lived in the highland (the Andes) and those who inhabited the lowland (the Caribbean, the Amazons and the Eastern Plains) regions in the country. The main issue in the highlands was related to indigenous people's territory; the movements that emerged as a response of unfair dispossession and forced displacement, sought to defend the permanence of the resguardos. Five points were claimed by them: 1) the rejection of the extinction and dissolution of the resguardos as they were granted in Law 89 of 1890; 2) the rejection of Terraje, paying a third party or landowner for working the land or free work; 3) the legitimation of the cabildos in their resguardos for autonomy and self-governance; 4) the return of the territory that was taken away by the state, colonisers and foreign companies; and 5) to legally condemn racial exclusion (Fals-Borda *et al.* 1975; Friede, 1976) (here, it can be linked with the BV indigenist approach in which autonomy and territory are key aspects, see Chapter 2) .

There is evidence of the active role of the indigenous people in social movements, and their direct or indirect participation in the armed guerrilla conflict and drug trafficking. First of all, studies conducted in relation to indigenous movements in Colombia claim that external factors accelerate the process of collective mobilisation and institutionalisation of the indigenous people in the country, particularly as a response of societal exclusion, governmental underrepresentation and in some cases, direct violence towards them (Gros, 1991; Gutierrez, 2007; Montañes and Delgado, 1998; Paco, 2007; Ulloa, 2004; Zapata, 2010). The first documented case was known as the Quintiniadas (1915-1917), an indigenous movement led and inspired by Manuel Quintin Lame.[41] The Quintiniadas was constituted by indigenous people from the cabildos of Nasa, Misak, Coconucos of the Cauca region, and later accompanied by the indigenous people of the departments of Huila and Tolima. These social movements were constituted as a consequence of the political decision of dispossession of the resguardos during the

[41] He was a Colombian indigenous rebel from the early 20th century who tried to form an independent indigenous republic. He was from Nasa originally and his struggle was to claim the territory rights that were taken away from his indigenous community and other indigenous communities in Cauca and in the country.

conservative hegemony period (Pachón, 1996). As a response to that, and as part of the national project of 'integration' and incorporation of the indigenous people's population into the national economy and society (cultural homogenisation) through the occupation of their territories and the development of an educational project commissioned by the Church,[42] there was the creation of the Indigenous People Colombian Institution (1942), which contributed to raise awareness of indigenous people's issues in the country (Rueda, 1994).

Hence, in regions where these policies of dispossession and foreign intervention were affected the most, the FARC, EPL, ELN and M19 (all guerrillas that appeared formally from the 1960s) raised arms to protect what they claimed was theirs: territory. In departments such as Cauca, Tolima, Huila, Guajira and Caquetá, the indigenous people's involvement with the guerrillas was higher, as a large proportion of land was taken away by the state during the first period of the twentieth century (Gros, 1991, pp. 179–191). Drug trafficking was the principal financial arm of armed movements, and all the production took place in rural areas and in territories inhabited by indigenous people. Therefore, indigenous communities were either obliged to produce Coca and Cannabis (traditional plants) and trade with armed movements or were forced to fight against them to protect their population and territories (children and men were coercively recruited) (Lebot, 1988; Zapata, 2010). Finally, specific indigenous people's social and political movements were labelled as 'subversive' and 'communist' by the state, principally the conservatives. They were either socially demonised and politically excluded by the Colombian state or were harassed by the national army (Gros, 1997; Mueses, 2012). Hence, as a response to political underrepresentation, lack of national participation and military harassment, many indigenous communities joined armed movements for territory protection and socio-economic opportunities (through drug trafficking) (see Lebot (1988), who examines the role played by the Ika, Arsario and Kogui from the Caribbean region in conjunction with the FARC).

However, although the connection between the guerrillas (nurtured by the drug trafficking) and indigenous people organised specific groups (social or political) is important to note, it cannot overshadow the fact that there are indigenous movements

[42] Law 2 of December 23 of 1943 stipulates that the leaders of the local authorities and police stations should subjugate 'barbarians' or 'nomads' and attract them to civilisation through the cooperation law with the Catholic missionaries to guarantee their protection (Rueda, 1994).

that in the space of a decade (1980–1990) managed to develop efficient and effective organisations that work not only on a local, but also a national and sometimes even international basis (Gros, 1997, 1997; Rueda, 1994; Ulloa, 2004). As an example of this, the foundation in the 1970s of the Consejo Nacional de los Indios del Cauca (CRIC) by all the resguardos in the department of Cauca, Tacueyo, Paniquita, Coconuco, Guambía (the founders of the Cooperativa las Delicias), Toribío, Jambaló and Caldono, illustrates an effective social and political organised initiative led by indigenous people. The CRIC was structured as a multi-ethnic regional federation of cabildos, in which two representatives of each resguardo are elected every year.

Seven objectives were established by the CRIC that are still valid today: 1) To recover the territory of the resguardos that were taken away; 2) to expand the resguardos; 3) to strengthen the cabildos; 4) to stop paying terraje; 5) to disseminate the laws (particularly Law 85 of 1890) related to the indigenous people and demand their fair application; 6) to defend the history, language and indigenous traditions; and 7) to train indigenous people teachers to educate, according to the situation of indigenous people and their native languages (develop ethno education) (Gros, 1991). Amongst the many socio-economic and political achievements of the CRIC, those more remarkable are: i) to take advantage of Law 89 of 1890 to recover the land that was taken away[43]; ii) to respond quickly to socio-economic issues by the creation of cooperatives and a network of stores to sustain their own cabildos financially; iii) the fair redistribution of the recovered territory (recovered 10,000 hectares in the first three years of legal practice) in the department; iv) the power reduction and neutralisation of the indigenous people's 'aristocracy' (privilege given during colonisation to the caciques of the resguardos), as they were always on top of the cabildos of the resguardos; v) to eliminate territorial borders and acknowledge resguardos as communal territories (respecting the spiritual dimension), and to avoid private properties assignations amongst families, as it was considered a big threat to communitarian spirit; and vi) to lead to the creation of the Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC) in 1982, a national organisation

[43] Two strategies were put in place to recover the land: to legally claim their lands back as stipulated by the law, as many of the indigenous communities were able to prove ancestral property (Gros, 1991), and to illegally occupy the territories that were taken away (paradoxically, Law 89 of 1890 allowed illegal occupation) (Gros, 1997).

that includes all the indigenous people of the country (González Rojas, 2014; Gros, 1997, 1991; Mueses, 2012).

The Constitution of 1991 and the Recognition of the State

The end of the twentieth century is perhaps the period in which the condition of the indigenous people turned the tide in their favour and moved away (at least legally) from the ostracism. With the Constitution of 1991, indigenous people's rights were eventually recognised. Previously, national policies regarding indigenous people were presented as unilateral (from the state: top-down), unidirectional (towards the indigenous people), and with only one purpose: to incorporate them into the society. This national project of integration was justified on the perception of backwardness and barbarianism of the indigenous people (Gros, 2000, 1997, 1991; Ulloa, 2004). The Constitution of 1991 was established under the basis of multiculturalism, in which all ethnic minorities are entitled to participate in the national decision-making process. Interestingly, the government developed an 'inclusive' system of governance with the ethnic minorities, described by Gros (2000) as indirect government or low intensity government, which consists of a form of government that pretends to legitimise state intervention in favour of ethnic minorities by recognising their autonomy and creating platforms of participation that seek to resolve the state's incompetence in meeting their needs (2000, p. 46).

In favour of the indigenous people, the 1991 Constitution established: 1) the improvement of the territorial planning, taking into account indigenous people's necessities for socio-economic projects in their resguardos; 2) the creation of political and socio-economic spaces for participation and the especial indigenous people's constituency, and 3) recognition of the multi-ethnic and pluricultural nature of Colombia's nation, and the guarantee of territorial and cultural rights of indigenous peoples in the new Constitution (Gros, 2000). Another important aspect that was created during that period was the Álvaro Ulcué Chocué Educational Fund, created by the Law of the fiscal government budget to facilitate access of indigenous people to undergraduate and postgraduate programmes (Padilla, 1996). Theoretically, the 1991 Constitution established a formal recognition of indigenous people in Colombia with regards to their territory through their legal recognition of their resguardos, and their culture through the acknowledgment and respect of their worldview and social structure through the legitimisation of their cabildos and their self-autonomy. However,

indigenous people still struggle with their territories, as they still have issues with natural resources exploitation supported by the state, armed groups occupation and societal discrimination.

Additionally, the Colombian law obliges (Law 89 of 1890) that in every resguardo, there must be a national recognised organisational figure represented in a cabildo. However, later, there was a decree, numbered 1088 of 1993, that regulates the cabildos or Indigenous Traditional Authorities (ITAs) which established that, in representation of their territories, indigenous people can establish associations that are legal public entities, and juridical entities with their own assets and administrative autonomy, aimed at the integral development of the indigenous communities they represent.

5.3. Buen Vivir and Indigenous People in Colombia: Understanding the Culture and Traditions of Indigenous people in the Andes, the Amazons and the Caribbean

There are limited empirical studies that explore BV in Colombia (Chaves *et al*. 2018; Pinilla Arteta, 2014). A study conducted by Chaves *et al*. (2018) explored the extent to which the BV visions and practices represent radical new ruralities and the so-called alternatives to development. Data were collected from individuals and ecological communities in the Cauca región. The results indicate that these communities are based on constructing territorial relations through intercultural knowledge exchange and experimentation into alternative lifestyles. Despite the substantial challenges and contradictions of putting these visions into practice, the authors argued that lived experiences promoted processes of self-reflection on the conceptualization of BV. The inclusive nature of BV offered opportunities for diverse peoples to cohere around shared meanings of the 'good life,' while providing the freedom to live variations depending on a social and ecological context. Another study conducted by Pinilla in 2014 where the author compared the BV of two indigenous communities in Colombia, specifically the Arhuaco y Sikuani people, and contrasted their views with the National Plan of Development (2014-2018). The author identified clear differences in visions of BV between the two communities selected for the study. The author suggested that there are clear differences between the National Plan of Development section (where it describes indigenous communities as a whole group) and the BV of the diverse indigenous communities in the country. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, although

these studies present relevant and interesting data to get a better understanding of the BV model for indigenous communities in Colombia, they do not explore the relationship between the BV and the SSE in Colombia.

Indigenous people, which have often been ignored and excluded from the economic and political scenario of the country, represent approximately 3% of the Colombian population (a total of 1.392.623) with a total of 92 different indigenous communities (different languages, culture and costume) (Bodnar and Ruiz, 2008; DANE, 2007, 2005; Gros, 1997, 1997, 1991). Although the author recognises the diversity of indigenous communities in Colombia; the focus of this thesis is to explain the contextual factors of the five indigenous communities selected for the study (Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Puinave and Wayuu), and in particular in their territory, their cultural values, social structure and economy. The researcher will include the latest statistics[44] and a brief historical background of what has been studied about these communities in the country. The map below indicates the regions where these communities are located: Cauca (the Andes), Guainía (the Amazons) and Guajira (the Caribbean). Table 5.2 highlights the most important aspects of the indigenous community groups, which is organised in five categories: *background*, *territory*, *culture, social structure* and *economy*.

[44] Based upon the last National Census held in Colombia between May 22, 2005 and May 22, 2006 (Bodnar and Ruiz, 2008; DANE, 2007, 2005).

Map 5.1 Regions where the indigenous communities selected for the study are located

Source: Compiled by the author

Geographical Context

As it can be seen in the map above, the chosen indigenous communities seem very diverse and are located in different regions across the country. That is to say that all have different ecosystems, climates, historical backgrounds and contextual factors that have influenced their cultural differences. The first two, the Misak and the Yanacona are located in the Cauca department (in the Andes), south-western part of the country. The Capital is Popayán. Cauca is characterised by having the highest percentage of indigenous population in the country, with 190,069 people (about 20% of the total department) belonging to nine officially recognised ethnic groups: Nasa, Totoró, Misak, Yanacona, Kokonuco, Eperara Siapidara, Embera, Guanaca and Inga. These groups are established in 26 of the 39 municipalities of Cauca, and Cauca hosts 93 legally constituted Resguardos (out of 679 resguardos in the country) (DANE, 2007, 2005). The department of Cauca belongs to the Andean system, and its economy is based primarily on agriculture and livestock production, forestry, fishing and trade (Bodnar and Ruiz, 2008).

The *Curripaco* and *Puinave* are located in the Amazons area, in the Department of Guainía bordering Venezuela and Brazil. The capital is Inirida. Guainía has a population of 35,230, the majority of whom are indigenous people with 64.9% (22,864), followed by the mestizos at 34.06% (11,999) and the afro communities at 1.04% (367) (DANE, 2007, 2005). There are 28 resguardos registered, inhabiting a total area of just over one million hectares and housing a total of 18,847 families. The *Curripacos, Puinaves, Piapocos, Sikuanis* and *Yerales* are identified as indigenous peoples of the Guainía. In terms of education, 43.7% of the population in Guainía has reached the primary basic level; 22.4% have reached secondary school and 5.1% have reached higher and postgraduate levels. The population without any educational level is 18.3% (DANE, 2007, 2005). Guainía is characterised geographically by the jungle, rivers, mountains (no more than 600 meters) and plains, and the main transportation network is the waterway, which is the only way to connect the population across the region (Meléndez, 2005). There are two types of economy, one traditional, developed mainly by indigenous communities and farmers, and another, formal that includes mining and trade (illegal crops of drugs aside) (Acevedo, 2013).

The *Wayuu* are located in the Caribbean region, but mostly in the department of La Guajira, located in the northeast of Colombia. It borders Venezuela at the northernmost tip of South America. The capital city of the department is Riohacha. The population of La Guajira is 619,135 inhabitants, which represents approximately 1.5% of the total population of the country. 44.9% of the population of the department belongs to an indigenous community, and 20% of all indigenous people in Colombia are concentrated in Guajira. The presence of people of African descent (Afros) slightly exceed the national average for this group (DANE, 2007, 2005). In La Guajira, there are 26 resguardos, with a total population of 241,516, equivalent to 29% of the total population of the department. The largest resguardo is the Alta and Media Guajira, located in the municipalities of Uribia, Maicao and Manaure. Uribia is the largest protected population with a population of 115,891 inhabitants, followed by Maicao and Manaure with 38,749 and 37,072 inhabitants respectively. The economy of La Guajira depends highly on mining (that has made a significant environmental impact in the region) as well as another important economic sector such as tourism, the exploitation of sea salt in Manaure and natural gas reserves, agricultural activities and industry (Rodríguez, 2017).
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Table 5.2 (I) Indigenous People's Background, Traditions and Contemporary Elements

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES	**MISAK**	**YANACONA**	**CURRIPACO**	**PUINAVE**	**WAYUU**
Geographical Location	***Cauca (in the Andes)***		***Guainia (in the Amazons)***		***La Guajira (in the Caribbean)***
Background	- The largest resguardo is in Guambia (*northeast of Cauca in the municipality of Silvia*). - They are known as *Guambianos*. - Population of 21,085 (nearly 2% out of the total of the indigenous population). - 10,620 *men* (50.4%). - 10,465 *women* (49.6%). - Largest population is in Cauca with 18,110 (91.3%). - Illiteracy is 18.4% (3,877). - Language speakers (Wam): 13,715 (65%).	- Mainly located in the southeast of Cauca, *Colombian massif*, (85.6%). - Population of 33,253 (2.3% out of the total of the indigenous population) - 16,684 *men* (50.2%) - 16,569 *women* (49.8%) - Illiteracy is 12.6% (4,179). - Language speakers (*Shimi rune/Quechua*): 2,864 (8.6%)	- Mainly located in Guainia (92.3%). - Population of 4,340 (0.35% out of the total of the indigenous population). - 2,251 *men* (51.8%). - 2,089 *women* (48.2%). - Illiteracy is 26.1% (1,136). - Language speakers (*Curripaco*): 2,864 (87.6%).	- Mainly located in Guainia (92.3%). - Population of 4,318 (0.35% out of the total of the indigenous population). - 2,175 *men* (50.3%). - 2,143 *women* (49.7%). - Illiteracy is 22.5% (973). - Language speakers (Puinave): 1,878 (85.7%).	- Mainly located in La Guajira (98.03%). - Population of 270,413 (19% out of the total of the indigenous population). - 132,180 *men* (48.88%). - 138,233 *women* (51.12%). - Illiteracy is 54% (144,987). - Language speakers (Wayuunaiki): 117,894 (51.14%).
Territory	- It has a spiritual dimension. - Considered a source of life. - Ancestral territory is constituted by rivers and lakes, thus they are considered the children of water. - Territory is owned and managed by all the community members. - Cabildos are the authority in charge of the land exploitation and distribution. - Family continuity to possession of the land. - Territory loss since colonisation.	- Mainly located in the Colombian *massif* divided in 5 ancestral resguardos. - Their resguardos are recognised by the Colombian state. - It has a spiritual dimension. - Considered a source of life. - Territory loss since colonisation.	- It provides the community with a meaning of life and sense of belonging to their culture. - Territory loss since colonisation. - A non-physical interconnection with their ancestors, deities and the spirits of the jungle. - Botanical knowledge and the use of medicinal plants can only be performed in their ancestral territory. - Territory is protected as claimed to be worked sustainably. - Cabildos are in charge of managing their territory.	- Spiritual relationship with the territory. - It is related to their community origins. Some are descendants of the *Güío* Anaconda, others of the fish and others of the tiger and so on. - Territory constituted by jungle areas with soils too humid. - Their relationship with their territory changed with Christian indoctrination. - Territory divided by clans, but their cabildos are the institution that ensures the fair management and distribution, - Ducjín (bird) is a cultural hero and a deity of knowledge. - Territory loss since colonisation.	- Spiritual relation with their territory. - Territory is considered a 'life-provider''. - The Wayuu territory includes a Venezuelan proportion (12,000km^2 Colombia and 3380km^2 in Venezuela). - Their territory contains a system of mountains and lagoons that determine their integrated vision of how their territory is divided, based on their cosmology. - Territory divided in clans.

Source: Compiled by the author

Table 5.2 (II) Indigenous People background, Traditions and Contemporary Elements

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES	MISAK	YANACONA	CURRIPACO	PUINAVE	WAYUU
Geographical Location	***Cauca (in the Andes)***		***Guainia (in the Amazons)***		***La Guajira (in the Caribbean)***
Culture	- Water is protected and worshipped. - *Pishimisak* is the Misak god: Pi: *water*, Pishi: *equilibrium*, Misak: *People*. - Kitchen is sacred and the stove: *Naachak*. They learn from there, knowledge is born. - Misak philosophy is shaped by three principles: *Mayaelan:* distribution of food that implies that there is enough for all; *Latá-Latá*: wellbeing (BV) implies equality; and *Linchap*: The philosophy of supporting and accompanying everyone in the community.	- Yanaconas: *Yana*: server, *Co*: community and *nas*: the plural form. - Post-Inca community, therefore Quechua is their language. - The world is divided into three: the *world below* (where the 'tapucos' live), the *intermediate world* (where people, plants and animals live) and the *world above* (for god and saints). - Cult of Sun, the Moon, Water and the Spirits. - Sumak Kawsay Kapak Ñan: path towards wellbeing (BV).	- Oral tradition. - *Iñapirriculi*, the deity of creation, influences the everyday life routine. - There are 12 original clans created by *Iñapirriculi*. - The first community doctrine by Christians (Sophia Muller).	- There is not a single creator. - Ducjín is the main deity. - Three worlds exist in their culture: *Senejá*: above the earth, where the sun, the moon, the starts live; *Woyotec:* mountains, village and water; and *Monojá*: space below the earth where the evil spirits live. - They were Christianised. - Christianity was gradually imposed and caused a partial loss of their culture.	- Nature is sacred. - Oral tradition. - The Wayuu people go back to the primitive deities such as Ka'i (sun). - Clan led and all the clans are the descendants of Ka'i (sun) - Fertility is a very important concept. - Matriarchal society. - M'mai(earth) is a deity. - Protection of M'mai (earth).
Social Structure	- The social structure has changed throughout time. However, nature still at the top of the social hierarchy represented in *Pishimisak*. - *Pishimisak* is the one that allows permission to perform a task in the territory. - Before the colonisation, society was divided by Cacicazgos and society was shaped by the principles *Mayaelan*, *Latá-Latá* and *Linchap*. - During Colonisation Cacicazgos were replaced by cabildos that still in place today but with representative democracy.	- Respect towards authority is a fundamental pillar for societal cohesion. - The 31 communities are led and represented by the greater cabildo (*cabildo mayor*). - Cabildo is organised by a *governor*, a secretary, a treasurer and sheriffs of each community. - Their new social structure is influenced by Western influence (e.g., Catholicism, representative democracy, education). - Yanacona communitarian guard. - There are a few institutions that complement the work of the cabildo: - Community Action Boards. - The Council of Education. - The General Assembly.	- Age hierarchy. The eldest is the most important figure as he/she is the wisest possessing knowledge. - Divided in patrilineal clans. - Each clan has a leader (the eldest). - Before colonisation clans were led by caciques, children of *Iñapirriculi*. - Before, but still an important figure, Shamans were in charge of guiding the existence of their community members. - Today, cabildos are the institutional figures that guide the community. They are elected by the community through representative democracy. - Catholic religion has shaped their society. - Maloka, local housing where community meets, share ideas and distribute tasks.	- Patriarchal society. - Religion changed substantially their social institutions (i.e., religion, education, government, economy or family). - Religion also shapes roles (i.e., race, gender or class). - Culturally, three kinds of authorities: - The eldest (*El Abuelo Mayor*). - El Shaman (*Payé*). - The Governor (territory administrator). - Head of community. - Clan Chief (*messenger*). - Resguardos are constituted by villages. - Each village chooses a captain. - every day general assemblies.	- Society organised by clans. - The social institutions can be considered as hybrid forms, as there are influence of Westerners. - Matriarchal society. - Cultural systems of justice. El *palabrero* (pütchipü) is the mediator of conflicts and the specialist of the internal laws. - There are cabildos on each resguardo. - Influenced by Western culture, social stratum is embedded in their culture. Social status is determined by the financial status of each family (represented in animals).

Source: Compiled by the author

Table 5.2 (III) Indigenous People's Background, Traditions and Contemporary Elements

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES	MISAK	YANACONA	CURRIPACO	PUINAVE	WAYUU
Geographical Location	***Cauca (in the Andes)***		***Guainia (in the Amazons)***		***La Guajira (in the Caribbean)***
Economy	- Misak economy is built upon three pillars: right for food, traditional practices and environmental sustainability. - Collective work or the *alik* (Minga). - Agriculture is the main activity. - Production of trout increased in the last few years. - Vertical economy is practiced. - Agricultural production calendar was developed. - Bartering.	- Bartering and Minga are the main economic institutions based on principles of solidarity and reciprocity. - They aim for autonomous economic systems. - Agriculture the primal economic system. - Their life plan development project states that economy must be efficient, but collective and sustainable. - *Chagras* or plot of lands are distributed equally to all the communities. But it can be given for production purpose or for teaching purpose (ethno-education).	- Their system is divided into two: traditional and contemporary. - The traditional is based on agriculture, horticulture and fishing, but nomadic agricultural economy. - The contemporary is based on tourism and crafting and some of the Curripacos work in blue-collar jobs (e.g., Mining, markets or field work) or pink-collar jobs (i.e., customer interaction, sales or entertainment). - Collective work.	- Endogenous economy. - Agriculture is the main activity and is guided by a natural calendar. - Hunting and fishing are also practices. - Collective work.	- Sheepherding, fishing and crafting are the main economic activities. - Aiming to achieve economic sustainability. - Their economy is strongly influenced by the West. As it is documented, feudal system was introduced by the Westerners and the concept of economy of scale to the trading of textiles and pearls.
References	(Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998; DANE, 2007, 2005; Duarte, 2013; Gow and Jaramillo, 2013; Jimeno, 2005; Obando Villota, 2016).	(Bushnell and Montilla, 2002; Cabildo Yanacona, 2009; DANE, 2007, 2007; Faust, 2014; Faust *et al.* 2013; Rueda, 1994; Sevilla Casas and Sevilla, 2013; Zambrano, 1993, 1992).	(Acevedo, 2017; Ariza *et al.* 2006; Autoridad Curripaco, 2002; DANE, 2007, 2005; Journet, 1981; Meléndez, 2005; Muller, 1988, 1960, 1952; Sánchez and Arango, 2004; Wright, 1999).	(Acevedo, 2017, 2013; Autoridad Puinave, 2005; DANE, 2007, 2005; Meléndez, 2005; Palacios, 2007; Triana, 1987; Villa and Houghton, 2005; Walshburger, 1992, 1990; Zapata, 2010).	(Ardila, 1990; DANE, 2007, 2005; Guerra Curvelo, 1990; Ipuana, 1993; Marín Ortíz, 2014; Mendoza, 2009; Mercado Epieyú, 2014; Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016; Rodríguez, 2017; Villalba Hernandez, 2008; Vizacaíno Escobar, 2010).

Source: Compiled by the author

Background

Tables 5.2 illustrates the general statistics of each of the selected case study examples (DANE, 2005). The biggest population amongst the CSEs is the *Wayuu*, with 270,413 people who recognise themselves as belonging to the *Wayuu* people (19% out of the total of the indigenous population). The *Wayuu* (meaning people or men in English) is from the *Arawak* (Brazil) linguistic family. The *Wayuunaiki* people migrated from the Amazon to the Guajira desert in a long process with a dispersed settlement, according to the aridity of the land and its limited access to water. That is why they are divided by clans in their territory (Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016). The statists suggest that only 51.14 % of their population speaks *Wayuunaiki*. Unlike the *Wayuu*, the statistics indicate that the CSEs located in the Amazon region tend to keep their native languages, as the *Curripaco* (87.6%) and the *Puinave* (85.7%) communities are reported to have the highest percentages of native speakers (DANE, 2007, 2005).

DANE (2005) shows that the majority of the population from the CSEs live in their regions of origin (more than 88%). For instance, the largest population of the *Misak* is in Guambia, Cauca, with 18,110 (91.3%). In fact, the largest Misak *resguardo* is located in Guambia.[45] In general, all the CSEs' population live in their regions of origin (more than 90%), with the exception of the *Yanacona* community, as they have an indigenous population living in urban areas (Sevilla Casas and Sevilla (2013) and describe their population as *Urban Yanaconas*[46]. Another interesting aspect that the statistics show, is that the majority of the CSEs' population is concentrated by men (average of 52%) with the exception of the *Wayuu* community with the 2.12% difference between *men* and *women* (Bodnar and Ruiz, 2008; DANE, 2007, 2005).

The last census depicted an interesting feature in relation to the levels of illiteracy amongst the CSEs. The majority of the studied indigenous communities' illiteracy was less than 20%, with the exception of the Wayuu community that has the highest amongst them with 54% (DANE, 2007, 2005). It seems that the highest percentage of illiteracy

[45] The Misak community is nationally recognised as the Guambiano community, the name given by the Spaniards during colonisation (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998).

[46] According to the plan of life Yanacona, there are registered Yanacona communities in places such as Popayan, Armenia, Mocoa (three cities in Colombia), USA, Spain, Ecuador and Venezuela (Cabildo Yanacona, 2009). However, they are arguably marginalised because they are not fully considered indigenous people as they live in the cities and are urbanized (Sevilla Casas and Sevilla, 2013, p. 23).

in concentrated in women (Average of 60%).[47] The percentage of Misak population illiteracy is 18.4% (3,877 people), of which the majority are women, with 62.4% (2,419 people). The percentage of the Yanacona population that are illiterate is 12.6% (4,179 people), of which the majority are women: 54.4% (2,274 people). The percentage of the Puinave population that are illiterate is 22.5% (973 people), of which the majority are women: 60.3% (587 people). The percentage of the level of illiteracy of the Curripacos is 26.1% (1,136 people), of which the majority are women: 62.0% (705 people). The percentage of the Wayuu population that is illiterate is 61.65% (144.987 people), of which the majority are women: 51.55% (967 people) (DANE, 2005).

Territory: Autonomy, Territoriality and Spiritual Relationship

Territory for the indigenous people is more than an area of land under the jurisdiction of a ruler or state. Territory has a fundamental importance to indigenous peoples for a range of reasons, including the spiritual significance of the land, self-determination, autonomy, identity, and economic factors (Gros, 1991). Territory is an important instrument of inheritance and it is a symbol of social status. Territory is sacred and everything it produces is perceived as a gift from their deities. Territory is essential for their spiritual development and its loss means losing their contact with the air and identity (Faust, 2014; Jimeno, 2005; Meléndez, 2005; Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016; Villa and Houghton, 2005). Territory in their terms is not only an asset with economic and financial value, but also a very important part of people's lives, worldviews and belief systems (Gros, 1997; Ulloa, 2004).

The literature suggests that for all the CSEs territory has a symbolic meaning (see Tables 5.2). For instance, the Misak territory is rich in waterways and has a large number of rivers and lakes. In the landscape of this Andean region, the most important orographic places are the páramos of Las Delicias and Moras, and the Alto de Guanacas. The Misak community are the children of water, because territory for them is the source of life (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998). Similarly, a fundamental characteristic of the indigenous people in the Amazon (and arguably in the whole indigenous territory of Colombia) is what is called 'essential conscience', that is, having an awareness of the origin, and the

[47] Illiteracy is measured in Colombia by the number of people who are not able to to read or write. However, their own education is not included in this evaluation.

recognition of being with, being in and belonging to nature (represented physically in their territory), as well as knowing the essentials of their reality. The whole community throughout the oral tradition knows their origin. Some are descendants of the Güío Anaconda, others of the fish and others of the tiger and so on. Thus, through acknowledging their origins, the Puinave, and in general all the indigenous communities from the Amazons, connect with their territory and claim it back as a natural right (Acevedo, 2013; Triana, 1987).

Land reform and redistribution is one of the key aspects that the indigenous population in Colombia are struggling for (Gros, 2000). Even though, studies suggest that the 31.6M hectares (out of the 114.1M hectares of rural land) are in the hands of indigenous people through their *resguardos* or other collective forms of property, corresponding to the 27.6% of the total rural land in the country (IGAC, 2012; Lafaurie Rivera, 2017), land loss, divestment and expropriation are the common issues for the indigenous population since colonisation in Colombia (Friede, 1976; Palacios, 1979). However, it is important to elaborate on the studies that suggest that indigenous people own 27.6% of the rural land, as there are many elements that need to be taken into account when referring to rural land, which include land quality and productivity, land location (most of the resguardos are located where the armed conflict takes place) and how many people own the land (1,392,623 indigenous population) (Friede, 1976; Gros, 2000, 1997).

For example, a large portion of the Yanacona territory is located in what is known as the Colombian Massif [48] and is distributed in five ancestral resguardos: *Caquiona*, *San Sebastián, Pancitará, Guachicono* and *Rioblanco*.[49] Their Resguardos have been acknowledged since the XVI century. Territoriality is key for the Yanacona community, as from the recognition, recovery and legitimation of their territory, the reconstruction of their culture is possible (Cabildo Yanacona, 2009). Furthermore, the Curripaco life plan is based upon three axes – identity, politics and autonomy – in which territory is

[48] The total area is 32,682 km^2 and distributed in 13,716 km^2 of forests, 15,423 km^2 of agroecosystems, 2,567 km^2 of páramos, 43 km^2 of snow zone, 924 km^2 have xerophytic vegetation and 9 km^2 (3.5 sq mi) of urban settlements. The altitude varies between 2,600 m and 4,646 m (Zambrano, 1993).

[49] According to data taken from the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (in Spanish, Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria or INCORA) and the Colombian Open Data website, the Yanacona resguardos constituted between 2001 and 2006 added over 6,000 hectares, of which 5,476 are territories shared with other indigenous peoples.

fundamental to them all. The Curripaco territory has been gradually taken away throughout the history of foreign occupation (by colonisers, rubber tappers, foreign companies, guerrillas, drug traffickers). As with many other indigenous communities in the Amazons of Colombia, the rubber business in the twentieth century, armed conflict and drug trafficking have caused the transformation of the Curripaco territory and the displacement of the population, causing the Curripacos to make claims on their ancestral territory (Autoridad Curripaco, 2002; Meléndez, 2005).

Efforts to expand and strengthen indigenous peoples' rights over their lands, territories and natural resources have become crucial to achieving the objectives of poverty reduction, more secure livelihoods, environmental sustainability and the preservation of indigenous cultural value systems. Tables 5.2 depict that in most of the CSEs, territory is managed, supervised and control by their government, *cabildos,* in order to ensure collective ownership, autonomy and territoriality over their lands (e.g., Autoridad Curripaco, 2002; Autoridad Puinave, 2005; Cabildo Yanacona, 2009). However, the *Wayuu* operates under different standards; although all the existing clans share the same community values and cosmology, they are not organised collectively. The clans were given different territories and are identified by symbols inherited from their first generations. The Uriana clan is identified with Jaguars and Rabbits, and the Ipuana clans with the hawk caricari bird (Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016, p. 96). Hence, it can be said that clans and territory are interrelated and intertwined, because each historical and spiritual aspect of a clan belongs to a specific part of land. The place of origin, establishes the territory of the maternal family (the Wayuu people organisational structure is considered matriarchal). There are clans' territories, or Rancherias, which members of the same family inhabit, determined by their matrilineal heritage. Cemeteries (Amuyapa) are the most important aspect for territorial bordering, particularly, for their symbolical aspect, as the cemeteries are where they bury their ancestors (Marín Ortíz, 2014; Mendoza, 2009; Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016; Vizacaíno Escobar, 2010).

Culture: Cosmovision, Acculturation and Social Behaviour

The literature suggests that the behaviour of indigenous people is related to their cosmovision (beliefs, values and pillars). Tables 5.2 highlight some examples from the

CSEs of how indigenous world views determine the collective way of life and depict the diversity amongst them in terms of culture (e.g., deities, social institutions, practices etc.). As an example of this, the Misak philosophy of life is conditioned by three concepts: i) Mayaelan – a philosophy of life for the distribution of food that implies that that there is enough for all; ii) Latá Latá – ancestral Misak tradition of equality; and iii) Linchap – the Misak philosophy of accompanying (acompañar) or support. These three are implicitly interconnected with the territory (water, earth and Pishimisak) (Dagua Hurtado *et al*. 1998; Gow and Jaramillo, 2013; Jimeno, 2005; Obando Villota, 2016). Interestingly, the three concepts are exercised for the collective interest and implemented, respecting their territory (natural resources). The Misak community perceive themselves as one, and everything has to be dealt with for the benefit of the community. Some literature argues that these practices have gradually been diluted, particularly with the influence of Western education and religion (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998, pp. 189–216). As it can be seen, cosmovision shapes the modus operandi of the indigenous communities. Another example that explains this is the *Yanacona* community, that aims to regain collectiveness through the Andean principles of *Ama Llulla, Ama Quella* and *Ama Sua*: it is forbidden to lie, steal and loiter, legitimated by the universal and spiritual principles of *Shuk shunkulla*, one heart, *shuk yuyalla* one thought, *shuk makilla*, one hand (Cabildo Yanacona, 2009).

However, it has been claimed that the indigenous people's behaviour has been either changed or adjusted to the Western world view during colonisation, particularly through the processes of *christianisation* (e.g., Acevedo, 2013; Triana, 1987; Wright, 1999). The secondary sources indicate that Christianity is a fundamental tool for homogenisation and acculturation during and *post*-colonisation (Acevedo, 2017; Galeano, 1997; Gros, 1991), particularly in the Amazons (i.e., Meléndez, 2005). For both CSEs in the Amazons, the christianisation process is a determinant factor that shapes the current forms of the indigenous societies in the region (Ariza *et al.* 2006; Journet, 1981; Meléndez, 2005; Triana, 1987). For instance, the *Curripaco* community is considered as a hybrid culture constituted by their mysticism and Christianity. Curripacos' messianic perception facilitated the evangelisation process led by Sophie Muller (1988, 1960, 1952) who developed a protestant religious methodology, based upon Laubach's method[50] to

[50] The method developed by a Congregational Christian missionary to teach how to read and write without books. Laubach is known as the "The Apostle to the Illiterates".

'*convert primitive population with evil beliefs into Christianity*' (Muller, 1960, p. 63). In fact, the first indigenous community to be converted by Muller was the Curripaco.

Another cultural aspect that determines the indigenous behaviour in society is their relationship with nature. Some scholars have noted that indigenous people have a relationship with nature that is often tied to language, religion and spirituality, various philosophies and ideologies, and the politics of land recognition and land rights (Faust, 2014; Gow and Jaramillo, 2013; Gros, 2000). A key concept in indigenous 'ecological' cosmologies includes the lack of division between concepts of nature and humans, and the idea that many non-human entities are considered 'persons' with whom interactions must be based on relations of kinship (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998). For example, the rituals and traditional practices within the Puinave people are governed by the orientation of their own ecological calendar, which is why they carry out some activities related to agriculture, hunting, fishing and fruit harvesting. Nature has to be protected, preserved and sustainably exploited, because it is considered the source of life (Triana, 1987). Similarly, *fertility* is a very important concept in the Wayuu worldview and relates to the symbolic dimension of nature (it also explains why they are a matriarchal society). Fertility relates to the union of Juyá (rain represented in a male figure), who comes to spread his semen in the vagina of the M'ma (earth), who waits for him with joy to receive the drops of water that fall to the ground. With the visit of Juyá, there is a general fertilisation and a rebirth of three generations – plants, animals and people – giving life and joy to the *Wayuu* (Mercado Epieyuu e*t al.* 2016, p. 94). Thus, *Wayuu* territory and its natural resources, represented in M'ma, have to be protected and well cared.

Social Structure: Social Arrangements and Institutions

The social structures of indigenous people include or are made up of different elements of society, such as institutions, statuses, roles, groups and social classes (hierarchies). Drawing on post-colonial studies, it is argued that 'colonised subjects' (societies) are reshaped in new forms as a consequence of colonisation (Anzaldúa, 1987; Bhabha, 2012b; Said, 2012; Spivak, 1988a). It is not different for the indigenous people in Colombia than in the rest of the world. As shown in the earlier section, indigenous societies faced different historical moments that influenced contemporary forms (Gros, 2000). Thus, their social structures can be seen through the traditional and the contemporary influenced by external factors. Firstly, the literature indicates that different

forms of social hierarchies can be seen in the CSEs, and are rooted in ancestrality, including patriarchal, matriarchal and age social systems (e.g., Ariza *et al.* 2006; Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998; Faust, 2014; Ipuana, 1993). However, it can be seen that in almost all CSEs, their deities/gods represented in nature are always on the top of their societal stratification (see Tables 5.2).

Patriarchy is a system that the indigenous people have always been recognised for, where indigenous men are in authority over women in all aspects of their society (Ulloa, 2004). For instance, Clan filiation, for the *Curripaco* community, is defined by the father, and women are destined to have children who belong to their father's clan. The Curripacos' socio-political structure corresponds to a hierarchical system, distributed in patrilineal lineages (Ariza *et al.* 2006). In fact, according to *Curripaco* history, the first human beings were the Caciques (eenavi), the ones destined to lead their community, mostly men (Ariza *et al.* 2006; Autoridad Curripaco, 2002; Journet, 1981). Nonetheless, not all the indigenous people are organised in patriarchal societies, the *Wayuu* community is clan-based and is defined by the maternal line. The woman is the one who forges the life of all members of the clan and organises them (hence, the importance of fertility). The 'breed' comes from the pregnancy, the E'iruku (Clan), which literally translates as meat. A woman, by bringing a baby into the world, brings with her a piece of her flesh, which is gifted in the clan with a piece of land and constitutes the established support, given by the maternal kinship. The relatives of the E'iruku are called apüshii (uterine descendants), which translates as true family and determines their lives, since their actions are to strengthen their clan, and maintain the support of their caste (Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016).

Other traditional systems are identified in the literature. Age stratification is a common feature amongst the indigenous people in Colombia, which refers to the hierarchical ranking of people into age groups within a society (Gros, 1991; Meléndez, 2005; Ulloa, 2004). For example, the *Puinave* community have three kinds of authority: El Abuelo Mayor (the eldest), El Chamán (Payé), the governor who administered the territory, the head of the community, and the clan chief (known as the messenger), who develops the functions that today belong to the "captain". The eldest in the group is the person seen to have the better knowledge (more experience) and is the person in charge to transfer knowledge to the rest of the group (Triana, 1987). Also, the Misak community indicates

an age stratification. Community decisions are made by asking for permission to *Pishimisak*. As exemplified by Dagua Hurtado *et al*. (1998), anyone is entitled to enter anyone's house or work, or anyone's land without the owner's permission: permission must be granted by Pishimisak (the spiritual dimension). However, there is a structural organisation to understand the will of Pishimisak: 1) there is a M*θ*r*θ*pik (a wise council (old people/elders) that interpret the will of Pishimisak and understand who has to perform a task; 2) there is a Peshawar*θ*pik, who is responsible for carrying out the tasks; 3) there is the Ashipik, in charge of interpreting the dreams and working according to them; and 4) there is the Sh*θ*l*θ*shipik, who chooses who should do the remedies (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998).

The contemporary indigenous community social structures in Colombia are represented by their *cabildos*, a political institutional imposed by non-indigenous people since colonisation (see section 5.2). Tables 5.2, illustrate that all the CSEs have cabildos, that form the political institution that manage and govern the society (as previously mentioned). In all the CSEs, the literature indicates that representative democracy is used to elect their governors. For instance, the socio-political, organisational and administrative structure of the 31 indigenous communities that make up the Yanacona people is led, directed and managed by the Cabildo Mayor del Pueblo Yanacona, and directed by a governor, a secretary, a treasurer and the sheriffs, who are all elected democratically. Although the institutional structure seems centralised, local resguardo leaders and governors play a very important role in the decision-making process (Sevilla Casas and Sevilla, 2013).

Another external practice that has influenced the indigenous societal structures is the introduction of social stratification that is a kind of social differentiation whereby a society groups people into a socio-economic strata, based upon their occupation and income, wealth and social status, or derived power (social and political) (Vizacaíno Escobar, 2010). For example, research suggests that due to the implementation of grazing and pastoral work, the Wayuu people developed a feudal system, in which a hierarchical system was put in place based on the amount of livestock (Ipuana, 1993; Marín Ortíz, 2014; Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016; Vizacaíno Escobar, 2010). With the introduction of

a pen to improve the livestock holding, the Wayuu *rancheria*[51] was divided by social classes. Although around each Rancheria members of the same clan live, differences in status can be seen in the amount of livestock that each family has (Ipuana, 1993).

The Economy: The Traditional and Contemporary Activities

Indigenous economies in Colombia represent the traditional and local economic systems of indigenous peoples. These systems include a variety of land-based small-scale economic activities and practices, and sustainable resource management (Gros, 1997). However, mostly, indigenous economies are characterised by a subsistence mode of production (self-production vs. self-consumption)(Ariza *et al.* 2006; Gow and Jaramillo, 2013; Mercado Epieyuu *et al.* 2016; Sevilla Casas and Sevilla, 2013). The literature indicates that all the CSEs economies remain in the primary sector: agriculture is the main source of subsistence (see Table 5.3). For instance, the basis of the Misak economy is agriculture and is operated collectively at different altitudes and zones of production. The main crops produced by the community are corn and potatoes (20 different kinds), but they also grow wheat, onion, beans, beans, cabbage and other seeds that grow in that region. Moreover, they also cultivate a variety of medicinal plants, such as pennyroyal, arnica, and rosemary (Gow and Jaramillo, 2013). For the Yanacona community, bartering and minga are the economic institutions based on reciprocity and solidarity that are fundamental praxis for their identity and economic support. The *Yanacona* community aims for an autonomous economic system to achieve the Sumak Kawsay. Their economy is based primarily on agricultural processes with the objective of producing food and other crops, as well as cattle breeding and dairy production (Cabildo Yanacona, 2009).

Tables 5.2 depict that most of the CSEs' agricultural activities are combined with traditional practices or knowledge. For instance, the *Puinave* community are mainly hunters, fishermen, collectors and farmers, but they also market products that they extract from the forest; all their activities are planned based on their ecological calendar, and they rely on their family to perform the tasks. The division of labour is organised within the family nucleus. The harvest is basically a female activity, although during the harvest season the whole community can participate in it, but the men participate more

[51] Traditional households in the Wayuu culture (Ipuana, 1993; Villalba Hernandez, 2008).

in hunting and fishing. The fishing techniques vary according to the season, as well as the volumes. For instance, in summer (June) the fish volume increases because of the decrease in river levels, and therefore spears and harpoons can be used, while in the winter periods traps become indispensable instruments (Autoridad Puinave, 2005; Palacios, 2007; Triana, 1987).

Similarly, the economic model used by the Misak is what is known as a vertical economy (ancestrally practiced); that is, the process of exploiting environmental zones that, although close together in space, contrast with one another in altitude, rainfall, overall climate and vegetation (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998). By having developed this economic system, the Misak created an agricultural product cycle calendar that works as a guide for the production of products at certain times in the year. For instance, while in July and June the maiz (pura in wam) planting starts the process at the Kausr*θ*, at Kurak Yu it is the time for defoliation. Another interesting practice during the agricultural cycle is that any surplus obtained from the production of any product is taken to the Tuesday market in Silvia to be bartered. Bartering is the practice of exchanging goods or services one for another. The Misak community still practices bartering as a way to exchange products from one zone to another (Dagua Hurtado *et al.* 1998).

Contemporary economic practices are also indicated by the literature. Some of the indigenous economies have adapted to the contemporary economic world (see Tables 5.2). For example, all the versions of tourism can be found in the Curripacos (ethno, eco, cultural, adventure or Geo). There is a long tradition amongst the indigenous population in the region of organising in associations or cooperatives, as this is a more suitable form for their economic distribution (Meléndez, 2005). Likewise, the *Wayuu* community combines traditional and conventional modes of production: weaving is one of the most important income generators and generates more employment for women. Agriculture and pastoral work is practised by the community for self-consumption but some of the clans trade some products, particularly the three traditional items weaved by the *Wayuu*: *Hammocks* (*Chinchorros* in Spanish or *'Uula* in Wayuunaiki), backpacks or handbags (*Mochila* in Spanish and *Katto'ui* in Wayuunaiki) and Sandals (*Guaireñas* in Spanish and *Wairiina* in Wayuunaiki) (Marín Ortíz, 2014).

5.4. Identifying the SSE Scenario in Colombia

The SSE scenario in Colombia is understood as the result of a historical process in which a combination of local and external practices have shaped the current sector (Alvarez, 2012, 2010; Fajardo-Rojas, 2003). Overall, the SSE sector is argued to be rooted in the community culture of the pre-Columbian peoples, and in the experiences of European cooperativism initiated in the mid-nineteenth century. This double heritage gives a special feature to the Colombian SSE development (Fajardo-Rojas, 2003). In order to understand the meso-level in which the ICOs operate, this section describes briefly the historical outlook of the SSE in Colombia in four periods: *background*, *birth, consolidation* and *contemporary*.

Background: The Pre-Columbian, Colonial and Post-Colonial Period (between 1492-1930)

The pre-Columbian history in Colombia is told through a wealth of oral narration of collective practices that can be traced back to its Amerindian communities. They are characterised by three features: collective ownership of the land, collective work and primacy of social and environmental rights. All of them are influenced by their cosmovision and managed by their own indigenous institutions (as depicted above, indigenous structures can be very diverse) (Fajardo-Rojas, 2003). Later, with the arrival of the colonisers, local practices were either transformed or reshaped, and new organisational and economic forms were introduced with the supervision of different institutions (most of the time coercively) (i.e., Fals-Borda *et al.* 1975; Gros, 1991). Scholars argue that during this period, the local society was transformed into a more homogenous one characterised by neo-forms of production starting with the encomienda system,[52] where the settlers, priests and colonial officials were given large land grants (latifundium), and indigenous people were required to provide tribute and work (quotas), exchanging this for protection and posterior, led by the Spanish church, with the introduction of community banks (in Spanish, Cajas de Comunidad), public granaries (in Spanish, Pósitos) and mount of pieties[53] (in Spanish, montepio) (Alvarez,

[52] The system, instituted in 1503, under which a Spanish soldier or colonist was granted a tract of land or a village together with its Indian inhabitants.

[53] Mount of piety is an institutional pawnbroker run as a charity from the later Middle Ages until today that offered financial loans at a moderate interest to those in need.

2012; Calderon *et al.* 2008; Gómez Núñez, 2014). Besides this, post-independence with the emergence and expansion of European cooperativism, a wide range of solidarity and cooperative forms were created which included: craftsperson societies (in Spanish, Sociedades de artesanos), and the Relief Society (in Spanish, Sociedad de la Caridad) (Calderon *et al.* 2008).

The Birth of the SSE Period (1931-1959)

According to Fajardo-Rojas, (2003), the birth of the SSE is related to the cooperative gradual introduction, that took place between the 1931 and 1959. With the creation of the first cooperatives in the country, and the introduction of the Cooperative Law (134) in 1931, new forms of practices and actors led to socio-economic changes (actors such as union leaders, political leaders and social movements)(Vesga and Lora, 1992). The first cooperatives were operating in different sectors, such as retail, worker, producer and service, aiming to take advantage of some privileges that were introduced in the liberal government reforms back then. Some examples of these cooperatives were the *Bananera of Magdalena*, the *Agricultural and Cattle of Sogamoso* and *La Antioqueña*. Even though the state issued various decrees (e.g., 849 in 1932 or 2462 in 1948) encouraging the development of the cooperatives, the lack of effectiveness of some cooperatives and the political violence of that time, had delayed the consolidation of the cooperatives in Colombia (Alvarez, 2012, 2010; Fajardo-Rojas, 2003).

Consolidation, growth expansion and integration Period (1960-2009)

Although there is evidence of the formation of cooperatives at the beginning of the twentieth century in Colombia, the cooperative sector increased significantly from 1960 onwards. An illustrative example of this is the establishment of cooperatives in the Santander region (Buchelli, 2006). This was in part due to the support of the Catholic Church, whose strategy was to promote cooperatives in rural areas to enhance socio-economic development (for example, the Episcopal Conference in Medellin in 1968) (Alvarez, 2012, 2010; Bedoya and Caruso, 2006; Calvo and Morales, 2013b). Moreover, it was in 1963 when the cooperative legislation modified the Law of 1598, including mutuals and employee trusts. As a result of this, the number of cooperatives increased significantly in the 1970s and 1980s. While there were only 523 cooperatives and 263,060 members in 1963, the number increased to 2,120 and 948,265 members in 1983 (OEA, 1984).

In 1986, the concept of solidarity economy was adopted with the 2636 Decree on the 4th of August, giving birth to the Solidarity Economy National Council which has since been recognised as a very important sector in the national economic environment. In 1998, with Law 79, solidarity economic forms were categorised into four groups: cooperatives, mutuals, associations and employee trusts. Until 1999, the oversight role of solidarity economy entities was conducted by the National Department of Cooperatives (DANCOOP), the government institution responsible for defining the policy for solidarity in particular forms of organisation for the cooperative sector, and which was responsible for planning policies, and the implementation of programmes and projects (Buchelli, 2006).

Until the mid-1990s, the SSE sector was very strong in several economic sectors, including construction, transport, agriculture, commerce and services. Examples of some of these organisations are Colanta and Coolechera (both related to dairy products), Saludcoop (health services) and Mutual Ser (financial services including microcredits), amongst others (Alvaro, 2007). During this time, the country experienced an economic and financial crisis that significantly affected the SSE sector. According to a study by Alvaro (2007), the number of SSE organisations reduced between 1997 and 1998 from 4,108 to 3,479. As a result, and in 1998, the Colombian Government, under the presidency of Ernesto Samper Pizano, introduced Laws 79 and 454 (Villar, 2001). These laws described the 'solidarity economy' as socio-economic, cultural and environmental systems formed by a set of organised social forces, identified by associative solidarity, democratic and humanistic self-managed practices, and considered crucial for the national economy. As illustrated in Table 5.3 below, the government transformed DANCOOP in the Administrative Department of the Solidarity Economy (DANSOCIAL) and established a wide range of bodies to support the development of the sector: The Superintendence of the Solidarity Economy, the Deposit Guarantee Fund for Cooperatives and the National Fund for the Solidarity Economy. These bodies have since been responsible for planning solidarity economy related policies, as well as implementing programmes and projects (DNP, 2010). The number of solidarity organisations has continued to increase since 2000, as the data suggests that in that year there were 5,623 organisations, but 11,094 in 2006 (Alvaro, 2007). The latter regulations concerning the solidarity economy took place in 2001 and 2002 with the 1515

Resolution and *Supersolidaria* Law 795; the *Supersolidaria*[54] is the institutional body of the state in charge of supervising the preservation of the values, principles and norms of SSE Organisations, as well as the activity, results and benefits for its members.

Contemporary Period: From Solidarity Practices to Social Innovation

The contemporary SSE sector has also adapted to the new forms with the introduction of social innovation (SI)[55] and the transformation of DANSOCIAL to the *Unidad Administrativa Especial de Organizaciones Solidarias* (UAEOS) that is the institution that identifies, promotes, encourages and strengthens the SSE organisations in Colombia.

Since 2010, the Colombian Government has promoted greater integration of the sector by implementing strategic programmes for public sector participation and creating new scenarios of SI through partnerships between the state, for-profit and non-profit organisations (Castillo, 2011). The Department for Social Prosperity (DPS)[56] was developed during the presidency of Juan Manuel Santos (till 2018) to coordinate and enact all public policies, to compensate victims of conflict and reduce poverty under the framework of the National 'Development' Plan 2010-2014 and 2014-2018. This plan recognises the SSE sector and promotes SI as a mechanism for identifying and developing solutions to poverty and inequality[57] (Frias *et al.* 2013; Villa and Melo, 2015). The Social Innovation Centre (CIS) within the 'National Agency for Overcoming Extreme Poverty' (in Spanish, Agencia Nacional para la Pobreza Extrema, ANSPE) was founded in 2011 to support SI initiatives for extreme poverty eradication, aiming to help 500,000 families out of extreme poverty by 2020 (Pulford *et al.* 2014). In 2013 the Social Innovation

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[54] In the case of cooperatives, apart from the Supersolidaria there are other institutions that control and supervise their work and operations. For example, for a transport cooperative the Security and Transport Superintendence.

[55] Social innovation is a term that is often used in conjunction with social entrepreneurship and social enterprise, although it is distinct. The term is often used by policy makers and private companies to describe the processes of invention, diffusion and adoption of new services or organisational models, whether in the non-profit, public or private sector, as well as the partnership between the sectors (The Young Foundation, 2010).

[56] The Department for Social Prosperity is currently collaborating with the National Planning Department (in Spanish, Departamento Nacional de Planeación or DPS) and the Department of Science, Technology and Innovation (in Spanish, Departamento de Ciencias y Tecnologia de la Innovación, Colciencias) to deliver the National Development Plan (2010-2014 and 2014-2018).

[57] The April 2013 World Economic Forum report "Breaking the Binary: Policy Guide to Scaling Social Innovation", listed Colombia's Department for Social Prosperity (DNP) as a leading global example of public sector policy (Pulford *et al.* 2014).

National Node (NNIS) was also created as a platform for collective action to enable the construction and implementation of SI policies, programmes and projects by citizens and communities[58] (ANSPE, 2013; CEPAL, 2009).

The creation of the UAEOS was based on the decree 4122 of 2011, through which this organisation was attached to the Ministry of Labour to develop the work of promoting and strengthening SSE organisations in Colombia (based on the SSE norms). The UAEOS identifies that SSE organisations are divided into two groups: (I) *Solidarity Economy Organisations* (SEOs) that include cooperatives, employee funds and mutual associations and (II) *Development Solidarity Organisations* (DSOs) that include associations, foundations and voluntary organisations. All of the organisations that formalise themselves under these two umbrellas, must comply with the rules set by the SSE authorities, and must be regulated as such, which includes ownership, organisational structure, governance and profit management frameworks. Today, there are 25,000 SSE organisations in Colombia, which are ruled by their own norms (Alvarez, 2012; Serna Gomez and Adolfo Rubio-Rodriguez, 2016; Silva Valencia, 2016). For instance, any cooperative surplus must be distributed as follows: (i) 20% to increase the legal reserve (a social fund to strengthen the company); (ii) 10% for the solidarity fund (a social fund used in cases of domestic calamity); (iii) 20% for the cooperative education fund that must reach all members; and (iv) the remaining 50% is distributed by the general assembly, either to reimburse the associates for proportional use of services, or better still to develop health programs, family education, recreation, housing, or any other authentic community need (Law 79 for cooperatives, see in Alvarez, 2012; Bedoya and Caruso, 2006). The not-for-profit associations must reinvest all surplus to the organisations and are ruled by different laws and decrees of cooperatives[59] (Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006).

[58] NNIS was implemented by the Colombian Government with the Ministry of Information Technology and Communications (in Spanish, Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones (MinTIC), the National Learning Service (in Spanish, Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA) and the Department for Social Prosperity (DPS).

[59] Article 38 of the Political Constitution of Colombia, Law 22 of 1987, Decree 1318 of 1988, Article 633 of the Civil Code, Decree 2150 of 1995, Decree 427 of 1996, Decree 1529 of 1990, District Decree 059 of 1991 and of Decree 535 of 1990.

Table 5.3. Institutional framework for the SSE in Colombia

	YEAR	HISTORICAL CONTEXT
Cooperatives / Solidarity Economy	1931	-The enactment of Cooperative Law (Number 134).
	1963	-Modification of Cooperative Law (Number 1598)
	1986	-The introduction of the concept of 'solidarity economy' (2636 Decree). -The establishment of the National Council of Solidarity Economy (CONES).
	1988	-With Law 79, the state recognises cooperatives, mutuals, and employee trusts. -The establishment of the National Department of cooperatives (DANCOOP).
	1991	Articles 58, 68, and 334 stress the importance of the solidarity economy
	1998	-The establishment of Law 454, the Superintendence of the Solidarity Economy, FONES and DANSOCIAL
	2001/2002	-The Resolution 1515 and Supersolidaria Law 795
Social Innovation	2010	-National Development Plan 2010-2014
	2011	-The establishment of Social Innovation Centre (CIS) and Unidad Administrativa Especial de Organizaciones Solidarias (UAEOS).
	2013	-The establishment of the Social Innovation National Node (NNIS).
	2014	-National Development Plan 2014-2018.

Source: Compiled by the author

5.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has clarified the contextual factors within the history of indigenous communities in Colombia necessary for analysing the development of ICOs, and to elaborate the theoretical framework developed in this thesis. The chapter suggests that with foreign invasion, the indigenous people in the country were either transformed or extinguished by the violent and coercive form in which they were conquered. This relates to the emergence of the development state as an alternative to indigenous community organisation. The chapter also justifies why and how the concept of BV and indigenous communities can be elaborated through an examination of the main characteristics of five indigenous communities selected for empirical analysis in this thesis (the Misak, the Yanacona, the Puinave, the Curripaco and the Wayuu) in three geographic regions of Colombia. Having reviewed the existing research and literature carefully, the researcher identified common factors to understand the chosen CSEs, and to find common traces to associate and compare them with each other, whilst acknowledging that all of them are heterogeneous in terms of background, territory, culture, social structure and economy. The author has also contextualised and discussed

the construction and development of the SSE in the country. The following chapter will present the findings related to the factors that influence the formalisation of IOGs in Colombia.

CHAPTER 6
THE HYBRIDISATION OF ICOs: INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN THE FORMALISATION OF IOGs IN COLOMBIA

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings from analysing the characteristics of the five case study examples. The findings emerge from the collected data and seek to respond to the question of whether there are similarities and differences amongst the five CSEs, despite their indigenous people's culture, organisational life span and geographical context. The characteristics that are identified are the result of the in-depth-triangulated data analysis, using the cross-case study proposed in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.4.3). The excerpts illustrated in this chapter are a compilation of different sources of data collection: video focus group and semi-structured interviews (all transcribed verbatim), documentary sources, observations and fieldnotes. The characteristics that are suggested in this Chapter were identified when the IOGs – which are defined as those informal indigenous collective modes of cooperation and solidarity practices became ICOs – were legally bound and formalised. It is important to mention that following the multi-level model proposed in Chapter 3, the analysis is allocated at the meso-level (see Diagram 3.4). The transition from the micro to the meso level takes place moving from the informal to the formal stage of the IOGs (named in this thesis as ICOs). The characteristics identified are associated to the ICOs rather than the IOGs; although, as seen below, informal practices may also nurture the formal ones through the analysis of mimicry and hybridity as theorised by Bhabha (1984).

The analysis began by searching interesting features in all the transcripts, and then gathering relevant data in nodes. For each node, the author brings quotations from different respondents where inferences and deductions about their perceptions are made. Two main aspects emerge as being central for explaining the characteristics of the selected ICOs during the transition from informality to formality: (i) the raison d'être to formalise the organisations selected and (ii) the hybridisation process that occurs when transmuting from IOGs to ICOs. The first section attempts to explain the internal and external elements that drives IOGs towards an ICO framework. The second section intends to illustrate the characteristics of ICOs through the analysis of mimicry and

hybridity of each case study example selected. This chapter shows that while hybridisation forms might be the outcome of power dynamics and dominant Western forms legitimated by the SSE authorities, it also echoes indigenous cultural practices that shape the current ICO forms.

6.2 Raison d'être: Motives for the ICOs' Existence (Internal and External Drivers)

Many different reasons for the forming of the IOGs emerge from the data analysis. In this section, the author tries to disentangle the motives that influence or drive the IOGs to formalise themselves and become ICOs. Interestingly, the findings indicate that the motives are a combination of internal and external factors that drove the formalisation process. The data collected demonstrates that both the internal or external motives are strongly associated with the context where these formalisation processes occurred: by context, the author is referring to the geography, history, culture and institutionality that each of the IOGs are connected to. As shown in Chapters 4 and 5, the ICOs are deliberately chosen in three different regions (the Caribbean, the Andes and the Amazons) to understand the development of each in different scenarios. The evidence reveals the importance of adopting a contextualised approach for the understanding of the raison d'être of the chosen ICOs, as in all cases there is a strong association with the formalisation process and the context that each ICO is related to (see Table 6.1 and 6.2).

Although the findings in this section attempt to illustrate similarities and differences in the identified *motives* (characteristics) across the ICOs, there seems to be a strong relationship with the objectives promulgated by their indigenous authorities (cabildos). In other words, there is an embedded political element in some of the ICOs' motives that led the IOGs to become ICOs. Hence, what the evidence reveals is that despite the fact that external factors may drive formalisation processes, the ICOs' existence is also determined and influenced by the agenda of their indigenous authorities. Six motives are identified in the collected data to illustrate the raison d'être of the ICOs. They are divided into two: (i) internal drivers followed by local power dynamics and cultural frameworks of meaning summarised in (1) *Cosmovision: Ancestrality, Knowledge, Identity* and *Language* and, (2) *Community and Family Wellbeing* (see Table 6.1), and, (ii) external drivers that occurred out of the local spectrum narrowed in (3) *Land Rights and*

Territoriality, (4) *Armed Conflict* and *Violence*, (5) *Socio-economic Needs: Poverty* and *Lack of Employment* and (6) *Funding Opportunities*. These motives try to signpost a two-dimensional interplay that influences the existence of the ICOs.

6.2.1 Internal Driver: Cosmovision: Ancestrality, Knowledge, Identity and Language

The findings indicate that there is a strong position of the ICOs in relation to the way they see the world (cosmovision) and its relationship with the raison d'être to formalise their initiatives. In fact, although varied, the five CSEs agreed that one of the main motivations to formalise their projects was to reinforce their culture and develop their ideas based on their own understanding (see Table 6.1). Cosmovision appears to be an essential element for all selected indigenous community groups, as it is considered a determinant factor to establish a coherent autonomy constituted by self-knowledge, identity and language. As shown in Chapter 5, the selected indigenous communities have a very different way of seeing the world, and therefore shape their own societies based on their own norms and values. That is to say that their cosmovision clearly influences their actions by shaping a repertoire or 'tool kit' of habits, skills and styles from which they construct strategies to tackle local issues (Box 6.1). Here is a link with the BV theory, as it is influenced by the worldview of the Quechuas and Aymaras (see Chapter 2), in which indigenous community values and actions are proposed to shape a new society.

Box 6.1 Cosmovision Influencing the Formalisation of the ICOs

Well, we as Misak … started thinking that as our sacred places, the worldview according to the law of origin. Well ... Then we thought that we have to, let's say preserve the ecosystems of the páramo, that belongs to the cooperative, right? … the páramo, the forests, the "redoubts" that exist….. So that's what happened to us … we started to organise as the Asociación Jardin Botánico las Delicias to preserve the ecosystem of that is belong to the Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias and encourage the community to work the land sustainably and think about our future generations… [Member, MKFG1.6, CS1].

By creating projects, we celebrate our culture and therefore reinforce our identity…. we are selling our products… our products that are produced from our territory and with our knowledge… we set business to show society that things can be done in our terms and in our view… By commercialising it we look for an identity empowerment … [Weaver/ Treasurer, VIWA2, CS5].

The literature indicates that during the colonisation and post-colonisation processes, indigenous cosmovision is practically excluded and undermined by Western culture that

is practically imposed, either by violence or by coercion, and it became the main dominant discourse in the society (discussed in Chapter 2 and 5). The participants point out the need to rebirth their cultural practices and develop their own actions shaped by their worldview as an act of resistance. The findings indicate that in all ICOs, identity and language are identified as key factors to maintain their indigenous culture. For instance, during the video production stage, participants were always keen on providing a factual report of their initiatives but always by highlighting the importance of their indigenous identity and language. In fact, there were times that video interviews were conducted in their own language.

Furthermore, Box 6.2 illustrates a general concern that was raised during the focus groups conversations about identity and culture. Participants expressed the will of the community to develop initiatives that could help to maintain and/or reawakening their indigenous culture, particularly since new generations are not interested in learning about their indigenous cultural roots. Thus, the author found the strategy to formalise their informal initiatives to systematically generate opportunities for the community while reinforcing their indigenous culture.

Box 6.2 ICOs' Development to Revive Indigenous Culture

Let's say, to strengthen our life project … the life project of the Misak community …. There are actions that we are taking place to strengthening our language, our own economy, health and education ... what we are doing for example? La Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias or the association, they were created to revive who we are and where we are coming from, by doing this our future generations will appreciate what means to be a Misak [Member, MKFG1.9, CS1].

Eh yes. Today, the majority, almost 50 percent are losing their language. Why? Because ... Because of the Western education, they are copying, let's say that. And that's why, with this project, we are trying to improve and strengthen our language, right? Because language is the way of life. And if we lose that language then the ethnicity ends. The Puinave ethnic group
[Treasurer, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

I would consider that in order to survive the community has walked an educational model that is aimed at the cultural strengthening of the Wayúu people and especially the inhabitants who are in this area. From the same school practice acquiring Western knowledge adapting them without losing that identity through the fabric and the production of our art, through the garden, through knowledge because knowledge is universal and the fact that we are a people that are geographically delimited both culturally as geographically, not us but ... it does not take away from us to know the world that exists beyond the fact of wanting to maintain a culture, we cannot be a geocentric town to close there and stagnate there… But it is important to create projects that combines both worlds while strengthening our Wayuu culture
[Community Member, WAFG 1.4, CS5].

In relation to the above, another interesting aspect that emerges from the findings is that in some cases at a formal level, indigenous cultural practices seem to be commercialised while seeking to reinforce their culture. The ICOs manifest cultural fortification through two methods: (1) *practiced-based*, in which they utilize their knowledge of farming to distance themselves from Western practices (i.e., to some extent agriculture and pasturage etc.); (2) *produced-based*, in which products are made from raw materials that have been produced by their ancestors (i.e., *mañoco* snacks) and/or by weaving their own art to be commercialised in the national or international market. As seen in Box 6.3, participants highlight the importance of celebrating their culture while doing business. In the existing literature it can be seen how indigenous organisations are created to offer a different option to practice an economy based on their own knowledge (see the work of Peredo and McLean, 2013) and how entrepreneurship theory can be complemented by indigenous people's experiences.

Box 6.3 Celebrating Culture While Doing Business

We have many services to offer…in fact out tourist chain is compounded by different activities that we do every day in our community such as go fishing, hunting or cooking our traditional food… we also offer traditional medicine … we connect out tourists with our local shamans, alternative medicine is becoming really popular and there are plants that only can be found here in the amazons…to be honest we offer this because is the only thing we know to do... people like to show our culture while doing business is win-win [Member, VIPU5, CS4].

The Wayuu mochilas became really popular at national level… the paisas [referring to people from the Antioquia region] came here stole our knowledge and style and they are manufacturing our Wayuu products at cheaper price, as they have better equipment … what we do is do our products in our styles, our products have a meaning and we are proud to making them in our own way [Weaver, WAFG 1.7, CS5].

Ancestrally, we have consumed mañoco, my grandparents did, my parents did and I did…we are offering in a snack what we consume on a daily basis…it is actually a really good way to promote our culture and do business [Treasurer, CUFG 1.5, CS3].

In this respect, fieldwork evidence shows that all the ICOs selected for this study engage in indigenous practices while doing business. Minga and bartering are reported to be actively exercised by the CSEs to complement their business activities. As seen in Box 6.4, one of the co-founders of the *Asociación Jardín Botánico las Delicias*, recognises that minga and bartering are ancestral practices that enable community within the Misak culture, but simultaneously help the business as labour costs are reduced to nearly zero and waste management reduced.

Box 6.4 Cultural Practices Contributing to Business Performance

It is really important that our children learn and experience what our grandparents and their grandparents used to do… so, practices like the minga and bartering help us to connect with our forefathers… also, it is really important because it nurtures our projects… when we have a big job to do we call out for minga of working and that's really helpful… also, when we have a surplus of production we going to the Tuesday's market in Silvia and we exchange our products to others [Cofounder, V1MK8, CS1].

6.2.2 Internal Driver: Community and Family Wellbeing

The findings suggest that seeking wellbeing and the provision for decent living standards are key motives for the ICOs. It is interesting to see how the IOGs embarked on a "collective and communal journey" which determined the set of motivations that they drew upon to launch their ventures. The IOGs born out of family groups (see section

3.6) where values and ethics are central. Thus, the findings indicate that the ICOs adopt family and community values (that are usually non-homogenous) as points of inspiration from which to develop their own projects to meet the collective needs.

One example to illustrate this is provided by one of the co-founders of the Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria, who recognised how the decision to set up an association was motivated by the need to address the issues that the families and the community were facing, and the sense of solidarity or team spirit that families expressed at difficult times. He stressed:

> *We decided to set up the organisation more than anything to improve the quality of life of the community and the families… we were impressed how families were helping to each other and have demonstrated that the whole community was a big one… we transformed the traditional arts of the Wayúu culture into a business idea in which the whole community could be benefited from... one family or the entire family of the village or those who are part of our association* [Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

The case study findings reveal that the objective of improving the wellbeing of the families and community is manifested informally. An important point that emerges from the interviewees and participants from the focus groups is that at the informal level, indigenous families get involved in community tasks to tackle local issues. Although within the vast majority of the ICOs, the participants reported having been motivated to set up their organisations by the need to improve the conditions and meet the needs of their communities (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2), it is also highlighted that before formalisation, families gathered and led community activities to tackle local issues and/or needs (see Box 6.5).

Box 6.5 IOGs' Informal Activities

When any of our families in the community happen to face an issue … we all organise and make sure that this issue is resolved… it is part of our indigenous culture… the wellbeing of the community is linked with the wellbeing of our families [Public Administrator, VIYA2, CS2].

We practice minga for everything … La minga is a fundamental part of our culture … when some dies we all gathered and make sure nothing is missing for the family of the deceased person… we all give them food and sometimes money… usually at funerals everybody in the community goes and people offer food… we have to organise to assure that the funeral will have everything needed [Community Member, V1MK7, CS1].

Funerals in our culture is a very important celebration… this is the time when families had the opportunity to show how respectable they are… That is why we give to the deceased person's family goats… all families must give something … it is a cultural obligation [Teacher / Community Member, WAFG 1.10, CS5].

This point connects with the multi-level approach suggested by the author in Chapter 3 (see section 3.6), in which at a micro level the IOGs are constituted by indigenous families and organise themselves to perform collective tasks. On this matter, what the findings suggest in a number of cases is that there is a very fine line between informality and formality, and that in many cases the formalisation of the IOGs was not needed. Many participants in the focus groups suggested that at times formality fractured the spontaneity of the collective work and created some tensions by introducing organisational structures within the process of collective work. However, they also acknowledged the fact formalisation brought other advantages to the objective of delivering family and community wellbeing which included professionalisation, diversification of the tasks and widening networking (Box 6.6).

Box 6.6 Advantages and Disadvantages of Formalising the IOGs

Sometimes people do not want to be part of the organisation…but they want to help the community if needed… Sometimes they do not want responsibilities … when the community need something, people help for the sake of our community because this is part of our culture…have a sense of collectiveness… but it does not mean that they want to be part of the association [Cultural Ambassador, YAFG1.8, CS2].

I think is easier to persuade people to collaborate when money isn't involved… they help free for their families and their communities… it is an embedded feature of indigenous people… you give them and they give you back … but when they give you they do not normally do it to have something back … I think this is very unusual in the western world [General Manager, CUFG1.2, CS3].

The impact that we see with this new organization is to have a better life ... that is ... the ideal. Or a future, for the family, for the community itself. So that one day, the ... the new generation that comes along take the same path that we are starting. That would be something … the organisation is not only for today is for tomorrow's life and for our future generations
[Vice-President, PUFG1.2, CS4].

And get here to the city or urban areas ... to a place like these is really hard for displaced families. Family has to eat and survive …what happens to what happened to Milton's family, what do they live out? They do not have the instructions, the intellectual elements to live here in the city … they do not have education from here. They are landless! ... Akayú is born there. Akayú is a proposal to solve issues like that and find a solution for that… to provide opportunities for indigenous families… that do not know how to operate in urban spaces…they of course help to each other in their resguardo but here in the city they need to learn the skills to survive
[Cofounder, CUFG1.1, CS4].

By formalising an organisation, we could connect with people from other areas of the country and the community like this… They feel more confident and recognised… the association opens up the door to find other things and other worlds different than ours and we could take advantage of that … and is good for our wellbeing as we learn from others
[Community Member, WAFG 1.3, CS5].

Another interesting point that appears in the collected data is that when participants refer to wellbeing and living standards, not necessarily addressing economic means, but are rather addressing local needs based on their cosmovision, words such as nature, autonomy, dignity and cultural recognition are widely used. Wellbeing in this context appears to be disengaged from socio-economic needs, and therefore is identified as a separate motive. One of the participants from the focus groups pointed out:

> *Our wellbeing is simple that it seems…. we do not need the last mobile phone, a great job or a massive house…. we only want to fulfil our basics needs: shelter, food, territory, preserve our nature and being recognised as indigenous people…we have everything in the jungle… we don't need anything else* [Member, CUFG 1.6, CS4].

This can be related to the BV dimension of the plural worldview, in which the world can be seen from different perspectives, and society should be built upon inclusiveness (i.e., Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010). Here, the findings demonstrate that in the majority of the cases, wellbeing is related to other factors than money and economic wealth, and the living standards are related to the enjoyment of life at a basic level, subject to culture, nature, territoriality and spirituality.

Table 6.1 Raison d'être: Motives for the ICOs' Existence, Internal Drivers

	MOTIVES (CHARACTERISTICS)	INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATIONS (ICOs)*				
		CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5
Internal Factors	*Cosmovision: Ancestrality, Knowledge, Identity and Language*	Through their business activities, their culture is reinforced. Ancestral practices still used for the sustainability of their business. i.e., organisations are formalised to prove that business activities can be done on their own terms and built upon their own culture. Besides their business activities, there is a high level of engagement in advocacy of their culture.	Economy is built upon Yanaconas' culture. Their business was developed to provide opportunities to the whole community through the reinforcement of their own-knowledge. Ancestral practices are still exercised to encounter organisational issues and are key objectives for formalising their enterprise.	Formality is a strategy to celebrate their own culture. By commercialising goods and introducing self-knowledge to the process of production, their own culture is celebrated and recognised. I.e., the name (Akayú) was chosen as it has a very profound meaning in their language.	Ethno-tourism is the strategy developed by the organisation to expose their culture. By doing this, their customs, practices and knowledge are recognised and can be maintained for future generations.	Art is the most intimate expression for the Wayuu. Thus, by commercialising their handmade products, their art is exhibited, thus their culture is shown and recognised. By commercialising their hand-made products (art), the Wayuu identity is strengthened and their ancestral practices are kept.
	Community and Family Wellbeing	The pursuit of the wellbeing of their families and community triggered the formalisation of the coop and the association. Wellbeing for the Misak is strongly related to the recovery of their ancestral territory and the opportunity to live in and work their land.	To improve the wellbeing of the community and live with dignity. By promote good quality of living for the community. The enterprise was created to benefit the 31 Yanacona communities in their territory.	Family wellbeing is the priority in formalising the organisation. The primal objective is to generate long-term opportunities for the associates' families to live with decency. Also, to generate an environmentally friendly project (recycling) to benefit the whole society in the city, where there are recycling issues.	The organisation was created to generate a sustainable project that could provide opportunities for the local families, and in the long-term to the whole community in their *resguardo.*	The association was created to provide job opportunities for the weavers, and therefore to generate a decent outcome for them, enabling them to help their families.

Source: Compiled by the Author

***CS1:** Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias/Asociación Botánica las Delicias; **CS2:** Finca Lechera el Paraíso; **CS3:** Akayú; **CS4:** Asociación Dugjin; **CS5:** Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria

6.2.3 External Driver: Land Rights and Territoriality

It is apparent from the interview responses and focus group conversations that the territory for indigenous people is very important, and by having it their culture is protected. Land expropriation and divestment, both actions inherited from colonialism, have left indigenous people in a very disadvantage situation, or *subaltern position* in post-colonial terms (see Spivak, 1988). As seen in Chapter 5, land rights and territoriality have both been concepts of discussion. In fact, indigenous people movements emerged from the land struggle, arguing for fair land reform (see the work of Ulloa, 2004 cited in Chapter 5). Participants highlighted the importance of recovering their ancestral territory, as it is considered an essential source for their culture and wellbeing of their communities. As noted in Chapter 5, territory from an indigenous people perspective can be seen as a source of identity, spiritual and material nourishment that is associated with rights and a better life. In other words, more than a piece of land, it is considered an essential element for their community, and a mystical element that connects them with their ancestors and reflects their culture (see Box 6.7). What the findings indicated is that the territory holding, claim and/or recovery amongst the studied ICOs appears to be a key motive to be formalised. In some cases, it happens to be more direct and in others indirect.

Box 6.7 The Spiritual Dimension of the Indigenous People's Territory

My father was expelled from this territory as he was a terrajero, he was kicked out by the land owner, that is why I grew in the resguardo Misak of jambalo" … many years later I came back and I organise with others to recover then land that was taken away by the foreigners, this is the land of our community where our ancestors and deities live … our connection with this territory is spiritual and sort of magical [Cofounder, V1MK2, CS1].

The land for us is everything, this is where we grew and learn everything we know about life, our present is tied with the people who lived in our territory…in the same way that we will tied with the people who'll live here…out territory nurtures us with everything that's why we have to protect it [General Manager, VICU2, CS3].

Because as indigenous people, in our Wayuu culture, our grandparents have taught us that our mother is the earth and our father Juyá … and when our father Juyá comes to, he is the one who brings us the food and everything to survive… and as good children, we must … that is more than anything, let's say a principle or a basic value of the Wayuu is protect it and treat it well… respect the sacred [Teacher / Community Member, WAFG 1.4, CS5].

As seen in Box 6.8, Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (CS1) exemplifies how the community desire to recover their taken territory during colonialism motivated them to organise themselves as a cooperative. Here, the findings prove that the formalisation process is driven by the external negative effects, in this case, land divestment. Their approach can be seen through the concept of creative resistance (or a contestation moment based on Bhabha, 2012), in which the members of the cooperative, generate a hybrid form by appropriating an external discourse and use this as a subtle act of resistance.

Box 6.8 Adoption of Cooperativism to Recover the Ancestral Territory

> *We were expelled by the owner of these lands, that were not never his… inspired by Quintin Lame we started to organise as a trade union but we lately realise that we were not working for anyone … We were subjected to the terraje's form … thus some people suggest: why don't you start a cooperative…. and we did …. It was the best option for us ... we did not know what cooperative was, this isn't a practice from here … It was brought by the white men …but we adopted as we wanted to buy the lands that historically are belong to us*
>
> [Cofounder, V1MK2, CS1].

Similarly, the Finca Lechera el Paraíso (CS2) shows that the need of land recovery may trigger off the formalisation process. Unlike Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (CS1), in which the recovery of their land is encouraged by the community (bottom-up perspective), the CS2 was set up as an initiative of the *Casa Mayor Yanacona* (cabildo) to address the issue of land rights and property (see in Chapter 5, the Life Plan Yancona in Cabildo Yanacona, 2009). On behalf of the whole Yanacona community, their government put into action a plan of developing a sustainable enterprise in a fairly big piece of land (located nearby one of the Yanacona resguardos) to benefit their people and reappropriate the land that was taken away in the past (see Box 6.9). Drawing on institutional theory, this organisational change can be seen through both *coercive* and *mimetic isomorphism*, by which the CS2 imitates a foreign practice (i.e., setting up a venture) as a consequence of a coercive change upon their indigenous institutions during colonialism (or the legacy of it) (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000).

Box 6.9 Political Influence Over the Organisational Motives

Our ancestors managed to influence a break through from the influence of the white men, although not total… their actions [referring to the colonisers] weakened our culture and civilization, in that sense the economy was weakened a little, authority was weakened a little, cultural events were weakened, and it was introduced into the territories when the time of the European invasion and some forms of life that were imposed on our people as education, some forms of work, exploitation to our mother earth … That is why is so important to return again our land and resurface in harmony with our mother earth … Thus, we had to build a tool that would allow the Yanacona people to react in a generational way… that life plan (referring to the Life Plan) and *that tool has to be materialised… that is why we created our own business to make our land productive and benefiting our whole community* [Deputy Governor, VIYA1, CS2].

Some tensions about territoriality are identified in some of the focus group conversations. Particularly (unlike the other two cases) in the CS1 and CS2, where land rights and territoriality were direct motives to set up ICOs. In others, the ICOs' development is indirectly influenced by the law and the power exercised by the authorities upon the territory in which the ICO is taking place (territoriality).

For instance, in the focus group conducted with the *Puinave* community (CS4), respondents pointed out that while culturally it is important to hold and/or recover the ancestral territory because of its spiritual dimension, territory utilisation (i.e., the creation of business within the *resguardo*) may inflict some conflict of interests in the long term with the local authorities and the community. It was reported that the nature of having a business within the resguardo entails having an interdependent relationship with the authorities. It was pointed out that the authorities are conceived as an 'enabler agent', as they are the intermediaries (working on behalf of the community as they are elected) that approve or disapprove, encourage or discourage the creation of initiatives in the resguardo (see Box 6.10 and 6.11).

Box 6.10 Territoriality and Business Dependency

All our services are designed to show the tourist about our culture, our territory is beautiful and there are lots of place to visit… before we started our organisation, we asked our authorities for permission to set up a business… we explain them that it was important for the community and we will have many advantages for all in the long term … at the end, all the tourist services offered are located in our resguardo thus we need to inform the whole community and ask for permission to our authorities [Vice-President, PUFG1.2, CS4].

Box 6.11 Shaped Business by Territoriality

> *When any of our community set up a business has always take into account the rules that we all are bounded into … we respect our leaders because we chose them… the land is ours … thus we need to respect it …* [Treasurer, PUFG1.3, CS4].

There is also evidence that the motivation of creating a formalised organisation to hold or recover an ancestral territory is connected to the knowledge that the ancestral territory holds a "living being". By making the land productive it suggests that their knowledge can be kept and passed through the generations. The example in Box 6.12 is provided by the assistant general manager of the Akayú Association (CS3), who suggested in the focus group conversation that the idea of keeping their ancestral territory is due to the cultural meaning that it has for them; especially, because it is considered the source of their knowledge, where they learn how to live and survive with the existing resources (another example of creative resistance).

Box 6.12 Territory as a Source of Knowledge

> *It's a sector that I know, in research, let's say in the Amazonian part. To the Amazonian part, it is for us, it is the territory, the territoriality. From there, we can project: for life, for our life, and for the community for the future … We wish that also the earth, the forest is, is the solution … it is the university for us. Because it is all the knowledge there. Then without land, but there is nothing*
> [*Assistant General Manager*, CUFG 1.3, CS3].

This aspect emerged as an important feature, because during the focus group discussions it was suggested that having a land implies financial responsibilities; thus, there is the general concern whether it is better to make the land productive or not in order to meet the legal requirements. Therefore, a hybrid element appears, as by mimicking an orthodox economic model (the territory) the knowledge is seen to be kept and sustained. One of the participants provided an example of this by pointing out:

> *In today's society having a land that is inherited by our ancestors is not enough, although we could fully survive just with the products that is given by the land, but there are things that we have to pay: local taxes, tax of property and etc.… thus we need to create some economic strategies to keep our territory but working it in our terms*
> [General Manager, CUFG1.2, CS3].

Interestingly, motivations can be influenced by other factors; in this case, the motive of holding the territory is influenced by the objective of keeping the indigenous knowledge, as it is considered the source that the community learns from. Such objective triggers alternatives to achieve this (i.e., setting a business).

6.2.4 External Driver: Armed Conflict and Violence

The majority of the ICOs reported that by setting up their businesses, the negative consequences of the armed conflict were tackled and alleviated (see Table 6.2). Without a doubt, the armed conflict and systematic violence are important factors identified, as this has been the foremost challenge that indigenous people have dealt with historically (since colonisation). Particularly, as highlighted in Chapter 5, indigenous people are usually located in places of wealth in natural resources. Thus, private companies persuade the state to expel them from their lands, either by coercion or violence in order to exploit the land and obtain gold, copper, lumber or oil; or in some cases, with paid paramilitaries they create terror to move them out from their lands (see the example of rubber tappers in the Amazons in Chapter 5). Also, the indigenous population is exposed to violence, as drug cartels and guerrillas are interested in the drug trafficking business, and indigenous people's land have the best conditions to produce cocaine plants and papaver. Violence, in the indigenous people's context, reveals how vulnerable they are and their disadvantaged position (i.e., subaltern) within the social hierarchy (see Gros, 2000).

Interestingly, during some of the video interviews, interviewees are eager to share their experiences in relation to violence, and are content to explain how the negative consequences of the armed conflict and violence led them to organise themselves to find formal solutions (Box 6.13).

Box 6.13 Formalisation as a Strategy to Tackle the Effects of Armed Conflict and Violence

We were displaced from our home, the guerrilla over there blackmailed us and told us that if we did not leave they would kill us, we could have been killed that's why we left our home… We didn't have anything when we arrived to Inirida, we were living in the landfills and were picking rubbish to survive, Akayú gave us the opportunity to be empowered and live a dignified life [Waste Picker, VICU4, CS3].

We sell to meet the needs of people but, we are concerned that each sale has a purpose that all vulnerable and displaced families and victims of violence are benefited from… In other words, selling is helping us so that families can survive and meet the needs caused by the violence they had to face [Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

Here, people are talking about the peace process and let me tell you something… we could say that in the Yanacona people a peace process was started a long time ago with the armed groups, of course there were many deaths and vicissitudes, but in order to make a peace process all community have to be involved and empowered… in our case the peace process was led and more driven by women because they (referring to the guerrillas) took their children or sometimes murdered them … that is why they have a very strong position about it and they were the ones who inspired everybody to exercise autonomy and protect our people, now you can see that there are almost no militiamen in our community, unlike in other communities…but peace needs to be constructed holistically…given people tools and alternatives to tackle the consequences of it… with opportunities… that is why was so important to develop projects as ours that can empower our community and keep them away of getting involve in these armed groups
[Governor, YAFG1.1, CS2].

The findings indicate that the armed conflict and violence have a strong impact on human capital. In fact, participants of the focus groups raised the point that this has caused so much human loss and provoked a massive displacement to urban areas, where their land was left unpopulated, and there were few people to work the land. One of the Yanacona's authorities pointed out:

The violence created by the guerrillas has affected our community profoundly… the human loss is really sad as it affected the youngest generation … but there is something worse than this… fear… the terror created by the bloodshed generated massive displacement … there were none one to work the land here … that is why is important to create peace and once peace is achieved tools have to be created to obliged people to stay …our project of la Finca el Paraiso was created for this … is more than an enterprise, it is an ecosystem to provides opportunities
[Deputy Governor, YAFG1.2, CS2].

These quotes seem to confirm that the impact generated by the armed conflict and violence has affected indigenous communities on multi-levels that include: education, economy and health. Although many of the organisations did not mention that this issue

was the central motive to set up an organisation, video interviewees from these ICOs did state that their indigenous communities have been affected collaterally by the armed conflict and violence (i.e., see the case of the indigenous people in the Amazons introduced in Chapter 5).

6.2.5 External Driver: Socio-Economic Needs: Poverty and Lack of Employment

In the existing literature, it is common to find that indigenous people organise and formalise their projects to tackle issues of poverty, and to generate employment to meet their needs of their associates and communities. In a study by Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* (2017), cited previously in Chapter 3, they suggest that by addressing socio-economic issues, indigenous enterprises can deliver sustainable development in the long term, and their motivations seem to benefit the whole community as they usually think collectively. Here, the findings suggest that all the ICOs are set up to generate employment, and therefore to tackle the needs of the ICOs' associates and the community where the ICOs operates (see Table 6.2). Normally, the literature related to indigenous organisations and/or entrepreneurship identify a number of motivations to organise/formalise themselves, which includes a lack of opportunity and employment, and tackling poverty (see Anderson *et al.* 2006; Peredo, 2001; Peredo and McLean, 2013; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2016, 2017).

In Box 6.14 interviewees explain how socio-economic needs in the community encouraged them to set up organisations, generating a solid proposal to provide opportunities for their community. Interestingly, 78% (62) of the participants (includes video interviewees and focus group participants) identify themselves in the working 52% (41) and middle-lower 26% (21) classes. This figure reveals that the majority of the participants identify themselves as being in a disadvantage position (i.e., subaltern) in socio-economic terms at a national level. As described in Chapter 5, Colombia is a highly stratified society in which indigenous people are structurally impoverished (based on DANE, 2007). Only, 9% (7) of the participants considered themselves as middle or upper class.

Box 6.14 Creating ICOs to Meet Socio-economic Needs

> *Why ... why do we organize? in order to create employment for ourselves and the community… Because there were not employment opportunities here in the resguardo…*
> [Member, VIPU5, CS4].
>
> *It's just that … there was a lot to do here…. In other words, to be able to live well, not only to think about the development that we already have a computer or a mobile phone it is not … it is to have a job where you can be peaceful… It is that here there was, and there is, a very large unemployment … and if you find one, usually is a bad job… thus, by setting our association we contribute to narrowing this gap* [Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

An issue arising from the findings highlights the lack of institutional support, particularly by the state, which has discouraged community projects to formalise to meet local socio-economic needs. A large number of participants in the focus group discussions highlight that the state encourages the creation of micro projects to empower the community and tackle local issues, but in reality, there is very little support from them to achieve such objectives (i.e., financially or professionally). Therefore, community members are not skilled enough to create efficient projects and meet the local needs. For example, in one of the focus groups, participants mention that the UAEOS, which is the governmental umbrella for the SSE organisations in Colombia (see Chapter 3 and 5), open calls on a yearly basis to SSE organisations to gain contracts, but that the lack of knowledge and professional skills impedes them from gaining them; thus, formal organisations eventually close because they are structurally discouraged. One the of participants claimed:

> *In the past many organisations were diluted, as there were no opportunities… people in the community sometime do not want to organise because it is a waste of time … and to be honest sometimes it is a waste of time … the government always talk about cooperativism and associations productivity and etc.… but … they do open [referring to the UAEOS] calls for gaining projects and we do not have the capacity to meet these requirements … applications sometimes are to complex or we need a proper track record … sometimes we feel that they put this process to make us disqualified* [Treasurer, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

Another interesting aspect that emerges from the findings is that there are tensions between solely-individually-oriented (family or individual) expectations *vis-a-vis* collective socio-economic needs. The findings indicate that in some cases the collective needs are more important than the individual ones, thus this creates some tensions within the

community. It suggests that the assimilation of an external culture (the Western) created tensions amongst community members. The evidence suggests that collectively, the community intends to meet needs, such as unemployment, malnourishment or sanitation, but individually, there is a tendency to seek education, shelter improvement or pleasure. As seen in Box 6.15, focus group participants highlight what needs are expected to be met when setting up organisations.

Box 6.15 Individual Vis-à-vis Collective Socio-economic Needs

Before we needed only a decent shelter and a piece of land to work at… these two simple things were enough to live … once the cooperative was set up… all the associates families achieved this objective … but 50 years later needs are others …. our children want to go to school and university … they want a computer to work with … they want to travel to gain experience … thus, the expectations are higher … families are expected to gain more financial reward to meet these needs and to be honest inflicts with our purpose as community … we cannot satisfy each family needs … that is why some of their members go somewhere else to work to gain more money and obtain what they want
[*General Manager Assistant*, MKFG1.2, CS1].

That's the problem with the western intervention … we are now influenced to meet other living standards that we did not have … in my family we are 5 siblings, imagine if all of us what to got to study … it is too expensive … and if we managed to go to university … we need equipment to meet the needs that go to study requires: computer, books and etc thus the bill gets higher … before my grandparents only need their shelter and their land to live decently … now we need more to live with dignity [*Member*, MKFG1.11, CS1].

This is our source of income (referring to the cooperative) … depending on how well we performed here we will be able to satisfy our needs …. time change and when it happens other things change…. I understand in the past the needs were other but today they are different … that's why is really important to work hard and do better to achieve what we are looking for
[*Member*, MKFG1.12, CS1].

What the findings indicate is that the motive to set up an organisation to meet socio-economic needs had both individual and collective stimulus. It is interesting to illustrate how socio-economic wellbeing is contrasted with societal wellbeing as stated above. While in some cases the community's wellbeing overshadowed individual needs, individual ambitions to meet other wellbeing standards created tensions within community. The evidence suggests that this phenomenon is manifest in young participants. Such tensions are a consequence of a generational gap within the community, where 38% (30) of the participants are between 18 and 30 years old (see

the demographics of ICOs in Appendix I), exposing varied motives in different generations

6.2.6 External Driver: Funding Opportunities

In a number of cases, participants reported that national, regional and local subsidy opportunities encouraged them to formalise their IOGs. It is apparent from the interview responses and focus group discussions that some of the ICOs formalise themselves because it is the only way to get access to grants given by different institutions at national and international level. Institutional isomorphic pressures influence the IOGs to adopt a more business-like persona (Jackson, 2011). Thus, by emulating organisational strategies to gain funding (within the process of mimicry), an organisation acculturation occurs (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012). Here, it can be seen that there is a creative resistance element, as the IOGs formalise their organisation by adopting external forms in order to survive (i.e., the *mimetic isomorphism* in DiMaggio and Powell, 2000).

This phenomenon is actually exceptional, as the existing literature suggests that other kind of motivations may drive the development of indigenous organisations and/or enterprises (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Peredo, 2001; Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. 2016). The findings reveal how external factors drive the development of ICOs in the Colombian context. Here, it can be seen clearly how the transitional process from informality to formality is subjected to top-down opportunities. Previously in this section, it is noted that participants felt a disadvantage in competing with other organisations when national institutions are having open calls to apply for funding schemes, where formality is needed and structurally compulsory. Evidence shows that in almost all the cases, the grants obtained were crucial to kick off their projects, and, therefore, funding opportunities are one of the key motivators to formalise IOGs as SSE organisations (see Table 6.2).

As seen in Box 6.16, many accounts suggest that subsidies are key to develop their projects. It is reported that formality is essential to get access to different opportunities. For instance, some of the members of the Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (CS1) formalised their IOGs as trade unions first, but better funding schemes were accessible to other types of organisations and led them to become a cooperative eventually. In

another note, participants report that financial funding is not the only opportunity that the ICOs gain, as some of them are granted organisational or legal support.

Box 6.16 ICOs' Development Stimulated by Funding Schemes

The association was helped through eh … a project that was developed for the association. From these resources came some of the initiative's own resources. But to improve this we need to continue to influence in perceiving other help to improve the quality of these crafts [*President and Cofounder*, VIWA1, CS5].

We realise that the best opportunity to get a grant from the state was through creating our own cooperative, in fact we realise that the trade union model was not the best of us. By creating a cooperative we could have better access to loans and grants, in fact by gaining a donation by the pope and the Vatican we could reduce our organisation's debt substantially
[*Member/Co-founder*, V1MK2, CS1].

By formalising ourselves we could get access to external help … there were few institutions that contributed for the establishment of our association … the help was not a financial one … they covered all the costs of setting up the association [*Treasurer*, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

Our enterprise started with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture, they gave us CO$1000M … this helped us to develop the enterprise that the Yanacona community owns
[*Treasurer*, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

Two main aspects show the tensions that funding schemes inflict on encouraging IOGs to be formalised. On the one hand, results indicate that by starting up an ICO with external subsidies, institutional dependency is *imprinted*[60] on the ICOs, and therefore influencing organisational behaviours and outcomes in the long run. Evidence shows that imprinting occurs when the IOGs formalise themselves by following funding schemes' criteria and pursue external help to set up their projects. Thus, the ICOs are shaped by the institutional aid, driving them to rely heavily on institutional opportunities, and conditioning their sustainability and growth to external opportunities. A couple of examples illustrated this.

The first example in Box 6.17 is provided by the president of Asociación Dugjin (CS4) who suggests how the state contributes in the development of indigenous people's

[60] In organisational theory and organisational behaviour, imprinting is a core concept describing how the past affects the present.

initiatives, and highlights that without their contribution, organisations are not able to grow. The second example comes from the president and co-founder of the Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria who points out how institutional aid is crucial in the development of their association, and how such help should be expanded to other institutions.

Box 6.17 Institutional Dependency as one of the ICOs' Compositions

"The state must accompany our projects … we need more support from them … it is impossible to either survive or grow without their assistance … I think is the state's obligation to support projects as ours" **[*President*, VIPU1, CS4]**.

"To be honest, the first project that we gained from the local government enabled us to motivate our weavers and contribute substantially to the economic aspect of the association … I think this should be the main task of the government distribute the perks to other institutions to support projects as ours…. we are giving opportunities but we need a financial back up" **[*President / Cofounder*, VIWA1, CS5]**.

On the other hand, the interviews and focus group discussion results reveal that in some CSEs the need for seeking external help conflicts with the community's desire for autonomy and independence. While indigenous communities in Colombia claim independence, autonomy and recognition from the state (see Chapter 5), indigenous people's projects seem to be dependent on institutional aid. This contradiction is evident in all the ICOs selected for this study, as all of them had received institutional support.

Table 6.2 Raison d'être: Motives for the ICOs' Existence, External Drivers

	MOTIVES (CHARACTERISTICS)	INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATIONS (ICOs)				
		CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5
External Factors	*Land Rights and Territoriality*	Territory is an essential element for them (spiritual connection). 1) the main objective is to recover the land that was taken away during colonialism and 2) to protect their territory and work it sustainably once it is recovered.	Territory is one of the pillars of the Yanaconas' Life Plan; it is considered that without it, their culture cannot be reinforced and recognized. Thus, the importance to hold on to it and make it productive for the benefit of the whole community.	Territory and territoriality are key for the indigenous community in the Amazons; by making it productive their culture will be sustained. It is considered a 'living university', as they learn who they are through the empirical practice in their territory.		Land ownership is a key determinant for the Wayuu stratum. Land property is essential, thus the demand to be granted their ancestral territory and the urge to pursue financial stability to maintain their lands.
	Armed Conflict and Violence		The armed conflict has particularly affected the Yanacona community. Part of their own peace process is to create economic opportunities for the people that are victims of the Colombian armed conflict.	One of the co-founders and his family was displaced from their home town by the guerrillas. The association has been also created to provide an opportunity for his displaced family in a new town.		The association is integrated by 150 weavers that are victims of the armed-conflict. The organisation was formalised to help these weavers financially.
	Socio Economic Needs: Poverty and Lack of employment	The coop was created to provide employment opportunities and economic autonomy to their associates and their families. Rural families are working for landowners, and other are working under the model of *terraje*. Thus, the organisation's objective is to generate employment for their members to meet their economic needs.	Lack of employment and urban migration is an issue for the Yanacona community. The young people migrate to urban areas seeking better opportunities. The enterprise was created to generate job opportunities for the Yanacona community, and to stop massive migration to the urban areas.	The region of Guainia faces socio-economic issues, and there is a high level of employment. The association is created to provide opportunities to their members to help them to improve their living standards.	The organisation was created to generate a long-term sustainable project that provides opportunities for their members and the community in the *resguardo Paujil*. Poverty is a common factor amongst the *Puinave* community in the *Paujil*, thus the need to develop sustainable projects in the *resguardo* to take people out of poverty.	High levels of poverty and a high percentage of unemployment is taking place in *Shiruria,* the area where the organisation is based. Thus, the creation of the association, to contribute to the local economy by generating employment.
	Funding Opportunities	The cooperative has more funding, grant and loan opportunities by formalising. Although each associate can contribute in money or in kind, by formalising the organisation he/she has the chance to buy the land.	The enterprise started with financial help from the Minister of Agriculture.		The association was created as there was an funding opportunity to start a business. The main criterion is to be formalised in a collective way.	The association's first project was granted by a national institution. This contract enabled them to meet their first economic obligations.

Source: Compiled by the Author

6.3 From Mimicry to Hybridity: The Transmutation of IOGs into ICOs

Having established the raison d'être of the IOGs to formalise as ICOs (at meso-level), the following key characteristics are identified amongst the CSEs, in order to understand the ICOs within the SSE sector in Colombia. Drawing on Bhabha's mimicry and hybridity (see Diagram 3.1 in Chapter 3) and bringing some insights from institutional theory (mainly institutional isomorphisim of DiMaggio and Powell, 2000), the evidence suggests that the ICOs (i.e., a hybrid form) are the result of the creative resistance and/or negotiation of the two worlds (the indigenous and the Western), in which the IOGs emulate (adopt and adapt) external variables (i.e., the *SEE* norms and/or other variables) within the process of mimicry in order to be formalised. The following subsections will discuss the transformation of the IOGs (at informal level) into ICOs (at formal level) by looking at the process of mimicry through the observation of local and external variables that led to the current hybrid forms (ICOs). Although many characteristics are identified from the collected data, they are distributed in four segments to help the reader understand the hybridisation process: (i) *Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure*, (ii) *Production of Goods and Services,* (iii) *Decision-making* and (iv) *Organisational Strategies.*

6.3.1 Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure

As seen in the table below (Table 6.3), the findings indicate that the current ICO constitution is the outcome of the emulation of the organisations to external variables that led to the development of the ICOs. The constitution of the ICOs is best understood as an interweaving of three elements – *legal status*, *ownership* and *organisational structure* – and all jointly shape a set of norms that transform the nature of the IOGs at a formal stage. The findings reveal that the hybridisation process of the organisational constitution is nothing more than a process of mimicry in which organisational subjects, in this case the IOGs, comply with external norms (the SSE norms) influenced by Western dominant discourses in order to secure an official and formal status (i.e., mimetic isomorphism).

In this context, SSE norms are established to guideline organisational behaviour, aiming to generate isomorphic organisations. However, the findings indicate that the ICOs

represent a hybrid form in which informal practices (influenced by the IOGs' local variables) deviate from the formal ones to manage the tensions created by the mixing of the two ecosystems (i.e., the indigenous, with their own institutions shaped by their cosmovision, the SSE institutions and norms, and other variables). Hybrid forms in the table below are characterised by informal practices that deviate from the formal ones as an act of resistance. .

Table 6.3 (I) From IOG to ICO: Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure

Characteristics (1): Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure								
IOGs (Informality)	→			*to*		→	*ICOs (Formality)*	
CSEs	*Mimicry*						*Examples from the Raw Data*	*Hybrid Forms (Deviant Informal Practices)*
	Local Variables			*SSE Norms / Other Variables*				
	Legal Status	*Ownership*	*Organisational Structure* (OS)*	*Legal Status*	*Ownership*	*Organisational Structure* (OS)		
CS1	No need of official registration in resguardo. Culturally, local groups are gathered spontaneously aiming to accomplish tasks or solve issues.	Attachment and closeness to the territory influenced by the local culture. There is not a sense of ownership, Territory belongs to everybody in the community and has a spiritual dimension. The Indigenous territory is ruled and governed by the local authorities that are elected by the entire community.	Tasks are allocated evenly. There is a cultural sense of collectiveness and people collaborate under a voluntary basis. There is an age-oriented leadership. Unplanned structure and non-hierarchical. Community share the same objective and goals.	- SSE norms established legal forms for two types of SSE organisations: DSOs and SEOs. All of them have to comply with the national rules and laws to maintain their SSE status. - A manifold of institutions encourages SSE forms at national level (i.e., cooperatives, mutual or associations). - A manifold of institutions finance and fund SSE organisations at national level. -The state develops programs for SSE organisations to make them more productive and efficient to collaborate in the national economy. - National development programs support SSE organisations to tackle socio-economic issues.	- SSE norms established ownership rules for all SSE organisations (usually collective ownership). Norms of ownership at organisational level are subjected to Western dominant discourses. - The concept of ownership is based on the legal rights of possessing something. - Land tenure is a legal regime legitimised by Colombian law. - Property rights and ownership is influenced by a Western discourse.	- SSE norms established for SSE organisations to manage and operate their entities similarly. - SSE organisations must comply with the SSE norms in relation to the OS of an entity (i.e., all need to have a board of directors). - OS norms are influenced by Western dominant discourses in management, entrepreneurship and economy. - SSE organisations are encouraged to improve their division of labour and make an emphasis on professionalization.	*"We decided to develop a cooperative because it was the only way to get access to a loan and recover our lands, we tried first to formalise as a trade union but it did not work, we had a training in cooperativism and decided that was the best collective option"* ***[GM, VIMK1, CS1]***.	*Although the CS1 comply with the SSE norms, informal practices took place to adjust to the local context. E.g., associates' family are also owners of the company (Ownership) and members (non-associates) participate in organisational tasks.*
CS2							*"We are registered as a for profit business but our aim is collective"* ***[Accountant, YAFG1, CS2]***.	*It is registered as a FP venture, but behaves as a collective owned association. Land belongs to the community (ownership) and tasks are distributed with all members of the community (OS).*
CS3							*"As a registered NFP association we had to appoint a board of directors, although we all collaborate in any task when is needed, it is an organisational obligation"* ***[President, VICU1, CS3]***.	*Although the CS3 have a flat OS, the participation of the community (non-members) is very important. Also, the CS3 cosmovision influences their modus operandi, beyond their organisational statutes.*

Source: Compiled by the Author // * Organisation in this context is considered by the author as the indigenous society

Table 6.3 (II) From IOG to ICO: Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure

Characteristics (1): Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure								
IOGs (Informality) → *to* → *ICOs (Formality)*								
CSEs	*Mimicry* → *Hybridity*							
	Local Variables			*SSE Norms / Other Variables*			*Examples from the Raw Data*	*Hybrid Forms (Deviant Informal Practices)*
	Legal Status	*Ownership*	*Organisational Structure (OS)**	*Legal Status*	*Ownership*	*Organisational Structure (OS)*		
CS4	No need of official registration in resguardo. Culturally, local groups are gathered spontaneously aiming to accomplish tasks or solve issues.	Attachment and closeness to the territory influenced by the local culture. There is not a sense of ownership, Territory belongs to everybody in the community and has a spiritual dimension. The Indigenous territory is ruled and governed by the local authorities that are elected by the entire community.	Tasks are allocated evenly. There is a cultural sense of collectiveness and people collaborate under a voluntary basis. There is an age-oriented leadership. Unplanned structure and non-hierarchical. Community share the same objective and goals.	- SSE norms established legal forms for two types of SSE organisations: DSOs and SEOs. All of them have to comply with the national rules and laws to maintain their SSE status. - A manifold of institutions encourages SSE forms at national level (i.e., cooperatives, mutual or associations). - A manifold of institutions finance and fund SSE organisations at national level. -The state develops programs for SSE organisations to make them more productive and efficient to collaborate in the national economy. - National development programs support SSE organisations to tackle socio-economic issues.	- SSE norms established ownership rules for all SSE organisations (usually collective ownership). Norms of ownership at organisational level are subjected to Western dominant discourses. - The concept of ownership is based on the legal rights of possessing something. - Land tenure is a legal regime legitimised by Colombian law. - Property rights and ownership is influenced by a Western discourse.	- SSE norms established for SSE organisations to manage and operate their entities similarly. - SSE organisations must comply with the SSE norms in relation to the OS of an entity (i.e., all need to have a board of directors). - OS norms are influenced by Western dominant discourses in management, entrepreneurship and economy. - SSE organisations are encouraged to improve their division of labour and make an emphasis on professionalization.	*"Although we are an autonomous association we are subjected to the rules of our authorities, we operate in the resguardo and we have to respect that"* ***[President, VIPU4, CS4]***.	*Although the CS4 is legally registered as an association, the role of the cabildo and the community in their resguardo play a crucial role. Their organisational power is extended to the cabildo and the community in the resguardo.*
CS5		Territory is distributed amongst clans (families). Ancestrally every clan is given a portion of the territory.	In general, the Wayuu community operates similarly. Activities such as task allocation and supervision are directed toward the achievement of the community aims. But, every clan is responsible for its own operation.				*"As a registered NFP association we must comply with the statues of our organisations, however our commitment goes beyond our entity, our entire community is our objective".* ***[President, VIWA1, CS5]***	*The CS5 is registered as an association and aims to benefit its members. However, the entire community is included as their organisational behaviour is shaped by their cosmovision.*

Source: Compiled by the Author // * Organisation in this context is considered by the author as the indigenous society

Almost all of the selected ICOs are unanimous in reporting that the constitution of their entities is subject to the norms established by the SSE authority (Supersolidaria) and that the chosen legal status later shaped the ICOs' ownership and organisational structure to operate on a formal basis. A top manager commented:

> *By choosing a specific legal status, in our case, an association, we agreed on particular ways to organise and operate our entity … rules are established internally but following the SSE guidelines and in any case that we failed to comply with those we might lose our formal status* [General Manager, VICU2, CS3].

According to the literature discussed earlier in Chapter 5, Supersolidaria norms establish that SSE organisations are divided into two groups –Solidarity Economy Organisations (SEOs) and Development Solidarity Organisations (DSOs) – and all the entities that formalise themselves under these two umbrellas, must comply with the rules set from the SSE authorities, and must be regulated, which includes ownership and organisational structure frameworks (DANSOCIAL, 2010; Serna Gomez and Adolfo Rubio-Rodriguez, 2016; Valderrama, 2005).

Table 6.3 illustrates that three of the ICOs selected for this study fell into the DSOs category, and one in the SEOs. That is to say that the mission of the DSOs and the SEOs are dissimilar by nature. While the DSOs are established legally to benefit internal and external actors, and are therefore NFP driven, the SEOs are registered to benefit only the internal actors involved and are generally FP driven. Box 6.18 illustrates some accounts made by the participants about the creation of their organisation's statutes, that demonstrate that by complying with external norms (and/or emulating external practices), at a formal stage, the ICOs are becoming isomorphic to each other, losing their distinctiveness from when they were IOGs.

Box 6.18 ICOs' Similar Statutes

The objective of our association is the wellbeing of our members and our community this something we have clearly stated and is part of our rules …. that is why we created this association [Fiscal, VICU3, CS3].

Our association's rules are made to benefit all of us … we would not make any rule that can be detrimental for our people nor for the benefit of us as an individual … as an indigenous community, we are collectively oriented … all our rules are always written thinking of the wellbeing of others [Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].

The legal framework that we have is an association … registered within the Chamber of Commerce of Rioacha, the department of La Guajira … Through a recognition that has NIT of the DIAN. It has a RUT a single tax record … we comply we all the requirement that an association's needs … our statues are made to meet these requirements, but also to meet the needs of our members and our community [President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

From a post-colonial perspective, it can be argued that these narratives above are a perfect illustration of the spread of the colonising ideology of managerialism founded on Western rationality and scientism being imposed on local systems (i.e., coercive isomorphism). The ICOs reported that they had lost their distinctiveness (through the process of mimicry) and were treated as any other SSE organisation by complying with external norms and adopting standard legal status. As a co-founder commented:

> *Within the current economic sector, it does not matter whether we are indigenous or not … there are norms that we must comply with … you know, for them [referring to non-indigenous people] there is not difference between our organisations and others established by the white men* [Cofounder, V1MK2, CS1].

As discussed in the previous section, although there is an amalgam of motivations to formalise the IOGs, evidence suggests that once the ICOs are constituted, they must comply with the norms established by the SSE authorities that leads to more or less homogenised forms of meaning of acceptable ways of organising and regulating organisational life. Thus, they adopt a business-like persona as a consequence of isomorphic pressures (Jackson, 2011).

Interestingly, the findings reveal that the SSE sector may have excluded other forms of entities that share similar objectives for existence.[61] For instance, the Finca Lechera el Paraíso (CS2) is legally registered as an orthodox venture with the objective to benefit all the Yanacona community (31 communities). Although it is a socially and environmentally-oriented venture, it is not recognised by the SSE umbrella. One of the board of directors of the CS2 pointed out:

> *Our venture is not as any other conventional one … our objective is collective … of course, is profit-oriented but the distribution and the benefits are collective, we are 31 communities and all must obtain a benefit from it* [*Public Administrator*, VIYA2, CS2].

The example above shows how a hybrid form is created by deviating from formal practices to manage the tensions of establishing a formal organisation. This example also illuminates the disadvantaged position of the indigenous people (i.e., subaltern group) as their practices are recognised neither in the SSE sector nor in another sector (see Calvo and Morales, 2017). *Collective ownership* is an important factor that emerges from the collected data. As seen in Table 6.3, all the ICOs are collectively owned and even though the Finca Lechera el Paraíso (CS2) was formalised with a different legal status, it is considered a collectively-owned venture. As suggested in the section above, the development of the ICOs are strongly influenced by pursuits that mutually benefit all its members and the whole community. Most of the participants reported a close relationship between the organisation and the community. This could explain the rationale behind choosing a collective ownership approach. An example is provided by one of the interviewees who points out:

> *The cooperative and the association was created to benefit the whole community, hence is owned by the whole community. We all put our contribution and have worked in here since foundation … the collective wellbeing is our purpose that is why that the cooperative is owned by our members and our community … we are spiritually bound*
> [Cofounder, V1MK2, CS1].

[61] This CSE can be defined as a SE (e.g., Giovannini, 2012), However, there is not a SE legal status in the Colombian context (see chapter 3 for more details). This CSE can be defined as a SE (e.g., Giovannini, 2012),

Although the norm of the Supersolidaria is to establish that the SSE organisations must be owned collectively by their members, collective ownership appears to be embedded in the DNA of each organisation, illustrating a hybrid form. The findings indicate that at the formal stage, all the studied ICOs comply with the norm of collective ownership. However, it is apparent from the interview responses and focus group discussions that ownership in indigenous people's terms have other connotations and reveal conceptual tensions between the ownership of an entity and the ownership of the place in which the entity activities are taking place. A couple of aspects may illustrate this. The first aspect illustrated in Box 6.19 is provided by a member of the board of directors who suggests that the association's actions are co-depended on the rules of their *resguardo*, and although the association is legally owned by the registered members, the venture is at the disposal of the entire community.

The second example comes from a community member in one of the focus group discussions, who points out how ownership in local terms has different connotations in comparison with the Western view of private property, arguing that their land did not belong to people in the community, as land and natural resources are regarded as sacred where the land is part of their past, present and future. Interestingly, the findings suggest that across all the five CSEs, ownership is referred to as a '*white-men*' or a '*foreign*' practice, and it is related to the idea of individual property imported by the colonisers (i.e., coercive isomorphism). Land is claimed to be part of the community rather than being possessed by an individual or a few, and ownership appears to be one of the indigenous people's struggle in the Colombian context: land rights and territoriality (explained in the section above as one of the main motivations of setting up formal organisations).

In almost all of the ICOs in which business activities are land-based, the land belonged to the resguardo that the members of the ICOs are part of. Activities including agriculture, cattle, floriculture and ethno-tourism (see the business activities of the ICOs in the appendix) seem to be interdependent of the rules of the resguardo where the activities are taking place. In this respect, conceptual tensions are illustrated by the fact that while the ownership of the ICOs is legally bound to the norms established by the external institutions inferring 'property power' to the registered members of the organisation, the ICOs are culturally bound to the rules established by the community

that they are part of; particularly, when business activities are taking place in the resguardo. Thus, the findings indicate that the tensions emerge when the formal stage occurs, as ICOs seem to be caught between external and internal norms.

As an example of this, one member of CS1 stated that one of the main objectives of the CID is to develop a formal organisation to generate income, and to be able to buy the lands that were historically taken away from them (see section 6.2). Some of the Misak leaders and authorities never agreed with the strategy of legally buying the Misak territory, arguing that the ancestral land should be given back for free. Such discord has led to the separation of the Cabildo of Guambia with the current Cabildo San Fernando, where the Cooperativa las Delicias and their members are located (coercive isomorphism seems to generate conflict amongst the members of the community).

Box 6.19 Indigenous People's Ownership Connotations

Our resguardo has beautiful places to visit … we have lagoons, rivers and a beautiful wildlife … we saw this as an opportunity to create a tourist business …. we had to ask our authorities and our community if they were happy to the idea of setting up a business as long as the whole community was benefited out of it and sacred were respected … our business activities are happening here in the resguardo and although the organisation is registered by few of us … we are attached to the community rules [Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].

The cooperative and the organisation belongs to the associates and their families, but also to the Misak community, here lives our ancestors, our gods, we have a spiral society…. if we died our territory stays with all our memories and is shaped by our actions… our actions are influenced by our ancestors in the same way we are going to influence our descendants… that is why anything here belongs to the few but to all…. they [referring to the colonisers] came and sack us and from our land and divide the land in parcels for exploitation and for the sake of productivity … but we are different, we work our land for the sake of our wellbeing and for the wellbeing of the upcoming generations [Member, MKFG1.10, CS1].

As shown in Table 6.3, the concept of ownership highlights the tensions that are generated within the community when formalisation occurs (through *coercive isomorphism*). Interestingly, hybrid forms are revealed in the strategies that indigenous members develop to manage the tensions (resistance). It can be seen through the examples above how informal practices deviate from the formal ones to solve internal issues.

A second stream of evidence shows that the organisational structure of the ICOs is a derivative configuration of the one suggested by the SSE norms for both types of organisations: DSOs and SEOs (see Table 6.3). Although, the SSE normatively establishes that SSE organisations must be structured according to their legal form, two types of organisational structure were identified amongst the CSEs in which a copy of external norms is adapted to their contexts (i.e., blending). Firstly, (i) the *autonomous*, that operates as a '*flatarchy*' organisation, in which responsibilities and tasks are allocated evenly and internally amongst the members, and even though the board of members have managerial and senior roles, they tend to be actively involved in the operations of the company; that is not to say that every now and then, the board of directors must be renewed and elected. Secondly, (ii) the *quasi-autonomous*, that functions as a type of '*flatarchy*', at an internal, external and hierarchical level organisation, in which the ICOs are interdependent on an external entity(ies) (i.e., usually the cabildo or the community).

The responsibility of planning and organising is at times either performed or directed by the indigenous authorities, assuring the collective benefit of the organisation, independent of the organisational autonomy. Non-registered members are also involved in the operations of the ICOs, following the cultural values of solidarity and collaboration. In Box 6.20 both identified organisational structures are exemplified by some of the participants.

Box 6.20 Organisational Structure of the ICOs

Our enterprise is owned by the 31 Yanacona communities and is administered by the cabildo that is elected by our people. … the cabildo appoints a board of directors to manage and operate the enterprise, the board of directors is a team of professionals that is prepared and educated to direct the enterprise… every year a team is renewed if is needed … but generally the new team of authorities revised the performance of the venture every year and allocate new tasks to either keep or enhance the performance of the venture
[G. Manager and Economic Coordinator, VIYA3, CS2].

We are registered as non-for-profit association at the Chamber of Commerce since 2003 and we have a NIT…. we had to appoint a board of directors to legally formalise the association…. but this is only a public figure because we all work in all departments if is needed, the same hours and help to each other… we are all a team [President and Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

Despite the fact that tasks are allocated evenly amongst the members of our association …. our community sometimes is also involved…. it is required, because we need to outsource some of the services…that was the commitment with the people here in the resguardo. everybody wins…. also, sometimes we need to report to the cabildo and inform the community of any activity
[Treasurer, VIPU3, CS4].

Here, everybody is prepared to do anything …… we all collaborate in all the areas of the organisation… tasks can be allocating to any of our members…. this is a principle not only from the associates but also from our community [Member, MKFG1.7, CS1].

As seen with the variable above (organisational structure), the ICO process of internalising hegemonic dominant views of organisational structures (dictated by the SSE norms) is compounded with an emancipation practice that creates a hybrid version (creative resistance in postcolonial terms). Here, it allows us to explore hybridity through the ongoing process of both the imposition of external norms upon SSE organisations, influenced by Western dominant organisational discourses (i.e., coercive isomorphism), as well as the resistance of the ICOs to this domination through the implementation of cultural practices at an organisational, but at an informal level (i.e., deviating from formal practices) (Claeyé and Jackson, 2012). This can be linked with the indigenous literature evoked in Chapter 5, in which it is suggested that indigenous communities tend to be organised in horizontal structures, in which the authority is chosen by the community, and the governor of the resguardo play a communal role on a voluntary basis. This has been observed in some of the ICOs, in which a flat organisational structure has been

implemented, and the board of directors is chosen by the associates, but they also occupy team roles at an operational level.

6.3.2 Production of Goods and Services

The production of goods and services vary amongst the CSEs with a combination of factors of production, such as land, labour and capital, which are identified in the collected data to determine the nature of each ICO business (see the description of the CSEs in the appendix). As illustrated in Table 6.4, the evidence suggests that the ICOs' process of production is determined by the emulation of IOGs for external practices (process of mimicry) that deliver eventual hybrid forms of production. As shown in the table below, some similarities at the informal level are identified to establish the nature of the ICOs' modus operandi in order to illustrate the hybridisation process. The findings suggest that hybrid forms are determined by an element of innovation[62] of the CSEs in which the traditional practices are 'enhanced' and implemented to meet organisational objectives, and to improve organisational practices.

By disentangling the ICOs' informal production, activities summarised in two types – *land-based* and *cultural-based.* The participants also explored external variables that they suggest influenced the process. Table 6.4 underlies key features during the hybridisation process that show the similarities and the distinctiveness that occur amongst the ICOs when emulating external methods.

The findings indicate that similarities amongst the CSEs can be categorised in two groups: *land-based* production of goods, mainly in agricultural practices, and the *cultural-based* production of goods and services. The CSEs' parallels seemed to be rooted in their indigeneity, as well as in the development of their cultural practices towards formality. That is to say that similar features can be encountered by exploring the association of the ICOs' practices at a formal level with the informal practices influenced by their indigenous culture (i.e., creative resistance to strengthen identity, thus a hybrid form). A member of an ICO commented:

[62] Understanding innovation as the transformation of traditional practice to improve the organizational practices.

We currently offer services that entails the ancestral practices of our culture, the role of our Shamans as healers in our community has been present for centuries, we have clients that are interested to try alternatives to heal themselves from different illnesses, particularly cancer [Member, VIPU4, CS4].

From this perspective, similarities can be traced amongst the ICOs by exploring the mimicry process in which local variables are fundamental to the understanding of where hybrid forms depart from. As a community member explained:

There is no way to understand indigenous organisations, but to understanding where our organisational practices are coming from, in all our organisational practices there is a cultural feature [Member, MKFC1.7, CS1].

Table 6.4 (I) From IOG to ICO: Production of Goods and Services

Characteristics (II): Production of goods and services					
IOGs (Informality) →			*to* →		*ICOs (Formality)*
CSEs	*Mimicry* →				*Hybridity*
	Local Variables		*SSE Norms / Other Variables*	*Examples from the raw data*	*Hybrid Forms (innovative traditional practices)*
	Land-Based Activities	*Cultural-Based and Other Activities*			
CS1	- Farming: agriculture and cattle. - Exploiting the land but respecting nature.	Collective practices: minga and bartering.	- Modern farming technology - Farming methods - Used of fertilisers and pesticides - Research on agricultural methods - National policies and laws adoption - National and global market development strategies. - Economy of scale - Professionalization - Management and entrepreneurship methods	*"We have adopted some of the farming methods imported from the white men, some have been useful other have not"* ***[Treasurer, MKFG1.3, CS1]***.	- Farming practices combined with local and external knowledge. - Operation strategies influenced strongly by Western dominant discourses (i.e., management, business operations). - Collective traditional work complements the production of goods and services (i.e., bartering if there is over production of a product). - Exploiting the land sustainably to protect mother earth.
CS2	- Farming: agriculture and cattle. - Exploiting the land but respecting nature.	Collective practices: minga and ayni.		*"We tried to implement technology in our ancestral ways of productions, we are depended on the demand, thus we need to adapt to improve our production cost"* ***[Accountant, YAFG1.5, CS2]***.	- Farming practices combined with local and external knowledge. -Operation strategies are influenced strongly by Western dominant discourses (i.e., management, business operations). - Collective traditional work complements the production of goods and services (i.e., Minga of work when labour is needed and there is a high demand). - Exploiting the land sustainably to protect mother earth.
CS3	-Farming: agriculture - Exploiting the land but respecting nature.	Handicraft production following cultural traditions.	**Others:** - Technology - Capacity building - Professionalization - Marketing methods	*"We realised that in order to be more productive we have to be professionalised, we learnt a lot of strategies that could be useful for our business"* ***[Fiscal, VICU3, CS3]***.	- Commercialising ancestral products. - Exploitation of the natural resources sustainable in the practice of floriculture. - Farming practices combined with local and external knowledge. - Operation strategies are influenced strongly by Western dominant discourses (i.e., management, business operations).

Source: Compiled by the Author

Table 6.4 (II) From IOG to ICO: Production of Goods and Services

Characteristics (II): Production of goods and services					
IOGs (Informality)	→		*to*	→	*ICOs (Formality)*
CSEs	*Mimicry* →				*Hybridity*
	Local Variables		*SSE Norms / Other Variables*	*Examples from the raw data*	*Hybrid Forms (innovative traditional practices)*
	Land-Based Activities	*Cultural-Based and Other Activities*			
CS4		Collective practices: mingão (minga). Others: fishing, hunting, local cuisine and traditional medicine and rituals	- Sustainable tourist strategies - Capacity building - Tourist national norms adoption -Infrastructure - National policies and laws - Management and entrepreneurship methods - Marketing methods	*"There are norms that we have to comply with according to the tourist industry of the country"* ***[Treasurer, VIPU3, CS4]***.	- Operation strategies are influenced strongly by Western dominant discourses (i.e., management, business operations). - Indigenous medicine is commercialised. - Traditional cuisine is commercialised. - Collective practices to improve the operations of the CS4.
CS5		Weaving and handicraft production following cultural traditions.	- Management and entrepreneurship methods - Marketing methods - Use of technology	*"We understood that the only way to be competitive was to improve our handicraft production was to implement the assembly line strategy, breaking the work into small deskilled tasks"* ***[President, VIWA1, CS5]***.	- Operation strategies are influenced strongly by Western dominant discourses (i.e., management, business operations). - Weaving and handicraft are improved by external methods (i.e., technology or assembly line strategy). - Marketing strategies are used for both, community advocacy and commercialisation.

Source: Compiled by the Author

However, although similar features can be identified in the ICOs' production process and activities, differences can be found amongst the CESs. The findings reveal that the ICO participants are fully aware of the external influences when production processes are taking place. They report that there are advantages and disadvantages of combining both local and external knowledge. By quoting some accounts from the participants, it can be argued that there is an intrinsic dilemma between mimicking and disregarding external practices (influenced strongly by Western managerial and entrepreneurial dominant discourses) (see Box 6.21). Interestingly, while the production of videos was taking place (following the PV approach), some of the participants were reluctant to highlight in the film the advantages of appropriating Western practices that may benefit their organisational activities, but rather they wanted to report the importance of bringing about cultural aspects into the process of production, and how by reimplementing ancestral knowledge, production processes could be improved (i.e., agroforestry, crop rotation, polyculture and water harvesting).

Box 6.21 Differences in Similar Business Activities Amongst the ICOs

Our association was created to provide an alternative to the current way we were practicing agriculture ….. we realised that we were replicating the mistakes of the white people …by over working the land, using pesticides and foreign seeds to produce our products, detrimental outcome has been happening, particularly, in health for both, us and the mother earth …. We had to create an alternative project to encourage our members and the Misak community to protect the environment and preserve our natural resources… that is why when there is lack of water, we contact one of our eldest to lead a ritual and 'cultivate water'… you know, to make the páramo, that is one of our deity, to provide us with the water that is needed [Member, MKFG1.6, CS1].

We acknowledge that by making our dairy production more efficient we have to embrace both worlds, the western and our knowledge to improve our productivity… we bring professional that support us for the operation of the finca and so far, results are quite good
[Accountant, YAFG1.5, CS2].

Tensions in emulating external variables are observed in those CSEs that conducted land-based activities (the CS1, CS2 and one of the business activities of the CS3). The findings reveal that an organisational conundrum appears when production processes are conducted by either following local knowledge or the combination of both, Western and local. With the objective of enhancing farming processes, achieving sustainable agricultural methods and improving income generation, some of the ICOs reported to implement external farming methods which incorporate all or most of the

following: use of high-yield varieties of seeds, chemically derived fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides, irrigation and mechanisation. The fact that some members are reluctant to appropriate external farming methods because of its negative effects upon the community, has created some tensions amongst the ICO members. As an example of this, a large number of participants in the focus group conversations report issues in bringing about Western methods, as there is a community concern of how the land is used, and how the use of pesticides and genetically modified seeds (GMS) are impacting negatively on the wellbeing of the environment and their families. A community leader pointed out:

> *There are a lot of issues of implementing white men's methods of farming production…. with them [referring to the methods], cancer and other types of illness appeared…..the excessive use of pesticides and other chemicals upon our lands, is delivering some health issues and is affecting the wellbeing of the community* [Accountant, YAFG1.8, CS2].

Other evidence suggests that not all the members are unenthusiastic to appropriate external farming methods or knowledge and are willing not only to conduct external farming techniques but also partner with other institutions to improve the agricultural production (an innovative approach in indigenous practices). This is illustrated by the case example of CID, which partnered with a local university to conduct research about the use of the land sustainably, free from pesticides and improve the organic seeds production. A partner researcher from a local university pointed out the importance of working in partnership with the indigenous communities to enrich scientific knowledge with the indigenous one (i.e., normative isomorphism as a sense of improving professional networks). She stressed:

> *We came here to conduct a research on an onion's plague that were affecting the local production…. we are now working hand by hand with them and the results have been amazing…. their knowledge is unique and I have learnt so much from them … we work in a really horizontal way…I think many universities should stop patronising them and appreciate what they have to offer* [Researcher, V1MK3, CS1].

Here, the evidence shows that hybrid models of production emerge by seeking sustainable and productive agricultural methods (resistance). Interestingly, although many participants often blamed the external approaches to be the main reason of agricultural

pitfalls and environmental catastrophe, many others acknowledged the advantages of combining both knowledges.

Another important aspect emerging from the data, key to identifying the hybridisation process when transforming from informality to formality, is the indigenous collective work. In almost all the ICOs, collectiveness is a key innovative strategy to address operational difficulties and improve the production process. The evidence shows that while capital resources are scarce in the ICOs' assets (i.e., tools, equipment, buildings, and machinery), their wealth falls into a human resources capability. During the interviews and focus groups discussions, it was often reported that indigenous collectiveness is a crucial practice that drives the organisational praxis towards to a more participative, proactive and engaged work behaviour. Interestingly, the minga is frequently mentioned by the participants as a cultural habit that nurtures work behaviour. In this respect, the findings indicate that indigenous people in this context perceive work as a cultural tradition rather than an organisational duty. Thus, the community involvement in volunteer labour appears to be a natural element that benefits the organisational praxis (organisational advantage by integrating local practices). Box 6.22 shows how collective practices contribute to the production processes, and how the collective work is the motor that supplies motivational power to organisations. Particularly, when the organisations face an economic pitfall or are in great need and more labour is required. This can be linked with the literature from previous chapters (Chapter 2 and 5), that shows that *collectiveness* amongst indigenous people is not only a cultural feature, but also an indigenous praxis that nurtures social cohesion and benefits the ICOs.

Box 6.22 Collective Work as a Motor to Power ICOs

For us, the Curripaco …. we work in community, that is, in solidarity with the whole world … For example, in terms of food…. there is no worry, when someone hunt something, it is also for everyone. So how do we plan? collectively … for instance, community work, if there is a lot of community work. How do we plan? In the morning in fasting, people gather, make the plan and distribute the tasks… The old men meet at six in the morning before going to work. What pose there? Well, everything is known, the activity that men and women will do separately. The women gather also take hot yukuta, migao and there they plan. You already know exactly what they are going to do that day…. we do exactly the same with our organisation, we emulate what our community does [President, VICU2, CS3].

Not only do we need to say the cash, the money to share or to have things for all people…. For example, we do mingas, and there are times that things can be done without money… for example, in November the minga is done, for the offerings that it is believed that the spirits, the loved ones who died in that month of November, come to visit, and then the offerings are made…that is how our organisations operates, by embracing our collective spirit [Member, MKFG1.11, CS1].

Well, for us the collective work is fundamental ... working in a group, in a team to be able to reach the objective what one expects, in terms of organisation…. Talk to the community, that we have the same idea practically to be able to reach a future…. collective work not only drives the efficient path of our organisation but the destiny of our community [Treasurer, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

The collective work that the 31 communities did to start the Finca el Paraiso was crucial to be at the stage that we are today…. this land belongs to all of us, thus we have to protect it and preserve it…. When a big job is needed, we call out for mingas of work …. And people have to come… it is a cultural duty… we cannot simply to outsource the labour that we need knowing that we've got such communitarian commitment [Accountant, YAFG1.5, CS2].

In this regard, the findings indicate that collective work is subject strongly to the interplay between free will, wider participation and a communal duty. In fact, in some CSEs, interviewees reported that by not participating and getting involved in collective activities, individuals are disrespected and sometimes punished. A key informant corroborated this, as he pointed out:

> *Collective work is something that is embedded in our community is part of our DNA, it is a collective responsibility…. the cooperative belongs to everybody… thus everybody has the duty to contribute to it…. People who do not collaborate disrespect their family and their community….in everyday basis we have to honour our people* [Member/Co-founder, V1MK2, CS1].

In the indigenous entrepreneurship literature it suggests that volunteerism and collectivism are common characteristics amongst indigenous groups (see the work of

Anderson *et al.* 2006; Giovannini, 2012; Peredo, 2001; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017, 2016). This aspect seems to confirm that there is an embedded cultural element in the hybrid forms when exercising collectivism. Although, volunteerism appears in the literature of the SSE as an organisational strategy to enhance internal practices (i.e., in Coraggio, 2007), indigenous collectiveness appears as a local variable in the mimicry process. The fact that despite the geographical location (referred to as *mingao* in the Guainia region by the participants), minga practice is commonly used by the majority of the ICOs, indicates the indigenous influence upon the ICOs' hybrid forms. More empirically, fieldwork observations reveal that indigenous collectiveness is spontaneously manifest at all times. For instance, during the participatory video process, although many participants were not members of the ICOs, they joined the video activity to collaborate with the other members of their community. They seemed to join to strengthen social bonds and reinforce social cohesion.

6.3.3 Governance: Decision-Making Process

When the decision-making process is described by the participants, two types of governance forms are identified from the collected data: *autonomous and quasi-autonomous*. Similar to the ownership feature explained above, some of the ICOs decision-making processes are reported to be subject to internal, the ICO, and external influences, the indigenous authorities (cabildo) and the community (located in the resguardo). Table 6.5 illustrates both the local variables, characterised by the ancestral and present-day practices,[63] and the external variables, the SSE norms and other variables, in order to understand the organisational transformation from informal to formal within the process of mimicry. The table also depicts the result of such a transformation by including examples of hybrid forms of governance. Interestingly, the findings indicate that informal governance forms (shaped by their own ecosystem) complement the formal organisational practices suggested by the SSE norms and strengthen the organisational practices.

[63] Ancestral and present-day practices were reported by the participants as pre and post-colonial praxes respectively.

Table 6.5 (I) From IOGs to ICOs: Decision Making Process

Characteristics (III): Governance: Decision Making Process							
IOGs (Informality) → *to* → *ICOs (Formality)*							
Mimicry → *Hybridity*							
CSEs	***Local Variables***		***SSE Norms / Other Variables***	***Examples from the raw data***	***Hybrid Forms (complementarity informal practices)***		
	Ancestral Practices	*Present-Day Practices*			*Autonomous (Actors Involved)*	*Quasi-autonomous (Actors Involved)*	
CS1	- Hierarchical. - Collective and wide participation. - Age-led. - Cacicazgos (led and represented by the chief).	- Community governance subjected to the rules of the resguardo where they are located. - Self-determination rights. - Cabildo authority. - Different councils. - Governors of each resguardo (post-Cacicazgos). - Hierarchical but with more layers of power.	- All the SSE organisations are ruled by the norms established by the SSE authorities (i.e., Supersolidaria) - The governance forms are dependent on the type of SSE organisation: SEO, internal governance and DSO, internal and external control of the governance of the SSE organisations. - Rights given to owners (Associates), SSE organizations must be governed by their assembly of associates. - Transparency in their operations to articulate a good practice of governance. - Develop a structure of decision, control and supervision bodies. - According to the SSE norms, good institutional governance must be governed by three bodies: administrative body, fiscal auditor and social control. - Multi-stakeholder governance: associates, external customers and employees. - SSE must have participative business management.	*"As a cooperative, our decision process is strongly connected with our assembly, it is written in our statutes, the role of the general assembly is crucial for any decision needed in the cooperative"* ***[GM, VIMK1, CS1]***.		*Internal:* - Board of directors - Employees - Associates *External:* - Associate's family - Community -Cabildo San Fernando	*By norm the CS1 and CS2 should implement a democratic governance forms. However, other members of the community (externals) participate in the decision-making process.*
CS2		- Indigenous councils as a local figure of territorial government. - Local autonomies, decentralised from the Colombian Government. - Cabildo authority. - Governor, secretary, treasurers and captain (post- Cacicazgos). - Hierarchical but with more layers of power.		*"Our decisions are made by the 31 community Yanacona, they are their owner, it is their right. We do also invite our clientele to be part of the assemblies, it is important to include our stakeholders"* ***[Prosecutor, YAFG1.3, CS2]***.		*Internal:* - Cabildo - Board of Directors - Employees *External:* - Associates (the 31 Yanacona community)	
CS3	- Clan-led. - Hierarchical. - Collective and widely participatory. - Cacicazgos (Led and represented by the chief). - Everyday indigenous assemblies: meetings at dawn and nightfall.	- General Puinave assembly (compounded by the community from all Puinave resguardos). - The council of traditional authorities. - Captains who represent their community towards the Puinave state (post-Cacicazgos). - Governor - Pastor (Spiritual guide). - Cabildo who rules over the clans (in every clan there is a leader). - Sometimes clans are led by a board of members.		*"We comply with all the SSE norms, we have different bodies to control and supervise our management, we also celebrate assemblies in accordance to our statutes"* ***[Fiscal, CUFG1.4, CS3]***.	-Internal: - Board of Directors - Employees	*Although CS3 follows the governance SSE norm, external participation is encouraged to improve their decision-making process.*	

Source: Compiled by the Author

Table 6.5 (II) From IOGs to ICOs: Decision Making Process

Characteristics (III): Governance: Decision Making Process							
IOGs (Informality) → *to* → *ICOs (Formality)*							
CSEs	*Mimicry* → *Hybridity*						
	Local Variables		***SSE Norms / Other Variables***	***Examples from the raw data***	***Hybrid Forms (complementarity informal practices)***		
	Ancestral Practices	*Present-Day Practices*			*Autonomous (Actors Involved)*	*Quasi-autonomous (Actors Involved)*	
CS4	- Clan-led. - Hierarchical. - Collective and widely participatory. - Cacicazgos (Led and represented by the chief). - Everyday indigenous assemblies: meetings at dawn and nightfall.	- Unanimity amongst the members, age-led, morning community meetings and afternoon community meetings - Captains who represent their community towards the Puinave state (post- Cacicazgos). - Hierarchical system led by Abuelo (the eldest), shaman (Payé) and the chief (captain).	- All the SSE organisations are ruled by the norms established by the SSE authorities (i.e., Supersolidaria) - The governance forms are dependent on the type of SSE organisation: SEO, internal governance and DSO, internal and external control of the governance of the SSE organisations. - Rights given to owners (Associates), SSE organizations must be governed by their assembly of associates. - Transparency in their operations to articulate a good practice of governance. - Develop a structure of decision, control and supervision bodies. - According to the SSE norms, good institutional governance must be governed by three bodies: administrative body, fiscal auditor and social control. - Multi-stakeholder governance: associates, external customers and employees. - SSE must have participative business management.	*"We discuss our projects not only with our members but also with the community, they are part of our stakeholders"* ***[President, VIPU1, CS4]***.		*Internal:* -Board of directors -Employees -Associates *External:* -Associate's family -Community -Cabildo Paujil	*By norm the CS4 should implement a democratic governance forms. However, other members of the community (externals) participate in the decision-making process.*
CS5	- Clan-led (led by the eldest mother who regulates the community. - Hierarchy followed by matriarchal linage.	- Cabildo central authority. - All clans are led by the cabildo - Each cabildo have a leader. - Each clan is autonomous but must follow the rules established by the cabildo.		*"Of course, we have monthly assemblies, this is part of our rules, we must inform and include all the members in the decision-making process"* **[President, VIWA1, CS5]**.	*Internal:* - Board of directors - Employees - Associates	*Although the CS5 follows the governance SSE norm, external participation is encouraged to improve their decision-making process.*	

Source: Compiled by the Author

The findings indicate that governance is a neology introduced by external entities, as the Supersolidaria to the indigenous communities. A decision-making phrase is widely used by the participants when referring to the collective process of selecting a course of action amongst different options to attain a goal or goals. While the Supersolidaria norms establish that all the SSE types, SEOs and DSOs must be ruled based on democratic governance approaches to infer legal powers to its associates, the ICOs should be culturally bound to the governance of their communities. As seen in Chapter 5, indigenous communities have the tendency to prioritise common ends upon particular ones (including local organisations). A hybrid governance form is explained by a top manager:

> *The objectives of our associations are ruled by the statutes that the members created…. however, the statutes are ruled by our indigenous authorities….. the interest our organisation simply cannot be over the interest of our people* [Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].

The evidence suggests that at a formal level, the new organisational practice (hybrid form) can be understood through the organisational contestation between the interplay of the local and the external variables internalised in the process of mimicry. The findings indicate that contestation in this context, is the act of resisting external governance forms, and strengthening indigenous culture by complementing formal practices with the informal ones. The paradox of the ICOs in complying with the SSE governance norms and following the rules of local institutions, pertains to Bhabha's (2012) third space, in which subaltern groups resist and negotiate their local and external variables creating a hybrid form.

Other findings reveal that the indigenous community that each of the CSEs is affiliated with, either participates or is directly informed of the general state of the organisation. Despite the fact that different governance forms are adopted by each of the ICOs selected for the study, (see Table 6.5), there is evidence of high community engagement, particularly when general assemblies are taking place (as it creates social cohesion). Collectiveness is a common feature that appears again as an important aspect when decision-making is needed. 24% of the participants are community members (all the ICOs' associates are community members, but the 24% are non-associates of the ICOs). The community indicates a level of engagement with the ICOs. A community member that is actively involved in the activities of the organisation reported:

Although we are not registered as members [referring to his family], we feel that we are part of the organisation…... we participate in the minga that they call out and we come to the assemblies, our friends and relatives are part of the organisation… thus so we are
[Teacher / Community Member, WAFG 1.19, CS5].

This corroborates the work carried out by Peredo (2001) and Peredo and McLean (2013) that suggests that trust and community ties are both key elements for decision-making processes in indigenous entrepreneurship. Here, it is suggested that the role of the community in any entrepreneurial activity is crucial, as wider participation generates an ecosystem of trust that ease the decision-making processes when a large number of participants are involved.

In this respect, the findings reveal that hybrid forms are displayed when the decision-making process is compounded by local and external variables: while decisions are made collectively following cultural traditions, they are also made democratically (one person one vote) complying with external norms. For instance, in one of the ICOs, children are encouraged to participate in general assemblies from the age of thirteen, and to be part of the decision-making process. In other cases, organisational unanimity is widely practiced and decisions are made collectively and usually with great participation. Thus, decisions are not made under a majority basis but rather when there is not a convincing argument to stop the execution of a decision. Generally, some ICOs reported to making decisions while doing a *minga* of thinking, that is when a group of participants discuss and talk about the same topic (see Box 6.23).

Box 6.23 Minga of thinking and Decision-Making Process

Because our objective is collective, right? To this end we create the organisation … because we are at the resguardo we need to respect the resguardo's rules and aligned our objectives with it, especially because we work within the resguardo …. and consult always with the community. Before any decision, we have to propose to them…usually we do, in the morning, every morning we wake up and before the day starts we have a community meeting … we eat and everything… it is a sort of mingao when we discuss and talk about topics
[Member, VIPU5, CS4].

General assemblies are really important for us …. over there we have the opportunity to meet and discuss about topics…. Sometimes we take hours to make decisions because it is really important for us that everybody agrees or there is not enough reasons to stop doing things, We make decisions unanimously…. That's why is so important to make mingas of thinking [Member, MKFG1.1, CS1].

We call out for big mingas when a big job needs to be done in our land, we take this opportunity to talk about the community and about the projects that we have in mind….and the we decide collectively… To be honest…..we also take opportunities to catch up and meet with others, it is a social event [Community Member, YAFG1.11, CS2].

The findings indicate that several factors enable good governance practices amongst the ICOs. The main aspect identified in almost all of the ICOs relates to members sharing the same conditions, as they are affiliated to the same indigenous community. Participants shared elements in personal relationships, culture, political affiliation, traditions, rules, history, social and economic conditions, and other common interests. This is particularly interesting as an apparent sense of homogeneity amongst the members enables a better practice of governance. Therefore, in both identified governance forms, autonomous and quasi-autonomous collective practices demonstrate that they are linked to community shared conditions, and wider participation is effective at times. Respondents also stressed the importance of increasing participation outside their ICOs, thereby setting an example to be followed by similar initiatives. The prosecutor of an ICO pointed out:

> *We always seek to widening participation, as it legitimises the process of decision-making and make much easier the process when implementation is taking place, we all have common goals as we shared the same socio-economic and historical conditions…. we need to have our duck in a row to ensure that there is a general consensus at implementation level* [Prosecutor, YAFG1.3, CS2].

Nevertheless, organisational issues emerged when widening participation, as well as inclusive governance took place. A number of ICOs reported having experienced a "*difficult*" time during general assemblies and saw the disadvantage of grouping associates and community members, as the general audience lacked information about their organisations and experienced a 'slowness' in the process. While implementing inclusiveness and democratic governance the ICOs demonstrate improvements in some implementation processes in the organisation, weaknesses are also highlighted by some of the participants. Box 6.24 illustrates this.

Box 6.24 Disadvantages of Collective Decision-making

Gathering and making decisions together is great because it creates a community cohesion, as our assemblies are taken place in community celebrations….. but sometimes…. we [referring to the board of directors] struggle in pleasing everybody…..there is a very fine line in between the social and the economic outcome [General Manager, VIMK1, CS1].

We make decisions unanimously, practically …. together we make all the decisions. If there any strong idea that oppose the idea we proceed … although we have to say that for now is fairly simple to handle, as we still are a very little organisation... but we find more difficulties when non-members get involve in the process…you know…we must to include other community members is our cultural duty…but sometimes they don't see the whole picture and we take more time than we should explaining things [Vice-President, PUFG1.2, CS4].

How do we plan and make-decisions? ….. in the morning in fasting, people gather. The old men meet at six in the morning before going to work. What pose there? Well, everything is known, the activity that men and women will do separately…. the women gather also take hot yukuta, mingao and there they plan. They already know exactly what they are going to do that day, and that they killed last night, the men. And they go to work….at communal level is easier but when you do at organisational level…. it is different because there are specific tasks to be performed [General Manager, CUFG1.2, CS3].

The evidence suggests that the ICOs' good practice of decision-making, is subject to the capacity of integrating and managing the tensions of local and external governance forms. The fact that informal governance practices are implemented to improve the formal ones, suggests that complementarity offers an extended idea of the SSE governance forms. Particularly, as the informal ones are shaped by their cosmovision. This corroborates with what Peredo and McLean (2013) suggest – that the conceptuality of entrepreneurship must be revised and extended to indigenous entrepreneurship

because not only is the decision-making process important, but also the ideological platform in which these decisions are made from. An important point here is that all ICOs organisations reported to be linked with their cultural values in the decision-making process, which is the reason why the majority of them have included the general audience into their decision-making; even the ones that reported to be autonomous.

6.3.4 Organisational Strategies: Grant Seeking, Diversification, Capacity Building, Networking and Partnerships

The evidence suggests that many of the organisational strategies are designed by the ICOs to achieve the short, middle and long-term goals of the organisation (see Table 6.6). Interestingly, informal practices are planned as a strategy to enhance the organisational practices; even though all the CSEs showed to adopt and adapt to external methods. The findings indicate that by emulating external methods, the ICOs generate a 'bricolage' of strategies with a cultural ingredient that helps them to meet organisational objectives (i.e., capital, institutional and organisational). That is to say that the ICOs' organisational strategies depict a hybrid form in which the result of the organisations' internalisation of external strategies, accompanied by informal practices as a strategy (i.e., process of mimicry), generate an enhanced repertoire of actions to achieve organisational goals.

Table 6.6 From IOG to ICO: Organisational Strategies

Characteristics (IV): Organisational Strategies				
IOGs (Informality) → *to* → *ICOs (Formality)*				
CSEs	*Mimicry* → *Hybridity*			
	Local Variables	***SSE Norms / Other Variables***	***Examples from the raw data***	***Hybrid Forms* (Strategic Informal Practices)**
CS1	- Alternative economic activities based on their culture (i.e., bartering activities, minga of working or seed swapping). - Workforce: local collaboration and cooperation. - Acknowledging the importance of local knowledge and self-education (i.e., environmental knowledge accumulated over hundreds of generations of actively caring for their territories). - Openness. - Good negotiation skills. - Austerity measures (i.e., reduce expenditure, more widening collaboration, massive and active community involvement). - Local management of social and natural resources. - Empirical indigenous research (i.e., plant and soil testing). - Local understanding	- Grant and funding opportunities. - Business diversification. - Marketing Strategies. - Capacity building: technical and vocational education training, professionalization. - Networking and partnerships Strategies.	*"We realised that the only way to survive was by diversifying our business menu, we saw an opportunity to enter into another market and this is why we did it, it was a good business strategy"* **[Treasurer, MKFG1.3, CS1]**.	- Diversification of business (transport) to enhance the income generation. - Partnerships with external entities to blend local and external knowledges to tackle land-issues. - Local practices to reduce production cost (bartering)
CS2			*"We partnered with agriculture educational institutions to enhance our milk production methods, I see the advantages of partnering with others and use this partnering element as a strategy"* **[Accountant, YAFG1.5, CS2]**.	- Partnerships with external entities to blend local and external knowledges to tackle land-issues. - Outsource local training to improve local practices.
CS3			*"We have seen the advantages of our members becoming more professionalised. Myself I am educated I know how much I can contribute to the organisation"* **[Assistant GM, CUFG 1.3, CS3].**	- Professionalization of the members to enhance the capacity building. - Widening networking by using marketing strategies and local communication skills. - Grant seeking to overcome financial issues
CS4			*"We could not kick off our organisation without the funding that we receive, we are always aware of the grant and funding opportunities, this is a good strategy to enhance our business"* **[Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].**	- Community collaboration to reduce labour cost. - Outsource of service amongst the community members to diversify the business offer. - Grant seeking to overcome financial issues
CS5			*"The combination of ethno-education with western education has been fundamental for the improvement of our products. At the end of the day we commercialise our art. Thus, it is important that the majority of the members know how to make our art while thinking about business"* **[Treasurer, VIWA2, CS5].**	- Partnering with international actors to commercialise their products abroad. - Grant seeking to overcome financial issues. - Educate their weavers with both local and Western systems to enhance their products.

Source: Compiled by the Author

Organisational strategies are unscrambled in different categories: *grant seeking, capacity building, diversification, networking and partnerships,* in order to illustrate that the ICOs are necessarily influenced by external dominant discourses to overcome organisational challenges. This can be regarded as reflective of an organisation whose management succumb to emulate external practices in the urgency of outreaching organisational difficulties; evidence suggests that the main obstacle amongst the five CSEs is financial, which is one of the main drivers of mimicry.

Grant seeking and business diversification strategies are the most reported by the board of directors of each ICO. 32% of the participants are either part of the board of directors or directly involved in the management process. Moreover, the evidence reveals that grant funding sources are a more common feature of the start-up period rather than for the later period across the ICOs; even though in some of the selected ICOs, initial contributions are complemented with members' inputs, either in kind or in money, for the opening period. The findings also demonstrate that only one of the selected ICOs used financial credit or a loan to start-up and develop their business (see the background description of the CS1 in the appendix). Access to finance during the development period (excluding the start-ups) is perceived as the main problem faced by the organisations; thus, grant seeking is one of the main strategies to meet such needs. Box 6.25 provides examples of how a grant seeking strategy is used to solve financial pressure.

Box 6.25 Grant Seeking as a Strategy for Overcoming Financial Stress

If there are available funding opportunities… we are going to take the chance…. we are also dedicated to search for grant opportunities, locally or internationally…. The cost of developing is too high and our business is not making enough money yet to reach level of economic investment
[Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].

Grant seeking had helped and may help us to meet our economic needs…. sometimes is really hard to cope with our financial responsibilities…. and money is something that we always need … it is not crucial but sometimes infrastructure is needed and we don't have enough financial resources …. In fact, I applied for a national award called mujer Cafam and I won, with the money that we got we reinvested everything into the organisation…. Also, we have received some help from national and international institutions …. we applied for different grants and we got some of them… we planned to seeking for those opportunities as we demonstrated that we could manage it perfectly
[President and Cofounder, CUFG1.1, CS3].

We got a grant in the beginning which help us to kick off our business… in our agenda there is always a point that we must seek for funding opportunities…we don't have a strong 'financial muscle' to invest in other things thus, is really important to seek for these opportunities
[President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

The evidence reveals that some tensions occur from the strategy of attaining financial and other resources (i.e., equipment, infrastructure and IT) from external entities, and from relying on grant seeking. On the one hand, linked to the findings presented earlier in sub-section 6.2.6, it is reported that high levels of aid dependency may lead to organisational idleness and a lack of managerial productivity. A head manager pointed out:

> *The problem on relying on grant seeking and aid so much is that the members of the organisation may become a little lazy, if one only thinks of seeking for aid tend to forget how to improve the business with other strategies* [President and Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

On the other hand, dominant discourses are imposed upon the ICOs, as usually grants, funding and donations are subject to certain conditions and agendas that legitimate the colonised vs colonisers subject amongst indigenous people (i.e., the ICOs are obliged to change because of the isomorphic pressure, and therefore coercive isomorphism occurs). A community member explained:

> *Aid and external support are the disguised of neo-colonial forms of power, by falling into these strategies our communities are doomed to extinction…. everything has*

an agenda behind, I remember in here before, they [referring to national entities] gave us financial help for local development and later they were privatising our natural resources in our territory [GM and Cofounder, V1MK6, CS1].

Additionally, business diversification emerges as a key aspect for tackling economic issues. The findings show that in the majority of the ICOs, economic issues are resolved by diversifying their business activities. By doing this, economic performance is enhanced, and surplus produce is reinvested in the organisation and the community. In all the well-established ICOs, business activities are improved by extending to other areas. In the case of Cooperativa Las Delicias (CS1), their main activity is agriculture; nonetheless, they identified a lack of transport in their location, and saw the opportunity to improve their income generation by buying a bus, in which they now operate a bus service from Guambia to Silvia.

Similarly, the Akayú Association (CS3) demonstrated how economic performance could be enhanced by entering into other types of business. The CS3 started as an association that offered a recycling service; however, in order to include the rest of the members and improve economic performance, three more business activities were developed: *retail*, *education* and *floriculture*. The president and co-founder of the CS3 pointed out:

We started with the recycling business and it went really well, but other necessities were needed for the association, that's why we developed the other three services that today are really important for the economic performance of the organisation…. we have to admit also, that when we started, we had something different in mind for the other three services, but we improve them according to the necessities of our organisation and the demand of the public [President and Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

Evidence shows that the ICOs that diversify their businesses reduce the risks of relying on sales from only one type of product, which ensures the survival of the company when one market collapses (the agriculture sector has suffered the most, and has had many difficulties in the Colombian context) resulting and in cost saving and an increase in their level of production.

An interesting example, that may illustrate a hybrid form in business diversification, is reported by Cooperativa Las Delicias (CS1), in which the cooperative diversifies their businesses by exercising ancestral practices (the used of informal practices a strategy).

The cooperative engaged in bartering activities to reduce wastage and manage food production. The CS1 mastered the control of the entire supply chain, as they not only produce goods with their own seeds but have also commercialised them in their local store in Silvia (where they also sell other products). One member of the board of directors highlights the importance of complementing their business process by exercising their ancestral practices:

> *Bartering help us to connect with our culture, plus help us to reduce wastage and manage the surplus of production of some products…. also, is a really good strategy because we have access to products that we do not produce over here, our Misak community in the hot areas of Guambia also operates similarly… thus we complement to each other* [Fiscal, MKFG1.5, CS1].

This aspect can be linked with the BV pillar of plural economy discussed in Chapter 2, in which both economic practices (ancestral and orthodox) can complement each other and deliver a more efficient outcome (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, 2016). It also shows, hybrid models of production, as indigenous practices complement the Western ones (i.e., informal practices were implemented as strategies to enhance the organisational practices and facilitate the blending).

There is also evidence of how the ICOs have tried to embrace professional training and education to improve their capacity building, as the majority of the participants reported how important it is for the ICOs' members to be educated in order to be competitive (i.e., normative isomorphism in DiMaggio and Powell's (2000) terms). Remarkably, 58% of the participants were either professionally trained (vocational or technical courses) or educated in universities. The majority of respondents during the focus groups highlighted the benefits brought to the ICOs from having members with different educational backgrounds and skills. Although respondents stressed the importance of education and professional training, they asserted that capacity building is also strengthened by their ethno-education. The findings indicate that in all the ICOs, members are associated with ethno-education, either as teachers or as students. In Box 6.26, participants highlight the importance of enhancing the capacity building of the ICO by introducing ethno-training, conducted by members of the community.

Box 6.26 Ethno-Education to Enhance Capacity Building

If, for example, we have the model of collective milk production…..and there are already 31 communities that already are benefited out of it here in Cauca…. spite of having many things that are adopted from the west such as the technique of milking, the shepherding management and the operation of the equipment, we are creating an ecosystem and an eco-working space in which our young people can learn from and develop other techniques to enhance our performance…. the oldest are in charge of educating the youngest in our ancestral techniques [Educator, YAFG1.7, CS2].

Many of the members have also been educated in here in the education centre of Shiruria, also many of them are also teacher. At the centre, we teach Wayuu education that includes weaving, children since they are really young learn how to weave properly with our techniques and the meaning of the art of our culture…. of course, it makes an impact on the association because, they skilled and sometimes they learn other tricks to weave a better product [Teacher / Community Member, WAFG 1.4, CS5].

Another important aspect highlighted by the participants relates to their appropriation of Western education, where they felt that the indigenous people would never again be deceived. One of the oldest members, a cofounder of the CS1 stressed:

When we started, we knew that we had to be educated….. our parents and grandparents were deceived by the white men because they did not know anything about land rights and even the language…. they [referring to the landowners] became friend of the indigenous people and then they made them sign documents assuring that this was the part of the process of buying and getting right over the land…. they did know the language, they didn't know what a contract was and they lost everything…that is why is so important to compete in their own terms [Member/Co-founder, V1MK2, CS1].

Once again, these findings seem to reflect both the hybridisation process in which internal and external knowledge is appropriated to enhance the performance of the ICO, shaping a hybrid form. As reported, by appropriating indigenous knowledge, local education is reinforced and leads the organisation to better practice.

The findings from the fieldwork reveals that two other aspects are relevant in the strategic planning of the ICOs: *partnerships* and *networking*. The majority of the studied ICOs report that by enhancing their networks and creating strategic planning, their performance is improved. The findings indicate that the ICOs' networks are constituted by a combination of internal and external actors that are key for the enhancement of

their organisations, which includes: local and regional authorities, international entities, local businesses, the local community, local suppliers, educational institutions, cabildos and indigenous people advocators. As shown in Box 6.27, several key participants from the ICOs selected for the study, highlight the importance of widening their venture's networking, and identified key partnerships to enhance the performance of the organisations.

Box 6.27 Networking and Key Partnerships for the Improvement of the ICOs

Our objective is to generate an alliance with other tourist agencies, to create a tourist chain here in the region… we have done it already here in the resguardo … the association is in charge of finding the tourists and we connect them with other services here in the community… we do offer traditional medicine … thus we have a network of shamans here in the resguardo … they do not actually work with us … but we outsource the work [Treasurer, PUFG 1.3, CS4].

Our objective is to reinforce our culture by investing time and economic resources to research…. How we operate and how we could work the land and treat the livestock sustainably, with our traditional knowledge …. That is why we partner with the local agricultural schools here in the resguardo to encourage students to come to la Finca Lechera el Paraiso and do some fieldwork. … at the end of the day this enterprise belongs to all of us [Public Administrator, VIYA2, CS2].

We have issues with the production of onion, the onion has a really rare plague and is affecting our production…. thus, we partnered with a local university, Universidad del Cauca, to control the plague organically… without pesticides…. With their knowledge and ours we are confident that we could resolve the issue [General Manager Assistant, MKFG1.2, CS1].

We realised that with the local consumption of our products was not enough…that is why we are trying to enter to the international market …. we have already had an international vendor that is in charge of commercialise our products over there [President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

6.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided original evidence about the identified characteristics of the selected ICOs. What is notable from the findings is that the ICOs' characteristics are strongly affiliated with their indigenous values. It is shown that the interplay of local and external variables influence the existence, nature, and the operations of ICOs in the Colombian context. The findings demonstrate that the ICOs' *raison d'être* is from a combination of internal and external motivations that lead the IOGs to formalise their

initiatives. As demonstrated, there is a strong relationship between the formalisation process and the community need to overcome internal and external issues.

By drawing on Bhabha's (1984, 2012) mimicry and hybridity, and bringing some insights from culturalist and institutional theory (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell, 2000), this chapter illuminates the characteristics of the ICOs at meso-level. The CSEs examine the extent to which the ICOs' hybrid forms are the result of creative resistance and/or negotiation of the two worlds (the indigenous and the Western), in which the IOGs emulate (adopt and adapt) external variables (i.e., the SEE norms and/or *other variable*s) within the process of mimicry in order to be formalised. What the identified characteristics suggest is that at meso-level, the ICOs cannot be considered an isomorph organisation and be compared with any other SSE organisations, but rather, the ICOs' characteristics are shaped by the set of values and practices of each organisation's ecosystem, and the adaptation of foreign practice into their business-like persona.

Four conceptual labels are identified that encapsulate how the tensions and conflicts inherent in the hybrid forms are managed: deviant informal practices, transformation of informal practices, complementarity of informal and formal practices and the implementation of informal practices.

The first, the deviant informal practices, reveals how informal practices deviate from the formal ones to enhance organisational praxes. Ownership is one of the examples that illuminates this phenomenon, where one of the CSEs adopts cooperativism to recover the land that was taken during colonialism. The second, the transformation of informal practices through innovation, has helped the ICOs to meet their organisational objectives and improve their formal praxes. Many of the CSEs improved their production of goods and services by commercialising indigenous products. Most of them saw a business opportunity to diversify their offer while strengthening their indigenous culture. The third, the complementarity of informal to formal practices, demonstrates how ancestral praxes enhance the formal ones: SSE governance forms are enhanced by widening participation in the community, and therefore organisational productivity demonstrates the importance of complementarity. In the fourth label, the implementation of informal practices is used as a strategy to enhance the repertoire of action to meet the needs of the organisation. Many of the CSEs implement traditional

practices to achieve their organisational goals. For example, the CS1, implement bartering in order to manage wastage and reduce production cost.

The findings also indicate that the formalisation process and legal requirements, once established, have led to organisational struggles as a consequence of the needs, values and interests between the ICOs' members, the community that the ICOs are affiliated to and the internal and external institutions (i.e., cabildos, local and national state authorities and SSE related institutions). This is in line with a study conducted by Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. (2017) that identifies a conflict of interest between managers and other members of ISEs in Mexico and Peru. That is not to say that the internal and external set of values of each entity, appear to be an inflictive aspect for setting organisational objectives and goals. The evidence shows how external institutional norms encourage the ICOs to follow organisational standards that lead to an eventual transformation of their indigenous values. Moreover, there are some gaps that require further investigation concerning the influences of BV upon each ICO. Therefore, the following chapter (7) presents findings related to the BV and the contextual version of it, by looking at the BV interpretation of each selected ICO in Colombia. Then it will explore how the ICOs experiences may influence the transition from the meso to the macro level.

CHAPTER 7
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ICOs IN COLOMBIA THAT EMBODY THE BUEN VIVIR MODEL

7.1 Introduction

Having identified the main characteristics of the ICOs in Colombia (by drawing on Bhabha's (1984, 2012) mimicry and hybridity), and having determined that the ICOs are hybrid forms, this chapter explores the ways in which the development of the ICOs in Colombia embody key tenets of the BV model.[64] Specifically, the chapter presents its findings by applying the multi-level theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3 to understand the transition from formality at meso-level, towards institutionality at macro level by looking at the experiences of the five ICOs in Colombia. The author offers a first step approximation towards the construction of a Colombian BV model as a result of the in-depth triangulated content analysis (through NVivo11) proposed in Chapter 4. The author identifies common factors by pattern matching and relate this with the BV model proposed in Chapter 2. All the excerpts illustrated in this chapter are a compilation of different sources of data collection: video semi-structured interviews, focus groups, fieldnotes and observations (all transcribed verbatim).

Firstly, at the micro-level, the BV interpretations of the selected indigenous communities are uncovered through the data analysis and are classified in three groups: *general aspects* (that depicts what BV is) pillars and values (see Table 7.1). Each group represents local and external dimensions and illustrates how the BV accomplishment is interdependent of the influence of both; the Colombian BV model aggregates the different interpretations of BV based on each selected case study. Secondly, the author tries to depict the influence of the BV of each selected indigenous community upon their ICOs. The author imports the ICOs' characteristics – existence (raison d'être), constitution and operations (discussed and analysed in Chapter 6) – to build a cross-analysis with the identified BV models in the first section (see Table 7.2). The analysis here began by searching common patterns, relationships and trends, and identifying discourse strands

[64] The BV model is the result of a meta-analysis of existing several studies and approaches of BV (see Chapter 2 for more details).

in all the transcripts in order to connect the BV perspectives with the ICOs characteristics. Then a tabular presentation of data is developed with a strong argumentative interpretation of BV influences upon the ICOs. This section complements the discussion about hybrid forms that takes place in Chapter 6, illustrating in detail how their cosmovision shapes and organisational forms demonstrate cultural diversity amongst the CSEs (see Ghiselli *et al.* 1966; Hofstede, 2001).

Thirdly, this chapter illustrates the ICOs' experiences by materialising them in organisational impacts and analysing their experiences through the BV model. Through the in-depth-triangulated analysis of the primary data, the author identifies three main characteristics (nodes) in relation to the CSEs' impact (or experiences) that are summarised in three themes: *socio-economic*, *cultural* and *environmental*. A fourth theme is also identified in the data, *distribution and organisation reinvestment*, in order to connect the ICOs' experiences more coherently with the SSE sector, and to improve the desired analysis when comparing with the BV model. The cross-case analysis dissects and arrays the evidence from the CSEs in a word table (Tables 7.4).

7.2 The interpretation of Buen Vivir on the studied indigenous communities in Colombia

Prior to exploring and discussing the Colombian BV model, it is crucial to understand the BV interpretations based on the studied indigenous communities. On a large scale, there is a tendency to perceive and include indigenous people in the same group, ignoring the heterogeneity and plurality of the indigenous people groups (see Agrawal, 1995; Gros, 1991). The plurality of indigenous people in Colombia indicates the importance of exploring the diversity of perspectives and interpretations of BV. As stated in Chapter 5, indigenous people's differences are rooted in factors such as culture, cosmovision (beliefs, values and pillars), historical contexts and geographical locations amongst others (Agrawal, 1995; Gros, 2000; Ulloa, 2004). Thus, the author aims to present BV interpretations of each studied indigenous community, as they all are very diverse.

There are two key concepts from the literature that the author is recalling in order to present the findings coherently in this section. The first draws on post-colonial studies, on the premise that the ICOs are located in a disadvantage position at the meso-level

(Spivak's 'subaltern position', 1988). As discussed in Chapter 5, it is confirmed that the indigenous people in Colombia face high levels of poverty and exclusion, they are considered powerless and voiceless, and have been subordinated by the elites of the country since colonisation (see Bushnell and Mantilla, 2002; Gros, 1997; Langebaek, 1987). The second, uses the work of Peredo and McLean (2013) to suggest that in order to enhance indigenous entrepreneurial studies it is important to understand the ideological platform in which these organisations are rooted. Thus, it is important to explore on what basis the ICOs are developed from, and to understand the different interpretations of BV. In particular, the aim is to explore to what extent the BV of each organisation transcends business, since it is incorporated in all aspects of life (see the Ubuntu example in Claeyé and Jackson, 2012).

Both concepts underpin the reasoning behind the interpretation of BV for the participants, as they report several times that the individual or communitarian state of wellbeing is subject to internal (e.g., cosmovision and identity) and external factors that include the power play of indigenous people in Colombian society. The findings indicate that there are differences and similarities in the interpretation of BV amongst the selected indigenous communities (see Table 7.1). In this context, language can be viewed as a verbal expression of culture, thus the findings reveal that each of the BV interpretations are rooted in cultural uniqueness. It is important to note that the concept of BV was not familiar to the participants: the author introduced the BV model (values and pillars were presented) during the focus group conversations. Thus, the interpretation of BV for each community is reported on the basis of the BV model (see the focus group questions in Appendix). That is to say that when this section refers to BV, it is the unique interpretation of BV for each indigenous community. Evidence suggests that each interpretation is subject to the factors that influence each indigenous community. In fact, the findings reveal the contradiction and the tensions of what BV is, and how it is interpreted (interlinked with the dilemma of wellbeing and quality of life as discussed in Chapter 6).

The findings indicate that there are five interpretations of BV interlinked to each selected indigenous community: (i) the Misak's *Latá-Latá*; (ii) the Yanacona's *Sumak Kawsay* (it is a post-Inca indigenous community and their language is rooted in the Quechua); (iii) the Curripaco's *Noapaca Opicio*; (iv) the Puinave's *Muriutún*; and (v) the Wayuu's *Anaquai*.

At the end of the section, the author tries to model the BV in the Colombian context based on the findings. The table below summarises the general aspects, the values and pillars of each interpretation of the selected indigenous communities.

Table 7.1. The Buen Vivir of the Selected Indigenous Communities

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES	**MISAK**	**YANACONA**	**CURRIPACO**	**PUINAVE**	**WAYUU**
BV interpretations	***Latá-Latá***	***Sumak Kawsay***	***Noapaca Opicio***	***Muriutún***	***Anaquai***
What is BV? (General aspects)	- Equality and harmony between the community and territory. - Rituality. - Balance between spirit, body and nature. - Involves access to the sacred places: *Lagoons, páramo and Rivers.* - Celebrates ancestral practices (i.e., *Minga, seed swapping and Bartering*).	- Access to the ancestral land. - Service to the community. - Solidarity and reciprocity. - Live with dignity and peace. - Harmony and complementarity with nature. - Political and economic autonomy. - Celebrate Yanacona culture. - Happiness despite the difficulties.	- Have real freedom. - Go back to the traditional. - Get access to the territory. - Following the ecologic calendar to respect and protect nature. - Reciprocity. - Self-education. - Solidarity and communitarian work. - Peace.	- Conservation of nature, culture and language. - Harmony with nature. - Access to the ancestral territory. - Political and economic autonomy. - Indigenous justice and peace. - Work collectively with community.	- Respect to the elders. - Get access to their territory. - Respect to nature. - Union between families (clans). - Respect to the traditional and culture. - Land volume (ownership). - Wealth in animals
Pillars	- Autonomy. - Territory. - Education. - Culture. - Spirituality.	- Live with dignity. - Harmony and equilibrium with nature. - Education. - Family. - Autonomy. - Territory.	- Territory. - Community. - Nature. - Time.	- Nature. - Territory. - Culture. - Economic support. - Autonomy.	- Territory. - Nature. - Autonomy. - Wealth (animals and lands) - Cosmovisión. - Celebration of culture.
Values	- Trust. - Respect. - Solidarity and Reciprocity. - Equality. - Harmony with Nature. - Plurality.	- Trust. - Respect. - Solidarity and reciprocity. - Equality. - Harmony and complementarity.	- Respect. - Solidarity and reciprocity. - Equality. - Harmony with nature.	-Trust. -Respect. -Solidarity and reciprocity. -Equality.	- Respect. - Solidarity and reciprocity. - Equality. - Value of the word (promises, agreements). - Dignity for the human being.

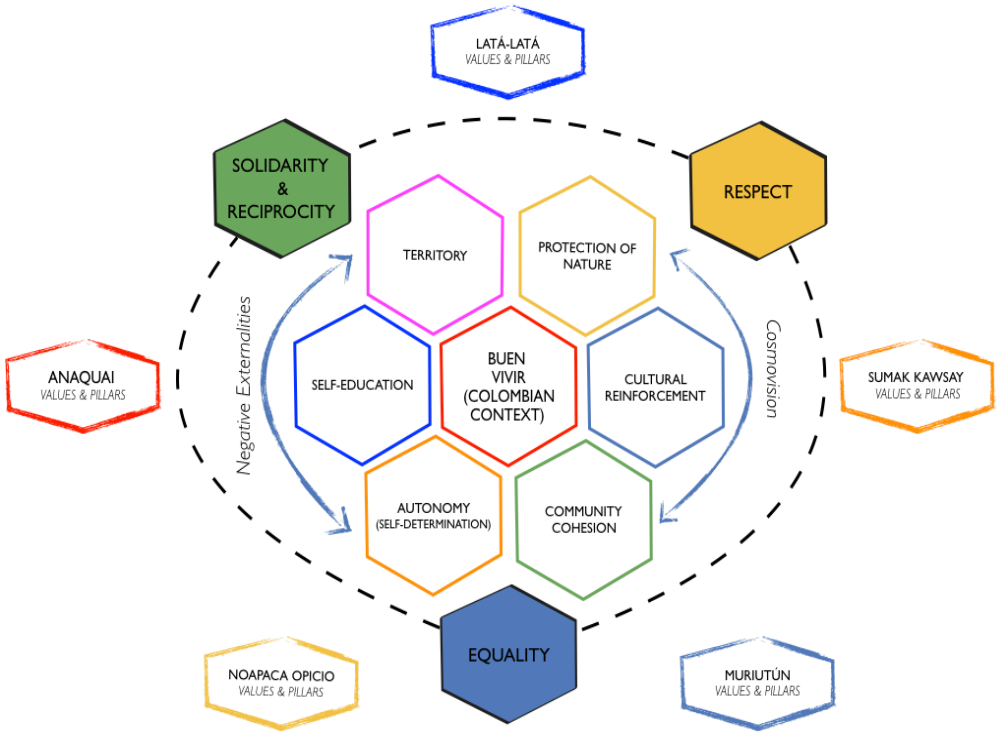
Source: Compiled by the Author

7.3 Modelling the BV in the Colombian Context

The following diagram (Diagram 7.1) provides a spatial dimension determined by the composition of an arrangement of similar values and pillars identified in the collected data. Interestingly, the findings show that the six identified pillars – (i) *protection of nature*, (ii) *cultural reinforcement*, (iii) *community cohesion*, (iv) *territory*, (v) *self-education* and (vi) *autonomy (self-determination)* – are interconnect with the Colombian BV, and all of them are bound by indigenous values that include: respect towards indigenous culture, equality for all in the indigenous community, and solidarity and reciprocity as a vehicle that drives their BV. Moreover, the five BV notions – *Latá-Latá, Sumak Kawsay, Noapaca Opicio, Muriutún* and *Anaquai* – appear to be solely-ubiquitous dimensions that indirectly influence the development of the BV space.

The findings indicate that this six-dimensional structure of adjoining pillars is constituted by two groups of three. The first group is influenced by their cosmovision: protection of nature, cultural reinforcement and community cohesion. The second group is triggered by a series of negative actions faced by indigenous communities in their history, summarised as negative externalities (external factors): territory, self-education and autonomy (self-determination). The morphology of the two groups appears to be the summation of the locally-influenced pillars oriented by the indigenous people's worldview with the action-reaction-influenced pillars, as a result of the external factors that made a negative impact on the indigenous communities.

Figure 7.1 The BV model in Colombia based on the selected indigenous communities



Source: Compiled by the Author

Given this context, the first group of pillars are suggested to be shaped by the set of values embedded in the indigenous cosmovision. The findings indicate that amongst all indigenous communities, the protection of nature (as linked with previous chapters) appears to be a fundamental principle for the development of their society, as it is considered a spiritual entity. Nature in the indigenous context, is the source of life and wellbeing, its protection and conservation is fundamental to accomplish BV. As an example, a community member commented:

> *In the culture of the Misak people, humans are deeply connected with nature; the two are equal and interdependent, even kin. This idea is reflected in the Misak value of equality and respect, which means guarding and protecting the environment in order to respect the ancestors and secure the future, thus the Latá-Latá* [Community Member, V1MK11, CS1].

Cultural reinforcement is claimed by the indigenous communities to be essential to the pursuit of BV. As it reported by the participants, cultural reinforcement is the process in which the community is involved in the traditional and customary practices that are repeated frequently. This pillar is developed from a community need, as the younger generations are losing interest in indigenous practices and are less involved in traditional celebrations. A community leader explained:

> *Our indigenous culture prevails, if we educate our children to value our indigenous culture, it is fundamental for the prevalence of our society to reinforce our culture… only by doing this we will be able to achieve the Sumak Kawsay* [Cultural Ambassador, YAFG1.8, CS2].

A third identified pillar (part of this first group) is community cohesion. Evidence suggests that all indigenous communities are strongly driven by the collective willingness to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper. Interestingly, the majority of the communities manifest that the accomplishment of BV is subject to the wellbeing of all members of the community. Many participants mentioned the advantages of having a common vision and a sense of belonging to their indigenous culture in the path towards BV. An indigenous leader commented:

> *Community cohesion is key to move towards local goals, without it, we could have never survived colonisation and post colonisation process….. we are all in the same boat and we are swimming with the current….. there is not only way to achieve Muriutún* [Vice-President, VIPU2, CS4].

The second group is constituted by a cluster of pillars that are developed as a repercussion of the externalities (external factors) that either impede or slow down the path towards BV. There is a general consensus amongst the participants that the encounter with external agents has caused negative effects in their communities. This is particularly the case with the dispossession of their ancestral lands, the lack of autonomy to operate and manage their own resources, and the need of deploying ethno-education programs to encourage the youngest indigenous generations to re-embrace their culture, aiming to strengthen indigenous identity (see Box 7.1).

Box 7.1 Participants' consensus About the External Impact Upon Their Communities

Nobody could live well if have no shelter or place to stay at… indigenous people without territory are non-indigenous people…. this our homeland… here is where we learn, live and survive. that's why is so important to leave our culture to the future generation to carry on with our fight… That's why we managed to survive so many centuries [General Manager, VICU2, CS3].

We realised that for the white men natural resources are assets, but for us our natural resources are the source of life…. that's the big difference…. It's simply anthropocentrism, they think [referring to the society outside the indigenous community] that men are the centred of the universe, but in our culture, we are just a particle, nature is above us…. cultural reinforcement is the only strategy left to ensure that our youngest generation protect what is part of us [Member/Co-founder, V1MK2, CS1].

We lived in peace and we have not for a long time, this is the direct responsibility of the white men, whose only ambition is to take over everything and exploit everything until death…. of course, its detrimental the contact with the western world…. they took away our land, they diminish our culture and still they are after our people… what else we have left….. keep fighting for our rights and teach our children our culture [Cultural Ambassador, YAFG1.8, CS2].

As it can be seen, the second group of pillars have been developed as a consequence of the negative external factors that indigenous communities have faced. Following the previous chapters, autonomy and territory are key aspects that all indigenous communities have been struggling for. As previously discussed, community members highlight the importance of either recovering or holding their ancestral land to exercise their power and manage in their own terms. Additionally, drawing on postcolonial studies, self-education is reported to be an important pillar to maintain and prevail indigenous culture, as education is considered a key vehicle for the 'colonisation of the mind'. The evidence suggests that although indigenous communities are reluctant to recognise Western education as the core of their knowledge, and have developed plans to reinforce their own education, the majority of the participants seemed to be educated in foreign schools. Not to say that 53% of the participants reported to have a professional education or hold a bachelor's degree.

With the purpose of developing a BV model in the Colombian context, evidence suggests that despite the indigenous communities' background and context (history,

culture, geographical location), there are similar elements in which each indigenous community relates to when pursuing the accomplishment of their BV (or their interpretations of BV). This spatial dimension of intersection reveals that despite the core differences amongst indigenous worldviews (as discusses in the above subsections) and factors to achieve their BV (see Table 7.1), indigenous people share some values, goals and pillars, and such commonality across the selected indigenous communities is presumably the consequence of suffering similar problems and grievances caused by external agents. These findings are in line with existing studies about BV and indigenous communities in Colombia. For example, a study conducted by Chaves *et al.* (2018) argues that indigenous communities have shared common meanings relating to BV while exercising the freedom to live variations depending on their social and ecological contexts.

7.4 Buen Vivir Influences and Effects on the ICOs' Development and Operations

Having illustrated in the section above the notions of BV for each selected indigenous community, summarised in general aspects, pillars and values (see Table 7.1), the following table attempts to depict BV influences upon the CSEs. Having established that the current ICOs hybrid forms are the outcome of an internalisation (mimicry) process (by the adoption and adaptation of external values), it is crucial for the analysis of the transitional process of the ICOs, from the meso to the macro-level, to determine to what extent the BV influences the organisations' development process and operations. Interestingly, and following the previous analysis of the hybridisation process, internal variables are strongly associated with the indigenous purpose of accomplishing BV, thus an added variable must be contemplated to understand the nature of the ICOs.

Table 7.2 brings about some examples in which BV characteristics, values and pillars either influence or shape the development and the operations of the ICOs. Interestingly, the findings demonstrate (shown in the following subsections) how BV for the CSEs, as an ideological platform (drawing on Peredo and McLean, 2013), influences their practices, and at the same time enables the management of tensions and conflicts inherent in the hybrid forms (see the themes in Chapter 6). A more in-depth discussion will be illustrated in the subsections below: how the BV influences the (i) ICOs' existence,

(ii) the ICOs' constitution, categorised in legal structure, ownership and organisational structure, and (iii) the ICOs' operations.

Table 7.2. Buen Vivir Influence Upon the ICOs

CSEs			CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5
			BV Values & Pillars (Latá-Latá)	***BV Values & Pillars (Sumak Kawsay)***	***BV Values & Pillars (Noapaca Opicio)***	***BV Values & Pillars (Muriutún)***	***BV Values & Pillars (Anaquai)***
ICOs' Characteristics	ICOs' Existence (*raison d'être*)		The main reason to develop an ICO was to recover the ancestral land. *Territory* is a really important pillar to accomplish *Latá-Latá*.	The CS2 was developed to provide the Yanacona community job opportunities and live decently. *Living with dignity* is one of the main pillars to accomplish *Sumak Kawsay*.	One of the main reasons to establish the association was to help indigenous families to escape poverty. Values such as solidarity and community seemed to drive the objective of contributing to the community (one of the pillars to accomplish *Noapaca Opicio*).	Different reasons influenced the development of the CS4, but the objective of reinforcing cultural practices, though business practices was the main one. Culture is one of the pillars to accomplish *Muriutún.*	Amongst the different reasons to establish the CS5, the association's aim was to celebrate Wayuu culture through their artwork. The celebration of culture is one of the main pillars in the path towards Anaquai.
	ICOs' Constitution (*Legal Status, Ownership and Organisational Structure*)		BV values of *solidarity, equality* and *trust* seemed to influence the decision of how to constitute formally the CS1.	Constituted as a FP venture with a social purpose is dictated by the Yanacona values of *solidarity*, *reciprocity* and *equality*.	The CS3 constitution was partly influenced by the values of the Curripaco. Particularly, the ones related to *solidarity*, *reciprocity* and *equality*. Collective legal status and ownership is reported to be dictated by the Curripaco values.	Puinave values appeared to be the key influence for the constitution of the CS4. The legal status and the ownership chosen, reflect the cultural values of *solidarity*, *reciprocity, trust* and *respect.*	The pursuit for the collective wellbeing through *solidarity*, *reciprocity* and *respect* seemed to be the main values that influence the CS5 at the formal stage.
	ICO's' Operations	ICOs' Production of Goods and Services	CS1 land-based activities reported to be nurtured with ancestral practices such as the minga or bartering. These practices are shaped by values such us *trust, respect, solidarity, reciprocity and equality.*	The nature of BV for the Yanacona determine the way the community work and make activities, the CS2 land-based activities proved to be operated by following the service to the community and treating nature with respect while working.	One of the characteristics of the *Noapaca Opicio* is to go back to the traditional. The land-based activities of the CS3 are conducted by also following indigenous knowledge to protect the wellbeing of nature, plus simultaneously reinforcing the indigenous culture.	The core business of the CS4 is ethno and eco-tourism and its practice is shaped and ruled by Puinave BV values and the core characteristics of *Muriutún* related to nature. I.e., tourist packages are designed to be sustainable and environmentally friendly to protect their territory.	The production of the CS5 handicrafts interdepends on a large network of weavers that sometimes come from different clans. Clan integration is one of the core characteristics of *Anaquai*.
		ICOs' Governance	Decision making process is shown to be strongly influenced by the *Latá-Latá*. The external actors' involvement in this process demonstrate the cultural influence upon the CS1, where the celebration of cultural practices such us the minga of thinking, is one of the core characteristics of the BV Misak.	The decision-making process of the Yanacona is strongly influenced by the *Sumak Kawsay* values of *trust* and *respect,* and one of its core characteristics is the celebration of the Yanacona culture. The fact that the 31 communities are involved in the governance of the CS2 demonstrates the BV influence upon the ICO.	Decision making process was indicated to be completely autonomous. However, the fact that in some of the activities the ecologic calendar is taken into account demonstrates the level of influence of BV. Also, internally, decisions amongst the associates are strongly influenced by BV values, in which the collective goal is more important than the ICO.	The *Muriutún* core characteristic of collective community work seemed to strongly influence the decision-making process. By following the Puinave tradition of dawn and nightfall everyday meetings, the ICO is in constant relation with the entire community. Also, this decision-making practice shows the importance of following the BV values of *trust* and *respect*, as the community is always informed about the ICOs state.	Decisions in the CS5 are made internally by their associates. However, as the majority of them are women, following the BV characteristic of respecting the elders and based on a women-led hierarchical system, the eldest members play a really important role in the decision-making process.
		ICOs' Strategies	Some of the CS1 strategies were reported to be influenced by the *Latá-Latá*. For instance, *plurality* as a value seemed to shaped the strategy of partnership with external actors to improve organisational processes.	Strategies seemed to be shaped by BV values and pillars. The fact that the CS2 improved operations by using ancestral practices, shows the influence of the *Sumak Kawsay* over the venture. I.e., Minga, an ancestral practice, is frequently performed.	Although capacity building strategy is outsourced, the evidence shows that indigenous knowledge is reinforced through some cultural programmes. For the Curripacos' BV is essential for self-education, as it is the only way to maintain the indigenous culture. Thus, the ICO is also a medium to achieve such a community goal.	Collective work is reported to be a crucial strategy to enhance the association operations. The wide participation of the community in some of the ICOs operations depict the influence of BV over the association.	ICO business has been diversified aiming to improve the weavers' income. Thus, by contributing to the weaver economy *Anaquai* can be accomplished.

Source: Compiled by the author

7.4.1 Buen Vivir Influence on the ICOs' Existence

The findings indicate that the ICOs' reason for existence is strongly associated with the pursuit of BV for each selected indigenous community. As established in Chapter 6, the raison d'être for the IOGs to be formalised is influenced by a combination of internal and external factors. At internal level, the evidence suggests that the pursuit of ensuring community and family wellbeing, drove the majority of the CSEs to become an ICO. As previously claimed, wellbeing in indigenous terms is interrelated to the notion of BV, thus the collective purpose of delivering BV for all in the community may have influenced the development of the ICOs. A community member commented:

> *We all have a collective purpose, our aim is to live with dignity based on our cultural values, our wellbeing is conditioned by many factors, thus the need to develop sustainable projects that ensure the wellbeing of our community for a short, middle and long term….. that's what the Latá-Latá is about, our collective objective of bringing about opportunities for everybody and live in a more egalitarian society* [Community Member, V1MK13, CS1].

This can be linked with the BV pillar of community wellbeing described in the literature (see Chapter 2), where society is supposed to be built by local notions of living standards, in this case the indigenous one, rather than the ones suggested by modernity (i.e., in Acosta, 2013; and Huanacuni, 2010). However, community wellbeing is constructed in the cultural imaginary of each indigenous community. As depicted in Table 7.1, there are clear differences amongst the CSEs when referring to BV. That is to say that motivations for the ICOs' existence may have been shaped by a different range of characteristics, values and pillars of BV. As an example of this, one of the core pillars to accomplish the *Latá-Latá* for the Misak community is *territory*, and the ability to get access to it. The CS1 is reported to have been established by aiming to recover the ancestral land that was taken away during colonisation. The Misak's objective of recovering the land was the main purpose to formalise a community initiative. One of the cofounders of the CS1 explained:

> *Latá-Latá cannot be accomplished, unless we are living in our ancestral territory, without it… we are nothing…. You can now see the connection between our collective objective with the creation of the cooperative* [Community Member, V1MK13, CS1].

Interestingly, the evidence shows that the majority of the CSEs are influenced by their own BV values, particularly those related to collective gain and wellbeing. As illustrated in Table 7.2 – solidarity, reciprocity and equality – appear to be the more common values that influenced the development of the ICOs. Additionally, *cultural reinforcement* as a motivation to establish an ICO, appears to be one of the BV pillars that influenced the indigenous communities to formalise their practices. Cultural embracement and celebration is seen to be fundamental for achieving a BV model. Fieldwork observation suggests that many of the associates from the CSEs seem to be committed to engaging in cultural celebrations, rituals and practices. During the participatory video activity, participants highlighted the importance of combining ancestral and imported business practices and suggested to show this in the film. One of the interviewees commented:

> *The majority of the association's business coincides with the objectives of our community…. We are a sort of reflection of it…... in our case we can celebrate our culture while doing business and this eventually contribute to our path towards Muriutún*
> [Member, VIPU5, CS4].

While conducting interviews and focus group conversations, some contradictions are identified. Many accounts from the participants highlight the influence of their BV in setting up ICOs based on idealism and romanticism of their cultural heritage. One community member said:

> *The dream of our community is to accomplish the collective objective of living with dignity and this is what our ancestors worked and fight for… all our decisions are predetermined by the dreams of our previous generations and our ancestors. Our BV is a sort of spiritual software, designed to be operated at any time of our lives and followed by any initiative led by the community* [Cultural Ambassador, YAFG1.8, CS2].

On the contrary, other accounts suggest that although their BV values and pillars may have influenced the existence of the ICOs, the socio-economic needs of the community are the key reason to establish ventures aimed at financial sustainability and better income generation for their members and community. One top manager explained:

> *Of course, we could say that BV influences the existence of our organisation, but in reality, the socio-economic needs of the community triggered off the development of formal business practices, there is a local discourse of highlighting the indigeneity*

of local initiatives and sometimes this isn't the reality [General Manager, VICU2, CS2].

In summary, the evidence demonstrates a direct influence of the BV on the existence of the ICOs. By looking at the findings in Chapter 6, referring to the indigenous wellbeing as BV influenced, it can be seen how motives to develop formal practices are shaped by cultural values, and are driven by the collective purpose of bringing about community welfare. This is consistent with the findings of Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. (2017) that suggest that indigenous social entrepreneurship is the result of the collective pursuit of delivering community wellbeing, and all the entrepreneurial behaviours are dictated by indigenous values.

7.4.2 Buen Vivir Influence on the ICOs' Constitution

The findings indicate that the ICOs' constitution is directly influenced by the norms established by the SSE authorities (see Chapter 6). However, decisions in relation to what legal status, ownership form and organisational structure model is the more suitable to choose from, seems to be shaped by indigenous values and pillars. The underlying assumption here is that indigenous notions of BV provide a set of values and pillars that dictate the cultural norms of how indigenous practices must be organised, behaved, performed and operated. What the findings in Chapter 6 demonstrate is that although SSE types are subject to structured rules and norms, internal variables, cultural practices, values and pillars, highlight the morphology of the ICOs' hybrid forms. Box 7.2 illustrates the participants' opinion in relation to BV influence on their entity's constitutions.

Box 7.2 ICOs' Constitution Influenced by Indigenous Notions of BV

The way that we operate and behave as an association is commanded by our indigenous values and it happens to coincide with the Muriutún ones…… every action that is executed by members of the community is internally guided by the our Puinave's set of values…. For instance, the fact that we have formalised an organisation it does not mean that we do not have the obligation to report our actions to the community, and this is what Muriutún is for us: respect and trust towards community [Treasurer, VIPU3, CS4].

Of course, there is a correlation in the way that we choose to operate and our path to accomplish the Sumak Kawsay, all our actions are dictated by solidarity and reciprocity, these principles are fundamental for us, they define who we are as a community, we serve our community that's why we are called Yanaconas…... our venture is built upon such principles, it is a lively platform in which people manifest solidarity and reciprocity [Governor, YAFG1.1, CS2].

These quotes seem to confirm that the ICOs' decisions to formalise into specific legal statuses and choose a particular ownership form and organisational structure model, are guided by BV values. The findings reveal that all the CSEs' constitutions are guided by values of solidarity, reciprocity, equality and respect. As shown in the findings presented in Chapter 6, there is a strong relation between formal organisations and their communities. They are bound by a cultural set of values that determine the community behaviour to achieve an objective. Despite the fact that the CSEs showed to be non-homogenous when formalised (i.e., the CS2 a FP venture but with a social, environmental and collective aim), collective goals driven by the pursuit of community wellbeing, appear to directly influence the constitution of the ICOs (see Table 7.2).

However, a closer examination of the interviews and focus group conversations shows that in this case, external influences, such as the SSE framework, enables the indigenous practices to excel and is displayed through their activities influenced by their cultural values. That is to say, that the SSE norms and rules provide the best platform to operate for indigenous groups. In fact, almost all the ICOs are registered as a SSE organisation. This indicates that in the context of indigenous people, SSE values and pillars have similarities with the ones reported by the CSEs (see Diagram 3.2 in Chapter 3). This is exemplified by a community member:

We chose the association form because is the most suitable for our indigenous culture, the SSE discourse in Colombia claims that a solidarity, equity and trust are

fundamental values for the SSE sector and we have similar values or to be more specific we have the indigenous version of this [President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

By openly revealing the contribution of the SSE model upon their indigenous activities, the importance of understanding ICOs' hybrid forms can be seen. Although BV and SSE values may be overlapped, it is important to understand the cultural background in which values are incubated from. This aspect can be linked with the work of Peredo and McLean (2013) that suggests that new forms of theoretical entrepreneurship emerge by looking at either the contribution or the combination of indigenous entrepreneurship shaped by their values and practices.

7.4.3 Buen Vivir Influence of the ICOs' Operations: Production, Governance and Organisational Strategies

The ICOs' operations are one of the key characteristics that happen to be more influenced by the BV values and pillars, and they are identified as a combination of the production, governance and strategies of the ICOs. As depicted in Table 7.2, all the CSEs report to operate under the BV basis, as organisational operations are conducted by following ancestral practices. Interviewees are unanimous in pointing out that the organisational environment is affected by different factors, which collectively form their operations (internal and external as reported in Chapter 6). However, essentially, the cultural set of values and pillars ushers the way indigenous people operate and behave. A community leader explained:

We operate in the way we know, that's why we still conduct activities following ancestral practices…. It is like the mingas, don't think community is prepared to outsource local activities… it is a communitarian duty to collaborate each other [Indigenous authority, V1MK10, CS1].

Different examples can illustrate the BV influence over ICOs operations. At a production level, the findings indicate that land-based activities are nurtured and enhanced by embracing cultural practices. For instance, in the Andean region, the Misak and the Yanacona show that cultural activities such as minga, bartering and ayni not only strengthen the production level, as labour is operated under a voluntary basis, but also reinforce their culture as traditional practices are continuously conducted by the community members, thus it helps to improve the path towards their BV. As illustrated

in Table 7.1, the *Latá-Latá* and the *Sumak Kawsay* accomplishment is subject to cultural reinforcement and community participation; thus, this confirms that while business production is nurtured and improved by the ancestral practices, their BV is accomplished. An indigenous authority explained:

> *Our ancestral practices are definitely contributing to our business…. when is needed, community comes here and participate in huge mingas, it seems a simple cultural practice but it helps us hugely……. like ayni, we are bound by reciprocals and mutual relationships…… but at the same time this contributes to our path towards Sumak Kawsay, we are reinforcing our culture* [Deputy Governor, VIYA1, CS2].

Moreover, the BV influence over the ICOs can be seen in the decision-making process. As described in Chapter 6, the ICOs' decision making processes reported to have wide and inclusive participation, even with non-affiliated members of the ICOs. Two types of governance are identified – *autonomous* and *quasi-autonomous* – in both cases, cultural values and practices were identified when the decision-making process was taking place. Fieldwork observations reveal that all the CSEs' general assemblies are conducted collectively, and the community was actively involved in the decisions of the ICOs. Even during the participatory video activity, the non-participants either participated in the training out of curiosity or were informed and were aware of the process. That is to say that in the decision-making process, the BV values and pillars play a crucial role. The underlying assumption here is that the ICOs' governance is dictated by cultural norms and values, and even though some decisions are made only internally, non-external participation (autonomous), decision-making processes are shaped by the indigenous culture. An example of this can be seen in the CS3, in which decisions in relation to land-based activities are made by looking at the ecological calendar that is ancestrally used by the Curripacos One of the managers added:

> *Unlike the white men our decisions are determined and influenced by other factors that includes nature and our deities…. to be exact, when we operate our floriculture business we also take into account our ecological calendar, the weather, the seasons and other things that happens in our territory that may influencing us to proceed when decisions are needed* [General Manager, VICU2, CS3].

The findings indicate that the organisational strategies of the ICOs are also influenced by the BV values and pillars. As shown in Table 7.2, in all the CSEs, the BV appears to be embedded when organisational strategies are either planned or implemented.

Interestingly, the evidence shows that the strategic plans of the ICOs are developed by taking into account both organisation and community missions. The fact that the majority of the CSEs highlight the importance of developing strategies to meet their financial needs, but take into account the collective and environmental needs, indicates the importance of indigenous cultural values when organisational strategies are made. One of the top managers claimed:

> *Our strategies are planned and discussed aiming to achieve organisational needs, but always thinking about our community and territory, we are all interconnected…… particularly because our organisational actions may affect both community and environment*
> [President, VIPU1, CS4].

The arguments highlighted above corroborate what the work of Anderson *et al.* (2006), Peredo, (2001) and Peredo *et al.* (2004) suggest in regards to indigenous entrepreneurial decisions. Indigenous cultural norms surpass business decisions, and indigenous entrepreneurship seems to be shaped by a set of factors developed internally in indigenous communities. That is to say, that the social setting in which the indigenous people grow, shapes their basic beliefs, values and norms, indirectly or directly influencing their entrepreneurial and/or organisational behaviour (Peredo, 2001, p. 45).

7.5 Consistencies and Distinctions of the ICOs' Experiences with the BV Model

The findings reveal that the ICOs' impact can be seen in various aspects that creates value, which includes the socio-economic, the cultural and the environmental. Considering the multi-level model suggested in Chapter 3 to understand the ICOs in Colombia, the ICOs' experiences (translated in this section as impacts) are analysed through the BV pillars established in the BV model (see Chapter 2). Table 7.3 illustrates the ICOs' experiences based on the creation of value by discussing the reported outcomes of the CSEs. Tables 7.4 highlight the consistencies and distinctions between the ICOs' experiences when compared to the six BV pillars: (1) *community wellbeing*, (2) *rights of nature*, (3) *democratisation*, (4) *economic pluralism,* (5) *plurinational state* and (6) *decolonisation*. It is important to highlight, as established in Chapter 2, that the BV model is based upon the institutionalisation process of indigenous values and practices (the

Quechua and the Aymara), therefore, it is important to analyse ICOs' experiences in the context of Colombian through the BV model.

The CSEs' findings reveal that the impact made by the ICOs is reflected in their capacity to create value for their stakeholders (see the stakeholder column in appendix III). Value creation is identified in the collected data as the multivariable summation of the socio-economic, environmental and cultural objectives delivered by the ICOs. Therefore, the core analysis of this section when discussing the ICOs' impact (and comparing it to the BV pillars) is divided into four features: (i) *the creation of the socio-economic value*, (ii) *the creation of the cultural value*, (iii) *the creation of the environmental value* and (iv) *the distribution and reinvestment of the ICOs' surplus*. All the indicated features are identified by taking into account the business life cycle of each CSE.

As seen in Table 7.3, evidence shows that despite the fact that some of the ICOs are in an early stage of establishment, their impact has already been made, and on a minor scale, value has been created across society. Generally speaking, the studies conducted in relation to indigenous entrepreneurship and organisations have the tendency to highlight the value generated in the social, economic and environmental dimensions (i.e., see the example of Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017 in relation to indigenous social enterprises). However, in this study, the findings indicate the importance of generating cultural value to strengthen indigenous community identity, and the serious commitment of the ICOs to deliver a multi-value impact. Corresponding with the previous sections, the ICOs seem to be influenced by their interpretations of BV, thus the valid comparison to the BV model of development. .

Table 7.3. ICOs' Experiences

	Experiences	***Case Study Examples (CSEs)***				
		CS1	**CS2**	**CS3**	**CS4**	**CS5**
Impact	*Improvements of the Wellbeing and Quality of Life of the Community*	By recovering the ancestral territory, the cooperative managed to provide to 40 associates and their families the possibility of a decent income and comfortable life.	The enterprise has benefited 31 communities by creating a co-space to practice agriculture. By doing this, the youngest generation have the opportunity to stay with their families and not move to the urban areas.	The members of the association and their families have been able to escape poverty by having access to a decent job and self-generate a reasonable income to live.	Creation of jobs for the association's members and the community which is involved in the tourist chain.	The association has offered Job opportunities for their 150 weavers, has financially supported other associates' needs (i.e., education, funerals).
	Cultural Reinforcement Through Identity, Custom and Rituals	The CS1 is an example for the Misak community. They not only managed to recover their ancestral territory by using a cooperative model, but also have set an example to other indigenous communities at national level. By recovering their ancestral territory, the Misak have been able to maintain and celebrate their own culture. Also, ancestral practices are exercised very often (mingas, bartering) to reinforce the Misak culture.	The collective enterprise has made a positive impact in the Yanacona community. The community feel proud of this achievement which helped to reinforce Yanacona identity. They are able to exercise their ancestral practices (minga) on the land and gather to practice their own rituals. In the short term, their culture is celebrated and the youngest generation do not feel ashamed of being Yanacona.	Through the commercialisation of the indigenous products, some of the associates' members feel proud of being indigenous people. Also, there is a cultural awareness, as all the products are made with local products that traditionally have been consumed by the indigenous people. Furthermore, by practicing floriculture with a mixture of Western and ancestral knowledge, the indigenous people's members reinforce their own knowledge and manage to maintain their cultural practices.	The practice of ethno-tourism per se attempts to explore indigenous people's culture and practices while travelling. The organisation has managed so far to generate income while celebrating their own Puinave's culture.	The AAAS have generated a cultural value through their commercialisation of Wayuu products. Each product has its spiritual meaning, enabling the customer to get to know the Wayuu culture by buying their products. Also, by commercialising their own art, the community feels proud of their culture, and consequently culture and identity has been reinforced.
	Sustainable Management of Natural Capital and Environmental Protection and Conservation	With the development of the environmental arm (AJBD), the agricultural management has been enhanced. Through advocating for a sustainable practice and protection of their own territory, there is more awareness in the community to care about the environment. The botanical garden was created to keep their local natural resources and to seek better practices that do not harm the natural environment.	The collective enterprise projects the Yanacona Life Plan with regard to the environment within their resguardos. That is, to protect the environment while working and exploiting the Yanacona territory. The enterprise, in partnership with local agricultural schools, managed to develop mini projects that take care of the natural resources of the territory, such as soil, water and air. The Finca el Paraiso is designed to be an eco-lab.	Through their recycling service, the association has managed to enhance the waste management of the Inirida city. Through recycling, they indirectly contribute to the reduction of the extractivist businesses (mining, quarrying and logging waste), as most of the waste is refined and processed to create other materials. Also, it contributes to the reduction of waste pollution in the city.		
	Even Distribution and Organisation Reinvestment	In the first period of the CS1, the outcome generated is meant to be redirected to the liabilities of the organisation. Once the debt is paid off, the surplus generated is reinvested in the organisation for the development of other projects that benefit the associates, the associates' families and the whole community (i.e., the AJBD). Also, the economic surplus is used to sponsor education and health to the associates' children.	So far, the surplus generated by the enterprise has been reinvested into the business. As they are in an early-stage of growth, the surplus is reinvested to develop other projects that may enhance the operation and income generation of the business.	By law, any surplus made by the association must be reinvested into the organisation. So far, the four services/products' surpluses have been reinvested in projects to enhance the operations of the organisation. Also, there are times that the economic surplus has been used to help the associates and their families.	As a legally established association, economic surpluses have been reinvested into the company. Although the entity is at a very early stage, the surplus made by the organisation has been reinvested into the association.	The surplus generated by the AAAS has been used to meet the socio-economic needs of the associates. Also, when the Wayuu community was facing a water scarcity and malnourishment in the Shiruria area, the association collaborated financially by buying food for the families that were most affected.

Source: Compiled by the Author

Table 7.4 (I) Consistencies and Distinctions of the ICOs' Experiences with BV Development

Experiences	**BV Pillars**		
	Community Wellbeing	***Rights of Nature***	***Democratisation***
Creation of Socio-economic Value: Improvements of the Wellbeing and quality of Life of the Community	*Consistencies:* - Socio-economic value works as a vehicle that drives towards community wellbeing. -Community wellbeing is interconnected with other factors such as spirituality, cultural values and protection of indigenous territory. -Community participants are active in organisational practices and the decision-making process. *Distinctions:* -Wellbeing and quality of life are independent. -Community wellbeing may vary amongst the indigenous communities. -Indigenous wellbeing still dependent on economic factors.	*Consistencies:* -Socio-economic values are created, while generating the least possible harm to nature. -Although socio-economic actions rely on financial capital, business activities are developed by taking into account nature. - Some of the land-*based* activities are conducted sustainably and ecologically-oriented. -Economic activities far from extractivism. *Distinctions:* -Some of the land-based activities are performed with orthodox practices imported from the West (i.e., the use of pesticides, over production). -The pursuit for a better quality of life may lead to unstainable practices that may harm nature.	*Distinctions:* -Socio-economic values are created to benefit the whole community rather than the individual. -Wide participation in the decision-making process. Democratic process (representative) is ignored and ancestral practices are embraced (i.e., ecological calendar, the role of an elder leading processes or unanimous process of decision-making). -By law SSE organisations are self-autonomous and self-governing when socio-economic value is created. -Communal democracy is practiced. *Distinctions:* - Some ICOs follow democratic processes of governance (representative) when creating socio-economic value by following dominant entrepreneurial and business discourses. -Individual (families) objectives may surpass the collective interest when enhancing quality of life.
Creating Cultural Value: Cultural Reinforcement Through Identity, Costume and Rituals	*Consistencies:* - Cultural value created to enhance community wellbeing through the ICOs' activities. -Wide participation from the community is encouraged by the ICOs when creating cultural value (events, mingas). -Wellbeing in indigenous communities is meant to be connected with other factors, as the reinforcement of culture, and the ICOs are contributing to that. *Distinctions:* -Community wellbeing may vary amongst the indigenous communities. -Indigenous wellbeing still dependent on economic factors.	*Consistencies:* -Cultural practices entail the respect for nature. - Education about the protection of nature through cultural activities. - Reinforcement of the spiritual aspect of nature. *Distinctions:* -Not all income activities amongst the ICOs are homogenous, thus they have different cultural practices to reinforce the importance of nature.	*Consistencies:* - The creation of cultural value generates a more cohesive collective, highlighting the importance of it. - Representative democracy is an imported concept, thus by celebrating and reinforcing indigenous practices, other forms of governance may emerge, based on local knowledge. -Cultural reinforcement encourages more participation of the community. *Distinctions:* - Non-homogenous governance forms were identified amongst the ICOs, so as the cultural practices.
Creating Environmental Value: Sustainable Management of Natural Capital and Environmental Protection and Conservation	*Consistencies:* -Community wellbeing amongst the CSEs is strongly related to their relationship with nature, thus the contribution of the ICOs. -ICOs' experiences with the creation of environmental value demonstrated that a new society might be developed with different standards. *Distinctions:* -Some of the ICOs' experiences contradict the biocentrism. -Some of the ICOs' business activities can be detrimental for nature (i.e., imported farming methods, handicrafts).	*Consistencies:* -The ICOs' creation of environmental value highlights the importance of protecting nature. -Contributes to the biocentrism approach. -ICOs developed an eco-economic indicator to measure environmental impact. *Distinctions:* - Some of the ICOs' activities are already hybrid forms; thus, unintended impact can happen.	*Consistencies:* -Wide participation of the community reported to be part of the activities related to the protection of nature and management of the natural resources. -Environmentally-oriented activities are either planned or managed by the whole community (wide participation). -ICOs' environmental activities are addressed to benefit the whole community. *Distinctions:* -At times, decisions with regard to the environmental activities are made by the ICOs without taking into account other actors.
Even Distribution and Organisation Reinvestment	*Consistencies:* -ICOs profits are reinvested in the community to enhance their wellbeing. -At times, ICOs profits redistribution is discussed with the whole community. *Distinctions:* -Sometimes, by complying with the SSE norms, profit distribution and investment is followed by orthodox business practices.	*Consistencies:* -ICOs' profit is invested in environmentally-oriented activities or programmes (i.e., education, advocacy and etc.). *Distinctions:* -Sometimes, by complying with the SSE norms, profit distribution and investment is followed by orthodox business practices (invest in the community, not in the environment).	*Consistencies:* -Sometimes, ICOs' profit distribution is discussed with the whole community and actors involved in the organisation (stakeholders). -ICO profit distribution addresses the collective rather than the individual will. *Distinctions:* -Sometimes, by complying with the SSE norms, profit distribution and investment is followed by orthodox business practices and wide participation does not take place.

Source: Compiled by the author

Table 7.4 (II) Consistencies and Distinctions of the ICOs' Experiences with BV Development

Experiences	**BV Pillars**		
	Economic Pluralism	***Plurinational State***	***Decolonisation***
Creation of Socio-economic Value: Improvements of the Wellbeing and Quality of Life of the Community	<u>Consistencies:</u> - Some of the ICOs' activities to generate socio-economic value are based on ancestral practices, thus moving away from orthodox economic practices (i.e., minga, bartering, ayni). - Socio-economic activities shaped by biocentrism. - Socio-economic practices based or reinforced by local knowledge. <u>Distinctions:</u> - Stakeholders are also involved in the creation of socio-economic value (i.e., conscious consumerism). - Some socio-economic activities are following orthodox practices. -Some of the ICOs are interdependent of institutional aid.	<u>Consistencies:</u> - There are plural views in the wellbeing and quality of living perspectives. - At micro level, some ICOs are subject to a decentralised political and administrative system ruled by the local cabildos. - At macro level, there are indigenous authorities and institutions that influence local practices and decisions, thus taking into account other ethnicities, which creates a horizontal relation amongst different groups (i.e., ONIC or CRIC, OPIAC). - Plural views are considered when creating value. Although the findings indicate similarities amongst the CSEs; there are also distinctions that contribute to a plural perspective. -Some of the territories where the ICOs operate are subject to territorial autonomy, thus they have rights upon their territories. -Hybrid forms of creation of value, constitute the ICOs' experiences, acting as a potential example to develop a plural state.	<u>Consistencies:</u> - Some of the economic activities are detached from Western practices. -Many of the ICOs have realised the negative effects of appropriating Western knowledge, thus have created value-based model on local knowledge. - ICOs' experiences contribute to plural views of creating socio-economic value, thus shaping a pluriverse. <u>Distinctions:</u> - Some of the ICOs' acknowledge Western knowledges and create socio-economic value following Western standards. -ICOs are subject to SSE norms and the SSE is shaped by Western knowledge.
Creating Cultural Value: Cultural Reinforcement Through Identity, Costume and Rituals	<u>Consistencies:</u> -Conduct cultural practices while doing business, addressing plural economies. -Cultural practices reported in the majority of the ICOs as biocentric. -Cultural activities conducted by the ICOs highlight local knowledge. <u>Distinctions:</u> - Some of the cultural activities are already hybrid forms, thus it is more difficult to identify plurality.		<u>Consistencies:</u> - By reinforcing culture, the local knowledge is excelled. - Cultural reinforcement contributes to the decolonisation process as it highlights the importance of local practices. <u>Distinctions:</u> - Some of the cultural activities are already hybrid forms, thus it is more difficult to identify the plurality of both knowledges or influences.
Creating Environmental Value: Sustainable Management of Natural Capital and Environmental Protection and Conservation	<u>Consistencies:</u> -Environmental activities are part of a new wave of economy. -Economy is thought in ecological terms. -Rural economy is enhanced with local knowledge and sustainable and environmentally friendly processes. <u>Distinctions:</u> -Some environmentally-oriented activities follow orthodox economic practices. -ICOs are subject to external policies and norms that constrain their environmentally-oriented activities to thrive and contribute to the economy.	<u>Distinctions:</u> -ICOs are not recognised in the development paradigm at national level. -At macro level, ICOs creation of value is overlooked and diminished. -Although some of the ICOs operate in autonomous territories, they are subject to external norms (established by the SSE authorities) that make them homogenous when creating value. - Tensions emerge when the ICOs' activities are subject to a centralised political and administrative system (at national level). -ICOs are considered an SSE organisation ignoring their indigenous background. Thus, ignoring the plurality of ethnicities.	<u>Consistencies:</u> - New ways to treat and exploit nature, keeping away from Western practices and knowledge. - Business activities based on biocentrism relating to the ICOs' spiritual relationship with nature, rather than anthropocentric in which the activities are only made to benefit human beings. <u>Distinctions:</u> -Some of the ICOs' activities in relation to the environment are influenced by Western practices and are hybrid forms. -Some ICOs reported the advantages of following Western knowledge and the potential of combining both.
Even Distribution and Organisation Reinvestment	<u>Consistencies:</u> -ICOs' profit can be considered as an alternative to contribute to a plural economy in the Colombian context. <u>Distinctions:</u> -ICOs' profit distribution is subject to the legal form that is chosen by the organisation and its constitution.		<u>Consistencies:</u> -The importance of financial profit is argued to be undervalued, as collective and environmental benefits are more important. <u>Distinctions:</u> -Profit is considered a Western practice and little evidence with regard to alternative methods of profit distribution was reported.

Source: Compiled by the author

7.5.1 Creation of Socio-Economic Value: Improvements of the Wellbeing and Quality of Life of the Community

The fieldwork evidence shows that for the majority of the CSEs, wellbeing and quality of life have different connotations. While wellbeing is strongly associated with BV, quality of life is related to getting access to employment and the provision of food and shelter for their families. As illustrated in Table 7.3, all the ICOs, despite their life span, have reported to generate employment opportunities, increase wages and financial support to their members and community by enhancing the income generation. Thus, in this context, socio-economic value is understood as the organisational objective of enhancing quality of life. Interestingly, the findings indicate that this value is created under the basis of a three-fold objective to benefit their associates, their associates' family members and the whole community. This is exemplified in Box 7.3 in which many participants highlight the impact made on their stakeholders by the creation of a socio-economic value.

Box 7.3 Socio-economic Impact of the ICOs

As the issue of funerals, we cover expenses we support expenses that are part of the association ….. and they are beyond our organisational objectives … the welfare of our members goes beyond generating job opportunities …. The community's wellbeing is also our responsibility… for instance, the case when the five children died, we were able to collaborate with food and water…. [Weaver/ Treasurer, VIWA2, CS5].

Throughout this year, we've sold so far two hundred mochilas. It's about ... $CO 1million. That's what they've suddenly generated in income capital for the family [President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

Our cooperative has more than 50 years ….. we managed to contribute not only to our associates but to their families as these lands are also theirs….. the cooperative membership does not end with the death of the member, the membership can be inherited by this person's family, our objective was not planned for a short term but rather for the future generations, the welfare of our current associates and the welfare of the upcoming …. That's why we started 40 families, about 270 people and today we are about 1,500. [General Manager, MKFG1.1, CS1].

We managed with our organisation to take Milton's family out of poverty and today you can see how we thrived …. Our members and their families managed to have descent life because of Akayú. [President and Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

These quotes seem to confirm what the work of Anderson e*t al.* (2006), Peredo, (2001), Peredo e*t al.* (2004) and Peredo and McLean, (2013) claim, in which indigenous entrepreneurship not only generates economic impact by addressing employment and wage needs, but also they create an ecosystem in which the whole community can benefit from.

Interestingly, there is a very strong relation in the ICOs' creation of socio-economic value to the BV model. The findings reveal that there are some consistencies and distinctions when comparing the ICOs' experience of creating socio-economic value to the BV pillars. Tables 7.4 summarises the key aspects when comparing them to this dimension, but on a large scale the CSEs' experiences reveal that the generation of socio-economic value is not the core objective, but rather it works as a vehicle to their communities to achieve their BV. The underlying assumption here is that while quality of life is improved throughout the generation of socio-economic value – as indicated above, employment and better wages were provided – community wellbeing is interdependent with other factors such as culture, land property, natural resources and spirituality. Drawing on the BV model, the ICOs' experiences demonstrate the consistency with the BV pillars in many aspects, as they operate under their local basis, and the collective will surpass the organisational one. That is to say that while creating socio-economic value, the ICOs are also addressing other aspects that can be seen through the BV pillars.

The CS1 exemplifies this situation, where the socio-economic impact is made to address local needs and reinforce community objectives, which include community cohesion and protection of their natural resources. Land-based practices are the key business activities for the CS1, by drawing on the BV model, this CSE demonstrates that the sustainable, organic and locally-knowledge-oriented farming practices validate the rights of nature and decolonisation reasoning suggested in the BV model. The CS1 reported that they had improved their farming methods by using ancestral knowledge (as Western methods are detrimental for the land) and had better managed their natural resources in order to protect their environment. As one of the cofounders explained:

> *"We realised that by following imported western methods the land was suffering…. You know, with the use of pesticides and the GM seeds…. we improved massively our production by retaking our ancestral knowledge, it is a win-win because we also*

treat better our land and we are protecting our natural resources" **[Member/Co-founder, V1MK2, CS1]**.

Another practice that corroborates this, is the participation of the associates and the community in land-based practices that generate community cohesion. The fact that wide participation and communal practices, such as minga and bartering, has taken place confirm the consistency with the BV pillars of democratisation and plural economy. Firstly, community participation is a cultural duty, members and non CS1 members participate in their land-based activities as it is considered that the collective objective is more important than the organisational one. Secondly, minga and bartering practices demonstrate that a plural economy must integrate non-economic-oriented practices, as well practice in ecological terms: the CS1 reported to host big recycling events. As one of the community members states:

> *The CS1 is part of our community that's why we collaborate, not only because they are our neighbours but also because it is a cultural duty…... these activities generate community cohesion, you mingas and bartering are part of us, they are essential, sometimes we go recycling and cleaning our collective territory, it isn't only the CS1 duty is everybody's* [Community Member, V1MK11, CS1].

All of these actions generate community wellbeing, as they are connected with other factors such as culture, spirituality and respect for nature. In this respect, the above examples seem to validate that the CS1's experience is consistent with the reasoning suggested by the BV model.

However, distinctions are also identified in the ICOs' experiences when socio-economic value is created. Particularly, when the ICOs try to operate at meso-level, as SSE organisations are subject to external norms. The BV model shows that it operates at macro level but is backed up by institutional agents and constitutional laws. In this respect, the ICOs' experiences seem to be caged, as many of their practices have to be improved by using Western methods. The best example is illustrated in Table 7.4 (see the pillar of plurinational state), in which the ICOs' experiences are neither recognised nor taken into account in national development plans, as they are operated by indigenous people that are excluded and ignored in democratic processes (i.e., subaltern position).

7.5.2 Creating Cultural Value: Cultural Reinforcement Through Identity, Customs and Language

As illustrated in Table 7.3, the evidence suggests that the creation of cultural value is identified as a common feature amongst the ICOs. The majority of the participants highlight the importance of how the development of the ICOs contribute directly to their cultural fortification. Some key themes are identified from the data that depict the impact on the community with regard the creation of cultural value, which include identity, customs and language. The CSEs' findings reveal that the indigenous identity is reinforced while doing business. Some participants report that organisational activities, such as general assemblies, mingas or collective work, community trainings events, and even the commercialisation of indigenous products, have contributed to strengthen community ties and to the reinforcement of their culture. Many accounts in the interviews and focus group conversations report, the impact of the ICOs' experiences in reinforcing their own culture. Box 7.4 provides different quotations in which indigenous people highlight the ICOs' contribution upon the community in reinforcing culture.

Box 7.4 ICOs Reinforcing Indigenous People's Culture

I went away from my house to receive formal education, it was my first time of living outside my community, I did not know anything about big cities, I wore my traditional cloths and sometimes I spoke in my language, people over there discriminated me for who I was and mocked me saying that I was a girl, because in my culture we wear a type of male skirt called anáco…… I had to change my habits and my clothing and I was ashamed of being an indigenous person…... when I returned to Guambia I started to gather with my community more often and I was participating in the organisation's event, realise how important is to be a Misak, I feel so proud of being a Misak and what we do for our community with our organisation [Member, MKFG1.7, CS1].

It is incredible to see how cultural activities such as minga, ayni and mita improves our business operations…... I can see how our people connect with the business activities much easy, it is part of our culture, so I suppose it comes out naturally…we can see here a win-win situation…. We reinforce our culture while we improve our business activities [Deputy Governor, VIYA1, CS2].

I think our ICO is contributing to the purpose of reinforcing our culture… through our services, tourists have the chance to get to know puinave's culture and the same time our community have the chance to replicate our ancestral customs…also we include members from the community like the eldest to be part of this…. for example, the shamanism, it is a practice that we are losing more and more every day and is a really important practice of our culture….it has been, we have to keep going doing this or we going to lose it [Member, VIPU5, CS4].

A closer examination of the video interviews and focus group conversations show that the generated cultural value could be associated with the BV pillars, particularly as all the CSEs are influenced by their indigenous culture. For instance, the findings reveal that cultural value is created by fortifying indigenous customs. The respondents argue that ancestral practices are appropriated in some of their business activities. This can be linked with the BV pillars. The findings show that ancestral practices are implemented to enhance the operations of the ICOs while providing a cultural framework in which the community can operate. Some of the participants express their concern of how the younger generations are moving away from their regions to seek a 'better future' in urban areas, thus the importance of demonstrating organisational success by embracing ancestral practices in order to provide sustainable opportunities to stop them leaving the territory.

In most cases, participants report that it is really important to follow their ancestral customs, and that being part of the ICO allows them to reconnect with their culture. As observed in Table 7.3, all the ICOs engage in ancestral practices to operate their businesses, and such community engagement indicates that the ICOs are creating cultural activities while operating their businesses. This corroborates what is suggested in Tables 7.4, where the ICOs' experiences are seen to operate under local cultural values, where BV pillars are clearly manifest. For instance, ancestral practices such as minga, bartering or ayni, are practically exercised to enhance organisational activities and reduce labour costs, as culturally, it is compulsory to operate under a voluntary basis. All of the CSEs are operated under a collective-oriented praxis, and are built on wide participation, self-determination, biocentrism and locally-orientated knowledge. One of the community members from the Cauca region commented:

> *Ancestral practices such as the minga and the ayni contribute to our organisational process… but at the same time contribute to the community's objective of cultural reinforcement… all our practices are shaped by our values, thus, when we are doing mingas we accomplish community cohesion, self-determination, respect for the nature and we embrace our local knowledge all of this helped us to rebuilt our Yanacona's house* [Community Member, YAFG1.12, CS2].

Drawing on the BV model, the above practices show the consistencies with the BV pillars. The outcome of cultural reinforcement demonstrates the organisational

significance of the ICOs with regard to operating on a macro level. By embracing ancestral practices, the ICOs not only demonstrate that the decolonisation process may lead towards a plural economy and state, but they also corroborate that society *wellbeing* can be turned into a more *bio* and collectively-oriented model/practice (see more details in Tables 7.4).

However, the findings also reveal that there are some distinctions when comparing the ICOs' experiences to the BV pillars. As established in Chapter 2, the concept of BV is based on the Quechuas and Aymaras communities, they both have similar contextual factors that include that both are post-Inca groups and are located in the Andean region. This shows that the notions of BV are rooted in a similar indigenous culture, but in the case of the CSEs, the BV notions vary, as they are from different regions and belong to different indigenous cultures (see Chapter 5 and Section 7.2). As suggested in the findings presented in the section above, perspectives related to wellbeing are identified as different, since they are rooted in their specific cultural settings that make their values unique. Another interesting aspect that emerges from the data and highlights the distinction with the BV pillars, is that wellbeing is interdependent with economic factors. During a video interview, an indigenous authority from the Amazons commented:

> *Our wellbeing or BV depends on many factors, particularly the ones influenced by our indigenous culture, but to be honest the economic factors is needed, especially with the new generations, they want to go to schools, they want proper health they want to travel, you need money for all of these* [President, VIPU1, CS4].

Furthermore, another distinction that is depicted in Tables 7.4, is that many of the ICOs are practically isomorphic organisations. The BV model suggests that a neo-development paradigm must be based on plurality (in the national governance and in the economy); however, as more hybrid it is more difficult to disentangle local and external variables to determine what part of indigenous practices are more or less indigenous. That is to say that it seems very difficult to move towards plurality, as at meso-level, the ICOs have been already shaped through isomorphic processes by complying with the SSE norms (see Chapter 6 for more details).

7.5.3 Creating Environmental Value: Sustainable Management of Natural Capital and Environmental Protection and Conservation

The findings show that for nearly all of the ICOs, protecting the environment and taking advantage of their natural resources sustainably is highly important (in all regions). In fact, participants express in the video interviews and focus group discussions the significance of protecting their natural resources and improving their land practices. Interestingly, the evidence shows that the ICOs are concerned by the impact of global warming and climate change and are aware of the important role that they can play in reducing the impact. By doing this, they are looking after the wellbeing of their community and future generations. The findings also indicate that the ICOs' environmental programs are strongly influenced by their cultural values. Participants make frequent references about their territory as a mystical place, and their spiritual relationship with nature. Therefore, environmental protection is an embedded cultural norm in all of the CSEs (see Chapter 5). As illustrated in Table 7.3, environmental protection is the backbone of the majority of the ICOs. Although two of them did not demonstrate any evidence of an awareness of the in environmental impact of global warming, participants highlighted the cultural role of their organisations with the environment (see Box 7.5).

Box 7.5 Environmental Protection as a Cultural Feature Trait

Our services are not designed to tackle environmental issues to be honest…. It does not mean that in the future we would not do it something related to it…. however, we do advocate for sustainable tourism… there are places in our resguardo that must be kept and conserved… we designed our tourist treks with really small groups…. our area is very rich in biodiversity and we have to maintain this … we cannot break the balance between us and nature which is our mother earth. there are other areas that are sacred and we cannot take the tourists there [Treasurer, VIPU3, CS4].

Of course, the nature of our business does not relate to environmental protection… it is totally different…. but we have our own duty to protect the earth, as we say in our language: tü una'apükat wamüin pülasü, nature is sacred for us…. particularly, as we suffered the consequences of global warming and climate change…... here in the community we had a drought situation… there was not any water….it was even worst in the north…but this shows that we all have to be concern about our environment [President and Cofounder, VIWA1, CS5].

As indicated by the findings, some of the ICOs developed environmental-oriented activities to tackle environmental issues and create environmental value. The CS1 is indicative of this, as they created an environmental arm within their organisation to enhance their land practices and advocate for the protection of the environment and

the conservation of the flora and fauna of their territory. Participants from the focus group activities report that in the general assemblies, the community are concerned about negative impacts on the environment, and the consequences of bad land practices. The immediate solution of the community is to create an environmental-oriented organisation under the umbrella of the cooperative. One of the cofounders of the association provided different examples of how the association tackles environmental issues and is trying to advocate for better management of natural resources, and to enhance the land practices in their region (Cauca). He stressed:

> *The association have different activities that tried to tackle the local issues related to the environment, we have our own botanical garden in which we conserve and protect the flora and fauna of the territory…. also, we do a lot of advocacy campaigns to make awareness of the waste and recycling issues here in the territory…and sometimes we callout mingas of recycling and clean out our rivers and dirt that there around the land… also, we provide training to the peasants to improve the land-usage…. you know…. training about organic seed growing and agroforestry* [General Manager / Cofounder, MKFG1.4, CS1].

The evidence reveals that there is a solid relation between the ICOs' experiences in creating environmental value with the BV pillars, particularly, with the BV model suggestion to move from anthropocentrism towards biocentrism. The majority of the ICOs reported that they plan their organisational activities by taking into account the possible impact on their territory. One of the cofounders of the AJBD, the environmental arm of the CS1, explained:

> *The organisational planning is always designed collectively, everybody in the community has a say in regard to our territory, all is ours, therefore we always have to see how we could do the less harm upon the territory when we do an activity* [Member / Cofounder, V1MK8, CS1].

As illustrated in Tables 7.4, the ICOs' experiences in generating environmental value demonstrate a consistency with the BV pillars. The findings indicate that directly or indirectly, the ICOs are creating environmental value by addressing ecological issues and revising natural resources management. The ICOs' efforts prove that a positive impact on the environmental can be made by building up business activities with an eco-minded set of values. This can be linked with the BV pillars of the rights of nature, and plural economy, which suggests that a new society must be developed with eco-values and standards, nurtured by an eco-economy. During a video interview, a top manager commented:

By nature, indigenous activities are dictated by nature, what I mean is, there are environmental factors that either enable or disable our activities….. if there is a rainy season we cannot produce certain products, thus I have to plan ahead, we have our own ecological calendar inherited by my ancestors and we follow that [General Manager, VICU2, CS3].

The reappropriation of ancestral knowledge is reported to complement business activities, where indigenous practices are environmentally oriented by nature. For example, some of the Misak participants reported how by mimicking Western agricultural methods, territory care worsened, and it was detrimental for the land's maintenance, particularly with the use of GM seeds. One of the participants claimed:

We realised that we were doing the same as the white men, overexploiting the land and using pesticides to make the crops more productive…. we did not leave the land resting and we were not following our productive calendar, we were producing to improve our income generation… that is why we do create campaigns to fight against this mentality and go back to the traditional [Member, MKFG1.7, CS1].

This can be linked with the BV pillar of decolonisation, that suggests indigenous knowledge must surpass the Western model. In this respect, the CS1 reported to doing advocacy work, and campaigns for environmental protection and conservation where the children are taught about the spiritual aspect of nature in their Misak culture. They created a theatre play to show the importance of the natural resources and the connection with their deities through the territory. Remarkably, the impact is demonstrated by the fact that some of the children that had participated in the play, are today playing an important role in the organisation, and leading advocacy campaigns about nature. One of the members of the AJBD, stressed the importance of being part of the theatre group and play, as it made him more aware of the need for environmental protection, and helped him to connect with the ancestors through the territory. He said:

I was really young when I started to be part of the theatre group, I engaged because I want to be with my friends…. but now that I am engaged more with advocacy groups and I am very active with the organisation, realised the impact that this activity made on my mentality…. this influenced me the way that I behave with the territory
[Member, MKFG1.7, CS1].

Moreover, the BV pillars of community wellbeing and democratisation appear to be manifest in the *wellbeing* perception, and the level of participation of the ICOs' members. Evidence reveals that all the CSEs reported to having a spiritual relationship with nature, and therefore the wellbeing of the community is strongly related to it. Also, fieldwork observations suggest that wide participation in the decision-making process is required when the ICOs' activities are taking place in their territory (in all regions). As presented in the findings of Chapter 6, the majority of the ICOs are semi-autonomous, and their decisions require either the external involvement of non-members from the community or are subject to the resguardo norms. This is exemplified by the *Life Plan Project* of the Yanacona cabildo, which shows that the CS2 is ruled by a collective-agreed plan that stresses the importance of environmental protection and the good management of their natural resources. One of the indigenous authorities during the focus group conversation explained how their organisational decisions are conditioned by their *life plan* and worldview. He emphasised how environmental protection and conservation is not only about the present but for future generations of the community (see Box 7.6).

Box 7.6 Collective Influences Upon Eco-oriented Business Activities

One of the pillars of the life plan is the environmental plan which is transversal because it goes through the cultural, productive, spiritual, among others this plan delineates the care of what we call the wild areas and manzas of our territory, note that this relationship of nature with man and its spiritual part is always very present, we also have an ancestral relationship with the land, which differs with the Western perception that sees the exploitation of resources such as mining exploitation and exploitation as a priority. Appropriation of water, among others. From this perspective, good living is not for us to generate economic resources to the detriment of the environment, but rather to take advantage of the resources that our land gives us in a responsible manner. For example, from the point of view of the government the construction of an aqueduct is done to generate economic resources and use and take away the water, for us it is to use that water in a responsible way and to ensure that the ideal natural conditions are given to produce more water…. that is ventures as ours are responsible of following the Life Plan, because they all need to meet the Community needs [Governor, YAFG1.1, CS2].

For example, Rio Blanco, which is one of the most important ancestral indigenous reserves, the occupation of this territory dates from 1732 and was occupied by 40,000 indigenous people in an area of approximately 6420 hectares, to this day the area is still the same but the population has grown up… therefore, getting resources to adjust to that increase without affecting the Andean forest strip, the páramo, the lagoons, is very complex, so economic initiatives are born through concerns such as producing in small spaces and as transform what we produce, in addition to how to satisfy the new internal demand….that's why is so important to protect the environment and work the land sustainably…that's exactly what we do with our venture… protecting the environment while working the land [Governor, YAFG1.1, CS2].

The findings also show the distinctions that the ICOs' experiences may have when compared to the BV pillars. The fact that some of the environmentally-oriented activities follow Western methods, highlights the contradictions of developing a plural and decolonial paradigm. Even though, some of the ICOs highlighted the business advantages of appropriating Western methods. For instance, hybrid forms of land-based production reveal the empirical contradictions when drawing on the BV model. Some participants are more critical in analysing the impact made by their business activities and questioned whether the existing forms of production are detrimental for the territory. A community leader from the Amazons explains:

We have to be critical about our society and our organisations, we have to acknowledge that there is already an embedded western ideology in our practices….. cattle were not part of our local techniques….. what I want to say is that there is very fine line in between organisational sustainability and the environmental one
[Treasurer, VIPU3, CS4].

However, the evidence suggests that there are more consistencies than inconsistencies in the ICOs' experiences when compared with the BV pillars. By and large, all the CSEs seem to be concerned with the environment and the impact that their business activities may have on it. At macro level, the ICOs are underrepresented, thus their environmental impact has not been taken into account. There is external interest upon their territories. As mentioned in previous chapters, the selected indigenous communities are located in rich areas of natural resources and are generally targeted by the state and private businesses for extractive projects. Consequently, the indigenous authorities of the CSEs report to having included environmentally sustainable programmes to be executed upon their territories, and the environmental impact has been used strategically by some of the cabildos to influence policy making and defend the indigenous people's territories.

7.5.4 Profit Distribution and Reinvestment

Profit distribution and reinvestment appears to be one of the missing aspects when referring to indigenous activities in the BV model. The ICOs' experiences in the Colombian context seems to contribute to the BV debate by looking through the BV pillars (Cubillo-Guevara e*t al.* 2014; Gudas, 2011; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, 2016; Huanacuni, 2010; Walsh, 2010). As seen in Table 7.3, the findings indicate that the profit generated by the ICOs has to be fairly distributed between their members and/or be reinvested in the organisation and community. As explained in Chapter 5, the SSE organisations must comply with the norms established by the SSE authorities. The profit generated by the SSE organisations is subject to the legal status that the ICO choose at the constitution stage. The evidence shows that the only ICO that did not need to comply with the SSE norms is the CS2. Although the venture was developed to benefit the 31 indigenous Yanacona communities; until now, all the surplus generated by the CS2 has to been reinvested into the company, as they are at an early stage of establishment. The general manager and economic coordinator of the CS2 commented that in the near future, economic surplus is meant to be reinvested into the community for programs in education, environment advocacy and health. He points out:

> *So far, we have not managed to generate high profit margin…. we are on our way…. but we are very confident that we could do better and contribute financially to the community later…. this venture belongs to our community and was meant*

to be created to provide opportunities for everyone here [G. Manager and Economic Coordinator, VIYA3, CS2].

This corroborates the commitment that indigenous people have with their community when they engage in business activities. This can be interlinked with the study of indigenous enterprises in the rural Andean communities conducted by Peredo (2001) that suggests that indigenous collective enterprises may contribute to the alleviation of poverty as a consequence of their community commitment and the influence of their indigenous values.

The findings also reveal that some of the CSEs' costs and revenues are divided by departments or business activities. An example that illustrates this is the one reported by the CS3, in which all services are divided into departments, and each one is responsible for its costs and revenues distribution. Although, this business practice seems similar to the concept of departmentalisation,[65] the CS3 does not measure departments by performance, but rather it ensures that each department outreaches their financial obligations, and any surplus is redistributed to all departments. The president of the CS3 explained that when a department neither breaks even nor meets their financial responsibilities, the other departments' profits are used to meet such gaps. She commented that by doing this, financial objectives are difficult to meet, but the collective wellbeing is more important:

> *We divide our business activities into departments, each department is responsible for their own financial accountabilities….. our services can be seasonal, thus, when one department performs better that the other, its profit is used to contribute for the breakeven of the association, at the end of the day we are family and all members are equally important, in an orthodox business they will close down a department that does not perform well, I think there is the difference* [President and Cofounder, VICU1, CS3].

However, the CS3 is registered as an NFP association, and it must comply with the norm that their business activities cannot be driven by economic objectives. Similarly, the other two associations, the CS4 and CS5, reported that when their organisations generate profit, it must be reinvested in the organisation or in the community. Participants from the focus groups with these organisations, highlight that the organisation is not only obliged by law to reinvest the profit generated, but also is obliged by the community to

[65] Grouping activities on the basis of product, service, or customer flow.

reinvest the money in community programmes. This is clearly observed in the following excerpt from a Wayuu weaver who is associated with the CS5 (see Box 7.7).

Box 7.7 Profit Reinvestment

> *As an association, we must comply with the norm of reinvesting the profit in the entity. However, there are times that the community is in need and we create some programs to tackle local issues. For instance, there was a time that some children from our community were malnourished, thus, we managed to create a food program and meet such need…..in another time, we supported financially a group of women in our community that need financial support for a funeral* [Weaver/ Treasurer, WAFG 1.8, CS5].

The findings indicate that the only case amongst the CSEs that must redistribute its profits in percentages, following the SSE normative and Colombian law, is the CS1. As seen in the CS1's description in the appendix, as a cooperative, the CS1 is obliged to redistribute its profit in four different forms: 20% to the reserve of the cooperative, 10% to the solidarity fund, 20% to the educational fund and the remaining 50% to be redistributed amongst the members or be used for communitarian projects (see more detail in the appendix). The CS1 reported that since foundation, the priority was to generate profit to meet their financial needs and to pay off any debt. Once their debt is paid, the CS1 report that they reinvest their remaining 50% in local activities to stimulate community cohesion, and to encourage the younger generation of the cooperative to be actively involved. Interestingly, participants from the focus group stated that one of the projects that has flourished from such distribution is the AJBD. They claimed that such investment is really important for kicking off the project efficiently, and so far, the results have been great for both parties. During a focus group meeting, one of the members of the AJBD claimed:

> *The AJBD is doing really well because we have the support of the Cooperative, their help has been fundamental for our development…. There is a lot to do but I think we have given back to them what they invested with our projects and advocacy campaigns, plus we all collaborate with them when is needed* [Member, MKFG1.7, CS1].

Furthermore, the evidence shows that the CS1's educational fund has been key for capacity building. It is reported that more than 60% of their associates and associates' families, have benefited from this fund; in fact, 42% of the participants have received

either professional or academic education, and the 54% remaining went to primary and secondary school.

The evidence shows that distribution of profits by the ICOs seems to be for either short or medium-term perspectives. Most of the ICOs spent their profits in reinvesting for business development and to meet the immediate socio-economic needs of the community. The findings indicate that none of the ICOs reported to having a strategic profit plan. However, the majority of them, have demonstrated to having a community program scheme to contribute to. As explained earlier, the ICOs are legally bound to the SSE norms, and therefore profit distribution is conditioned by the rules established externally. Participants reported that it is sometimes difficult to comply with the legal requirements of keeping financial and other records. Every year, all the ICOs are obliged to declare their financial status to the Colombian authorities, and the members of the organisation have to comply with the duty of accountability and transparency. However, in some of the focus group discussions, some participants suggest that sometimes such formalities can lead to internal conflicts (caused by a lack of knowledge of the expected, norms). It is reported that there is sometimes resistance in the way that profit is distributed, and therefore it is very difficult to plan ahead. A member of the CS5 organisation in one of the focus group conversations, suggested that there is a lack of knowledge of how the legal aspect of the organisation regulates its financial decisions:

> *There are times that members of the organisation get confused in how the organisation is operated…. I supposed there are rules that the organisation must follow to comply with the norms established by external entities…but don't we supposed to be autonomous and decide whatever we want with the money that we generate…it is quite unfair … because we all put a lot of effort* [Weaver/Member AAAS, WAFG 1.12, CS5].

The findings suggest that in a number of cases, some of the ICOs' associates had not been able to adapt to the formality of the organisations and resisted the legal forms that the ICOs are subject to. When conducting video interviews, one of the most striking aspects was the commitment of many service users to the ICOs, inspired by the ICOs' social and environmental devotion. Many accounts from the participants report that some service users are more engaged with the ICOs, as they feel that through buying the products or using their services, they could also contribute to society, and to the context where the ICO is located. During a video interview, a service user of one of the

ICOs claimed that consumers need to change their logic before they buy goods or partake in services. He also suggested that ventures that are socially and environmentally driven should promote a widening awareness of their message to consequently change the consumer behaviour. He stated:

> *I think is really important to consume with consciousness of the impact that the companies that are producing things make on society and the environment…. I particularly think that by buying local products I am making the difference…. I am aware of the social impact that this community is trying to make, thus, I contributed in my own way*
> [Service User, V1MK12, CS1].

Although only 5% of the participants are service users, there is a general consensus of the importance of buying products from the ICOs. The findings suggest that service users are contributing to the economic development of the ICOs, as the majority are aware of the socio-economic impact that the ICOs generate. How profit is used by the ICOs highlights some elements that are consistent with the BV model (see Tables 7.4). The findings indicate that profit distribution addresses the collective and environmental needs of the ICOs' context. It is reported that by reinvesting in local activities and programmes community wellbeing is improved. During the focus group activity, a community member in the Caribbean region commented:

> *When our organisation makes profit we always think how we can use this to be beneficial for our community, we always think collectively, we are all one entity, there is no room for individual ambitious, culturally the wellbeing personal is interwoven with the collective one* [Teacher / Community Member, WAFG 1.10, CS5].

This can be linked with the BV pillars of community wellbeing, economic pluralism and decolonisation, as profit used is managed under the basis of indigenous values. Firstly, in this context, indigenous society seems to be built with different values in which profit is not the aim, but the instrument. The ICOs reported that in order to exist they tackle local issues (as presented in the findings in Chapter 6), and the evidence suggests that when the ICOs are at the stage of profit distribution, community wellbeing is the priority. Secondly, although the ICOs must comply with the norms of the SSE – that suggest that profit must be redistributed into the organisation and benefit their associates – the ICOs seem to distribute their profit among the whole community. It is reported that many of the community programmes that the ICOs invested in, are designed to address

environmental issues and encourage young people to follow indigenous cultural values. During a focus group, a community leader from the Cauca region added:

> *Legally our profits have to be reinvested in our organisation, as an association this is what we should do, but at the end we prefer to invest in programmes or activities that will outreach the whole community, I don't think we have a sense of selfishness in this case, we care about the others, I think is a cultural feature* [Community Member, YAFG1.11, CS2].

This example seems to confirm the decolonisation pillar, which suggests that Western ideologies should be ruled out. Although arguably the SSE organisations should follow solidarity principles, the ICOs seem to follow their own cultural practices influenced by their own values in relation to profit use. Thirdly, plurality in the BV model, means the integration of the practices, cultures and knowledge of others, moving towards a pluriversal society. In this case, the ICOs' use of profit is seen by the participants as a practice that could contribute to the SSE sector and even influence national policies. During the focus group activity, one of the top managers, suggested that the problem is not with the way that the profit is distributed but rather the ideology that is behind it. He said:

> *We've heard so many times about how bad capitalism is when it comes to profit distribution and how the individual grief is detrimental for the society, but for me the problem is not rooted in whether or not the profit is distributed fairly, the problem is deeper….. it is the ideological root that profit used has…. you know, that's why we did not choose to be a cooperative, at the end of the day they operate as any for-profit company, it is the urge to create a company to meet individual needs of a group*
> [Community Member, YAFG1.4, CS2].

The profit is also used by reinvesting in the environment or environmentally-oriented programmes (i.e., education, advocacy, or other activities). The fact that all the case studies were seen to be biocentric, demonstrates the ICOs' interest in reinvesting their profits in programmes to protect the environment. This is deeply connected with the BV model, and specifically with the pillar of rights of nature.

When comparing the ICOs' use of profit with the BV model, the distinctions are narrowed down to one key aspect: the dependency of the ICOs in the Colombian context to the SSE norms that are influenced by orthodox managerial discourses

imported from the West (see Tables 7.4). That is to say that while in the countries where the BV is institutionalised, the laws and norms have already considered the indigenous praxes; however, the indigenous experiences in the Colombia context, are still under the radar.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

Firstly, the BV Colombian model is developed by the author (see Diagram 7.1) based on the interpretations of BV from each studied indigenous community. The evidence suggests that their BV interpretations are yielded by their contextual factors, which include culture, cosmovision (beliefs, values and pillars), historical context and geographical location. The values and pillars are identified in the collected data, and similar insights are indicated with the BV model (e.g., the protection of nature and the importance of community wellbeing); particularly, when indigenous groups are analysed through post-colonial lenses, as they are considered a subaltern group (see Spivak, 1999). That is to say that like other indigenous communities in the region, colonial consequences have left them in a disadvantage position in the socio-economic hierarchy (see Gros, 1991for the Colombian context, and Huanacuni, 2010 for LA).

Secondly, regarding the BV influences upon the ICOs' morphology, the findings indicate that there is a very strong relation between their cultural values and the ICOs' nature. Having identified the BV notions amongst the CSEs, section 7.3 illustrates the cross-analysis of the findings presented in Chapter 6: narrowed down in the ICOs' existence, constitution and operations with the BV notion of each CSE. The findings uncover the ambivalent nature of the ICOs' existence. All the CSEs agreed to establish formal entities in order to accomplish their BV. The example of the CS1 is particularly enlightening in this context, as the establishment of their cooperative was influenced by the community determination to recover their ancestral lands and territory, which is identified as one of the core pillars to accomplish the *Latá-Latá*. Moreover, the constitution of the ICOs in terms of legal status, ownership and organisation is shaped by their BV values of solidarity, reciprocity and trust. The evidence suggests that the BV set of values led them to constitute collective-oriented organisational entities and led them to choose SSE forms that coincide with their cultural values. Finally, the evidence reveals that the operations of the ICOs are influenced by ancestral practices. In fact, in many cases, organisational operations are enhanced by implementing cultural activities. Ancestral

practices such as the minga, bartering or ayni, are reported to be key for the ICOs' development.

Thirdly, the chapter closes with the analysis of whether the ICOs' experiences may or may not be consistent with the BV model. On the one hand, the ICOs' experiences are considered as organisational *impacts* that were made since foundation. The findings reveal that despite the CSEs' business life cycle, *impacts* in different dimensions are made by all the ICOs (summarised in Table 7.3). Impact is identified in the collected data as the process of value-creation, and is summarised in socio-economic, cultural and environmental terms; however, a fourth factor is singled out by the author, since many participants emphasised the organisational use of profit. Interestingly, while socio-economic value is related to the organisational capacity to provide job opportunities and better wages, the value created in cultural and environmental terms is indicated to contribute to their community wellbeing or BV. That is to say that by bringing cultural and environmental value to their communities, the ICOs demonstrate a more holistic approach when engaging in business. That is not to say that the ICOs' use of profit is also dictated by their own cultural set of values. The fact that many of ICOs reinvest their surplus in community programmes in relation to the culture and environment, demonstrates that the use of *profit* is driven by the will for delivering collective wellbeing.

Once the ICOs' experiences were examined and translated into *impacts*, the findings unravel the consistencies and the distinctions when comparing them to the BV model. The evidence shows that the ICOs' experiences are consistent with all the BV pillars. The fact that ICOs' morphology is shaped by their indigenous set of values, and their business activities are socially and environmentally driven, validates the core aspect of the BV model, which is moving society from anthropocentrism to biocentrism (in Acosta, 2013; Escobar, 2015; Huanacuni, 2010). Furthermore, consistencies are identified in the ICOs' implementation of ancestral and collective-oriented practices; as discussed in Chapter 2, the BV model is not only developed by bio-centrism but also by building a new society with other standards (i.e., a plurality of knowledge and non-orthodox practices).

Distinctions are also identified in the collected data, but interestingly they are more related to the influence that external variables make upon the ICOs. The fact that the

ICOs at meso level have to comply with external norms, make them to be stuck at a more homogenous sector that may constrain the BV model in the Colombian context. As suggested in the BV theory, a new paradigm must be built upon decolonial processes that will eventually lead to a more plural alternative of development (Acosta, 2013; Gudynas, 2011). That is to say that if the ICOs' experiences are shown to be influenced by both indigenous and Western practices, distinctions can be identified. The following chapter 'Conclusions' will discuss the theoretical, empirical and methodological implications of this thesis, as well as respond to each of the research questions mentioned in Chapter 1. The chapter will also briefly describe the methodology, the study's limitations, its implications for policy and practice, and will make recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS: CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the development of ICOs in Colombia by looking at five organisations (see Appendix I for details) led by five different indigenous communities (Misak, Yanacona, Curripaco, Puinave and Wayuu) in three Colombian regions: the *Andes,* the *Amazons* and the *Caribbean*. By drawing on a multi-level model rooted within post-development (BV) and post-colonial studies (Bhabha's mimicry and hybridity), the author has investigated such development using a PVR multiple case study approach. This chapter first explores the original contributions of the thesis. The chapter then presents the main findings responding to the research questions that are formulated in Chapter 1. The author then highlights the main methodological implications and summarises the policy implications and practice offering recommendations for further research.

8.2 Original Contribution

There are three main original contributions in this thesis: (i) *theoretical*, (ii) *empirical* and *(*iii*) methodological*. Firstly, there is a theoretical gap in academic research relating to BV, indigenous organisations and entrepreneurship, despite their contribution within the Colombian context in the SSE sector. Thus, this thesis has addressed this gap in existing research knowledge by:

(1) Developing a BV model based on a review of existing literature, where a collection of three values and six pillars are identified (see Diagram 2.1). These values and pillars are designed to guide society towards a more sustainable development world by echoing indigenous cosmovision (i.e., Acosta, 2015; Escobar, 2015). The author has explored the BV in the Colombian context, as the majority of the literature is limited to the countries of Ecuador and Bolivia, focusing mostly on the *Quechuas* and *Aymaras* (e.g., Dávalos, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010). Moreover, the limited studies relating to BV in Colombia do not explore the relationship of BV within the SSE (Chaves *et al.* 2018;

Pinilla Arteta, 2014). The ICOs' experiences in the Colombian context contribute to the BV debate by examining the BV pillars.

(2) Looking at the post-colonial approach of hybridity and mimicry (Bhabha, 1984) through the exploration of ICOs, there is very little understanding of the indigenous people's organisational behaviour considering the power relations of their context. By particularly examining the power and agency through post-colonial lenses to understand organisations (see Chapter 3) and drawing on the organisational approach of Claeyé and Jackson (2012) and Jackson, (2011), the author explores the ICOs in the so-called third space, formulated by Bhabha, (2012b). This is in order to understand the ICOs' development from their '*subaltern position*' (Spivak, 1988a) inherited since colonisation. Thus, by exposing the disadvantaged position of the ICOs in Colombia (as a consequence of colonialism), the author creates a theoretical advancement by exploring power and agency to improve the interconnection of institutional (DiMaggio and Powell, 2000) and culturalist (Ghiselli and Porter, 1966; Hofstede, 2001) approaches for a better understanding of organisational behaviour.

(3) This thesis creates a multi-level model – in which indigenous, organisational, SSE, post-colonial and post-development studies – are interlinked to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia from informality, to formality, towards institutionality. Some scholars focus on the SSE in general but bring out few examples of the participation of indigenous people within the sector in Colombia (e.g., Alvarez, 2010; Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006; Alvaro, 2007; Bedoya and Caruso, 2006; Calderon *et al.* 2008). Others, focus on the ontology, history or contemporary context of indigenous communities in the country (e.g., Gros, 2000, 1997, 1991; Rodríguez, 2017) but very few try to understand BV in the Colombian context (Chaves *et al.* 2018; Pinilla Arteta, 2014). However, the existing literature suggests that there is not yet an interdisciplinary approach for understanding ICOs in Colombia. Even the studies in indigenous organisations at international level tend to focus only on the entrepreneurial socio-economic factors (e.g., Anderson *et al.* 2006; Cahn, 2008; Peredo and McLean, 2013; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017), overlooking other factors, such as history, culture and power relations that might enhance the understanding of indigenous organisations. The multi-level model offers a theoretical contribution by bringing a multi-lateral conversation of different studies to understand the nature and development of indigenous organisations in the country.

Secondly, this thesis also contributes empirically to different kinds of literature:
(a) To indigenous studies, by looking at the IOGs' traditional practices at an informal level and illustrating how their indigenous cosmovision shapes their contemporary organisational forms. The existing literature of the indigenous communities in Colombia tend to focus on political, socio-economic and cultural aspects (e.g., Acevedo, 2017; Mercado Epieyuu e*t al.* 2016; Obando Villota, 2016), and less on the diverse ways in which indigenous people organise themselves and encounter the contemporary world.

(b) To post-colonial studies, by looking at the ICOs' issues inherited from colonisation, including land loss and divestment. Moreover, this thesis illustrates the hybrid forms and empirically examines the third space suggested by Bhabha (2012), in which ICOs, as a subaltern groups (i.e., Spivak, 1988), either negotiate or resist foreign influence or intervention. In the LA region, post-colonial studies, coming from a very radical approach, focus conceptually on *coloniality* and *decolonisation* (e.g., Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2011), but less on the hybrid forms. This thesis contributes to post-colonial studies on LA by bringing different case studies from different regions in Colombia that illustrates hybrid forms.

(c) To organisational studies, by examining how indigenous people construct organisational structures, processes and practices, and how these in turn, shape social relations and create institutions that ultimately influence their community. In so doing, the thesis depicts the role of the agent and their power relations in the Colombian context, thus contributing to the literature of organisational behaviour (i.e., DiMaggio and Powell, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; Jackson, 2011). This thesis supports the argument of Jackson (2011) who claims that it is important to considered *rule*s (institutions), SSE norms in the ICOs' context, *value*s (culture), looking at indigenous cosmovision, and control (power), depicting the disadvantaged position of the ICOs in the Colombian context. As the author suggests this may be a way forward in reconceptualising culture and stretching the boundaries of current cross-cultural management theory and implications for development theory.

(d) To SSE studies, by illustrating the motivations, characteristics ad experiences of the ICOs in Colombia. There is very little evidence of the role played by ICOs in the SSE

sector in Colombia, and empirical studies have a tendency to illustrate the institutional influence (state, policies, law and SSE institutions) over the SSE organisations. It seems that the majority of these studies focus heavily on the isomorphic pressures on the SSE organisations, but the *agent* aspect of the SSE sector tends to be overlooked (Alvarez, 2010; Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006; Alvaro, 2007; Fajardo-Rojas, 2003; Silva Valencia, 2016). However, there is little evidence relating to the role that indigenous organisations play in the SSE in Colombia, as normally studies of indigenous organisations depict the activist angle, including indigenous social movements and institutions (e.g., Gow and Jaramillo, 2013; Gros, 2000; Jimeno, 2005). Therefore, empirically, this thesis provides a new insight of the SSE by looking at the development of ICOs in the Colombian context. Even empirical studies at an international level – that focus on the agency by exploring the role of indigenous organisations contributing to their economies and socio-environmental issues – do not tend to interconnect the institutional aspect nor the historical circumstances of indigenous people (e.g., Peredo and McLean, 2013; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017). Thus, this thesis provides an empirical contribution by bridging the *agent*, indigenous organisations, and their institutions through the exploration of the ICOs in the Colombian context.

(e) To post-development studies, by bringing the interpretations of BV from five different indigenous communities. Generally, the BV literature provides a theoretical and institutional perspective of it, but there is a very little evidence of empirical studies exploring the BV (i.e., Acosta, 2015; Dávalos, 2011; Escobar, 2015; Gudynas, 2011; Huanacuni, 2010). Moreover, this thesis provides an empirical repertoire of the ICOs' experiences to contrast the BV model and revise its possibility in the Colombian context. The existing studies of BV have the tendency to explore indigenous contribution to society from a very romantic and over positive perspective (Stefanoni, 2011, 2010). This thesis examines the ICOs' practices by exploring their strengths and weaknesses, highlighting the inherent inconsistencies by looking through the BV model.

Third, this study also makes a methodological contribution by building a research method coherent with the post-colonial literature. That is to say that the author's methodological practice is guided by the post-colonial theoretical discourse of giving voice to the voiceless (Anzaldúa, 1987; Spivak, 1988a). Thus, by using a participatory video approach, in which the role of the researcher vis-à-vis the research 'object' is less hierarchical, the

research 'object' (the ICOs) are enabled to construct their own representation and 'speak' about their experiences providing a new insight to the study of indigenous people. The study illustrates the advantages of '*a researcher-blending*' with the participants, as the author is not considered an outsider, but rather as an insider. To date, there is no evidence of PVR approaches to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia (e.g., Alvarez and Serrano Uribe, 2006; Fajardo-Rojas, 2003). Even in the existing studies in relation to the SSE and indigenous organisations, there is no evidence of the use of PVR methods (Giovannini, 2012; Peredo, 2001; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017).

This study highlights the importance of the co-production of knowledge and addresses research matters in an inclusive way. It is particularly interesting in the use of PVR with indigenous people who are often excluded in the research design of projects as discussed in Chapter 4. By using a PVR approach the researcher does not obstruct the participants point of view. On the contrary, the activities used by the author clearly demonstrated that participants can be empowered while doing research.

8.3 What has Emerged from this Research?

This research is guided by three research questions (see Section 1.3) which are derived from an analysis of key debates about the BV, SSE and ICOs through a review of the existing literature. This concluding section returns to examine each of the research questions to assess their contribution to the thesis findings.

Rsq1: What are the characteristics of ICOs in Colombia?

Key features emerge from the data to understand the characteristics of the ICOs in Colombia. The author summarised the key characteristics of the ICOs in three groups/sections: (i) reason for existence (raison d'être), (ii) the ICOs' constitution and (iii) the ICOs' operations (see Table 7.2 for details). (1) The IOGs show that local and external variables influence their way towards formalisation (ICOs). The first section of Chapter 6 depicts the local and external variables identified in the data. Interestingly, some of them confirm what the current literature suggests in relation to the existence of indigenous organisations; i.e., impoverished indigenous settings, socio-economic needs, land and cultural preservation appear to be the most common motives to formalise informal indigenous organisations (e.g., Peredo and McLean, 2013; Spencer *et*

al. 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017). The findings for the ICOs' indicate that locally their cosmovision and collective-wellbeing pursuits, and externally, their socio-economic needs and land rights and autonomy, motivate them to constitute ICOs. Both cases in Cauca, the CS1 and the CS2, reported that their community struggle (i.e., socio-economic issues, land divestment and societal exclusion) motivated them to formalise their informal groups and to enter the national economy.

However, the author identified some features that remain unexplored in the existing literature. For instance, the armed conflict and drug trafficking issues have influenced the development of the ICOs in Colombia. The indigenous literature in Colombia indicates that the indigenous population are located in the most problematic areas, where the presence of subversive groups is high (Gros, 2000; Ulloa, 2004; Villa and Houghton, 2005). That is to say, that unlike other studies that identify impoverished indigenous settings as a key factor to stimulate indigenous organisations' development (e.g., Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017), other external factors must be considered in order to understand indigenous organisations' heterogeneity. Another interesting feature identified in the data relates to the pursuit for funding. The ICOs selected for the study reported to have formalised their organisation to secure government or institutional funding to either maintain or scale up their informal practices. Although there are studies about the increased competition for indigenous groups seeking funding (see Spencer *et al*. 2016), the ICOs show an institutional dependency that makes an interesting characteristic of them in the Colombian context.

(2) The ICOs' characteristics are identified at a constitution level characterised by the *legal structure*, *ownership* and *organisational structure* of the ICOs and (3) at an operational level featured in *business production*, *governance* and *organisational strategies*. The majority of the studies provide insights into how indigenous organisations operate, make an impact, or offer a potential pathway for socio-economic improvements (e.g., Dana and Anderson, 2007; Giovannini, 2012; Henderson, 2018). However, less attention is paid to the rationale of constituting an indigenous organisation featured by legal, ownership and organisational structure forms. This study provides an exploration of these aspects by featuring the differences amongst them and comparing them to the norms established for the SSE organisations.

For instance, the topic of *ownership* draws the attention from innovative approaches to organisational behaviour. Some of the CSEs reported to operate in indigenous resguardos, where collective ownership is a fundamental pillar to maintain the cultural status quo, and therefore collectively owned ICOs are interdependent with their indigenous rules. The literature suggests that indigenous decision-making processes are collectively oriented and democratically approached (e.g., Peredo and McLean, 2013; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al.* 2017); however, there is very little evidence of exploring the innovative indigenous decision-making approaches. The evidence reveals that semi-autonomous and autonomous approaches are practiced by the ICOs in order to maintain the balance between traditional and organisational practices.

When compared with the existing literature, the identified ICO characteristics in this thesis depict a unique case in indigenous organisation studies. Evidently, the contextual settings of the ICOs in Colombia demonstrate the importance of exploring the internal, the agency and the external, the institutional, variables of indigenous organisations.

Rsq2: How do the processes of mimicry and hybridity influence the development of ICOs in Colombia?

Chapter 5 provides a historical context that confirms the disadvantaged position of indigenous communities in the Colombian socio-economic hierarchy as a consequence of colonisation (see particularly Gros, 2000, 1997, 1991). Drawing on post-colonial theories, Chapter 5's content, demonstrates the subordination process of the indigenous population throughout history, which led to the *subaltern position* (Spivak, 1988a). Therefore, having identified the bigger picture of the ICOs in Colombia, Bhabha's (2012) third space is used to help understand the ICOs as hybrid forms.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the ICOs can be considered as hybrid forms as a result of a *mimetic* process in which the IOGs at informal level, emulate external variables; as explained in Chapter 3, the external variables are constituted by the culture, knowledge and practices imported from outside (SSE norms, and managerial, entrepreneurial and organisational Western discourses). That is to say that hybrid forms in the Colombian context, can be explored in the so-called third space (at meso-level), in which the ICOs (indigenous groups that adopt a business-like persona) either negotiate or resist the two worlds: the local (shaped by indigenous institutions and

cosmovision) and the external (shaped by SSE norms, and managerial, entrepreneurial and organisational forms) (Bhabha, 1984, 2012b; Spivak, 1988a).

The process of mimicry is explored through the ICOs' constitution at an operational level. The evidence shows how the IOGs adopt or adapt to external variables to formalise themselves and become ICOs. Interestingly, all the IOGs responded to the institutional isomorphic pressures by complying with the SSE norms in order to be formalised and be part of the SSE sector. These findings confirm what the indigenous entrepreneurial studies suggest, which is that indigenous organisations must adopt business practices in order to survive and defend their rights in their contexts (e.g., Anderson *et al*. 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2016; Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. 2017). The findings provide many examples in which the process of mimicry occurred. For instance, the SSE norm establishes that SSE organisations (DSOs or SEOs) are jointly-owned and democratically-controlled entities, and their registered members must elect democratically the board of directors to manage and represent their organisations (see Chapter 5). That is to say that almost all the CSEs (except the CS2) reported to have a board of directors elected democratically in order to comply with the SSE norms and to be successful at the time of registration. In the process of mimicry, the IOGs must comply if they are willing to be formalised. It can be seen, as the study of Claeyé and Jackson, (2012) suggests, ICOs must adopt a business-like persona as a consequence of institutional isomorphic pressures.

However, isomorphic processes upon the ICOs seem to be constrained at the third space, in which hybrid forms resist and/or negotiate the institutional pressure and enable the ICOs to have a unique organisational identity. Hybrid forms are identified through four types of organisational behaviour, in which the management of tensions (resistance) and adaptations (negotiation) are clustered, which include: (i) deviant informal practices, (ii) the integration of innovation in informal practices, (iii) the complementarity of the informal practices and (iv) the implementation of informal practices as an organisational strategy. Interestingly, the findings indicate the importance for the ICOs of either readapting their traditional praxes to contemporary forms (while preserving their culture) or simply resisting through change by deviating from the formal practices. These factors make the ICOs a unique case, as the existing literature either focuses on the institutional/structural context in which indigenous organisations operate (e.g., Anderson

et al., 2006; Henderson, 2018) or on the agency of the indigenous organisations (Giovannini, 2016, 2012; Vázquez Maguirre *et al*. 2017, 2016). The ICOs' example illustrates that both institutional/structural and agency must be linked through a post-colonial approach; especially, because their organisational disadvantages are not only produced from socio-economic equalities, but also their disadvantages are rooted in their colonial inheritance (Spivak, 1988a).

Moreover, it is important to say that the process of mimicry and hybridity also exposes the tensions and contradiction of the indigenous people through the exploration of the hybrid forms. As previously stated in Chapter 2, indigenous populations should not be idealised or looked up (Vanhulst, 2015). The findings indicate that the ICOs' also manifest internal problems and conflicts in their organisational behaviour. It is apparent that the ICOs' discrepancies at internal level, are rooted in the generational gap (in this study 38% are less than 30 years and 62% are more than 30 years). The findings indicate that although there is a cultural respect towards the eldest and their authority, the indigenous younger generations are more exposed to Western culture and are willing to emulate these practices. For instance, many of the participants reported that wellbeing not only lies in the indigenous cultural aspect, but also in the accessibility to technology, education and health. That is why many of the CSEs created cultural-oriented programmes to strength the loss of indigenous culture in the younger generation. This phenomenon can be confirmed by last the national census (summarised in Chapter 5), where in many of the indigenous communities, the native language is barely spoken.

Rsq3: In what ways do ICOs' experiences in Colombia embody key tenets of the BV model?

In response to the question in what ways are the ICOs' experiences consistent with BV, this thesis has presented the ICOs' impacts as the materialisation of their experiences, and it has compared this with the BV model. Firstly, the evidence reveals that despite the ICOs' business life-cycle, all demonstrated to have created value for their associates, community and ecosystem. The generated value created at different levels by the ICOs is categorised in three areas: socio-economic, cultural and environmental. Furthermore, in order to improve the presentation of the ICOs' experiences, not only the identification of the creation of value is important, but also the profit used. In this respect, the findings indicate that the profit is used to tackle local and community needs. It is

reported that a significant proportion of their profit is used to develop cultural and environmental programmes. Despite the fact that how the profit is used is determined by the SSE norms, the ICOs demonstrate that they are more concerned with the collective wellbeing and reinvest their profit at a local level for community enhancement.

Once the ICOs' experiences were established, and drawing upon the BV model suggested in Chapter 2 (a model that constituted by values, pillars and dimensions), a comparison was made to identify the consistencies and distinctions. Overall, the findings have revealed that there are many consistencies in the ICOs' experiences when compared to the BV model. One of the key aspects found in the emerging data is that the BV model is built upon the objective of building a new society with ecological values (Acosta and Martínez, 2009; Escobar, 2015; Gudynas, 2011) departing from the anthropocentrism imported by Western dominant values (Mignolo, 2001; Quijano, 2000), and moving towards biocentrism (Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010; Pilataxi Lechón, 2014). This correlates with the ICOs' creation of environmental value, in which the sustainable management of natural capital and the protection and conservation of nature are influenced by indigenous cultural values.

Other ICOs' experiences validate the consistency with the BV model. For instance, the creation of socio-economic value is the reported outcome of many business activities shaped by ancestral practices such as minga, bartering, Ayni and seed swapping. By doing this, the ICOs empirically show the correlation with the objective of the BV pillars, such as economic pluralism, democratisation and decolonisation, in which alternative economic practices, wide community participation and non-Western-knowledge orientation had to be embraced for the construction of a new society (Acosta, 2013; Aylwin, 2013; Huanacuni, 2010). Furthermore, the use of profit processes identified amongst the CSEs also highlights the mind-switch that is required to accomplish the BV model. The fact that the ICOs' use of profit is made and pursued to address social and environmental issues, highlights the correlation of ICOs' experiences with the BV model.

However, distinctions are also identified in the collected data when comparing the ICOs' experiences to the BV model. The study reveals that amongst the many distinctive particularities identified in the ICOs' practices are the non-homogenous perspectives, the governance, worldview and business practices. The core distinction is rooted in the morphology of the ICOs that is shaped by the SSE norms, and dictated and built upon

Western dominant managerial and entrepreneurial discourses. This thesis demonstrates that even though the ICOs' experiences are influenced by their cultural values, the influence of dominant Western practices, legitimised by the SSE norms, seem to lead them to operate in 'circles' and reproduce the same or similar practices (described in the BV literature as 'detrimental practices') that make negative impacts on their environment and society (Acosta, 2013; Guandinango Vinueza, 2013; Lalander, 2016).

8.4 Implications for Policy and Practice

Several policy and practice recommendations can be drawn from this research based on the results of the study. These include: (a) the need to support existing ICOs; (b) the incorporation of ICOs into the SSE policy discourse; (c) the re-evaluation of development policies and their impact for indigenous organisations in the national development plan and (d) lessons from the ICOs' practices.

Building up support for the ICOs

The findings demonstrate that the ICOs' activities occurring outside the economic mainstream offer culturally safe and appropriate pathways to economic participation and inclusion. There is a need for government-initiated policies to encourage the formation of ICOs that are entrepreneurial and innovative in their solutions to poverty and marginalization. Such policies should not only aid the establishment of ICOs but also integrate their traditional practices and facilitate their long-term growth and sustainability. The findings reported that institutional support is needed, even though all ICOs demonstrably started up their initiatives with financial (or other) support. As demonstrated, the SSE institutions (i.e., *Supersolidaria* and *UAEOS*) tend to acknowledge all the SSE organisations under the same norms, ignoring different practices that need another approach. That is why, policy making, concerning the SSE as an instrument of development, needs to be undertaken with a reconstructed understanding of indigenous organisations that is a better fit for the realities of indigenous culture.

Incorporating ICOs into the SSE policy Discourse: the missing voice of the subaltern groups

Another recommendation relates to the need to incorporate the ICOs into the official SSE policy discourse and related support infrastructure. The SSE norms seem to establish that all types of organisations must comply with them indifferent to their cultural backgrounds. This seems to contradict the constitutional recognition (constitution of 91) of the multicultural indigenous backgrounds, as norms are made under business forms and objectives rather than on cultural premises. Although legally, all the national institutions must operate under a multicultural basis, indigenous groups, therefore ICOs, lack institutional acknowledgement which reveals the disadvantaged position that indigenous communities face. To suggest a policy recommendation here: the ICOs' engagement with the SSE policy discourse should not operate in a 'top-down-mono-cultural manner' (that is, from the mainstream to grassroots level) but instead function with a more 'bottom-up-multi-cultural-inclusive' approach. A socially constructed approach that defines the ICOs' activity would allow actors to define the organisation they are involved with, rather than have an external definition imposed on them from a team of official bodies. Thus, there is a need for well-evidenced research to establish a socially constructed 'bottom-up-multi-cultural-inclusive' definition of the ICOs that takes into consideration the voice of indigenous leader organisations and communities.

Re-evaluating development policies and their Impact for Indigenous organisations for the National Development Plan

This thesis reveals the potential of ICO practices through the identification of their experiences by looking at their impacts (socio-economic, cultural and environmental). The National Development Plan is still designed by following a neoliberal agenda in which extractivist and open-free-trade is still at the core of the pursuit for a national wellbeing. Not only does the indigenous Colombian literature illustrate the negative consequences (socio-economic, cultural and environmental) of implementing national economic agendas upon the indigenous territories (ignoring the legal right for indigenous people to decide the fate of their territories), but the CSEs also report the difficulties of facing the consequences of the extractive industries in their territories for the sake of 'development'. Therefore, there is a need to consider other development approaches, such as BV, to integrate different actors and approaches to enhance the current National Development Plan. Even though social innovation is incorporated in the last National Development Plan (20014-2018), a more inclusive plan is needed to give voice to minorities and the indigenous population.

Another approach to SSE from the indigenous people's knowledge

From a practical point view, this study offers clear indications to SSE organisations and other ICOs of opportunities and challenges for development from the selected organisations. These organisations can get support from the findings and/or develop in order to sustain or scale up. Moreover, the fact that the ICOs prove that informal practices enrich the organisational ones sheds some light on the potential for integrating local/traditional knowledge to improve the SSE sector competitiveness and the national economic development.

8.5 Methodology and Limitations

This PVR case study is used to answer the three research questions outlined in Chapter 1. The nature of the research questions determined the choice of the methodological approach to accommodate the analysis.

This thesis uses the following methods of data collection (in chronological order): a review of literature and documentary sources, video focus groups and semi-structured interviews and observations, and field notes. The literature is used to establish the rationale for this study, to allow the researcher to identify theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the study of ICOs. The literature review sets up the key objectives and research questions for the PhD thesis. Documentary sources allow the researcher to acquire an enhanced understanding of the historical, demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as well as the nature and extent of ICOs in Colombia and, particularly in the three regions selected for the study (the Andes, the Caribbean and the Amazons).

Prior to this study, no identified studies were conducted using PVR to understand the phenomenon of ICOs in Colombia. Therefore, this study was conducted to address this knowledge gap and gain a greater understanding of the nature and extent of ICOs in the Colombian context by using PVR. Video-recorded focus groups and semi-structured interviews with key informants from the five ICOs selected, as well as observations and field notes, provided a profound insight and generated new ideas concerning the nature and development of ICOs in Colombia. Despite this, there are a number of limitations with the methodology used, which needs to be acknowledged. The first is related to the

data sources that this study focuses upon when collecting primary data. The sample of organisations is small with only five case studies; however, the author believes that they have provided sufficient material to answer the research questions. The second limitation lies with the fact that all the case study organisations from the sample are relatively 'successful' ICOs, in the sense that they are able to establish and develop their business and access resources. This study did not examine failed organisations and/or the conditions that impeded their emergence. For the third limitation, it is important to note that not all people in all of the studied indigenous communities were able to dedicate a lot of time and energy, and participation dropped away once the co-researchers (participants) become caught up with other competing responsibilities. Finally, the fact that the study focused on a particular context, Colombia, at a particular period of time, and in a particular location – the Amazons, the Caribbean and the Andes regions – makes the case 'unique' and difficult to generalise to other situations. However, these regions are in different parts of the country, providing a 'rich' case study area to understand the phenomenon of ICOs in the country. The limitations underlined above could serve to open new paths for future research.

This thesis also suffers from a possible conceptual limitation when viewed from the most radical approach to BV, namely, the indigenist and postdevelopmentalist/ecologist perspectives (Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2014; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2015). The Modernity Coloniality Group (MCG) scholars claim that a new paradigm of development must be constructed epistemologically by evoking 'epistemic disobedience' and moving away from epistemologies rooted in the Global North (see the work of Mignolo, 2011, 2000; Quijano, 2000, 1997). They argue that it is only by decolonising the Global South and moving away from a hegemonic Eurocentric "*universe*" (unitary thinking) towards what they call a 'pluriverse' world (acknowledging others' views to observe the planet) that alternatives such as BV could be effectively implemented (Dussel, 2011; Mignolo, 2000). Though this thesis explores ICOs based upon BV in the Colombian context, it incorporates a set of modern theories (originating in Weberian concepts, as developed by institutionalists such as DiMaggio and Powell, 2000). Therefore, the analysis provided in this thesis is a combination of both the Global North and Global South epistemologies.

BV studies have been mainly explored and produced in the Global South. Thus, there is an opportunity to explore the BV further with the provided data of this research from a Global South perspective. There is a wealth of southern perspectives that can enrich the work provided in this thesis and strengthen this piece of research by integrating southern epistemologies. An example is by looking at the concept of coloniality developed by Quijano (2000a, 2000b, 1997), in which *Colonialism* differs from *coloniality* semantically: the *colonialism* refers to the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers and exploiting it economically, while *coloniality* refers to the continuum process of being colonised by the ex-colonial powers and is constantly transferred within the modernisation process (it is implicitly transferred); or by looking at BV from an ecofeminist perspective and looking at the role of women within the BV framework. The contribution of indigenous women to the BV is very little acknowledged, and the voice of indigenous women is hardly visible in the BV studies (Acosta, 2013; Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara, 2015).

8.6 Future Directions for Research

Since this study is one of the first to focus on ICOs in the Colombia context, there clearly remains much to research in this area. Several issues raised by this study are worth exploring further. This research is based upon a small-scale study, and thus, the issues identified within it could be widened and deepened. Wider and more comprehensive mapping exercises are required to accurately assess the scale and nature of ICOs in Colombia. Building on the current work, a future area for research could be a longitudinal study that includes both quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the nature and extent of ICOs in the different regions of Colombia. Although this thesis has highlighted some differences between ICOs in different regions, it would be appropriate to look at this in depth by designing a large-scale empirical comparative study with ICOs in different regions of Colombia. This study has exclusively focused on more "successful" ICOs that had access and made (relatively) prudent use of resources. Therefore, another area of research that could be further explored might concentrate on the reasons for the failure of ICOs in the country. This could be done to develop effective policies to address these barriers and challenges.

The multi-level model proposed has the potential for further development by applying it to other geographical areas where marginalised and disadvantaged communities, in

particular indigenous populations, are equally or less prominent in order to gain a better understanding of the significance of indigenous communities within the SSE. An examination of ICOs in different parts of Latin America would benefit from further investigation, including the drivers and rationale for engagement or disengagement. International comparison of ICOs with other Global North countries would be of much interest given the fact that these countries have different contexts in terms of market opportunities and political agendas (for example, a comparison between ICOs in Colombia, Peru, Australia and Canada). Finally, the multi-level model used here makes the first step towards the study of indigenous organisations by integrating different schools of thought, thus there is the potential to strengthen theoretical approaches by further exploring the mimicry and hybridity process, which might be possible with an in-depth longitudinal study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Description of the ICOs selected for this study

Case Study 1 (a): Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (CID)

Background

Founded in 1963 by forty members (forty families). The territory where it is located belonged to the Misak community for centuries and was named (Wampia), Guambia in the Misak language. However, it was taken away at the beginning of the 20th century and divided into different haciendas and farms. The CID was established to recover their territory. By using the cooperative model, the CID members were able to buy (retake) their own land. The current mission of the CID is to generate income to contribute to the economy of their members, and designed to recreate local values of trust, solidarity, reciprocity and respect for nature.

Governance, Structure and Operations

The cooperative currently consists of forty members (families) with about 1,200 total members. All the members are part of a general assembly and make decisions democratically. A board of directors (president, vice-president and a treasurer) is appointed every year. The generated surplus is distributed as follows: 20% to the social fund to strengthen the organisation, 10% for the solidarity fund to use for cases of domestic calamity, 20% for the cooperative education fund that must reach all the members, and the remaining 50% is distributed to all the members for housing, health and other needs. The CID works in four main areas: agriculture (they mainly produce onions, potatoes, wheat and quinoa), cattle, dairy production and transport. The CID has a store in Silvia, the nearest town where they sell their products.

Stakeholders and Impact

The main stakeholders are the families of the members, the Cabildo Misak and community in general, clients and suppliers, intellectuals and academics, in particular from the Universidad del Cauca. The impact of the CID can be seen at a multidimensional level. Firstly, the CID has been able to buy 402 hectares (Hacienda San Fernando) recovering a land that they claimed belonged to their ancestors. Secondly, the CID has provided shelter, employment and socio-economic opportunities to their forty members and their families. The surplus generated has been reinvested into their own community to improve education and health. Moreover, the CID was involved in the establishment of the Consejo Regional de Indigenas del Cauca (CRIC) and the Organización Nacional de Indigenas de Colombia (ONIC).

Case Study 1 (b): Asociación Jardín Botánico Las Delicias (AJBD)

Background

Founded in 1999 by members of the CID and peasants from Tierradentro in the municipality of Inzá, Cauca. The initiative is led by Taita Javier Calambas to complement the work of the CID by improving the wellbeing of the community through the protection, sustainable exploitation and spiritual recognition of the natural environment in their territory. The mission of the AJBD is not only to create awareness of the negative consequences of not taking care of the natural ecosystem but to encourage the community to think ahead and ensure the wellbeing of the upcoming generations. The association consists of 58 members and the majority of the associates are Misak. Between 2002 and 2004, they opened the Community Botanical Garden with the funding support of Ecofondo in Guambia, Cauca.

Governance, Structure and Operations

The AJBD operates in different streams: recycling in and cleaning their territory, the management of the botanical garden, the development of environmental projects, capacity building support for the Cabildo Misak in green-oriented activities (e.g., territory life programs), education in natural resources and environmental advocacy campaigns (e.g., theatre). They are currently developing a trading activity in eco-tourism in their territory. Amongst the 58 members, there are 25 environmentalist managers that are in charge of organizing mingas with the associates and the community to clean the environment. The board of directors is composed of a legal representative, a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a fiscal and scientific director. The AJBD is formally registered as a non-for-profit association where the generated income is distributed for communal work. Although the board of directors are in charge of the management and operations of the organisations, the associates have to be informed and make decisions collectively. In the general assemblies, rights and duties are discussed every year, and every month a general assembly is hosted. Although the AJBD is a legalized separated entity, their members are also members of the CID, and members discuss their projects and activities of the AJBD within the CID general assemblies. The CID and AJBD complement each other. While the objectives of the AJBD is to protect the natural environment, the CID is practicing agriculture sustainably (non-GM seeds, well natural resources management, etc.).

Stakeholders and impact

The main stakeholders are the families of the members, the Cabildo Misak and community in general, clients (e.g., the CID or the state), tourists and other entities that operate in the supply chain (e.g., recycling companies and companies that pollute their area). The impact of the AJBD has mainly focused on the protection of the natural environment, empowering the members of the community and celebrating their own culture, generating awareness of the importance of looking after the environment and creating an eco-consciousness.

Case Study 2: Finca Lechera el Paraiso (FLP)

Background

An enterprise founded in 2014 by the Yanacona community with the financial help of the Department of Agriculture and the Indigenous Fund (CO$1000M) to provide an agricultural platform for the community which has been impacted negatively by the armed conflict. They complement the Yanacona's cosmovision that is included in the 'Life Plan' of the community to develop a more sustainable society. The mission of the Finca Lechera el Paraiso is to provide economic opportunities to enhance the wellbeing of the Yanacona community by providing a well-equipped infrastructure for the dairy production. Furthermore, the objective of the enterprise is to generate a scientific space to the community to study the biodiversity of the territory, and to develop alternative methods for the exploitation of the land and the sustainable practice of cattle and dairy production. They envision this project as a long-term economic model to be replicated in other areas of the Yanacona community and in other indigenous people's resguardos. They currently have 100 high quality female cows and 4 bulls, as well as having developed a scientific hub to study the biodiversity of their land and sustainable work with cattle and agriculture.

Governance, Structure and Operations

The FLP is managed and directed by the Casa Mayor Yanacona (*cabildo, the local* authority). The governance of the Finca Lechera el Paraiso is *quasi-democratic-hierarchical*. The majority of the decisions are made by the Cabildo Mayor Yanacona, which is elected democratically by the Yanacona community and council. The Yanacona council is responsible for informing their communities for the development of the enterprise, and to call-out for mingas (collective work). Minga plays an important role in the development of the *Finca Lechera el Paraíso*. In fact, the minga does not only perform big tasks but also provides an opportunity to enhance social cohesion. The Cabildo Yanacona appoints a team that is in charge of the management and the operations of the enterprise, which includes a general manager, an expert in agriculture, a veterinary surgeon and a scientist. The enterprise has a group of farmers that are responsible for the operations and care of the land. In the general assemblies, the leaders of the Cabildo Yanacona inform others of the results and development of the enterprise.

Stakeholders and Impact

The main stakeholders are the Yanacona community (31 communities that constitute approximately 25,000 people), the clients and suppliers, the government funding bodies, other indigenous communities and their organisations (the ONIC and CRIC). The Finca Lechera el Paraiso has provided opportunities for the community. Although it is at an early stage, the income generated has been enough to cover the costs of the organization, and the surplus generated has been used to reinvest in the company and research projects. The project has been acknowledged at a national level as one of the best projects for its good management and planning. Furthermore, the territory has been used for different agricultural schools for conducting research, enabling young students to develop their own skills.

Case Study 3: Asociación Dugjin

Background

The Asociación Dugjin is a not-for-profit association founded in 2016 in Inirida, Guainia by the Puinave community. *Dugjin* in the Puinave language represents the creation and origin of the Puinave culture; it can also be understood as the creative force, quality and attribute by which the association wants to be represented. The association aims to provide an alternative to the current tourist orthodox experience on offer. Guainia is one of the most attractive regions to visit in Colombia, and in the region the tourist industry is mainly managed by foreign companies. Thus, Asociación Dugjin decided to create a tourist association to benefit the whole community. The mission of the association is to promote the conservation and knowledge of the Puinave culture, as well as the natural resources of the resguardo *Paujil*. This is achieved by offering tourist packages that exalt their cultural wealth, and allows visitors and tourists to enjoy the landscapes and natural attractions of their area. By using the concept of ethno-tourism, *Dugjin* creates job opportunities for its members and the community, which celebrate their culture and reinforce their ancestral knowledge.

Governance, Structure and Operations

Asociación Dugjin was established by twenty members and their respective families. The board of directors is comprised of a president, a vice-president, a general secretary, a treasurer, a fiscal director/manager and a spokesman. All of the association's decisions have to be communicated to the rest of the community in the resguardo and the authorities of the cabildo, as all of the activities in the territory are shared. However, they do not practice a democratic-oriented governance approach. On the contrary, decisions are made unanimously, and consent given if no objections are raised. By doing this, all ideas are pitched and presented in a way that is appealing to all the members.

The association offers a wide range of services with different prices: guided tours, accommodation, camping areas, traditional medicine (Puinave ancestral knowledge), local gastronomy (food and beverage) and river transportation. The three line managers are in charge of directing and coordinating all services that are divided into three areas of work: guided tours, accommodation and transport. The board of directors are in charge of the booking of the tours and the financial aspect of the business, and the line managers coordinate all the operations of the services. The association calls for *mingão* (minga) in order to perform communitarian work for some activities, such as cleaning. The traditional medicine is exercised by a local shaman, this service is outsourced by the association.

Stakeholders and Impact

The main stakeholders are the Puinave community, clients and tourists. Although it is at an early stage, the association has provided work opportunities for the community as well as promote Puinave culture. To their extent, they have achieved, discreetly, the association's objective of providing employment.

Case Study 4: Asociación Akayú

Background

Founded in 2003 by Martha Toledo, a teacher and entrepreneur from Bogotá and Ruben Dario Carianil, who belongs to the Curripaco community. The mission of the Asociación Akayú is to meet the necessities of their associates from the Curripaco indigenous community through the generation of employment and the financial sustainability of their services. The association considers that the wellbeing of their members goes above and beyond societal standards of development (material things or economic extravagance needed for happiness). The association's objective is not only to provide their members with job opportunities, but to also provide a platform to celebrate their culture. The association's identity is based on the ethics of the indigenous people (solidarity, reciprocity, respect of nature and ancestral knowledge), and all the services and products are shaped and influenced by indigenous culture. The association is also committed to improving the environment with an objective to improve the waste management of Inirida to benefit the community.

The association started with savings from the owners but since then has survived through income revenue activities, and has received some income from grants. Martha was awarded the CAFAM prize which enabled the association to produce jam out of *arazá*, and other snacks with mañoco. Moreover, they had support from other institutions such as the *Corporación para el Desarrollo* (CDA), the local government (who donated a stove) and the *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje* (SENA) that contributed with training. They also received a donation from a German not-for-profit organisation to buy the association headquarters (shared ownership: 50% the association and 50% one of the co-founders).

Governance, Structure and Operations

The four lines of service/production are: education, retail (production of jams and snacks), recycling (plastics, cardboards, electronics and textiles) and the floriculture business (the Inirida flowers). The board of directors is composed of four members: a legal representative, a general secretary, a fiscal manager/director/coordinator and a treasurer. There are also four members that manage the four lines of services/production: education, retail products, recycling and floriculture. The more professional aspect of the organisation (finance and accounting) is outsourced. The association consists of 17 associates and has seven employees. Decisions are made collectively and are discussed in the general assemblies scheduled every month. The income generated by each line of service/production is allocated separately. However, if one line does not break-even, the income generated from other areas will cover the cost.

Stakeholders and Impact

The main stakeholders are associates, their families, suppliers, clients, students, farmers, the Curripaco community, citizens of Guainia, local authorities and educational institutions in the region. The association has not only created job opportunities for their associates but also contributed to the environment. In addition to this, it has benefited students with scholarships for the government program 'Pilo Paga', where 28 students have started degree programs in top universities in the country.

Case Study 5: Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria

Background

Founded in 2008 by the Wayuu indigenous community in Shiruria, the association aims to provide a market for weavers (artisans), mainly women victim of violence, providing access to a more fair and profitable income. The Wayuu art-products – *mochilas* (handbags), *chinchorros* (hammocks), *mantas* (dresses) and *guaireñas* (sandals) – are very popular products in Colombia. However, big companies from outside the Guajira region, are often manufacturing and commercialising Wayuu art-products. Thus, the association was established to compete at the national market and promote handicraft products by recognising the Wayuu culture and the spiritual dimension of their art-products. When the association started up, it received external support in training (i.e., how to organise an association, management, entrepreneurship etc.) and minor financial support to buy equipment. The association wants to become one of the most competitive indigenous-based organisations in Colombia by teaching Colombian society about the spiritual dimension of the Wayuu art-products.

Governance, Structure and Operations

There are three main production lines: the production of *mochilas* (backpacks), *chinchorros* (hammocks) and *mantas* (dresses). Another line of production, the *guaireñas* (*sandals*), are usually outsourced and weaved by men. The 150 artisans are divided into three groups, each are in charge of each line. Each product has a 'story-label'; culturally, the Wayuu people are very shy, particularly when showing their emotions, thus their art-products are weaved to express them (the colours and figures are indicators to understand their emotions). The association sells at national and international level (i.e., Dubai, Spain and the UK). Furthermore, the association has a team of innovation responsible for the design of the different styles of products, as it is important for the artisans to compete with big companies by bringing new and unique styles. The company consists of 150 weavers (artisans) and four more individuals that are part of the general assembly. It has four board of directors; a legal representative, a treasurer, a fiscal manager/coordinator and a general secretary. The decision-making process is conducted democratically, the board of directors generate projects and present them to the general assembly to be voted on. Participation, transparency and oriented consensus are important to the association's governance process.

Stakeholders and Impact

The main stakeholders are the artisans and their families, the Wayuu community, suppliers and clients. Since its foundation, the association has benefited more than 400 artisans by providing them with job opportunities and buying their products at a fair price. Furthermore, the association has generated cultural value by promoting the Wayuu art. By living off the production of the Wayuu art, the artisans' children feel encouraged to appreciate their culture and proudly adopt the Wayuu identity.

Table Appendix (I) Characteristics of Each ICO Selected for the Study

CSEs	COMPANY	YEAR OF FOUNDATION	COMMUNITY	LOCATION	LEGAL STATUS	BUSINESS LIFECYCLE	# OF MEMBERS	MISSION & VISION	GOVERNANCE	OPERATIONS	STAKEHOLDERS	IMPACT
1	Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (Parent)	1963	Misak	Guambia, Cauca.	Cooperative	Well-established	40	-Recover the land.	Autonomous	-Agriculture. -Dairy Production. -Transport. -Cattle.	-Members. -Members' families. -Misak Community. -Clients. -Cabildo Misak. -Academics & intellectuals.	-Recovery of 402 hectares. -Community Employment. -Community Shared ownership. -Develop their own organisational model.
	Asociación Jardín Botánico Las Delicias (Child)	1999	Misak	Guambia, Cauca.	Not-for-profit Association	Well-established	58	-Protect the Environment. -Improve natural resource management.	Autonomous	-Recycling. -Botanical Garden. -Education. -Advocacy. -Eco-tourism.	-Associates. -Associates' families. -Misak Community. -Clients. -Cabildo Misak. -Academics & intellectuals. -Tourists.	-Protection of the natural environment. -Create eco-consciousness. -Strengthen the Misak identity.
2	Finca Lechera el Paraíso	2014	Yanacona	Sotará, Cauca.	Enterprises (QSOE)[66]	Start-up	Community Yanacona	-Provide opportunities for the Yanacona community. -Provide a natural hub to co-research the flora and fauna of the territory.	Quasi-autonomous	-Cattle. - Dairy Production.	-Community Yanacona. -Clients. -Scientific community. -Cabildo Yanacona	-Opportunities for the Yanacona community. -Sustainable and responsible practices for cattle and dairy production.

Source: Compiled by the author

[66] It is considered by the author as a SE, as the enterprise's objective is social and environmental.

Table Appendix (II) Characteristics of Each ICO Selected for the Study

CSEs	COMPANY	YEAR OF FOUNDATION	COMMUNITY	LOCATION	LEGAL STATUS	BUSINESS LIFECYCLE	# OF MEMBERS	MISSION & VISION	GOVERNANCE	OPERATIONS	STAKEHOLDERS	IMPACT
3	Asociación Dugjin	2016	Puinave	Inirida, Guainia.	Not-for-profit Association	Start-Up	20	-Promote the conservation and knowledge of the Puinave culture. -Employment opportunities for the Puinave community.	Quasi-autonomous	-Guided tours. -Accommodation -Traditional medicine. -Gastronomy -River transportation.	-Associates. -Associates' families. -Puinave Community. -Clients. -Tourists.	-Work opportunities to the Puinave community.
4	Asociación Akayú	2003	Curripaco	Inirida, Guainia.	Not-for-profit Association	Well-established	17	To meet the necessities of their associates throughout the generation of employment.	Autonomous	-Education. -Retail. -Recycling. -Floriculture business.	-Associates. -Associates' families. -Suppliers. -Students. -Farmers. -Clients. -Curripaco community. -Citizens of Guainia. -Local Authorities. -Educational institutions in Guainia.	-Job opportunities. -Improvement of the natural environment. -Waste management enhancement in the city. -Student performance (scholarships obtained). -Curripaco community awareness.
5	Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria	2008	Wayuu	Shiruria, Guajira.	Not-for-profit Association	Well-established	154	-To create a market for the artisans and create work opportunities.	Autonomous	The production of: -*Mochilas* (backpacks). -*Chinchorros* (hammocks). -*Mantas* (dresses). - Guaireñas (sandals).	-Associates -Associates' families. -Wayuu community. -Suppliers. -Clients.	-400 artisans' beneficiaries. - Socio-economic development of the 150 associates. -Promotion of the Wayuu art.

Source: Compiled by the author

Appendix II: Request Letter and Consent Form

Case study Request Letter

Re: What is the study about?

This research aims to understand the development of ICOs in Colombia. The information we get from this study will help us to understand Buen Vivir and the role of ICOs in Colombian's Social and Solidarity Economy scenario. As a participant, there is an opportunity for you to contribute to that understanding with the aim of benefiting this field.

I would be grateful if you could consider the participation of your organisation in this case study research. The study would be conducted at your organisation's bases at a time convenient to the people involved within it. A participatory approach will be used where people from the organisation will be involved in the collection of data. I will be providing training to the people that will participate on this process including video data collection and data analysis.

A focus group and video semi-structured interviews will be conducted with leaders, staff, volunteers and users. Questions will mainly relate to the evolution of the organisation, Buen Vivir values, human resources, financial aspects, etc. In addition, observations, fieldnotes and documentary sources will be also used to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of the organisation. All respondents will receive a consent forms. I will telephone or e-mail you shortly but, in the meantime, if you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me by email andres.morales-pachon@open.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Yours sincerely,

Andres Morales
PhD Candidate
The Open University

Consent Form

Dear Sir or Madam,

Thank you for participating in this research project on the Buen Vivir and indigenous community-based organisations in Colombia. Please sign below if you agree with the information below:

- ☐ I give permission to Andres Morales to use my image, voice, words, and/or performance in all forms and media for this research project. I understand that Andres Morales may edit, reproduce and exhibit the project.

- ☐ I give permission to Andres Morales to use the data obtained for the publication of papers or other related research materials.

Please check the list below:

- ☐ I have read and understand the information provided to me.

- ☐ I consent to take part in this study.

- ☐ I am happy to have my name included in the video produced for this thesis.

If there are any specific parts of your experience/feedback you would not consent to us using in any of the above ways make a note here:

Name:
Signature:
Date:

Thank you very much for your attention.

Yours sincerely,
Andres Morales
PhD Candidate
The Open University

Appendix III: Equipment Used for Data Collection

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
	1 x Camera (Sony A7) for interviews and for some long shots to a close-up or vice versa.
	1 x Tripod (Calumet 7300) for steady shots.
	5 x Action cameras for video shots
	1 x RØDE video micro
	1 x Tascam recorder DR-40

	1 X Sennheiser HD 215 II Closed DJ Headphones
	1 x Lume Cube for lighting
	1 x Beastgrip, tripod for mobile phones for steady shots
	1 x Mobile for video recording
	Action camera's equipment: 5 x Tripods, 5 x Chest mounts and 5 x Head mounts

Source: Compiled by the Author

Appendix IV: Questions for Focus Groups and Semi-Structured Interviews

FOCUS GROUP SESSION

Introduction

Who is Andres Morales?
What is the project about?
What is participatory video research?
Plan for the completion of the PVR project

Background

What is Buen Vivir?
Dimensions of Buen Vivir
What is the Buen Vivir in practice?
What is the Social and Solidarity Economy?
Different discourses at an international level and in Colombia

Details of Participants

Name: ……

Gender: Masculine □ Female □ | Age: …… | Education: Primary □ Secondary □ (Professional) & Undergraduate □ Postgraduate □

Social class: Working class □ Middle-lower □ Peasants □ Middle □ Upper □

Questions:

¿What means Buen Vivir for the community (e.g. Wayuu or Misak)?
¿Is there any term to refer to 'Buen Vivir' in the language of your community?
¿What are the Buen Vivir dimensions within the Wayuu community?
¿The Buen Vivir in your community implies diversity?
¿Do you think that the BV in your community is the same taking into account different factors such as age, gender, class and education?

¿The BV in your community is a collective or individual visión? Why?
¿What are the factors that facilitate or constrain the BV in your community?
¿What actions (individual or in group) your community make to achieve the BV?
The ICOs created were done to solve a problem, comunícate a necessity, influence policy, personal interest or achieve the BV?
How the BV vision that your community has influenced in your organisation?
How do you think that the culture/western thinking influence the BV?

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Name: ……

Gender: Masculine □ Female □ | Age: …… | Education: Primary □ Secondary □ (Professional) & Undergraduate □ Postgraduate □

Social class: Working class □ Middle-lower □ Peasants □ Middle □ Upper □ Prefer not to answer □

What is the history of the organisation?

What is the mission of the organisation?

What are the main activities of the organisation?

What is the legal status of the organisation?

How many members do you have in the organisation?

How many people work?

What level of education or professional experience have the employees within your organisation?

How is the hierarchy of your organisation?

How do you take decisions in your organisation?

How many people benefit from the organisation? All the parts interested, beneficiaries, clients, etc.

What is the impact that your organisation has generated to the community?

What are the differences between your organisation and others that have not been founded by indigenous communities?

In terms of finance, was the organisation constituted with private resources or external one?

How do you sustain your organisation? What are the main commercial activities?

Are all the activities within your organisations (commercially related) or do you have other type of activities?

Do you have relationship with another project or organisations? Of what type?

What has been the success of your organisations?

What have been the main difficulties to achieve the mission of the organisation?

What are the barriers that do not allow the organisation to achieve its goals?

What are the plans for the organisation?

What is the political support the organisation receive?

Has the organisation received any funding for capacity building? For whom?

Do you know of any public policy that favours organisations constituted by indigenous communities?

What are the opportunities for the development of organisations led by indigenous communities in Colombia?

What are the main barriers for the development of these organisations?

Appendix V: Focus Groups and Interview Participants for Each ICO

COOPERATIVA INDIGENA LAS DELICIAS & ASOCIACION JARDIN BOTANICO DE LAS DELICIAS (CS1)[67]		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of Participants	26	▪ (VI): 14 ▪ (FG): 13[68]
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 19(73%) | F: 7(27%)	
Age participation rate (%)	(19–30): 12(46%) | (31– 45): 14(54%)	
Education level of participants (%)	Formal (Primary/Secondary): 14(54%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 10(38%) | Postgraduate: 1(4%) | Prefer not to answer: 1(4%)	
Social Class of Participants (%)	Working class: 9(35%) | Middle-lower: 7(27%) | Peasants: 9(35%) | Middle: 0 | Upper: 0 | Prefer not to Answer: 1(3%)	
No. of board of directors' video-interviewed/participated (see table below)	6	Six of the board members from both organizations: CID and AJBD, 4 and 2 members respectively participated. From the CID attended the general manager, the assistant general manager, the treasurer and co-founder member. From the AJBD the general manager and co-founder and the fiscal. manager participated
No. of authorities' video-interviewed/participated (see table below)	2	Governors
No. of service users	1	

[67] During meetings and discussions with the Misak community, the first intention was to work only with the Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias (CID). However, the Misak community suggested working with the Asociación Jardín Botanico las Delicias (AJBD), as firstly, the AJBD are the youngest generation of members of the CID and secondly, the youngest generation are more familiar with video technology, and are more proactive with social media for both organisations. The AJBD is the child organisation of the CID.

[68] One of the FG participants also participated in the Vis. [Different font but since footnotes not permitted for Harvard this isn't relevant]

VIDEO INTERVIEWS (VI)										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (14)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
VIMK1	General Manager	CID	Misak	Male	43	Secondary	Peasant	15	8	▪ Finca San Fernando. ▪ Independence celebration. ▪ Bartering. ▪ Cabildo Misak in Silvia.	▪Assembly minutes. ▪Documentaries. ▪Website. ▪Annual reports. ▪Literature.
VIMK2	Member/co-founder	CID	Misak	Male	74	Secondary	Peasant	50	20		
VIMK3	Researcher	CID	Colombian	Female	32	Postgraduate	Middle-lower	12	3		
VIMK4	Member	CID	Misak	Male	44	Secondary	Peasant	10	5		
VIMK5	Member	CID	Misak	Male	43	Secondary	Working class	13	5		
VIMK6	General manager / cofounder	AJBD	Misak	Male	44	Secondary	Working class	25	17		
VIMK7	Member	AJBD	Misak	Female	19	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	10	9		
VIMK8	Member / cofounder	AJBD	Misak	Female	32	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	30	22		
VIMK9	Indigenous authority	_[69]	Nasa	Male	43	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	28	20		
VIMK10	Indigenous authority	–	Misak	Male	33	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	27	20		
VIMK11	Community member	–	Misak	Female	72	Primary	Peasant	9	4		
VIMK12	Service user	–	Italian	Male	53	-	-	12	6		
VIMK13	Community member	–	Misak	Male	47	Primary	Peasant	12	6		
VIMK14	Community members	–	Misak	Male (1) / Female (2)	11 / 9	Secondary / primary	Working class	11	5		

[69] Not applicable as they are either service users or members of the indigenous community.

FOCUS GROUP										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (13)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION		
MKFG1.1	General manager	CID	Misak	Male	43	Secondary	Peasant	180	52	▪ Finca San Fernando.	▪Assembly minutes. ▪Documentaries. ▪Website. ▪Annual Reports. ▪Literature.
MKFG1.2	General assistant manager	CID	Misak	Male	42	Secondary	Peasant				
MKFG1.3	Treasurer	CID	Misak	Female	29	Secondary	Peasant				
MKFG1.4	General manager / cofounder	AJBD	Misak	Male	44	Secondary	Working class				
MKFG1.5	Fiscal	AJBD	Misak	Male	28	Secondary	Peasant				
MKFG1.6	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	24	Undergraduate	Working class				
MKFG1.7	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	26	Undergraduate	Working class				
MKFG1.8	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	25	Secondary	Middle-lower				
MKFG1.9	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Female	19	Undergraduate	Middle-lower				
MKFG1.10	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	24	Undergraduate	Working class				
MKFG1.11	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Female	22	Undergraduate	Peasant				
MKFG1.12	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	21	Secondary	Working class				
MKFG1.13	Member	CID / AJBD	Misak	Male	27	Undergraduate	Middle-lower				

FINCA LECHERA EL PARAISO (CS2)		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of participants	14	▪ (VI): 3 ▪ (FG): 12[70]
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 11(79%) | F: 3(211%)	
Age participation rate (%)	(15–30): 4(71%) | (31– 55): 10(29%)	
Education level of participants (%)	Formal (primary/secondary): 7(50%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 7(50%) | Postgraduate: 0 | Prefer not to answer: 0	
Social class of participants (%)	Working class: 2(14%) | Middle-lower: 8(57%) | Peasants: 1(8%) | Middle: 3(21%) | Upper: 0 | Prefer not to Answer: 0	
No. of leaders from cabildo and board of directors' video-interviewed/participated (see table below)	16	8 leaders from the Cabildo Mayor Yanacona participated in the research project, and 8 of them were part of the board of directors.
No. of service users	0	

[70] One of the FG participants also participated in the Vis.

VIDEO INTERVIEWS										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (3)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
VIYA1	Deputy governor	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona / FLP	Yanacona	Male	46	Secondary	Middle-lower	30	20	▪ Cabildo Mayor Yanacona and ▪ Finca Lechera el Paraíso.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Website. ▪ Annual Reports. ▪ Literature.
VIYA2	Public administrator	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona / FLP	Yanacona	Male	37	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	25	17		
VIYA3	G. manager and economic coordinator	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona / FLP	Yanacona	Male	38	Undergraduate	Middle	22	15		
FOCUS GROUP										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (12)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
YAFG1.1	Governor	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona / FLP	Yanacona	Male	47	Secondary	Middle-lower	120	35	▪ Cabildo Mayor Yanacona.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Website. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
YAFG1.2	Deputy governor	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona / FLP	Yanacona	Male	46	Secondary	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.3	Prosecutor	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona	Yanacona	Male	24	Secondary	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.4	Treasurer	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona	Yanacona	Male	44	Secondary	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.5	Accountant	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona	Yanacona	Male	36	Secondary	Middle				
YAFG1.6	General secretary	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona	Yanacona	Female	38	Undergraduate	Middle				
YAFG1.7	Educator	–	Yanacona	Male	46	Undergraduate	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.8	Cultural ambassador	Cabildo Mayor Yanacona	Yanacona	Male	35	Secondary	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.9	Community member	–	Yanacona	Female	19	Undergraduate	Middle-lower				
YAFG1.10	Community member	–	Yanacona	Male	26	Undergraduate	Working class				
YAFG1.11	Community member	–	Yanacona	Female	27	Undergraduate	Peasant				
YAFG1.12	Community member	–	Yanacona	Male	39	Secondary	Working class				

ASOCIACIÓN AKAYÚ (CS3)		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of participants	12	▪ (VI): 8 ▪ (FG): 7[71]
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 5(42%) | F: 7(58%)	
Age participation rate (%)	(15–30): 3(25%) | (31– 56): 9(75%)	
Education level of participants (%)	Formal (primary/secondary): 8(66%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 2(17%) | Postgraduate: 2(17%)| Prefer not to answer: 0	
Social class of participants (%)	Working class: 7(54%) | Middle-lower: 3(28%) | Peasants: 0 I Middle: 1(8%) I Upper: 1(8%) I Prefer not to answer: 0	
No. board of directors' video-interviewed/participated PVW (see table below)	6	All the board of directors participated in the research project: President and cofounder, general manager, assistant general manager, Treasurer and fiscal director/coordinator
No. of service users	2	

[71] 3 of the FG participants also participated in the Vis.

VIDEO INTERVIEWS										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (8)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
VICU1	President and cofounder	AK	Colombian	Male	56	Postgraduate	Middle-lower	38	24	▪ Akayú headquarters. ▪ Akayú, warehouse. ▪ Trash & recycle pickup collection.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Website. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
VICU2	General manager	AK	Curripaco	Male	56	Postgraduate	Middle-lower	21	15		
VICU3	Assistant general manager	AK	Sikuani	Male	29	Secondary	Working class	30	20		
VICU4	Waste picker	AK	Sikuani	Male	63	Primary	Working class	12	6		
VICU5	Waste picker	AK	Sikuani	Female	60	Primary	Working class	13	7		
VICU6	Waste picker	AK	Sikuani	Female	61	Primary	Working class	15	7		
VICU7	Service user	–	Colombian	Male	33	Secondary	Working class	9.5	5		
VICU8	Service user	–	Curripaco	Female	46	Secondary	Middle	14	7		

FOCUS GROUP										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (7)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
CUFG1.1	President/ Cofounder	AK	Colombian	Female	56	Postgraduate	Upper Class	140	48	▪ Akayú Headquarters.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
CUFG1.2	General manager	AK	Curripaco	Male	56	Postgraduate	Middle				
CUFG 1.3	Assistant general manager	AK	Curripaco	Female	40	Secondary	Working class				
CUFG 1.4	Fiscal manager	AK	Sikuani	Male	29	Secondary	Working class				
CUFG 1.5	Treasurer	AK	Curripaco	Female	39	Secondary	Working class				
CUFG 1.6	Member	AK	Curripaco	Male	17	Undergraduate	Middle				
CUFG 1.7	Secretary	AK	Colombian	Female	19	Undergraduate	Middle				

ASOCIACIÓN DUGJIN (CS4)		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of participants	5	▪ (VI): 3 ▪ (FG): 3[72]
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 4(80%) I F: 1(20%)	
Age participation rate PVW (%)	(15–30): 0 | (31– 56): 5(100%)	
Education level of participants (%)	Formal (primary/secondary): 2(40%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 3(60%) | Postgraduate: 0 | Prefer not to answer: 0	
Social class of participants PVW (%)	Working class: 2(40%) | Middle-lower: 3(60%) | Peasants: 0 I Middle: 0 I Upper: 0 I Prefer not to answer: 0	
No. board of directors' video-interviewed/participated (see table below)	3	The three participants were the board of directors of the CS4.
No. of service users	0	

[72] One of the FG participants also participated in the Vis.

VIDEO INTERVIEWS										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (3)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
VIPU1	President	AD	Puinave	Male	42	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	39	26	▪ Paujil ▪ Cootregua offices. ▪ Macasabe. ▪ Eco-trek ▪ Eco-tour ▪ Ethno-lunch	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Website. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
VIPU2	Vice-President	AD	Puinave	Male	46	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	50	38		
VIPU3	Treasurer	AD	Puinave	Male	42	Secondary	Working class	42	28		
VIPU4	Member	AD	Puinave	Male	55	Secondary	Working class	22	19		
VIPU5	Member	AD	Puinave	Female	40	Secondary	Working class	17	16		
FOCUS GROUP										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (3)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
PUFG1.1	President	AD	Puinave	Male	42	Undergraduate	Middle-lower	120	35	▪ Paujil ▪ Cootregua offices.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
PUFG1.2	Vice-President	AD	Puinave	Male	46	Undergraduate	Middle-lower				
PUFG 1.3	Treasurer	AD	Puinave	Male	42	Secondary	Working class				

ASOCIACIÓN DE ARTESANOS Y ARTESANAS DE SHIRURIA (CS5)		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of participants: participatory video workshop (PVW)	22	▪ (VI): 3 ▪ (FG): 21[73]
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 7(32%) | F: 15(68%)	
Age participation rate (%)	(15–30): 11(50%) | (31– 56): 11(50%)	
Education level of participants (%)	Formal (primary/secondary): 1(5%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 20(90%) | Postgraduate: 1(5%) | Prefer not to answer: 0	
Social class of participants (%)	Working class: 21(95%) | Middle-lower: 0 | Peasants: 0 | Middle: 1(5%) | Upper: 0 | Prefer not to Answer: 0	
No. board of directors' video-interviewed/participated (see table below)	2	A president assistant and a treasurer participated in the research project.
No. of service users	1	

[73] Two of the FG participants also participated in the Vis.

VIDEO INTERVIEWS										OBSERVATION	SECONDARY SOURCES
CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (3)							INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
VIWA1	President and cofounder	AAAS	Wayuu	Male	43	Undergraduate	Working class	57	40	▪ Shiruria. ▪ Wayuu celebration in Shiruria. ▪ Wayuu funeral.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Website. ▪ Annual reports. ▪ Literature.
VIWA2	Weaver/ treasurer	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	33	Secondary	Working class	13.3	14		
VIWA3	Service user	–	Colombian	Female	29	Postgraduate	Middle	11	13		
FOCUS GROUP										**OBSERVATION**	**SECONDARY SOURCES**
CODE	**PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (21)**							**INTERVIEW DETAILS**			
	ROLE	ORGANISATION	ETHNICITY	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION LEVEL	SOCIAL CLASS	DURATION (MIN)	TRANSCRIPTION (PAGES)		
WAFG1.1	President and cofounder	AAAS	Wayuu	Male	43	Undergraduate	Working class	48.5	38	▪ Shiruria, local school.	▪ Assembly minutes. ▪ Documentaries. ▪ Annual Reports. ▪ Literature.
WAFG1.2	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Female	47	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.3	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Female	30	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.4	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Female	29	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.5	Teacher / community member	–	Arijuna[74]	Female	26	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.6	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	54	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.7	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	23	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.8	Weaver/ treasurer	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	33	Secondary	Working class				

[74] White man who is not of Wayuu descent. The researcher acknowledges that Arijuna is equivalent to Colombian Ethnicity, however, Colombian participants identified themselves as Arijunas.

WAFG 1.9	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	26	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.10	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Male	29	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.11	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	20	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.12	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	31	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.13	Teacher / community Member	–	Arijuna	Male	25	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.14	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Male	34	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.15	Teacher / community member	–	Wayuu	Male	26	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.16	Teacher / community member	–	Arijuna	Female	36	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.17	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Male	39	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.18	Weaver / member AAAS	AAAS	Wayuu	Female	24	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.19	Teacher / community member	–	Arijuna	Female	49	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.20	Teacher / community member	–	Arijuna	Female	37	Undergraduate	Working class				
WAFG 1.21	Teacher / community member	–	Arijuna	Male	50	Undergraduate	Working class				

METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW		
TYPE OF GROUP	**DESCRIPTION**	**COMMENTS**
No. of Cases (ICOs)	5	▪ Cooperativa Indígena las Delicias and Asociación Jardín Botánico las Delicias (CS1). ▪ Finca Lechera el Paraíso (CS2). ▪ Asociación Dugjin (CS3). ▪ Asociación Akayú (CS4). ▪ Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria (CS5).
No. of Indigenous Communities visited	5	▪ Misak. ▪ Yanacona. ▪ Puinave. ▪ Curripaco. ▪ Wayuu.
No. of Regions visited	3	▪ The Andes: Silvia and Popayan in Cauca. ▪ The Amazons: Paujil and Inirida in Guainia. ▪ The Caribbean: Shiruria in Guajira.
No. of participants	79	
No. of gender participation (%)	M: 46(58%) | F: 33(42%)	
No. of age participation Rate (%)	(15–30): 38(67.3%) | (31– 56): 62(32.7%)	
No. of education level of participants (%)	Formal (primary/secondary): 32(41%) | Intermediate (professional) & undergraduate: 42(53%) | Postgraduate: 4(5%) | Prefer not to answer: 1 (1%)	
No. of Social Class of Participants (%)	Working class: 41(51%) | Middle-lower: 21(27%) | Peasants: 10(13%) | Middle: 6(8%) | Upper: 1(1%)	
No. of board of directors/head of government/authorities/leaders video-interviewed/participated	25(32%)	
No. of service users	4(5%)	
No. of video interviews	31	
No. of participants in focus group activities	56	
No. of videos produced by the community	5	

Appendix VI: Photos That Were Taken during Fieldwork

Case 1: Cooperativa Indígena Las Delicias

These photos depict the PVR activities that include focus groups, video-interviews and discussions with the Misak community.

Case 3: Akayú

These photos depict the PVR activities that include focus groups, video-interviews and discussions with the Curripaco community.

Case 4: Asociación Dugjin

These photos depict the PVR activities that include focus groups, video-interviews and discussions with the Puinave community.

Case 5 : Asociación de Artesanos y Artesanas de Shiruria

These photos depict the PVR activities that include focus groups, video-interviews and discussions with the Wayuu community.

Case 2: Finca Lechera el Paraiso

These photos depict the PVR activities that include focus groups, video-interviews and discussions with the Yanacona community.

Source: Photos taken by the researcher