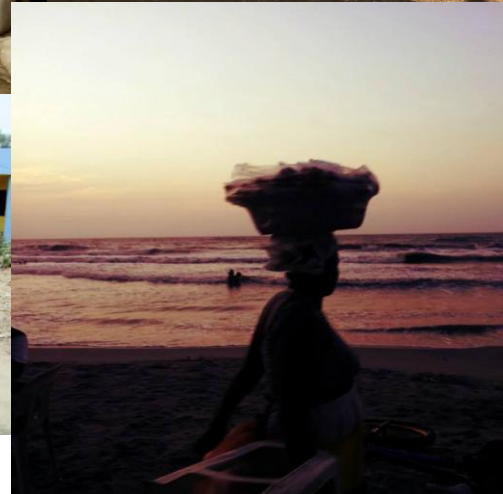


Social Entrepreneurship within Community Based Tourism in a Latin American Context - A case study of the Foundation 'FEM'



Tourism Master's Thesis

Aalborg University, 2015

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Date of submission: 30 of July, 2015

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our most sincere gratitude towards all who have contributed to this project - in one way or another.

First and foremost, we would like to thank 'FEM-Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional' for making our research in Cartagena (Colombia) possible by letting us develop this project in cooperation with them. Therefore a special thanks to Ana María Gonzalez Forero - Executive director of FEM and Mayra Sthefanny Afanador Perez - Operational coordinator of 'Cartagena Insider'.

Furthermore, we would like to thank all the people we visited during our research, who kindly agreed to be interviewed by us, but not least that they offered their free time to show us around and explain about their communities. Accordingly, we would also like to acknowledge all the locals we met in the respective communities who were not directly interviewed, but welcomed us in their houses, shared a meal with us and answered our curious questions - your presence, thoughts and opinions have highly contributed to our research. Also, we would like to show our appreciation to our supervisor Helene Balslev at AAU, who's time, patience, numerous advises and her trust in our potential has motivated and inspired us to carry out this research.



(From left to right) Christina Fischer Andersen, Ana María Gonzalez Forero & Natàlia Catalán Sánchez

Christina Fischer Andersen & Natàlia Catalán Sánchez

Abstract

Tourism is an industry which is increasingly getting bigger and more significant at a global level, thus it has come to be considered as an ideal industry to meet the World Millennium Development Goals, which includes poverty alleviation and development of especially developing countries. This project sets out to explore how the genesis of social entrepreneurship in tourism practices can be claimed to be a way to achieve development through socio-economic and socio-cultural empowerment. Accordingly, it is a research seeking to broaden the understanding of local participation in tourism based development in the global South - Colombia.

This project is a research concerned with social science using a qualitative research to understand how community based approaches in tourism practices, initiated by social entrepreneurship, constitute an engine of development, a research achieved by using an explorative approach. Accordingly, this research was carried out as an ethnographic research and as a case study of the organization 'FEM-Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional'¹ placed in Cartagena - Colombia. Hereby, this project explores the nature of social entrepreneurship in Latin America - a field remaining understudied - and thus it seeks to shed lights on social entrepreneurship in this particular region. Additionally, it is a research which seeks to bring forth new perspectives on social entrepreneurship in relation to development as a consequence of tourism whereas it accordingly comprises the complexities within drawing usage of the tourism sector as engine for development in Latin America.

¹ FEM-Foundation for Multidimensional Education

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1. Introduction

Francesco Frangialli (2005) General Secretary of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) states; *“tourism needs greater recognition by governments and development institutions for its capacity to generate economic, environmental and social benefits (...) It is also a sector that promotes intercultural understanding and peace among nations* (Frangialli cited in Hall, 2007:4).

During the past six decades, the tourism industry has continued to expand and diversify itself, so as today it has grown to constitute one of the biggest and, nevertheless, fastest growing economic industries of the world. According to UNWTO, several new destinations are entering the market of tourism and thereby challenging the traditional markets of tourism in Europe and North America (UNWTO tourism highlights, 2014). Moreover, the tourism industry consist as one of the strongest drivers of world trade and prosperity (UNWTO & SNV, 2010), as the UNWTO states; *“An ever increasing number of destinations worldwide have opened up to, and invested in tourism, turning tourism into a key driver of socio-economic progress through export revenues, the creation of jobs and enterprises”* (UNWTO tourism highlights, 2014). Additionally, the statement mirrors the importance of the industry. Today numerous countries draw upon tourism, which becomes the engine for development as a consequence of the foreign exchange earnings the sector brings. In many developing countries tourism has even been estimated to constitute as the most viable industry to meet sustainable economic development opportunities (UNWTO & SNV, 2010). Continuingly, the industry is considered to be a major source of direct and indirect employment opportunities, contributing towards development of communities (United Nations, 1992, 1997). Traditionally, the concept of development has been juxtaposed to poverty alleviation and, due to the tourism industry has been acknowledged as a powerful industry of job creation, it has come to constitute an industry beneficial for reducing poverty through job creation. In addition, the management of the industry has faced managerial changes, putting high focus on community-based approaches when drawing on tourism as an industry to foster development at the host destination (Hall, 2008). The uniqueness of the tourism industry in relation to development and poverty alleviation is to be found within the flexible nature of the tourism industry. This means that it is an industry producing many adjustable jobs in which few skills and investment are required for - a fact that makes it potentially more accessible to the poor. Some of those jobs may as well be used to supplement income from other activities (UNWTO & SNV, 2010) whereas the tourism industry

will help increase economic empowerment through job creation, which as a result will reduce poverty. Due to the aforementioned reasons, the tourism industry has come to be considered, within tourism studies, as the ‘panacea’ for poverty alleviation in especially developing countries (Chok et al., 2007).

1.1 Aim, Objectives and Purpose of the Project

As a result of this knowledge, this project seeks to explore how the tourism industry is being used in Cartagena -Bolívar region in Colombia- by combining studies of tourism, entrepreneurship and development. This research will be carried out by shedding light on the genesis of social entrepreneurship and its importance in development projects. Therefore it will be explored in which way the tourism industry can be a socio-cultural and, accordingly, socio-economic empowering industry to draw usage of in relation to development of low-income and, or marginalized rural communities in the global South. Likewise, this project also formulates an understanding of how participatory approaches are implemented in such tourism development projects.

Accordingly, the purpose of this project is to contribute to the conversations concerning the role of tourism in development aspects in a Latin American context, that is to say in which way tourism can be used as an engine for development in marginalized communities, analyzed through the implementation of ventures applied by a social entrepreneur. This project is a case study which entails ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Cartagena - Colombia- in collaboration with the organization ‘FEM - Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional’. In order to elaborate on the purpose of the project, the following objectives have been set.

Research question

- *How social entrepreneurship can be a tool to create socio-economic and socio-cultural change in local communities by using tourism*

Sub-questions

- *How Ana María can be considered a social entrepreneur?*

- *How is 'Cartagena Insider' implementing community participation in the creation process of the 'routes'?*

1.2 Structure of project

As delineated in the table of contents this project consists of six chapters arranged in the following manner:

Chapter 1 Introduces the research topic and explains the aim and objectives of the project.

Chapter 2 Elucidates the methodological considerations of the research and reflects the steps taken to achieve the aim and objectives of this study. Accordingly, it explains the motivations and selection criteria of this research project.

Chapter 3 Reviews and examines relevant theoretical literature under the umbrella of social entrepreneurship, community based tourism and participation.

Chapter 4 Presents an overview of the case study by introducing the organization, the 'route's' and the people featured in this research.

Chapter 5 Analyzes the empirical data.

Chapter 6 Concludes on the preceding analysis, presents the particular contributions of this research and deducts relevant perspectives in which it is also outlined recommendations for future studies.

2. Methodology

The following chapter will introduce the methodological choices made in order to solve the problem identified in the introduction - *How social entrepreneurship can be a tool to create socio-economic and socio-cultural change in local communities by using tourism*. The methodological considerations are, according to authors such as Wahyuni (2012), the way to explain how research should be carried out in order to achieve the best or the most valid findings. The present qualitative exploratory research can be defined as an hermeneutic and dialectical study. Likewise, this paper is written under the social constructivist paradigm while adopting a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. The clarification of the methodological approach and reasoning of methods behind this research will be outlined further in this chapter. Firstly, this chapter will expose our motivations for carrying the present research, it will follow and introduction of our paradigmatic stance by answering ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. In addition, it will elucidate the different methods of data collection in order to give a clear understanding of the empirical data gathered and thus how this will be used for the analysis. Additionally, the implications, limitations, validity and reliability of the empirical data will be presented.

2.1 Motivations for the project

Christina

In my 7th semester project I sat out to explore how international volunteers experience the social realities of the Brazilian Favelas, which provided me with a huge insight into those communities. Through here my interest for development as a consequence of tourism was likewise created. Thus, in my 8th semester project I was offered the opportunity to do ethnographic research in Brazil with the aim to experience the complexities between tourism and socio-economic development. As a corollary to this field I chose to expand my profile by enrolling in the 9th semester module at Global Refugee Studies (Mobility course) at AAU with the aim to further increase my knowledge in development studies, hence be able to see the world from another perspective than the tourism and thus, be able to combine my knowledge of the fields to see what paradoxes, complexities and possibilities the tourism industry brings to especially developing countries, in which my focus has been on the Global South.

Natàlia

My personal motivations for carrying out a research focused on tourism and development issues comes from previous experience as a voluntourist. Before enrolling in the Tourism MA at Aalborg University (AAU) I had experienced the phenomenon of voluntourism in different countries of the so called Global South. The fact of being a volunteer and a tourist at the same time made me gain more knowledge of how those specific communities work and their social reality, but it also made me realize the complexities of tourism within a development context. Everything started when living in Gatlang, a very small and remote village in the rural Nepal. I was living there with a family and volunteering in the local school. One day I 'joined' a conversation with one of the family members I was living with and another family from the village. The area was part of a heritage trail and the family my friend and I were visiting was about to open a 'Tea House', which is how they call the guesthouses made for trekking visitors. My friend, who was working in the city and was very knowledgeable about the tourism demand, was explaining this family how to elaborate their food menu and how they had to cut potatoes to do the so called 'French fries' that the tourists like to eat. This situation shocked me and made me think about the impact tourism can have for local communities like that. Because of personal experiences like this, I started to be more interested in cultural encounters. Therefore, throughout the first two semesters at AAU I developed a special sympathy for community based tourism projects and thus, in the 9th semester, I decided to enroll in the module of Global Refugee Studies, where I expanded my knowledge of the tourism industry in a development perspective.

We both participated in the Mobility course as our 9th Semester module and we had the opportunity to do a semester project together. As Natàlia had previously developed a project about the 'New Nordic Cuisine' and we both found the interlinkages between social entrepreneurs and development highly interesting we decided to investigate the case of the Danish Chef 'Claus Meyer' in partnership with the Danish Organization IBIS to develop a project that would seek to highlight in which way social entrepreneurship can be used in a development process of low-income communities in Bolivia.

Due to previous projects all rooted in the fields of tourism in relation to development and with our newly acquired knowledge about social entrepreneurship our base was created for looking further into the aspects of social entrepreneurship in tourism in relation to development.

Because the valuable experience of both of us we decided to carry out the study together. For Christina, the 8th semester project showed her what doing ethnographic research implies and gave

her the experience of doing fieldwork in low-income communities in the Global South. For Natàlia, her experience of volunteering with local communities in 'underdeveloped countries' gave her valuable knowledge of what it is like to live together with local people, as well as insights of how people in the Global South feel about tourism. Therefore, by combining the experience of both of us the potential of carrying a better ethnographic research increases.

As we both speak Spanish, Natalia being a Native speaker and Christina having her Bachelor in Latin American Studies and Spanish, we decided that our case for the Master Thesis should be found in a Spanish speaking Latin American country. With that being decided we both looked for organizations on the Internet and through *hacesfalta.org*, a website that Natàlia used before to find her previous volunteering projects, we found FEM - Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional. In this website's forum we found very good reviews from the volunteers that had previous working experience with FEM so we decided to have a look at it. We happily discovered that FEM was working with projects that touched upon concepts and ideas we were familiar with due to our semester at Mobility Studies. This organization stood out from others not just because the professionalism and trustworthiness it inspired us, but because of its direct involvement with the tourism industry. We both wanted to work with a case that would relate tourism and development issues and this organization had just that, a project that worked with solidary and responsible tourism.

2.2 Philosophy of Science

The focus of this qualitative exploratory research is on understanding how the 'route's' created by Cartagena Insider (see chapter 4) contributes to the socio-economic and socio-cultural development of the local communities. There are many different ways to achieve this purpose since it depends on the choices the researchers make and their basic belief system which is, in other words, all those beliefs that each individual has and which cannot be explained by some other idea because they are self-evident to us. Thus, in order to enable the reader to understand our choices made during the process, it is essential to present and explain our paradigmatic stance. Paradigms can be viewed as a; "*set of basic beliefs*" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:107), a "*worldview built on implicit assumptions, accepted definitions, comfortable habits, values defended as truths and beliefs projected as reality*" (Patton, 2008:267). Guba & Lincoln (1985) affirm that every research is guided by such basic belief system, what means this study is influenced as well by our (the researcher's) personal worldview.

“Our actions in the world, including actions that we take as inquirers, cannot occur without reference to those paradigms: As we think, so do we act.” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:15). This thesis is written under the social constructivist paradigm, which affirms that the world consists of multiple realities and not one single truth - that everything is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). A paradigm can be defined by answering ontological, epistemological and methodological questions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Following are the answers for above mentioned questions, which will give a better understanding of the different positions that characterize the social constructivist paradigm.

2.2.1 Ontology

Ontology deals with issues of existence (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 & 1994). It; *“raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world”* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:183) and gives answers to questions like; *“What kind of being is the human being?”* or *“What is the nature of reality?”* in the researcher’s eyes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011:12). Social constructivists usually adopt relativist ontology (Lincoln & Guba, 1994).

Relativists believe that the world is built from multiple realities, which co-exist together and are constructed in people’s minds (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Lincoln & Guba (1994) define realities as; *“apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experimentally based, local and specific in nature”* (Lincoln & Guba,1994:110). For instance, this research touches upon issues like how tourism can create socio-economic development, here the concept 'development' can have different meanings depending on who you are asking, it will probably not mean the same for us, for a tourist that comes from a developed country or for a person who lives in a small indigenous community in Colombia. Hence, we must take into consideration those 'alterable' -always variable- constructions of reality. This also falls into line with Lincoln & Guba’s understanding as stating; *“realities are dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions”* (Lincoln & Guba, 1994:110). As researchers, we must demonstrate data by trying to symbolize it, collecting, reporting and coding it. When we do that we are, at the same time, imparting our personal interpretations, therefore we could say we are creating constructivist data. Social constructivists thus affirm that; *“all researchers engage in interpretation, both in collecting evidence and when making choices about what questions to research”* (Klotz & Lynch, 2007:12). Hereby, the reader must keep in mind that the constructions created and presented in the chapter of analysis are highly influenced by

our interpretations of gathered data, the choice of interviewees, used theories and asked questions. This research project goes next to what Constantino (2008) utters; *“everything we know has been determined by the intersection of politics, values, ideologies, religious beliefs, language, and so on”* (Constantino, 2008:118). This means that this study is, as well, somehow determined by our reality and worldview and the reality of the community and country in which the research is taking place. This goes hand in hand with the above mentioned example of the concept of 'development' which explains, why in this study we will not try to proclaim 'things' as definitive, but represent a version of a specific social reality.

2.2.2 Epistemology

Epistemology deals with issues of knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 1994), it; *“deals with the origin, nature and limits of human knowledge”* (Guba & Lincoln, 1989:83). It asks questions like; *“How do researchers know what they know?”* (Klotz & Lynch, 2007:11) or; *“what is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?”* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011:12). The answer of the epistemological question is constrained by the answer already given to the ontological question where social constructivists believe there is no single reality, rather multiple realities coexist, therefore their use of relativist ontology. This position directly influences the epistemological answer, where social constructivists will then believe that, since there are multiple realities, the way to discover; *“how things really are”* and; *“how things really work”* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:108) will be by creating an interacting relationship between the “knower” (the researchers) and the object of investigation (the interviewees). This position is the characteristic in the subjectivist epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Therefore, the researchers working under the social constructivist paradigm tend to use subjectivist epistemology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1994). As mentioned before, subjectivist epistemology claims that knowledge is created by the interactions between researcher and interviewee (Guba, 1990), thus; *“if realities exist only in the respondents minds, subjective interaction seems to be the only way to access them”* (Guba, 1990:26). Consequently, this co-created knowledge produced from the unique relationship between both actors (us the researchers and interviewees) will influence the outcomes of the research and will, as well, create the understanding of the discussed problem.

In this study the subjectivist epistemological position is reflected in the way we have acquired the knowledge, which is by doing ethnographic research and qualitative interviews. Guba (1990)

suggests that social constructivists should fuse with an interviewee “*into a single (monistic) entity*” (Guba, 1990:27). This means that the researcher should try to connect with the interviewee and his thoughts in order to figuratively see the world and the constructions by the interviewee’s eyes. By doing this we would not just understand better the interviewee’s point of view, but also to identify with him, to gain the same information, to get 'inside his head' and to make the same constructions about the world as the interviewee does. Yet, to achieve such a strong bond with the interviewee seems to be very improbable if not imaginary. Nonetheless, it should not be considered as something unachievable, but rather as a pursued goal of every social constructivist, a pursue that will also be identified in this thesis. Using ethnographic research with face-to-face interviews and observation methods seems to be, therefore, an appropriate choice for connecting with the interviewee.

2.2.3 Methodology

Methodology concentrates on findings the best way to gain knowledge about the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It deals with questions like; “*How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?*” (Guba, 1990:18) or; “*How do researchers select their tools?*” (Klotz & Lynch, 2007:16). Answers to these questions are affected by researcher's paradigmatic stance. Authors such as Guba & Lincoln (1994) suggest that, by adopting the two above mentioned positions (the relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology), social constructivists tend to make use of hermeneutic and dialectic methodology to find out whatever the researcher believes can be known. This stance is relevant to this study since it is the way we chose to find knowledge.

Guba (1990) explains that hermeneutics interprets analyzed; “*constructions as accurately as possible*” (Guba ,1990:26). It is the researcher’s; “*system for finding the 'hidden' meaning of the text*” (Palmer, 1969:36). Hermeneutics is in this thesis reflected in our effort to not only describe the data, but truly understand the meaning between the lines and discover how the touristic 'route's' of Cartagena Insider really work. Hermeneutics will allow us to unleash the deep thoughts of all the people involved in the creation of the 'route's', we will also be able to empathize with all those actors and see the world in the same light they do. We attempt to distinguish between what people say and what they really feel about developing touristic 'route's' in their community.

Guba (1990) clarifies the dialectic part of the methodology as the process of comparing and contrasting existing constructions -including the researcher's constructions- “*with the aim of*

generating one (or a few) constructions on which there is substantial consensus” (Guba, 1990:27). It is needed to take into consideration the existence of different 'route's' that Cartagena Insider offers and all the people involved in them, therefore their specific worldviews and experiences. Thereby it is difficult to find such a construction since every single actor might have their 'own version' of how things are and how they are done. This might seem very difficult, but it is not impossible and that is why the dialectics are applied in this thesis. By constant search for patterns in gathered data, which is done by comparing and contrasting these data, thus identifying similarities among them, we attempt to construct an approximation to reality of how the 'route's' are being created and how they really contribute to a socio-economic and socio-cultural development of the local communities.

2.3 The Qualitative Research Method

According to Berg (2001) *“yet in many social science, quantitative orientations are often given more respect”* (Berg, 2001:2) since there is a tendency from the general public to associate science to numbers and precision. However, this study will demonstrate how fruitful qualitative procedures are and how they can provide a greater depth of understanding of the problem (Berg, 2001). When trying to discuss about the difference between both orientations some researchers refer the notion of quality as; *“essential to the nature of things”*, whereas quantity as; *“an amount of something”* (Dabbs 1982:32 in Berg, 2001:2). In other words, the data collected by qualitative researchers refers to 'words' and the data collected by quantitative researchers refers to 'numbers'. Berg (2001) remarks how quality is associated to the; *“what, how, when, and where of things-its essence and ambience”*, which means that when researchers choose qualitative methods to collect data their purpose is to find; *“meanings, concepts, definition, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things”* (Berg, 2001:2).

Qualitative research methods for data collection were chosen for this study since its purpose is to know 'how' an organization like FEM is using tourism as a tool to create socio-economic and socio-cultural development in local communities. Therefore, we attempt to not generalize the results, but to get an in-depth understanding of the problem. There are several methods of data collection used by qualitative researchers when gathering data, the following section will highlight the one used in this study.

2.4 Ethnography, Fieldwork and the Researcher

Fieldwork is the essential part - the heart - of any ethnographic research and this methodological approach is what shapes the design of all ethnographic work (Fetterman, 2010:8). Our research is being carried out over a three weeks stay in Cartagena - Colombia, during February 2015, with the aim to investigate our problem from a local's perspective by visiting and interacting with locals in their respective communities. As Fetterman states; "*Ethnography gives voice to the people in their own local context (...) the story is told through the eyes of local people as they pursue their daily lives in their own communities*" with the researcher; "*interested in describing and understanding a cultural scene from the emic, or insider's perspective*" (Fetterman, 2010:1-2) to later organize and analyze on the data from an external objective point of view within a social scientific perspective (Fetterman, 2010) by adopting a research method as Atkinson & Hammersley (1994) describe as working primarily with "*unstructured data*" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994:248). Thus, as this research is a project of ethnography, the data collection was conducted through the process of doing fieldwork in five different communities in the Bolívar Region of Colombia, respectively; San Andrés de Sotavento, San Basilio de Palenque, Leticia de Bolívar, Boquilla and Barrio Chino. It was however not only in the communities that data was gathered. Five of our 12 interviews were being carried out at the office of FEM in Cartagena -Getsemaní neighborhood- in which the FEM organization is located and accordingly constituting our base and home during the stay. From here, the different communities were visited. In chapter 4 the communities will be presented further as well as the individual research methods for each community will be outlined. This will be done as the communities we visited were culturally very different. Additionally, experiences, knowledge and acquaintance with the global tourism industry highly differed. An accurate description of how empirical data is being collected holds importance due to the researcher, within the ethnographic studies, has been described as constituting; "*the instrument*" (Patton 2002:14) in the data collection process and must choose which way to carry out the research and analyze the worth of each possible path to follow during data collecting (Fetterman, 2010). In this regard, as we are considered to constitute a 'research instrument' each decision we took, influencing the way in which the study was being carried out. All steps chosen (or not chosen) by us will, subsequently, frame the outcome of the our data, hence the social realities and credibility of the data and our competencies in the field (Patton, 2002) were constantly being tested.

2.5 Exploratory Research and Method of Reasoning

Even though ethnographers have been rewarded the ability to engage in a social setting with an open mind, Fetterman (2010) likewise notes that this does not imply entering with 'their heads empty'. Prior to embark on this project, researchers had theoretical knowledge from previous academic literature and possibly preceding projects conducted within similar area of research. A fact which likewise connotes for this project and entering the field 'tabula rasa' was therefore not a possibility. However, even previous studies had provided us with knowledge in the field the ethnographic studies began consciously of this fact and we engaged in the study open minded. As according to Stebbins (2008) one of the core principles, on an equal basis as flexibility, in exploring a given phenomenon is to employ the research with as high and open-mindedness as possible (Stebbins, 2008). Subsequently, the fieldwork was entered having focus held to not choose any specific theoretical standpoint beforehand, hence the method of reasoning for this project holds an inductive approach as the theory is generated as a consequence of the data (Gray, 2004). Consequently, Fetterman states that; "*Fieldwork is exploratory in nature*" (Fetterman, 2010:8) and Stebbins (2008) states about the exploratory approach that; "*in general, exploration is the preferred methodological approach under at least three conditions: when a group, process, activity, or situation has received little or no systematic empirical scrutiny*" (Stebbins, 2008:9). Using the exploratory approach in a case study, it subsequently connotes that the fieldwork and empirical data collection was undertaken before defining a research question (Berg, 2001).

As this project sat out to explore the possible interlinkages between social entrepreneurship (within tourism) and development changes an exploratory approach was adopted and research carried out in low-income and marginalized communities. Accordingly, an exploratory approach is a platform for relying on an inductive reasoning within social science as; "*the main goal of exploratory research is the production of inductively derived generalizations about the group, process, activity, or situation under study*" (Stebbins, 2008:6). The inductive approach is of special relevance since entering with a deductive logic will not uncover new ideas and observations, as new knowledge must derive from induction (Stebbins, 2008), thus, as a result the theoretical position derived from our empirical data and observations.

2.6 The Case Study in Social Science

Case studies hold the advantage that they are suitable for using in studies with a holistic-inductive stance, whereas case studies are to be extensively used in tourism research (B.W. Ritchie et. al. 2005). Relying upon such approach implies that research is a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Accordingly, Woodside (2010) and Yin (2012) describes a case study as a; *"research method that facilitates a deep investigation of a real-life contemporary phenomenon in its natural context"* (Woodside; Yin in Wahyuni, 2012:72), thus the applied method for exploring our research question can likewise be classified as a case study in its character due to our collaboration with the organization FEM, from which all research were derived. The way in which the case study should be understood in this research is complex as each "route" offered by FEM is of very different character, though not each to be considered different case studies as the idea with this project is not to develop a comparative study. In this regard, the case for this project is the organization FEM and all the different entities found in the organization, but with the main focus to be hold on the branch of FEM called 'Cartagena Insider'. As FEM is composed of different pillars it should be clarified as when talking about FEM we refer to the entire foundation with all its respective projects, which Cartagena Insider forms part of. Therefore it is only when we specify a project - E.g. Cartagena Insider - that we do not refer to FEM as a whole.

2.7 The Data Collecting Process

2.7.1 Participant Observer, Ethics and researchers Emotions

As constructivist qualitative researchers accentuate on participant observation and so is the case for this project. During our fieldwork we combined the case study method with participant observation which is a data collection process which allows for the researcher to immerse in a social setting during a specific timeframe, so as to observe and listen to the social group and thus obtain an appreciation of the culture within the social setting being researched (Atkinson et al., 2001). Hereby participant observations are also highly used when doing ethnographic research, in fact, Atkinson & Hammersley (1994) argue that all social science research is a form of participant observations as it is impossible to study the world without being a part of it (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994).

While doing participant observations the most important benefit achieved is that researcher acquires a unique opportunity to observe the social setting that are being investigated alternatively to merely asking for descriptions. As Haldrup & Larsen (2009) notes, this aspect of ethnographic studies in social science is of great importance as; *“there can be significant differences in what people “do” in practice and what they say they do (...) much social life is conducted unintentionally and habitually”* (Haldrup & Larsen, 2009:38). In this regard, one of the hallmarks in doing participant observations has been the ability to engage with the locals at the research setting by using the local language as participation requires for being able to communicate effectively which implies capability to follow informal conversation (DeWalt, 2010). In this project the language barriers were faced, but kept at a minimum due to as before introduced language abilities, which enhanced our research as we were able to follow communication in the community even not directed to us, consequently helped getting a better idea of the culture and its people. Likewise that we were not depending on a translator helped spur the 'emotional bonding' with the people which we needed in order to start casual conversation. This aspect takes us on to what Fetterman (2010) states as a reason of the importance of being able to communicate effectively is based upon the qualitative research method, and participant observations are in most cases accompanying each other (Fetterman, 2010).

When using participant observations in a research process one must also distinguish between the ways in which researcher takes part in the social setting. DeWalt (2010) introduced the concept of 'outsider' vs. 'insider' researchers, which refers to the level in which researcher works on an equal basis as the locals. In this project, it can be classified as we participated as 'outsiders' (DeWalt, 2010) however, depending on which community was being visited we felt different 'emotional' ties to the people. This is based on the way the fieldwork was being carried out. Especially, in the communities of San Basilio de Palenque, Barrio Chino and Boquilla we were welcomed as visitors or tourists, hence we felt very much as 'outsiders', whereas in the communities of Leticia de Bólvivar and San Andrés de Sotavento we were welcomed as members of the FEM organization working on 'how' their respective communities or a local as an individuals could take part and benefit from the tourism industry, albeit we were always being seen as 'outsiders' of the communities. Consequently, the way in which the participation took place can in all cases be classified as the participation constituting of a 'passive participation' (DeWalt, 2010) as in each community the observations were composed of a 'guided tour' around the community with one or more local guides. Furthermore, DeWalt (2010) brings attention to; *“the North American or European researcher is immediately*

identifiable in most South American, African or Asian settings" (DeWalt, 2010:32) which in the fieldwork for this project was also experienced as our physical appearance were far from the local one, which strengthened our appearance of an 'outsiders', but with different levels of interaction with the locals which resulted in the experience were sometimes very 'emotional' and it was hard to keep focused on our research. Subsequently, we faced the dilemma to not being able to focus fully on our research as interviewees wanted our help to develop or prepare their community for tourism and help develop a business and marketing plan. As Atkinson & Hammersley (1994) states; "*most ethnography has been directed toward contributing to disciplinary knowledge rather than toward solving practical problems*" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994:253) which is also true for this project. We felt that interviewees did not always understand the idea behind our presence or that that they had understood our presence as to work more closely with their exact community.

This leads us to the emotional and ethical aspect of doing participant observations. As Benjamin Paul (1953) stresses; "*Participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment. It is a strain to try to symphonize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity*" (Paul cited in DeWalt, 2010:28). In this project, the emotional bond, what Schensul et al. (1999) explains as a level of trust and the key elements and benefits in participant observations (Schensul et al. in DeWalt, 2010), highly varied between us, interviewees and the visited communities. E.g. the fieldwork that took place in San Andrés required for a two days stay and constant togetherness with the family with whom we stayed implying living, sleeping, eating and transporting ourselves as the locals. The everyday life of a the community was observed at much closer stance, making it difficult to remain as objective as it was possible in comparison to the other communities visited in which families were likewise visited, but over a much shorter timeframe. Thus, it should be noted that in a social constructivist paradigm in which this project is deduced from, it is well recognized how researchers will never be able to reside fully objective.

Berg (2010) introduces the ethical aspect of doing participants observations in qualitative research and the aspects of voluntary participation by interviewees. Since interviewees were contacted from the FEM office, the possibility for them to say 'no' to carry out an interview may not exist. Likewise when visiting the communities we entered several families houses as well as communicating with family member as a means of collecting empirical data, however without each person's acceptance of using their statements for this project and accordingly without knowing if interviewees knew of our rationale for being there, and it can be argued that the people were in a way 'coerced' to participate in the research as we entered their houses-upon invitation by the local guide. Berg

(2001) introduces the ideas addressing the aspect concerning the 'willingness' of disadvantaged communities to be researched in comparison to other more powerful social groups (Berg, 2001). During the fieldwork for this project, specific example of this can be elucidated, namely three specific experiences from San Andrés de Sotavento, San Basilio de Palenque and Leticia in which we were invited by our guide(s) into the houses of residents, however without asking for their permission first, but simply having the guide to knock the door and enter and engage in casual talking. The reason why this was done was a research method (in accordance and suggestion by our local guide), as if our presence had been informed we would not have experienced their everyday life as it is when visitors are not expected, thus in our eyes, the experience we had would consist of the closest we could get to the reality of their lives as possible - when not expecting tourists. It though be noted that we never opted to conduct our research as 'undercover' tourists.

2.7.2 Interview Design

Fetterman (2010) writes; *"the interview is the ethnographer's most important data-gathering technique"* (Fetterman, 2010:40) and Wahyuni (2012) adds; *"in-depth qualitative interview is considered as the appropriate format for case study research because in-depth questions cannot be answered briefly"* (Wahuni, 2012:74) which implies the rationale for choosing this research method as our project is developed as a case study based upon ethnography.

Before embarking on any fieldwork it was being reflected upon and written down what types of questions we would like to receive information about and a pre-determined set of structured questions had been developed (see appendix 1), nevertheless in neither of the interviews were they being followed strictly. Using the terminology of Gall, Gall & Borg (2003) the interview design used in this project can be describes as the; *"standardized Open-Ended Interviews"* as; *"participants are always asked identical questions, but the questions are worded so that responses are open-ended. This open-endedness allows the participants to contribute as much detailed information as they desire and it also allows the researcher to ask probing questions as a means of follow-up"* (Gall, Gall & Borg cited in Turner 2010). This way of doing interviews resonates very well for this project. In this regard, the questions asked by us constituted of guidance to the themes to be touched upon and the interviews were being carried out in a very similar character to a casual conversation. Turner (2010) elucidates this approach with what he explains as; *"the informal conversational approach"*(Turner, 2010:755). An approach which allows researcher to asks questions derived primarily from 'in the moment experiences' with the aim of learning about the

social setting as a means to understand or clarify what is being witnessing or experienced in a particular moment (Turner, 2010). In this project elements of this approach was equally being used when we were being shown around the community. Something important for the understanding of the social setting being researched, hence important for the project as Parker (2003) states; *“qualitative researchers should get involved in a communication with the practitioners in the organizational coal-face in order to better understand the current state of real-world practices”* (Parker in Wahyuni, 2012:73). In the case for this project, the idea behind the 'route's' were very hard to imagine without having experienced the social setting with own eyes and met the locals representing it.

2.7.3 Fieldnotes and Interview Recordings

During the years, fieldnotes have been increasingly recognized as a research method with participant observations based ethnography. Fieldnotes constitute of writings produced in or near the field of research to provide a written account of what has been experienced (Atkinson et al., 2001) Despite of fieldnotes and casual conversation, constitutes a big part of the data-collection process for this project, in each "route" visited we, however, opted to record at least one formal interview as Fetterman (2010) makes the assertion; *“quotations allow the reader to judge the quality of the work - how close the ethnographer is to thoughts of natives in the field - and to assess whether the ethnographer used such data appropriately to support the conclusions”* (Fetterman, 2010:11). As the interview method strategy was always open-ended interviews the subject at times went a bit 'out of scope', whereas only the parts of the interview with importance for this project has been translated. The full interview can be accessed as a sound file in either Spanish or English depending upon the language of interviewee.

While doing ethnography, we draw on two ways to undertake the interview - the 'overt' and 'covert' researcher (Berg, 2001). In this project, prior to any recorded interview, our academic background would in all cases be introduced for interviewee and our connection to FEM derived from here.

Natalia was the one who lead the interviews due to her native Spanish language skills, it was thought appropriate and as heighten the full understanding of the questions asked by us to interviewee. Since we used open-ended interviews the subject sometimes took new directions and Christina would ask questions if she would have any to the theme being explained by interviewee. It

should likewise be noted that prior to each interview we asked for permission to record the interview and the average time of the interviews being recorded is around one hour.

The interviews took place at different settings; either in one of the communities which was visited, at the FEM office and one at Cartagena University - both located in Cartagena Center. During the interview which took place in Cartagena Center only us and interviewee (s) would be there. Though in all cases in which the interview took place, in one of the communities, family members or other people from the community were present as the interview would be carried out in the house of our guide. This means that no person with direct connection to FEM would be listening on the side. This was a conscious decision as Turner (2010) states; "*it might be easier to conduct the interviews with participants in a comfortable environment where the participants do not feel restricted or uncomfortable to share information*" (Turner, 2010:757) just as the interview being carried out without having a set of papers with questions in front of interviewee(s) to enhance the feeling of just having a casual conversation and create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere. It should be emphasized that the fieldnotes of this project will be used only as supplement to the recorded interviews and will thus be used to a very limited degree in the analysis. Therefore, the field notes will mainly be used as a way for us to enhance the understanding of the social setting and to underpin statements produced by interviewees. As the empirical data constituting of this project is a mixture of fieldnotes and recorded interviews is due to the fact that not in all cases did the circumstances allow for having the conversation recorded. This is especially true, for when visiting the communities or visiting Ana María at her private home or casual talking in the car, street or at the FEM house. Lastly, will the data of this project constitute to a minor degree of secondary data retrieved from newspapers, international and national governmental institutions, the official tourism website of Colombia and the websites of FEM and Cartagena Insider. This has been done to increase our the understanding of the political situation of Colombia and nonetheless to achieve an overview of how the tourism industry of Colombia is being managed.

2.7.4 Selecting Interviewees

As this study uses an inductive approach we were gradually introduced to interviewees. Our interviews were therefore not pre-scheduled, since we got to know gradually about the people involved in the 'route's' and whom would be valuable for our research. This led to our way of selecting interviewees, which was also influenced by the 'snowball' effect (Noy, 2008), as after each interview we would have a new contact to a person of interest.

When we got to know how the FEM foundation worked we opted to investigate particularly the 'route's' constituting Cartagena Insider, hence our interviewees are all locals with connection to the creation of Cartagena Insider or staff members of FEM. Accordingly, as we had access to interview participant from the communities and the staff from FEM we opted to benefit from this situation as to broaden the perspective of the research and thus enhance the quality of the empirical data.

As Wahyuni (2012) states about an interview; *"The main feature of an interview is to facilitate the interviewees to share their perspectives, stories and experience regarding a particular social phenomena being observed by the interviewer"* (Wahyuni, 2012:73). Hereby, our interviewees selected for this project has been selected in relation to their knowledge of FEM and level of participation in the development of the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider. As in line with the statement above by Wahyuni (2012), which encapsulates the great importance of having the interviewees selected by their insight and expertise in the social phenomenon being researched. Interviewees constitute of; Ana María Gonzalez Forero - executive director of the FEM and Mayra Sthefanny Afanador Perez - operational coordinator of Cartagena Insider and with one or two locals from the respective communities being visited. Each of the interviewees will be further introduced in chapter 4 - the Case Study introduction.

2.8 Implications, Validity, Limitations and Reliability

As this project is a case studies of an organization Berg (2001) points out that; *"this type of study might be fairly general in its scope"* (Berg, 2001:233) due to the fact that case studies, as Patton (2002) explains it; *"typically produce a wealth of detailed information about a much smaller number of people and cases. This increases the depth of understanding of the cases and situations but decreases the generalizability"* (Patton, 2002:14) which too will be a limitation of this project. This implies that the findings apply only to this case, thus one should be cautious to directly transferred the knowledge in other social settings despite of similarities.

Since our ethnographic research took place in low-income and rural communities, we experienced the implication of not being 'on the same page' as interviewee, which created a limitation in our data gathering as interviewee, in especially the indigenous community - in San Andrés, did not respond adequately -to our social reality- thus, in our perspective did not fully seem to comprehend what we wanted to talk about or what we were asking. In this regard, the flexibility and necessity that our interview design allowed for were especially useful as Turner (2010) writes; *"follow-up questions*

or prompts in order to ensure that they obtain optimal responses from participants" (Turner, 2010:758). In relation to the process of carrying out the interviews we faced the obstacle of having interviewee to reach subjects out of our field of interest and having interviewee to talk about what interested us (which many times happened due to the feeling of interviewee not knowing what to respond to the question despite our attempt to guide without telling them what to say) which has however been identified by Turner (2010) as one of the consequences of using 'open-ended' interview methods. Thus, this implication are causing a limitation to the data obtained for the project - importantly is however to mention, that this could on the other hand be acknowledged as an important finding (that interviewee had little knowledge about the global tourism industry) rather than solely classifying it as a limitation of the project.

When researching the phenomena of social entrepreneurship in Colombia we faced some hindrances. Especially, we face obstacles concerning the practicalities during the ethnographic research. From a European perspective, we were being limited due to cultural differences in accordance to the Colombian working culture, especially the aspects of planning, organizing and setting up meetings, interviews and visits to the respective communities were very complicated and a rather slow process. As a consequence, a huge amount of time were being spent on waiting at the FEM office for response from stakeholders and people involved in the 'route's' whereas less time were spent in the areas of research as well as increasing the time we could spend in each of the communities. As we spent a maximum of two days in each community we never got to feel we had experienced everything, subsequently aspects of repetition were neither experienced which did not allow us with data saturation. In this regards, limitations of the research time, which was predetermined, was found in the sense that more in-depth data could have been acquired, therewith strengthening the reliability of the analysis. However, what were we actually looking for? Our starting point draw upon the inductive approach whereas we did not have any specific mindset of what to witness and if all relevant issues were being intercepted is hereby not to be known. As Stebbins writes, in exploratory research the question of validity or credibility should be understood as researcher's ability to; *"gain an accurate or true impression of the group, process, or activity under study and, if so, how this can be accomplished"* (Stebbins, 2008:48). Accordingly, Stebbins (2008) explains; *"exploration comes to a halt temporarily in a particular area, when researchers there believe that no significant new ideas can come from further open-ended investigation and pressing confirmatory issues begin to dominate"* (pp. 10) which for our research is true in the sense that after spending 1-2 days in a community we felt as having sufficient data to answer our research

question. Since our research is placed within the constructivist approach the social scene reflected in this study are thus only through the eyes of the people from the communities with whom we got to interact, but not others, hence it is not a full reflection of the entire communities social realities.

As casual conversation, carried out throughout the entire day(s) of the visit in the community, was the main way to obtain knowledge it however faced us with the limitation that in occasions such as when participation in having a beer at the local bar, with extremely loud music, or carrying out the interview in the kitchen while playing with four kids at the same time, it was hard for us in the first case to follow and understand the conversation because of the music and playing with the kids made the interview a bit unfocused, however, by being very open, interested and not thinking in the outcome of the sound quality of the interview recording, we felt a certain 'trust' from interviewee(s) towards us, which we believe to having helped us acquire even further knowledge as all interviewees and family member were very or semi talkative to whatever question we would state. In many occasions, due to the eager of interviewees to explain about their lives we got faced with the problem of 'controlling' the interview, which Turner (2010) mentions as one of the downsides or difficulties of relying on open-ended interviews as the interviewees easily can get to subjects out of interests for the research (Turner, 2010).

Moreover, as we used open-ended interviews and the communities being researched all held very different social structures we were faced with the difficulties of seeing a 'pattern' in between the interviews and similarities between the communities. Upon arrival to the community the pre-made questions for the interview were many times needed to be re-adjusted to fit the social scene of the respective community or simply rephrased due to very different knowledge of the tourism industry, thus our prepared questions did not fit due to a lack of knowledge about the tourism industry.

It needs to be stressed that we did not have previous experience with the 'route's' Cartagena Insider offers and it was not until we went on fieldwork that we found out about the place/community the 'route's' were taking place and how they work when tourists go there (places they visit, the interaction they can have with local people, etc.), although we almost always experienced the 'route's' as 'researchers' and never as '100% tourists'. This fact can be considered as a negative aspect when collecting data on the field because not having the knowledge we can get from previously experience the 'tourist' version of the 'route's' means more trouble to understand how they 'really' work. However, it has a positive side since it ensures that, prior the fieldwork, we are not affected by our 'own' way of experiencing the 'route's' and, therefore the understanding of the problem. In addition, we did not have a previous knowledge of and experience with Colombian

society, which, once more, can be positive since we are not influenced by our personal understanding of it. However, a previous knowledge of Colombian society could help us to bond with the interviewee and to understand better and easier the interviewee's point of view. It is important to mention as well that we did have a previous theoretical knowledge about tourism and development issues, which, somehow, influence the type of questions we had and where our attention is focused when in the field to collect data.

3. Theoretical Literature Review

The theories selected for this project have predominantly provided knowledge under the umbrella of social entrepreneurship, community based development and participation. However, aspects of sustainability and a historical view of the tourism industry will likewise be touched upon, so as to introduce the role of the tourism industry as a key player in socio-cultural and socio-economic change. Thus, from a theoretical perspective this chapter seeks to shed light on social entrepreneurship in relation to tourism and its potential as a catalyst of development in the Global South.

3.1 The Global Tourism Sector as a Catalyst for Development

During the last decades, the tourism industry has increasingly been juxtaposed to development (2011, Zhao et al.). As in line with Moscardo, (2014) *"tourism is often proposed as a development strategy for rural regions based on assumptions made about the ability of tourists to generate employment and income for local residents and businesses"* (Moscardo, 2014:354).

When looking at the tourism industry from a historical perspective it is a sector which has undergone huge managerial changes. From being managed and based upon 'top-down' approaches to changing into relying heavily on 'bottom-up' approaches - especially in the cases in which tourism has been regarded as agent of development and invoked as a way to obtain socio-economic change (Hall, 2008; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Mowforth et al. 2008). Besides this shift in managerial thinking, aspects of sustainability has augmented predominantly in importance in the

global tourism industry. A paradigm shift which can also be said to having its point of departure with the 'Earth Summit' in 1992 - the United Nation Conference held in Rio de Janeiro - concerning environmental Development in which the inauguration of the concept of sustainable development defined in the 'Brundtland report' from 1987 took place and stating; *“Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”* (WCED, 1987, cited in Hall, 2008:20 & Mowforth et al. 2008). Tourism, however, only constituted a minor part of the report. Most significantly was the acknowledgement and importance of drawing upon an inclusive approach of 'all social groups', in order to effectively obtain sustainable development at a global scale - an approach in which the aspects of participation in decision making is recognized as the alpha and omega to success (Hall, 2008:21).

The international tourism sector is, nevertheless, acknowledged as an industry dealing with 'big business', hence bringing big impacts (Harrison, 2008) which contributed to tourism in the late 1990s got recognized by the World Monetary fund (IMF) as a key industry to effectively eliminate poverty (Zorn & Farthing, 2007) through its so called Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Ideas deduced from the discovery of how principally developing countries fighting high rates of poverty experienced an increased level of tourism, thus the industry of global tourism practices grew to become a gradually better sector of economic contributions (Scheyvens, 2007). More precisely, in developing countries tourism expenditures adds up to 40% of total GDP in relation to only 10% of the total GDP in Western countries. Subsequently, the tourism industry plays a key component in achieving the Millennium Development Goals² as the UNWTO Secretary-General Francesco Frangialli (2007) states about fighting the challenges of global poverty with tourism; *“they require innovative and changed behaviour to effectively respond over time and Tourism can and must play its part in the solutions to both”* (Frangialli cited in Hall, 2007:1). Continuingly, Frangialli (2005) states; *“tourism needs greater recognition by governments and development institutions for its capacity to generate economic, environmental and social benefits (...) It is also a sector that promotes intercultural understanding and peace among nations (...) For poor countries and small island states, tourism is the leading export- often the only sustainable growth sector of their economies and a catalyst for many related sectors. It can play a key role in the*

² The Millennium Development Goals are a set of eight goals which are to be achieved by the end of the year 2015 and being decided by 191 countries which are members of the United Nations. The aims of the goals are; to halve the world poverty and hunger, improve the primary education, advocate for gender equality and female empowerment, reduce child mortality, Improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, ensure environmental sustainability and create a global partnership for development (Oxfam (n.d.)

overall achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (Frangialli cited in Hall, 2007:4).

Despite the fact that various national governments and influential international development organizations are advocating tourism as an ideal tool to social change, even reaching as far as to recognize it as the 'panacea' to eradicate global poverty (Chok et al., 2007) Moscardo (2014) argues that within the idea of development in communities, based around tourism *"there is strong tendency in the tourism planning literature to treat destination communities and regions as resources for tourism rather than tourism as a resource or tool for wider development"* (Moscardo, 2014:366). Furthermore, the tourism industry is being criticized as a sector much more likely to impose a state of dependency rather than helping to empower local communities (Höckert, 2011). Supplementing this statement, Moscardo (2014) argues *"in many cases of tourism development the benefits have been slow to emerge, modest at best and usually restricted to certain groups within the community"* (Moscardo, 2014:353). Hereby, they challenge the common belief, stating that the economic net benefits of tourism will inevitably 'trickle-down' society to the local poor through multiple channels, however and most importantly, will it foster job creation, thus employment opportunities (Zeng et al., 2005 cited in Zhao et al., & Richie, 2007). Hereby, the almost universal acceptance of the consensus claiming development as contingent of economic growth is once again thus being reinforced (Mowforth et al., 2008:16 & 21). Implicitly in those statement must then be understood the argument of how this process will help to enforce empowerment in local communities, hence improve the standard of living.

3.2 Explicating the Term Social Entrepreneur

"The term 'social entrepreneurship' refers to a range of practices and discourses involving the creation of new and innovative organizations or enterprises to meet human needs and improve services in fields, such as poverty reduction, health care, child protection, disability rights and environmental sustainability (...) it is also seen as a catalyst for employment, economic development and social change (Friedman & Desivilya, 2010:495-496).

To define a social entrepreneur first it must be understood how an entrepreneur is classified. Yang & Wall (2008) writes that no universally definition for entrepreneurship has yet been established, however general agreement on the essence of entrepreneurship connotes as; *"the initiation of change through creation or innovation that usually bears risk"* (Yang & Wall cited in Zhao et al.,

2011:1571) as entrepreneurs venture into an unfamiliar area which is often characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty. As Shane & Venkataraman (2000) emphasize, the essence of entrepreneurship is all about discovering and exploiting opportunities in a new field (Shane & Venkataraman cited in Zhao et al., 2011 & Thompson, 2000). Moscardo (2014) boils those definitions down to defining an entrepreneur as; *“a risk-taking individual who actively searches for innovations and market opportunities, and identifies and organises resources and other people to pursue these opportunities”* (Moscardo, 2014:355).

The term social entrepreneurship was first introduced in the 1970s by Joseph Banks in his seminal work named 'The Sociology of Social Movements' in which he explained the need for drawing upon managerial skills to address social problems. The exact practice of the term was however not being seen until the 1980s and in 1990 Drucker introduces the idea that there exist a need for using management practices in non-profit organizations in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of creating social good (Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013). Despite the emergence and enthusiasm the term got accommodated with, amongst a new generation of change makers, Light (2008) argues *“it is not yet a field per se. It does not have paths to tenure for its young professors, a growing inventory of quantitative data for its researchers, or a guaranteed source of private or government funding for its institutions”* (Light, 2008:1).

As the term social entrepreneurship evolves from the literature on entrepreneurship it must be acknowledged what differentiates a social entrepreneur from any other type of entrepreneurship. As already introduced, the term social entrepreneurship is increasingly used more extensively, however not yet explicitly defined (Thompson, 2002) making the concept of social entrepreneurship a phenomenon that tends to be analyzed from many different perspectives (Mair & Martí 2006 & Light, 2008). However, what academia agrees on, is being a social entrepreneur refers to constituting a person working for social transformation. As (Bornstein, 1998) states; *“Social entrepreneurship is embedded in the social sector or the citizen sector, which focuses on the creation of sustainable social change”* (Bornstein in Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013:189). Thus, for a social entrepreneur the focus point is set on achieving a 'social mission' (Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013). Accordingly, the driving force behind all action imposed by a social entrepreneur is thus guided by the social value and the striving for creating social impacts and changes. Mair and Noboa (2006) encapsulate this in their statement; *“the tangible outcomes produced from the social entrepreneurial behavior should “yield and sustain social benefits”* (Mair and Noboa in Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013:190). In accordance with those utterances, achievement is thus deduced and measured through

social rather than economic improvements (Mair & and Martí in Zahra et al., 2008; Friedman & Desivilya, 2010), hence profit is hereby not estimated due to financial earnings, but by the impact created in beneficiaries lives through a sustainable social change in the communities in which they are working. As a result, it is this impact which determines the success of the social enterprise or organization - many times taking the form of an NGO (Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013). As Nicholls (2006) and Dees (1998) States; *"another name for social entrepreneurship is "social enterprise", where social entrepreneurs consider strategic moves to subsidize their services through exploiting profitable opportunities in the core activities of their non-profit venture"* (Nicholls & Dees cited in Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013:190). Using the organization or social enterprise purely as a way to obtain profit to sustain the 'social mission'. Thus, Raghda El Ebrashi concludes; *"for social entrepreneurs, the ultimate result of the social enterprise is to create sustainable change in the lives of people, and this change should be on a community level rather than on an individual level"* (Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013:202). Likewise, an organization can be classified as social when the driving force and main objective behind it is not to create profit, but social impact (Jiao, 2011) and not owned by identifiable shareholders (Thompson, 2002).

By focusing on socio-economic and socio-cultural changes, social organizations (founded by a social entrepreneur(s)) it is being expressed how a social entrepreneur inscribes and takes advantage of the existing conditions of the world, hence sees and exploit an opportunity. This trend thus works in shaping and affecting how those organizations maintain their social framework from which they work to obtain their 'social mission'. Since the term social entrepreneur remains 'fluffy' defined and understood differently in literature (Zahra et al. 2008) in this project, the definition of a social entrepreneur encompasses the qualities and behaviors associated with the business entrepreneurs, however working in a community to help and care rather than to make profit, which is being done through different venture aiming to impose a socio-economic change which will inherently strengthen individual wealth and adding value to the community (Thompson, 2002). As the Duke University's Fuqua School of Business, the Center for the Advancement of Social Entrepreneurship (CASE) writes; *"social entrepreneurs are innovative, resourceful, and result-oriented, who draw upon the best thinking in both the business and nonprofit worlds to develop strategies that maximize social impact"* (CASE cited in Jiao, 2011:133).

3.2.1 How Social Entrepreneurs Work

As the term social entrepreneurs remains to be shrouded in ambiguity and with no clear definition, it is however identified that within the term exist various types which constitute a social entrepreneur. Raghda El Ebrashi (2013) introduces the term 'transformative social entrepreneurs' as the individual who does not only work on the growth of her or his own venture, but endeavor them self to inform other individuals and organization to adopt similar projects or draw upon related models, thus expand their venture (their 'social mission'). By doing so, a larger amount of people will be reached, which consequently will mean a greater impact in return as more lives should be influenced. They seek to educate other organization in order to convey their ideas in their environment with the aim to impact on the market structures and thus create a systematic sustainable social change (Raghda El Ebrashi, 2013:200). In line with Moscardo (2014) the transformational entrepreneurs are therefore to be defined as; *"individuals who use innovation to develop and grow businesses beyond their own individual needs"* (Moscardo, 2014:356).

The term social entrepreneur connotes to the reader the idea of a given venture is being imposed and carried out by a single individual (the social entrepreneur) it should, however, be noted how social entrepreneurs seem to 'join forces' with other people. The innovative idea of the venture of the social entrepreneur might be deduced by own hands, however in the post-managerial process part of the work the social entrepreneur managed in the early start-up phase is often being relocated to other workers or volunteers, thus making an entrepreneurial team. As Jiao (2011) explains it, for non-profit organizations it can be necessary to employ business professional so as to improve the efficiency of their products and services in order to serve the community better (Ibid.).

Likewise, being a social entrepreneur does not necessarily mean being skilled and educated within the field in which he/she is about to embark in search for a social change. As Bolton & Thompson (2002) emphasizes, there exist no exact 'education' of how to become a social entrepreneur, the qualities guiding and leading are talent and temperament hidden in inherited gifts, needs and drives. However, there exist an increased interest in the promotion of entrepreneurship whereas it is estimated that within the USA, Canada and the UK more than 100 business schools are encouraging their students to engage in social entrepreneurship (Jiao, 2011).

Lastly, when classifying the different types of entrepreneurs it should be noted that many social entrepreneurs hold numerous competencies which are also to be found in a successful business entrepreneur (Thompson, 2002).

3.3 The linkages between the social entrepreneur, the Global Tourism Industry and Community Development

Leadbacker (1997) argues that there exist a need of being able to create new forms of social capital through innovative ideas. Social capital is being understood as the establishment of community-based tangible and intangible assets which in return will help empower disadvantaged people (groups) and as an encouragement to take greater responsibility and control over their lives. (Leadbacker in Thompson, 2002). Accordingly, Bhide (2000) writes; "*entrepreneurship by new and established companies is a major source of wealth and job creation, economic and technological growth, and social transformation*" (Bhide cited in Zahra et al., 2008). For the implementation and development of tourism businesses in remote and rural communities, it is vital with and 'outside' coming entrepreneur to engage in the community, bringing in new skills, ideas and most importantly - connections (Moscardo, 2014), meaning a social and/or business network outside the community. Moscardo (2014) continually argues that for tourism development to be successful, there exist a necessity in having the tourism initiatives developed in accordance with the destination community with residents holding knowledge and information of the tourism industry and its impacts. Lastly, the process should be explicitly thought out before implementation (Ibid.).

Social ventures initiated by social entrepreneurship are increasingly becoming a vanguard of social change worldwide. As Moscardo (2014) argues; "*entrepreneurs can often be leaders in their area and act as champions for new ventures, using their influence to mobilise others in their networks to support these new activities* (Ibid., pp. 356).

Those ventures of the social entrepreneur are being implemented through the establishment of organizations addressing and responding to a multitude of social needs, thus generating an improvement in life quality and additionally enhance human development around the globe (Zahra et al., 2008). Subsequently, in line with Leadbacker (1997) the nature of community-based businesses implemented by social entrepreneurs mainly stays small and local without transforming themselves into medium-sized enterprises (Leadbacker in Thompson, 2002).

When investigating how social entrepreneurship seems beneficial in development aspects or change of existing social realities, Thompson (2002) found the conclusion to be deduced from the capability of particularly social entrepreneurs to 'listen to the voices of the communities' and respond to the needs and opportunities of the community in a meaningful way, with market demands to be less important in relation to the needs of the community. Hence, a project is not

based on the elements of providing what the suppliers (social entrepreneur) thinks the market needs, but what the community is capable of bringing to the market - an important aspect which is many times forgotten in the public sector, thus a project will in its nature be less successful (Thompson, 2002) especially, if initially based upon a community based approach. However, Dees et al. (2001) argues of the importance of the social entrepreneur to possess knowledge within the field in order to understand the customers so as to reach and satisfy their needs with innovative methods (Dees et al. cited in Jiao, 2011). Overall the main 'human capital' of a social entrepreneur is the ability to integrate and utilize resources constituting the fundamental mechanism of the social transformation (Jiao, 2011). Danna & Porche (2008) builds upon this assumption by introducing the statement that social entrepreneurs make use of, hence integrate, 'others' resources to achieve their objective of the venture (Danna & Porche cited in Jiao, 2011). Drawing upon this supposition it is therefore experienced how the human capital, namely; knowledge and the ability to transform existing resources are an important remedy for the social entrepreneur to master (Jiao, 2011).

As Mowforth et al., (2008) and Mathieson & Wall (2006) highlight, when assessing success and failures of development initiatives as a consequence of tourism, it is obviously a necessity to define what values are assumed to constitute development (Mowforth et al., 2008; Mathieson & Wall 2006 in Höckert, 2011). Likewise, when tourism is increasingly being advocated as 'agent of development' the nature of the concept of development must be revised. Mowforth et al. (2008) argues that most theories of development are deduced from Eurocentric thinking, thus development is being defined by First World government and First World dominated multilateral institutions drawing upon an idea of '*one size fits all*' paradigm of development imposed through economic models (Mowforth et al., 2008:16). In consequence, as argued by Höckert (2011) the nature of development can also be asserted as being artificial and vague (Ibid.). An argument that can be supported by the fact that the entire tourism industry was 'revolutionized', under the umbrella of sustainability advocating heavily for responsible tourism, during the era of the implementation of neoliberal policies. Authors such as Butcher (2003) and Mowforth & Munt (2003) accordingly questions the sustainability of the 'new' ideas introduced by the responsible tourism models compared to the more conventional models based on mass tourism (Butcher 2003; Mowforth & Munt 2003 in Höckert, 2011). In the sustainable development and responsible tourism years - which are the current years - the community-based tourism approach arose and is continuingly considered as a promising strategy to obtain sustainable development, thus implicitly a way to reduce poverty (Ibid). The reason why the community-based approach is increasingly gaining attention and thought

implemented in development projects related to tourism is to be found in the statement postulated by authors in this field such as Mowforth et al. (2008), Timothy & Tosun (2003), Bonilla & Mordt (2008) who argues; *"community based tourism is seen as a unique opportunity for marginalized groups to participate in the process of tourism development and to be free from the hegemonic grasp of outside tour operators"* (cited in Höckert, 2011:9). In this project, when referring to community-based tourism it should be understood in line with authors such as Tosun (2000), Scheyvens (2002), Burns & Candon (2006) as an approach wherein the well-being of the local communities is the focal point in which tourism is being implemented and used as an instrument for a development process to take place - mainly through job creation emerged from new opportunities (in Höckert, 2011:9-10 & Hall, 2008). Moscardo (2014) continually describes the importance of examining the capacity of the given community to manage and thus benefit from tourism development, meaning that the most important is to maintain the well-being of the community and not relying solely on the tourism growth rates as the estimator of rural tourism development policies (Moscardo, 2014).

In Latin America the rural community-based tourism has got acknowledged, and defined, in the declaration of San José from 2003 in which the core principles of this type of tourism are being explicated as; a way for rural communities to reduce income poverty, vulnerability and isolation. Obtained by diversifying the traditional sources of economic income, albeit not by entirely substituting it with tourism, since this approach accordingly should be socially and environmentally responsible as well as economically viable and directed towards enriching the culture (Höckert, 2011:10). Zorn & Farthing (2007) boils it down to describing communitarian tourism in Latin America as; *"a locally developed, owned, and managed enterprise with community-wide distribution of benefits"* (Zorn & Farthing, 2007:674). Additionally, as Höckert (2011) argues, in rural community-based tourism the crucial point of departure is to understand the local context in relation to tourism development. Community characteristics, local knowledge and, the host vs. guest relation, which type of tourism development would turn out positively due to the established goals and lastly the role of the 'intermediaries' at the destination area must be explicitly scrutinized (Höckert, 2011:11).

By introducing the concept of intermediaries in the community-based tourism approach it brings us back to the role of the social entrepreneur in tourism development as the fact is that the majority of community-based tourism projects are both implemented, funded, thus initiated exclusively by external actors (Ibid.). This aspects leads us to looking into the academics of anthropology in

tourism, in which the term 'mediators' originates from, so as to examine the social actors who cannot be classified as either 'host' or 'guest'. In Anthropology studies those people have been defined as 'culture-brokers' - a term which Cohen (1985) adopted to fit into tourism studies to describe tour operators and later to be developed by Smith (2001) into the term mediators (Smith in Zorn & Farthing, 2007). In line with Zorn & Farthing (2007) mediators are those who play a structural roles and mediate relations between people and groups from different and unequal social status', placed between the demand and the supply side of the tourism industry. Jennings and Weiler (2006) describe them as "*agents of social change*" (Jennings & Weiler cited in Zorn & Farthing, 2007:675). Thus, in this project, when using the term 'mediator' or 'cultural broker' or as Höckert calls them 'intermediaries' we refer to the position of the social entrepreneur in this particular research.

3.4 Sustainable Tourism Development and Community Participation

In this chapter we accept that in practice there are many differing approaches to sustainable tourism and that different practices may be appropriate in different circumstances. On that basis, although we believe it to be very interesting, identifying the different approaches of sustainable tourism is beyond the scope of this project. Instead, focus will be put on a specific aspect of the approaches of sustainable tourism - community participation. This framework will let the reader understand the approach to sustainable tourism development found in a particular tourist destination. Accordingly, by introducing sustainable tourism development in connection with the concept of community participation it will provide us with the basis for a further investigation of our particular case study in the analysis chapter. According to several researchers, sustainable tourism should enable members of the community, living in a tourist destination, to participate in decision-making about tourism activity, which affects their lives. Hence, we believe to be relevant to address this framework to examine issues to consider in assessing approaches to community participation in tourism planning in a destination.

3.4.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

The control of responsible planning and management of resources is a prevalent concept within sustainable tourism research (May, 1991). Today, the term 'sustainability' has gained a wide

acceptance of being one of the most important issues faced by the tourism industry. This fact is reflected in the generation of publications attempting to define the principles and practice of 'sustainable tourism' and to relate them to the concerns of 'sustainable development' (Richards & Hall, 2000). The 'sustainable development' concept was a result of the publication of 'Our Common Future' by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987), which primarily focused on the conservation of natural resources. The basis for perceptions of sustainable development was created promoting three principles for its successful implementation: global perspectives, long-term emphasis, and equity over and between generations (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008).

There have been criticisms against the tourism sector for being unsustainable as it is claimed to ignore qualitative aspects of tourism while emphasizing the quantitative growth - which fails to pay little attention to resource conservation as well as cultural and social values (Mak, 2004). In response to that, the term sustainable tourism appeared adding sustainability characteristics to the tourism sector, which, as already introduced, entails that tourism development initiatives meet the need of the present while simultaneously respecting the future generations' abilities to meet their needs. However, *"it is inevitable that there are now many different interpretations of what sustainable development is and what it means in the context of tourism"* (Richards & Hall, 2000:17).

Nowadays sustainability can be linked to almost all kinds of tourism activities and environments, however, there is an increasing criticism of the idea, its practices and its usability (Hunter, 1995 & Liu, 2003) due to the recognition of negative impacts and the need to manage them in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development. Carrying capacity has been one of the central frameworks within which such issues can be considered in a local scale (Lindberg et al., 1997:461).

It is sometimes interpreted as an application of sustainable tourism (Butler, 1999:9) meaning that both can co-exist and that the two of them may be useful concepts to analyze the impacts and limits of development (Butler, 1996). According to Mathieson & Wall (1982), carrying capacity can be defined as the; *"maximum number of people who can use a site without any unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without any unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by tourists"* (Mathieson & Wall, 1982:21).

In addition, authors such as Mak (2004) talk about how the concept of sustainable tourism is still changing. At the global level; *"priority has shifted from "eco-" to "socio-" concerns in recent years"* (Mak, 2004:188). The WTO states that of the three pillars of sustainability- environmental,

economic, and social- the social dimension is now; *“the uppermost”* (U.S Department of Commerce, 1996, cited in Mak, 2004:188)

Due to the nature of the present case study, it is relevant to mention and understand this change in the view of sustainable development, where; *“tourism industry has shifted from having tendencies of being purely profit maximizing in nature, towards a humanitarian one”* (Mowforth & Munt, 2003:179), moving towards people's-focused and participatory approaches to development and, therefore, being more aware of human and social needs. Some scholars describe this paradigm shift as being most distinct in having changed into using a 'bottom-up' approach to development instead of the formerly used 'top-down' tactic (Holden, 2006).

The new perspective on sustainable tourism increasingly draws from the previously mentioned Community based tourism (CBT) activities, making the local society the essential beneficiary of the tourism activities. As we have explained before, for CBT to be sustainable, the tourism activities must be initiated, managed and owned by the residents or indigenous people, and remain limited and well-managed to ensure that tourism develops and creates respect for the authentic local society, culture and environment (Responsible Travel Report, 2015). In 2004, however, Murphy and Murphy (2004) suggested a different approach in the relationship between tourism and communities arguing that communities will be better positioned; *“if they allow their actions to be guided by key business management principles and adopt a strategic management focus.”* (Murphy & Murphy, 2004 in Simpson, 2008:1) - an approach named 'community based tourism initiatives' (CBTI). While CBT definition is based on the ownership, management and/or control of tourism projects, one of the CBTI principles is the transfer of benefits to a community regardless of; *“location, instigation, size, level of wealth, involvement, ownership or control”* (Simpson, 2008:2). Therefore, CBTI stresses that it is not essential for a community to be directly in tourism management or ownership, giving to the governments, industry and NGOs the possibility to be able to design and deliver benefits to a community without the inconvenient that its involvement might create within the decision-making process (Simpson, 2008).

The concept of developing tourism in a sustainable manner for the community is not without its problems. While most models of sustainable development include the community as a cornerstone of the development process, like CBT, the concept of community itself is not unproblematic. When talking about a community-based approach it is important to clarify what the term 'community' covers, however, as Salazar (2012) notes; *“community is a very elusive and vague term”* (Salazar, 2012:10). Therefore, questions as such are raised; Whose community? How defined: in

spatial/social/economic terms? According to 'The Community Tourism Guide', a community can be described as; *“mutually supported, geographically specific, social unit such as a village or tribe where people identify themselves as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making”* (Mann, 2000:18). The nature of the community itself is also changing - Globalization and localization, increasing geographic and social mobility are questioning widely held beliefs about the composition and structure of ‘community’. Who are the ‘locals’ in the local community? Where should one place the spatial or temporal boundaries of the ‘local’ community? The emergence of a ‘global community’ also problematizes the concept of a local community. Further, spatial communities, linked by bonds of common interest and not places, exist within and across spatial communities. However, despite of being an interesting issue to research on, discussing about the different and changing interpretations of ‘community’ is beyond the scope of this project. Nevertheless, in this study the term ‘community’ will go in line with the previous definition from Mann (2000).

3.4.2 Community Participation in Tourism Development

A community participation approach has long been advocated as; *“an integral part of sustainable tourism development”* (Okazaki, 2008:511). As mentioned before, tourism has been estimated as a powerful agent of change in the developing countries, and the negative impacts are often due to locals having no control over its development. Mowforth and Munt (2009) raise questions about ownership of resources and levels of control within the community, and remind the reader about the fact that local people often have been left outside the planning, decision-making and operation of tourism activities (Mowforth and Munt, 2009).

It should be noted that community involvement in the Tourism Development Process (TDP) can be; *“viewed from at least two perspectives: in the decision-making process and in the benefits of tourism development”* (Timothy,1999:372). Yet, as this research tries to find out how a sustainable tourism initiative is being developed in a specific place we believe it is necessary to investigate how the community is involved in tourism development. In order to do that one needs first to understand the complexity of the concept of community participation and its significance in the TDP. Although it is a highly desirable and a practical concept to implement in the TDP, there seems to be formidable limitations to practicality of applying the community participation approach in the process of tourism development, especially in developing countries (Tosun, 2000). Since the present case study is located in a developing country we believe those limitations need to be

considered in order to understand how the tourist initiative is being implemented. Furthermore, the current tourist initiative of our case study is very new and not mature enough so focusing on the benefits of tourism development would be difficult to assess. Thus, we will focus those limitations to community participation in the decision-making process of the tourism development, although public involvement in the benefits of tourism development is not ignored. Finally, we want to end this part of the theoretical chapter by presenting different forms of community participation focusing on Tosun's (1999) typology, which is designed specifically for tourism. This will help us in our future analysis chapter where we will use this model as a conceptual framework to explain which type of community participation is being implemented in our particular case study.

3.4.3 The concept of Community Participation

Since the 1950s and early 1960s, community participation has been promoted into the development process in different ways and it has become an umbrella term for a supposedly new genre of development intervention (Tosun, 2000). For that reason, proposing a development strategy that is not participatory is now almost reactionary (Tosun, 2000). Therefore, it seems natural to ask for the definition of the concept of community participation when researching this approach in the development process.

By way of definition, community participation refers to a; *“form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship”* (Tosun, 2000:615). Til (1984) mentions that those opportunities individuals obtain from participation include joining in the process of self-governance, responding to authoritative decisions that impact on one's life, and working cooperatively with others on issues of mutual concern. In the same line, Connell (1997) points out that participation is; *“not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self-development”* (Connell, 1997:250). Therefore, community participation is somehow an educational and empowering process in which people, in partnership with those able to assist them, identify problems and needs and increasingly assume responsibility of themselves to plan, manage, control and assess the collective actions that are proved necessary (Askew, 1989). For Arnstein (1969) the purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby enabling society to fairly distribute benefits and costs, he states that the citizen participation is; *“the redistribution of power that enables the have- not citizens... to be*

deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein, 1969:216). In this line goes what Willis (1995) argues about how community participation involves a shift of power, from those who traditionally have had major decision-making roles to those who have not. That is to say, community participation is a tool to readjust the balance of power and reassert local community views against those of the developers or the local authority. For Stone (1989) community participation is to design; *“development in such a way that intended beneficiaries are encouraged to take matters into their own hands, to participate in their own development through mobilising their own resources, defining their own needs, and making their own decisions about how to meet them”* (Stone, 1989:207). This may imply that community participation as a development strategy is based on community resources, needs and decisions. Hence, community is the main actor in the development process. The above defined arguments thus suggest that the concept of community participation in the development process has many dimensions and includes representation from many disciplines (Tosun, 2000). Hence, to encapsulate the concept within just one single and specific term may not be possible. It has been implied that it may take very different forms, which we will be further outlined in this chapter.

3.4.4 Theoretical arguments for Community Participation Approach

People who live in the communities in tourist destination areas are often the ones who enjoy or suffer the impacts of tourism, therefore, the people of those communities should participate in planning decisions regarding tourism development (Lea, 1988; Murphy, 1985). It is also argued that; *“communities are the destination of most travelers... it is in communities that tourism happens. Because of this, tourism industry development and management must be brought effectively to bear in communities”* (Blank, 1989:4). It is debated that a destination community is an important component of the tourism product and; *“the industry uses the community as a resource, sell it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of everyone”* (Murphy, 1985:165). Hence, community participation in the TDP is needed for; *“a reasonable degree of consensus”* which is essential for long-term success of the tourist destination (Ritchie, 1988:199); *“strong community support”* that is important for successful tourism development (Getz, 1983:87); *“desired guest/host relationships”* (Haywood, 1988:117); and for increasing the quality of tourism's benefits to national development (Lea, 1988).

In parallel to these statements, Inskip (1991) points out that host communities must have a 'voice' in shaping their future community as their right, and has hereby called for the maximum involvement of the local community to maximize socio-economic benefits of tourism for the community. Additionally, Murphy (1985) has argued that community-oriented tourism development requires to find a way of creating more workable partnerships between the tourism industry and local communities and develop facilities both for host and guest. It is argued that; *“a community-based approach to tourism development is a prerequisite to sustainability”* (Woodley, 1993:137). Accordingly, Simmons (1994) has argued that involvement of a community in the tourism development process is vital; *“if any region wishes to deliver tourism experiences which ensure both visitor satisfaction and ongoing benefits for the residents of destination areas”* (Simmons, 1994:99). Hall (1994) argues about how by satisfying local needs is possible to also satisfy the one from the tourists. Brohman (1996) has advocated community participation in the tourism development process as a tool to solve major problems of tourism in developing nations, and he has contended that community participation in the TDP will achieve more equal distribution of the benefits, discourage undemocratic decision-making and will meet the needs of a local community in a better way.

3.4.5 Critical perspectives and barriers of Community Participation

As above mentioned, active local participation in decision-making is generally supposed to be a precondition for the delivery of benefits to communities. However, this is rarely found in developing countries and as Li (2006) argues, it is not a necessary condition in all contexts. Case studies such as the communities Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, China (Li, 2006) highlights that community participation, ownership or control does not need to play a significant role in the decision-making processes of a tourism initiative for benefits to flow to the community. The low involvement of the residents in the development of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve pretends to show that local participation is transferred to the 'elite management' of the Reserve, who are considered to be legitimate, knowledgeable and efficient community representatives by local residents. As Mowforth & Munt (2009) argue, there is an assumption that members of the destination community are willing and able to participate equally (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). This often leads to a failure in understanding the social power structures that greatly influence the conduct and outcome of participatory processes in a specific location.

In corollary, Simpson (2008) points out that: “*Ideally, community participation, control or a level of ownership should be aimed for, if only to ensure delivery of the appropriate proportion and type of benefits to the relevant community*” (Simpson, 2008:2). He argues that an integrated approach is vital since the community is in the best position to know its own needs and desires (Simpson, 2008), therefore, its involvement is required at some level. However, it is important to note that while participation is viewed as potentially conducive in providing benefits and useful in ensuring the appropriate distribution of proportionate benefits; “*community ownership or control does not feature in the fundamental group of components*” (Simpson, 2008:3).

More than often, residents themselves do not know where to begin or how to get involved when it comes to participation (Joppe, 1996). Therefore, to be able to successfully implement tourism development strategies a local focus must be set. Bosselman, Peterson, and McCarthy (1999) indicate that there is no general formula that can be adapted on every development object. Instead much attention must be put on understanding the culture of the community and to create a vision that is perceived by the residents of the community, being as including and fair as possible to tailor-make a solution. In line with this utterance, Tosun (2000) criticizes the normative (Northern) concept of participatory development arguing that dialogue-based processes may not be regarded as necessary or efficient in other contexts.

Some of the perceived problems of the participatory tourism development approach in the developing world are examined and argued based upon the related arguments for the developed world by carefully taking into account socio-political, economic and cultural structure of developing countries. However, effects of these problems on operation of the participatory development approach vary from developed nations to developing nations. It is likely that these limitations make community participation in the TDP less probable in developing countries that do not have the basis of the pre-industrial phase experienced last century in Western Europe and North America, where now better economic, legislative and political structure are in operation, than in developing countries. For instance, community participation will differ from Western Europe and North America, where they have a long history in civil engagement, and the involvement of particular members of Southern communities, who are traditionally marginalized in decision making processes and therefore its participation is influenced by its societal structures and cultural norms. Thus, it can be said that the limitations of participatory development in tourism activities are, in other words, an extension of the situation that hinders the community’s further development (Tosun, 2000).

After examining several participatory tourism development practices in developing nations, Mowforth and Munt (1998) have stated that *“the push for local participation comes from a position of power, the first world: It is easier to promote the principles of local participation on paper, from a distance, than to practice them”* (Mowforth and Munt, 1998:240). A concern is, indeed, the trend of using terms like 'local consulting' and 'local participation' which makes development projects look good on paper, whilst the reality is much more complex and unpleasant. Therefore, current research highlights discourses like participation resulting in unjustified exercise of power, where well-articulated visions of equal participation and direct local benefits often come from a first world initiator like major NGOs (Non-governmental organizations) and supranational institutions, resulting in imbalanced control within the destination community (Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

Responsible or ethical tourism are advocated by tourism organizations, however, National governments, particularly in the developing countries, are unlikely to promote change that will alter the balance of power between all the players in the tourism field. Several cases regarding participatory tourism development practices in developing countries are examples of 'manipulative participation' or 'passive participation' according to Pretty's typology (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Tosun (2000) argues that a participatory approach is directly reflected by the existing community situation and has limitations when it comes to the social, economic and cultural structure within the community (Tosun, 2000). Tosun (2000) also argues that implementation of participatory development approaches in developing countries is likely to meet obstacles usually associated with the operational procedures of the task. Some of these obstacles include the centralization of public administration of tourism development, lack of coordination between involved parties and lack of information made available to the local people of the tourist destination (Ibid.). Also in structural limitations in many developing countries, usually associated with institutional, power structures, legislative, and economic systems (Ibid.). Cultural factors such as limited capacity of poor people to handle development effectively, and apathy and low level of awareness in the local community function as well as obstacles to the operationalisation of participatory tourism development approach (Ibid.). Simpson (2008) also talks about potential problems that can occur where communities are heavily involved in tourism initiatives. For the private sector, governments and NGOs when developing and managing tourism in its many forms involvement of the community may not only prove difficult in terms of operational and management practicalities, financial control and legal issues, but may also cause problems in achieving the goal of benefit delivery to the community due to inherent complexities (Simpson, 2008). In addition, Simpson (2008) states;

“Communities may become subject to external pressures, issues of governance and structure, conflicting stakeholder agendas, jealousies and internal power struggles, and the growth of artificial hierarchies and elites may occur, diminishing or undermining potential benefits to the community”(Ibid.:3).

3.4.6 Forms of Community Participation in the Tourism Development Process

Different typologies of participation are illustrated in Figure 1 which contextualizes community participation as a categorical term that allows participation of people, citizens or a host community in their affairs at different levels (local, regional or national) and various forms (manipulative, coercive, induced, passive, spontaneous, etc.) under site specific conditions. In order get a better understanding of how community participation is used in our case study it may be useful to explain models or typologies of community participation developed by Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995) and Tosun (1999).

Fig. 1. Normative Typologies of Community Participation

7. Self-mobilization	←	8. Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power	→	<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up; active par.; direct participation; par. in decision making, authentic participation; self planning;	
6. Interactive participation		7. Delegated power				6. Partnership
5. Functional participation	←	5. Placation	Degrees of Citizen Tokenism	→	<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.	
4. Participation for material incentives		4. Consultation				3. Informing
3. Participation by consultation		3. Informing				
2. Passive participation	←	2. Therapy	Non-participation	→	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation.	
1. Manipulative participation		1. Manipulation				
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation		Arnstein's (1971) typology of community participation			Tosun's (1999a) typology of community participation	

Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology → ←

Source: Tosun (2006:494)

The most important point in Arnstein's (1971) concept of community participation is the degree of power distribution. Arnstein (1971) has approached this in terms of a ladder or typology of citizen participation including eight levels, which are classified in turn among three categories relative to authentic citizen participation. While the lowest category represents manipulative participation, the highest category refers to degrees of citizen power. The middle category indicates degrees of citizen tokenism. Pretty's (1995) model describes community participation at seven levels which run from manipulative participation to self-mobilization. Each level allows for different degrees of external involvement and local control, and reflects the power relationships between them.

Because our case study touches upon development approaches in tourism studies, we consider it relevant to mention Tosun (1999), who has attempted to develop a typology of community participation in tourism. He classifies types of community participation under three main headings that have some sub-headings. These are: spontaneous community participation, induced community participation and coercive community participation (see Fig.1). Arnstein's (1971) and Pretty's (1995) typologies are developed in the context of developmental studies in general. They are not related particularly to a sector of an economy, but Tosun's (1999) typology is designed specifically for tourism. It elaborates each type of community participation with special references to the tourism industry. Thus, in this part of our theoretical chapter we aim to explain Tosun's (1999) model for community participation in greater detail to establish a solid conceptual framework for the empirical part of this research.

Spontaneous participation in Tosun's (1999) model corresponds to degrees of citizen power in Arnstein's (1971) typology, and to self-mobilization and interactive participation in Pretty's (1995) model. It represents an ideal mode of community participation. This ideal type provides full managerial responsibility and authority to host community.

Induced community participation in tourism development corresponds to the degrees of citizen tokenism in Arnstein's (1971) typology, and functional participation with participation by consultation or participation for material incentives as described in Pretty's (1995) model. In this best type, the host community is allowed to hear and be heard. They have a voice in the tourism development process, but they do not have power to insure that their views will be taken into account by other powerful interest groups such as government bodies, multinational companies, international tour operators, etc. Therefore, it seems to denote level of tokenism. This type is the most common mode to be found in developing countries where a host community only endorses decisions regarding tourism development issues made for them rather than by them (Tosun, 1999).

Thus, making it a 'top-down', passive and indirect form of participation as host communities may participate in implementation and sharing benefits of tourism, but not in the decision making process.

Coercive participation is manipulated and contrived as a substitute for genuine participation. It represents the lowest rungs of the ladder, manipulation and therapy, in Arnstein's (1971) typology, and passive and manipulative participation in Pretty's (1995) typology. The real objective is not to enable people to participate in the tourism development process, but to enable power holders to educate or cure host communities to turn away potential and actual threats to future tourism development. Some decisions may be taken to meet basic needs of host-communities by consulting local leaders so as to reduce socio-political risks for tourists and tourism development. Although it seems that tourism development is to take place based upon host communities' priorities, it is heavily skewed towards the fostering and development of tourism, and would primarily be concerned with meeting the needs and desires of decision makers, tourism's operators and tourists. For our research, these typologies may be a useful tool to identify in which form community participation is being approached. The approach can vary from the more common passive, manipulative or token forms towards those which are more authentic and interactive. *"This accords well with the superimposed nature of tourism activity that is frequently grafted onto an economy and society in a 'top-down' manner"* (France, 1998:224).

A further typology, put forward by Sarah White (1996), offers some insights into the different interests at stake in various forms of participation (Figure 2). Used less as a ladder and more as a way of working out how people make use of participation, it can be a useful tool to identify conflicting ideas about why or how participation is being used at any particular stage in a process. Typologies as the one noted earlier such can be read as implicitly normative, suggesting a progression towards more 'genuine' forms of participation. When these forms of participation are contextualized, however, they become more ambiguous.

Fig 2. A Typology of interests

Form	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end	What 'participation' is for
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management	To give people a voice in determining their own development
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic

Source: White (1996) cited in Cornwall (2008:273)

3.4.7 Chapter Conclusions

In general, the characteristics of a social entrepreneur is thus a person who holds and contribute with innovative ideas and approaches to combat the social and environmental problems the world is increasingly experiencing. Subsequently, tangible and intangible impacts produced by a social entrepreneur should be measured as a consequence of social change. Hereby the working methods distinguishes from the work created by the business entrepreneur which is primarily directed towards creating profit by exploiting lucrative business opportunities, thus focus is on business development. Being a social entrepreneur accordingly entails being able to work on an individual basis or in cooperation with like-minded people, thus the ventures of a social entrepreneur remains small in scale. Usually, being a social entrepreneur means being able to work across sectors and requires for innovative and creative ways to draw usage of resources in order to obtain the goals of a given social venture and achieve a social change. In addition, the nature of social entrepreneurship is in many fields well-researched, although no universal definition of a social entrepreneur exists. Accordingly, within the area of tourism and hospitality the potential of social entrepreneurship remains little explored.

The new perspective on sustainable tourism increasingly draws on making the local society the essential beneficiary of the tourism activities. Forms of tourism such as CBT, for instance, support the idea of sustainability through tourism activities initiated, managed and owned by the residents or indigenous people. This fact shows how sustainable tourism is moving towards people's-focused and participatory approaches to development and, therefore, being more aware of human and social needs. Community participation approaches are advocated as being an essential part of the sustainable tourism development since part of the negative impacts of tourism, especially in developing countries, have been related with the locals having no control over its development. When implementing community-oriented tourism development better partnerships between the tourism industry and local communities are developed, therefore, a greater level of sustainability is achieved. Community participation can be understood as creating development in a way that intended beneficiaries are encouraged to be the ones who have the control of it, to participate in their own development by mobilizing their own resources and defining their needs. However, there are many definitions and different perspectives of seeing community participation, hence, to encapsulate the concept within just one single and specific term may not be possible.

It is important to stress that, although it is a highly desirable and a practical concept to implement in the TDP, authors such as Tosun (2000) show how there seems to be formidable limitations to practicality of applying the community participation approach in the TDP, especially in developing countries.

In order to have a better understanding of how community participation is used in our case study, the different typologies of community participation developed by Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995) and Tosun (1999) are being introduced. Additionally, a further typology, put forward by Sarah White (1996) offers some insights into the different interests at stake in various forms of participation which helps to identify conflicting ideas about why or how participation is being used at any particular stage in a process.

4. Introduction of the Case Study

4.1 Colombia - Country Introduction

Colombia is located in the northwest corner of Latin America with a territory of 1.141.748 km². On the northwest it is bordered by Panama, to the east by Venezuela and Brazil, and on the southwest by Peru and Ecuador. Additionally, the territory of Colombia is divided into five regions - the Caribbean, the Andean, Pacific, Orinoquia and the Amazon region. Colombia is inhabited by a population of 48.32 million people and considered as a multiethnic and multicultural country due to its three main groups of people constituting of the Indigenous people, the Afro-Colombian populations and the population of the Mestizos (um, n.d.). A racial mixture derived from its history of slave trade and Spanish conquest. Colombia was conquered by the Spanish empire (Skidmore & Smith, 2005) having the city of Cartagena as the dominant city of the Caribbean coast and the hub of trade with the outside world (Ibid.) - today Cartagena it is still the fifth largest city of Colombia (um, n.d.). The capital of Colombia is Bogotá, which, since colonial times has been the center of political power (Skidmore & Smith, 2005). In corollary, although Colombia today is perceived as a democratic country, it has a history of violence and social injustice - including the path to independence from the Spanish throne, slavery and thus the abandoning of it and civil wars. In more



recent times, happenings such as 'narco-trafficking' and the violent guerrilla movement 'FARC' has constituted the international image of Colombia producing much negative advertisement of the country (Marshall et al., 2013). However, since the death of the notorious drug lord 'Pablo Escobar' in the mid-1990s and the inauguration of a comprehensive security strategy in the mid-2000s, Colombia has experienced a significant decrease in violence related to 'narco-trafficking'. Also the power of illegal armed groups were weakened which resulted in an increase in safety and stability in Colombia between the years 2002 and 2010 (Berger et al., 2012). Despite of progress in changing the global reputation, the international image of Colombia remains marred by its history of violence and corruption (Ibid.). In accordance, the racial classifications dating back from the times of conquest remains visible, thus Colombia remains a highly racialized society with the hegemonic

power groups to be represented almost entirely of an elite Mestizo class (Skidmore & Smith, 2005). Additionally, poverty and social inequalities are likewise persistent topics defining and affecting 46% of the total population, having the Afro-Colombian communities and indigenous people especially vulnerable to poverty and social injustice (IFAD, n.d.).

4.2 The Tourism Industry in Colombia

The tourism sector is a fast growing industry in Colombia. Numbers from 2012 produced by CID - Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo³ estimates that 26.9% of the Colombian population was employed in the tourism sector (Cárdenas, 2014). Every year, Colombia accordingly receives billions of dollars in foreign exchange earnings through the tourism industry making it the third most important sector of the country (Berger et al., 2012). As a result the tourism industry also becomes one of the main sectors contributing directly to the generation of employment in Colombia. A fact contributing to having the last two governments recognizing the tourism industry as a promising avenue for future economic development (Berger et al., 2012) thus, as a key tool for growth (Cárdenas, 2014). In this sense, the Colombian government is attempting to combat the existing negative images of the country as a dangerous destination so as to attract higher numbers of inbound tourism (Marshall et al., 2013) and positioning the country as a world-class tourist destination (Cárdenas, 2014). Foreign visitors to Colombia accordingly increased from 0.6 million tourists in 2000 to 1.4 million in 2009 which mirrors an average annual growth rate of more than 10% (Berger et al., 2012) having 29% of the total international tourists coming from the US (Cárdenas, 2014).

4.3 Trends of the Global Tourism Industry

There is an increasing recognition among both travel professionals and consumers of the importance of responsible traveling, a type of travel that minimizes impacts, brings economic benefits to host communities, and preserves the cultural and natural resources of the destinations.

³ Center for development studies

A variety of market studies over the past five years have documented sustained interest among consumers in tourism products and services that protect the environment and respect local cultures. For instance, according to a survey carried out by Nielsen Wire Survey (2012), two thirds (66%) of consumers around the world say they prefer to buy products and services from companies that have implemented programs to give back to society. 46% are willing to pay extra for products and services from socially responsible companies, and a majority (51%) of those under 40 are willing to do so (Nielsen Wire Survey, 2012). Other surveys and studies by the UNWTO; *“consistently find that between 10% and 15% of discretionary travelers want the unusual”* (UNWTO, 2011:11). These are the 'alternative' or 'new tourists' and; *“growth from these groups is out-speeding that of mainstream segments”* (UNWTO, 2011:11). Accordingly, these tourists are; *“typically highly educated, mature, affluent, well traveled, environmentally aware and sensitive to the social and cultural traditions, systems and mores of the destinations they visit”* (Ibid.).

Those facts thus mirrors how the growth of conscientious travelers is being driven by a confluence of lifestyle trends suggesting that the demand for responsible tourism is likely to remain strong into the future. One of those trends include the emergence of experimental tourism (CREST, 2009). In 2001, the UNWTO (2001) identified 'experiential' tourism (which encompasses ecotourism, nature, heritage, cultural, soft adventure tourism, rural and community tourism) as among the sectors expected to grow most quickly during the coming two decades (UNWTO, 2001). This type of tourism involves active participation by travelers, additionally the experiential tourists seek memorable experiences. Travelers that seek changes of scenery; they want to engage with and talk to locals. They want to learn about local customs and lifestyle. Experiential tourism products allow visitors to create memories through unique, hands-on experiences and they provide visitors with; *“memorable authentic cultural experiences that are personal, engage the senses, and make connections on an emotional, spiritual, or intellectual level”* (Tourismpei, 2015).

4.4 Introduction of the organization FEM

FEM - Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional is a non-governmental organization located in Cartagena - Colombia. It was established in 2007 and has been operating in Cartagena city center and with communities on the outskirts of the region. The organization is composed of three branches which focuses on the subjects: habitat, heritage, and entrepreneurship. To explain those themes 'habitat' concerns 'where' and 'how' we live and the way we relate to the environment and

everything that surrounds us. ‘Heritage’ is concentrated on the cultures we teach to the next generation - thus, which social heritage do we want to maintain and what do we allow or think should be forgotten. Lastly, the branch of ‘entrepreneurship’ is focused upon how it is possible to create income, and especially, how it is possible to create better income by valuing 'who we are' and making it a part of the global market (Appendix 8; Fieldnotes).

4.4.1 Vision of FEM

The vision and mission of FEM is thus, as the name connotes, to improve the social, cultural, and educational disparities found in Colombia through education by bridging the gap between problems and problem solvers through teamwork, volunteering and social innovation. By doing this FEM seeks to foster diversity through the encouragement of intercultural teamwork and volunteers (from worldwide) as a way to act against discrimination. Accordingly, the aim is to foster inclusion of all social classes by improving the quality of citizen participation in decisions affecting all individual and communities of Colombia. ‘Collaboration’ is thus the key word of FEM (Appendix 8; FEM n.d.).

4.4.2 How FEM works

The volunteers constitute almost the entirely workforce of FEM. All year round FEM and volunteers from around the world collaborate in the process of establishing projects within different fields. FEM has both, national and international volunteers in the field, as well as people working from distance. For instance, FEM has a team of architects helping with projects related to urban design, it has volunteers from France and Spain working together with the indigenous communities in the project of ‘Café Tuchín’. FEM has also had voluntourists spending their vacations in the indigenous community in the Cabildo teaching English to the kids. This is an example of the relevance and role of the volunteers of the development and realization of the projects of FEM (Fieldnotes; FEM, n.d.)

4.4.3 Cartagena Insider

Cartagena Insider is a project that has been created from the branch of FEM focused on entrepreneurship. The aim of this branch is to work as a ‘social business incubator’ so the projects from FEM can be financed by the profits from those social enterprises. The fundamental idea is to foster entrepreneurship and create awareness of how it is possible to make a living of one’s socio-cultural strength and create a business based upon it. Cartagena Insider is a social enterprise which offers experiential tourism, it lets the visitor discover non-touristic parts of Cartagena and communities found in the surrounding regions, as well as being actively engaged with the communities to get an authentic experience of the people of Colombia. Cartagena Insider is thus a small-scale tour operator working with a portfolio based supply of different types of tourists experiences - so called ‘route's’. The tourist can visit indigenous or rural Afro-Colombian communities, interact with the locals and experience their rural life, but Cartagena Insider also offers city "route's" to more alternative places which are normally outside the scope of the traditional touristic areas of Cartagena. The profit gained from the "route's" are being distributed to impact on the communities but also to subsidize other projects from FEM (Fieldnotes; FEM, n.d.)

4.5 Introduction of interviewees and description of the communities visited

In this section we will present an overview of the communities visited and mentioned in the analysis chapter together with a brief introduction of the interviewees from each "route", which will let the reader know the context when referring to specific places and persons.

4.5.1 The people behind FEM

Ana María González Forero: Ana María is the Co-Founder and Executive Director of the FEM Foundation. She is Colombian and holds a degree within Political Science from the National University in Colombia, accordingly she holds a Masters Degree in Education. For 15 years she has been a grass-root fieldworker with a specific focus on ‘participatory policymaking’. She has worked for the regional government doing consultancies and developing policies specialized in participation. Through these jobs she has been able to work with diverse and vulnerable populations in Colombia such as Indigenous people, Afro-descendants, and elderly. She is also a mother of two kids and among the first in Colombia to advocate for and practice home-schooling. Originally, she

is from the capital of Colombia (Bogotá), but moved to Cartagena. Bogotá, is a city with high comparison to a European city and thus Ana María is influenced by this 'world perspective' whereas her viewpoint is often to be connected to a Euro-centric one, although she is Colombian (Fieldnotes; FEM, n.d.).

Mayra Sthefanny Afanador Perez: Mayra is the operational coordinator of Cartagena Insider. She is originally from Medellin, but moved to Cartagena for college where she is currently studying political science and international relations at the Technical University of Bolivar. When she moved to Cartagena she joined FEM (Fieldnotes; FEM, n.d.).

4.6 Overview of the Communities where the 'route's' are being carried out

4.6.1 Africa en América - - Afro-Colombian Community

This 'route' is carried out in Palenque de San Basilio, a small village of the municipality of Mahantes, in the Bolívar Region. The reason why it is called 'Africa en América' is due to 'Palenque' is one of the fortified communities founded by the former African slaves that escaped during the times of conquest and stayed there as a refugees. Among the many Palenques that existed in the past, just the one from San Basilio has survived until today, becoming a unique cultural space that still preserves its own; language ('Palenquero'), traditions, music, arts & crafts and their ancestral freedom struggle, the enslaved Afros that won against the mistreatment and discrimination, because of that it was declared World Intangible Cultural Heritage. Palenque de San Basilio is thus a famous village because of its history and also because of the symbol of its woman, the Palenqueras. Those women are also very well known as the icon of Cartagena de Indias and even the Caribbean in Colombia. Traditionally they are the ones who have maintained the economy in the village selling fresh fruits and traditional typical sweets from Palenque carried in a big basin on the top of their heads (Fieldnotes, appendix 3 for pictures).

Interviewees

Dorina: She is from Palenque and founder of the 'Asociación de Productos Agropecuarios, dulces Tradicionales y Servicios Etnoturísticos de Palenque' (ASOPRADUSE) - Association of Agricultural Products, Traditional sweets and Ethno-touristic Services - She and her association are part of the 'route's', she sometimes guides the 'route's' taking place in Palenque.

Gandi: He is the guide escorting the visitors during the "route". He is from Palenque and works with Dorina in ASOPRADUSE.

4.6.2 Customized "route" in Leticia - Afro-Colombian Community

Cartagena Insider offers customized 'route's which itinerary can be designed according to the tourist interests about Colombia. After working in Cartagena and its region for over six years, Cartagena Insider's team is very knowledgeable about the best places, people and practices to help any visitor fully grasp the culture. One of those customized 'route's' is the one carried out in the small village of Leticia, an isolated rural village in the region of Bolívar where most of its residents are afro-descendants. Most of the people are peasants or working in the fishing industry. Because of its location people can only access to the village by crossing the river and the way to reach the community has to be completed by motorbike, if not taking the fairly long way down the river - the way tourists from Cartagena Insider arrives (Fieldnotes, appendix 4 for pictures).

Interviewee

Nelson: He is the 'leader' of the Cartagena Insider's project in Leticia and also the guide during the "route". He is originally from Venezuela, but moved to Colombia long time ago. He is working as a member of the Council in Leticia and also works in the Industrial Area in Pasacaballos - another village close to Leticia.

4.6.3 Cabildo Guayacanes Norte - Indigenous Community

This Cabildo (group of houses/community) is part of the 65 Cabildos in the 'Resguardo Mayor Indígena Zenú' of the municipality San Andrés de Sotavento, in the region of Córdoba. The Indigenous communities has achieved autonomy and they have a specific power structure formed by a Captain (the authority in each Cabildo), a 'Cazique Municipal' (authority within the municipality of San Andrés de Sotavento) and a 'Cazique Mayor'(authority of the whole region of Córdoba).

This Cabildo is a very rural place and very 'untouched' by modern civilization. The houses are built in the traditional way, with mud and roofs made of reed - they call it 'Caña Flecha' - which is the same type of reed they use to produce their arts & crafts. They use donkeys as a way of

transportation around the Resguardo, however the motorbikes are quite used as well. This Cabildo is one of the many in the area famous for their production of the typical arts & crafts - Zenú - such as the 'sombrero vueltiao'. Most of the artisans sell their products in Tuchín, a town near the Cabildo Guayacanes, which is considered to be the nest of the Zenú crafts. The "route" takes the visitor to sacred rivers and Saints Temple in San Andrés, they visit Tuchín and learn how to do their arts & crafts. Visitors spend the night in a typical Zenú house, they get to eat typical food made by the local families and experience the way indigenous people live in the community (Fieldnotes, appendix 5 for pictures).

Interviewees

Wilfrido: He is a Zenú indigenous, originally from the Cabildo Guayacanes, but moved to the city of Cartagena to look for economic opportunities. He started as a 'Tintero' - meaning he was selling coffee in the streets - then he met Ana María and hereby FEM and started working as a guide in the Museo del Oro in the old city center Cartagena. He became a leader and a 'celebrity' in the indigenous group, he was chosen to be in three councils assigning money and he travels around the region as a consultant of the indigenous communities. He is currently involved with FEM in the project of 'Café Tuchín' and with Cartagena Insider in the "route" of the indigenous community. In the 'route' he is the guide that escorts the visitors to every place they go during their stay in the 'Cabildo'.

Victor: He is from the Cabildo of Guayacanes and he is currently working in the 'Resguardo Zenú de San Andrés de Sotavento', they work within the executive branch and handle projects of health, education, security, etc. They have the Zenú Court of Justice, where they administrate justice to the Zenús in their territory.

Dario: He is a relative of Wilfrido who lives in the Cabildo of Guayacanes. He is one of the members of the family that hosts visitors in the "route" in the Cabildo. During our stay, he was one of the persons who were driving the motorbikes taking us around the 'Resguardo'. He also produces arts & crafts, such as the 'sombrero vueltiao', bracelets, earnings, etc.

4.6.4 Bazarto Market - City "route" in Cartagena

This "route" is carried out in a market called 'Bazarto' located in the neighborhood of 'El Barrio Chino' in the city of Cartagena. 'El Barrio Chino' is a poor neighborhood and known for being insecure, however, it has changed during the last years having the violence decreased significantly. In 'Bazarto' - the Cartagena's labyrinthine central market - you can find modern and also very old stalls where you can get Champeta records - the traditional music which is a mix of Spanish and African music - and meet urban artists and dancers. There is also a lot of fruits, vegetables and fish and a wide variety of medicinal herbs. In the market there is a very famous local spot to eat called 'Donde Ceci', which sometimes serves up river turtle, shark and cow's tongue. In general, it is a market a tourist would visit to have a glimpse into daily life of a real 'Cartagenero' rather than a place to go shopping (Fieldnotes, appendix 6 for pictures).

Interviewee

Quique: He is Cartagenero, but lived a couple of years in Venezuela. He has been living his whole life in 'El Barrio Chino', which he knows very well. He is an artist with his specialty in playing drums and dancing. In the past he was a football player what he has now substituted with studying at the university. Quique is involved in more than one "route" of Cartagena Insider. 'En tu salsa' - a "route" bringing the tourists to the local salsa bars (a "route" not being further explained in this project due to the lack of data) - and 'Drum Safari' he is a dancer and in 'Bazarto Market 'route" he constitutes as the guide and also dances with the tourists to teach them some steps. He is now the new artist instructor of 'Candilé' - a cultural non-profit organization located in the neighborhood of 'El Barrio Chino'. This association aims to rescue, preserve, develop, spread and transmit the cultural identity of the Colombian Caribbean through the execution of projects which are very marked by the interest in artistic education and thus the social, human and cultural development of the local communities. People from 'Candilé' are the artists that participate within the different "route's' of Cartagena Insider e.g. 'En tu salsa'.

4.6.5 Drum Safari "route" - Afro-Colombian Community

the Drum Safari is carried out in a poor Afro-Colombian community located in the fishing town of 'La Boquilla' on the north of the city of Cartagena. The majority of 'Boquilleros' are Afro-descendants and, over the past 60 years, it has been very difficult for them to keep living as

fishermen or peasants since the modernization processes began due to the constant expropriation of their lands by Cartagena's elites. Beside this, the environmental problems of the 'Ciénaga de la Virgen' (touristic attraction in the mangroves), associated with the development have contributed to impoverish their lives. In recent years, due to Cartagena's growth as traditional tourism destination, 'La Boquilla' has become important to local and international investors' interests. The tourism projects planned for this area put in danger the 'Boquilleros', due to the overwhelming construction of big hotel chains they would have been forced to leave their territory. However, in 2012 the community got approved with the 'titulación colectiva', which is a title working to guarantee the stay of the native population in the place (Fieldnotes, appendix 7 for pictures).

Interviewees

Yoel, Waidis and Davis: Are from 'La Boquilla' and they form part of the Drum Safari "route" where they play drums and carry out workshops to teach the tourists basic skills in drumming. The three of them have founded the company 'Batámbora' - an aggregation of musicians aiming to preserve the folkloric music of the Afro-Caribbean Colombian region - but with a twist of innovation. They also craft drums and work and sustain the music school 'Tambores de Cabildo de La Boquilla'. A school created for the kids of the community where there are currently 70 of them attending.

5. Analysis

5.1 Social Entrepreneurship

As having followed and worked with the FEM organization during our three weeks fieldtrip - including Ana María as the key figure of the organization - we have been able to generate a broad and in depth understanding of the vision and working methods of FEM. In the following section, attention will be drawn to the personality of Ana María Gonzalez Forero - Executive Director of FEM - as to scrutinize the activities taking place through the Foundation.

First of all it should be stressed how FEM works as an organization, namely with a goal to empower marginalized groups through its three main branches, as Ana María states *"we respond to three different things, one is called habitat, the other is called heritage and the other one is*

entrepreneurship - we seek to respond to very different questions" (Ana-San Andrés, min. 0.37). In corollary Ana María further adds to the branch of entrepreneurship that it is an initiative seeking to explore; *"how do we create income, and especially how can we create better income by valuing who we are and making it part of the market"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 1.28). An idea expressed in the project called Cartagena Insider, which accordingly has received two medals within the category of innovation - the 'Medal to Touristic Merit' and the 'Bolivar prize' within innovation. National prizes which was achieved in 2014 (fieldnotes) as a result of the target Cartagena Insider seeks to have, as Ana María explains; *"we were read as an innovation as we targeted a different group of people - exclusivity does create a trademark and (...) it gives you a characteristics of the tourism that makes people (tourists) wanting to have it"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 6.30). Additionally, the structure and fundamentals of the entire organization is based upon meeting human needs in low-income and, or rural communities to enhance the life quality of those, often, very marginalized people. A goal attempted to be achieved by drawing upon a 'bottom-up' community based approach in tourism development as Ana utters; *"Cartagena Insider belongs to FEM - one of the pillars of FEM is to be respectful to the communities"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 7.22). FEM is thus a social enterprise advocating for marginalized groups to enter the world of entrepreneurship as to foster job creation, which as a consequence, will impact on the communities by empowering it through economic and socio-cultural assets and thus reduce poverty and improve their living conditions. Additionally, as an integrated part of the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider is to be found the vital aspect of sustainability which, in fact, constitute the rudiments in each of the projects initiated by FEM. With this information, FEM with Ana María as the front figure, it is being reflected how she inscribes herself into the theoretical definition of a social entrepreneur found in academia as Friedman & Desivilya (2010) defines a social entrepreneur as a person establishing new and innovative organizations to meet human needs and engage themselves in poverty reduction issues and concerned with environmental sustainability. Likewise, are they perceived as important actors in job creation and economic development based upon creating a social change. Hereby, in accordance with Friedman & Desivilya (2010) Ana María holds all characteristics of a social entrepreneur by the actions and ventures she is initiating through FEM, thus the reason why she should be labelled a 'social entrepreneur'. After having worked with Ana María, one sentence we heard many times was; *"Come on let's try it out and see what happens"* (Ana, fieldnotes). A statement which shows us how she is willing to take a risk in her implementation of the projects of FEM in new and creative ways. Although, this statement also reflects her social status in society as

it mirrors her capacity to engage herself in activities which will not have grave side effects on her personal life if they do not turn out as planned. Stating this, noticeably is for instance the pillar of FEM concerned with entrepreneurship as Ana María states; *"in the entrepreneurship theme we have two projects- the 'Túchin' (...) and then we have another start-up which we created for tourism called 'Cartagena Insider' (...) it's a portfolio of different kinds of experiences that we create with the communities that we work on and we develop different tourist products* (Ana-San Andrés, min. 1.45). In this way, Cartagena Insider constitute as a tourism tour operator, however, Ana María holds no previous knowledge of the tourism sector. Although in line with Shane & Venkataraman (2000) the essence of entrepreneurship is all about discovering and exploiting opportunities in a new field. As having the global tourist market placed in an era of seeking for 'authentic' and 'off the beaten track' touristic experiences engaging the tourist in direct interaction with the locals, in typically non-touristic areas, the project 'Cartagena Insider' inscribes itself into the global discourse of authenticity in tourism experiences, thus responds to the current market needs of the tourism industry. A fact which sheds light on how she accomplishes, despite of this inexperience in the tourism industry, to understand the current market trends and transforming them into a market opportunity to exploit as a way to achieve her visions of FEM. The above mentioned example accordingly illustrates how she performs her activities as a social entrepreneur, as Moscardo (2014) introduces the social entrepreneur as 'a risk-taking individual' searching for market opportunities and organizing their resources and other people to pursue these opportunities. Building on this theoretical assumption, the resources of Ana María constitute of the communities of which she holds knowledge as she states; *"why do Cartagena Insider works - because I know who to go to in Palenque, in Leticia - I know who my associates are"* (Ana - Palenque, min. 18.40) as implementing a project as Cartagena Insider, based upon creating 'authentic' experiences implies an inevitable necessity for local cooperation, since without community interest in participating in the creation of the "route's' they would not exist - as Ana María states; *"obviously, the fact that we have the foundation gave us a database to work from (...) literally you can come and ask me for any experience (...) I know the 25 Afro-populations, the secret places (...) a network created through the organization in which I e.g. met the Indigenous people of Cartagena that I had never seen (...) and I realized they were living in terrible conditions (poverty)"* (Ana, San Andrés, min 31.30). From this statement it can thus be revised how her encounter with those 'unknown' indigenous people triggered a desire to help improve their life standard - as Friedman & Desivilya (2010) explains is one of the characteristics of the social entrepreneur. Accordingly how she recognizes how her

network and connections to the communities (her resources) are the reason the implementation of Cartagena Insider allows for the enterprise to exist. Accordingly, Dees et al. (2001) explains how the main 'human capital' of a social entrepreneur is the ability to integrate and utilize their resources which are the fundamental mechanism of the social transformation, which is the goal of their social ventures, thus encompassing how the communities represent a resource of Ana María. Although, stating this, as words such as 'utilize' tends to connote negatively, the origins of the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider, as already delineated, are to empower marginalized areas of Colombia in a sustainable, participatory, non-harming and altruistic manner by providing authentic tourism experiences. However, in other words, Cartagena Insider becomes a business selling a tourism product. In extension, it can thus be argued that a process of commodification of the locals from the communities are taking place. An argument deduced from the rationale that the 'route's' could not exist without the engagement from the communities since it is their life's and livestock which constitute the tourist experience, hence the product. As a result, they become 'actors' in the creation of 'authentic experiences' and their communities a 'living museum' as to achieve this 'authentic' travel experience the global tourism market desires for. As Murphy (1985) explains, destination communities are important component of a tourism product as the industry uses the community as a resource and sell it as a product which in response will affects on the lives of everyone. Although, most certainly will the communities be affected by tourism, it is the managerial process which determines the outcomes, thus if it echoes mainly positively or negatively on the destination. As Mayra expresses; *"when we go to the community we say what we can do and until where we can reach and we need help from the community if we want to make it happen"* (Mayra 2, min. 1:15:59, appendix 2 nr. 1) which Ana María builds upon by expressing; *"no harm action says that you vow to not damage the communities that you are serving"* (Ana-San Andrés, min. 8.38). Despite of the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider being a product those statements, however, entail how the focus is on the well-being of the community instead of satisfying and following the market logics. Therefore it is being expressed how Cartagena Insider is developed around a community based approach as Tosun (2000), Scheyvens (2002), Burns & Candon (2006) outline that the community based approach is having the local communities as the focal point in which tourism is being implemented and used as an instrument for a development process to take place - mainly through job creation emerged from new opportunities. Although, not only is the importance of creating new employment opportunities, as above statement reflects, the well-being of the communities are highly valued entailing how aspects of socio-cultural sustainability are crucial in the realization of the 'route's'.

Nonetheless, as outlined, Cartagena Insider is a tourism product, implying how it to some extent has to follow market logics of consumerism as without the customers (the tourists) there would be no basis for the enterprise to exist. A realism which is being exemplified in the statement by Ana María as she utters; *"the genesis of that tour comes from the market (...) I won't deny if both the demand, some tourists are gonna say we want it, AND some Palenqueros would be interested I would not say no"* (Ana-Palenque, 19.08). In this statement Ana María encapsulates her understanding of the market logics, although, she also displays her genuine concern for the communities thus it entails how the 'bottom-up' approach constitutes the base of the 'route's'. Albeit, on the contrary of this, she does not 'close her ears' to the market demands, thus enforcing a commodifying effect of the communities involved. Despite of this, as the concept of commodification may connote rather negatively, it is imperative in this particular case study, to note how the social capital of the communities should be viewed as being commodified in a non-exploitive manner, but by creating a collaboratory effect in which knowledge is being mutually transferred between FEM and the communities, as Ana María states; *"What I am trying to do is to build a bridge that does not privilege anyone, a bridge between people, communities, professions, between capacities and interests, and we found a name for our strategic design that represents this idea which is 'colaboratory'"* (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 4:13. Appendix 2 nr. 2). Despite of arguing for a commodification process of the communities it is vital how the venture is carried out wishing to have the communities engaged and understand the opportunities of their communities and identities in accordance to the market, so as to say, in which way market trends of the global tourism industry can be utilized and positively impact on their lives in socio-economic aspects. As Moscardo (2014) argues, entrepreneurs can often be leaders in their area and act as champions for new ventures, using their influence to mobilise others in their networks to support these new activities, which is yet another illustration of how her working methods depict how she holds the personality of a social entrepreneur. Accordingly, Ana María, thus manages to mobilize people from marginalized communities around her, to take part in her ventures by encouraging them to engage in tourism entrepreneurship.

As Cartagena Insider is a pillar of the FEM the paramount driving force behind the construction of the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider is, therefore, not solely a profit making enterprise. On the other hand though, it should be mentioned the relationship between FEM and Cartagena Insider as Ana María states; *"Cartagena Insider is basically the slave of FEM. The idea is to financially support other projects by FEM with (some) of the money from the 'route's'"* (Ana-Ludoteca1, min. 40.10).

Hereby, Cartagena Insider falls under the description by Nicholls (2006) and Dees (1998) as a social enterprise implemented as a 'strategic move' by Ana María in order to be able to financially subsidize projects by FEM. However, as above described, Cartagena Insider is an enterprise not solely 'exploiting to support'. Its core principles remain being based upon leaving a positive social change on the participants involved in the making of the 'route's', thus Cartagena insider is yet another pillar of FEM involved in the social sector, as Ana María states; *"Cartagena Insider is not a project to become millionaire from, this has happened in Santa Marta and it has displaced the indigenous to the periphery"* (Ana, San Andrés min. 12.35). In this sense, it can be assessed how the essential aspects of Cartagena Insider, although developed to subsidize FEM, has the overall goal of providing social changes in the communities in which they cooperate with the locals. Yet the unavoidable reality is thus Cartagena Insider remains a 'product' for the global tourism industry to consume as Ana María states; *"Cartagena Insider is created for tourism (...) and we develop different tourist products"* (Ana, San Andrés min. 2.15). Due to this recognition the nature behind the project of Cartagena Insider calls for knowledge of both the supply side, but to a large extent the demand side of the market as well. As Ana María holds great knowledge about market logics, it resembles how she simultaneously possesses the characteristics of a business entrepreneur for whom the market represents the center of later activities. Ana María expresses this as she holds awareness of Cartagena Insider being a business selling a 'product' to the global tourism industry of paying customers, despite of the fact that an 'experience' is rather immaterial in its nature which is exemplified in following utterance as Ana María explains; *"then they have lunch at Dorina's house because she has a very nice place where people (the tourists) can eat comfortably and clean -it's very hygienic, because we need that"* (Ana-Palenque, min. 22.40). As to further demonstrate this supposition Ana María explains how it is difficult to create a tour to Leticia, as part of the transportation to the community can almost only be done by motorbike, which she states is not possible due to safety issues of the tourists (Ana, Fieldnotes). From this point of view the market thus becomes the center point and an important aspect to consider in the development of the 'route's', hence it is thus arguable how the market also limits her ideas and initiatives. Along these lines, Ana María differs slightly from the description of the social entrepreneur by Thompson (2002) who explains how market demands are of less important in relation to the needs of the community. Accordingly, to draw upon the theory, Ana María, thus places her activities in a mixture of a CBTI and a CBT approach in the creation of Cartagena Insider aiming to create synergy between the market logics and the community as previously described, the idea of

Cartagena Insider is developed based upon the assumption stating; *"how can we create better income by evaluating who we are and making it part of the market"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 1.28). As Harrison (2008) describes the international tourism sector as an industry dealing with 'big business' therefore bringing big impacts, yet it is also a multifaceted globalizing industry, as within the scope of this case study it mirrors itself very efficient in enhancing self-esteem and connoting solely positive stories from the communities being researched. Though, on the contrary, it is a complex industry and inscribed into the market logics, whereas when using this specific industry as a way to develop marginalized communities it should be implemented with caution. As an example is the status of Palenque as Ana María states; *"it was declared world heritage in the 90s and because of that it was visited by - 'special' people - anthropologist, travelers, adventure seekers and all that"* (Ana-palenque, min. 1.37) which has put the community 'into fashion' contributing to having it exploited and taken advantage of by external tour operators. Hereby, the market trends plays an important role in determining how the tourism industry can be used. If the market trend of 'authentic' experiences changes the fundamentals of Cartagena Insider would vanish, thus portraying the complexities in drawing upon tourism as a way to obtain social change.

5.1.1 Tourism as the Point of Departure to Achieve the Visions of FEM

"Colombia is a country very marked by the social status of its people, it builds fake status, we like a lot the verticality- we love it!. You have power if you can look down someone, the way we work, the way we learn, the way we interact in the neighbourhoods, we are very hierarchical (...) To set up a non-hierarchic organization has been very difficult because people here need hierarchies, needs to receive orders from someone in order to do things" (Ana-Ludoteca1, min. 3:35. Appendix 2 nr. 3). A statement which unfold the social structure found in Colombia. Ana María describes; *"Colombia is a country divided into sectors (...) People in Bogotá does not even know of the Indigenous people living in E.g. San Andrés"* (Ana, Fieldnotes). In this particular case, FEM, including all its branches of projects, are aimed at one particular case, namely to influence on the social setting of Colombia working towards a reduction of the social strata diving the country. When assessing the theoretical description of the social entrepreneur Bornstein (2013) describes the social entrepreneur as a person with a 'social mission', meaning the impact created are to be estimated due to social improvements and not as a profit making business. Regarding the work of Ana María, performed through FEM, it was evident that she possesses a huge drive for a structural change concerning the very horizontal relationship among races and classes of Colombia (fieldnotes). A change she seeks to achieve by

working with marginalized and stigmatized groups - which are mainly indigenous or afro-colombians. However, although the aim of FEM is outlined as having goals to affect the social context of Colombia at a national level, the reality at a current state rather connotes that the impacts of FEM remains confined to resonate only in the respective communities in which they are implemented. Thus, it can therefore be argued that there exist a meta narrative of the idea behind this venture - to make structural changes at a national level - which must be assumed as a bit overrated. However, stating this, it is not to exclude the idea of the venture to not holding prospect of reaching at a national level someday in the distant future, albeit at the moment, impacts are limited to influence on few Colombian communities and within the communities impacting only on few locals.

In line with Bornstein (2013) the 'social mission' of Ana María, reflected in the projects within the different branches of FEM of habitat, heritage and entrepreneurship has been shown to constitute to a large extent as programs to engage marginalized locals in revisiting their own life and standard of living in relation to people from other areas of the world. Especially regarding the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider Ana María utters; *"They are not only about bringing money to the communities, but ATTENTION - many people does not even know that Leticia exist!"*. Therefore, to achieve this social change she draws upon the usage of the global tourism industry emphasizing how the 'route's' of Cartagena Insider are also thought to not only bring tangible economic assets, but also constitute as a platform for socio-cultural interaction among classes, races, nationalities and cultures. As Ana María states; *"Colombia is a country with very marked social classes"* (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 00:02. Appendix 2 nr. 4) (...) *"Part of Cartagena Insider is to fight against the 500 years of white domination"* (Ana, San Andrés min. 17.08). To further exemplify this, another project of FEM is the 'Ludoteca', situated in the low-income community of Torices in the outskirts of the city center of Cartagena, the house welcomes foreign volunteers as Ana María states; *"Getsemani (neighbourhood next to Torices) is a very harsh neighbourhood to live in, how are they going to do things differently if they have never seen things done different- not the correct one- just another way! That is why we invite international volunteers; Turkish, Chinese, African.."* (Ana-Ludoteca 01:12:02 Appendix 2 nr. 5). As the idea of the 'Ludoteca' is placed in the branch of FEM working with habitat and heritage, it can thus be argued how the tourism industry is also being implemented in this project, as it is the distant 'other' (the tourist) who constitute the individual for showing how things can also be done with the aim of changing and eliminating the habits we should not carry with us in the future. Exemplifying this, is an experience from our visit to the

neighbourhood Torices, which is being said to have a high crime. The Ludoteca is located in this area, it is a project by FEM and a place where kids can come to spend their spare time. We experienced in the children's an extremely violent behaviour towards each other (from a Danish/Spanish perspective). This is an expression of cultural differences and our presence as foreigners from another social reality influenced in the sense that kicking and beating each other was not tolerated to obtain his/her way, but communicating by talking would be a different way to handle the situation (fieldnotes - Ludoteca) encapsulating how the habits of violence are not necessary. Well aware that this example can be analyzed from other perspectives, and how our own social reality is an important aspect to consider in the understanding of the situation it is thus a way to express how more than one of the branches which constitute FEM seek to use the global tourism industry. Although it should be revised, how the welcoming of international volunteers are a way to show other cultures to the children of the community, it is, albeit not a project reaching out to the entire Colombian society nor impacting at a national level.

The name "Cartagena Insider" itself connotes the use of the 'social mission' which Ana María seeks to achieve with the business, namely to show tourists, Colombians as well as foreigners, what is to be found beneath the surface of the traditional tourists places and attractions. Consequently, she aims to substitute beach life with culturally experiences to bring tourists to meet the people of Cartagena and thus invite for cultural interaction among tourists and locals. In this way the core principle of Cartagena Insider is expressed - to engage marginalized groups in entrepreneurship. By doing this she will impact socially on the people involved in the Cartagena Insider project and bring perspective to 'what' is Colombia - 'who' and 'what' does the people of Colombia look like - as to enhance the 'attention' aspect as previously mentioned and as Ana María adds; *"we want to broaden the perspective people have of what Cartagena is because we believe that what currently is thought of Cartagena as being valuable and visible for being seen is a very limited and restricted notion of what the real Cartagena has to offer"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 2.55). In this way, one the one hand Cartagena Insider is a profit making business which must comply to market logics, on the other hand it is, at the same time, a business that serves as vehicle to help bringing forth and show the cultures of marginalized communities of Colombia that have not previously gained attention from Colombians or foreigners. By using the global tourism market Ana María sees a possibility to socially empower marginalized and stigmatized groups of Cartagena as she states about the tourism industry; *"what I believe is the most interesting part of a tourism product is that it put non-*

judgmental eyes in a community for the people to see what they (the tourists) value about you"(Ana, San Andrés, min.14.08). It is in this sense the tourism industry can be argued to constitute as a tool for Ana María to challenge the Colombian society as she subsequently states; *"Maybe by comparing themselves to this different other (the tourist) they (the locals) will start questioning"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 18.29). In this sense, Cartagena insider, by using the current 'authenticity' trend of the tourism industry, likewise seeks to have marginalized groups of Cartagena to revise the Colombian society (referring to the interracial division). As the tourism 'route's' paves the way for having 'white' (referring to mainly western Caucasian tourist) to visit the communities bringing 'non-judgmental eyes' and without being inscribed into the culture class and race division of Colombia, hence visiting with a sincere interest in the lives of the afro or indigenous communities. The social impact of the venture (Cartagena Insider) on the locals are thus to create awareness of how their racial classification should not necessarily make them inferior to others, thus she uses tourism as a tool to confront the way in which Colombia is divided in sectors of racial groups and accordingly into class. This is being expressed in the statement by Ana María; *"The only relationship between the rich and the poor is charity (...) with a condescending vertical relationship where the rich give the poor" (...)" why don't we just create and experience in which you can just go and understand - that's the core of Cartagena Insider"* (Ana2, min. 0.24). By bringing tourists interested in their lives it will create an empowering effect in the sense of creating pride and enhance the self-esteem of the communities in the sense that, as Ana María states; *"if I look at you with interest then you are going to reflect on what you have that is interesting to someone else"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 13.53) (..) *"the eye of the other help them (the locals) value themselves"* (Ana, San Andrés, min. 16.59). On the contrary, following those statement and the knowledge of how the Colombian society is heavily divided among racial groups and the fact that Cartagena is a product, thus commodifying the participants, concerns could be held towards how those cultural interactions could sustain the exact opposite outcome, namely enhancing the commodifying effect of the locals as a product being gazed upon by the white superior races, in consequence contributing to reinforcing how the country is divided into racial sectors and classes. In this particular case locals however expressed as much interest to 'gaze upon' the tourists as Elmiro utters; *"yes, I like when tourists arrives here - blond girls - I like to look at them! (laughing)"* (Fieldnotes, appendix 2 nr. 1a). From the community of Barrio Chino we experienced the same interest in tourists as Quique living in El Barrio Chino (Bazurto Market) states about his first encounter with tourists in his neighbourhood; *"I was at the market and I saw a couple that asked me- You (tourist pointing at him) photo?- and I said- Yes!*

(smiling)” (Quique-Bazurto, min. 17.00. Appendix 2 nr. 6), likewise when asked of his feeling when having tourists visiting his neighbourhood he states; *“I feel so good and proud of my neighborhood and my market”* (Quique-Bazurto, min. 18.20. Appendix 2 nr. 7). In corollary Ana María describes; *“that is exactly what Cartagena insider wants is to put the tourists inside the communities and the communities reflect upon how to value themselves”* (Ana-Leticia, min. 2.15). Hereby, Cartagena Insider opens up the possibility for the locals of marginalized communities to review their own social status in relation to other societies in which the same racial classification do not exist, herewith increase the level of self-esteem and pride of those communities. This could contribute to impact on the race division of the Colombian society - in other words - it can be a way to eliminate the hierarchical structure of the Colombian society, albeit this would require for widespread usage of the working methods of FEM as at current stage, only few individuals coming from marginalized groups has been affected.

When analyzing on the way in which the tourism industry can influence it seems as a fruitful industry to draw usage of in meeting the needs of her 'social mission'. Though, it should be emphasized how the impacts created by the tourism industry are empowering to a larger extent socio-culturally than socio-economically by enhancing self-esteem, value and pride among locals in the communities. Accordingly, the tourism industry possesses the possibility to reach and create a coherence among all three branches of FEM, namely habitat, heritage and entrepreneurship. In this sense, the 'social mission' of Ana María is being expressed through the activities of FEM, and especially Cartagena Insider, however when being scrutinized it is evident that the fundamentals is to reach marginalized groups that have not previously been heard or being of importance in the Colombian society. Mair & Noboa (2006) argue about how the tangible outcomes produced by a social entrepreneur should contribute and sustain social benefits. In this particular case study the impacts are although to be estimated primarily in a very intangible way. Therefore, Ana María differs from the theory in the sense that the benefits of her activities are predominantly intangible in their nature. However those benefits are based upon creating or strengthening the social capital of a community, which in return, as Leadbacker (1997) describes, will be a way to empower disadvantaged and marginalized groups so as for them to be able to take greater responsibility, thus control of their lives. The importance, hereby, lies in creating attention of the communities and having the communities to question their lives in relation to how Colombia is being sectored in racial groupings, however also in a much broader perspective when cultural interaction is taking place among locals and tourists (of international or domestic origin). In the specific cases of the

'route's' of Cartagena Insider, it is thus revisable how the tangible outcomes are far less comprehensible in relation to the intangible assets. Likewise does it seem just as important to support and increase the social capital by strengthening the self-esteem of the communities than bringing tangible assets to the communities - in this case fostering job creation so as to increase the tourism economic assets.

In this regard, she is not drawing upon the tourism industry as a typical tool in a development process as the economic assets remains rather small in relation to the socio-psychological effect she seeks to achieve from tourism to change the cultural image of Colombia with her initiatives reaching only at local level. A reality Ana herself encapsulates as when she many times uttered; *"come on, let's just make a small effort in improving something"* (Ana, Fieldnotes). Accordingly, Ana María inscribes herself into the definition of a 'mediator' as Smith (2001) & Zorn & Farthing (2007) introduce the mediators as a person who mediate relations between people and groups from different and unequal social status. In this particular case study Ana María is placed as the mediator between the community and the governmental institutions of Colombia, accordingly she aims to create synergy between the demand and the supply side of the tourism industry. Jennings and Weiler (2006) describe the 'mediator' as 'agents of social change', although, as previously argued, in this case study the actual number of individuals being targeted are rather few - however she does enforce a social change for a limited number of people. Following, it can thus be argued that the nature of the 'route's' does not comply to the general assumption of communitarian tourism in Latin America as Zorn & Farthing (2007) defines as locally developed, owned and accordingly managed enterprise holding community-wide distribution of its benefits.

As introduced above, the cultural intangible impacts the tourism industry inevitably will bring is what enhances the result of her 'social mission'. Therewith, by having a business established around those principles in order to challenge the power structures of Colombia, inscribes Ana María into the description of a social entrepreneur to a much higher extent than the business entrepreneur, despite the fact of Cartagena Insider being a profit making business. A distinction derived from the knowledge that the tangible benefits, measured economically, of the business of Cartagena Insider is to impact socio-economically on marginalized groups and not Ana María personally, which is another essential characteristic of the social entrepreneur. However, as Ana María is also a local Colombian, her 'social mission' can be argued to, in the long run, impact on her own life or her children's life. In this way she deviates from the theory by Moscardo (2014) stating about a social

entrepreneur that the benefits and impact created are to reach unconditionally beyond own individual needs of the social entrepreneur.

5.1.2 Social Entrepreneurs in Sustainable Community Tourism Development

As Höckert (2011) & Hall (2008) argue the quintessential of community based tourism is to foster empowerment through mainly job creation. As Cartagena Insider is constructed upon a community based approach, it is however arguable that there lies a much bigger importance in changing stereotypes of marginalized communities and making them proud of what they have, hence enhancing the 'social capital' of the communities in an intangible rather than tangible way. This can be seen when Ana Maria explains how Cartagena Insider works, she puts the following question; *"How am I going to make a living and how am I going to turn my socio-cultural strengths into additional values to create businesses?"*(Ana, intro min 13:16). She further clarifies that question by stating; *"If I am musician, I do not have to learn how to be a baker to make a living . Therefore, Cartagena Insider encourages the use of the current local knowledge and the existent resources of the community in order to make a living from it. As Ana Maria states; "I have to explore, through social innovation, what do I have to do with my vocational passion for music to make a living of it and, therefore, get income from it"*. Hereby, the basics of using a community based approach are not being redeemed without deviation. For instance, we can see that in the comment of Yoel when talking about the Drum Safari he says; *"our job, our live, everything revolves around the music, we do not do anything else but music"*(Yoel, min 19:20. Appendix 2 nr. 8). The idea in this "route" is that by using their passion and music skills, as well as their knowledge about the community in La Boquilla, they create something that provides them with an extra income and, at the same time, benefits more people in the community. Another example supporting the same idea is the "route" in the Cabildo of Guayacanes Norte. The Zenú indigenous are very well known for their arts & crafts, which have been their main source of income for hundreds of years. Cartagena Insider in this case wants to explore in which way they could make use of that knowledge so the indigenous can get an additional income from it, by selling their products directly to the tourists.

Therefore, the above mentioned examples support the theory of Höckert (2011) arguing that the fundamentals in using a community based approach in tourism development entails not to substitute traditional income sectors of a community with the tourism industry, as to avoid the communities to find themselves placed in a state of dependency of the rhythms of the global tourism market.

It is arguable that Cartagena Insider manages its development projects very wisely and understands very well the essential principles of how to create a social change by using a community based tourism approach as Ana María states; *"Cartagena Insider belongs to FEM, and one of FEM pillars is to be respectful of the rhythms and possibilities of the communities to understand themselves - which is not very simple and it is not the usual in social intervention"* (Ana-San Andrés min. 7.27). Cartagena Insider thus, meets the crucial principles in using tourism as a remedy for development if comparing their practices with the theoretical utterance by Moscardo (2014) who describes the importance of examining the capacity of the given community to manage and thus benefit from tourism development with the most important being the maintenance and the well-being of the community. The above statement shows how FEM is an organization capable of being realistic in determining what the community will be able to achieve, thus the practices of FEM are in compliance with the theory by Thompson (2002) stating the 'human capital' of a social entrepreneur is the capability of being able to 'listen to the voices' of the communities and respond to the needs and opportunities of the community. For instance, when talking about how things are decided in the communities Mayra points out that *"everything is decided by everyone and based on the community needs"* (Mayra 2, min 1:11:51. Appendix 2 nr.9). This fact, therefore, challenges the formerly used 'top-down' tactic towards a 'bottom-up approach' to development (Holden, 2006). Nevertheless, a finding which we acquired ourselves when visiting the communities and became aware of, was their extremely limited knowledge of the tourism industry. As a result, it can be argued that despite of projects being developed in accordance with the communities, their inexperience produces little reluctance, second thought and questions towards the implementation process of the projects, thus the capability of being able to 'listen to the voices' of the communities can be assessed to hold secondary value. Accordingly, FEM, in a Colombian context, will always be seen as the white superior expert as Ana María utters about a project being carried out in which a white and a black Colombian had to construct a house; *"the other one is white and rich so he has to tell me what to do - NO, YOU (the Afro-Colombian) are the expert so YOU have to tell him what to do!"* (Ana-San Andrés, min. 23.00). A statement which also mirrors who composes the hegemonic power group of Colombia. In this regard, it is here the idea of the term 'collaboratory' - a pillar in FEM's work - is being expressed encapsulating the idea of; *"creating a bridge that does not privilege anyone, a bridge between people, communities, professions, between capacities and interests"* (Anna intro, min. 4:13), which refers to the previously mentioned goals of creating social change by decreasing social barriers, achieving a more equal society and diminishing the

hegemonic power groups that are so characteristic in the Colombian society. In other words, as Ana Maria says, creating a *'Flattening Effect'* (Fieldnotes. Appendix 2 nr 2a) by working all together towards the same goal. As a consequence, projects like Cartagena Insider have been created to use, in this case, the tourism industry as a tool to achieve the aforementioned goals of FEM.

However, it is though important to point out that Cartagena Insider remains in its startup phase and thus it has not yet reached significant tangible outcomes, such as a stable economic flux derived from the 'route's'. However, as we previously mentioned, we can see that in the project Cartagena Insider lies an equally big importance in enhancing the 'social capital' of the community in an intangible rather than tangible way. Ana Maria admits that when they do the 'route's' she can see how the locals in the community see themselves 'lower' than the tourists, she explains that; *"We try to train the people to get out of it (...) but I think it is a bit inevitable (...) although I think practice will make it perfect"* (Ana María, min 17:40). Cartagena Insider is, therefore, a way to create this 'flattening effect' that Ana María talks about, as she says; *"I think that part of the exercise is having Cartagena Insider"* (Ana María, min 17:50), however she likewise utters *"we are struggling against five hundred years of 'white' domination (...) we are not going to change it with the tourist visits, or ten, or twenty or a hundred, but we are trying to challenge that"* (Ana Maria, min 18:15)

This feature leads to another vital aspect within development practices, namely as Mowforth et al., (2008) & Mathieson & Wall (2006) stress, there is a great importance in defining the nature of the concept of development, hence what values are to constitute development. An aspect Mayra further develops upon when explaining, how the communities have their form of life and development, and how it should be understood from the perspective of the community and not from her individual ideas of 'what is development' since it will be contextualized based on her reality (Mayra, Fieldnotes and Interview Mayra2 min. 28.23). For instance, Mayra explains how relative is the concept of 'advance', she argues that; *"you can think that all the advances are going to benefit the community but maybe for them they are not, they have their own way of picking up the water from the river, why are they going to need to change that now? (...) it all depends on how they see development (...) if I am used to have water, electricity, Internet, then we tend to think that is development and that other they need it as well"* (Mayra 2, min 28:11. Appendix 2 nr.10)

In this regard, it is once again being reinforced how the actions of FEM comply to the theory by Thompson (2002) supporting the action of listening to the voices of the communities; *"it is important to ask them what do they want, not what do we think they need"* (Mayra 2, min 28:45). In

addition, it can be said that the way FEM tries to create development in the communities is not being settled through the eyes of an Euro-centric way of thinking which determines the 'right' way of doing development. As Mayra explains; "*We (FEM), as more 'developed' people, have to think about how can we get involved with the community to co-create development, not the type of development we are used to and the one we think it is the 'right' but the one that it is created together with the communities*" (Mayra, 31:41). Accordingly she utters: "*nothing is done because I come to the community and since I am Mayra I do whatever I think it is good for them, no, everything we do is discussed with the community*" (Mayra2 min. 1.11.45). Following this statement, albeit without generalizing, they subsequently manage to differentiate themselves from how development has many times been imposed by Western NGO's, as Ana María points out "*usually the foundations and organizations bring their own agenda and they just develop it- we bring our ideas and see how people are prepared to develop them*" (...) "*We do 'No harm action', you have to think about how your project will not harm the communities*" (Ana-San Andrés, min. 7.45). By being aware of the different ideas or aspects found within the term 'development' and their way of using the theory of the 'No harm action' FEM as an organization demonstrates how they do not rely on the traditional - Eurocentric - way of performing development. Consequently, in Cartagena Insider for instance communities become the focal point of development where is the market the one which has to adapt to the communities and not the other way around. As Mayra explains about the conditions under which the tourists should visit the communities; "*the idea of the 'route' is to immerse in the community (...) people that go there is because they want to live that experience in that conditions*" (Mayra, min. 1.56. Appendix 2 nr.14). Hereby, FEM falls under the description of Bornstein (1998) which introduces social entrepreneurship as embedded in the social sector or the citizen sector, and focusing on the creation of sustainable social change.

According to Dees et al. (2001) it is important for the social entrepreneur to possess knowledge within a field in order to understand the customers to reach and satisfy their needs with innovative methods. As before introduced, Ana Maria does not have any previous knowledge within the tourism industry, which in accordance with Dees et al. (2001) can comprise a weakness of her 'social mission'. However, it can be seen as a fact which reinforces how she does not have the market as the center of her activities, but the community. In this regard, Ana María follows the theory of Thompson (2002) as he argues about how the social entrepreneur is predominantly concerned about the supply side of the project - in this case the communities - and thus how the community is not to serve the market but vice versa.

The above-mentioned idea goes in line with her concerns about which kind of tourist and how many will visit, for instance, the indigenous community. Ana Maria states “*you cannot turn the experience of the indigenous community into something massive*”(Ana, San Andrés min 9:07), she further adds “*You have to bring very few people that understand where they are, that they value it, that they are not going to bring presents to the kids because they feel sorry*”(Ana María,San Andrés, min 9:30). This shows the relation between carrying capacity and sustainable tourism. Those comments represent her idea of sustainable tourism, which, as Saarinen (2006) explains it, involves the recognition of negative impacts and the need to manage them in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development. The way she decides to manage those impacts is by taking into consideration the ‘carrying capacity’ of the indigenous community. Butler (1996) utters that one common and key issue between sustainable tourism and carrying capacity is the idea of the limits of touristic use and the changes in the physical and social environment to be deemed acceptable. Because of that reason, Ana María points out that the only way to protect the community from those impacts is to limit the touristic use; “*by offering a product that is only going to be chosen by people who is really interested*” (Ana María, min 9:32) as she explains; “*that protects the community for many people coming in*” (Ana María, min 10:05). Accordingly, Mayra explains how they do not advertise a lot the “route” of the indigenous community because people who is interested will ask for it, at the end they choose who goes or not to the community because; “*The tourists has to accept the consequences of this 'route' (...) there are not portable water, they will sleep like the locals (...) it is part of the experience that they will live exactly like the people in the communities*” (Mayra1, min. 00.20 appendix 2 nr. 15).

Therefore, the way tourism is used by Cartagena Insider goes in line with Saarinen (2006) who argues, that to achieve further growth and development, the host community will have to cope with the environment in such a way that they do not alter their behaviour and their resources used for the tourism initiatives.

5.2 Community based participation in Cartagena Insider 'route's

5.2.1 The government and Cartagena Insider

As far as we could observe, Cartagena is a city where the emergence and implementation of a participatory tourism development approach seem to be problematic, as Tosun (2000) points out

this is “*due to the prevailing structural constraints in many developing countries*” (Tosun, 2000:620). Cartagena is one of the most important cities for the Colombian tourism development, especially in MICE tourism (Cartagena de Indias, 2015). According to the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) (RCN la Radio, 2013), Cartagena is in the 56th position in the worldwide ranking and the 8th in Latin America. The amount of these type of events in Cartagena, where usually attend the *Jet Set*, have raised the image of the city as one of the most beautiful ones in the continent, where its doors are open and the social reality of the country seems to not have permeate the city is also known as ‘The pearl of the Caribbean’.

When talking about the context in which Cartagena Insider works we believe that it is important to analyse the relations Cartagena Insider/Ana María have with the government as it is a central and important stakeholder to understand the setting opportunities and pitfalls in the sustainable tourism development work that Ana María does.

Tosun (2000) argues about how formulation and implementation of any kind of community participation approach requires decentralization of the political, administrative and financial powers of central government to local government, at least to some extent. However, according to the UN (1981), in many developing countries planning is a highly centralized activity. Nevertheless, the case of Colombia seems to be different. Decentralization in Colombia has become indispensable for the good functioning of any of its economic sectors and tourism is no exception (MCIT, 2011). The departments and municipalities have the autonomy to create tourism offices depending on the relevancy that they have for the development of their territories (MCIT, 2011). As we previously mentioned, Cartagena is one of the most important cities for the Colombian tourism development, in fact, since 1984 it has been considered a World Heritage City (Cartagena de Indias, 2015) . The government of Cartagena, therefore, has its own tourism department, ‘Corporación Turismo Cartagena de Indias’ which is currently promoting Cartagena as a sustainable city, “*In 2020 Cartagena de Indias will be recognized as a prosper, competitive and the first world-class Colombian Sustainable Tourism Destination*” (Cartagena de Indias, 2015). According to Corpoturismo, to achieve sustainability and competitiveness Cartagena has “*to maintain, conserve and recover the natural and cultural heritage, promoting participation in the administrative and certification processes towards sustainability*” (Cartagena de Indias, 2015). In relation to that, we had the opportunity to attend to one of the meetings Corpoturismo arranged with some of the main tourism and cultural institutions in Cartagena. This meeting was to announce the accreditation

process that all the institutions and organizations supported by Corpoturismo have to go through. Their aim is to consolidate all the networks; dance, music, cultural tourism, etc. in a way that they follow sustainable practices, which will need to be present in the communication strategies of those institutions/organizations showing they are certificated in favor of those practices. Therefore this is part of Cartagena's tourism strategy as a sustainable city, what it is specially interesting to explain since the reason why we were present in that meeting was because Cartagena Insider was also invited. Drawing back on the relation Cartagena Insider has with the government, we perceive they are both 'using each other' by exchanging knowledge.

Cartagena Insider needs to be related to the government, those networks/ties Ana María has with the government are demonstrated in this meeting in the form of knowledge exchange, which is very important for both actors. The meeting is, therefore, an example of Ana María's capacity, as a social entrepreneur, to negotiate the resources she has available with this stakeholder – the government includes Ana María and thereby legitimizes her business as well as she shows up to support the ideas and negotiate her position. Those ties/networks are important for the social entrepreneurs, at least for Ana María they are important if Cartagena Insider wants to operate and be in the scene. We have previously mentioned Ana María does not like the associations that tend to be made when working with the local government; *“the way it works here is that if you belong to a political group then you can be hired to do contracts, so usually people associates that you are doing a contract with that you belong to the politician that is governing. That is an association that I do not like.”* (Ana María, government min 5:42) However, she seems to realise about the need to maintain an acceptable/good relationship with the government and that, despite those disadvantages, there are more advantages that can benefit her to provide legitimacy and trust to her social venture to operate within the tourism market. After all, Cartagena Insider is a government controlled business. Within this process of knowledge exchange the government benefits from including social ventures like Cartagena Insider due to the fact of Ana María holding valuable knowledge of the local communities, which is key for the development of government new tourism strategy since; *“citizen and community participation”* (Cartagena de Indias, 2015) is one of the principles of the certification for a Sustainable Tourism Destination. Therefore, for the government Ana María becomes a mediator. As a social entrepreneur she has the local- communities- knowledge and the gained respect and legitimacy from them, which has been achieved by working with FEM and the support she is giving to communities with Cartagena Insider. By doing this she shows her ability to be trusted by the community. When referring to how she got the restitution

rights for the indigenous group in Cartagena and how in that way she started to be respected inside this community, Ana María states; *“creating trust inside that group is really tough (..) but we have accomplished it, they are really nice and they like us”* (Ana María, San Andrés min 35:55).

Ana María's knowledge of government practices, her network inside that sphere and her overall personality that defines her as a social entrepreneur benefit the community as well. The proof of that are examples such as the one above mentioned of the indigenous' restitution rights, or for instance the fact of Ana María accepting consultancies to make policies for the regional government. Due to Ana María's engagement in the well being of the communities, the fact of being her the one who does these consultancies, will not just be the government benefiting from Ana María's local knowledge but the community as well, for example by making participatory policies with elder people it helped Ana María with the development of other projects of FEM. Therefore, being inside the government's tourism network can help Cartagena Insider be more influential within the government's tourism strategy. All this shows how her collaboration with the government is very well thought, she just works with them for certain issues that she believes that can be beneficial, she knows exactly which kind of relationship with the government she wants and interests to her projects and, therefore, to the communities.

All these examples show how Ana María positions herself between two actors- the government and the communities- and how necessary is her role for both of them.

5.2.2 Clientelism and trustworthiness from communities

Even though to elaborate further on clientelism it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to make a note on this concept and other issues like corruption in order to understand in depth the relation Ana María has with the government.

As Tosun (2000) writes, clientelism is very present in the Global South and Latin America is no exception. A fact being reflected in this case study as Mayra explains, that in Colombia, in many cases, NGOs working with the government are characterized by corruption, accordingly she explains how they give votes to the political party that is ruling, in exchange of receiving grants from the government. As Mayra points out; *“There are a lot of foundations here that get a lot of money but do not do social work, they do not work in the communities so communities do not like them”* (Mayra, min 1:19:35. Appendix 2 nr.16). However, it is also important to note that the organizations compete for the funds available, which is one of the reasons for Ana María not to

work with the government in this sense so she is not to be labeled as corrupt. FEM does not want to fall into that system and because of that they have problems getting financed. There is another way of getting the projects approved and it is by giving to the government part of the benefits gained from it; *“I will approve your project if you give me part of the benefits”* (Mayra 2, min 1:19:00. Appendix 2 nr.17). Because of FEM’s financial situation they have been thinking about following that system so they give part of the benefits to the government and the rest of the money will be used to develop the projects FEM believes in. However, she will strategically choose the option to be able to play with her resources the best way possible so she can ‘satisfy’ the government at the same time she looks after the community well-being. This is an example that shows how she is negotiating her position.

Since the first time Ana María met the indigenous living in Cartagena she, and FEM’s team, started to fight to get the indigenous’ restitution rights for that community. Since then, and after a lot of work with the indigenous she got their respect and trust. Mayra also explains that when communities do not agree with what external organizations do in their community they are automatically kicked-off, she mentions how they have gained their trust and support even if it is not the whole community who wants to participate within the projects, *“ it is evident that the communities where we work support us, it does not matter if it is just a small part of the community participating, they support us”* (Mayra 1, min 16:32. Appendix 2 nr.18).

Therefore, it is not just within a tourism context that Ana María operates. By unfolding tourism we see how social entrepreneurs also work and need acceptance in the setting they are implementing the tourism initiative, which can provide the social entrepreneur with respect and an ‘easier’ way to gain trust - necessary to work in a sustainable way with the communities. Haywood (1988) underpins this theory as he argues for this as a way to obtain the wanted relationship between hosts and guests.

It is relevant to mention that there is a risk when applying participatory approaches like Cartagena insider does, as Tosun (2000) explains, there is a risk to rise expectations in the community which may not be easy to meet by the organization because of the considerable time, money and skills to sustain it. However, this is another point that explains why Cartagena Insider is so welcomed and trusted in the communities they work, Mayra mentions that *“We do not give expectations to anyone, this is what makes communities reject organizations when they come and tell them they are going to do ‘this’and ‘that’ and then it all turns in nothing (...) When we go to the communities we say what*

we can do and where we can reach and that we need their help to do it” (Mayra 2, min 1:15:59. Appendix 2 nr.19).

Drawing on how Ana María perceives the government and political parties in Colombia we find interesting to mention her position and scepticism about Wilfrido leading a political party. She explains how she did not like the idea and how politicians will try to manipulate him, use him and take advantage of his vulnerability, however, she also mentions she is willing to help and support him if he decides to go ahead with the idea. On the one hand, this fact shows how much are the indigenous willing to be represented in politics so they can have more power and be more included by the government in the future. On the other hand, the scepticism of Ana María shows her opinion towards politics and government and her concern about the indigenous, acting as an ‘expert’ who is willing to give advice on the matter from her own experience. Ana María is a person who has a global overview in the sense that she has travelled and knows how the market operates, she is concerned about social matters and sustainability within the projects, which makes her knowledgeable about those issues, in addition she has a wide network that makes her be a key player to influence powerful actors such as the local government.

Sum up

Ana María knows how to position herself as a broker/mediator between the government and the communities. She negotiates by exchanging knowledge with the government and uses the resources and social and political capital she has acquired by working with the government to benefit the communities.

5.2.3 FEM as a ‘collaboratory’

Simmons (1994) argues that involvement of a community in the tourism development process is vital as if any region is striving to deliver a tourism experience ensuring satisfaction from the visitor at the same time as it produces benefits for the locals at the destination. Accordingly, Hall (1994) has claims that by satisfying residents needs it may also be a way to satisfy the needs of the tourist, which is one of the key components of the notion of community participation. Brohman (1996) has advocated community participation in the tourism development process as a tool to solve major problems of tourism in the Global South. He has contended that community participation in the tourism development process will achieve more equal distribution of the benefits, discourage

undemocratic decision-making and will meet the needs of local communities in more efficient ways.

Cartagena Insider is a project that has been created from the branch of entrepreneurship (one of the three main subjects that FEM focuses on) which aim is to work as a *'social innovation business incubator'* (Ana, Ludoteca1, min. 16:25). As Anna states, Cartagena Insider is a project that *"produces experiences for people to get together and work together towards the same goal, in many senses"* (Ana, San Andrés, 0:40). The business plan of Cartagena Insider is based on the pillars of FEM, which explains why we can see, for instance, the concept 'collaboratory' (see introduction of case study) implicitly integrated in its definition. As previously mentioned 'Collaboratory' is a place where; *"people experiment together"* (Ana, Ludoteca1, min. 4:38), therefore, we find of relevant importance to consider this term when analysing Cartagena Insider as a sustainable tourism development initiative since it shows the nature of the project and its participatory approach.

Following the different 'route's' will be analyzed in order to understand how Cartagena Insider handles community participation in each 'route'.

5.2.4 'Route' in the Cabildo of Guayacanes Norte

The 'route' in the indigenous community of the Cabildo Guayacanes Norte in San Andrés de Sotavento was originated from the previous relationship Ana María had with the indigenous people that were living in the urban area of Cartagena, Ana María explains; *"I met the people from the indigenous community in Cartagena five years ago from working for them"* (Ana María, San Andres min 32:00), Mayra also points out that *"FEM has always worked a lot with the indigenous and their restitution rights, Ana María also worked with an international institution which secures the indigenous and afro rights"* (Mayra 2, min 4:39. Appendix 2 nr.20). As previous studies have explored, to be able to successfully implement tourism development strategies a local focus must be set, therefore, the work that FEM has been doing over the years with the indigenous is of utmost importance to understand how Cartagena Insider succeeded in creating this 'route'.

Ana María's history with the indigenous community

Tosun (2000) argues that although participatory development in tourism activities is highly desirable there seems to be some limitations, which are very related to the situation that hinders the

community's further development. Drawing on the indigenous, it must be pointed out that through FEM, Ana María started working with the indigenous inclusion, an issue that was limiting their participation in the society. In this particular case FEM started working for the indigenous restitution rights, as Ana María explains; *"the indigenous were displaced when I arrived to Cartagena in 2002 (...) in March 2012 they meet FEM, in October the same year they got the recognition (...) that is how I earned my legitimacy with the indigenous"* (Ana, San Andrés min 52:58). When Ana María first saw the indigenes in Cartagena she explains how; *"they were living in terrible conditions, they had, literally, plastic bag houses"* (Ana María, San Andrés min 52:30), a fact that threatens the community development and that makes us realize the lack of political will to implement participation back then. Reinforcing this point of view there is the government's attitude against indigenous existence in Cartagena as Ana Maria explains, the Secretary of Interior admitted that the reason why the indigenous in Cartagena were not recognized was; *"because of political reasons (...) if we accept that we have indigenes we have to pay things for them"* (Ana, San Andrés min 33:15).

The above mentioned shows the good relationship Ana María built with the indigenous community and how this network was created 'outside' tourism. However, these ties that Ana María has with the indigenous are benefiting her new activities within tourism. As we previously mentioned, it is for that reason that it is important to unfold tourism and not fall into a myopic way of developing tourism.

Tosun (2000) argues that modern democratic government fails to represent grassroots and at least significant segments of the communities have feelings of alienation towards decision-making, he argues that to be able to truly deal with development within the community the local government of the country must be organized in such a way so that it is capable of defending, protecting and reflecting the interests of its people. That is the reason why FEM helped the indigenous in Cartagena to get their recognition from the government of Cartagena but also from the Resguardo Mayor in San Andrés de Sotavento, so they could give power to a Captain to rule in their Cabildo they have in the city, protect them as an indigenous community and ensure their rights.

Although the aforementioned seems not to be directly related with the project of Cartagena Insider, it must be reminded, as Tosun (2000) argues the fact that the limitations of participatory development in tourism activities are very related to the situation that hinders the community's further development. Therefore, if enabling the Zenús in Cartagena to have their indigenous rights means to help develop their community, then, it will indirectly benefit to the participatory

development of the tourism activities of Cartagena Insider within the indigenous community. The indigenous will have be able to decide about their development and Cartagena Insider will be able as well to apply a more active community participation approach to its projects.

Community participation in the development of the 'route'

According to Arnstein (1969), citizen participation, in the context of development studies in general are based around the redistribution of power which enables the have-not citizens to be included in the future and it is through here they will have the opportunity to induce significant social reform, which will then help them to have a share of the benefits from the more affluent classes. The intervention of FEM in this case supports participation of the residents of the community, which is the first step to achieve community development. FEM's approach to participation in this case is related to the category of 'degree of citizens power' approached by Arnstein (1969) in his ladder or typology of citizen participation. It goes as well in the same line as the 'self-mobilization' and 'interactive participation' in Pretty's (1995) model where full managerial responsibility and authority is given to the host community. However, enabling active participation and control to the indigenous has not been an easy process for FEM. Simpson (2008) considers that community involvement can become a 'baggage' and points out that the involvement of a community may not just be a difficult process, but even be a hindrance in achieving the the goal of benefit delivery, increase or create internal conflicts and jealousy and finally create unrealistic expectations among community residents. By 'baggage' Simpson (2008) means that community involvement can become a limitation, something problematic. In this case study, this is perceived when Ana María explains how, after being recognized as a real indigenous group, the crisis came when they had to create their own council, she mentions that; *"in the elections for that council they did not kill each other because they did not have enough arms available"* (Ana, San Andrés min 53:28), she claims the indigenes; *"fight a lot, they are very complicated"* (Ana, San Andrés min 33:54). Other issues also arose, for instance, eight months after they got the recognition Ana María found out that the son of Leo Igildo (the new Captain of the Cabildo in Cartagena) started to sell the certificates that were given to the indigenous students as she states; *"the indigenous have the right to go to university without paying so he would sell those certificates to non-indigenous students"*(Ana, San Andrés min 53:58), Ana María explained how some indigenes were complaining to her; *"they started saying- Do you see what have you created? you have created a monster!"* (Ana, San Andrés, min 54:30). This example shows us how complex it is to create development in a society

marked with corruption. What he simply did was, therefore, took up the corrupt structures and practices that people are used to see in the government. This example also shows how it is a societal 'problem', an issue with corruption that everyone deals with even though they do not agree upon it. He -the son of Leo Igildo- is probably against corruption, but enters in it as it is the way of living. The community can get the power to be able to participate and design their future but, if they can not or do not know how to handle this power it will not bring any benefit to the community but right the opposite. This fact goes in line with Mowforth & Munt's (2009) idea about how community is not an homogenous entity. FEM's intervention in this case creates a way of manifesting the community division by reconfiguring the power structures of the community, which can create conflicts and tensions due to the different interests of the members of the community. As Ana María mentioned, those facts showed her that; *"they were not ready"* (Ana, San Andrés min 53:30).

Cartagena Insider as a participatory tourism development strategy may bring unorganized groups into the policy-making process. However, the theory by Tosun (2000) argues that generating opportunities among poorly organized actors is not necessarily a way to deny influence from interest groups who are already active in tourist development. Therefore, the lack of appropriate legal system could be a structural limitation to the effectiveness of community participation in a future tourism activity (Tosun, 2000). FEM realized that the community was not prepared, and, although they finally got their rights as indigenous people, you can see that the legal structure is not encouraging to educate communities about their rights and how they can establish organizations to promote their interests. However, it is a very innocent position from Tosun (2000) since communities are not a homogenous entity, and therefore cannot be educated on equal basis.

However, this job has been done by FEM which has contributed to the future development of the indigenous community by helping Leo Igildo, the Captain, with the 'generational replacement'. Ana María explains; *"everything I have done with the indigenes I have asked for permission so I asked him to authorize me to educate two people to be future leaders"* (Ana María, min 46:36). This 'training' is another step to educate the community about how the community, with their gained citizen power, can create a social change and prosperity for the indigenous people.

As the theory by Tosun (2000) states that a legal structure, working to defend interests of a community, thus ensure its participatory right in a tourism development process may be a need.

This process of 'generational replacement' will, thereby, benefit to Cartagena Insider to have an enabling environment where participatory tourism approaches can succeed. However, as Mowforth

& Munt (2009) stress, it is vital and of great importance to emphasize on the manner in which participation is conceptualized and integrated in the development process. Ana María picked two persons she thought they had the profile to become leaders; Wilfrido, who was in the city and had expressed a lot of interest in being part of it and another man who was in the Cabildo Rural in San Andrés de Sotavento. Part of this ‘generational replacement’ process was to help them prepare by sending them to the Museo del Oro and give them a job there, as we have mentioned before, it is specially dedicated to the Zenú people but there has never been any Zenú working there. As a consequence of this attempt of getting this two persons involved in the process arose a conflict from the Cabildo Rural, Ana María explains that “*appeared a leader in the Cabildo Rural, who is not an indigenes and who was totally envious about this because he wanted money*” (Ana María, San Andres min 47:17), and after that the man from the Cabildo Rural that she wanted to train decided not to be part of the project any more. She tells that; “*I do not know what he said to the other guy I was trying to help but he came against me*” (Ana María, San Andres min 47:20) she further points out that “*there is a lot of corruption inside the politicians of the indigenous groups*”(Ana María, San Andrés, min 37:14). What we want to show by explaining this is that attention must be drawn to issues like corruption and local power structures. As Mowforth & Munt (2009) writes, in general there exist the assumption that members of a destination community are willing and able to participate equally. In this case we find relevant to mention, as we have done before, that potential problems may occur when there is a heavy involvement of the community in the decision-making process since communities, as again drawing attention to the theory by Simpson (2006) arguing for communities to possibly face internal ruptures in the structures of governance, jealousies, power struggles. Furthermore, contributing to the growth of artificial hierarchies and the creation of elite groups may occur, diminishing or undermining potential benefits to the community. To reflect this supposition with an example from the empirical data of this research is what happened after, Ana María decided she was going to concentrate her energy on Wilfrido because he really wanted to learn. As a consequence of those complications with the Cabildo Rural she explains that “*at first we sent the volunteers to the Cabildo Rural, we had the tours in the Cabildo Rural but we changed the tour to the one in San Andrés de Sotavento*” (Ana María, San Andrés min 48:23). She further adds, “*it is just because if they are going to be complicated about it, I am not going to even try it*” (Ana María, San Andrés min 48:28). Ana María is knowledgeable about the different power structures in the community and therefore she decides to work with the locals that show more interest in getting involved in her projects. This is as well a way of limiting participation of the ones that are not that

motivated or the ones that do not get involved because of internal conflicts in the community-as the one mentioned in the Cabildo Rural. Instead of solving those conflicts, Ana María chooses to cooperate with the people that will not give her trouble, a very comfortable position for Cartagena Insider to be able to operate more efficiently.

The way FEM implemented participation was through the involvement of Wilfrido in the 'generation replacement' process by empowering him to become a leader. He started from being a 'tintero' and selling cups of coffee in the street to work in the Museo del Oro as a guide explaining and doing workshops about the history of the Zenús, and finally, becoming a leader in the indigenous community.

Because of FEM, the Museo del Oro hired the first Zenú. The fact of him working in the museum has meant a lot, for the community and for the development of Cartagena Insider. During this process Wilfrido learned how to speak in public, learned about Zenú history, and the most important his self-esteem improved a lot. He is involved in the decision-making process of projects like 'Café Tuchín', Ana María claims that; "*at the beginning he did not even have an email, at the beginning he would seat beside me and would do basically everything in the computer, but then I started giving him my laptop and tell him to do and write, and I would fix it and now I think he goes even faster than me*" (Ana, San Andres min 41:59) she also adds that FEM; "*showed Wilfredo how to skype (...) and how to create and meetings with the group and Ricardo in Barcelona*" (Ana, San Andrés min 57:28). This is a reflection of the 'interactive participation' in Pretty's (1995) model, 'degrees of citizen power' according to Arnstein (1971) or 'spontaneous participation' if looking into Tosun's (1999) model. Here we talk about Wilfrido participating in joint analysis and development of action plans together with FEM using interdisciplinary methodologies in the learning process.

Ana María explains; "*Wilfrido has become such a good leader and he is outgoing and everything, he is chosen to be in the three councils assigning money, so he has become a celebrity inside the indigenous group*" (Ana, San Andrés min 42:45). From our experience during our stay in the Cabildo of Guayacanes and our talks sitting with people from the community, we really could see that he is someone who everyone respected and that everyone listens. Ana María points out that; "*his leadership has really changed things*" (Ana, San Andrés min 45:50). This empowerment has lead him to be involved and work with indigenous associations and now he even organizes meetings with different cultures of the Caribbean Region, they call it 'Intercultural Encounters of Ancestral Knowledge', Wilfrido explains; "*we share the experiences that we have from our communities and*

we touch upon issues that are of common interest, we fight for the same goals and talk about common problems that communities have in the region” (Victor and Wilfrido, min 18:40 Appendix 2 nr 21). In those meetings other indigenous organizations are invited and they share their ideas based on their experiences, Wilfrido adds that from these encounters he has gained knowledge about tourism in other communities and ideas that could be implemented in his community (Fieldnotes).

Höckert (2006) argues that within development studies, participation is connected regularly to the importance of empowerment as it is assumed that despite of a development projects is many times planned out to last only a certain amount of time, the empowering effect the projects have had of the residents can assure the continuity of the development. As we can see, the way Wilfrido has been involved has always been in an empowered way. As Edwards (2005) writes, empowerment is traditionally considered to be the answer to poverty and social exclusion and, as Höckert (2006) argues, community based tourism is a way to embrace that. Wilfrido and his family for instance have seen that opportunity while working in the project of Cartagena Insider and have built a traditional house to host the tourist. This, according to Mayra, is; *“his own entrepreneurial idea, we never told him to do it”*(Mayra, min 21:59. Appendix 2 nr. 22). Therefore, by involving Wilfrido in the ‘generation replacement’ process he has been empowered and he has created his own network and resources as a leader within the indigenous community. To further exemplify this, he has become more knowledgeable about tourism by working in the museum and attending to those meetings and sharing experiences with other associations, where he would probably had not been involved if it was not because he started working with FEM.

Ana María talks about how they have been talking with Wilfrido about involving the women as well into the leadership. To send women to work at the museum so they can get experience and knowledge and work as a guides in the community as well, involve them into the process for a more equal participation and decision making process inside both the communities and families. As Ana María explains that; *“they are used to very submissive women”* (Ana, San Andrés min 36:20), we also observed that when we were in the indigenous community we were just surrounded by men, woman were inside the houses and had the minimal interaction with us. Höckert (2006) argues about how the value of self-esteem can be connected to the development objective of raising the standard of living. And this is what Cartagena Insider pretends to do with the 'route's. This means that higher incomes, jobs, education and a greater attention to cultural and human values, all generate greater individual and collective self-esteem. However, Cartagena Insider faces the fact

that community is not homogenous as Mowforth and Munt (2009) explain in their study, and that not everyone is as motivated or interested for a social change as Wilfrido is. When talking about how it takes time to people be involved and interested in create changes like that, Ana María states; *“it is a process, specially because other people do not seem to care, you really have to be interested in these things”* (Ana, San Andrés min 48:56). She points out that; *“it is hard for rural people who have always been stigmatized for being indigenes, you can not just say, -ok, start feeling proud of being indigenes, now you represent the indigenes- when they have been mistreated, killed, it takes some time.”* (Ana, San Andrés min 49:25). This shows us how, although the community and their active involvement in the tourist projects are very important, Cartagena Insider respects and understand the rhythms of the community. There is a clear understanding from Ana María that participation cannot merely be proclaimed or wished upon rural people in the Third World; it must begin by recognizing the powerful, multi-dimensional and, in many instances, anti-participatory forces which dominate the lives of rural people.

In the same line, if we take participation under the perspective of benefit sharing we could put the example of the fact that they cannot benefit every single person in the community, at least not yet; *“it will take time”* says Ana María (Ana, San Andrés min 58:20). Ana María explains that now Wilfrido and his family are already guided and educated to carry on the 'route's, but they have to do the same with another family and then another one until it benefits the maximum amount of people. This fact confirms what Tosun (2000) points out about how applying community participation requires a considerable amount of time, money and skills. For instance, Ana María explains that; *“the family of Wilfrido took about five 'route's until everyone knew what is supposed to be done and how, and what to do or not”* (Ana, San Andrés min 58:58). This means that it will take time to train everyone involved in the project and therefore it will take time until there is a rotation because each family needs to learn how to do the things and they can just learn by practicing. Ana María explains that *“the first time I went there they were asking me for money (...) ones we have broken those habits, then we have a project”* (Ana, San Andrés min 59:06).

To Simmons (1994) and Tosun (1998), the potential poor knowledge of tourism market amongst local people make considerable efforts necessary to persuade the general public to participate in the tourism development process. However in the case of the indigenous their naive perception of what tourism is about does not seem to be a limitation but a 'motivation' to participate due to its curiosity to meet the tourists. When asking Victor how he would feel about having tourists in the community more often, he expresses; *“ I would feel motivated, most of the people here we do not even know*

Cartagena, we do not know the tourists. It is an opportunity for people here to see girls like you and get motivated, to say - I like this girl, I want to marry her!- this is cool, there is no need to go to your country to meet you, you come here. We just see people like you on TV” (Victor and Wilfrido, min 23:04. Appendix 2 nr.23). McIntyre, Hetherington and Inskeep (1993) argue that though the community usually try to gain benefits from tourism, they may not have a realistic understanding of what they are doing in achieving this development and what are the impacts of tourism both, the positive and negative ones.

Jamal and Getz (1995) note that lack of awareness is one of the factors which acts as barriers to effective communication in community based tourism development. Therefore, when applying community participation in tourism development much attention must be put on understanding the culture of the community and to create a vision that is perceived by the residents of the community, being as inclusive and fair as possible to tailor-make a solution. Cartagena Insider is the perfect example of that, not because of having difficulties to effective communication but for knowing and understanding the community they are working with. As Ana María states; *“If you do not accept their speed for everything then they feel attacked (...)I did not know that at the beginning so obviously some of them perceived me (the rural ones not the ones in the city) as being very violent and that probably I wanted to steal their money”* (Ana, San Andrés min 36:20). This learning process needs to be done if you want to understand the community and be understood so it is easier to generate a more active community participation. However, as mentioned before, it is a process that takes time and requires a lot of patience.

In addition to this, as Tosun (2000) reflects in his research, in many tourist destinations a lack of indigenous tourism planners has resulted in planners from a different cultural background being brought in to lead the process. Cartagena Insider could have easily fall into that as Ana María or Mayra, although being Colombians, have a very different cultural background from the indigenes. However Wilfrido is very involved in the project and he acts somehow as an indigenous tourism planner in his community, although he has the support of Cartagena Insider . Ana María explains it is very difficult to communicate with the indigenous; *“they never take a position, they do it but in private, they are very reserved it is very difficult, sometimes I thought things were going very positively and then it was right the opposite and I would not understand because they told me something different”* (Ana María, San Andrés min 59:39) This demonstrates that not every form of participation is effective and that people a lot of times say something but act differently. Depending on which circumstances or the cultural context, you have to know which one will work or not,

therefore, to successfully implement tourism development strategies a local focus must be set. Bosselman, Peterson, and McCarthy (1999) indicate that there is no general formula that can be adapted on every development object. Ana María got to understand that, she explains; *“Wilfrido became my translator afterwards (...) we would go to a meeting, I would express something and then I would leave, then he would repeat what I said to see if they understood and collect the questions they made. Then he would do me, like two days later, and then would take the answers of these questions back to them. They never ask me the questions”* (Ana, San Andrés min 1:00:30). This, once again, clearly shows the amount of time that a more active and ‘genuine’ community participation requires. As we have seen, Ana María acts as broker/mediator between the government and the communities, however, she also needs a broker - Wilfrido- to understand the community.

Sum up

The 'route' in the indigenous community holds characteristics from the Community-Benefit Tourism Initiatives in its conceptualization phase where Cartagena Insider is the ‘expert’, the essential actor in creating those new tourism products by commodifying her available resources as a way to create pleasant cityscapes and market-viable cultural experiences. Ana María as a social entrepreneur is knowledgeable about the market trends (authentic tourism experiences), and the one who sees the opportunity in the indigenous community to bring tourism, so the indigenous can get benefits from it by creating jobs and extra income from selling their arts & crafts directly to the tourists. However, it also holds characteristics from the CBT approach where the socio-cultural changes brought by tourism become important. Unlike CBTI, this specific 'route' is an initiative where the intangible benefits play a key role as in CBT, the main criteria of tourism are the opportunities of local communities to have a high degree of control over activities taking place in their community, thus control over the usage of the local resources and distribution of benefits from the tourism development. This case demonstrates, therefore, the complexity in defining tourism implementation in such strict categories as CBTI and CBT.

5.2.5 Customized 'route' in Leticia

This weekend ‘route’ in Leticia was the first to be customized. It was created specifically for a family that wanted to experience something different during their stay in Cartagena and Ana María,

due to her extended network and good knowledge of the communities around Cartagena, suggested the idea to Nelson of creating a tourism project in Leticia.

FEM had previously worked in Leticia with other social projects, in one of the meetings Ana María met Nelson who in the future would become a member of the council and also the 'leader' of the tourist project in the community. Nelson explains us that it was because of his attitude that got more involved in the project; *"I think she liked me because I was always the person who was asking the most every time we had meetings concerning the projects"* (Nelson, min 00:33 Appendix 2 nr.24) he further explains; *"when I met her I still was not a member of the council, but I always supported them a lot, all the leaders"* (Nelson, min 3:11. Appendix 2 nr.25). Like in the indigenous community, Ana María would work with those people that she really see that are willing to create a change. As in other 'route's from Cartagena Insider or other social initiatives from FEM, the involvement of people and the creation of 'leaders' come from the motivation and interest they show for the projects suggested, in other words, as Tosun (2000) argues, community participation happens as a voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship.

The co-production of experiences

This type of 'route', since it is customized, it has been created based on the tourists demands, in other words, based on what the tourists want to experience and the ability of Ana María to satisfy their needs with her available resources. As previously mentioned, this is an example of a new tourism product defined by a commodification process of a market-viable cultural experience.

In addition to that, the 'route' is created with the aim of benefiting the community by bringing extra income from tourism, as Ana María points out; *"is the tour that gives money to more people (...) it benefits like 27 people"* (Ana, Leticia 2:53). Within the 'route' the tourists get to go through the river in a boat , enjoy the freshly caught fish from a fisherman and cooked by the families from the area, visit the neighbor community from el Recreo, enjoy a walk through the bush to their 'private' beach where they can enjoy the luminescent plankton at night. Ana María explains; *"Nelson tells me - hire this person for 2000 pesos, this one for 7000 pesos- (...) People are happy with a little bit of money because the place is very rural, so there is a lot of people that are benefiting with a little bit of income, which is good"* (Ana, Leticia min 3:05). In line with Höckert's (2006) study, what Cartagena Insider pretends to do is to offer experiences, not just to the tourists, but to the host community in a way that tourism could create jobs, education and a greater attention to cultural and

human values, all to generate greater individual and collective self-esteem. As Ana María states; *“This 'route' is what Cartagena Insider wants, to put the tourist in the community and the communities reflect upon how tourists value them”* (Ana, Leticia min 2:25). For that happening, Cartagena Insider supports a type of participation where everyone is welcome to join and where everyone can contribute in the decision-making process. In fact, Nelson explains that whenever they have done a “route” he always thinks about how can they improve it, which things can they do different.

Tourism benefit sharing

Other people that are not directly involved in the tourist project might benefit as well from it in the future - part of the money the tourists pay for the ‘route’s’ not only goes to those people directly involved but to the Community Council of Leticia, which, in the future, might make use of it to improve whatever it is needed for the community. Based on our own experience there we believe that another point to consider is any other expense the tourists can have by buying something in a shop or drinking in ‘the bar’ of the community in El Recreo, where the owners are not directly involved in the project, but somehow they benefit from having tourists who consume there. Therefore, participation here could be seen under the perspective of Timothy (1999), namely the concept of ‘tourism benefit sharing’ in the tourism development process. Seen under this perspective it could be argued that it shares characteristics of the CBTI, where authors such as Simpson (2008) or Li (2006) explain, active local participation in a tourism initiative is not a precondition for benefits reaching communities, local employment and other benefits are at times secured at the expense of local initiation and control.

Sum up

To sum up. The idea of the tourist project has not been initiated by the community, instead was suggested by Cartagena Insider to the community since the idea of bringing tourism to Leticia was due to a tourist demand and the possibility of commodifying a market-viable experience. In this case, Cartagena Insider, as a social venture, falls into the CBTI principles as a stakeholder which has the knowledge of the market demand and which is the one that is best placed to identify opportunities, realize the potential of a destination, drive forward the development of product and adopt a range of highly effective responsibilities to communities.

However it is true as well that the experience of this ‘route’ in Leticia is not just created by Cartagena Insider to satisfy the needs of the tourist demand, however it is co-produced with the community so the tourism experience can generate greater individual and collective self-esteem.

This brings us to the importance of the role of Ana María as a social entrepreneur and her way of negotiating with the community about how to implement a sustainable tourism initiative. In this ‘route’ Ana María uses her ties in the community -created by previous social projects of FEM- to create a 'route' which is negotiated to be co-produced with the community so they have a stake in the development of it.

5.2.6 Uno en 1 Millón

In this ‘route’ Cartagena Insider brings a group of visitors/volunteers to one of the rural townships of Cartagena, the idea is that this group donates material to do small infrastructure renovations that might be needed, they spend a couple of days immersed with the community and work with them making a hands-on donation fixing schools, parks, etc. Before going to any community, Cartagena Insider organizes a meeting where it is consulted and discussed what can be done, as Mayra explains; *“before going to the community we set up a meeting where we call all the representatives of each family and tell them about the project ‘Uno en Un Millón’ and ask them about what is their idea or suggestion to invest the money”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:26 Appendix 2 nr 26). Therefore, the projects are created from a *“co-worked construction”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:06:59 Appendix 2 nr 27) between Cartagena Insider and the community so the development projects are based on their needs not the ones Cartagena Insider chooses to help with. Mayra utters; *“nothing is because me, Mayra, thinks the park needs to be fixed, no, here everything is discussed, this is a coloboratory, everything is decided and voted with the community who say what are their needs”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51.Appendix 2 nr.28).

To create this activity they need a group of at least twenty people, however, the plan is to bring to the communities groups of people with specific characteristics, people with high income that are part of the upper class. Cartagena Insider offers this type of 'route's to companies so they can bring their staff members as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility plan. However, the idea of Ana Maria is to set up example and use this 'route's to make people from the ‘elite’ feel like the community does, therefore, it would not create the same effect if the visitors where workers from low level class, as Ana María points out; *“I don’t want an open volunteer group, I only want*

executives, vice-presidents and presidents, I want them all in that level because I want them to set example” (Ana, intro San Andrés min 19:50). The way this ‘route’ is designed is that the company donates the materials and the work from the ‘non-experts’ and the community lends the tools and the experts. The idea is that the executives of the company have to follow the instructions of the local bricklayers and adapt to whatever they say. As Ana María utters; *“the ones that are the teachers are the ones that have never been teachers, they are the ones that always are expecting an order. They think that the others, since they are white and rich, have to tell them what to do, NO, we make them realize that they are the expert builders and that they have to tell them what to do because the others do not know what they are doing”* (Ana, San Andrés min 21:51). Ana María also explains how it is very visible that there exist and extreme classism among this type of visitors when they start the ‘route’; *“we have a workshop where people start introducing themselves and start knowing each other (...) in this workshop is really funny because you can see the classism and racism by the way they behave, you can feel the distance and you can feel how Colombia is so stratified”* (Ana, San Andrés min 21:41). Cartagena Insider’s intention is to use this type of ‘route’s’ as an exercise to flatten these relationships between classes and make them more horizontal so the ones from upper classes do not see the ones from rural communities as ‘poor people’ but people with capacities that they may not have themselves.

The wanted effect in the rural communities is thus that they will start realizing the value of their knowledge and that they have possibility to not just receive orders, but also give them to those people they always thought they were ‘superior’. As Ana María utters; *“at the beginning they are shy about it but then they start to understand and they realize that it is true, they know more than these other people, that they have to explain, they have to model and then supervise because these visitors might know some other things but not about those the locals from the community know”* (Ana, San Andrés min 26:29). The community in this ‘route’ is not just providing tools to work, food or a place to sleep for the visitors but also their knowledge. By participating together with the visitors in the renovation of infrastructures they are creating a closer relationship, Ana María explains that; *“after digging in the sand with this climate, people are actually sharing beer from the same bottle, everybody is sharing, tired, everybody sweats, everybody smells bad”* (Ana María, San Andrés min 22:21), she points out; *“it is the most flattening experience”* (Ana María, San Andrés min 22:30). And it is not just the fact of participating but the way the community is involved, being them the ones who supervise and not the other way round.

However, it might turn that this experience creates an opposite effect, where those relationships do not flatten but accentuate the verticality even more. Ana María's way of seeing this encounter is a bit innocent if she does not consider the fact that attitudes of jealousy among the locals in the community may arise. By bringing people from an upper status, the locals from the rural communities might realise what sort of things and position those people hold in their real life -not in the activity of the 'route'- which it might create jealousies to see what they will never be able to have. Additionally, if we look into how Ana María sees this encounter as a way to flatten the above mentioned verticality and drawing upon our knowledge from previous research projects of global imaginaries (7th semester project-Christina), we make the assertion that when tourists experience something that differs from their imaginaries- the way they envision things- they will always find a way to justify it, thus, tourists do not necessarily change anything even though they see the low social position of the community and experienced unfairness of the social wealth distribution. Hence, this activity might reinforce even more the position of those visitors in relation to those rural communities, therefore, the experience will be perceived as a unique experience for the visitors and functioning to position themselves in even sharper contrast to the 'other', but in future perspectives it will not create any social change.

Form of participation in the 'route'

If we look into Pretty's (1995) typology we consider this community involvement as he calls 'Participation for material incentives', since people from the community participate by providing labor, a place to sleep for the visitors and food, for instance, in return for material incentives like painted schools, renovated health centers, etc. In Arnstein's (1971) ladder can be classified as holding 'degrees of citizen tokenism' or, if seen under Tosun's (1999) typology, can be classified as representing 'induced participation' where there is a form of passive participation of the community in the sense of people being involved in actions that have been thought out, designed and controlled by others, in this case the members of Cartagena Insider, who have brought the idea to the community, an idea that was strategically thought to create the planned effect in both, the visitors and the community. However, it also holds characteristics of 'interactive participation' (Pretty, 1995), Arnstein's (1971) 'degrees of citizen power' or 'spontaneous participation' in Tosun's (1999) typology with a direct participation, which involves physical interaction and face-to-face relationship between Cartagena Insider and the community, for instance, direct participation in the meetings that are set up to discuss about what can be done. Therefore, despite of being an already

thought idea from Cartagena Insider, the community has a stake in how and where development will happen, as Mayra says; *“everything is decided and voted with the community who say what are their needs”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51. Appendix 2 nr.29). Thus, the community has the opportunity to directly convey its message regarding developmental issues to the decisions- makers, however as Richardson (1983) argues, direct community participation does not necessarily mean to delegate decision-making power to those people who will be affected by any decisions made. Ana María will be the one in control of the project because she is the one who is aware of the market demand, she knows for whom can be interesting to participate in this 'route' (for instance, companies that want to bring their staff as part of their CSR plan) and also she is aware of the social encounters and its effects when bringing certain type of visitors to the rural communities. Ana María strategically plans out the design of 'Uno en 1 Millón' and, despite of the community has an important role on their development, she is the one who will hold the decision-making power of the project. This is as well, a characteristic from CBTI that Simpson (2008) talks about, which stresses that it is not essential for a community to be directly involved in the ownership of the tourism initiative, and gives NGOs latitude to be able to design and deliver benefits to that community.

If we look into the form of participation under these above mentioned typologies it can be read as implicitly normative, where participation sometimes is not very 'genuine'. Participation for material incentives can be seen to be not the most genuine form, however, we believe it is important to look into the motivations of Cartagena Insider and the reason why and how this type of participation is being used in this particular 'route'. In this line, looking into White's (1996) typology of interests we see what participation means for Cartagena Insider in this 'route'. 'Uno En 1 Millón' holds characteristics from a 'representative' form of participation' (White, 1996), where local involvement means a way of bringing sustainability to avoid creating dependency of the community. For instance, Cartagena Insider chooses to apply participation for material incentives, which at a first glance does not seem to be neither the most 'genuine' nor sustainable since the theory supported by Pretty (1995) says that in this form, community is not involved in the process of learning and that when the incentives end, people have no stake in prolonging the practices. However, this form of participation has been chosen for a reason, the fact of the community working to have something back is designed to be like this in order to avoid assistencialism. As Mayra points out; *“we do not 'assist' anyone, we get resources and we make it worth it to invest in it, if we are going to invest in a Health Center is all the community who has to work for that, we put the material but they put the labour, the house where the visitors are going to sleep, the food, etc.*

We want that the development implies an effort from the community, a sacrifice” (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:08:11. Appendix 2 nr. 30), she further adds; “We do not come to the community with 40 million and build a park if the day of tomorrow no one is going to take care of it (...) When it is you who have to take a shovel and dig a hole for the swing, you will definitely make sure the job you did is maintained and you will take care of the park (...) this is how we think and what makes us differentiate from other organizations” (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:07:47 Appendix 2 nr. 31).

This ‘route’ also holds ‘transformative’ form of participation (White, 1996) since the intentions of Cartagena Insider, when applying a participatory approach, is to empower the community. Therefore, despite of being an idea already thought by Ana María, the fact of bringing volunteers from upper classes to the afro rural communities and make the local builders be ‘the boss’ of the ones that are used to give orders, it is an activity that makes people from the community realize about their capacities, realize that they are the experts in that area and that their knowledge is very valuable. However, it is also a way for social classes to define themselves in relation to the distant ‘other’, hence a way to understand their own social position in society.

Sum up

The role of Ana María as a social entrepreneur in this ‘route’ becomes important due to the fact of being someone knowledgeable about how to create encounters - between different social classes- by developing a product in the form of team building experience for companies. She is the one who knows to whom and where this product needs to be sold and also, the one who has a wide network within the afro communities due to her involvement in afro-institutions and social work with FEM. As the idea of the social encounters are to flatten the hierarchical relationships, the action is however, also a way for the different actors involved, to position themselves in a social context, thus the venture may reinforce rather than challenge the existing stereotypes and imaginations of the participants, hence not creating any social change.

5.2.7 África en América

This 'route' in San Basilio de Palenque was created to satisfy the tourist demand. At the beginning, Ana María did not want to work in Palenque due to the amount of international organizations working there already and also because of the internal conflicts in the community; *“I love Palenque, I love some of the people in Palenque, but it has been a very immature and disruptive*

community. Now they do not have one Council but two (...) there is not enough legislation to solve these conflicts because this has never happened before with the other afros in Colombia” (Ana María, Palenque min 4:00), she further complains about how, in an already racist society, Palenqueros have tried to distinguish themselves from the rest of the afros and how even they are creating conflict among them inside the community; “now Palenque has two councils, two candy companies, two everything, They do not have enough being divided inside the afros but the also are divided inside ” (Ana, Palenque min 4:21). However, that is a normal process whenever there is a flow of more resources or the opportunities for it, it is exactly the community’s healthy reaction after having the possibility for negotiating their position in the community, which also shows that communities are not homogenous entities. The community in San Basilio de Palenque is far more advanced than the other 'route's in the rural communities for instance.

According to Dorina, the Government is making even worse to keep the sense of collectivity of the community that her generation fought for, “now there are a lot of interests in the community, there is a lot of supply, there is a lot of clientelism and electoral politicking in the community” (Dorina, min 42:14). She further adds, “One thing that I criticize is that in Palenque there are some familiar/particular entrepreneurship projects that the government has supported (...) the problem is that the government has focused just on this and not in other initiatives like ours that are more collective and not that individual and that involve several families.” (Dorina, min 43:42 Appendix 2 nr.32).

Despite those issues, Ana María decided to create a ‘route’ in Palenque. She explains that; “people came to me interested in working with me (...) Dionisio told me he could arrange dancers” (Ana, Palenque min 20:00). Because of the tourist demand and people interested in working in the project, Cartagena Insider created the 'route' ‘África en América’. Ana María decided to involve Dionisio, who would take the visitors to his cultural center where kids would perform folkloric dances. Dorina would participate as well, taking the visitors to her place where she would cook traditional food and show her company ASOPREDUSE where they produce traditional candy delicacies from Palenque. ASOPREDUSE is a project that Ana María wanted to support if Cartagena Insider was going to work in Palenque, she complains about the lack of support that projects like this have; “the real projects like the one from Dorina is unfinanced, they don’t have money” (Ana, Palenque min 12:08). Apart from the lack of support from the government, Ana María explains that other projects are implemented in Palenque without any type of consideration about the available resources in the community, for instance, Ana María explains; “Mila, a very expensive pastry shop in Cartagena,

decided to create a foundation and work in Palenque. She went there and created a project with candy makers while Dorina has her project since 10 years ago. She did not even do the minimum research to see how could she strengthen what existed, no, she created another group and created more conflict in a place where conflict is the rule” (Ana, Palenque min 12:44). Therefore, the intention of Cartagena Insider is to strengthen ASOPREDUSE which benefits to several families in the community, as Ghandi explains; *“the association is formed of a branch which produces candy and it is managed by 68 women, another branch is dedicated to agricultural production which has the name of ‘Machaquero’, and the third branch is the one which provides ethno-touristic services, here is where the guides work”* (Ghandi, min 29:50. Appendix 2, nr.33). This shows how different are these members from other rural communities. Although ASOPREDUSE is a project that needs more financing, the people of Dorina do not need the social empowerment that other rural communities that Cartagena Insider works with. They are managing a CBT initiative already and planning new projects, as Ghandi explains *“Now we are planning to do accommodations for the visitors, we want to build small traditional houses”* (Ghandi, min 38:10. Appendix 2 nr.34).

The ‘route’ of Palenque coincides with the CBTI’s defining principles which, as Simpson (2008) writes are the transfer of benefits delivered to a community, not taking into consideration its location, instigation, size, level of prosperity, involvement, ownership and control. Despite Ana María criticizes the intentions of the government for its development plan ‘Palenque 2015’ and being aware of the existence of other communities that may need more help, she still considered to create this ‘route’, as she points out; *“I talked to the governor of Bolivar at that point, it was three years ago, I told him that before doing him plan ‘Palenque 2015’ he must count how many people are investing in Palenque and think about other afro populations like Evitar, Mahates, etc. There is a lot of afro populations that are unattended but, of course, Palenque was the trend”* (Ana María, Palenque min 8:51). The creation of this ‘route’, as Ana María points out; *“comes from the tourist demand”* (Ana Maria, Palenque min 19:53). Therefore, she, as someone aware of market demands, is using this ‘route’ as a way to get more economic profitability that other ‘route’s’ would not give her. The fact of having Palenque as a ‘trend’ has also benefited Cartagena Insider which, instead of working in other ‘unattended’ afro communities from the area, decided to satisfy the tourism demand and create a 'route' in the popular township of San Basilio de Palenque, as she says; *“If tourists demands this and some people in Palenque are willing to work with us I am not going to say no but it is not my strongest effort”* (Ana María, Palenque min. 23:31). However, despite of not

being very keen on the idea of working in Palenque she has managed to design the project based on some of the characteristics of CBT. Although Cartagena Insider holds the ownership of the initiative she has involved Dorina who manages ASOPREDUSE, a company that benefits a great part of the community and that also has its own CBT project, which is being supported by Cartagena Insider. This would be an example of 'interactive participation' from Pretty's (1995) typology, 'degrees of citizen power'(Arnstein, 1971) or 'spontaneous participation' according to Tosun (1999). Here people are involved to strengthen local associations like ASOPREDUSE or the cultural center of Dionisio. Cartagena insider holds the ownership but members participating take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used.

The idea of creating this 'route' is not about Cartagena Insider expecting the community takes over the 'route's because this is something that the members participating are already doing. As mentioned before, ASOPREDUSE has already its branch of tourism dedicated to ethno-tours. The focus of Cartagena Insider when applying a participatory approach is about social empowerment by creating new activities from already established resources, they are supporting something that already exists, using the available resources and not creating new ones. As Ana María complains; *"I know at least that there are 45 operators that are working already in Palenque, the problem is not that there are a lot of people putting money into this is, the problem is that you don't see sustainability in any of the projects they have there"* (Ana María, Palenque min 8:10). For Cartagena Insider participation has a 'representative' form where sustainability is the main focus. We could say as well that Cartagena Insider is somehow using 'instrumental participation' (White, 1996). Dornia has already experience within the tourism industry due to ASOPREDUSE's tourism branch and the ethno-tours that they have been carrying out in Palenque. Therefore, this means more efficiency for the development of the 'route's of Cartagena Insider.

Sum-up

Palenque as a community and as a 'route' of Cartagena Insider differs in its nature from other of their 'route's'. This is due to the position and global awareness of San Basilio de Palenque, which has provided Palenque much international attention. Accordingly, in this 'route' the working methods and rationale thinking of Ana María as a social entrepreneur is being overshadowed by her linkages to a business entrepreneur as she utters that this 'route' is established by market demands. However, as she is aware of how this 'route' is popular among consumers (the tourists) it is thus a way to obtain profit. Recognizing this fact, it however does not eliminate her aim of carrying out a

'route' in a sustainable way. Thus she is negotiating with her available resources by reinforcing them.

5.2.8 Bazurto Market 'route'

This 'route' was created in collaboration with Candilé, a cultural organization located in the neighbourhood of El Barrio Chino. The idea of creating the 'route's came from Cartagena Insider, as Quique explains *“Cartagena Insider suggested to work with us and presented the idea to our artistic instructor, the idea came from Cartagena Insider and Candilé complemented it”* (Quique, min 19:41). The idea of Cartagena Insider in this 'route' is that the guides and dancers be the members of Candilé. This cultural association works with the social integration of youngsters in the neighbourhood of El Barrio Chino, therefore, Cartagena Insider wants to use this fact to give the opportunity to their members to be part of the tourist initiative of Bazurto Market 'route', so they can not just earn an extra income but also do what they know best. As Quique mentions; *“Ana María needed people that knew about the product she was going to sell”* (Quique, min 21:22)

Drawing on the different typologies of participation we can say that this 'route' holds some features from Arnstein's (1971) 'degrees of citizen tokenism', Pretty's (1995) 'functional participation' or seen under Tosun's (1999) classification as representing 'induced participation' where there is a form of passive participation of the community in the sense of people being involved in actions that have been thought out, designed and controlled by others, in this case the members of Cartagena Insider are the ones who brought the idea to Candilé and the ones who have the ownership of the initiative. However, it also holds characteristics of 'interactive participation' (Pretty, 1995), Arnstein's (1971) 'degrees of citizen power' or 'spontaneous participation' in Tosun's (1999) typology with a direct participation, which involves physical interaction and face-to-face relationship between Cartagena Insider and the members of El Candilé and the sellers in the market. For instance, all the members from Candilé participating in the 'route's of Cartagena Insider have a meeting with Ana María and Mayra every week, as Quique explains; *“we evaluate the 'route's, what do we do, what do we do wrong and how can we improve it”* (Quique, min 26:42. Appendix 2 nr.35). Therefore, despite of being an already thought idea from Cartagena Insider, the members of El Candilé have a voice in saying how the resources are going to be used, thus, shared decision-making, as Quique mentions; *“the idea came from Cartagena Insider and Candilé complemented*

it”(Quique, min 19:41. Appendix 2 nr. 36). Cartagena Insider also supports what the theory says about this type of participation where people participate in the strengthening of local institutions like the association of Candilé, which intention is the social integration of youngsters in the neighbourhood of El Barrio Chino.

We believe it is important to look into the motivations of Cartagena Insider and the reason why and how this type of participation is being used in this particular 'route'. Looking into White's (1996) typology of interests we can observe that Cartagena Insider makes use of 'representative' form of participation, where involvement of the community means a way to avoid creating dependency of the community with the tourism initiative. This sustainability is found in the fact that the 'route's are just an extra income for those members participating, they are also created in a way the members do what they know best. If Quique is a good dancer, his role in the 'route' will be to dance with the tourists, if someone else is good with the drums, this person will be participating in the 'route' where a drum player is needed, there is no need to train new people in how to dance or how to play music because the members of Candilé are already good at it, thus Cartagena Insider makes use of the resources that already exist. Quique mentions; *“We do cultural activities every Friday to raise money for the benefit of the children, sometimes we do small events in our community and sometime we go to the market and play music and dance for the neighbourhood”* (Quique, min 22:16 Appendix 2 nr.37). By doing this, Cartagena Insider is not just giving the opportunity to earn an extra income from what they always do and knows the best but also reinforcing their abilities and making the market more visible to what Cartagena has to offer in terms of culture, folklore, gastronomy, etc.

Therefore, the way we see it, participation in this 'route' is not about empowering them so they can take over the 'route's in future. This 'route', because of its characteristics, is a product that is sold easily, thus, what Cartagena Insider does is to implement a specific type of participation to create the 'route' in a sustainable way, and they do it by using the existent available resource such as the member of Candilé. Therefore, we assert that Cartagena Insider is using an 'instrumental' form of participation which means drawing on community contributions which provide efficiency to the development of the 'route'. Cartagena Insider 'uses' the knowledge of the members of Candilé to create the 'route's, not just because of their artistic skills but also because they live in El Barrio Chino, they know the people around and the people knows them, they are very familiar with the market and this is something that provides a certain level of security for the tourists when doing the 'route'. They are also more familiarized with tourism which means for Cartagena Insider it is a

'route' which can be easily established and efficiently carried out, if compared with the others in the rural communities.

The 'route' also holds characteristics from the CBTI, the idea was initiated by Cartagena Insider, being the 'experts' of the market demand and suggesting the idea of including the market as one of Cartagena's tourist attractions. Here is not just the people involved in the 'route' the ones who are or will benefit from bringing tourism but the whole neighborhood will be as well indirectly benefited. Hopefully, if the demand of these 'route's keeps growing, by bringing more attention to the Bazurto Market will make increase its popularity as a tourist spot, therefore its access to the tourism market, at the same time, this will improve the safety and the image of being a dangerous place and the flux of tourists spending money in the area will enhance the local economy . This idea brings us back to CBTI principles that Simpson (2008) describes, which stresses that it is not essential for a community to be directly involved in tourism management or ownership in order to deliver benefits to the community.

Sum up

It is a 'route' that Ana María can easily get profit because of the location where it is carried out and because of being a city-tour which is more sellable. The way she negotiates with her resources is by using the local's knowledge to have a more attractive and efficient 'route'. In exchange, Ana María creates jobs for the members of Candilé and brings more visibility to the market so it can get more attention from the tourists and, therefore, help to improve the image of the area.

5.2.9 Drum Safari

In this 'route' Cartagena Insider takes the visitors to the afro-descendent town of La Boquilla. It is a day trip where tourists are immersed in a session of drum therapy conducted by Istvan Dely and his wife and the percussionists; Yoel, Waidis and Davis, who learned from their Master Istvan Dely. John Carlos is a young boy, who also participates in the 'route'. He is a kind of percussion prodigy and part of the benefits from the 'route' go to finance his future studies in music. During the 'route' Yoel, Waidis and Davis take the visitors to the school they work, they visit John Carlos house and they explain about La Boquilla, during the drum therapy session they teach the tourists how to play basic rhythms and introduce them into the afro-caribbean music. Yoel, Waidis and Davis have already worked within the tourism industry. They also play drums for the company Eco Tours La

Boquilla, however they say the way they participate in those tours is very different from the one with Cartagena Insider, according to them in Drum Safari they have a much closer relationship with the tourists and what they do is more didactic; “ *we previously had worked with companies like Eco-tours. We brought dancers and when the tourists arrived from the mangroves we would do the show and that's it. Very different from this one where you teach to the tourist*” (Yoel, min 16:55 Appendix 2, nr.38)

The way participation is being implemented in this 'route' is very similar to the one in Bazarro Market. It holds some features from Arnstein's (1971) 'degrees of citizen tokenism', Pretty's (1995) 'functional participation' or seen under Tosun's (1999) classification as representing 'induced participation' where people participating is involved in actions that have already been thought and are controlled by Cartagena Insider. For instance, Ana María is the person who came to La Boquilla with the idea of doing a 'route' where people would play drums, she knew Istvan Dely and the job he was doing at the school, Yoel says that; “ *Ana María arranged a meeting with us and told us about the project of Cartagena Insider and its products. She talked about the Drum Safari and said that it was going to be about the drum therapy we always do with Istvan Dely*”(Yoel, min 19:25. Appendix 2, nr 39). However, it also holds characteristics of 'interactive participation' (Pretty, 1995), Arnstein's (1971) 'degrees of citizen power' or 'spontaneous participation' in Tosun's (1999) typology with a direct participation, which involves physical interaction and face-to-face relationship between Cartagena Insider and the members participating in Drum Safari. Although it was an idea already thought by Ana María, someone from outside the community, the process of creating the 'route' was made with Istvan Dely, the person who taught Yoel, Waidis and Davis a great part of what they now know and also how to teach and how to develop workshops for the kids that are their students now. As Yoel mentions; “ *Istvan Dely together with Ana María created the 'route' and we, little by little, learned to do it*” (Yoel, min 29:35). He further adds; “ *from Istvan Dely we learned how to teach music and now we design the workshops and dynamics for any person or company interested*”(Yoel, min 30:34). This is an interesting point that shows how these members are already aware of the potential of their skills and what they can do with them to make a living. Yoel also explains, how they have created a company called 'Batámbora', which provides a mix of services like workshops, drum crafting and it represents as well their group of music with afro-caribbean rhythms. They have also worked with other tourism companies doing similar things as they do in Drum Safari and are always considering new opportunities, as Yoel points out; “ *that*

is what it is about, it is about entrepreneurship, it is about looking for ideas that we could develop what we are doing” (Yoel, min 55:00). Therefore, the focus of Cartagena Insider in this 'route' is not much about empowerment but more about making them more visible to the tourism market so people can go there and know what they are doing, creating a 'route' based on something that is already there and that is not very well known by the tourists. Creating visibility through 'route's like Drum Safari is important so they can get more attention from the tourism sector, not just for the members of Drum Safari but for the whole community of La Boquilla, which can be benefited with the improvement of its image.

If we look into the motivations of Cartagena Insider and the reason why and how this type of participation is being used in this particular 'route' we have to look into White's (1996) typology of interests. We can observe that Cartagena Insider makes use of 'representative' form of participation, where involvement of the community means a way to avoid creating dependency of the community with the tourism initiative. This sustainability is found in the fact that the 'route's are just an extra income for those members participating, they are also created in a way in which the members do what they know best. Neither Yoel, Waidis nor Davis had to learn how to play drums for this 'route' because they are already experts on that and they already live from that, thus Cartagena Insider makes use of the resources that already exist.

As we previously mentioned, we believe the members of this 'route' are already empowered and, therefore, participation in this 'route' is not much about empowering the members participating but of using the available resources in a sustainable way. We understand that Cartagena Insider is also using an 'instrumental' form of participation which means drawing on community contributions and efficiency for the development of the 'route'. Cartagena Insider 'uses' the knowledge of the members integrating the Drum Safari to create the 'route's. As the participant of this 'route' are already familiarized with tourism, it accordingly creates the possibility for Cartagena Insider to facilitate and work with the participant in a efficient way.

Sum-up

Because of Ana María's network she did previously know about the job Istvan Dely was doing with the music and kids. She took advantage of her knowledge and created a product that she knew it was going to be attractive for the tourists. Her knowledge about the market logics and her local communities enabled her to come out with a project that holds a community based approach. As a social entrepreneur, the community focus that characterizes Ana María, thus plays a very important

role in negotiating her resources for the development of the 'route'. She brings the idea and negotiates with the community how this idea going to take place and how the resources- already existent- are going to be used.

5.3 An overview of community participation

According to Ana María, Colombia is a country based on social classes in which prestige is determined by race, economic wealth and education. It is a country where there is a lot of verticality where power is exercised; *“if you can look down on someone”* (Ana, Ludoteca2 min 3:15) and where people has a very bad relationship with the horizontal. In the Caribbean region of Colombia; *“there is a high level of exclusion”* (Ana, Ludoteca min 1:49) which can be perceived in the small towns around the region. Cartagena, for instance, is a city that suffers from gentrification. As mentioned before, though our experience we could feel that Cartagena is developing into a space designed for the consumer where communities, such as the one in La Boquilla, have been suffering from expropriation of their land because of the massive construction of hotel chains along their coast. FEM believes there is a need of community self-mobilization and a better appropriation of the city from communities where they could have a better control of it. To exemplify this, one of the firsts projects of FEM in Cartagena called ‘Soy Ciudad’(‘I am the city’), was a project designed for the children, and a way for them to get a better appropriation of the city. FEM also wants to create a social change where ‘the rich’do not feel sorry for ‘the poor’and instead, try to know more about those poor communities and what they have to offer, FEM wants that communities that have been marginalized start feeling proud of what they are and of what they know so society can pay more attention to them and be seen with a bit more dignity. The aim of Cartagena Insider here is, therefore, using tourism not just as a way of achieving economic benefits for poor and marginalized communities but as a way to embrace the social reality of Colombia, more specifically in the Caribbean region, by achieving a more equal and fair society. Although, we believe that it is a very romantic idea, which, due to the size of the project and the location where is implemented, should be more focused on aiming to create a social change in a local instead of a national level.

After analyzing some of the 'route's we can conclude that by using tourism, Cartagena Insider pretends to provide an enabling framework of support for the communities to be able to self-initiate

mobilization so people participate by taking initiatives, independently of external institutions, to change systems (Pretty, 1995). For instance, we can draw into what we previously mentioned about Wilfrido. Due to the work FEM did with the process of 'generation replacement', Wilfrido started creating his own network from which he is currently transferring knowledge to his community, for instance, by sharing experiences with other indigenes in other communities he saw the opportunity to build a traditional house in his community to host the tourists. This fact is a reflection of how Cartagena Insider works. Cartagena Insider pretends to empower the indigenous community so they are able to detect opportunities within the tourism industry that the community can benefit from and, the most important, that in case Cartagena Insider does not exist any more, they could be able to keep providing the service and enjoying the benefits from it. As Mayra states; *"if one day Cartagena Insider is not here any more, they need to be able to carry on with the 'route', that people keep coming to the community, that they can keep providing the service"* (Mayra, min 22:21. Appendix 2 nr.40). We see here that the aim of Cartagena Insider is to achieve a degree of spontaneous participation (Tosun, 1999), which in Pretty's (1995) model tallies self-mobilization and interactive participation or degrees of citizen power in Arnstein's (1971) typology. After having analyzed how is participation being implemented in the 'route's it has been realized that, although Tosun's (1999) model is specifically created for tourism, we find Pretty's (1995) model to be more helpful. Both, Tosun (1999) and Arnstein's (1971) models look at participation from the perspective of those on the receiving end, however Jules Pretty's (1995) typology of participation speaks more to the user of participatory approaches, which in this case is Cartagena Insider. In addition, Pretty (1995) notes that self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power. For instance, local self-mobilization may be actively promoted by the state and international agencies as part of efficiency goals that are entirely consistent with a neo-liberal approach to development. In other words, what Pretty's typology helps make clear is that the motivations of those who adopt and practice participatory approaches is an important factor in shaping interventions.

For this reason, we considered to find support with White's (1996) typology of interests, which helps us to identify conflicting ideas about why or how participation is being used by Cartagena Insider at any particular stage in the process of the creation of the 'route's. The logics of doing so is because we realized that when using typologies such as Arnsteins (1971), Prettys (1995) or Tosuns (1999) the different categories of participation can be read as implicitly normative, suggesting a

progression towards more 'genuine' forms of participation. However, Cartagena Insider works with different communities that have different backgrounds, therefore, these forms of participation are contextualized and become more ambiguous.

When doing this contextualization is important to have in mind that, as Mowforth & Munt (2009) argue, communities are not homogenous, consequently not all the members of the community are willing and able to participate equally. For instance, indigenous communities are not the same as afro communities, both of them have different cultural backgrounds that will influence the way they behave and the way they get involved in the tourism initiative. Neither is the same the indigenous community living in the Cabildo in the rural region than the afro community living in the neighborhood of La Boquilla in the city of Cartagena where the 'route's are carried in the city and, therefore, because of their accessibility tend to be more popular. We can also make reference to the fact that part of the members involved in the project of Cartagena Insider that participate in the Bazarro Market 'route' or the ones in the Drum Safari are more knowledgeable about tourism, some of them are artists and live in the city and they have had the chance to work in the tourism industry before, their personality as well is more open minded and it is easier to communicate with them. We can add as well that fact that the 'route' of Africa in America in Palenque de San Basilio is a particular one, it is an afro community, not located in the city but very exploited in the tourism industry, therefore, because of their experience, they possess knowledge about what tourism means to the community. In other 'route's like the indigenous community in Cabildo de Guayacanes Norte or the afro community in Leticia, some members participating in the project have never even seen a tourist before, the communities are isolated from everything which means there is a lack of knowledge about what bringing tourism to the community could mean to them, also this means they need more training and more time to be prepared to do the 'route' . The indigenes, for instance, are very introvert people, it is difficult to communicate with them and they are very distrustful in front of someone from outside their community, which could be a limitation when applying a participatory approach.

The above mentioned is an overview of just some examples that reflect the complexity of working with different communities and, thus, the need of Cartagena Insider of contextualizing the forms of participation, which makes Ana María's local community knowledge very valuable. Cartagena Insider knows very well those communities; their character, their power structures and the way they

work and, for that reason, they understand the need of implementing different forms of community participation within the creation of the 'route's, which may vary depending on the stage of the process and in the community they are carried out.

As we previously mentioned the aim of Cartagena Insider is to achieve a degree of self-mobilization in the communities, especially in the rural ones. That is why the concept of 'participation' slightly varies between the 'route's carried out in rural communities (indigenous community in Cabildo Guayacanes, afro-community in Leticia, Uno en un Millón), and the ones carried out in the urban area (Drum Safari, Bazurto Market, En tu Salsa, Champetua).

In the case of the rural area, Cartagena Insider understands that communities, who have been marginalized over years, need to be empowered first in order them to be able to self-mobilize. As previously mentioned, the term empowerment is, according to Höckert (2011) within development studies, traditionally related with community participation. However, not all kinds of participation empower the community. By looking to White's (1996) typology of interests we can see that, in this case, the community is involved through transformative participation. Cartagena Insider understands that for rural communities self-initiate mobilizations they have to be empowered first, this self-initiative (Pretty, 1995), thus, is seen by Cartagena Insider as a result of the enhancement of the community well-being where special importance is not given to the improvement of their economic state, but rather to the community self-esteem. Given that, the 'route's in rural communities hold transformative participation as White (1996) argues, involvement is seen as a process of empowerment which enables people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action .

The 'route's carried out in the urban area tend to hold forms of instrumental and representative participation, although, they hold some transformative participation as well. In White's (1996) interests typology, the instrumental form of participation means that the implementing agency, in this case Cartagena Insider, draws on the community contributions. The way we see it Cartagena Insider commodifies the community knowledge by making it the core of the 'route'. We have also realized that most of the members participating in these 'route's work within the cultural industry or have had contact with tourists before, thus, they possess a certain knowledge about the tourism industry which is translated into efficiency for Cartagena Insider. In other words, the development of this type of 'route's will be very different from the ones that rural communities are involved in - communities that hardly ever have had contact with tourism.

Their role in the 'route' is about doing what they always do, if they are professional dancers, they dance, if they are musicians, they play music. In fact, the 'route's of Cartagena Insider are about this, about showing to the visitors what these communities have to offer, what they know best. All these means that these people tend to be more familiar with tourism and more aware of their attractiveness to the tourists. They are part of an association or already involved in some type of entrepreneurial project initiated by them, therefore, it is not much about the need of making them involved to socially empower them (self-esteem), but more about 'using' their skills so they can find options within the tourism industry that can bring an extra income and also, more attention from tourist to other areas of the city that are not that well known and have a lot to offer. We can thus talk about representative participation, when looking into Cartagena Insider's intentions; the fact of making them involved is understood as a way of being sustainable. The 'route's are all about what the community is good at and that is the reason why they are involved. Thus, they can get income from it, from what they always do without depending on anyone, not even on tourism. They are being heard and their 'voice' is very important for Cartagena Insider within the decision-making process of the 'route's. Therefore this type of participation gives the people a voice in determining their development.

5.4 Social Entrepreneur in a Latin American Context

To review the work of Ana María in a Latin American context, firstly, as delineated in the introduction of the case study, Colombia is a country holding high levels of social and economic inequality. Thus, it can be revised how social entrepreneurship in the global South faces different obstacles in relation to social entrepreneurship within the Western hemisphere, in which class differences and levels of corruptions are normally much less prominent in society. In this particular study of social entrepreneur in community based tourism in Latin America - specifically Colombia - it has been acknowledged how the importance of 'networking' is being heavily expressed throughout the working methods of Ana María. In this case study, it is thus being reflected how the ability of a social entrepreneur, to cooperate and work across different sectors are of crucial importance in order to fulfill their ventures. As Ana María has previously worked for the regional government in policy development, she has had the chance to understand the social scene of the governmental sector as well as build up a network of trust and legitimacy to the government.

A study from 2013 indicating levels of corruption in the world ranked Colombia number 36th on the list in comparison to e.g. Denmark which was ranked 91th (El Tiempo, 2013c). Due to the fact that levels of corruption in Colombia are higher compared to Scandinavian countries, challenging government initiatives or working against government in general can be of critical outcomes. Therewith, in a Colombian context it is vital to place yourself on good terms with the current government, due to the fact that not being accepted or accomplishing to maintain a good relation with the government, could eventually make you 'disappear' from the scene. Accordingly, as Tosun (2000) describes about politics in developing countries, often they are based around clientelism, herewith, encapsulating how 'development', as Mayra explains us, are 'empty promises' taking place before elections in order to secure votes (Mayra, fieldnotes) In addition, she utters about the political parties; *"they arrive to whatever community with dolls (...) they distribute old clothes for the kids in the communities (...) they take the photo for the campaign to show the public on Facebook, but during the rest of the year they do not even bother to look at the community - this is solidarity in Colombia"* (Mayra2, min. 59.24 appendix 2 nr 41). In corollary, the statement entails, why the relation between the general population (especially the marginalized communities) and the government does not imply for any trustworthy relationship. Accordingly, Mayra supplements this by stating; *"Here, the government wants their share too (...) nothing is for free, nothing is actually for helping - everything is about the money"* (Mayra2, min. 1.18.40 appendix 2 nr. 42).

Herewith, for marginalized communities in Columbia, government support and funding for the improvement of the living standards are very limited, hence communities are only within the scope of government support if they are of benefit to the government's activities and not deduced from government's altruistic actions. However, Ana María has performed very differently when working with the communities. As an example she has managed to get the indigenous constitutional rights approved whereas she secured social benefits for 1500 Indigenous people and as Ana María utters; *"that is how I earned my respect (...) and this is why Leo Igildo respects me and works with me"* (Anna San Andrés, min 45.30). Although, without alluding Ana María as to perform populist leadership or neglecting the idea of Ana María working in the communities out of altruistic intentions, as this project beliefs to be true, it can though be argued that due to the fact that she is 'selling' the communities as tourist experiences, thus commodifying them, the outcome of Cartagena Insider relies on being on good terms with the local communities so as to have a 'product' to sell. Additionally, the role of Ana María in the local communities are of interest given the fact that Ana Maria is originally from the capital - Bogotá, thus she must be considered as an outsider both in

Cartagena and most certainly in the marginalized communities. Mowforth et al. (2008), Timothy & Tosun (2003), Bonilla & Mordt (2008) argues that community based tourism is a unique opportunity for marginalized communities to participate in tourism development and thus stay free from a hegemonic grasp produced by outside tour operators. Ana María though challenges this theoretical assumption as she has created her figure as indispensable in the making of the 'route's' due to the ignorance about the tourism industry that we found in the communities (although varying between the researched communities) whereas she keeps the 'hegemonic grasp' as having Cartagena Insider as the outside tour operator.

As a result of her knowledge of how the system in the government works and her understanding of the relationship between communities and government she is able to position herself politically depending on who she talks to. As an example of her capability to inscribe herself into different discourses depending on with whom she is negotiating. For instance, as she expresses her reluctance to cooperate with government because of corruption, however, on the other hand, she understands the importance of maintaining connections, and acceptance from government as constituting an individual working towards the same goal as the government. An example to underpin how she inscribes herself into the governmental 'team' is her collaboration with 'Cámara de Comercio', 'Emprende Cultura' and 'CorpoTurismo' with whom we had the opportunity to attend a business meeting concerning the fact of how to transform Cartagena into a sustainable city. In this sense, Ana María has ties to governmental launched initiatives, although she explains "*I only do it because I have too, they need me, and I need them somehow*" (Ana, Fieldnotes). On the contrary, she has to win the trust as an outsider in the respective communities in which she works and carries out the 'route's'. As previously described, the communities are lacking trust to government activities, thus, when collaborating with the communities she cannot inscribe herself into the governmental discourse as an individual forming part of the governmental team as it would earn her distrust from the communities, and possibly lead to her ventures becoming impossible to implement, despite of her sincere interest in community well-being.

The characteristics of Ana María is hereby an outstanding case of a social entrepreneur and it is noticeable how she manages to navigate among the communities and the government. A working method in which she strategically select whom to work with from government positions so as to be able to legitimately have the foundation of FEM, but still be able to have a good relation with the communities and build up trust between her and the communities - a relation she needs in order to execute her ideas behind 'Cartagena Insider' offering tourist experiences in non-touristic local

Colombian communities. In line with Danna & Porche (2008) to whom social entrepreneurs are defined as exceptionally good at using or integrating, others' resources to achieve the objectives of their venture, it can in this case thus be argued how the resources of Ana María are the local communities (their knowledge) which she draws usage of and integrates into the making of her venture 'Cartagena Insider'.

Thus from this case study, it can be revised and thus argued, that for especially social entrepreneurship within a Latin American context success is a matter of how well to manage and draw usage of resources, whereas networks hold a key position in the creation and implementation of social ventures.

As having argued, in a Colombian context, it is important for the social entrepreneurs to establish a good relationship with the government if a social venture wants to operate. In addition, the government might as well be interested in maintaining a relation with the social entrepreneurs to know in what are they working and how. This is due to the risk for the government of being challenged by the social entrepreneur, if e.g. too much community support is being achieved. Thus, the reason why governments should also enable cooperation and good relationships with the social entrepreneurs. Therefore, for government to not experience a creation of a parallel power structure. they too possess and interest in being on good terms with the social entrepreneurs, as if too much support is being established between Ana María and the communities she constitute a threat to government due to the fact that if she would choose to run for a political position many votes would be secured for her as a consequence of the social help she brings to the marginalized communities.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this research project is rooted in pragmatic thinking and has been sat out to explore the interlinkages between social entrepreneurship and community based development by means of the tourism industry. By exploring the foundation FEM - Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional - and its work in Cartagena - Colombia, a research question was developed, aiming to shed light on how social entrepreneurship can be a tool to create socio-economic and socio-cultural change in local communities by using tourism.

As social entrepreneurship in community based tourism in Latin America has gained little attention as a research field, this project adopts an exploratory and qualitative approach with an inductive stance. Accordingly, the research was carried out as a study of ethnography in which both, participant observations and semi-structured interviews were used in the data collection process.

In order to answer the aim of this project the following two objectives were set; to explore how Ana María - Co-founder and executive director of FEM - can be considered a social entrepreneur, and accordingly, how 'Cartagena Insider' is implementing community participation in the creation process of the 'routes'. Thus by carrying out a comprehensive analysis of these objectives, has enabled us to answer the above stated research aim.

The structure and fundamentals of FEM as a foundation are based upon meeting human needs in low-income and/or rural communities in order to enhance the life quality of those, often, very marginalized people. A goal attempted to be achieved by drawing upon a 'bottom-up' community based approach. Additionally, FEM consist of three branches, in this case study focus has been held to the project 'Cartagena Insider', found within the branch of entrepreneurship. Cartagena Insider consist of a portfolio of 'routes'. Those 'routes' are constructed as 'authentic' experiential tourist activities, aiming to explore the possibility of creating income simply by valuing who we are (our identities) and making it a market-viable product. Hereby, Cartagena Insider draws upon the tourism industry as a vehicle to obtain a socio-economic and socio-cultural change by advocating for marginalized groups to enter the world of entrepreneurship (within the tourism sector) as to foster job creation, which over time, will socio-culturally and economically empower the community.

By deconstructing the personality of Ana María it has been affirmed how she is inscribed into the theory of a social entrepreneur due to her working methods and activities expressed through the projects of FEM. This assertion is made due to the discovery that Cartagena Insider is a non-profit making business for Ana María as an individual, since it seeks to impact socially and bring a positive change in the communities in which it works. Accordingly, Ana María has based FEM's project of entrepreneurship around tourism and has taken advantage of the current global trend in tourism practices of producing 'authentic' experiences at the host destination. Thus, she possesses the ability to understand the current market trends and relate them to her available resources, transforming this trend into a market opportunity to be exploited.

As tourism is being implemented as the point of departure in the quest for social improvements, this research also sheds light on the complexities of drawing upon the tourism industry as the main

vehicle of social change, an assertion deduced due to the nature of the tourism industry. Since tourism is a business, it needs to adapt to market logics and comply to consumer demands. A relevant finding to point out is the way in which the social entrepreneur Ana María, sets up the 'routes' in a way that the unique experience of the 'route' is not solely addressed to the tourists, but developed in such a way that experiences are co-produced with the host community. In this regard, the role of the social entrepreneur in tourism differs from a business entrepreneur by having the focus on the well being of the community- and not market demands- when implementing tourism initiatives.

This research additionally reveals that the community based tourism approach is being perceived by FEM as a way to challenge the racial division of the Colombian society, thus there exist the meta narrative of the goals of FEM as having widespread and national impacts. However, by scrutinizing the projects of Cartagena Insider what has been revised is the fact that the projects remain at reaching on a community level and not national level. In fact, only few people in the communities are right now under influence of the projects, thus the benefits produced from the 'routes' do not even reach out to the community as a whole. This research found that the social changes produced by Cartagena Insider have been revealed to connote to a much higher degree of intangible assets such as the enforcement of self-esteem and pride in the local communities and to a much lesser degree bringing economic tangible assets. The reason for that is the early stage of all the initiatives of Cartagena Insider, which made it difficult to, yet, measure on the economic benefits, as projects were still in their startup phase.

This research mirrors how Ana María, as a social entrepreneur, holds a wide network within the government sphere and within the communities that FEM has been working with during the past years. The relationship built with those two actors has enabled her to be in a position where she has a key role as an 'agent of change', especially for those poor communities in Cartagena who have always been marginalized by the racism that continues to permeate in the Colombian society. The present research shows how the social entrepreneur - Ana María- of this particular case plays extremely well with her available resources as a way to position herself between the government and the indigenous and afro communities of the Bolívar region. This fact has influenced the way Cartagena Insider has been accepted as a social venture and it has facilitated how community participation is being implemented in the creation of its 'routes'. This is an important factor from a social entrepreneur since building trust within the communities is the key to a better involvement of the local people in the tourism development process (TDP). It is, however, also a necessity that the

social entrepreneur shows a cultural understanding of the social setting in which the initiative is being implemented. Due to this fact, we considered it relevant to look into six different 'routes' that Cartagena Insider operates as to grasp an understanding of how it is important for the social entrepreneur to have community knowledge, since each 'route' differs in context, its hosts hold different cultural backgrounds and different levels of knowledge about the tourism industry.

Cartagena Insider's 'routes' are based on a participatory approach which is essential in the sustainable tourism development.

Therefore, after carrying out an analysis we can unfold the way Cartagena Insider is implementing participatory approaches. This research shows that even though the 'routes' are being carried out in the same -or near- region, there exists a difference in the way involvement of the community is being implemented. In general, the 'routes' taking place in rural communities tend to be different from the ones taking place in the urban area of Cartagena. The differences between them fall basically on the exceptional ability of Ana María to act and mobilize her networks in each different community she works with. This fact brings up the idea that you cannot implement a 'single' model to gain participation from the community, instead, much attention must be put on understanding the culture of the community and to create a vision that is perceived by the local residents, being as including and fair as possible to tailor-make a solution. Thus, the form of involvement of the community will vary depending on the context, which means that the limitations of participatory development in tourism activities are, in other words, an extension of the situation that hinders the community's further development. For that reason, it is of special relevance to highlight how crucial is the way Ana María uses her networks and her knowledge of the communities to adapt the implementation of participation to each community where the 'route' is taking place. Drawing into the role of the social entrepreneurs, we conclude that because of their local knowledge - culture, power relations of the community, etc- and their external knowledge - tourism demand, market logics, etc.- they are individuals positioned in a key spot to act as 'agents of change', therefore, contribute to a better and more responsible implementation of tourism development initiatives.

6.1 Perspectives

When having argued for social entrepreneurship as being individuals generating social improvements in society, the designation is correlated to the term ‘mediator’ and thus as a person creating synergy between social classes - what Jennings and Weiler (2006) referred to as ‘agent of social change’. In this particular case study, it is being expressed as Ana María seeks to achieve by bringing 'non-judgmental eyes' (from international tourists), who are not inscribed into the culture class and race division of Colombia, and thus visiting with a sincere interest in the lives of the Afro or Indigenous communities. As argued for in the analysis, the social impact of the venture ‘Cartagena Insider’, are in such a way to create awareness of how their racial classification should not necessarily make them inferior to others and equally as a way for them to reflect on their social situation in comparison to other people’s.

However, it is also arguable that instead of boosting a social transformation, as a means of those cultural encounters, the effect may as well resonate as a way to reinforce the global imaginaries which exists of social groups attributed a specific social reality - in this case the Indigenous or Afro-Colombian people. Thus, the venture ‘Cartagena Insider’ is on the contrary a project which contributes to the maintenance of stereotypes of communities and social groups instead of changing them. Along these lines, it can thus be argued that ‘Cartagena Insider’ reinforces rather than changes the global narratives which exist of destinations and thus of its people. A postulation leading into the aspect of ‘authenticity’. As the venture ‘Cartagena Insider’ is new in practice, it could be of interest to revise the outcome of the ‘route’s’ within a few years of practice with a focus on the execution of the ‘authenticity’ aspect. As described, the ‘authentic experience’ constitutes as the quintessential of the ‘route’s’, thus it is alluring to measure, if the locals involved in the ‘route’s’ would start inscribing themselves into some global imaginaries about their stereotypes, hence not actually portraying an authentic tourist experience. Rather would they be performing a ‘show’ for the tourists, which would comply to the global imaginaries of the destination, hence mirroring how the tourists project they are selling is being controlled by the market logics.

Another aspect which could be of interest to look into in future is the idea of creating cultural encounter, which, as a result, will make the communities question their own social reality. In other words, making them aware of the global power relations dividing the world, thus their inferiority to Westerners in regard to education and political international influence. This is an effect that Ana María sees the tourism industry may be able to produce. However, on the other hand, it may not be

the reality of how the communities portrays themselves in relation to the surrounding world, but rather how the communities are being perceived through the eyes of Ana María as the initiator of the projects. So as to say, the communities may not feel inferior to international tourists and be jealous of what the Westerners have as it may not be of value to them in their social reality.

Then again, on the contrary, the effect of ‘Cartagena Insider’, by bringing tourists to the local communities, could also impose just the opposite, namely to have the locals being reminded of their social status in relation to other social groups, thus contributing to maintaining the horizontal relationship rather than eliminating it.

6.2 Contributions of this Research

In retrospect this project targets, and contributes to academia, by combining 3 different branches of studies, namely social entrepreneurship, tourism and community based development.

Due to the fact that the combination of social entrepreneurship and community based tourism in Latin America seems to constitute as a field having received little attention, thus not researched much, this research is in itself a contribution to the field. Accordingly, this project mirrors how social entrepreneurship is being carried out in Latin America and it underpins how the execution of social entrepreneurship in Colombia is highly dependent on having a huge social network, thus how the connections seem to constitute alfa and omega in the creation of a social enterprise and thus the implementation success and of a venture.

Additionally, this case study is focused upon tourism in community development, thus it calls attention to the complexities of drawing upon tourism as a way to achieve socio-economic and socio-cultural development. First of all when talking about the concept of development its definition must be clarified due to the nature of the concept holds widespread definition among social groups - in other words, it depends on ‘the eyes that see’. Therefore, if adopting the traditional Euro-Centric idea of the concept of development as measured by means of economic improvements we found that the influence of the tourism industry, in this particular case study, was to be measured predominantly in a intangible manner, thus challenging the traditional concept of development. As a result, this research contributes to the field of tourism in development practices as it argues about

how the concept of development should be used with precaution when utilized in connection to tourism and not just seen under the economic perspective but more as a socio-cultural change. Subsequently, this case study contests the traditional way of creating development, in which government constitutes the central point of departure of the development process. However, the fact of having the social entrepreneur drawing upon the tourism industry it makes him/her be inscribed into another set of logics as tourism is a business, thus it is based on another set of logics, namely those complying to the global market logics. A limitation that Cartagena Insider is experiencing is directly related with the discussion about the implementation of the tourism industry in development projects. Ana María holds all the good intentions of creating social improvement by the venture 'Cartagena Insider', but it remains a business and herewith depends on profit. Thus, this case study represents an ideal example to demonstrate the complexities with the usage of the tourism industry in a development process.

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Appendix 1 - Interview Design

- **Presentarse**

Introduce yourself

- **Cómo conoció FEM /Cartagena Insider?**

How did you meet FEM/Cartagena Insider?

- **A qué te dedicas?**

What is your profession?

- **De qué manera estuviste involucrado en la creación del tour?**

How are you involved in the creation of the tour?

- **Cómo te sientes después de hacer el tour?**

How do you feel after doing the tour?

- **Crees que es difícil enseñar a los turistas la esencia del... (Mercado, música, etc.)**

Do you think it is difficult to show the essence of the... (Market, music, etc.)

- **Cómo te sentiste cuando te propusieron ser el guía?**

How did you feel when they asked you to be a guide?

- **Cómo se creó el contenido de la explicación del tour?**

How was the content of the tour explanation created?

- **Te gustaría añadir o cambiar algo del tour? Crees que es representativo lo que se enseña?**

Would you like to change anything from the tour? Do you think it is representative what it is showing?

- **Sientes que serás escuchado en el caso de querer cambiar algo?**

Do you feel you would be heard in case you would want to change something?

- **En el caso de tener un libro guía, has formado parte en la creación de éste?**

In case of having a guide book, did you participate in the making of it?

- **Qué tipo de preparación recibiste antes de hacer el tour?**

What type of training did you receive before doing the tour?

- **Has trabajado alguna vez en la industria turística?**

Have you ever worked in the tourism industry?

- **Tendrás disponibilidad para hacer estos tours cada día?**

Would you have time to do the tour every day?

- **Si hubiese más demanda y muchos tours semanales, como crees que afectaría en ti o en la comunidad?**

If there was a higher demand and tours every week, how do you think it would affect you or the community?

- **Cuántos tours has hecho?**

How many tours have you done?

- **Cómo te sientes cuando ves que los turistas están interesados en realizar este tour?**

How do you feel when you see the tourists interested in doing this tour?

- **Antes de este proyecto, pensaste alguna vez que lo que enseñas podría resultar atractivo a los turistas?**

Before this project, did you ever think about what you show could be interesting for a tourists?

- **Por qué crees que debes ser tu el guía? Qué puedes aportar que otro no pueda?**

Why do you think you should be the guide? What can you provide to the tour that another person cannot?

- **Crees que has aprendido algo de los tours?**

Do you think you have learned something from the tours?

Appendix 2

Transcribed Quotations from the Interviews and Fieldnotes

1 *"nosotros cuando vamos a la comunidad decimos lo que podemos hacer hasta donde lo podemos hacer y que requerimos de la ayuda de ellos para poderlo hacer"* (Mayra 2, min. 1:15:59)

"when we go to the community we say what we can do and until where we can reach and we need help from the community if we want to make it happen"

2 *"lo que yo pretendo hacer es un puente que no privilegia ni a unos ni a otros, un puente entre persona, comunidades, profesiones, entre capacidades, entre intereses y el nombre que hemos encontrado para nuestro diseño estratégico y que representa esta idea es 'colaboratorio' (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 4:13)*

"What I am trying to do is to build a bridge that does not privilege anyone, a bridge between people, communities, professions, between capacities and interests, and we found a name for our strategic design that represents this idea which is 'colaboratory'" (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 4:13).

3 *"Colombia es un país muy basado en el estatus, muy constructor de estatus de manera ficticia, nos gusta mucho la verticalidad - nos encanta!. Se ejerce poder si se puede mirar hacia abajo a alguien, la gente tiene una muy mala relación con el horizontal y eso se nota en las empresas, la manera en cómo trabajamos, la manera en cómo aprendemos, la manera en cómo nos relacionamos en los barrios, somos muy jerárquicos (...) Plantear una organización no jerárquica ha sido muy difícil porque la gente aquí necesita jerarquías, necesita recibir órdenes de alguien para poder hacer las cosas"* (Ana-intro, min. 3:35)

"Colombia is a country very marked by the social status of its people, it builds fake status, we like a lot the verticality- we love it!. You have power if you can look down someone, the way we work, the way we learn, the way we interact in the neighbourhoods, we are very hierarchical (...) To set up a non-hierarchic organization has been very difficult because people here need hierarchies, needs to receive orders from someone in order to do things"

4 "Colombia es un país con las clases sociales muy marcadas" (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 00:02)

4 "Colombia is a country with very marked social classes" (Ana-Ludoteca, min. 00:02)

5 "Getsemaní (neighbourhood next to Torices) es un barrio muy duro para vivir, como van a hacer las cosas de otra manera si nunca han visto las cosas hechas de otra manera - no la correcta - otra! Por eso invitamos voluntarios Turcos, Chinos, Africanos, voluntarios de todos los países" (Ana-Ludoteca 01:12:02).

5 "Getsemaní (neighbourhood next to Torices) is a very harsh neighbourhood to live in, how are they going to do things differently if they have never seen things done different- not the correct one- just another way! That is why we invite international volunteers; Turkish, Chinese, african.." (Ana-Ludoteca 01:12:02).

6 "Estaba en el mercado y acabo de ver una pareja y dicen "Tú (tourist pointing at him) foto??" y yo "sí" (sonriendo) (Quique-Bazurto, min. 17.00)

6 "I was at the market and I saw a couple that asked me- You (tourist pointing at him) photo?- and I said- Yes! (smiling)"(Quique-Bazurto, min. 17.00)

7 "me siento fenomenal y orgulloso de mi barrio de mi mercado" (Quique-Bazurto, min. 18.20)

7 "I feel so good and proud of my neighborhood and my market" (Quique-Bazurto, min. 18.20)

8 "Nuestro trabajo, nuestra vida gira alrededor de la música, no hacemos otra cosa más que tocar música"(Yoel, min 19:20).

8 "our job, our live, everything revolves around the music, we do not do anything else but music"(Yoel, min 19:20).

9 "Todo se decide entre todos y basado en las necesidades de la comunidad"(Mayra 2, min 1:11:51).

9 "everything is decided by everyone and based on the community needs" (Mayra 2, min 1:11:51).

10 “tu puedes pensar que los avances pueden beneficiar a la comunidad pero quizás para ellos no es así, ellos tienen su manera de ir a recoger el agua del río, por qué van a tener que cambiarlo ahora? (...) todo depende de cómo ven ellos el desarrollo (...) yo estoy acostumbrada a tener agua, electricidad, internet, entonces pienso que eso es desarrollo y que los demás también necesitan lo mismo que yo” (Mayra 2, min 28:11)

10 “you can think that all the advances are going to benefit the community but maybe for them they are not, they have their own way of picking up the water from the river, why are they going to need to change that now? (...) it all depends on how they see development (...) if I am used to have water, electricity, Internet, then we tend to think that is development and that other they need it as well” (Mayra 2, min 28:11)

11 “ es importante preguntarles a ellos que quieren, no lo que nosotros creemos que necesitan!(Mayra 2, min 28:45).

11 “it is important to ask them what do they want, not what do we think they need” (Mayra 2, min 28:45).

12 “Nosotros (FEM), como gente ‘más desarrollada’, tenemos que pensar cómo involucrar a la comunidad para co-crear el desarrollo, no el tipo de desarrollo que nosotros estamos acostumbrados, el que nosotros pensamos que es ‘correcto’, uno que esté creado conjuntamente con las comunidades” (Mayra, 31:41).

12 “We (FEM), as more ‘developed’ people, have to think about how can we get involved with the community to co-create development, not the type of development we are used to and the one we think it is the ‘right’ but the one that it is created together with the communities”(Mayra, 31:41).

13 “nada está hecho porque vengo a la comunidad y como soy Mayra yo hago lo que pienso que es bueno para ellos, no, todo aquí se discute con la comunidad” (Mayra2 min. 1.11.45)

13 “nothing is done because I come to the community and since I am Mayra I do whatever I think it is good for them, no, everything we do is discussed with the community” (Mayra2 min. 1.11.45)

14 “La idea de la ruta es hacer una inmersión en la comunidad (...) la gente que va allí lo hace porque quiere vivir la experiencia bajo esas condiciones”(Mayra, min. 1.56).

14 *"the idea of the route is to immerse in the community (...) people that go there is because they want to live that experience in that conditions"* (Mayra, min. 1.56).

15 *"los turistas tienen que aceptar las consecuencias de hacer esa ruta (...) No hay agua potable, van a dormir como ellos (...) hace parte de la experiencia que viven como viven las comunidades ((Mayra1, min. 00.20)*

15 *"The tourists has to accept the consequences of this route (...) there are not portable water, they will sleep like the locals (...) it is part of the experience that they will live exactly like the people in the communities"* (Mayra1, min. 00.20)

16 *" Aquí hay muchas fundaciones que consiguen mucho dinero pero no hacen trabajo social, no trabajan en las comunidades por lo tanto las comunidades no les gustan estas fundaciones"*(Mayra2, min 1:19:35)

16 *"There are a lot of foundations here that get a lot of money but do not do social work, they do not work in the communities so communities do not like them"* (Mayra2, min 1:19:35)

17 *" Yo apruebo tu proyecto si me das parte de los beneficios"* (Mayra 2, min 1:19:00)

17 *"- I will approve your project if you give me part of the benefits"* (Mayra 2, min 1:19:00)

18 *" es evidente que en las comunidades en las que trabajamos la gente no apoya, da igual si es solo una pequeña parte de la comunidad la que participa, ellos nos apoyan igualmente"*(Mayra 1, min 16:32).

18 *" it is evident that the communities where we work support us, it does not matter if it is just a small part of the community participating, they support us"* (Mayra 1, min 16:32).

19 *" No creamos expectativas a nadie, eso es por lo que las comunidades rechazan a las organizaciones cuando llegan y les dicen que van a hacer 'esto' o esto 'otro', y luego no acaba pasando (...) Cuando vamos a la comunidades decimos lo que podemos hacer y hasta dónde podemos llegar, y para eso necesitamos la ayuda de ellos"* (Mayra 2, min 1:15:59).

19 “We do not give expectations to anyone, this is what makes communities reject organizations when they come and tell them they are going to do ‘this’ and ‘that’ and then it all turns in nothing (...) When we go to the communities we say what we can do and where we can reach and that we need their help to do it” (Mayra 2, min 1:15:59).

20 “FEM siempre ha trabajado con los indígenas y sus derechos de restitución, Ana María también ha trabajado con una organización internacional que vela por los derechos de los afros e indígenas”(Mayra 2, min 4:39).

20 “FEM has always worked a lot with the indigenous and their restitution rights, Ana María also worked with an international institution which secures the indigenous and afro rights” (Mayra 2, min 4:39).

21 “Nosotros compartimos compartimos las experiencias que tenemos en nuestras comunidades con otros miembros de otras comunidades, hablamos sobre temas que nos conciernen a todos, luchamos por los mismos objetivos y hablamos sobre los problemas que tenemos en las comunidades de la región” (Victor and Wilfrido, min 18:40)

21 “we share the experiences that we have from our communities and we touch upon issues that are of common interest, we fight for the same goals and talk about common problems that communities have in the region” (Victor and Wilfrido, min 18:40)

22 “es su propia idea emprendedora, nunca le dijimos que lo hiciera”(Mayra, min 21:59).

22 “his own entrepreneurial idea, we never told him to do it”(Mayra, min 21:59).

23 “ Me sentiria motivado, la mayoría de la gente aquí no ha ido siquiera a Cartagena, no conocemos a los turistas. Esto es una oportunidad para la gente de aquí de ver mujeres lindas como ustedes y que se motiven, que digan- Me gusta esta muchacha, quiero casarme con ella!- esto es bueno, no necesitamos ir a otro país para conocerlas, ustedes vienen aquí. Solo vemos personas como ustedes por la televisión”(Victor and Wilfrido, min 23:04)

23 “ *I would feel motivated, most of the people here we do not even know Cartagena, we do not know the tourists. It is an opportunity for people here to see girls like you and get motivated, to say - I like this girl, I want to marry her!- this is cool, there is no need to go to your country to meet you, you come here. We just see people like you on TV*” (Victor and Wilfrido, min 23:04)

24 “ *Creo que le gusté porque siempre estaba preguntando en las reuniones que teníamos*”(Nelson, min 00:33)

24 “*I think she liked me because I was always the person who was asking the most every time we had meetings concerning the projects*” (Nelson, min 00:33)

25 “ *Cuando la conocí aún no era miembro del consejo, pero siempre he apoyado mucho a todos los líderes*” (Nelson, min 3:11)

25 “*when I met her I still was not a member of the council, but I always supported them a lot, all the leaders*” (Nelson, min 3:11)

26 “*Antes de ir a una comunidad organizamos una reunión con las cabezas de cada familia y les explicamos sobre el proyecto ‘Uno en 1 Millón’ , también les preguntamos sobre cual es su idea y si tienen alguna sugerencia de donde invertir el dinero*”(Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:26).

26 “*before going to the community we set up a meeting where we call all the representatives of each family and tell them about the project ‘Uno en Un Millón’ and ask them about what is their idea or suggestion to invest the money*” (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:26).

27 “ *construcción co-trabajada*” (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:06:59)

27 “*co-worked construction*” (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:06:59)

28 “*Nada se hace porque yo, Mayra, pienso que el parque necesita arreglarse, no, aquí todo es discutido, esto es un colaboratorio, todo se decide y se vota con la comunidad quien dice cuáles son sus necesidades*”(Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51)

28 *“nothing is because me, Mayra, thinks the park needs to be fixed, no, here everything is discussed, this is a colaboryatory, everything is decided and voted with the community who say what are their needs”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51)

29 *“todo se decide y se vota con la comunidad, quien dice cuáles son sus necesidades”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51)

29 *“everything is decided and voted with the community who say what are their needs”* (Mayra, Mayra2 min 1:11:51)

30 *“nosotros no ‘asistimos’ a nadie, nosotros conseguimos recursos y hacemos que valga la pena invertir en ello, si vamos a invertir en un Centro de Salud, es toda la comunidad la que tiene que trabajar por ello, nosotros ponemos el material pero ellos ponen la mano de obra, la casa, el alojamiento para los visitantes, etc. Queremos que el desarrollo signifique algo de esfuerzo por parte de la comunidad, un sacrificio”* (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:08:11)

30 *“we do not ‘assist’ anyone, we get resources and we make it worth it to invest in it, if we are going to invest in a Health Center is all the community who has to work for that, we put the material but they put the labour, the house where the visitors are going to sleep, the food, etc. We want that the development implies an effort from the community, a sacrifice”* (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:08:11)

31 *“Nosotros no vamos a la comunidad con 40 millones y construimos un parque si el dia de mañana nadie va a encargarse de cuidarlo (...) Cuando eres tu quien tiene que cavar con una pala donde se va a poner el columpio, ya te encargaré de que el trabajo que hiciste se mantenga y que se cuide el parque (...) así es como pensamos y es lo que nos diferencia de las demás organizaciones”* (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:07:47).

31 *“We do not come to the community with 40 million and build a park if the day of tomorrow no one is going to take care of it (...) When it is you who have to take a shovel and dig a hole for the swing, you will definitely make sure the job you did is maintained and you will take care of the park (...) this is how we think and what makes us differentiate from other organizations”* (Mayra, Mayra 2 min 1:07:47).

32 *“Una cosa que critico es en que en Palenque hay algunos proyectos de emprendimientos particulares que son los que el gobierno apoya (...) el problema es que el gobierno solo se centra en ese tipo de proyectos y no en otras iniciativas como la nuestra que son más colectivas no tan individuales y que implican a varias familias”*(Dorina, min 43:42).

32 *“One thing that I criticize is that in Palenque there are some familiar/particular entrepreneurship projects that the government has supported (...) the problem is that the government has focused just on this and not in other initiatives like ours that are more collective and not that individual and that involve several families.”* (Dorina, min 43:42).

33 *“la asociación está compuesta por el brazo productivo de dulces en el que se encarga una asociación de 68 mujeres, está el brazo productivo campesino que lleva el nombre de Machaquero y la tercera rama es la de servicios ecoturísticos en el que trabajan guías”* (Ghandi, min 29:50).

33 *“the association is formed of a branch which produces candy and it is managed by 68 women, another branch is dedicated to agricultural production which has the name of ‘Machaquero’, and the third branch is the one which provides ethno-touristic services, here is where the guides work”* (Ghandi, min 29:50).

34 *“Ahora estamos planeando hacer alojamientos para los visitantes, queremos contruir pequeñas casas tradicionales”* (Ghandi, min 38:10).

34 *“Now we are planning to do accommodations for the visitors, we want to build small traditional houses”* (Ghandi, min 38:10).

35 *“nosotros evaluamos las rutas, lo que hacemos, en qué podemos mejorar”*(Quique, min 26:42)

35 *“we evaluate the routes, what do we do, what do we do wrong and how can we improve it”* (Quique, min 26:42)

36 *“la idea la sugirió Cartagena Insider y Candilé la complementó”* (Quique, min 19:41. Appendix 2 nr. 3)

36 *“the idea came from Cartagena Insider and Candilé complemented it”*(Quique, min 19:41. Appendix 2 nr. 3)

37 “hacemos actividades culturales cada viernes para recolectar dinero para los niños, algunas veces hacemos pequeño eventos en la comunidad y vamos al mercado a tocar música para el barrio”(Quique, min 22:16)

37 “We do cultural activities every Friday to raise money for the benefit of the children, sometimes we do small events in our community and sometime we go to the market and play music and dance for the neighbourhood” (Quique, min 22:16)

38 “anteriormente hemos trabajado con empresas como Eco-tours. Llevábamos bailarines cuando los turistas llegaban a los manglares y eso es todo. Muy distinto a esta ruta en la cual tienes que enseñar al turista” (Yoel, min 16:55)

38 “ we previously had worked with companies like Eco-tours. We brought dancers and when the tourists arrived from the mangroves we would do the show and that's it. Very different from this one where you teach to the tourist” (Yoel, min 16:55)

39 “Ana María organizó una reunión y nos contó sobre el proyecto de Cartagena Insider y sus productos. Nos habló del Drum Safari y nos dijo que iba sobre la terapia de tambores que hacemos con Istvan Dely” (Yoel, min 19:25.)

39 “Ana María arranged a meeting with us and told us about the project of Cartagena Insider and its products. She talked about the Drum Safari and said that it was going to be about the drum therapy we always do with Istvan Dely”(Yoel, min 19:25.)

40 “Si algún día Cartagena Insider desaparece, ellos necesitan ser capaces de llevar a cabo la ruta, que la gente siga yendo a la comunidad, que ellos puedan seguir proporcionando el servicio (Mayra, min 22:21).

40 “if one day Cartagena Insider is not here any more, they need to be able to carry on with the route, that people keep coming to the community, that they can keep providing the service” (Mayra, min 22:21).

41“llegan a cualquier comunidad con muñecas (...) están regalando ropa vieja para los niños en las comunidades (...) hacen la foto para la campaña para mostrar la publica en Facebook, pero

durante el resto del año ni siquiera se molestan en mirar a la comunidad - eso es solidaridad en Colombia” (Mayra2, min. 59.24).

41 “they arrive to whatever community with dolls (...) they distribute old clothes for the kids in the communities (...) they take the photo for the campaign to show the public on Facebook, but during the rest of the year they do not even bother to look at the community - this is solidarity in Colombia (Mayra2, min. 59.24).

42 “Aquí, el gobierno quiere un parte también (...) nada es gratis, nada es para ayudar realmente - todo trata de la plata” (Mayra2, min. 1.18.40).

42 “Here, the government wants their share too (...) nothing is for free, nothing is actually for helping - everything is about the money (Mayra2, min. 1.18.40).

Fieldnotes

1a “sí, me gusta cuando las turistas vienen (chicas rubias)- Me gusta verlas! (riendo)”

1a "yes, I like when tourists arrives here - blond girls - I like to look at them! (laughing)"

2a “efecto aplanador”

2a ‘Flattening Effect’

Appendix 3

San Basilio de Palenque - 'Africa en America'



Kids playing in the street (above)



The making of traditional sweets from Palenque (above)

Appendix 4

Leticia - Customized route in Leticia



The only way to arrive to the community - by boat crossing the river (above)



Walking around the Leticia Community (above)

Appendix 5

Cabildo Guayacanes Norte



The house of a local family with whom we had all our meals while in the community (above)



Having dinner with Wilfrido and our host family (above)



Local family working producing their arts & crafts - here they are making bracelets (above)



Kids from the family we stayed with outside their house (above)



Local preparing the 'caña flecha' for making the traditional 'sombbrero veltiao' - that we is also wearing (above)

Appendix 6

Bazurto Market



Eating at 'Donde Ceci'



Locals playing cards in a narrow street of the 'Bazurto Market'



The herbalist shop at the Bazarro market (above)



Introduction to the 'Champeta' music and learning basic dance steps at the Bazarro Market (above)

Appendix 7

Drum Safari



Interview with Yoel, Davis and Waidis (above)



Percussion class for the kids of the community (above)

