

# CBEs in Community Capacity Development:

A Case Study of the Tarahumara Hostel Guitayvo

By

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I, Mirna Guadalupe De La Portilla Flores hereby declare  
the contents of this thesis contain only my own original work.

Any contributions by others have been cited or  
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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

CBE	Community-based Enterprise
CDI	Comisión Nacional Para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas. (National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMPAS	Comparing and Supporting endogenous development
CONAPO	Consejo Nacional de Población. (National Population Council)
FONAES	Fondo Nacional de Apoyo para las Empresas en Solidaridad. (National Fund for Business Support)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDHPI	Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano de los Pueblos Indígenas.
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INI	Instituto Nacional Indigenista. (National Indigenous Institute)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PNUD	United Nations Development Programme
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PTAZI	Alternative Tourism in Indigenous Zones Program
SECTUR	Secretaría de Turismo. (Secretariat of Tourism)
SEDESOL	Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (Secretariat of Social Development)
SPR de RL	Sociedad de Produccion Rural de Responsabilidades Limitadas
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPHDI	United Nations Development Program Human Development Index



# Abstract

This thesis examines the role of CBEs in community capacity development, taking the case of Hostel Guitayvo, an Indigenous CBE in Chihuahua, Mexico. The aim of this study is to explore the impact of CBEs on community capacity building in the context of rural indigenous community development.

The concepts of community based enterprise, social capital, endogenous development and community capacity building were used to provide a theoretical background for the study. Furthermore, a brief description of Mexico's developmental strategies was provided in order to have a better understanding of the context in which the Guitayvo CBE took place.

In recent years, Mexican government policies concerning Indigenous communities adopted a more bottom-top approach. Programs like the Tarahumara Hostels initiative are among those approaches.

This study shows how the adoption of the Hostel initiative by the community of Guitayvo developed a higher sense of community among its residents. The holistic approach of the CBE allowed the community to strive for a common good in a unified way, building commitment to the CBE and the community as well. The importance of the role of supporting organisms like government and ONGs is also highlighted. The social capital created through these networks allowed them access to resources and knowledge. The changes in interactions brought by the CBE and the inclusion of higher levels of social capital fostered the creation of a more homogenous network in Guitayvo, which in turn generated continuous growth of community capacity.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Statements of the problem

How do CBEs enhance community development? Recently there has been an emergence of CBEs and inclusion of endogenous development policies to tackle the problems of social and economic scarceness in certain “left-behind” communities and groups. This thesis examines the role that CBEs have played in community capacity development, taking the case of the Tarahumara Hostel, Guitayvo, in Chihuahua, Mexico.

In all nations with significant Indigenous minorities, the economic and social deprivation of Indigenous peoples has long been of deep policy concern, but both debate and administration of the issues have not been in Indigenous control (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2005).

However, in recent years there has been a substantial shift in approaches towards development. As expressed by Diochon (2003), a change in the paradigm has been taking place with a shift from exogenous models, those normally associated with top-down policy interventions, towards more

endogenous or bottom-up approaches.

This new shift in paradigm emphasizes the need for more community participation, integration and ownership in the development of strategies.

As it is, community-based development has increasingly been seen as a promising approach that supports this new standard and promotes both social and economic growth (Diochon, 2003). With this participatory focus the responsibility for economic and social development is now delegated to the communities.

Within the context of developing countries, with prevailing abject poverty and other pressing socio-economic developmental problems (Todaro, 1989), CBEs appear to hold particular resonance. Stimulation of Indigenous entrepreneurship in the form of CBEs has the potential to empower Indigenous people as economic agents in a globally competitive modern world (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2002). However, theory on community capacity building in the context of rural Indigenous community development remains unexplored for the most part.

In recent years, Mexico has had significant changes in its structures and policies regarding regional Indigenous development projects. Created in 2003, the *Comisión Nacional Para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*<sup>1</sup> (CDI) promotes and supports the self-management of Indigenous actions, projects and development programs (CDI, 2010).

In this thesis, the relationship of CBEs and community capacity development in Indigenous communities is further explored. The aim of this research is to examine the relation of CBEs in community capacity development through the Tarahumara Hostel of Guitayvo, in Chihuahua, Mexico. The study will provide a review of community based enterprises, social capital, endogenous development and community capacity building. These concepts put together with the study case of the Guitayvo's Tarahumara Hostel Initiative are expected to provide a clear understanding of how community capacity was generated through CBEs in the Tarahumara Hostel Initiative.

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<sup>1</sup> CDI: National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples.

## 1.2 Research Questions

The main question that guides this thesis is how do CBEs enhance community development? To answer this question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

- a. What is the contribution of high levels of social capital to the social development in the community of Guitayvo?
- b. What are the different elements of the concept of CBE applied in Guitayvo?

## 1.3 Research Objectives

This research aims to analyze the role of CBEs in the process of community capacity building by analyzing the Guitayvo's Tarahumara Hostel Initiative in Chihuahua, Mexico. To do so, the following four objectives were formulated.

The first objective is to describe the context of Mexico's developmental strategies and how they were adopted at local levels. This will provide a better understanding of the context in which the Guitayvo CBEs takes

places.

The second objective is to identify the key elements of the Guitayvo's CBE initiative, and to analyse their relationship to the contributions in the community of Guitayvo.

The third objective is to describe the social networking of the Guitayvo Hostel development and to analyse the effects of the different levels of social capital for the Guitayvo Hostel.

Finally, the fourth objective of this research is to integrate the findings of the objectives above mentioned to provide a picture of how the CBE acted as a generator for community capacity development in the Guitayvo community.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

This research aims to examine the role of CBEs in the process of community capacity development through the case of Hostel Guitayvo in

Chihuahua, Mexico. It seeks to explore the impact of CBEs on community capacity building in the context of rural indigenous community development. By doing so, this research seeks to help in the better formulation of policies and programs that could foster a positive change in the communities. Lastly, this study intends to contribute to the knowledge of the Tarahumara culture by exploring and shedding some light on the Guitayvo's study case.

## 1.5 Scope and limitation

This research focus is to examine the role of CBEs on community capacity development by analyzing the case study of the Guitayvo's Hostel Initiative in Chihuahua, Mexico. In order to do so, this study will deal with some limitations.

The first approach to this paper considered including several hostels for the research, namely, Agua Caliente, Rapichique and Guitayvo. However, considering several factors, including time frame of the research and availability of data, the study was narrowed down to the Guitayvo Hostel.



## **2 Literature Review**

### **2.1 Community**

This study focus on CBEs and their role on community capacity building, taking the specific case of Guitayvo's Tarahumara Hostel Initiative in Chihuahua, Mexico. In order to fully understand and comprehend the study case, we need to clarify the concepts that this study will utilize.

We will begin with the base of the study, the concept of community. Even though it may seem fairly simple to understand what a community is, the concept and range must be specified since it allows for confusion and misunderstandings given the vague nature of the word.

It is common to find community categorized and defined according to three specific criteria, namely, geographical boundaries, political organization, and culture or language (Torri, 2010; Maldifassi, 2001; Mort, Weerawardena & Carnegie, 2003; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). However, these three assessments bring certain limitations. If we limit ourselves to

defining community by geographical boundaries, community in itself would be the aggregation of individuals in certain specific physical boundaries. However, as it is often the case, within certain physical boundaries different groups, cultural races or people of distinct languages exist (Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh & Vidal, 2001; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). As it is with the geographical boundaries criteria, the political organization criteria also ignores the fact that groups with different cultures can coexist in the same municipality, state or country. As for the culture and language, the definition becomes even more complicated since people with the same culture or language can coexist in very different locations, thereby making aggregation especially difficult (Chasking et. al., 2001).

As stated by Torri (2009) Mort et. al. (2003) “community is a sense of spirit and cannot be defined by geography, environment or activity.” The definition of community needs to be tackled in a holistic way. One sole aspect cannot cover the complexities and multiple ramifications of the concept. We use Maldifassi’s (2001) explanation as a starting point for this inclusive definition of community. Maldifassi defines community as an

aggregation of people in a shared geographical location, but also complemented by a collective culture and or ethnicity and potentially by other shared relational characteristics. Furthermore, we employ Bowles and Gintis (2002) view that connection, not affection is the defining characteristic of a community. In Bowles and Gintis definition, the aggregation of people also includes the idea of a group of people sharing goals which allows for the inclusion of a business approach towards the concept, one in which the productive activities of an enterprise are also included. With this, people who work together are usually communities in this sense, as are some neighborhoods, groups of friends, professionals and business networks (Torri, 2009). It is also in this context in which the term community links with social capital, since it relates the importance of trust and cooperation, aspects that are emphasized under the social capital literature.

## 2.2 Community Capacity

According to Chaskin et. al. (2001), community capacity is “the interaction of human capital, organization resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community” (p. 295). Furthermore, Chaskin et. al. (2001) stresses the importance of local leadership development, organizational development, community organizing, and the fostering of collaborative relations with outside agents for the successful development of community capacity. Empowerment of the community is essential for community capacity building, since the community in itself is the one who sets its goals and it is through these points that its fulfillment can be achieved. Additionally, the more community oriented a society is, the more their members will be engaged and entitled to certain societal benefits, including the satisfaction of needs connected with survival, such as basic income, health care and safety (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

It is in this case where social capital becomes especially important. Social capital comes in the form of relationships between people. As community members build relationships, they build social capital (Coleman 1988) which acts as an enabler for communities to foster participation, linkages between people, proactive engagement, and community problem solving (Bullen & Onyx, 1999). Since social capital assists with the growth of human capital, people with strong relationships and strong networks have more opportunity to gain human capital (Coleman 1988). The community gains from this exchange as the empowerment of the community grows and builds community capacity (Mooney & Edwards, 2001).

## 2.3 Social Capital

According to Putnam (2000), the term social capital with its present connotation was first coined by Hanifan in 1916. Since then, the concept has been further developed and has increasingly been regarded as an important force for successful economic development and an important factor in the entrepreneurial world (Putnam, 1973; Flora, Sharp, Newlon, & Flora, 1997).

In the process of development, the concept of social capital has been defined through different lenses by diverse authors. In the perspective of Ingelhart (1997), “social capital is a network born out as a consequence” (p. 188). He explains that networks are a consequence of people having trust in each other and thus cooperating with each other. This network of cooperation is what constitutes social capital.

Westlund and Bolton (2003) cite Putnam (1993) in defining the social capital as referring “to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.” In Coleman’s (1990) view, social capital is an endogenous phenomenon in social relations that varies from one situation to another. He explains it as the relationship between individuals and organizations based on expectations, obligations and trust. The exchanges in these relationships and the resultant network of creditors and debtors constitute social capital. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) describe social capital as “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”  
(p.14).

In its essence, social capital is a system of relationships between and among individuals in a social network. (Coleman, 1988). Social capital is not tangible in the way a service or a product is; however, social capital exists in the relations among people and facilitates their productive activity by providing access to other resources such as capital and knowledge (Coleman, 1988; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). While it does not produce an outcome, it is a generating force in its procurement.

Taking into account that social capital is based on human interaction and relationships, it is natural for it to have either positive or negative outcomes or influences. Not every relationship is necessarily good or produces a positive and welcome outcome. Even though social capital is in essence the network and does not distinguish between positive or negative, the connotation and outcomes of the relationships that generate social capital can be classified as positive or negative.

Positive social capital would be that relationship or social network that provides additional value that allows the individual or to the community some growth or gain (Westlund & Bolton, 2003; Baker & Dutton, 2005) . If the relationship or connection is obsolete or non-productive, we understand it as negative social capital. It must be understood that both positive and negative social capital can be productive and have roles (Westlund & Bolton, 2003; Baker & Dutton, 2005) . Furthermore, Westlund and Bolton (2003) explain that old social networks aren't strictly obsolete, for old social capital serves as a stabilizing factor while the newer social capital serves as factors for change. Given this, even if negative social capital is less productive than positive social capital, the satisfaction of needs at a certain level in combination with the preservation of traditional culture norms must be met in order for the positive social capital to be adopted (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). Social capital must be renewed while simultaneously preserving the best of the old (Westlund & Bolton, 2003).

Moreover, a large quantity of positive links will make the social capital general and homogenous. In contrast, a large proportion of negative



links will give rise to heterogeneous social capital, fragmented into groups and public only within each group (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). As with positive and negative social capital, the balance of the links in the distinct levels of aggregation, within groups and the links with society, are crucial to how strong of an influence the social capital has at any given time, thus contributing to its productivity.

In the lowest level of aggregation, the individual actor represents a unit, with each member, each individual with his or her own preferences and attitudes being, in a way of speaking, the nodes of the network (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). The second component of the network we denominate in social capital are the links. Links can be horizontal (the relationship between individuals in the network) or vertical (the relationships between the individuals and the group/network as decision-makers on a higher order) (Lyons, 2002; Westlund & Bolton, 2003).

The next level would be the group of individuals, a community as a whole with highly homogeneous internal social capital. These local groups are

coupled to horizontal external links and collectively form a deposit of local placebound social capital with a lower degree of homogeneity than that of each group (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). The social networks of a place form opportunities and restrictions, affecting the decision making of individuals (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). This collectivity also has vertical lines to actors at regional levels. Social capital at regional levels is less homogenous than at local level, and so on, and the social capital at these levels constitute opportunities and restrictions affecting decision-makers as well (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). Westlund and Bolton (2003) further describe that labeling decision-makers like individuals and groups as nodes but not links is a principal general problem in measuring social capital. The differences in homogeneity between social capital on different levels constitute the fundamental problem in aggregating social capital. Knowledge about links on one level doesn't necessarily reveal anything about links on a higher level.

Since the acknowledgment of the importance of the concept of social capital, studies have developed the multiple ramifications and implications

that said concept involves. Trust and cooperation are the main elements of social capital and those elements exist in some form in all societies (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Krishna 2000). The resulting interaction of the many layers in the concept constitutes the importance of social capital. Each community and society has their own sets of homogenous-heterogeneous and negative-positive networks that interact, relate and connect with each other. As the cooperation between these layers evolves and becomes more fruitful, the higher the level of social development the community and society produce.

## 2.4 Community-based Enterprises

The increasing numbers of community development initiatives that use social capital as a key concept is in large part because of how the concept of community better captures social capital's popularity, since social capital focuses on what people and groups do rather than what they own (Bowles & Gintis, 2005). It is in this context that community entrepreneurship takes special importance since it represents a strategy to foster local development in the long term (Torri, 2010).

Notwithstanding, as stated by Peredo and Chrisman (2006), “one common problem in developmental activities is that most projects and programs have been conceived and managed by the development agencies rather than by the members of the community, which has often led to a lack of any significant sense of ownership on the part of the target beneficiaries. Once a given developmental project exhausts its budget, local people seem in many cases to lose interest in pursuing the project autonomously. Recognition of this syndrome has lead a number of international development agencies in the last decade to design projects with a view to increasing the participation of local beneficiaries” (Pg.311). It is in this regard that CBEs take special importance. CBEs represent an alternative and promising approach for the development of local communities since they foster an endogenous type of growth.

This is particularly important, given that most externally induced development projects aimed at the improvement of developing regional economies have often been met with diverse challenges and, most often than not, ended up being unsuccessful (Torri, 2009). This lack of success

has primarily been because they have been unmindful of local culture and values, which prevents the participation and involvement of the target beneficiaries and/or have simply have been charitable programs that failed to address the root causes of poverty (Torri, 2009). When talking about development, most often than not it's associated with economic growth or income increase as the primary objective. However, it's necessary to remember that for rural or marginalized people in many cultures of the world, income is not always the major parameter in defining well-being.

Notwithstanding, participatory approaches for development provide a plausible solution for these issues. Developmental participatory approaches start from the assumption that the local culture best understands the problems they face (Castelloe, Watson, & White, 2002). This approach brings the control of their own development back to the target group and involves them fully in participating in the decisions that affect their lives because they are the ones who determine, drive and control the project (Chambers 1997; Prokopy & Castelloe, 1999; Castelloe et. al., 2002).

Additionally, the repetitive cases of failure bring out additional repercussions that may go unnoticed and that could be even more harmful than even the failure of the ventures themselves. Recurrent failures of the programs can cause discouragement, losing faith, and lack of faith to both the organizations and beneficiaries, creating atmospheres that foster a lack of participation and involvement which in turn generate a snowball effect of diminished returns. This lack of success provides further evidence that there are several areas of opportunities regarding the entrepreneurial activity under conditions of poverty. Anderson and Jack (2002) identified social networks in community issues as one of those areas that need further exploration. They emphasized exploring the role of social capital in facilitating these social networks and the importance of observing the rules by which this capital is assembled (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

So far, we have explained the importance and involvement of the CBE. In the following paragraphs, in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the concept we will define it, mention conditions that influences its emergence, and identify its characteristics.

As mentioned before, plans for development and venture creation are often associated with profit making. Moreover, when talking about people and communities in need, participation from the groups comes only if there are tangible rewards to be gained, such as food aid (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). However, the creation, emergence and adoptance of a program for a community are not necessarily as simple.

Peredo and Chrisman (2006) define CBEs as an emerging form of entrepreneurship rooted in community culture. They define entrepreneurship as a new form of organization that merges new and/or familiar elements in order to take advantage of an opportunity. For Peredo and Chrisman (2006), the CBEs' entrepreneurship roots merge natural and social capital with economic considerations allowing the community to become both entrepreneur and enterprise. They further elaborate on this duality of CBEs' entrepreneurship by describing that when the members of the community act as owners, managers, and employees and collaboratively create, identify or tackle a market opportunity and organize themselves in order to respond to it, they act as entrepreneurs.

Additionally, when the CBEs' members work together to generate a service or a product using the existing social structure of the community as a means of organizing those activities, they are acting as an enterprise (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

Therefore, a CBE is the result of a process in which the community acts entrepreneurially, to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure (Torri, 2009), that seeks the fulfillment of a common good and through their results contribute both to the local economy and social development.

According to Peredo and Chrisman (2006), the emergence of a CBE can be pinned to several factors that can be separated into two main groups. The first group of factors is triggered by social/economic stress and/or as a product of incremental learning. Triggers of social and economic stress as described by Peredo and Chrisman (2006) can include absences of political power, lack of voice in the national life, lack of individual opportunity, and/or social alienation of a community or subgroup from the



main society. Furthermore, social disintegration and environmental degradation can foster desires to gain or regain control of their own local development (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

Likewise, a CBE can be the result of collective experience (Helmsing, 2002). The previous knowledge of community activities may result in the development of tacit knowledge embedded in the community practices, which in turn can be channeled by the communities toward enterprise creation (Spender, 1994; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Perdo & Chrisman, 2006).

Additionally, regardless of the characteristics of their creation, which without a doubt help in the creation of the CBE's identity, Peredo and Chrisman (2006) point out several characteristics that CBEs share. One characteristic is that the type of CBE that is formed is generally based on available skills within the community related to perceived need and opportunities. Some of those skills may be based on a central knowledge and customs, but it also may allow a pool of skills developed through the

experiences of individuals that have worked outside the community (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Nonetheless, previous experiences and set of skills influence the type of entrepreneurial activity the communities engage in (Ensly, Carland & Carland, 2000).

Another characteristic pointed out by Peredo and Chrisman (2006) is that given that CBEs represent a community, they have a multiplicity of goals. In most of the cases, as mentioned before, differing from other type of business and ventures the CBEs economic benefits may not be necessarily the main goal of the enterprise. Economic return is needed as it is instrumental to achieve other community goals (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). It is necessary to have in mind that CBEs are created in adverse circumstances and represent the needs of poor or marginalized communities, needs that can cover and range from access to social services, support for cultural activities and or environmental needs among others. For this reason, the goal of the CBE is not one specific target but a holistic approach for achieving sustainability, self-reliance and improvement of life in the community (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). One

thing to take into consideration on this regard, however, is the balance between individuals and collective goals, which is often a common problems CBEs face.

This leads us to the third main characteristic of CBEs identified by these authors, its dependence on community participation. CBEs are community-managed businesses that foster an endogenous type of development, making the need for local grassroots participation a determinant for the success or failure of the project (Hall & Hickman, 2000). The active involvement of the community members plays an important role in generating a sense of ownership and community (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Bowen, Martin, Mancini & Nelson, 2007), which is necessary for the success of this type of approach. In practice, the participation of the whole community may not necessarily happen, and it is common that some members may be more active than others. Even with these situations, everyone will have some role in the developing and implementation of the CBE (Torri, 2010).

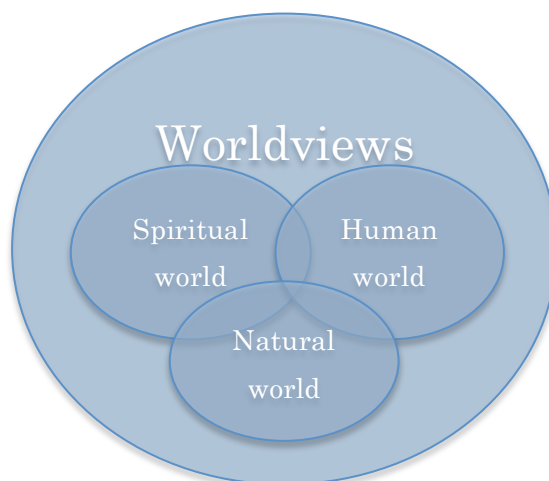
To summarize, CBEs are created on the basis of collective experience and skills which help shape the activity of the CBE. They represent a multiplicity of goals that target pressing economic and social problems. All these factors combined with the heavy dependence on community participation can foster solidarity among the community members. It is in this way the CBEs serve as an umbrella for local development that provides services and opportunities for the local population. Furthermore, the combinations of these elements generate a favorable ground for social capital and can potentially maximize the community outreach (Torri, 2009). It is especially in these conditions of scarcity and survival, where lack of resources, capital, material and low income are a issue, in which social capital acts as an enabler (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). It's also in accordance with Peredo and Chrisman (2006) that we regard the CBE as a potential solution to the problems of impoverished communities due to its potential of affecting the behavior of individuals and communities.

## 2.5 Endogenous development

We previously mentioned Coleman's (1990) relation of the endogenous phenomenon and social capital and likewise, we mentioned the importance of endogenous development in the CBE approach. In order to fully grasp the impact and implications of this concept, in the following paragraphs we will further explore its meaning. Stohr and Taylor (1981) refer to endogenous development as "development 'from below'". Furthermore, COMPAS (COMPARing and Supporting endogenous development), a capacity building program to develop and mainstream endogenous development methodologies (COMPAS, 2013), refers to endogenous development as "growing from within" (COMPAS, 2008). Parting from this premise, we find that a key criterion for endogenous development is its local actors. Enhancing the capacity of the local actors in order to broaden their options in order to provide them with the capacity of solving their own problems is one of the main aims of this development approach. Seeing it in this way, people's own strategies, culture and worldviews stand at the center of the endogenous development efforts (COMPAS, 2008).

This worldviews of the individuals encompass different elements within self. Depending on the author, the classification of said set of resources change. For COMPAS (2008), the sustainable livelihood framework recognizes natural resources (water, forest), human resources (knowledge, health), social resources (family structure, leadership), economic-financial resources (credit, market), and produced resources (roads, communication). Friedmann (2007) listed them as 1) natural resources, which are closely related to the 2) environmental quality assets, 3) human assets, 4) civil society, 5) intellectual and creative assets, 6) cultural life and its heritage, and finally 7) the asset of urban infrastructure, facilities, transportation, energy, and communications. For Camareno, Hernandez and San Martin (2008), the intrinsic set of resources consist of environmental, human, cultural, economic and institutional. Regardless of the classification, authors convey in certain elements, which consecrate the worldviews of the local individuals. COMPAS (2008) engulf these elements in the following figure.

**Figure 2-1. Compas Endogenous worldviews.**



Source: Endogenous Development in Practice, COMPAS, 2008.

For COMPAS (2008), seeking a balance among these spheres is necessary for achieving well-being, which is where these three spheres meet. Camareno, Hernandez and San Martin (2008) assert that these are the areas to invest into, since they constitute the region's potential for development.

Additionally if invested and developed, COMPAS (2007) underlines the contributions that endogenous development brings to the region or group, among them giving a voice to the poor, identifying local resources and possible solutions, fine-tuning options to the local context, building on

traditional institutions, empowering women and promoting gender equality, strengthening local economies, balancing traditional and modern practices, and inter-generational learning (COMPAS, 2007). However, for endogenous development to be truly successful, both local and external resources and actors need to be taken into consideration. COMPAS (2008) stresses that importance of finding the best way of combining these forces. Friedmann (2007) further establishes that the endogenous strategy needs both the support of the population as well as a strong government capable of undertaking major interventions.

Additionally, an important aspect about endogenous development relies on its sustainability and long-lasting capacity. For this, reaching out to other groups, other societies other regions and managing, being involved and strengthening the network of relationships that arose from this is of utmost importance (Botchway, Goodall, Noon, & Lemon, 2002; Friedmann, 2007). It is in this context that, as Coffey and Polese (1985) note, the concept of social embeddedness is important.



Finally, we can summarize that endogenous development is development based on the people, based on the people's worldviews and the different elements that the concept entails. Supporting endogenous development entails enhancing and strengthening the capabilities of the people in order to enhance their capacity to cope with their own challenges. In this sense, endogenous development is based on the actors' knowledge, strategies, resources and their means to confront these challenges and their ability to integrate external elements into local practices. In this context, the importance of social networking and its management is stressed and plays an important role (COMPAS, 2007; COMPAS, 2008; Friedmann, 2007; Botchway et al., 2002).

### **3 Methodology**

In this chapter of the paper, the methodology employed for this research is going to be explained. The research design used for the construction of this paper, as well as the reason for its selection, is going to be described. Likewise, the methods and instruments for data collection, their definition and usage are going to be clarified. Finally, this chapter will define the study site.

#### **3.1 Research design and Strategy of Enquiry**

This paper examines the role of CBEs in community capacity development. In order to do so the Guitayvo Tarahumara's Hostel initiative in Chihuahua, Mexico was selected as study case. In a study case, as with any research, the study is guided by a research question. Research questions can be grouped into three types, 'what', 'why' and 'how' questions (Blaikie, 2000, pg. 60). The main research question that this study seeks to answer is how do CBEs enhance community development? Furthermore, it is supported by two sub-questions, namely, what is the contribution of high levels of

social capital to the social development in the community of Guitayvo, and what are the different elements of the concept of CBE applied in Guitayvo? The nature of these questions supported the selection of the study case strategy. Furthermore, since the paper is going to analyze one specific unit of analysis, the role of CBEs on community capacity building, in one specific case, Hostel Guitayvo in Chihuahua, Mexico, the study will be a holistic single case study.

### 3.2 Philosophical worldview

Creswell (2009) explains worldviews as a general orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher holds. He comments that these worldviews are shaped by the discipline, beliefs and experiences of the researcher and classifies them in four different categories: postpositivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory, and pragmatism (Creswell, 2009).

Creswell (2009) comments that postpositivist's views reflect the need to identify and assess the causes that influences the outcomes.

Constructivists on the other hand, focus more on the specific contexts in which people live and work, taking into consideration the historical and cultural settings of the participants (Creswell, 2009). The advocacy/participatory worldview focuses on the needs of marginalized groups and individuals in society. An advocacy/participatory researcher focuses on giving the target group a voice and/or advancing an agenda for change to improve their lives (Creswell, 2009). It takes constructivists views to a further level of cooperation and understanding with the study group. This research also assumes that the inquirer will proceed collaboratively in the designing of the questions, data collecting and analysis of information (Creswell, 2009). Lastly, the pragmatist's worldviews are more concerned with providing solutions and understanding of the research problem.

Given the nature of the Constructivist worldview, which takes into consideration the study group's historical and cultural context, this study adopted this worldview. Furthermore, Creswell (2009) remarks that since constructivists try to rely on the participant's views of the situation studied,

the questions tend to be broad and general; as was the case for the data collection adopted in this research.

### 3.3 Data Collection

This study employs two types of data, primary data and secondary data.

Primary data was collected through interviews and secondary data was gathered through books, journals, Internet, magazines, newspapers, videos and lecture notes. All are referenced throughout this document. In the next section, the specific methods and instruments that are going to be used to collect primary data are explained.

#### 3.3.1 Instrumentation

There are several qualitative research methods to gather information. Creswell (2009) pointed out open-ended questions, interviews, audio-visuals, texts and image analysis and patterns interpretation among them. Marshall and Rossman (1998) mention participant and non-participant observation, field notes, reflexive journals and structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. For this study,

semi-structured interviews with key-informants of Chihuahua's CDI program were conducted and will be further detailed in the next section.

### **Interviews.**

Interviews can range from open-ended, close-ended, formal, informal, structured, semi-structured to unstructured. The choice of which type is used depends on the purpose of the data. For the purpose of this research, semi-structured, open-ended interviews were held with the key-informants and the CDI representatives. The nature of the semi-structured interviews will allow the description of the situations examined, and it will provide space to explore the actions and characteristics of each particular study case (McLaughlin, 2003).

The key informant in this study was Gloria Gutierrez Almuina, Head of Capacity Building, Alternative Tourism Program, Management and Conservation of Natural Resources Planning and the Strategy for Development with Identity program as well as Director of the Programa de Turismo Alternativo en Zonas Indigenas (PTAZI), of the State of

Chihuahua. Given the location of the researcher (currently in Beppu, Japan) contact and communication was challenging. Given this circumstance, contact and interviews held with Mrs. Gutierrez were done thru e-mail.

The first contact was done thru mail on the 10th of May of 2012. On this first interaction, the researcher introduced herself, the reason of the contact, the nature of the study and the possibility of carrying out a study case in the Hostels of Guitayvo of the Tarahumara community. Given the nature of Mrs. Gutierrez job responsibilities and tight schedule, it was during this first interaction that the researcher inquired if she would be interested in collaborating with the research. The reply was prompt and the director, Gloria Gutierrez supported the research. The next interaction was held on May 15th of 2012. During this contact Mrs. Gutierrez explained briefly the current situation of the Hostel. On the same day, Mrs. Gutierrez further provided two documents “Patrimonio” and “Somos Tarahumaras”, two informs made by the CDI with help of Fuerza Ambiental regarding the case of Guitayvo.

On June 15th, 2012 a brief interview was held, the questions proposed are provided in appendix 1. Furthermore, Mrs. Gutierrez also provided two more documents: "Evaluacion de los proyectos de turismo indigena en la Sierra Tarahumara" done by Fuerza Ambiental and "Inversiones para la actividad turistica en la Zona Indigena del Estado de Chihuahua" by the CDI. On October 10th, 26th and 27th of 2012 further mails were exchanged with brief questions and on October 29th the document: "Plan de Negocios" was provided. Finally, the last interview was held on the 4th of November of 2012, which questionnaire is provided in appendix 2.

### 3.4 Study Site

The study site was defined by the researcher's own interest in the Mexican Indigenous culture. Given that there is still a broad area of research uncovered on the topic, the study contributes to examine and shed light on one of the most left-behind Indigenous groups of Mexico, the Tarahumara. Once the research topic was chosen, the second step was to focalize the study and chose a viable community to study.



To select the case, extensive reading was done on the Mexican Indigenous communities. Based on the current situation of the Indigenous communities information on the CDI 2010 report, the Guitayvo Hostel Initiative of the Tarahumara's was selected. In the next paragraphs, a quick introduction of the Guitayvo Hostel is given.

#### **3.4.1 The Study Case; Guitayvo**

Hostel Guitayvo and the Guitayvo Tarahumara community is located 2.230 meters above sea level, nestled in a pine-oak forest along the Urique Canyon, in the Sierra Tarahumara<sup>2</sup>. The construction and management of the hostel is done by Guitayvo's Tarahumaran Indigenous community, grouped in a rural production company as a way to diversify their business activities in a sustainable manner.

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<sup>2</sup> The Sierra Tarahumara is part of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Six of its main canyons, with an average depth of 1700 meters above sea level, form a labyrinth of 16 000 thousand km. of spectacular cliffs of volcanic rock. The Sierra Tarahumara covers an area equivalent to that of Holland and Belgium combined, nearly 70,000 km<sup>2</sup>. (Hostales Tarahumara, 2012) It is located on both sides of the Sierra Madre Occidental in the southwestern of the State of Chihuahua (Pintado, 2012). The Sierra Madre Occidental is part of the Sierra Madre mountain system of Mexico. It consists of the Sierra Madre Occidental to the west, the Sierra Madre Oriental to the east, and the Sierra Madre del Sur to the south (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012).

## **4 Mexico's Context**

In order to understand what this research tackles, is important to clarify the context in which the subject group of study exists. For this reason, in this chapter a brief profile of Mexico is going to be provided. Furthermore, the development approach with which the government has addressed the Indigenous population is presented. The profile of the Indigenous people in Mexico, their social and economic situations as well as worldviews, especially regarding the concept of community, are presented.

### **4.1 General Background**

The United Mexican States is a country located in North America, and it's bordered to the north by the United States of America and to the south by Guatemala and Belize. As of January 2012, it had a nominal GDP per capita of \$11,114 and a per capita GDP (PPP) of \$15,782 (IMF, 2012). For the year 2010, the poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line was of 51.3% and for the year 2008 it had a Gini coefficient of 48.3, which is classified as a high. (The World Bank, 2012).

**Figure 4-1. Map of Mexico.**



Source: Ezilon.com Regional Maps,2009.

According to the national census of 2010, Mexico had a population of 112,336,538 people. Of that number, 11,132,562 Mexicans are Indigenous, which accounts for 9.91% of the total population (INEGI, 2013; CDI, 2010).

The country is divided in thirty-one states and a Federal District (Mexico City), which is the capital. Besides the states, there are 62 Indigenous regions in Mexico. According to Serrano (2006), a region is as a unit of

action of government policies and programs, and is traditionally defined by a group of municipalities. Two factors that are taken into account for a region are demographic or population, and spatial or territorial. As for the definition of regional boundaries, they result from the participation of the population in the economic, political and cultural processes, which ends up in a region not being homogeneous but rather exhibiting great heterogeneity within (Serrano Carreto, 2006). Thus, Indigenous regions are units determined by the spatial distribution of Indigenous population, identified by language, ethnic and cultural identities as well as the territories that have historically inhabited (Serrano Carreto, 2006).

In Mexico, the smallest administrative unit is the municipality. According to the CDI (2010), there were 2,454 municipalities for the year of 2005. From that number, there was no register of Indigenous population only in 30 municipalities, meaning that there is Indigenous presence in 98.77% of the Mexican territory. Presence however, can be very scarce or concentrated. In order to make a better assessment of the Indigenous population situation in Mexico, the CDI (2010) defined three broad categories for

classifying and determining the presence of Indigenous population in the municipalities, namely, municipalities that are predominantly indigenous (with more than 40% of indigenous population), municipalities with an absolute presence of Indigenous population (Indigenous population represents less than 40% of the population or a volume equal or greater than 5000 persons,) and municipalities with fewer than 5,000 Indigenous population (CDI, 2010). Based on this classification, it's important to notice that of the municipalities considered indigenous, 82.6% present high and very high marginalization (Serrano Carreto, 2006). Moreover, according to this classification, the CDI (2010) located 34,263 predominantly indigenous municipalities, 2,118 localities with absolute presence of indigenous population, and 27,791 localities with scarce indigenous population.

## 4.2 Chihuahua

The state of Chihuahua is located in the northeast of Mexico on the U.S. border. The state's strategic location and its developed infrastructure have allowed registering high economic growth rates, particularly after the entry into force of the Free Trade Agreement for North America (Torán, 2006).

**Figure 4-2. Map of Chihuahua, Mexico.**



Source: Image taken from Map-of-mexico.co.uk, 2004.

On average for the years of 2000-2005, the GDP of Chihuahua contributed for 4.4% of the national GDP, which placed it as the fifth largest economy in Mexico. From that amount, the service industry within Chihuahua accounted for 12.2% of the total GDP of the state (CIES, 2008; Torán, 2006).

The state of Chihuahua consists of 67 municipalities (Dirección de Desarrollo Municipal, 2012). According to the Census of Population and Housing done in 2010 by The National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), for the year of 2010 Chihuahua had 3,406,465 inhabitants which represented 3.03% of the nation's population (INEGI, 2013). Most of the population of the state is gathered in the municipalities of Juárez and Chihuahua (63.16%).

As far as the Indigenous population, according to the state's government, they are regarded as one of the most valuable demographic and cultural components of the state of Chihuahua. The population aged five and older who speak an indigenous language for the year of 2010 consisted of 104,014 inhabitants (Gobierno del Estado, 2010; INEGI, 2013). They amounted to 3.05% of the population of Chihuahua (INEGI, 2013). Among the Indigenous groups found in Chihuahua, there are the Guarijío, Pima, Tarahumara and Tepehuán. The Tarahumaras, Tepehuanes, Pimas and Guarijios constitute 85.5% of indigenous groups from the state (Gobierno del Estado, 2010). The Tarahumara alone represent 77.08% of the

indigenous population of the state (Gobierno del Estado, 2010; CDI, 2010).

The municipality of Urique, in which the community of Guitayvo is located, for the year of 2010 reported 20,386 inhabitants, .6% of the total population of the State (INEGI, 2013; CIES, 2008) . The indigenous population summed 8,603 inhabitants, which represents 42.2% the population of Urique (Gobierno del Estado, 2010). Moreover, 97.10% were from Tarahamuaara decent.

#### **4.2.1 Human Development Indicators**

The UNDP defines human development as “the generation of capabilities and opportunities for people to achieve the kind of life they value and crave. This concept emphasizes the importance of social progress, political freedoms and social ties as pillars constituting the welfare of the population and, therefore, as determinants of development.” (Navarrete, 2008). Based on this premise, the UNDP developed an index (HDI) which measured: health, education and income (Navarrete, 2008; Fernandez, Tuiran, Ordorica, Salas y Villagomez, Camarena, & Serrano, 2006).



In the CDI-UNDP report of 2006, the State of Chihuahua was classified with high human development<sup>3</sup>. In relative terms, for the year of 2005 the HDI of Chihuahua was 0.8515, higher than the national average of 0.8200 (Fernandez et. al., 2006). With this, Chihuahua was located at the 4th position nation-wide, three places away from the Federal District (the highest national level of human development) and 28 positions away from Chiapas (entity with the lowest HDI) (Fernandez et. al., 2006). In 2008, the CDI in collaboration with the UNDP-Mexico published a report in which the Indigenous Population of Mexico was targeted. This report *Índice de Desarrollo Humano para los Pueblos Indígenas*<sup>4</sup> (IDHPI), more closely examined the social and economic situation of the Indigenous groups in Mexico. 89.55% of the municipalities in Chihuahua presented a HDI below the state average. According to the UNDP (2006) report, Urique presented a HDI rate of .55, positioning Urique as one of the less developed municipalities (Fernandez et. al., 2006).

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<sup>3</sup> High Human Development: HDI greater than or equal to .80 (F (Fernandez et. al., 2006)

<sup>4</sup> Índice de Desarrollo Humano para los Pueblos Indígenas (IDHPI): Spanish translation for the United Nations Development Program Human Development Index of Indigenous Peoples.

### 4.3 Development Projects and Mexican Indigenous culture

Mexican society has been characterized by inequality since the beginning of the formation of the country. One predominant group that has consistently shown lagging social and economic indicators is the Indigenous groups (Fernandez et. al., 2006). Centuries of discrimination and exploitation has profoundly influenced the economic, social and geographical reality of Indigenous peoples. On average, Indigenous people are poorer than the rest of the Mexicans; if they have salaries, in general they tend to be lower. Moreover, in every social indicator, there is a consistent gap between them and the rest of the Mexican population (Navarrete, 2008).

Indigenous identities are currently in a complex process of transformation, as has happened many times throughout history. According to Navarrete (2008), in recent decades we have seen the emergence of a large number of Indigenous organizations given that they are currently looking for new forms of social, economic and political organization. There have been

several programs in the past conducted by several federal entities that addressed the issues of the Indigenous regions. However, none of them had the desired results, sometimes even being counter productive and rejected by the people they tried to help. In spite of their good intentions and in spite that they looked fine on paper, these programs failed mainly because they didn't take into account the wishes and needs of the Indigenous people themselves. The idea that the Indigenous people were socially backwards and uncultured. Believing that they didn't know what was best for them due to their 'ignorance' brought failure after failure.

The reality was and is very different; the solution doesn't come from outside. Development of indigenous communities should be in accordance with their own cultural parameters, taking into account their priorities and respecting their customs and ways of knowing. It must not come from outside, but grow from within. This does not mean that the state should not help the indigenous people to overcome their marginalization and poverty, but it must take into account their different cultural realities.

## 4.4 Tarahumara

For each of the components shown in the '*Índice de Desarrollo Humano para los Pueblos Indígenas*' (IDHPI) for Mexico, there are always large gaps between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population. Regarding health, the index shows 0.7380 for the Indigenous population and a 0.8491 for the non-Indigenous, which means a difference of 13.1% between the two populations. Education reaches a rate of 0.7319 for Indigenous and 0.8841 for non-Indigenous, which is a 17.2% difference (Fernandez, et.al.,2006).

Despite the fact that Chihuahua is classified as highly developed, there are significant contrasts in development between its Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Chihuahua ranks second in the country as to ethnic inequality with a 26.1% difference between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population. It also ranks second in inter-ethnic inequality at 36.4% (Fernandez et. al., 2006).

If we exclude the non-Indigenous population and only take into consideration the Indigenous population in order to make comparisons, out of 25 Indigenous regions that exist at national level, the one with the lowest average IDHPI is the Tarahumara. In comparison with the nation's average, the Tarahumara region comes below at a rate of 49.1% (Fernandez et. al., 2006).

Regarding schooling rate, the Tarahumara region has a .6230 rate, lower than .8 of the nation. Regarding the income index, for the year of 2000 Mexico reported a GDP of 8.885 dollars, the City of Mexico had a GDP of 23.072 dollars, Chihuahua reported a 13.01, but the Tarahumara region had only a 4.642, an enormous difference with the rest of the state from the best performing city and the country. On average, the 25 Indigenous regions have a GDP per capita of \$ 5.177 adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP); however, considering only the Indigenous population of these regions came to \$3.627, almost 30% lower than the average of all regions, including the Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Fernandez et. al., 2006).

## 4.5 The Study Case: Mesa Guitayvo

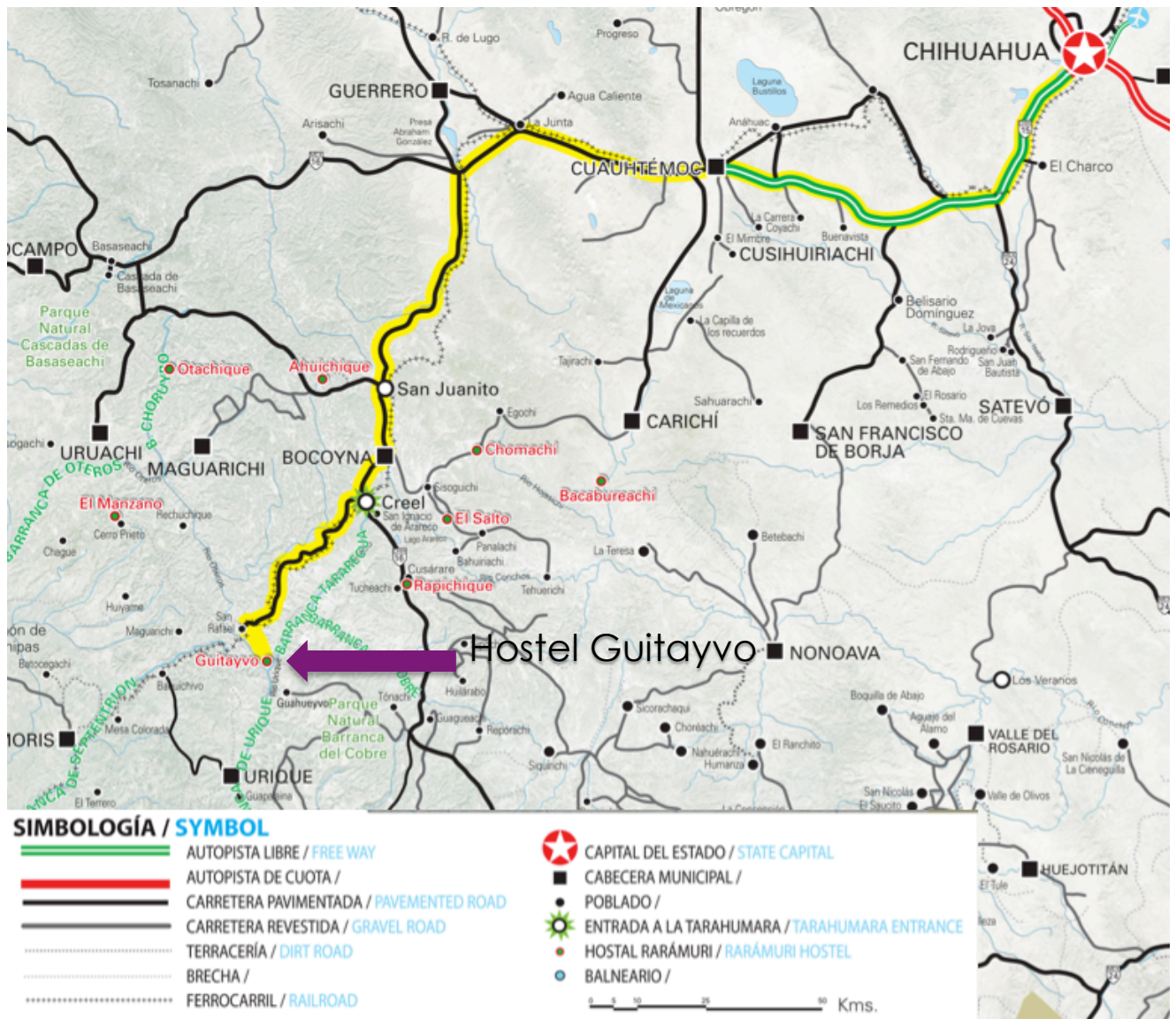
As mentioned previously, in Mexico the smallest administrative unit is the municipality. However, within a municipality there are *ejidos*<sup>5</sup>. The term *ejido* refers to a portion of common land communally owned and operated by the inhabitants of a village on an individual or cooperative basis (Dictionary.com, 2013). Under the current Mexican law, an *ejido* is defined as a community with its own legal identity and estate (Assennatto & De Leon, 1996).

Hostel Guitayvo is located in the community of Mesa de Guitayvo in the ejido of San Rafael, which is located in the Municipality of Urique in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. A map with the location of the Hostel is presented on Table 4-3. Parting from the largest political structure, we present the population distribution and context of the Hostel.

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<sup>5</sup> Ejidos can divide their land into the following categories: Land that has been sub-divided into parcels and assigned to individual members for their exclusive use and control, land for use in common by all members to meet collective needs, and land use for housing. (Assennatto & De Leon, 1996; Gonzalez & Lopez-Gastélum, 2007). Today ejidos constitute some 55 percent of Mexico's cultivated land (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011).

Figure 4-3. Map of Guitayvo Hostel location.



Source: Image taken from HostalesTarahumaras.com

Urique is the Tarahumara municipality with the most variety of landscapes. The overall population of the municipality of Urique for the year of 2010 was 20,386 citizens. 8,603 are Indigenous, accounting for 42.20% of the total population of Urique (Giovannelli, 2005; INEGI, 2013). San Rafael, as previously mentioned, is located in the municipality of Urique in the Mexican state of Chihuahua. The overall population of San Rafael is 2,160 inhabitants, which represents 10.60% of the total population of the municipality of Urique (INEGI, 2013). The Indigenous inhabitants of San Rafael account to 608, 28% of its total population (Giovannelli, 2005). Lastly, the community of Mesa de Güitayvo is located within the ejido San Rafael in the Municipality of Urique. In 2005 according to the census performed by the INEGI (2013), there were 34 inhabitants in the community, which represents 6% of the total population of San Rafael and 0.31% of the municipality of Urique; all of them are of Indigenous decent. In Mesa de Guitayvo for the year of 2005, there were a total amount of 8 households; none of them had access to electricity or public water services. Regarding education, among the 34 inhabitants, back in 2005 the average schooling of the population was of 2 years (Giovannelli, 2005).



## **5 Study Case**

### **5.1 Overview of the Project**

#### **5.1.1 Mexican Government project's aim.**

Derived from the National Development Plan 2007-2012, the Programme for the Development of Indigenous Peoples 2009-2012 (PDPI) set the objectives, indicators, goals, strategies and lines of action by which the Federal Government would promote the development of individuals, peoples and Indigenous communities in the country with respect and recognition of their cultures, languages and rights (CDI, 2013; SECTUR, 2010).

The organization in charge of this line of action of the PDPI is mainly the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous People (CDI). The National Commission for the Development of Indigenous People is an autonomous decentralized federal administration of the Mexican state, created in May 2003, which emerged from the National Indigenistic Institute (INI Instituto Nacional Indigenista), created in 1948 (CDI, 2012).

The National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) is responsible for guiding public action to the attention of the indigenous population of Mexico. It has a legal personality and patrimony, with operational, technical, budgetary and administrative autonomy. The purpose of this commission is to direct, coordinate, promote, support, encourage, monitor and evaluate programs, projects, strategies and activities aimed at sustainable and integral development of peoples and indigenous communities (CDI, 2013).

The CDI has 9 action programs, which range from schooling programs to gender equality programs. Among them is the Alternative Tourism Program in indigenous areas (PTAZI). The overall objective of the Alternative Tourism in Indigenous Areas (PTAZI) is to contribute in the development of the indigenous population, specifically by actions and projects of ecotourism and rural tourism (PTAZI, 2010).

The target population of PTAZI are the agrarian organizations and working groups created by indigenous groups interested in developing or

strengthening their ecotourism project activities (PTAZI, 2010). During the period 2007 to June 2012, PTAZI made an investment of 968.6 million pesos, for the benefit of 1,018 organizations and Indigenous tourism businesses. They also supported the development of 1,293 projects endorsed by community assemblies, which strengthened the economy of 804 localities located throughout 25 states of the country (CDI, 2012).

#### **5.1.2 Organization of the project.**

There are several requirements to access the program. Indigenous people as a community, agrarian organization, or working groups need to submit a request form containing the general information of the stakeholders, documents proving their legal status, document certifying the ownership or legal possession or property (s) involved (s) and document with the list of beneficiaries among others (PTAZI, 2010).

Once the documents are procured, there are several types of support provided, such as for infrastructure and equipment of alternative tourism sites, for preparing comprehensive project plans, for preparation of studies,

and/or payment of environmental permits, for training and strengthening capacities for the operation, management and certification processes and for projects of dissemination and promotion (marketing) of alternative tourism sites (PTAZI, 2010).

## 5.2 The case of Guitayvo

### 5.2.1 Background and motivation of entrepreneur

Guitayvo Hostel is a Rural Production Company of Limited Liability (SPR de RL). When the company started, it was formed by 33 partners from the ejido San Rafael particularly from the indigenous community of Mesa Guitayvo (Cabañas Urique, Fuerza Ambiental, PTAZI, 2010). Gloria Gutierrez comments that the company is presently integrated by 42 members. For the case of Guitayvo, Gutierrez also commented that the situation of Guitayvo is favorably different to other Tarahumara Hostel cases since it is very well defined; geographical and in terms of the rarámuri governor's authority. As Gutierrez mentions, the area of Guitayvo has never had land disputes, as is the case with other similar ventures. In this sense, Guitayvo is a company legally and by nature, community based.

Before the emergence of the project, Guitayvo faced a situation of deep economic stress, social alienation, absence of political power and voice in the national life. They had no access to any national program; they didn't know about their existence, let alone of how to reach or access them. The community didn't have access to schools, clinics or even roads (CDI, 2008; CDI, 2009; Fernandez et. al., 2006). Given the nature of the Tarahumara traditions, housing, bedrooms and solid floors were precarious as well (Pintado, 2004). Gender inclusion was particularly difficult and there was a rift between younger and older generations. These social and economic situations of stress (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) were the triggers that ignited the emergence of the CBE in the community of Guitayvo. The concern from the Guitayvo community to generate an activity that would generate an extra income that could raise their quality of life arose in 1998. (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012). The circumstances for the hostel creation since the initial drive arose in 1998 are quite particular. In the beginning, none of the partners that created the hostel were particularly interested in tourism activities nor it was an area they related to (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012). Historically the Tarahumara culture has been a reclusive society (Pintado,

2003; Pintado, 2004). Their interaction with the *Chabochi*<sup>6</sup> and cultures that are not theirs has been at the most, reluctant. Given this, it's of special interest that they embraced the project.

Gloria Gutierrez noted that the hostels Initiative were not born from the communities, but were born due to external situations. It was noted that tourist came to visit the Sierra and the Tarahumaras, the Government noticing this situation decided to capitalize on this phenomenon and form the initiative. As it is, the hostel, and the venture was created due to a confusing situation that arose when a similar company was formed in the neighboring community of Oteviachi. When the Oteviachi venture was created the members of the Guitayvo community were asked to sign a certificate to become partners. Oteviachi Hostel as well as Guitayvo were built in 2000 as part of a program of the central government to support Indigenous communities employing ecotourism (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; Cabanas Urique et. al., 2010).

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<sup>6</sup> Chabochi: Term used for the mestizos which means "madman who talks a lot and you have to watch" (Pintado, 2000).

### **5.2.2 Outcomes of the project.**

In spite of the harsh socioeconomic situations the Indigenous groups face in Mexico, Mexican ethnic groups have rich cultural traditions reflected in their languages, paintings, dances, music, ceremonies and rituals. These groups are located in places where there is a great diversity of flora, fauna and natural beauties. Given this, Indigenous groups present a great potential for tourism development (CDI, 2008). The project of “Programa de Turismo Alternativo en Zonas Indígenas” (PTAZI) was generated in an attempt to capitalize on this cultural richness.

Hostel Guitayvo initiated as part of this PTAZI Governmental Program whose main objective is “the development of the indigenous population by executing actions on ecotourism, taking advantage of the potential in the indigenous regions, providing support to develop and implement projects aimed at the sustainable usage of their natural beauty and cultural heritage.” (CDI, 2011).

The main objective of this program is to provide support to Indigenous communities in alternative tourism projects proposed by them (CDI, 2009).

The project also seeks to create awareness in the indigenous groups of the natural and cultural resources, which they possess in order for them to capitalize them.

One of the fundamental aspects of this program is not only to support the development of the Indigenous population in the tourist branch actions, but also to contribute in the sustainability of the project (CDI, 2009). One key aspect of this is promoting the ownership of the project implementing various strategies for capacity building. In this regard Chaskin et. al. (2001) stresses the importance of fostering of collaborative relations with outside agents for the successful development of community capacity.

#### **i. Financial Situation**

Even though the community has done well in social development, the economic return hasn't been as forthcoming. As established in their Business Plan the Hostel suffers from a lack of working capital, which



creates difficulties at the time of paying wages, distributing utilities and prevents the establishment of a small inventory to supply the cabins or the restaurant (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010).

Another important point to considerate in this aspect is the occupancy rate of the Hostel. As stated in the Business Plan according to the Department of Business Development and Tourism for the year of 2007 there were 157,722 people who lodge in the region of Copper Canyon. From that number, 24.65% stayed in a 3 star establishment (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). Moreover, occupancy rate is highly concentrated among vacations and religious festivities seasons (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010; CDI, 2012), which furthers accentuates the fluctuation of income generation. Notwithstanding, given the deep economical stress of the community, the new source of income, in spite of being fluctuating, allowed for development within the community. Moreover, in this particular case is important to notice the relation of Tarahumaras with economy. Gloria Gutierrez, PTAZI Director of the State of Chihuahua, commented that the Aridoamerican Indigenous people, Tarahumaran included among them,

are not cumulative and they view economy differently to that of Mesoamerican Indians. This particular point of view needs to be taken into consideration when talking about economic aspects of the initiative for the Tarahumara Hostels and the relation and management of such.

## **ii. Activities and their impacts.**

As Gutierrez mentions, since its foundation, the hostel has had support from various government organizations well as ONGs. The group has taken part in several trainings that range from ecotourism concepts, to managerial training, to cultural heritage workshops and environmental conservation. The activities, programs, years and organizations involved in the execution are provided in table 5-1 and 5-2. The tables were generated with information from the Hostel's Business Plan and the CDI reports. Additionally, a Stakeholder's map of all the actors in the initiative and their interaction with the Hostel is shown in Figure 5-1.

**Table 5-1. Vertical Links of Hostel Guitayvo.**

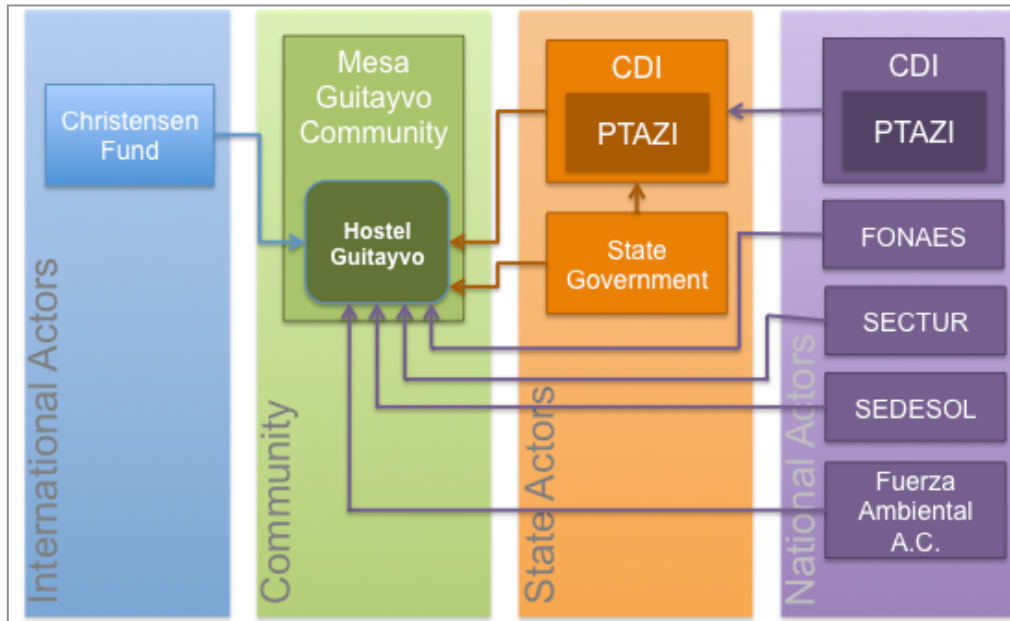
<b>Year</b>	<b>Action</b>	<b>Organism</b>
1998	Conformation of the Rural Production	
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Construction of two modules of 6 cabins and the restaurant.</li> <li>• Marketing training.</li> <li>• Management trainings.</li> <li>• Introduction to alternative tourism.</li> <li>• Customer service.</li> <li>• First Aid training.</li> </ul>	FONAES, State Government, SECTUR, CDI and SEDESOL
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diagnosis called "community tourism project in the Tarahumara Hostels"</li> <li>• Environmental impact assessment of the region.</li> <li>• Management plans for the cabins and restaurant.</li> <li>• Cultural workshops.</li> <li>• Workshops on environmental education.</li> <li>• Operation of restaurants.</li> <li>• Guides.</li> <li>• Marketing.</li> <li>• Implementing the measures of protection and conservation of the sites.</li> <li>• Implementing the measures of hostels maintenance.</li> <li>• Implementing the measures of promotion.</li> </ul>	Environmental Force, Christensen Fund and the CDI
2007	• First phase of: Project of Enhancement of the Raramuri Culture and Protection of Biodiversity Projects in Community Alternative Tourism in the Sierra Tarahumara in the rarámuri communities of Guitayvo, Chomachi, Ahuichique, El Salto and Agua Caliente	Environmental Force, Christensen Fund and the CDI
2008	• First phase of: Project of Enhancement of the Raramuri Culture and Protection of Biodiversity Projects in Community Alternative Tourism in the Sierra Tarahumara in the rarámuri communities of Guitayvo, Chomachi, Ahuichique, El Salto and Agua Caliente.	Environmental Force, Christensen Fund and the CDI
2009	• Second phase: strengthen the group in their learning process as microenterprises, especially to help them continue the process of appropriation of their projects under their own cultural strategies and the implementation of the very same.	Environmental Force, Christensen Fund and the CDI

**Table 5-2. Vertical Links of Hostel Guitayvo 2.**

Year	Program	Action	Involved Organism						
			FONAES	CDI	SEDESOL	SECTUR	S.G.	C.F.	F.A.
1998		Conformation of the Rural Production							
2001		Restaurant	X	X	X	X	X		
		2 Modules of 6 Cabins	X	X	X	X	X		
		Marketing					X		
		Management					X		
		Introduction to alternative tourism					X		
		Customer service				X			
		First Aid				X			
2006	Community tourism project in the Tarahumara Hostels	Training and guidance in the operation of the hostel		X				X	X
		Challenges facing this type of rural tourism enterprises		X				X	X
		Environmental impact assessment		X				X	X
		Management plans for the cabins and restaurant		X				X	X
		Cultural workshops		X				X	X

		Implementing the measures of protection and conservation of the sites,		X				X	X
		Implementing the measures of hostels maintenance		X				X	X
		Implementing the measures of promotion		X				X	X
<b>2007</b>	First Phase: Enhancement of the Rarámuri Culture and Protection of Biodiversity Projects.	Environmental and cultural workshops		X				X	X
<b>2008</b>		Management and operation trainings		X				X	X
<b>2009</b>	Second Phase	Strengthen the group in their learning process as microenterprises		X				X	X

**Figure 5-1. Stakeholder's map**



It was on 2001 were the 6 cabins and the restaurant were build with support of the State Government, FONAES, SECTUR, CDI and SEDESOL (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). At the beginning of the program the working group received several training courses on management and marketing, introduction to alternative tourism by the State Government, customer service and first aid by SECTUR.

In 2006 a diagnosis called "Community Tourism Project in the Tarahumara Hostels" was conducted. It covered the topic of training and guidance in the

hostel operation as well as the challenges that face this type of rural tourism businesses (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). On the same year the environmental impact assessment of the region, the management plans for the cabins and restaurant and cultural workshops were conducted. This allowed the creation of the brochure "We are Tarahumara", workshops on environmental education, operation of restaurants, tour guides and marketing (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). The project also laid the foundations for implementing the protection and conservation of sites, maintenance of hostels and promotion of projects.

During 2007 and 2008 with the support of Fuerza Ambiental A.C., Christensen Fund and CDI conducted the first phase of the project: "Enhancement of the Rarámuri Culture and Protection of Biodiversity in Alternative Tourism projects of the Sierra Tarahumara in the Guitayvo, Chomachi, Ahuichique, El Salto and Agua Caliente communities". In 2009 the second phase was carried out, it consisted on following up on the work done in phase one, strengthening the group in process of microenterprise and particularly to continue a process of ownership of the project (Cabañas

Urique et. al., 2010). This particularly aspect included for the members to include their own cultural strategies and implementing them in order to improve their quality of life and protecting the community resources by combining the knowledge learned in the workshops (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). One particular example of this can be seen in the creation of the Business Plan.

In January 2010, a meeting was held with the aim of introducing this business concept (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). During the session, there was a review of the quality of the existing infrastructure; an inventory was developed, classifying the exiting materials on the five areas used in the cause and effect diagram (materials, labor, method and environment). A scale from 1 to 3, where 1 = good, 2 =regular, 3 = bad, was used for measurement (Business Plan, 2010). The purpose of this exercise was to analyze potential problems and define possible causes of the problems. There was also a review of concepts and words of business nature previously taught in other workshops, furthermore, they were ask to defined the business concepts in their own terms. A glossary of words was



developed to explain to the members of the group the concept of a business plan (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). Furthermore, these concepts were reviewed twice through mini workshops to reinforce them to the group. The “Business Plan” as well as the Brochures shows that the members of the group gained knowledge of the business. In spite of being a slow learning process, the community of Hostel Guitayvo is now applying and formulating their own strategies due to the learned capacities from the workshops taken through the years. Moreover, the second phase which targeted the “Ownership” aspect of the project, further aided in the solidification of links within the community. The workshops held in their native tongue were popularly received (Fernandez et.al., 2006), enticing the participation of younger and older generations and fomenting the appreciation of their cultural heritage.

Notwithstanding, in the beginning of the project, assimilation and inclusion of the trainings were difficult. Several senior members of the project, leaders without any school background were reluctant to participate (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; CDI, 2012). For this matter, translation of cultural

practices and the local leadership of Teodoro Moreno and his wife, Rafaela were key factors. Gutierrez informed that the inclusion of Teodoro, the Indigenous Governor of Guitayvo, as the president of the company helped the community accept the Hostel. This has made possible significant impacts and community benefits. Likewise, the family has been the best mechanism to implement leadership, decision-making and organization of activities (CDI, 2012). The household who is leading the project determines the organization and being a partner is sometimes perceived as a family affair, if the husband forms part of the society, it is understood that he can represent the wife in the meetings (Fuerza Ambiental, 2010).

There have been specific activities, such as the work done by two community facilitators with the community to identify and document the various aspects of heritage in the town. This work included the rescue of recipes and food “of the old times”, medicinal plants and how to use them and the “grandparents stories and tales” (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). They have tools and mechanisms for interpretation and brochures about the culture of the community.

As for organization of the workload, it is dependent on the arrival of visitors. According to the Business Plan, functions are defined by the service and unlike other enterprises similar to that of Hostel Guitayvo, there is involvement of both men and women from the community in the working arrangements (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). Additionally, the group has established committees in charge of various tasks. As reported on the Business Plan aspects related to, gas, water, services utilities, reception of customers and tour guidance are done by men. Cleaning, washing and cooking are related to woman. On Table 5-3 the committees are further explained.

**Table 5-3: Support groups or committees in the Cabins Guitayvo**

Group	Description
Lodging services	Responsible for cleaning the rooms. Provide firewood in cold weather. Washing bedding, basic supplies like soap, toilet paper, trash, (For Which They Must be in Communication with the management group and shopping, so do not miss these inputs.)
Administrative aspects and shopping	Group executives, President, Secretary and Treasurer, to keep accounts of income and expenditure, as well as to acquire the inputs Necessary for the proper Functioning of the cabins and restaurant.
Promotion	Responsible to have promotional material of the ecotourism project and to deliver the to the visitors when they arrive in order for them to know whats in the area. When there is opportunity, carry advertising for towns and cities in the region.
Surveillance	Oversight that facilities do not suffer any damage. Clean and Maintain order.
Ecotour guides	Accompany on walks, visits to caves and areas of interest to visitors, to teach them the ways and paths, as well as to inform them of the attractions of the area, They should also be prepared to attend the visitors in the event of an accident, for which at least two people always must attend.
Marketing of Handicrafts	Addressing the sale of handicrafts and other traditional memorabilia and products of the region. This area may be temporarily in a corner of the dining room.
Fire Brigades	Fight fire if present in the building or in the area of the Project (400 hectares). Its functions are: Periodically inspect that the necessasry equipment is in good condition and in the proper places. Coordinate and conduct combat actions

Source: Plan de Negocios Cabañas Guitayvo, 2010.

### **iii. Development due to the project.**

One characteristic of the CBEs is that they have a multiplicity of goals. CBEs are created in adverse circumstances and represent needs that can range from access to social services, support for cultural activities, and many others needs. Economic return is therefore an instrument to achieve these goals. For this reason, the goal of the CBE takes a holistic approach for achieving sustainability, self-reliance and improvement of life in the community. It is for this reason as well that Torri (2009) says that CBEs serve as an umbrella for local development. The Hostel Guitayvo project promotes community organization, the revitalization of the community instead of migration, and the building and caring for attractive natural resources and cultural heritage (CDI, 2008).

In this regard, the project of Hostel Guitayvo has affected the community deeply. As previously stated, Guitayvo faced a situation of deep economic stress, social alienation, absence of political voice, basic infrastructure, services as well as gender inclusion and generational rifts. Since the beginning of the project, the community has gained access to schools,

from kindergarten to high school, roads, a medical clinic, a bedroom project, a housing program, and a solid floor program. These benefits aligned with COMPAS (2007) contributions are due to endogenous development.

Furthermore, thanks to the workshops and trainings the group has gained knowledge of business and financial aspects (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). They keep records of monthly expenses, costs and customers occupation. They have participated in the development of content and pictures of their brochures and are in the direction of getting more involved in marketing (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). As of now, Gloria Gutierrez commented that currently the persons involved in marketing are for the moment Teodoro and his family, whom are engaged in the task of expanding their market. Furthermore, they also got involved in the generation of the hostel's business plan in 2010 as well as operation manuals for the tasks in the hostel. Even though there are still further training needs, given that aspects such as production and indirect costs are concepts that cannot yet be grasped, there is interest for further

development (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010; CDI 2012). In this aspect, as well as promotion related issues, there is still a need to continue the cooperation with both government through the state as well as the CDI and the NGOs such as the Christensen Fund and Fuerza Ambiental for training as well as promotion and aspects related to strategic alliances. One strong point regarding the community of Guitayvo and the members of the Hostel is that there is recognition of the need of continuous training (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). One particular training that generated a lot of interest and involvement was the one regarding cultural heritage, which was held in their native tongue and helped in the involvement of the younger generations, which follows COMPAS contributions of endogenous development (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; CDI, 2012). The active participation of the new generations has strengthened the group with fresh ideas and working labor, which is an important aspect of CBEs' reasons for success (CDI,2008; CDI, 2012) . Furthermore, the younger members have increased the capabilities of the venture in terms of business, allowing for a unique balance between traditions from older generations and increasing innovation coming from the new generations (CDI, 2012).

Also aligned with COMPAS (2007) endogenous development contributions is Hostel Guitayvo's positive gender equality growth. Guitayvo has 12% women members. One of them is on the board in charge of finances and in community meetings women participate very actively (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). There are also two women who now participate in a course for community facilitators for cultural heritage and there is another member who was hired by the commission to be a promoter in the municipality of Urique (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010) . This is particularly remarkable since this inclusion hasn't occurred in the other hostels that are part of the Indigenous hostel network.

### **5.2.3 Elements of Social Capital identified in the project and their impact.**

Coleman (1990) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) talk about social capital as the resultant network of the exchanges in the relationships between individuals and organizations. As such, social capital exists in the relations among people and facilitates their productive activity by providing



access to other resources such as capital and knowledge (Anderson & Jack, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). In accordance with Peredo and Chrisman (2006), the Guitayvo CBE contributed to social development by affecting the behavior of individuals and the community. Furthermore, given the conditions of scarcity and survival that the Guitayvo hostel presented, we see how social capital acted as an enabler. Westlund and Bolton's (2003) views on Positive Social Capital, were that social networking allows the community or individual to have some growth or gain, thus having an value added effect on them. In this aspect, the workshops and trainings allowed the increase in their management capacity for community activities and took advantage of offers of different government programs.

Aligned with Mooney and Edwards (2001) and Coleman (1988), the continuous trainings had allowed the members of the project to gain from these exchanges and has empowered the community to grow and build community capacity and growth of human capital. Hostel Guitayvo has one of the most experienced working groups from the Indigenous Hostels

Network (Fuerza Ambiental, 2012; CDI, 2012; Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010) . The continuity of the training of the leading members, in the case of Guitayvo, Teodoro Moreno, has allowed significant impacts for the community. Gloria Gutierrez mentioned the participation of Teodoro in the multiple trainings and his willingness to participate, also mentioning his assistance to other trainings including other workshops of her authority like the Indigenous Capacity Building Program and Leadership Strengthening workshops. As it is, Teodoro Moreno would represent a node in the lowest level of aggregation of the social network. Moreover, parting from the nodes, within the venture, as mentioned previously, there are two women who now participate in a course for community facilitators for cultural heritage and there is another member who was hired by the commission to be a promoter in the municipality of Urique.

As previously mentioned, inter-generational growth has been present in Guitayvo. This has allowed for a particular mixture of traditional foundations and innovation. Even though the senior leadership may seem like backtracking for the CBE, Westlund and Bolton's (2003) positive and

negative takes on social capital remark that senior leadership can serve as a stabilizing factor. The younger generations have generated an added value to the venture and the community, allowing to have some growth and gain from the project. Interaction among generations has allowed the social capital to be renewed while simultaneously preserving the best of the old. Moreover, a large quantity of positive links will make the social capital general and homogenous, allowing the inclusion of the community and not fragmenting it into groups. In Guitayvo, a balance in the links in the distinct levels of aggregation of social capital is in the process of creation, thus contributing to its productivity.

Since its foundation, the hostel has had the support from various organisms from the government as well as ONGs. In the social capital framework of Lyons (2002) and Westlund and Bolton (2003), vertical links are the relationship between the individuals and the group/network as a decision-maker on a higher order. Social capital creation can be reflected in these particular networks which Hostel Guitayvo has created, which consist of the CDI, the State Government, SECTUR, SEDESOL, FONAES,

Fuerza Ambiental A.C, an ONG based on Chihuahua, Mexico, and The Christensen Fund, an international organization based in California, USA. These organizations have helped the formation as well as the strengthening of the company.

Notwithstanding, in order to further establish and guarantee the economic stability and sustainability of the enterprise, further networking is needed. This critical issue was also noted in the evaluation done by the CDI (2010) which mentioned the importance of making strategic alliances in the various links of the production chain. Some of the partnerships that they mentioned included travel agencies, with possible lodging establishments in cabins, nearby hostels, and tour operators in order to strengthen the service chain, and alliances with local carriers (taxis in Creel, bus, truck rides) and food suppliers in order to lower costs (Cabañas Urique et. al., 2010). However, as informed by Gloria Gutierrez, in spite of the recognition of the need for these strategic alliances to take place, Hostel Guitayvo remains without them.

## **6 Conclusions**

How do CBEs enhance community development? The research done in the process of creation of this thesis was aimed at answering this question.

To do so, the research focused on one specific CBE, the Hostel Guitayvo in Chihuahua, Mexico, a CBE owned and managed by an Indigenous Tarahumaran community. The inclusion of the Hostel Project in the Indigenous community of Mesa Guitayvo shows how CBEs can help in the enhancement of community development for Indigenous communities. The case of Guitayvo shows the importance of the holistic approach that CBEs foster, showing how segregated units of the community can unite through the CBE for a common good. Moreover, the inclusion of the CBE and the changes that the adoption of the project ignited in the community shows the important role that supporting organizations and social capital building play in the enhancement of community capacity.

Throughout the previous chapters of this paper, the concepts of community capacity, social capital and CBEs have been explained. Additionally, the

Mexican government's position and policies that partook for the creation of this particular CBE were explained. The outcomes of the programme as well as the activities in the Hostel Guitayvo were examined. In the following sections, the two sub-questions that this research undertook are addressed first. The last section interlaces these findings and answers the main research question of this study, explaining the importance of CBEs in community development enhancement through the case of Guitayvo.

## 6.1 Contribution of Social capital in the community of Guitayvo.

The starting point for the Community of Guitayvo was horizontal negative links among the individuals. They were negative since the outcomes and influences they presented were of low productive value. They were stabilizing nonetheless in preserving the customs and traditions of the community but generating the socio-economical stagnation the community presented before the adoption of the CBE. After the inclusion of the CBE, we can see the creation of positive vertical links with the state CDI and the

ONGs Fuerza Ambiental A.C. and Christensen Fund. This particular vertical network allowed the CBE access to resources like capital and knowledge. Furthermore, the inclusion of the CBE brought the unity of the community within itself. The resulting modification and alteration of the interactions that the CBE brought created positive links among the individual nodes. Not only did the members of the community gain management capabilities, but also the interaction among themselves were transformed, as noted by the inter-generational and gender inclusion aspects. This fostered a homogenous integration of the members of the CBE and thus the community in itself. Moreover, the years of practice and evolving of the CBE saw an evolution of the cooperation and the links in the social capital network of Guitayvo as well, generating higher levels of social development and empowering the community to grow, build community capacity and growth in human capital.

## 6.2 Elements of the concept of CBE in Guitayvo.

Elements of CBEs in Guitayvo range from the multiplicity of goals, reasons for creation, natural resources, skills and traditional knowledge, community

orientation, participation of the people of the community, ownership, governance, and creation of bonds with external entities. There were elements that generated a stronger resonance on the creation of community capacity development in the particular case of Guitayvo and contributed in the inclusion of other elements of the CBE, such as multiplicity of goals, ownership, and creation of external bonds.

Multiplicity of goals was one element of the CBEs that was particularly present in Guitayvo. The deep economic difficulties that the community faced were the main reason for the emergence of the CBE. The Tarahumara indigenous group is one of the most poverty stricken groups in Mexico; furthermore, the Guitayvo community among them, was one of the most "left-behind." These situations pushed the adoption of the initiative. Notwithstanding, the CBE wasn't created just to increase the economic benefits of the community. Apart from the economic gains, Guitayvo embraced the adoption of the CBE with a broader perspective. One characteristic of the Tarahumaran community is their adamancy to their customs and traditions. In this regard, the CBE offered an opportunity to



capitalize as well as support their cultural activities, heritage, and the conservation of the environment, another important aspect given their customs. Additionally, Guitayvo goals were also aimed toward more social benefits, such as access to schools, roads and medical facilities.

Ownership is one particular problem often recurrent in the developmental activities; Guitayvo was no exception to that. CBEs are an endogenous type of development that thrives from participation of the grassroots participants; in this case the community of Guitayvo, who in the beginning of the project due to the nature of the venture presented resistance and reluctance from some members of the community. To generate ownership, unity and inclusion of the community as a whole, traditional aspects of governance from the community were kept when translated to the enterprise. Teodoro Moreno, the rarámuri governor of the community was a key aspect for this integration. Furthermore, the establishment of shifting committees allowed for the active participation and involvement of the whole community. This in specific is particularly important given that ownership and participation of the community and the dedication of the

groups of partners and members is an essential element for the success of a CBE.

The creation of bonds with external entities was a key element for the Hostel Guitayvo CBE to take root in the community. Even though the CBE is based on the enterprise being managed by the local community, help from government and external agencies was extremely important. The continuous support from the network that throughout the years Guitayvo built with ONGs and governmental agencies (CDI, State Government, SECTUR, SEDESOL, FONAES, The Christensen Fund, and Fuerza Ambiental) was essential for the establishment and sustainability of the project through the years. As previously mentioned, the workshops and trainings that the Guitayvo CBE has been the recipient of from this network, allowed the growth in human capital in the community of Guitayvo. These particular links were beneficial for the change of perspectives in the individuals of the group, which in turn allowed for the unity of the community and ease the adoption and participation of the CBE and the community.

### 6.3 Final remarks

The Community of Guitayvo is located in the middle of a pine-oak forest along the Urique Canyon, in the Sierra Tarahumara, a location that by nature is hard to access and secludes the community. This situation fomented the creation of an intricate social network in the community where by ancient customs, each family represented a unit. Cooperation among families was custom, but beyond that, there were no further links. The links generated through these ancient customs were heterogeneous; they didn't generate strength cohesive enough to pull in the community as a whole and to be considered homogenous and inclusive. Despite that the links allowed them to preserve their ancient traditions and cultural heritage, they didn't generate much else. They faced deep economic distress and social alienation. Medical facilities and schools were hard to access and roads and basic infrastructure were poor or non-existent. The inclusion of the Hostel Project in the Indigenous community of Mesa Guitayvo shows how CBEs can help in the enhancement of community development for Indigenous communities. The holistic approach of the CBE, which takes into consideration social, economical, cultural, environmental and even

political outcomes for its members, aids in particular these type of impoverished communities given it's natural cultural inclusiveness. The adoption of the CBE in Guitayvo ignited several changes in the community; most importantly, the CBE allowed the segregated units of families to unite as a whole establishing goals that the community yearned and as segregated units couldn't accomplish. Moreover, given the nature of the CBE of taking the common good as fundamental, and being accommodating for collective and individual interests to be complementary, it fomented and cemented the union of the community inside and outside the business venture. Notwithstanding, for this to take root, maintaining traditional forms of governance, as was the naming of Guitayvo's rarámuri governor Teodoro Moreno as the head of the CBE, were important elements. Moreover, the Guitayvo case shows the importance that support organizations provide in the enhancement of community capacity. Before the CBE, the community of Guitayvo was unaware of projects and programs of the government that could benefit them, as well of the existence of international and national organizations that could also aid the community. With the CBE, the community was capable of creating a

network with different government agencies such as SECTUR, SEDESOL and FONAES. They also fostered networks with international and national ONGs like The Christensen Fund and Fuerza Ambiental. Throughout the years, these networks have allowed them access to government programs and a multiplicity of trainings. The trainings and gains that social capital brought generated capacity in the nodes. This fostered positive links and aided in the building of a homogenous network in Guitayvo, which in turn generated continuous capacity building and growth of human capital. Moreover, the growth in the network also brought an increase in resources for the hostel and the community of Guitayvo.

The inclusion of the CBE brought considerable progress to the community of Guitayvo generating an increase of human capacity and transformation of the social structures. This was mainly because the institution of the CBE promoted the organization and unification of the community. The once segregated nodes were brought together thanks to the CBE who managed to unify the community towards a common good. In turn, it opened new forms of communication and integration with new higher-level entities and

among themselves, as it can be seen with the inter-generational and gender inclusion. Since the hostel was adopted, the community has empowered itself to take control of its own development process solving their problems by taking initiative in the hostel management.

However, there are still several problems that the Guitayvo CBE faces at the moment. There is a problem regarding the temporality of visitors' arrivals to the hostel, there is a lack of control of the people who receive trainings, and, in recent years, the dangers and risks of the drug war facing Mexico have also reached them. Nevertheless, the commitment of the group to the continuity and sustainability of the CBE is strong. The younger generation's commitment and new ideas for the business venture cements the commitment of the group to further continue the growth of the CBE. With regards to social capital, it is also expected to improve, since the community leaders believe the benefits of an increase in the networks can be higher. As such, the inclusion of other service providers is being considered.

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## 8 APPENDICES

### **Appendix 1: Questionnaire 1. To Gloria Gutierrez Almuina, PTAZI Director of the State of Chihuahua on June 15, 2012.**

#### **Tesis: CBEs en la generación de capacidad en la comunidad Tarahumara de Mesa Guitayvo.**

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- La generación de estos Hostales, en cualesquiera de ellos, ha generado en las comunidades algún tipo de conocimiento o crecimiento?
- Se lleva algún tipo de monitoreo o control en cuanto a los beneficios que se han generado a partir de su creación?
- La creación en si, cuando fue?
- Cuanto tiempo llevan operando?
- Cuales son las responsabilidades del CDI en cuanto al apoyo del Hostel?
- En cuanto a los talleres “Puesta en Valor de la Puesta en Valor de la Cultura Rarámur” y “Protección de la Biodiversidad en los Proyectos de Turismo Alternativo Comunitario,” cual fue la ingerencia del CDI en ellos?

**Appendix 2: Questionnaire 2. To Gloria Gutierrez Almuina, PTAZI  
Director of the State of Chihuahua on November 4, 2012.**

**Tesis: CBEs en la generación de capacidad en la comunidad  
Tarahumara de Mesa Guitayvo.**

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- El documento menciona dentro de las metas, la elaboración de una presentación de los resultados del plan de negocio para mayo del 2010. ¿Es posible acceder a la presentación? O este documento es en efecto la presentación?
- ¿Qué tan difícil ha sido la apropiación del proyecto de las Cabañas en la comunidad?
- Luego de la introducción del concepto de Plan de negocios, ¿en que medida/ de que manera la comunidad participo de su elaboración?
- A su vez, ¿en que medida/de que manera la comunidad participo/participa en la elaboración del mercadeo, planeación y finanzas?
- En cuanto a la capacitación y talleres del Plan, ¿fue un trabajo en conjunto? ¿Estuvo a cargo de una asociación/ entidad en particular? En cuyo caso ¿Cuál de las siguientes asociaciones/ entidades estuvo a cargo? Fuerza Ambiental A.C, Christensen Fund, CDI
- ¿Existe algún documento, reporte o plan donde se especifique la división de trabajo para los organismos asociados con las Cabañas?
- ¿Se esta llevando a cabo algún monitoreo de los indicadores? ¿Para el caso que así sea, el monitoreo es externo o interno?
- En cuanto a las alianzas, el documento menciona la importancia de formar alianzas estrategias, ¿se logro entablarlas?



- Con respecto a la operación, el plan de negocios menciona dos alternativas: a) Como empresa sola, b) Como asociada a una cadena o a una empresa. ¿Bajo que modalidad opera actualmente?
- El documento menciona a 12 socios, mas en el organigrama hay personas las cuales no se encuentran dentro de los socios. ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre un socio y un miembro de la comunidad? (quien asumo son los encargados de las comisiones de trabajo y quienes ocupan los puestos de trabajo mas cuyos nombres no están en la lista de socios).
- Además de los puestos, existen comisiones o grupos de apoyo, ¿cómo es el funcionamiento de dichas comisiones?