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Cultural hybridization in three colombian indigenous productive organizations

Hibridación cultural en tres organizaciones productivas colombianas

Hybridité culturelle dans trois organisations productives colombiennes

Oscar Iván Vásquez-Rivera*

Occasional Professor, School of Administrative Sciences, Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7867-2761>. e-mail: oscar.vasquez@correounivalle.edu.co

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Abstract

Cultural Hybridization (CH) aims to analyze the processes of intercrossing and cultural exchange highlighted in the constitution of modernism and in the modernization processes in Latin America. This research is relevant because the units of analysis for identifying the objectives of CH are three Colombian Indigenous Productive Organizations (IPOs), which were formed with traditional indigenous ideals and in the middle of the market dynamics of the organizational economy, then transformed their ideals and cultural aspects with modern Western administrative and cultural practices. The research is based in a qualitative methodology that includes the following techniques: participatory observation; semi-structured interviews; and analysis of native documents. This methodology is applied to investigate the three IPOs of the Nasa ethnicity in Colombia. The results are different for each case. Resistance and then acceptance occurred in the smaller IPO, while segregation and acceptance occurred in the larger and senior IPO. In conclusion, the three IPOs present a diversity of cultural characteristics that provide empirical evidence of the CH in different levels.

Keywords: Cultural hybridization, Indigenous productive organizations, Cultural adaptation, Cultural segregation, Cultural resistance, Cultural acceptance.

Resumen

La Hibridación Cultural (HC) tiene como objetivo analizar los procesos de entrecruzamiento e intercambio cultural desarrollados en el establecimiento de la modernidad y en los procesos de modernización en América Latina. Esta investigación es relevante porque las unidades de análisis para identificar los objetivos de la HC son tres Organizaciones Productivas Indígenas (OPI) colombianas, que se formaron con ideales indígenas tradicionales y en medio de la dinámica de mercado de la economía organizacional, transformaron sus ideales y aspectos culturales con la inclusión de prácticas administrativas y culturales occidentales-modernas. La investigación se basa en una metodología cualitativa que incluye las siguientes técnicas: observación participativa; entrevistas semi-estructuradas; y análisis de documentos nativos. Esta metodología se aplica para investigar las tres OPI de la etnia Nasa en Colombia. Los resultados son diferentes para cada caso. La resistencia y aceptación se evidencian en la OPI más pequeña, mientras que

la segregación y aceptación se evidencian en la OPI más grande y antigua. En conclusión, las tres OPI presentan una diversidad de características culturales que proporcionan evidencia empírica de la HC en diferentes niveles.

Palabras clave: Hibridación cultural, Organizaciones productivas indígenas, Adaptación cultural, Segregación cultural, Resistencia cultural, Aceptación cultural.

Résumé

L'Hybridité Culturelle vise à analyser les processus de croisement et d'échange culturel développés dans l'établissement de la modernité et dans les processus de modernisation en Amérique latine. Cette recherche est pertinente parce que les unités d'analyse pour identifier les objectifs de l'hybridité culturelle sont trois organisations productives indigènes colombiennes, qui ont été formées avec les idéaux indigènes traditionnels et au milieu de la dynamique du marché de l'économie organisationnelle, ont transformé leurs idéaux et aspects culturels avec l'inclusion des pratiques administratives et culturelles modernes de l'Ouest. La recherche est basée sur une méthodologie qualitative qui comprend les techniques suivantes: observation participante, entrevues semi-structurées et analyse de documents autochtones. Cette méthodologie est appliquée pour enquêter sur les trois introductions en bourse du groupe ethnique Nasa en Colombie. Les résultats sont différents pour chaque cas. La résistance et l'acceptation sont évidentes dans la plus petite organisation productive indigène, tandis que la ségrégation et l'acceptation sont évidentes dans le plus grand et la plus ancienne. En conclusion, les trois organisations présentent une diversité de caractéristiques culturelles qui fournissent des preuves empiriques d'hybridité culturelle à différents niveaux.

Mots-clés: Hybridité culturelle, Organisations productives indigènes, Adaptation culturelle, Ségrégation culturelle, Résistance culturelle, Acceptation culturelle.

1. Introduction

Currently, the research on cultural hybridization (CH) encompasses many issues of modernism and tradition through concern and interest in the mixing of cultures in the context of an increasingly globalized world (Burke, 2010). There are different studies around the world from different perspectives that show the importance of introducing CH as a research topic in the field of organizations and administration. Some of them are:

- Dear and Burrige (2005) analyzed CH from the geography perspective, in the border areas between Mexico and the United States, where they could find evidence of CH in legal, political and organizational aspects. It focuses

more deeply on cultural elements such as language, consumer practices, art, film and television.

- Na Nongkhai and Phakdeephassook (2017) studied CH from the arts and literature perspective. They studied CH of the heroic characters of the Thai films that were produced during 1997 to 2010. This period concurs with the time when Thai society was influenced socially, culturally and economically by globalization. In their research they found that the heroes of the Thai films analyzed were hybrid creations with characteristics of the heroes of other cultures worldwide, mixed with the characteristics of the traditional local heroes. This showed that the local cultures can negotiate, adapt and adopt globalization to its own environment and context.
- Specifically from the organizations and administration perspective, Shimoni and Bergmann (2006) analyzed CH in the organizational culture of the Thailand, Mexico and Israel headquarters of two global organizations, one from Switzerland and the other from United States. The authors found a production of CH as a result of the integration of the administrative practices of the organizational model that governs both organizations in their origin countries with those of the local cultural context.
- From the same perspective, Yousfi (2014) studied CH in the administrative and management practices of a Tunisian organization that implemented an American model of administration. The author identified a process of CH in the administrative practices of the implemented model produced by the workers. Initially they presented resistance to new knowledge and finally they negotiated and adjusted American practices taking into account the local cultural context.

Considering what is stated in the previous paragraphs, the research in CH currently revolves around the globalization process, understood as the economic, cultural, social and political homogenization that promotes

and generates values, as well as universal rights that do not respond to the indigenous and ethnic movements of the world (Romero, 2007).

These phenomena that are universalizing the culture are inevitably presented and developed at the micro level in indigenous productive organizations (IPOs) during their configuration, since the development of a culture implies an interdependence between history, structure, living conditions and the subjective experiences of people (Zapata, 2002), whether in the state of “modernity” or “traditionalism”, or as it is now known, as “globalized” or “nationalist”.

Considering the aforementioned, and based on field work carried out with three IPOs located in Toribío (north of the Cauca department in Colombia), which are catalogued as indigenous entrepreneurships, the present research aims to answer the following question: what are the cultural characteristics of IPOs, and how do they manifest and form within the organizations a specific culture with features and components similar or different from modern Western non-indigenous organizational cultures?

To answer this question, it is important to introduce some points related to indigenous entrepreneurship, as follows:

- According to Dana (2015), it is an emerging field of academic research, which means that there are many ways to explore the characteristics and specificities of the IPOs from different perspectives and disciplines, including the topic of cultural hybridization.
- Indigenous entrepreneurships are “sufficiently distinguished from both mainstream entrepreneurship and other social and management sciences to constitute a legitimate, well-defined sub-field of research in its own right” (Hindle and Moroz, 2010, p. 357). Many authors believe that the research on IPOs must be serious, deep and inclusive due to the possibility of finding new organizational forms and characteristics that can serve to complement or maybe even replace the paradigms and conventional

conceptual framework of the Western non-indigenous organizations and entrepreneurial enterprises (Dana, 2007; Foley, 2003, 2008; Hindle, Anderson, Giberson, and Kayseas, 2005).

- In economic terms, indigenous entrepreneurship helps develop indigenous communities. These organizations provide employment, enabling empowerment and increasing prosperity for the indigenous people. The research on these organizations contributes to understanding of how a community can be self-sustainable through the activities of the IPOs. In most cases, these organizations fight to grow and be competitive in Western markets, with the purpose of increasing their demand, even though this goes against the traditional assumptions on which they were founded (Anderson, MacAulay, Kayseas, and Hindle, 2008; Lindsay, 2005). This produces many changes in the organizational behavior of the IPOs and in the form that the cultural characteristics are manifested and reproduced. For example, norms, politics and rules present a mixture between the formal conditions to be an operative organization from the Western markets, but at the same time, these cultural components have to represent the essence of the traditional culture (Peredo and McLean, 2013).

According to the literature, indigenous entrepreneurship is defined as the creation, management and development of new enterprises by indigenous peoples for the benefit of indigenous peoples. The organizations created in this way may correspond to any of the private, state or non-profit sectors. The desire and benefits gained from venturing can range from the narrow point of view of the economic benefit of a single person to the broad vision of multiple social and economic benefits for the entire community. The results and rights derived from indigenous entrepreneurship can be extended to business partners and interest groups that may be non-indigenous (Lindsay, 2005; Hindle and Lansdowne, 2007; Dana, 2015).

These types of organizations have several tensions to overcome to attain their objectives, including non-economic objectives relating to self-reliance, control over activities on traditional lands and the respect and use of traditional values and practices (Anderson, 2002). According to Newhouse (2001), there are two different ways to classify those tensions: the first one is related to the economic objectives, on the one hand, and broader social objectives on the other. The second tension is related to the modern and traditional management assumptions and practices.

According to Anderson (2002), it is possible to manage a tension “by addressing the underlying issue in a way that satisfies what at first appear to be competing forces” (p.49). According to this author, there is a permanent conflict between the collective principles of the indigenous people and the high power-distance that is accepted in modern individual societies, but in indigenous entrepreneurship, these forces can interact with each other in terms of the division of labor, leadership, and decision-making inside the organization (Anderson, 2002). These examples provide justification for and the importance of understanding cultural hybridization in IPOs. In response, this research provides a look at the IPOs, which allows us to identify and characterize how this organizations are managing these tensions. Additionally, this research presents the reactions of the IPOs to the tension produced by the crossing of the traditional worldview of the indigenous people with the modern assumptions of effectiveness and management in productive organizations.

In terms of the methodology for the research, it is proposed that the process designed from the Western view be complemented with the methodology required by the indigenous people of Toribío to perform research in their territories. Its integrated purpose can be identified in the document on research guidelines in indigenous territories (Vitonas, 2013), which indicates that research in these territories is as follows:

...to go after the tracks; it is to start from the problems of reflecting, thinking and building work tools; it is the search of solutions to enrich ourselves; to follow step by step according to the procedures

and causes of the problems and then ask more questions, read, think and look at the results; it is a standard to give continuity to the knowledge of the elderly; it is to deepen the meaning and interpretation of the cosmogonic process through the interpretation of thoughts; it is to seek the foundations of the law of origin that helps to take back what has been lost from indigenous peoples; it is an approach to the connoisseurs to make knowledge to be practical, reaffirming our wisdom (p.9.)

There are four actions that allow the indigenous methodology to connect with the Western one. Those actions are broadly presented in the methodology section of this article. In this study, we attempt to apply and perform these actions to identify and interpret the culture hybridization in IPOs. In this type of study, the ideal of research, restoration and dissemination of heritage would not have as its central aim to pursue authenticity or restore it but to reconstruct historical credibility and provide a basis for reworking in accordance with the present days' needs (García, 1989).

2. Methodology

2.1. Analysis Units Context

The Municipality of Toribío is located to the northeast of the Cauca department, 83 kilometers from Cali city. It is a mountainous terrain located on the Cordillera Central, which reaches its maximum height of 4,150 meters above sea level in the “Paramo” (like a high mountain) of Santo Domingo, and it is bordered in the north by the municipality of Corinto, to the south with the municipality of Jámalo, to the east with Huila and the Tolima department and to the west with the municipality of Caloto. In addition to the above, Toribío is an agricultural pantry area that supplies products to the regional markets of Santander de Quilichao, Corinto and Cali.

Toribío is a prominent indigenous municipality. There are three “Resguardos” (like refuges) of colonial origin, dating back to 1701, which are as follows: the Indigenous Resguardo of Tacueyó, the Indigenous Resguardo of Toribío and the Indigenous Resguardo of San Francisco, which also form

Table 1. Characteristics of the IPOs

Indigenous Productive Organization	Productive Activity	Number of Members	Place	Year of Creation	Products
Kwe'sx Café	Processing organic coffee.	3	Between the Toribío Resguardo and San Francisco -Rural zone of Caloto Nuevo village.	2002	Roasted and ground coffee, in presentations of 50 g to 125 g to 250 g to 500 g. Milled and dried parchment coffee for export.
Fxize	Processing of natural juices from blackberry and gulupa and processing of bottled drinking water.	10	Resguardo de Toribío - Urban area.	1997	Drinkable treated water in bottles of 600 ml and in bags of 360 ml and 600 ml. Bagged beverage of fruit juice of 70 cm ³ and 250 cm ³ and bottled of 250 cm ³ -500 cm ³ to 1000 cm ³ .
Lácteos San Luis	Dairy processing.	10	Tacueyó Resguardo - Urban zone.	1995	Fruity yogurt in presentations of 200 ml, 1000 ml and 1750 ml. Double cream cheese. Pasteurized peasant cheese. Creole cheese. 200-ml bagged yogurt. Milk beverage, packs of 30 units.

Source: Author own elaboration.

the entire municipality, in the whole territory of the collective property. It has a population of 31,341 inhabitants; 96% of its population is of Nasa ethnicity, and the remaining 4% is recognized as mestizo or as part of other indigenous peoples, mainly Guambianos (Alcaldía del Municipio de Toribío, 2012).

The rural sector, in which 93.81% of the population is concentrated, is made up of these three “Resguardos” with their respective “Cabildos” (like indigenous councils), recognized as public entities of a special character, with legal status, their own property and administrative autonomy; in addition, the majority of the population of the urban area is recognized as members of the Nasa ethnicity, and they are governed by the Cabildo of Toribío (Alcaldía del Municipio de Toribío, 2012).

The units of analysis are three IPOs of the municipality. Each IPO independently develops different productive activities (Table 1).

2.2. Primary Information Sources

Multiple meetings were held with IPO workers. The efforts were focused on interviewing or having discussions with the longest-serving people within the

organizations because they had concrete experiences and had experienced the cultural dynamics (Table 2).

2.3. Secondary Information Sources

Various texts prepared by the indigenous people of Toribío, where historical and contemporary information on both the social aspects of the territory and the productive dynamics of the organizations, were compiled (Table 3).

2.4. Data Collection Strategy

For the development of this research, qualitative methods, specifically methods of cultural anthropology or ethnographic methods, such as “participant observation”, “semi-structured interviews” and “qualitative document analysis”, were used to describe the culture of the IPOs. The indigenous methodology is included throughout the methodological design. While complying with the exigencies of the Western methodology to show reliability in the data obtained, we also comply with the demands of the indigenous methodology for the handling and processing of the information and knowledge that is generated from the description of the traditions.

Table 2. Primary Information Sources

Organization	Position	Seniority in the Organization	Main Functions
Kwe'sx Café	Operator (worker) 1	2 years	Drying coffee. Organizing dry coffee for sale.
	Operator (worker) 2	7 years	Operating coffee machines. Packing ground coffee.
	Administrative Coordinator	3 years	Managing the organization and presenting economic-financial reports to the Board of Directors (Delegates of each Cabildo and Proyecto Nasa) every two weeks).
Fxize	Operator (worker) 1	5 years	Scalding the fruit pulp. Sealing the final product using sealing machines.
	Supervisor	7 years	Reporting production to the coordinator. Performing the same functions as operator 1.
	Storehouse Operator	1 year	Updating the inventory of finished product. Selling finished product at the production plant. Discharging and loading of raw material and finished product. Taking care of the finished product storehouse or refrigerator.
	Administrative Assistant	1 year	Management of the accounting system. Support for the preparation of inventory. Payments to suppliers and distributors.
	Administrative Coordinator	2 years	Managing the organization and presenting economic-financial reports to the Board of Directors (Delegates of each Cabildo and Proyecto Nasa) every two weeks). Designing strategies for the promotion and sale of finished product.
Lácteos San Luis	Operator - Production Manager	7 years	Managing the production plant. Preparing dairy and cheese using dairy processing tools.
	Sales Assistant	2 years	Attending sales within the factory. Keeping the raw material storehouse organized. Keeping the inventory of raw materials and finished products.
	Accounting Assistant and Treasurer	1 year	Management of the accounting system. Support for the preparation of inventory. Preparation of financial reports.
	Administrative Coordinator	10 years	Managing the organization and presenting economic-financial reports to the Board of Directors (Delegates of each Cabildo and Proyecto Nasa) every two weeks). Designing strategies for the promotion and sale of finished product.

Source: Author own elaboration.

Table 3. Secondary Information Sources

Document Name	Author	Source	Description
La Metamorfosis de la Vida	Marcos Yule and Carmen Vitonas	CECIDIC Library	Book that describes the main cultural elements of the indigenous people of Toribío in all its dimensions.
Boletín Informativo - Jugos Fxize	Proyecto Nasa	Proyecto Nasa File	Document that tells the history of the Fxize.
Declaración de Misión, Visión y Objetivos Lácteos San Luis	Board of Directors of Lácteos San Luis	Accountant of Lácteos San Luis	Document that shows the strategic elements of Lácteos San Luis
Normas, Políticas y Presentaciones de Kwe'sx Café	Administrative Coordinator of Kwe'sx Café	Administrative Coordinator of Kwe'sx Café	Various files with the main norms, policies and presentations made in Kwe'sx Café
La Recuperación de Tierras del Resguardo de San Francisco y de la Zona Norte	ACIN	CECIDIC Library	Book that tells the historical process of land reclamation in the north of the Cauca province.
Nuestro Proceso Organizativo: Resguardos de Toribío, Tacueyó y San Francisco con el Proyecto Nasa	ACIN	CECIDIC Library	Book that shows the organization process of the Cabildos around the Proyecto Nasa.

Revista Yaja	CECIDIC - School of Communication	CECIDIC Store	Magazine that shows the main events that occurred during the year in the territory, besides presenting historical data.
Descripcion de la Economia Indigena Dificultades y Perspectivas	Ezequiel Vitonas - ACIN	CECIDIC Files	Document that reflects the characteristics and particularities of the economy of Toribío.
Lineamientos de Investigación en Territorios Indigenas	Jaime Vitonas - CECIDIC	CECIDIC Files	Document that teaches the methodology to carry out research in indigenous territories.
Nasa Yuwe	CECIDIC	CECIDIC Files	Book to learn Nasa Yuwe (the native language)
El Tull desde la Cosmovisión Nasa	CECIDIC - School of Agro-ecology	CECIDIC Files	Document reflecting work on the farm as a strategy to ensure food security.
Herramientas Agroecologicas Para el Trabajo en el Tull	CECIDIC - School of Agro-ecology	CECIDIC Files	Document showing the main tools to work in a farm.
Source: Author own elaboration.			

Given the above elements, the following methodological process was performed to reach the objectives of the research proposal:

- The components, traits and characteristics of the culture that were to be analyzed in IPOs were defined.
- A question bank according to the matrix of descriptive questions was established to interrelate the elements of observation by Bonilla and Rodríguez (2005), which allowed for the participant observations and semi-structured interviews to be directed toward the identification and description of the components, traits and characteristics of a culture in the analysis of the IPOs.
- An exploratory logbook or referential plan was designed to provide an overview of the research and to view the different stages involved.
- The three IPOs were approached to explain the research methodology and the purpose and to formalize the “participant observations” and “semi-structured interviews” as part of the field work. The observations were oriented to the dynamics presented by all members of the IPOs, and the interviews were conducted in specific cases to delve into some categories that were difficult to establish with the observations, specifically those related to symbolic and emotional cultural characteristics. The observations were made over a period of a month, and a schedule was developed to visit each organization on a rotating basis. This involved defining a weekly work plan, determining day by day the questions to focus the observations in a way that allowed for the components, traits and characteristics of the culture to be identified, considering that they were initially descriptive observations and later focused observations. Given the above, the fieldwork lasted approximately a month and a half.
- Texts and “native” books were obtained to perform the qualitative document analysis process. The native documents that were collected contained information related to the characterization of the ancestral culture or the development of socio-cultural processes carried out by the indigenous people of Toribío. The documents were found in the municipal library and the CECIDIC archives. Likewise, institutional documents, such as mission and vision statements, international cooperation projects and labor regulations, were analyzed. These documents were found in the historical archives of each productive organization and in the historical archive of the Proyecto Nasa.
- The “participant observations” and “in-depth interviews” were systemized in Word text files daily. It was possible to write down 22 exploratory logbooks containing all the primary information of the field work, the feelings of the

study and in general the rapporteur experience.

2.5. Data Analysis Strategy

Once the primary and secondary information was collected, the following data analysis process was performed:

- The culture of the three IPOs in general terms were described. Atlas TI software was used to organize the information deposited in the logbooks.
- Subsequently, the CH in each of the three IPOs was characterized, and the general reaction type of the IPO culture was compared based on the cultural hybridization theory of Burke (2010) (acceptance, rejection, segregation, and adaptation), considering the level of introduction and approach to the Western world for each of them. These results were written on the section of Results and Discussions of this paper.
- Finally, the conclusions of the study were drawn. In this last section, different aspects related to the concept of organizational culture from the perspective of the natives belonging to the three IPOs and the notion of modern Western non-indigenous organizational culture were included. It is important to indicate that part of those conclusions were published on Vásquez-Rivera (2017), however it was published only the part related with the IPOs organizational culture characteristics (basic assumptions, values, artifacts and symbols) and the cultural processes (manifestation, realization, symbolization and interpretation) defined by Hatch (1993) according to Schein's (1985) theory.

• 3. Results and Discussions

In general terms, the three organizations present CH conditions in which traditional work traits are identified, using modern transformation tools. Likewise, the spirit with which these organizations were born has been gradually lost, in the sense that their social objective was intended to meet

the unmet basic needs of the territory, at least in terms of food and drinking water; however, the incursion into markets of other municipalities has forced them to change that objective for a more capitalist one, including the accumulation of raw materials and finished products, accumulation of wealth, and discussions and conflicts involving the most needy in their territory.

On the other hand, it was found that CH is tending more toward modernization in the organizations that are located in the Resguardos with a larger population; that is, Lácteos San Luis, which is located in the indigenous Resguardo of Tacueyó, has more of the technology that is usually implemented in modern Western non-indigenous organizations or more formalisms coming from modern companies. Additionally, the economic dynamics of the Resguardo in which the indigenous productive organization is immersed influences the degree of the appearance of CH conditions; for example, Kwe'sx Café does not have as many characteristics of CH in relation to the other two organizations because the protection of the San Francisco Resguardo, to which it belongs, presents greater economic and cultural protectionism than the other two Resguardos, where there is greater economic opening.

In terms of language, some differences are identified; for example, the term or concept of a rite is associated with indigenous practice or actions related to witchcraft, while the concept of a ritual corresponds to traditional practices of harmonization, which involve ceremonial aspects for a better coexistence with nature. Likewise, the concept of purification is related to the cleansing exercised by ritual practices of the Catholic religion, whereas the term harmonization is related to the passage from a negative to a positive stage through a ritual. According to the interviewed indigenous people, these ways of understanding these concepts have been shaped in their culture through the passage of time and the incursion of the Catholic religion within the processes of forgiveness of sins of the soul and the generation of new hopes. Considering the above, the natives do not refer to the soul but to the spirit and the way it interrelates with nature as the supreme being.

The three IPOs have opted for accepting the inclusion of cultural practices from modern Western non-indigenous organizations, an example of which is the definition of strategic elements such as mission and vision, which although in the world of modern Western non-indigenous organizations, it is a basic element of administrative management, for the analysis of IPOs, it cannot go unnoticed as being considered an essentially Western aspect. Inevitably, the mix between the traditional and the modern can be observed at all levels of the organization, from the operational or productive work to the administrative or managerial tasks. However, in each of the IPOs, there are different reactions to this acceptance.

3.1. *Kwe'sx café*

Acceptance-Resistance-Adaptation:

Although there is no latent and explicit resistance to implementing modern Western practices in productive work, there were specific actions identified that the members of the organization promote to maintain their traditional customs and beliefs above those of the modern Western culture:

- Performing periodic rituals of harmonization, in which all the members of the organization participate, that maintain their traditional beliefs.
- Rejection of the monoculture policies for coffee, imposed by the National Federation of Coffee Growers, because they breach ancestral practices of sowing and harvesting to be replaced by modern pruning (which is called *zoqueo* in Spanish) and automated-modern irrigation systems.
- Looking mainly for traditional or older doctors of the territory for the diagnosis of diseases and prescribing traditional medicines. It recognizes the value of "*Thë Walas*" (they are similar to traditional doctors) as spiritual guides and as the people who are able to interpret the messages of nature and different spirits.
- The organization is open to understanding new forms of

organization to face the competitive market; however, it resists implementing forms of organization, despite the fact they have been successful for the other IPOs of the territory, such as *Lácteos San Luis*.

- Many of the production activities have been adapted in terms of modern technology and transformation tools, reducing the traditional production activities. However, part of the process of preparing raw coffee and the transformation of coffee still use the traditional practices, which are even promoted by distributors and consumers as part of the differentiation approach and added value of the final product.
- The land where the coffee is planted is considered a reserved, almost sacred space, and it symbolizes the fertility and growth of the typical food that is consumed by each family.
- The coffee bean is considered a symbol that represents care and attention. Likewise, for many coffee suppliers, it is the sense of life, since it focuses all the attention on the preservation of the bean and its placing under the best conditions.
- The coffee tree is a symbol of greatness and abundance, since a single tree can produce a large number of fruits. Likewise, according to the care given by the supplier, it can be used for the next harvest.
- The harvesting and post-harvesting process is carried out using organic fertilizers and agro-ecological methods. Additional, it is led by adults, mainly women. It is done in conjunction with the children, so that they understand and reflect on working with the land and the importance of taking care of the space where they live.
- The drying process of the coffee bean is performed in two ways. One is through the silo or industrial dryer; the other is the traditional method, which is performed by placing the coffee beans on a bag under the sunlight.

Although in terms of productivity, the drying of coffee is better in a silo, the organization itself has encouraged the suppliers to use the traditional process of drying in the sun, improving the purchase price of the coffee beans dried under natural conditions, compared to the delivery of green coffee without drying. Traditional and rudimentary instruments are used to achieve the sun-drying process.

- The results of the processes of transformation through the use of machines are constantly reviewed by the operators, in such a way that the use and control of the machinery is specialized and individualized:

...If the peels that get burned during the drying process are not removed from the coffee beans, the aroma of the coffee can be damaged or the machine can be damaged; then, I look at each coffee bean in the upper nozzle, I sack the ones that I find with dark skin, and then I throw them into the mountain (comments from a female worker).

- The process of sealing the finished product packages is performed manually. A shovel is used to pass the ground coffee from the vessels where it is stored, directly to the bag, which is sealed in a machine. This process was developed by one of the female operators. It takes the entire day, and on average, she is able to seal 200 125-g packages.
- The logo of the organization includes several traditional objects and symbols, such as the “*chumbe*”, which is a fabric with geometric figures, used by indigenous women to carry their children during the workday; the traditional vegetable garden or “*tull*”; and the snowy Huila volcano.

In the future, it is expected that the organization will penetrate other markets in the department. Therefore, more robust machinery has been acquired, which performs the processes of packaging and sealing in an automated way. Specialized bags are currently available to perform the packaging in such a way as to guarantee the durability and conservation of the final

product. Faced with this process of adaptation, the coordinator of the organization says that the future is to incorporate more workers control production processes: “...above all, we must ensure that people continue to be part of our production processes, whether it is controlling the machines...” comments from the Administrative Coordinator of the organization.

In terms of the analysis of its strategic elements (mission and vision), there are traditional aspects observed in terms of the relationship with the working methods and the relationship with nature and the countryside. On the other hand, modern concepts are identified that are used in the logics of the market, which aid in the competitiveness and the expansion of markets.

In terms of organizational operation, it is observed that there are basic assumptions that generate fear and rejection of using Western machinery; however, through using the new technology, people adapt and lose their fears:

...sometimes, I am scared of machines, especially the silo, as it is quite large and heats a lot. I think it is because I only had one day to learn how to handle it, but little by little I have been learning to do it (comments from a female worker at Kwe'sx Café).

3.2. *Fxize*

Acceptance-Adaptation-Segregation: The main characteristic observed in relation to adaptation is the latent eagerness of its leaders to define clear and achievable strategic elements (mission, vision and objectives), including concepts and terms that reflect the traditional and the modern in the operability and product development. Thus, the concepts of ancestral knowledge and quality standards are combined in the process of growing, harvesting and post-harvesting of the fruit. Likewise, the economic development of the territory from the income generated by the organization is openly expressed; at the same time, it is hoped to strengthen the Nasa Spirit and the care of mother earth. All of the above encompass the differential approach of the organization and are reflected in its mission and vision.

It is also important to use electronic calculators to perform operations whenever there is a supplier or customer in the production plant:

...I do not really know how the person (who was here before me) used to do it, but I do use the electronic calculator to show to whom arrives how the operation is and that they believe what I am saying. I do not like having problems with people and they believe me when I show them the results, step by step in the calculator. I think they used to do the operations in paper notebooks, and it used to take them a lot of time to perform a calculation (comments from the Storehouse Operator).

The use of computers and their office tools have contributed to the planning of activities and the establishment of goals and objectives, both productive and commercial, in addition to having clarity in the income, costs and expenses of the organization:

...I have the advantage that we have Excel to organize spreadsheets in which we keep the inventory, both physical and financial, of the company; in addition, it allows us to make sales projections and the amount of product that we must manufacture in each of their presentations (comments from the Administrative Assistant).

The only person who refers to the IPO as a “company” is the Administrative Assistant of Fxize:

...For me, it is a company because it performs the processes of input transformation; in addition, it responds to the interests of associates. Perhaps, they do not call it that in the territory, but I come from Bogota, and I am not an Indigenous, so I am used to calling it a business...

Although there are some people who do not believe in the power of the elders and performing sacred rituals, there are some people who still practice it and go to the traditional physician to receive a diagnosis if they are ill. Interestingly, the indigenous people who do not believe in these traditional aspects still accept this option as a way to harmonize bad energies:

...I do not like to participate in the traditional rituals of the territory, and I believe that the current generations do not find any sense in it; however, since my mother is the

Alternate Governor of the San Francisco Resguardo, I accompany her to the rituals they prepare, especially when she needs help (comments from Fxize’s Storehouse Operator).

In cultural terms, most of the members of the organization use traditional Western or alternative medicine to cure their ailments. Likewise, socialization and sharing activities are practiced, combining traditional and modern Western sports and arts.

Once again, it has been identified that the major source of explicit and declared differentiation is the way in which the fruits used for production are handled and grown. In addition, the water collected to be purified and subsequently bottled comes from a sacred fountain in which traditional rituals are practiced. This last element is promoted as part of the goodness of consuming the water treated by the organization: “When we tell the indigenous people to take our water, we tell them that they are strengthening the Nasa spirit, since they are drinking holy water from one of our territories.” comments Edward Yule.

Some members of the organization have not felt the change from traditional to modern practices, and simply view the change as a way to transform more raw material: “... in the past, there were many delays that were generated in the manual processes of sealing or packaging. Now, we are happier with the machines because they reduce working time,” says the Fxize Supervisor.

In this organization, efficiency is valued, so it is important not to waste resources that are used for the production processes: “...we try to ensure that 95% of the raw material be harvested, either in juices or by turning it into the pulp of fruit for marketing.” comments the Administrative Coordinator. If there is a fault or some waste, the operator must compensate for it by improving their work and contributing to the development of the activities of the other partners. There is no need for a reprimand from the Administrative Assistant or the Coordinator; the workers already know what needs to be done after experiencing an adverse situation.

The growth dynamics of the organization are mainly measured by the amount of raw

material, blackberries, gulupa (it is a fruit similar to the passion fruit) or water that is stored for production. In the words of the Administrative Assistant:

...the opening of markets that support the company is due to the arrival of constant raw material that forces us to buy the blackberries from the producers who come to the company. In other words, there are plenty of blackberries, and in order to be able to buy them from the producers, we have to sell more and more product with added value...

3.3. Lácteos San Luis

Acceptance-Segregation: A functional board of directors was established, which makes decisions and has generated a hierarchical and formalized organizational structure. In general, this board is composed of three representatives of the farmers and two representatives of the Cabildos. Its processes are formalized and standardized. This leads to a great deal of rigidity in interpersonal relationships, and the coordinator is considered like a boss. There is a notice in the sales area of the organization where the work schedule of the plant staff is established. The notice has been printed on a sheet of letter-size paper, and it says that the first shift of work goes from 7:00 am to 12:00 am; lunchtime is from 12:00 to 2:00 pm; and the second shift work goes from 2:00 pm to 5:00 pm. Additionally, in the reception lobby, there is a note that says that no operator can leave the premises during working hours without prior authorization from the administration. Of the three IPOs, Lácteos San Luis is the one that presents the most rigidity in relation to the compliance of the established norms.

In terms of the context to which it belongs, Lácteos San Luis is part of the indigenous town's council (Cabildo) of Tacueyó, which is the most economically protected in the municipality; in fact, the town of Tacueyó has begun to administrate some of the other IPOs in the territory, for example, *Fxize*, where there is a tendency toward the total attainment of the administration of the organization. This has inevitably generated an economic and market dynamic based on territorial expansion.

Additionally, the permanent search for financing through state or private entities, which inject resources for technological and process improvement of both the production plant and the activities that are carried out on the farm, is observed.

Traditional characteristics are not identified neither in the mission nor in the vision, and all concepts that are applied come from the modern Western non-indigenous vocabulary: organization, processing of all milk, marketing, consumption, demands satisfaction, competitiveness, consumer needs, economic strengthening, partners of the organization, entrepreneurial leadership, own leverage, nutrition programs, state entities, indigenous and local administration.

On the other hand, the members of Lácteos San Luis strongly reject traditional practices, such as rituals and indigenous ceremonies. Specifically, the vast majority of members of the organization do not like to participate in these activities and prefer to look for Western medicine and the Catholic religion:

Two years ago, the Cabildo tried to promote Western practices, forcing people to participate in them; however, people objected. They even tried to open a space for traditional medicine within the health center of the Resguardo, but it gradually deteriorated because of lack of attendees. The Cabildo blames the Christian churches for changing the mentality and beliefs of people... Medicinal plants have curative effects, but there are current diseases that cannot be cured with traditional medicine... I do not believe in traditional doctors; I prefer to look for Western doctors because if Western doctors work, investigate and sometimes they make mistakes, what to say about a traditional doctor who knows nothing (comments from the Sales Assistant).

With respect to the above, for the members of this organization, traditional doctors, or *Thë Walas*, do not have the power or authority that they have in the other Resguardos because they do not utilize Western medicine. In addition, the members of this organization argue that medicinal plants do have curative effects, but there are current diseases that cannot be cured with traditional medicine, so medical advances from the Western world must be sought for treatment.

An explicit desire to change traditional operating practices by implementing technological tools or modern processes that allow for the work to be performed more efficiently has been expressed:

...I do the inventory process in a very manual way; I feel that I need the computer to do it in an agile way... In theory, in the next few days, the computer that is in the administrative office will be moved so that I can do the task; it is only needed to add some electrical wiring in the sales area, and that is it (comments from the Sales Assistant).

Technology is favored in this organization because some workers are trained in the use of machines that make the activities easier to perform, in less time and with greater productivity:

“...the best that can happen to improve the production and thinking about going to other markets is to invest in a vacuum packer that allows the cheese to have a longer life...”, comments the Production Manager.

It is important to emphasize that this organization does not identify messages or images within the production plant, nor organizational bets allusive to the strengthening of the Nasa Life Plan. Finally, the construction and individual and group implementation of this “Plan” is one of the greatest social challenges of the municipality of Toribío, as it is hoped that through its development, the Nasa identity will be strengthened, and the values of the municipality, in terms of political-organizational, economic-environmental and socio-cultural aspects, will be sustained by future generations.

Within this organization, efficiency and producing and selling the products quickly are paramount. Therefore, the Chief of Production organizes his work instruments sequentially. Additionally, every time he entered the plant, he already had something prepared, such as yogurt to pack the next day, and he constantly moved throughout the plant to boost the work of other workers. An example of production efficiency is the use of unsalted whey, which comes from the cheese processing, to make dairy drinks. This has created production advantages because the wastes from the production processes of

the company are being incorporated in the production of other products. An example of sales efficiency is that the majority of collaborators carry the products that are close to their expiration date to the nearest villages to sell them on behalf of the company, which must be immediately consumed by the people who cannot go down to the central square of the town to buy them.

Strategic alliances have been developed with various shopkeepers and the local trading company of the Tacueyó's Resguardo to sell and offer the products. In addition, it is the only organization that has a store different from the production plant within the urban area of the municipality. It is the only organization that has considered the expansion and opening of markets as part of its formal growth policies and as part of its differential approach.

In addition, this organization has established product development and innovation as relevant aspects that are encouraged to the extent that its new products are successful or well received in the market:

...We recently released condensed milk, but it was a product that almost did not last, because we started to find fungi. I have the hypothesis that the problem occurred because the product was always sealed while hot, and the steam had no way out. I think the sweat (condensation) from the bottle generated the fungi. Next time, we will carry out the process leaving the condensed milk at room temperature to normalize (until it gets a normal temperature), and we will see what happens (comments from the Production Manager).

Finally, it is important to note that Lácteos San Luis is the only organization of the three indigenous productive organizations that promotes, encourages and performs community “*Mingas*” (which are communal works) among the farm owners who provide the inputs for the transformation processes within the organization. Likewise, it is thought that the farmer must be trained in the production and transformation techniques, so that in the future, they support the production processes of the organization. Although the members of the organization do not participate, as it does occur in the other IPOs, it can be identified a permanent desire

to attend to the needs and requirements of the indigenous people who participate of the *Mingas*.

4. Conclusions

Some terms or concepts in modern Western non-indigenous organizations are used in the IPO dialogue, but they correspond to different definitions or specific situations. For example, the concept of a mixed organization refers to the obligation of indigenous people to meet the interests of various actors within the territory, whether the Cabildo, associations, the community, natural persons, etc., while for the Western world, the concept refers to organizations whose activities are financed by state resources and private resources.

Moreover, the culture in IPOs is built on the interaction and integration generated between the “traditional” and the “modern”, i.e., within IPOs there are indigenous peoples whose assumptions and values are oriented to maintain and preserve ancestral cultural practices, while there are other indigenous peoples whose cultural logic is oriented toward the Western non-indigenous business model.

CH that has taken place in the analyzed organizations has generated drastic changes in the fundamental qualities that identify them as IPOs. While the organizations are mixing and entering in the economic Western world, their qualities of community and ancestral thinking are vanishing, which could be considered as a progressive loss of their essential characteristics. This makes it possible to foresee that in the future, even in the short term, there will be a much more evident and wide segregation that will lead them to become fully westernized organizations with hybrid models of administration.

Although the implementation of modern work practices is not considered as a problem in the territory, the great contradictions between the ideals of culture and the concrete real actions seen by the communities themselves and the IPOs’ workers are a matter of discussion in the transcendental assemblies and meetings that occur in the municipality.

It should be noted that in Colombia, CH may be inevitable in most of the IPOs, as many are forced to “modernize” or implement Western administrative models to continue to subsist because the Government does not generate enough policies that really support and contribute to the strengthening of indigenous communities and indigenous entrepreneurship, despite the fact that there have been programs for strengthening communities and Indigenous Productive and Business Organizations. On the other hand, the growth of organizations and the demands of their environment cause the need to improve and acquire technologies and develop production processes that comes from the Western world. Inevitably, these reasons force some IPOs to generate an economic dynamic based on Western practices that permeate and transform their cultural traditions.

In Colombia, indigenous communities have many problems (most of them in social and economic ways) that require the generation of Government policies that enable the adequate fulfillment of the rights and auto-determination of indigenous peoples. Among their needs, it is important to highlight that most indigenous communities do not have spaces or territories where they are protected (due to the violence), can be fully developed under their traditions and beliefs (due to the minority discrimination), and their productive organizations can perform their work without the need to implement administrative practices that transform its fundamental characteristics and lead to cultural hybridity.

According to all the above, it is important that the administrators and older indigenous people think and develop their own administrative-organization models that integrate the basic assumptions and values (with their specific indigenous languages, symbols, rituals and myths) that recognize them and make them strong as a community. At first, the example of Kwe’sx Café would serve as a model to strengthen the indigenous administrative spirit and the indigenous culture of their organizations due to their characteristics more indigenous than modern western.

Finally, considering the findings and particularities of the three IPOs in Toribío, the basic notions and characteristics that give life to the concept of indigenous organization in the world should be discussed in depth, with the aim of adding other elements that have not been exposed previously and that relate to the established connection between the traditional and the modern:

- The indigenous-traditional organization in a pure sense is flexible in terms of communication and operations, and its organizational structure is flat, horizontal and non-bureaucratized. It is informal in the relations established among the members.
- The indigenous-traditional organization institutionalizes, formalizes and legitimizes its operations through the acceptance by the community where it has its operations, not by the consumers.
- The indigenous-traditional organization promotes an organizational environment based on the relationship established with nature and life.

It is concluded that the notion of an IPO presents differences as it merges with and impinges on the modern Western economic world. It differs in the sense that it is losing its more communal and ancestral characteristics, or at best, it is delegating its community responsibilities only to the delivery of money and is supporting the community at a distance.

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