Entrepreneurship and Subjectivity in Bogotá: A critical multi-sited approach.

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Abstract.

This research study the production of distinctive forms of existence based on local experiences of entrepreneurial activity, and how they are articulated into the neoliberal/neo-colonial world order. Specifically, this exploration seeks to understand critically how the entrepreneurial subject becomes possible in local scenarios, and how this is related to historic, economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental particularities that characterize the context. For this reason, a multi-sited ethnography was conducted in Bogotá to trace patterns in the flows of ideas, energies, bodies, and products that configure both the city and the experience of subjects in this location from the Global South. The information produced by this exercise is read through a series of critical cartographies that allow us, at first, to understand how entrepreneurial subjectivity is produced based on the experience of a neoliberal socioeconomic and spatial organization; and, secondly, to identify local forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity that challenge the mainstream notions of the entrepreneur. The outcomes of the analysis are oriented to question the operation of entrepreneurialism in the context, showing how the organization of life and labour introduced by entrepreneurial activity reproduce the colonial subordination of communities who inhabit post-colonial scenarios. Moreover, this piece of work aims to contribute ideas and reflections based on empirical local knowledge about alternative ways of understanding and organizing entrepreneurial activity in the city, oriented to policymakers, academics, activist, and entrepreneurs.

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Introduction

Considering the increasing relevance of entrepreneurship as the main Neoliberal work paradigm in the last decades, and how this model has been localized by different subjects and communities around the world, this research explores how entrepreneurial activity produces distinctive ways of existing, determined by the experiences of entrepreneurial activity in a determinate context. Specifically, this exploration seeks to understand how the entrepreneurial subject became possible and how entrepreneurialism is experienced within the specific cartographies of Bogotá as an entrepreneurial context. With this, the thesis aims to demonstrate how the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in Bogotá is formed within the socio-economic and geopolitical dynamics configuring the city.

This piece of work is divided into three parts. Part One starts with Chapter 1 which presents a brief history of entrepreneurialism in Colombia and the contemporary paradoxes of Colombian entrepreneurialism. Chapter 2 is a literature review, concerning recent research about entrepreneurialism in Latin America and specifically in Colombia, utilising disciplines such as economics, management, psychology, sociology, or legal studies. There I flag up the need for producing empirical information about the relationship between subjectivity and entrepreneurship in Colombia and Latin America. From this section emerges questions concerning how the entrepreneurial is assembled in Bogotá, how entrepreneurial activity is experienced, and which forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced in said context. Additionally, the first three chapters, present the methodological qualitative approach, the multi-sited ethnographic perspective here adopted. This method, the research tools and the cartographical strategy allow us to scope the relationship between the entrepreneurial context, the experience of entrepreneurs and the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity.

Part Two includes three results chapters, including the patterns that emerged from the ethnographic work and the cartographical analysis. The information presented in these sections provides the data enabling us to link the different ways entrepreneurs articulate their experiences into narratives with relevant geopolitical, social, cultural, historic, economic, and environmental issues. Accordingly, Chapter 4 presents the process of field production along with the spatial and socio-economic dynamics produced by entrepreneurialism in Bogota. Chapter 5 shows a further set of patterns related to the specific interactions produced by entrepreneurial activity. Chapter 6 closes Section Two by presenting those patterns related to the production of entrepreneurial

subjectivity such as the experience of material, social and affective change, the affective experience of entrepreneurial activity and the articulation of entrepreneurship into a narrative linked to identity or biography.

Finally, the outcomes of this data are utilised to understand critically how the production of ways of existing through entrepreneurialism in the local context are articulated within Neoliberalism regimes of work and governance.

Part Three discusses the patterns identified from the ethnographic exercise and the cartographic analysis in dialogue with the pertinent literature. Chapter 7 presents a series of reflections and suggestions about entrepreneurialism in Bogotá, suggestions oriented to policymakers, trade unions, public organizations, activists, and academics.

The epilogue summarizes the process and concludes the research, gathering the information to show how the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity is the outcome of multiple forces and flows of the sort which characterize Bogotá as a market and how these are produced through the articulations of knowledge, practices, people, and spaces.

Part One

Chapter 1. Neoliberalism and entrepreneurialism in Colombia

The Walter Lipman colloquium hosted at Paris in August 1938, coupled with the Mont-Pelerin Society in April 1947, marked a critical juncture in the history of Liberalism. As a response to the "threat" of state interventionism, associated with soviet socialism, liberal theorist, intellectuals such as the economists Frederich Hayek, Ludwig Von Misses, Wilhelm Röpke, Milton Friedman and the polymath Michael Polanyi, participated in a series of academic events tasked with defining the future of Liberalism, and as an effort to strengthen the liberal project against the communist ghost that haunted the interests of western liberal democracies. From these conversations emerged a series of ideas and strategies designed to buttress the power of liberal democracy.

The set of economic policies and doctrines that emerged from these debates constitute Neoliberalism (Dardot & Laval, 2014). These can be summarized as follows: deregulation of commerce and labour; the central position of international investment; the subservience of the state to market criteria such as efficiency, productivity, competition and austerity; the strengthening of property, individual and economic rights, and freedoms; a lack of state intervention and privatization of public services, public organizations and natural resources; and, the generalization of market rationality to all collective and individual relationships as a way of building a global socio-economic organization.

In this way, the globalization of the doctrines and practices prescribed by the Neoliberal schools showed not only the potency of these ideas to reorganize the economic and political agendas but also to highly influence social dynamics in a premeditated way (Dardot & Laval, 2014). Respectively, the Neoliberal intensification and liberation of economic flows were accompanied by the release of cultural and social energies that resonated with the Neoliberal spirit of reorganizing what Guattari (2005) called vital territories -such as subjective, intimacy, environment, public space, aesthetics, culture, or politics within a capitalist social machine (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983).

Specifically, regarding work, the capitalist re-codification of work into capital - human capital, oriented a series of Neoliberal reforms based on deregulation, flexibilization of commerce and labour markets, increasing the competition among international working classes and generalizing the precarization of work to compete in the market with cheap labour (Harvey, 2005). These reforms were also linked to the

transition to post-Fordist modes of production based on the division of material work between developed capitalist metropolis, and the Global South (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010). It is in the context of this transition that the figure of the entrepreneur emerges as a *condenser/catalysator* of different attributes and demands required to achieve the neoliberal project in each respective country. The world produced by the neoliberal changes, in particular, the entrepreneurialization of Latin American societies. Hardt and Negri's *Empire* (2000) shows how the expansion of capitalism also reconfigures it, permitting the incorporation of external spaces and resources under the logic of capitalist production. Deleuze & Guattari (1987), Hardt & Negri (2000) describe the way capitalism works through constant expansion, transforming the social and economic relationships in the production of value, 'liberates' the flows of transnational workforce and products around the globe, and constructs different centralities and new chains of value. From this European perspective, the globalization of neoliberal capitalism represented the constitution of an ultimate stage of capitalism where traditional relationships are replaced by modern ones.

Nonetheless, the new world order described by Hardy and Negri (2000), creates a fresh, vast, and limitless territory, marked by free circulation of labour and commodities, governed from a multi-polar system of centres and peripheries. This 'new world' inherits old dynamics that pre-date this neoliberal reconfiguration. It is precisely the way pre-modern, modern, and postmodern relationships coexist and cohabitate different regions in diverse ways which is the subject of this investigation.

Castro-Gómez (2007) points out, regarding Hardt and Negri that, with the Neoliberal transition from modern capitalism to a postmodern one, colonial relationships are extinguished as redundant to the requirements of expanding global capitalism. According to Castro-Gomez, Hardt & Negri's analysis privileges the explanation based on the transition from centralized Fordist capitalism to de-centralized post-Fordist capitalism, omitting in the process, colonial relationships that remain and indeed are often intensified. Moreover, with this exclusion, coloniality is reduced to a sub-product of the imperial projects of the European nation-state.

In contrast, the de-colonial or postcolonial perspective locates coloniality not as a side-effect of modern imperialism, but as a constitutive part of the emergence of modern capitalism (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo, 1995; Quijano & Wallerstein, 1992; Boaventura de Sousa, 2010). In contrast to Hardt and Negri, postcolonial perspectives invite us to think about the inseparable relationship between

colonialism and modernity; to understand coloniality as reconfigured within the economic and political Neoliberal reorganization.

Still, this divergence from the critical European tradition, exemplified by Hardt & Negri, is not an absolute negation of the European post-Marxist or post-structuralist ideas. Instead, these reflections are potent to highlight those "blind spots" given by the intrinsic and extrinsic limits of European thought (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010).

This omission of coloniality in the analysis of contemporary capitalism results in problems of understanding concerning how liberal ideas, such as entrepreneurship, have been adapted and reproduced in former colonial countries, where inherited forms of subjectivity still determine social relationships: in countries such as Colombia. Even if the history of Latin America cannot be separated from European history, as they are constitutive of each other, the localization of liberal ideas, such as the 'free market' and 'free enterprise', must be studied through its singular history; a history with its distinctive trajectories and link, with the particular geographic, cultural, social and political conditions (Medina-Zárate & Uchôa de Oliveira, 2019). In this sense, investigating how entrepreneurial activity is produced by local subjects acting as agents of first world enterprises is qualitatively different from euro-centric approaches to free enterprise and their conceptualization of agency within a 'free market'.

To understand how these ideas have evolved and how entrepreneurship has become a central issue within Neoliberal strategies of governmentality in local scenarios, it is imperative to explore the economic and entrepreneurial history of the country, alongside the different changes in the paradigms of economic activity in Colombia that have occurred since the late XIX century (Bröckling, 2015; Rose, 1992).

This historical analysis focuses on three key historical periods during which the entrepreneurialization of Colombian society has proceeded apace. From this historical account, we can then explore the tensions relating to Colombian entrepreneurialism in terms of public policy and specific cultural contexts.

A brief history of entrepreneurialism in Colombia

To understand how entrepreneurship is experienced in Colombia, it is relevant to consider the colonial background, the economic, political, and social relationships in the continent and how they are linked to the origins and the development of the European free-market enterprise.

Accordingly, this exploration starts from the post-independence periods of the late XIX century and the first half of the XX century, when the first liberal and capitalist projects emerge in the country. Then, the historical recount presents the Neoliberal reforms that impacted Latin American and Colombian public policy in terms of economy and labour, introducing entrepreneurship as a concept in the local agenda. Finally, the focus shifts to the series of reforms and interventions implemented since the Political Constitution of 1991, reforms which positioned entrepreneurship as the main work paradigm in Colombia.

Late XIX century and the first half of the XX century: from Colonial to national capitalism

While entrepreneurism was being conceptualized in Europe Colombia was developing its first notions of criollo entrepreneurism, especially around the trade in coffee and handicraft. This historic specificity determines the particularities of entrepreneurial activity in Colombia and the kind of entrepreneurs who emerged within this context.

Most of the paradigmatic European authors of XIX and XX century Liberalism dedicated a relevant portion of their work to understand and characterize the entrepreneur as a key part of their theory, depicting entrepreneurs as owners of a series of attributes that make them different from other kinds of subjects. In this way, entrepreneurs were defined either as market coordinators, heroic, and creative economic and social leader (Bröckling, 2015; Schumpeter, 2003), or as speculators whose intuition gives them the advantage of anticipating market movements (Bröckling, 2015; Ricketts, 2009; Von Mises, 1998).

However, far from industrial Europe, where these ideas were proposed, in Colombia, local enterprises were still determined by feudal relationships between afro, indigenous and peasant mixed-raced communities and neo-colonial landlords.

Consequently, the first entrepreneurs in the territory were Catholic-Hispanic landowners' descendant from the original European colonizers, lords who exploited rent on land and the work of peasants and handcrafters in agricultural and mining activities as well as early merchants who participated in the territorial exploration searching for new products, rewards, and new market routes (Kalmanovitz, 2017; Colmenares, 1987). These subjects were generations of 'criollos' which means that they are born in the

colonial territory and that they fought for economic and political independence from the European empires.

Therefore, rather than an urban Enlightened businessman with access to the technological development carried by industrialization, the creole entrepreneur as a figure was closer to an adventurer or a merchant. This was an inevitable outcome of working with the rural production of commodities by peasants who lived under their land ownership. These creoles explored new territories as a way to expand the market", especially in Antioquia, the Pacific region and the Caribbean region. In this way, products such as cotton, coffee, tobacco, quinoa, leather, and gold became the main commodity for exportation at least until the liberal reforms of the mid-XIX century (de Guevara, 2012; Parra Ramírez, Mesa Cano, & Correal Franco, 2011; Kalmanovitz, 2017). Additionally, most of the goods and products consumed in the country were imported and distributed by local merchants (Kalmanovitz, 2017; Ocampo, 1987).

The liberal reforms introduced in the economic policies during the late-XIX century exportations of commodities became the principal income for the country. However, the World Wars and the Great Depression impacted the Colombian economy particularly through the destruction of the coffee sector, the main source of wealth at that time (de Guevara, 2012).

The post II World War Latin American political and economic scenario was marked by an ambitious regional project influenced by Prebisch (1980) ideas on Dependency Theory with a World System perspective (Wallerstein, 1997) and structuralist development (Cardoso & Faletto, 1967). These ideas were materialized with the 1948 foundation of CEPAL, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, (CEPAL), which aimed to consolidate the economic relationships within the region and with other continents as a geopolitical block (CEPAL, 2020). This continental enterprise sought to develop strong regional, peripheral capitalism, emulating European industrialization and did so as a means of competing on a global scale. Something they sought to achieve through the consolidation of solid social/warfare states based on regional cooperation.

CEPAL also introduced Keynesian and protectionist ideas into public policy Based on these ideas, between the '40s and the '60s the Latin American countries focused along two different lines: one sought to protect local producers through an Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). The second sought to apply social policies that guaranteed basic rights such as education, health, and housing (Kalmanovitz, 2017).

In the case of Colombia, Villamizar (2012) shows how the efforts of the conservative and liberal governments to implement these policies were oriented to modernize the corporative elites. Those changes in the political realm facilitated the emergence of the first modern industries around the principal cities of the country, in sectors such as food, manufacturing, cement, and beer (Kalmanovitz, 2017). This consolidated the first urban working-class communities in cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, and Barranquilla largely feed by migration from rural territories, (Ocampo, 1987). Also, the labour movement presented considerable advances in political organization and unionization, producing the first strong trade unions in the country, and obtaining political victories such as the Social Security System (Varela R. , 2016).

The liberal governments of the first decades of the last century created considerable advances in regulating work relationships. These advances included the recognition of the work contract as a legal figure, even if there is a presumptive contract; the limitation of the working day to eight hours a day in industry and services, and nine hours in the farming sector; the proportional remuneration for night work, overtime hours, holidays and Sunday rest; the compensation for professional illness and work accidents; and the recognition of political rights of trade unions and the labour movements (Mora, 2010).

Some of these policies remain in some form despite the reforms of the ‘90s, especially in terms of working rights; however, the trade unions were drastically harmed during the conservative governments of the ‘50s and the ‘60s, and the political violence instrumentalized during this period (Tirado Mejía, 1989). Additionally, during the ‘60s, temporary work companies started to appear in the country, for example, the Temporary Services Company (Rojas, 2016). With this, the figure of the businessman and its relation to economic development started to emerge as a concern for governments, policymakers, and academics.

However, the approach to the entrepreneur was focussed exclusively upon the owners and managers of the local corporations, specific agents in the industrial or commercial world. Additionally, questions and interventions arose regarding the correct approach to training those local entrepreneurs as a means of increasing local competitiveness in international markets.

Simultaneously, the increase in the number of small and medium enterprises in the country lead to the first associations of small and medium entrepreneurs (SMEs), interested in developing strong capitalist companies. In this scenario, the state focused

their efforts on creating institutions that facilitate entrepreneurial development; institutions such as the National Learning Service in 1957. These efforts were oriented to providing either access to operational and managerial training or upon the creation of financial institutions such as the 1967 Popular Financial Corporation designed specifically to provide credits to SMEs.

Despite these efforts however the lack of technological or scientific innovations within Colombia itself, meant that local capitalists remained dependent upon industrial machinery imported primarily from the North. This dependency derived meant that local attempts to develop capitalist production within Colombia were hampered and stymied by their inability to compete with the robust, consolidated economies of Europe and the United States (Dados & Connell, 2018). Consequently, the economic groups who exploited this new industrialized era in the continent remained limited to those commercial groups of landowners who had the means to import technology and therefore commercial infrastructure into Colombia.

At the same time, foreign investment brought crucial income for Colombia, especially in the mining and agriculture sector. Without the possibility of competing within the international market, these initial industrial initiatives continued to coexist with feudal relations based on the ownership of land and the exploitation of natural resources, included the servitude of rural, racialized communities. (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010; Ocampo, 1987).

70's and 80's: Neoliberal Reforms

Traditionally, the rise of Neoliberalism around the world is associated with the 1990s, however, the relationship between Neoliberalism and Latin America started much earlier, primarily in the period of military dictatorships during the 1970s (Ibarra, 2011; Klein , 2007). An examination of how these ideas found space in the Latin-American political field is therefore pertinent to an understanding of contemporary Colombian entrepreneurialism.

After 20 years of sustained economic growth across the globe, the crisis of the '70s spelt the end of the *cepalian* project. Factors such as technological dependency (Ibarra, 2011; Wallerstein, 1997; Prebisch, 1980); the incapacity of local industries to compete with multinational companies: high bureaucracy and public debt associated with the social security spend (Dados & Connell, 2018); high inflation, devaluation of Latin American currencies (Díaz Londoño & Arango Vásquez, 2016); the threat to

elites posed by social movements as well as the international financial crisis of 1973, opened the door for military interventions and the implementation of knowledge and technologies from Europe and North America all aimed at shaping the economic and political agenda as a part of the Neoliberal reorganization of coloniality and colonial relationships (Mignolo, 1995; Quijano & Wallerstein, 1992; Dados & Connell, 2018; Ibarra, 2011; Wallerstein, 1997).

The Cold War and later the war on drugs framed the emergence of "The Brick": a Neoliberal policies manifesto written during the military coup of Augusto Pinochet in Chile by economists at Chicago University. Since then, the Chilean model has become the model for countries in the region to reorient their economic policies (Centre of Political Studies, 1992). This was facilitated by the geopolitical alliance between local political, economic, and military elites as well as the United States anti-communist project in the continent, all of which fuelled the aggressive transition from the *Cepalian* social state into the free market-Neoliberalism (Dados & Connell, 2018; Piñero, 2020). The 1973 military coup in Chile triggered a series of military dictatorships that governed various Latin American countries between the 1970s and the 1990s.

These governments drastically applied the strategies and prescriptions designed in universities from the north, dismantling the social programmes and protections established by the previous governments. In this way, the ideas of a society based on market freedom and its primacy as the social 'rudder' were first trialled within Latin America (Harvey, 2005). It was fuelled by international investments in alliance with local economic and political elites, and characterized by a vast number of human rights violations and state repression of the social groups who opposed and resisted the unpopular Neoliberal reforms.

This synchronization of the Latin American countries with the United States exterior policy propagated and actualized the colonial relationships between the region and the global North. It also augured the strong links between Neoliberalism and violence in the Latin American territory current throughout the second half of the XX century and the first decades of the new millennium.

Concerning Colombia specifically, it is relevant to highlight the following points. First, Neoliberal reforms introduced 'flexibilization' of working conditions, by dismantling protections introduced by d*evelopmentalist* governments, perpetuated the lack of job securities regarding work, and exacerbated already existing conditions of unemployment, sub-employment, informal work, child work and forced work, or

modern slavery. Additionally, these conditions determined by the development of the Neoliberal agenda, fuelled socio-political violence, corrupt practices in public and private organizations, as well as phenomena such as slavery, forced migration, dispossession, and Human Rights violations (CNMH, 2013). In terms of government, the Neoliberal dynamics empowered regional rural elites and traditional urban political elites, composed mainly of merchants and landowners with relations to parastate organizations and illegal economies (Ávila, 2013). In turn this fed unexpected industries such as war, drug trafficking and money laundering, characteristic of other "tropical" Neoliberal states such as Mexico and Peru. (Valencia, 2010).

Despite the social and economic drama produced by Neoliberal interventions, "miracle" was the word used to describe the reactivation of Chile's economy, positioning the Chilean experiment as proof of the effectiveness of the Neoliberal economic paradigm. The formula was instantly replicated in countries like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Perú, and Colombia. Moreover, this set of policies marketed the political and economic path as relevant not only for the countries of the region but also for other regions of the world. With the Chilean case as an example, regions such as East Asia, the United Kingdom or the United States created a parameter to re-calibrate their policies and to adopt, in different degrees, the Brick programme following their interests and geo-economic positions.

Concerning the instrumentalization of Latin American territory as the laboratory for experimental economic and social policies, authors such as Foxley (1983) or Dados & Connell (2018) have described the case of Chile as the "bird in the cage", a means for other countries to explore the social and economic outcomes of these neoliberal policies in a s*cientific* way.

All of which reaffirmed the colonial and subaltern position of the South American territories and communities, as objects of experimentations. A status where subaltern countries assumed the risks and possible undesired effects of these policies while locating North Atlantic countries as teachers and experts.

Additionally, within this emerging Neoliberal orthodoxy, activities such as manufacturing or research were concentrated in some regions from North America, Asia, and Europe, while countries like Colombia fed those enterprises with raw materials and cheap labour. Thus, this reconfiguration of the global economy between the 1970s and the1990s relegated the Latin American region, Africa, and some regions

in Asia, to a subaltern position as a *world-shelf*, a source mainly for hydrocarbons, minerals, and food (Escobar, 1998).

The results are clear. By the end of the 1980s, after ten years of the Brick, industrial activity had practically ceased in Colombia (Kalmanovitz, 2017), leaving extensive agriculture and big-scale mining as the main income source of national income. This industrial deacceleration was accompanied by the destruction of national companies', higher rates of unemployment, an increase in informal work, higher levels of poverty and inequity, and the increased precarization of urban and rural working communities, whose labour force though cheaper than European workforces continued to remain high-priced in comparison to Chinese or Indian workforce. In this sense, Neoliberal policies institutionalised once again the colonial heritage of extractive economies and cheap labour.

Further, this abandonment of industrial development around the world opened the field for the paradigm of "sustainable development", described by Castro-Gómez (2007) as the postmodern version of modern development. In terms of labour, the translation of the workforce into objects of human capital positioned the worker as a subject of intervention, a figure that could be improved, developed, or wasted according to market demands. Consequently, since the late '80s, as a response to the economic and social crisis, the term entrepreneur appeared in the public sphere as a panacea for the high levels of unemployment and informality that characterizes the labour market of the time (Perry, 1989). Thus, private, and public institutions, such as the National Service of Learning (SENA), developed training programmes centred around notions of human capital and human resources; themes believed central to. the new demands for flexible work Such training programmes functioned as an alternative to previous notions of skill-based training, particularly in a context where entrepreneurial activity started to be considered as an option for those subjects excluded from formal employment. This process was accelerated by Law 77 inaugurated in 1988 and which gave small and medium Enterprises a position within state policy while linking different actors such as financial institutions, public organizations, and research centres, around the task of facilitating Colombian entrepreneurship.

The consequences of these policies remain today. With deindustrialization and the intensification of international investment based on privatization and extractive activities, the few jobs produced by the factories and small industries in the cities were lost, while the service sector was unable to absorb the excess labour force (Ocampo,

1987; Lozano, 2018; Rojas, 2016; Isaza, 2003). These situations produced high instability and psychosocial risk for the working class who were now pushed into the paradigm of entrepreneurship proposed by the Colombian Government.

1991's Constitution and the XXI century entrepreneurial boom

This neo-colonial reorganization along Neoliberal lines continued during the 1990s with the Truman Doctrine and the Washington Consensus, a 10-point manifesto that prescribed specific Neoliberal economic formulas and strategies for developing countries as a means of recovering from the financial crisis of 1987.

The crusade to develop the Third World used the economic deacceleration/contraction of the '70s and the '90s, and the dramatic social phenomena related to violence and corruption, as a justification to directly intervene in nations that did not fulfil this Washington Consensus. In this manner, Latin America was re-constructed as an under-developed territory where intervention in the name of development became legitimate. A status which, needless to say further, perpetuated colonial relationships under the U.S imperial project. In this context, entrepreneurship began to gain relevance in the social and economic life on the continent.

During the 1990s, the Colombian institutional framework was further reorganized, and additional Neoliberal policies were introduced as the route to modernizing the country. The Political Constitution of 1991, enacted under the government of the liberal president Cesar Gaviria Trujillo, marked a new period of the Colombian economy: "the economic openness". This document appeared as a social agreement to democratize the country by introducing the prescriptions from the Washington Consensus and aligning the country policy with the development project of the United States in an attempt to replicate northern economic growth.

Like the postcolonial liberal projects of the 1800s and the d*evelopmentalist* governments of the first half of the XX century, Colombia imported foreign models to modernize the country, this time with *sustainable development* as a slogan (Escobar, 1998; Castro-Gómez, 2007).

Thus, the abandonment of the *developmentalist* perspectives allowed a reformulation of regional capitalism away from notions of industrialization towards the production of knowledge-based economies, focused on comparative advantages, immaterial work, and human capital. Following this line, the argument became that industrialization was not profitable/sustainable so the country must shift into the service

sector to attract foreign capital. The changes within the state contributed to the corporatization of the public apparatus, (Bröckling, 2015), providing the institutional framework for 'free' economic and social interactions between individuals as private owners within the market. Accordingly, the paradigm of waged work, that came from the industrial world, and which had been at least partially implemented in Colombia, did not continue as the main model of labour. Instead of transforming qualitatively the work dynamics in the region, the consolidation of entrepreneurship as this 1970's model, prolonged, reproduced, and institutionalized pre-modern labour relationships while legitimizing the state absence characteristic of Colombia since its constitution.

Consequently, the labour world of the urban centres became marked by a predominance of commercial and service markets based on the high availability of skilled workers defined as those capable of making the transition from waged work to informal work, temporary work, rummaging, or self-employment. At the same time, the promotion of small and medium enterprises did not contribute to formalizing the world of Colombian work. Nor should it be expected to do so, for in this model entrepreneurial activity is predominantly informal, based on providing services or merchandising rather than producing goods or ideas.

In the rural peripheries, the extractive predominance produced a vast mass of precarized workers - mainly miners and farmers -, existing within working conditions inherited from the colonial period, such as the concentration of land, neo-slavery working conditions, and strong local landlordism. These dynamics persisted and were readapted to the new activities such as oil and natural gas exploitation and extensive agriculture and cattle breeding. With this, big transnational corporations took advantage of the lack of economic regulations in the region to find low-paid workers, who did not require the same social responsibilities (social security, health, housing) demanded by labour regulations operating in industrialized countries.

Moreover, this was accompanied by the commodification of nature and culture, transforming local biodiversity and traditions into commodities for actors such as governments, the academy, big pharma of food industries (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010; Castro-Gómez, 2007; Escobar, 1998). This situation exacerbated the conflicts between indigenous, Afro-American, and peasant communities and the transnational consortia that operated in those regions.

To this end, the 1990s were characterized by massive privatizations of services, reflected in Law 100 of 1993 or the Law 30 of 1992, which introduced financial

intermediation and corporative requirements for the Health and Education systems, respectively. However, this economic openness did not change the main modes of production of the country, rather they intensified the extractive activity, creating new policies regarding international investment institutionalising the bidding for natural resources and the privatization of state companies such as Bank of Bogotá in 1992, Terpel in 1993, Colpatria and Bancolombia in 1994, or ISA in 1996 (La República, 2020).

Between the ’90s and the first decade of the XXI century, some of the most relevant legal reforms in terms of entrepreneurial activity were applied. In terms of labour reforms, the Law 50 of 1990, and then Law 789 of 2002 were determinant devices in the flexibilization of work relationships in the country. For instance, the Labour Reform Law 50 of 1990 as authors such as Lozano (2018), Rojas (2016), or Isaza (2003) have pointed out, reduced the price of labour through the regulation of temporary employment agencies, the formation of fixed-term contracts, the implementation of corporate subcontracting processes, and the elimination of overtime for the night and holiday work. Simultaneously, the Law 789 of 2002 modified the labour code by reducing compensations for workers fired without justification, extending the working day, increasing standard working times, and implementing service contracts without the restrictions of the previous legislation.

Other examples of these ‘free market’ interventions were the Law 590 of 2000 (Congress of Colombia, 2000), oriented to promote the development of micro, small and medium enterprises, and the Law 1014 of 2006, oriented to promote entrepreneurial culture, especially in the education system, and the development of national and regional networks of entrepreneurship. Additionally, the Public Policy of Entrepreneurship legislation (2009), oriented institutional definitions to facilitate entrepreneurship at a public policy level. It was also during this period that a public fund, *Fondo Emprende*r, was created to fund entrepreneurial activity. The Colombian state also made the first measurements for the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor. Additionally, Colombia negotiated a Free Trade Agreement with the United States, the first of a dozen such free trade agreements signed by the Colombian State during this period.

More recently, the Peace Agreement between FARC and the Colombian State ratified in 2016, changed the political field, opening the possibilities for land distribution while pacifying territories that, because of continuous war, had been closed

for economic exploitation. The tensions produced by these political decisions were intensified by the election of Ivan Duque as president in 2018. Duque's economic project was specifically focused on the continuation, acceleration and deepening of the Neoliberal policies that had guided the nation's fate since the 1970s. Consequently, entrepreneurship plays a central role in today's government agenda under the slogan of 'Orange Economy', which is a way to referring to the production, and conditions of production, of cultural goods and services (Rodríguez Sánchez & López López, 2019). Today, entrepreneurship has become one of the most immediate survival alternatives for many Colombians, who have turned to entrepreneurial activity at different levels to face the economic and health crisis produced by COVID-19.

All of which serves to illustrate how, during the last 30 years, Colombian institutions, public and private, have developed a considerable number of policies and programmes intending to promote entrepreneurial activity. This Neoliberal reorganization of the Colombian state changed the official approach to the world of labour. Instead of providing and guaranteeing stable jobs, the state focus shifted towards designing favourable conditions for enterprise, in both a positive sense by enhancing technological-based enterprises and in a negative sense by easing contractual and labour standards (Perry, 1989; de Guevara, 2012). Thus, since the '90s entrepreneurship has been operationalized through a central strategy embedded in a wide series of institutions, programmes, regulations, and reforms.

It can therefore be seen that during the second half of the '80s, but especially during the '90s, Colombia lived what Marttila (2018) calls the *entrepreneurialization of society,* a historical process in which not only individuals but also institutions and society functions *as-an-enterprise*, introducing Neoliberal ideas and rationalities into different spaces and positioning entrepreneurship as the new hegemonic paradigm of individual and social behaviour. This paradigm has gained strength during the last two decades, becoming the principal political programme regarding labour and employment in Colombia today.

According to the programme, extreme flexibilization and the lack of regulation in contractual and labour relationships are seen by Neoliberals as creating a comparative advantage in terms of cheap labour based on precarious work conditions. In this sense, the Neoliberal modernization of Colombia, in which entrepreneurship is inscribed, perpetuated the colonial demand of cheap labour force and natural resources to meet the demands of international enterprises from the capitalist centres of the North.

Entrepreneurial paradoxes

Although in recent decades Colombia strengthened the efforts to develop the service sector and seek comparative advantages by promoting business activity, the results have not been as expected, particularly if one considers the country's performance in comparison to paradigmatic cases of Southeast Asia. This phenomenon, of underachievement, is highlighted by Amorós (2011) and Larroulet & Couyoumdjian (2009), who calls it "the Latin American paradox". A nom de plume which, refers to how a region with high rates of entrepreneurship is also one where economic results do not reflect the hypothetical positive correlation between entrepreneurial activity and economic growth claimed by Neoliberals. Regarding this situation, Kalmanovitz (2017) points out how the difference between the industrial and commercial history of Colombia and those of the Neoliberal model cases, such as Chile, Singapore, and Hong Kong, can explain why the results have not met the expectations with which these policies were popularized. Consequently, despite Colombia presenting higher levels of Total early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity than some of these counties (GEM, 2020), the GDP per capita remains lower than those model countries where citizens are on average, wealthier than Colombians (International Monetary Fund, 2020).

However, the entrepreneurial process of Colombian society is increasingly intense, and entrepreneurship remains an objective in the national agenda at various levels, such as education, cultural and labour policies. This situation generates a series of challenges, but this study focuses on two of them. First, the theoretical and academic challenge of understanding, in a contextualized way, how entrepreneurship takes place in Colombia., Secondly, how to develop and generate effective public programs reductive of unemployment, poverty, and inequality in the country.

To this end, I will now present the implications and possibilities for the social sciences and for public policy design, which make relevant the study of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial subject in the country.

Public policies: tensions and possibilities

Colombia, like many countries of the Global South and Latin America, is one of those termed “developing”, a designation commonly understood as a short-hand description for countries where the industrial capitalist project is “not fully” implemented (even if the countries concerned are ‘articulated’ towards the transnational

commodities markets) and, where living conditions remain low for most of the population.

To face these situations, the Colombian government has, since the beginning of the XXI century, been importing and adopting international policies to reduce poverty, mitigate inequality, and increase economic growth based on entrepreneurial activity.

To this end, successive Colombian governments have utilised financial strategies suggested by international organisations such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. These organisations have a high impact on the internal and external policies of most Latin American countries. In general, the recommendations of these international bodies are orientated to promote entrepreneurship as the solution to social and economic problems. Furthermore, these suggestions stand for the reduction of State influence on individual economic liberties, arguing that is the way to increase the levels of entrepreneurship. They claim that "an environment consistent with economic freedom encourages entrepreneurial activity and economic growth" (Larroulet & Couyoumdjian, 2009, pág. 95).

For example, the current public policy of entrepreneurship, the *Law 1014 of 2006 For the Promotion of the Entrepreneurship Culture*, was implemented to incentivize the entrepreneurial spirit in different levels of the society and to guarantee an appropriate environment for entrepreneurship (Presidency of Colombia, 2006). Recently, for example, the Entrepreneurship Law project, oriented to facilitate the creation and consolidation of entrepreneurial projects in the country, was approved by the Colombian congress. Specifically, this project is oriented to easing the tax and bureaucratic requirements for enterprising, providing opportunities through public leasing and diverse credit schemes, articulating the efforts in the field of entrepreneurship through INNPulsa, and enhancing the entrepreneurial mentality and culture mainly through interventions on the education system (INNpulsa, 2020). In this way, the Colombian government is ready to advance and enhance Neoliberal entrepreneurial formulas that have oriented labour and economic policies during the previous decades.

However, despite all these renewed orientations, most Colombians today live in difficult socio-economic conditions, characterised by severe inequities directly attributable to labour conditions and lack of opportunities for accessing social rights such as education, health, housing, and employment. This result paradoxical is that while the Colombian GDP has achieved a relatively consistent, though modest, growth

since the first years of the 2000s, the lived experience of most Colombians differs dramatically from what one might expect in circumstances of steady GDP growth. It should be noted that economic growth itself has failed to meet the claims, expectations and objectives set by successive Neoliberal governments.

In this sense, it is relevant to ask ourselves two questions, the first of which relates to, how poverty and unemployment have been measured?

Regarding poverty, Casas (2007) points out how the adjustment reforms made in the early 2000s by the Colombian government, followed the guidelines on the economic policy of the International Monetary Fund. As such, they were oriented to the control of public debt, inflation, and the production of wealth as central axes for the reduction of poverty. Therefore, this measurement was linked to the increase in per capita income and constructed upon the assumption that the greater the amount of national wealth - GDP- the higher the income of the country's citizens; thus, poverty was defined entirely in monetary terms.

Combining GDP measurement with inequality rates, however, allows us to see why this simplistic Neoliberal equation adopted by the Colombian state, has failed to raise the population to the dizzy heights projected by the World Bank and other Neoliberal institutions. The inequality rates that have marked the country during the last decades, clearly show an accelerated process of wealth concentration (World Bank, 2016). A simple fact that goes some way to explaining why despite GDP growth figures of unemployment and poverty remain high. Today, Colombia still presents dramatic figures on issues of inequity, occupation, multidimensional poverty, violence, and lack of guarantees in terms of health, housing, or education. Portafolio (2018), based on the 2018 Credit Suisse Report, showed that family income indicators reveal that 30% of Colombian families, live with less than a minimum wage per month -COP 877,802 / GBP 181.78 i. e an average of 52 pounds per month per person.

Conversely, families in the high-income bracket have incomes ranging from around £ 3,000 per month to above £ 25,000 per month. This latter group make up only 1% of the country's families. There is thus high inequality even among the top 1%, something which illustrates the deep concentration of wealth that characterises Colombia. In half of these polls, 60% of Colombian households obtain an income of between one minimum wage and four million pesos - between GBP 181.78 and 828.33; - that they tend to obtain income from informal work and are prone to poverty. In contrast 9% of households with incomes between 4 million and 14 million pesos -

between GBP 828 and 3000- constitute what is, usually, vaguely, described as middle class. A simple contrast such as this allows us to scope the dimension of the inequity problem in Colombia and allows us to understand how, despite the GDP shows growth, most Colombians live with a lack of resources and opportunities.

Regarding employment indicators, according to the National Administrative Department of Statistics (2019) -DANE is the acronym in Spanish-, by 2019, 40% of the people of work age were inactive, while officially unemployment by the end of 2019 was around 10% of the workforce. These rates are alarming by themselves, however, if we analyse how DANE measures unemployment, we can understand better the full situation and dimension of the employment problem in Colombia.

To measure unemployment, DANE takes the proportion of the number of people searching for a job and the total of people who constitute the active labour force. This means that people, even if they do not have a job but are not searching for one, are not considered to be unemployed. What is happening to this 40% of the workforce? To that part of the population not working or seeking a formal job?

If we shift into the field of informal work i.e., people who work without a contract or any social security, we can see the bigger picture. In the official records, informal work levels have risen to 46.6% in 2020 and have been over 40% during the past years. Of these, 44.5% are self-employed workers, who work in microenterprise projects. Also, in this group of what we might call “vulnerable workers”, the gender and age distribution shows that women and young people tend to be more unemployed and informal (National Administrative Department of Statistics, 2019). Considering this, we can conclude that more than half of the total active people in the labour market, almost 70%, are unemployed and either working informally, sub-employed, or working on their own without access to the guarantees, securities, and rights that traditional formal work usually offers.

In relation to general Colombian entrepreneurial rates, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, in its 2019 national report (GEM, 2019), claims that 58% of the Colombians are potential entrepreneurs, showing how women and young people from diverse social and educational backgrounds are enterprising more and more in recent years. They attribute this mainly to unemployment, but also to the perception of opportunities, the entrepreneurs' self-perception in terms of knowledge, skills, and experience, and a lack of fear of failure. They also use the high social valuation of entrepreneurial activity and the perception of adequate entrepreneurial policies, reported

by the National Experts Interviews, to explain why entrepreneurial rates in Colombia are high (GEM Colombia, 2020). However, less than 30% of the formally registered enterprises in the country does not survive for longer than5 years, small and medium businesses being the most affected. At the same time, GEM Colombia (2020) points out that only about 4.6% of the entrepreneurial projects, formal and informal, survive beyond the 3rd year.

Including all these facts in our analysis, we can picture the Colombian world of work as a context characterised by a lack of economic opportunities across all sectors coupled with high insecurity and instability in terms of business survival rates.

As in all countries, this situation has intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has elevated the unemployment rates near to 20% in May of 2020 and produced the second economic recession in the country since 1999 (National Administrative Department of Statistics, 2021). Given this panorama, it is important to stop and question the viability of the entrepreneurship project proposed and implemented by various Colombian governments over the last three decades. In a context where most of the population live in a state of precariousness and socio-economic vulnerability, where an activity such as entrepreneurship shows high rates of failure, and where, after years of insisting on the canon strategy of transnational entrepreneurship, we can see that results have not been as expected for the majority of the country's workers and entrepreneurs. It becomes imperative therefore to explore alternative ways of planning business activity in Colombia.

For this reason, this research seeks to provide knowledge and reflections from a multidisciplinary perspective, using tools from various disciplines such as critical psychology, political philosophy, decolonial theory, social studies of science and technology, and critical geography, all of which allows us to understand contextually how entrepreneurship operates in practice in Colombia, Specifically, this research aims to understand the complex interactions which reveal how entrepreneurship is organized and experienced in the country and in addition, to identify key lines of action relevant to designing public policy on an issue as central as entrepreneurship.

Implications for the social sciences

Considering the centrality of entrepreneurship as a central concept for today's political and economic agenda, it is relevant to explore how this trend impacts and transforms the different contexts where entrepreneurialism is reproduced.

Regarding this phenomenon, disciplines such as economics and public management, have attempted to describe the impacts of entrepreneurship in the region, in terms of business activity and economic growth; parameters taken, generally from think tanks with high impact on Latin American public policies (Amorós, 2011). However, these perspectives tend to conceptualize the entrepreneur either as an economic or sociological figure, without exploring the materiality of entrepreneurial activity or how entrepreneurship impacts on the subjective level.

Regarding this, and from a Latin American critical psychology perspective, authors such as Pulido & Sato (2013) have shown the links between the operation and intervention of techno-scientific knowledge in work contexts, knowledge like management and psychology, and their role in the re-production of specific forms of subjectivity, of forms of existence, around labour in the Global South. The production of subjectivity through the embodiment of different practices and discourses from the entrepreneurial work leads us to an examination of entrepreneurship in a strategic way, understanding how Neoliberal demands produces certain ways of existing within both particular locations and further, within a wider set of economic and political strategies. In this sense, it is relevant to investigate how the entrepreneurial prescriptions interact with the particularities of each context where they operate, and also, how different forms of subjectivity are produced through entrepreneurial activity.

However, in the case of entrepreneurship, the operation of entrepreneurialism transcends conventional labour, time, and space, which are reconfigured and extended outside the office, into new fields beyond traditional frames of work and labour analysis. In this sense, studying entrepreneurship in situ becomes a challenge as the *locatedness* of subjective experience makes us shift our scope into the different spaces where contemporary entrepreneurial activity is articulated. This challenge becomes greater when considering the scarcity of empirical literature concerning the relationships between the production of subjectivity and entrepreneurship in a Latin American context. Having this in mind, this research proposes a reading of the phenomenon based on empirical data taken from the experience of entrepreneurs in Bogotá. Through an analysis of this material, I propose to develop the debate on the local production of ways of being and existing within the context of neoliberal globalisation.

This represents a shift in the mode of researching entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. It shifts the focus from the intellectualized statistical study of entrepreneurship, towards a perspective that considers the materiality and the embodied experience of entrepreneurial activity. Thus, the experience of entrepreneurial activity concerning factors such as the geographic, urban, environmental, historical, cultural, and political particularities of the different regional and local contexts and how entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity are produced in these spaces, becomes a key research mode for understanding the impact of entrepreneurialism in spaces such as Colombia.

Furthermore, it is relevant to question how this expansion of the entrepreneurial subject varies according to the geopolitical relationships and how this is articulated to the Neoliberal regimes of governance (Rose, 1992).

There is recent valuable research in the region that outlines the experience of contemporary regimes of work in specific settings and which is focussed on exploring the effects of Neoliberalism in the Latin American context. For instance, a study conducted in Cusco, Perú, by the anthropologist Astrid Stensrud (2017) explored through a study of street call sellers, how the Neoliberal deregulations of labour markets produce new spaces for small-scale entrepreneurs and show how different expressions of precarity emerge from the relationships produced by this entrepreneurial activity. Likewise, Jirón & Imilan (2015) explore from an ethnographic perspective, the experience of precarity among flexible workers transiting through the public transport in Santiago de Chile, showing how labour flexibility is embodied and experienced through daily mobility practices. Godoy et al (2018) studied the production of subjectivity in entrepreneurs within the Metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile from an ethnographic and gender approach, showing how women are required to adopt entrepreneurial qualities, such as risk-drive and self-sufficiency, qualities traditionally associated with masculinity and how conversely, more feminine associated qualities, such as care and sacrifice, are easily linked to an entrepreneurial narrative. However, the most remarkable piece of work might be Carla Freeman's *Entrepreneurial Selves* (2015). Here Freeman interrogates the experience of middle-class entrepreneurs in three Caribbean islands from a feminist ethnographic perspective. She shows how entrepreneurship is not just a mere alternative way to produce income but a way of being and existing in contemporary Neoliberalism, one linked to the embodiment and articulation of certain kinds of affects. For instance, her study of love discourse among

entrepreneurs from Barbados, reveals how new affects emerge in relation to economic trends such as entrepreneurialism.

These are significant attempts at studying entrepreneurship from the embodied experience of contemporary regimes of work in the region and provide useful empirical information about how entrepreneurialism impacts Latin American societies.

Still, these efforts are scarce if we consider the relevance of entrepreneurialism in today's global labour markets. Also, due to the *locatedness* of the study of experience and how different forms of subjectivity are produced, it is relevant to explore how this phenomenon takes place specifically in the Colombian context as a way to contribute to the debate.

Following this line, this research aims to explore different lines that have interwoven the entrepreneurial context and to do so as a way of understanding the agent of entrepreneurship in situ and how this activity is experienced in Colombia. In this case, to understand how Colombian entrepreneurialism is producing constantly different ways of being linked to the Neoliberal demands on the world of work. The production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in local spaces is also a key interest for activists, trade unions, and entrepreneurs searching for economic, environmental, and political alternatives through entrepreneurial activity.

Conclusions

Considering the history of Latin America, the study of the localization of liberal ideas, such as entrepreneurialism, should be located within the historic and cultural context where these ideas are applied (Medina-Zárate & Uchôa de Oliveira, 2019). In this sense, despite the truism that the history of capitalism in the continent cannot be separated from European history, the development of liberal ideas in Latin America does present its distinctive trajectory and concatenations within the particular geographic, cultural, social, and political context of Latin American lived experience.

Concerning Colombia, I have drawn a brief history of the liberal projects developed in the country and the acceleration of entrepreneurialization of the Colombian society in recent years. I have discussed four key historical periods: the colonial period between the XIX and beginning of the XX century; the first regional attempts to build capitalist societies in Latin America; the changes introduced since the ‘70s with the rise of Neoliberal politics in the continent and finally, how the economic and entrepreneurial life has been configured since the political constitution of 1991.

Finally, I presented the current situation of entrepreneurial activity and entrepreneurial policy about social and economic issues such as unemployment and inequity, questioning the viability of the entrepreneurship project that has been implemented in terms of work and economic policy. I point out how, in a difficult social and economic context like Colombia, it is worth exploring alternative ways of organizing entrepreneurial activity based on the experience of the local subjects confronted by these changes.

Chapter 2. Tropical Entrepreneurial Subjectivity

It is relevant to remark that the conceptual tools and theories presented in this chapter do not constitute a set of categories to be imposed on the information produced by the study. Rather, the ideas presented in this chapter are oriented to frame the study within de-colonial and critical debates; to make a historic reading of how entrepreneurialism was assembled in the neo-colonial reorganization of capitalism; and finally, to show the way previous studies of entrepreneurship have been framed and to problematize the implications of these approaches.

In this sense, to understand how entrepreneurship gradually became the principal paradigm in terms of work in Latin America is necessary to carefully review the origins and development of this social and economic phenomenon. For this purpose, we must ask where these changes were propitiated and how they reach different regions in the globe. Thus, we must initially consider, how these ideas re-emerged from the core of liberal theory to become today's model of work. Secondly, to analyse the mechanisms and devices implemented to conduct and effectuate this shift from waged labour to entrepreneurship in the Latin American context; and thirdly, to focus on the experiences, implications, tensions, and paradoxes produced by the localization of the "entrepreneurial turn".

To this end, I present the role of the production of subjectivity within the Neoliberal modes of governance; the role and interventions of disciplines such as psychology and management in prescribing a model of the entrepreneur; the specific devices oriented to the proliferation and reproduction of entrepreneurial subjects; and finally, to examine the assemblage of discourses and practices that set a favourable cultural and social context for entrepreneurship in Colombia. Consequently, I analyse how recent studies portray the Colombian entrepreneurial context and the Colombian entrepreneur. As part of this, I explore the different strategies and implications of the ways local entrepreneurs are studied to reveal the manner in which the experience of these subjects tends to be omitted from these accounts.

Lastly, section three discusses conceptual gaps, tensions, paradoxes, and possibilities for studying Colombian entrepreneurialism and the Colombian entrepreneur in a manner that both incorporates the experience of local subjects and begins from there. Accordingly, I present the elaboration of the research objectives and the research questions.

Entrepreneurial subjectivity and Neoliberal government

Labour flexibility in recent decades has generated changes in the security provided by the social mode of employment. The intensification of precarious working relationships in the region and the entrepreneurial demands on societies from the Global South, give rise to the need for a 'suitable' worker who can take their place in the Neoliberal reorganization of labour. Considering the role of these reforms in the world of work and the reorganization brought about by Neoliberalism, the liberation of cheap labour in the function of international markets dominated by the Global North, brings with it the production of a new subaltern who accepts and reproduces the colonial relations implicit in the Neoliberal reorganization of the international division of labour. The entrepreneur will be the figure used to consolidate those new requirements and demands for the working subject (Rose, 1992; Walkerdine, 2005; Bröckling, 2015).

Given that producing this subaltern subject is a key issue for the well-functioning of Neoliberalism. Authors such as Foucault (2007; 1987; 1988) or Rose (1992) have shown how liberal governmentality focuses on the production of specific forms of existing or forms of subjectivity to reproduce liberal rationalities and practices. In terms of labour, the subject of work is the protagonist of the production process, hence, is also a central field for government intervention. It is in the body of the working subject where the capitalist machine is inscribed. The way the working body acts, thinks, and experiences this 'inscription' is a major concern for modern liberal democracies as they transit to a free market economy. Different ideals of the worker subject accompanied the different ways of production during the last century. The Taylorist scientific administration (1914), produced a notion of the worker subject complete with a regime of skills and aptitudes towards work duties. This was later replaced by the emotional management proposed by Elton Mayo (1933) with its theory of the emotional worker, in which the working subject was constructed around the perceptions and satisfaction embedded in the relationship between the worker and their work organization. Likewise, the shift from employment to entrepreneurship carried a transformation of the strategies of government, a step which demands the adaptation of the working subject to the flexible and unstable working conditions required by Neoliberal globalization.

However, in the case of entrepreneurship, the governmental forms have become more complex as the lines defining this relationship between the working subject and

working institutions, are more obtuse and therefore more ephemeral. Given that entrepreneurship is the work modality of Neoliberalism, the centre of government/control/administration is displaced from a workplace characteristic of Fordist factories for instance, into the interiority of the subject. With the end of the traditional employment paradigm, contractual relationships become unstable; thus, organizational formations that provided securities for the employee and managed their labour became gradually reduced to some exclusive jobs in certain regions and certain institutions, such as government offices and big transnational corporations. For the majority, whose opportunities to access this kind of jobs was therefore reduced, subcontracting, self-employment, temporary work, and services contracts increased uncertainty and instability in both labour conditions and contractual relationships (Castel, 2009).

For the entrepreneur, this required them to assume managerial tasks and responsibilities that were previously the task of whatever organisation they worked for. Accordingly, there was a new demand on the working subject, who is called upon to navigate and reproduce the Neoliberal labour relationship established by their new status. In turn, this means the entrepreneur is required immediately to assume the working conditions of extreme labour flexibility, contractual instability, lack of social security, and high psychosocial risk as a component of their labour. In this sense, the entrepreneurial subject must undertake different challenges and responsibilities from those experienced by the working subject of the employment social model; embedding different ways of being and behaving to adapt to the new demands of work.

Considering the characteristics of the Neoliberal work regime, the entrepreneur is expected to adopt the flexibility and availability necessary to adapt to the new relationships of rhythms/spaces/activities that permeate different daily life dynamics. The working subject must be emotionally invested in its own economic activity and subordinate themselves to the imposed dynamics of insecurity and uncertainty operating within the Neoliberal labour market (Walkerdine, 2005; Tsianos & Papadopoulos, 2006; Freeman, 2015).

In addition, the subject of entrepreneurship must have an orientation towards business activity, call it mentality or instinct, that allow them to fulfil in a self-directed way, their function of constantly innovating, competing, and “revolutionizing” the market (Bröckling, 2015). The entrepreneur can then be thought of as a flexible subject, tolerant of uncertainty, affectively engaged with free-market activity, proactive,

autonomous, and with the disposition to work under precarious and insecure working conditions.

Concerning those new working conditions, entrepreneurship operates as a useful concept bringing together different expressions of flexible and unstable work, so it can then be administrated. In contrast, the emotional management implemented in organizational contexts, guaranteed employees' affiliation/identification with the organization, boosting productivity by managing those factors that influenced the satisfaction of the worker towards its job. Without an organization to engage-with and considerable psychosocial stress related to the conditions of work, the entrepreneur reappears as the paradigm the subjective contract as it were, between the production process and the working subject; the same subject is now thrown into the market as an ‘autonomous’, ‘responsible’ and ‘free’ individual. In this way, entrepreneurialism became the main form of subjectivity of Neoliberalism (Rose, 1992; Marttila, 2018; Bröckling, 2015).

In the case of Colombia, both modern and pre-modern/colonial forms of production coexist, the latter being the general condition for the popular and working classes. This generalized condition of precariousness, insecurity, and socioeconomic vulnerability opens a space for entrepreneurship programs to intervene at a large, medium, and small scale, all justified by the promise of socio-economic development. Thus, by the ‘90s and early 2000s, entrepreneurial activity was promoted through labour and economic policy reforms, in a wide social spectrum to attend to the unemployment crisis produced by ongoing economic changes. However, this process occurred without generating employment or socio-technical guarantees from traditional work organizations (Rodríguez, 2015), leaving this responsibility to the individual and their entrepreneurial capacity.

In this way, the problems of the world of work were framed as fields of opportunity for the intervention of entrepreneurship, insecure and precarious work relationships went from being related to the industrial development of the country to be considered issues related to the individual capacity of the working subject. In this way, instead of modernizing and revolutionizing the different forms of production and working conditions in the country, Neoliberalism uses the employment crisis as windows of opportunity to intensify business activity without addressing labour and socio-economic needs. Entrepreneurialism operates at the local level, reorganizing colonial relations based on the exploitation of precarious work. As a response to the

entrepreneurial demand, different conceptualizations and operationalization of the term appeared as organizing tools that enabled the adaptation and localization of the concept. In this manner, some of the classic definitions of the entrepreneur are re-formulated and re-interpreted concerning the current circumstances of labour (Block, Fisch, & van Praag, 2017; Jessop, 2018). These efforts at re-organizing work in entrepreneurial terms constitute the Neoliberal grammar through which individual, social, economic, and political behaviour must be read. In this way, the entrepreneur acquires different attributes at different levels.

Regarding the relation between the subject and itself, the entrepreneurial subjective form implies the treatment of the self as an enterprise, this means as an object of management and investment (Foucault, 2007; Rose, 1992). The figure of the entrepreneur is then the image of an administrator of its own persona, of its own human capital that can earn or lose value according to individual decisions related to the management of freedom (Bröckling, 2015; Walkerdine, 2005). This management is directed to organize the territories and the rhythms of the entrepreneur's body as an enterprise, this means to make the subject acts upon itself as if it were in a situation of competition (Rose, 1992).

Concerning this demand of acting as an enterprise, Tsianos & Papadopoulos (2006) describe how the contemporary Neoliberal regimes of work, in which the precarious situation of 'entrepreneurs come to function as a 'positive' rationale justifying the political and economic organization of work in function of capital. The same figure also highlights how the embodied experience of precarity is characterized by personal states of vulnerability, hyperactivity, simultaneity, recombination, restlessness, unsettledness, affective exhaustion or cunning. Tsianos & Papadopoulos (ibid) also highlight how the rhythms, intensities, affections, activities, spaces, and temporalities that the working subject must assume and perform to survive the constant condition of competition of Neoliberalism affect them personally.

Accordingly, Bröckling (2015) shows how, despite the various definitions and conceptualizations made by classic and contemporary authors, the entrepreneurial subject is produced in reference to four different constitutive functions of the productive process: capitalization of opportunities, as it must chase opportunities with ability and intuition; innovation, as it must sustain the creative-destruction; bringing new products or services into the market; risk management, as it must face and administrate the uncertainties and risks inherent of entrepreneurial activity; and market coordination, as

it is responsible for the administration not only of the production but also the processes of the organization, commercialization, and distribution.

In this way, the entrepreneur works as a metaphor, Marttila (2018) explains, equalizing ideas of the Neoliberal world, such as entrepreneurship, with other values such as social desirability, economic success, individual freedom, or innovation. With this, the entrepreneur condenses different qualities and ideals associated with the forms of production in Knowledge-Based Economies, such as creativity, resilience, and productivity. Marttila (2018) also points out however that the entrepreneur, as a concept, lacks a concrete and ultimate definition, maintaining in this way some degrees of ambiguity. In short, the figure of the entrepreneur functions as an ideal the worker must strive to attain. There is a process of de-differentiation of the concept, in which it became impossible to differentiate the strict meaning of the term, coupled with a process of universalization, in which the concept is equated to a generic figure that can be invested with different attributes (Marttila, 2018). This explains how the term is ambiguous, or flexible enough to be used in an effective way to describe the Swedish project subject described by Marttila (2018), an app developer at Silicon Valley or an informal food producer in Bogotá with relative facility. In this sense, it is crucial to understand the lack of a defined content of entrepreneurship and its capacity as a concept to both bring together differences concerning the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in local contexts and invest the question of success or failure in a personal arena.

Thus, the question concerning the production of subjectivity became crucial as it leads us to an examination of the conditions in which the entrepreneurial subject is produced, and about the strategies, mechanism, and devices implemented for its construction. As argued by Blackman et al (2008), subjectivity cannot be detached from historic and sociocultural conditions. This leads to a question concerning how the particularity of the processes by which entrepreneurial rationality is contextualized, localized, adapted, and reproduced in historical and geographical situated, subjects. Subsequently, it is relevant to explore how the figure of the entrepreneur is framed within a historical and sociocultural context that conditions the limits and possibilities of the experience of being an entrepreneurial subject.

The intrinsic ambiguity of the entrepreneur as a metaphor indicates a position of openness, of productivity of the subject. Bröckling (2015) reminds us how even in Schumpeter's conceptualization, despite its heroic component, the entrepreneurial

subject is defined more by their function and behaviour in the market than by some essence or quality inherent to it. This idea resonates with the notion of subjectivity as a process (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos, & Walkerdine, 2008; Deleuze & Guattari, 1983; 1987), recognizing the contingency and locatedness of the experience of oneself and how this is constantly and immanently constituted. As an alternative to the ahistorical essentialist conceptions of subjectivity, prolific in positivist and humanist perspectives, the perspective of the subject as a process focuses on experience as a way of exploring both the relationship of the subject with the contextual conditions that produce it and the relationship of the subject with their own agency. The entrepreneurial subject is then understood not as a finished being or as the possessor and sovereign of essential qualities, but as a changing, circumstantial/contextual entity that is constantly self-producing/reproducing. This means that, on the one hand, the figure of the entrepreneur, beyond representing itself a series of pre-defined attributes, operates also occupies an agency position, concerning the production process.

Modelling the entrepreneurial subject: Technoscience interventions

Subjective-entrepreneurial-forms are constantly produced or precipitated, in relation to the economic functions required to reproduce the market (Bröckling, 2015; Rose, 1992). Therefore, as if they were a company, the entrepreneur must attend to the tasks of planning, administration –both of themselves and risks and resources–, production, accounting, marketing, etc. In this sense, the entrepreneurial subject is the object of a series of programmes aimed at training the entrepreneur in disciplines that make them competent in the areas related to production.

Through the intervention of disciplines such as psychology and administration, parameters, skills, and attitudes that favour and facilitate entrepreneurship are diagnosed and prescribed. In this respect, Rose (1992) points out how, through what he calls *technologies of the self*, different knowledge, rationalities, practices, and devices are deployed and dispersed to *improve*, *strengthen*, or *develop* that entrepreneur self. Thus, psychological categories such as motivation, resilience, mentality, innovation, creativity, productivity, or proactivity appear, become subject to measurement and evaluations. The performance in these areas will determine the competitiveness of the entrepreneur and therefore their value and desirability in the market.

For this reason, the way of being for an entrepreneur cannot be static since the entrepreneur must constantly improve and invest in themselves to meet market

demands. In this way, the entrepreneur relates to oneself in business terms, as if they were forever locked in a constant process of subjective production while their experience is also becoming an object of study and intervention. From this process, relevant academic disciplines systematically produce information on the categories associated with entrepreneurship, producing and re-producing normative, statistical models aimed at creating and re-creating appropriate subjectivities necessary for the facilitation and implementation of new programmes or adjustments.

Regarding these forms of Liberalism, from the mid-1900s onwards, (Guattari, 2005) points out that the production of information has been a recurrent strategy in the design and implementation of government policies and intervention programmes directed towards the population. Thus, the subject is operationalized as a terminal, as a point or a surface where technological flows, behavioural programs, discursive practices, affective intensities, economic exchanges, or environmental conditions, converge in a complex way, making room to produce experiences (Walkerdine, 2014; Guattari, 2005). This surface, this subjective space, is then turned into a field to be governed by the production process, both of information and of subjectivity itself, on the one hand; and employing the intervention of techno-scientific programmes aimed at modifying behavioural patterns, on the other. However, these programmes are always partially implemented (Guattari, 1979), which means that there is always a margin for difference in the location/adaptation processes. This reflection is fundamental to understand how programmes designed to produce entrepreneurial subjects operate at a local level and how these forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity emerge in different contexts.

Specifically, the psychology of labour and traditional management occupies a privileged and leading space in the production of the working subject, as a means to increase their effectiveness in meeting capitalist needs for labour control and organisation (Rose, 1992; Pulido-Martínez, 2007; Hollway, 1998). This becomes materialized in a set of programs for new organizational cultures, that operationalizing psychotherapeutic components as part of a strategy of intervention upon the subject aimed at harmonizing existential expectations, concerns, and perceptions of the working subject with their objective working conditions (Hollway, 1998). However, with work occurring outside of organizational contexts, psychological and managerial knowledge are demanded to move and colonize different spaces and moments, now outside the traditional work organization.

In this respect, Rose (1992) has described the system of knowledge, institutions, practices, and actors across the social field, that allows both the production and the instrumentalization, as much as the adaptation, of psychological knowledge, as a *psy-complex*. This interweaving of knowledge and power is central to the Neoliberal governance of labour since it allows problems and risks related to working conditions and exploitative regimes to be displaced to a psychological interiority within the worker. In addition to this, the operation of the psy-complex in countries that are not producers of psychological knowledge, such as Colombia, leads to the prescription and implementation of models of the subject manufactured far from those contexts where they are applied (Pulido-Martínez, 2007).

In terms of the production of the entrepreneur, psychology operates through providing the tools for the subject to understand and relate to themselves in psychological terms, as a fundamental element of the entrepreneurial form of subjectivity. In this way, both the causes and the development of the entrepreneurial activity, as much as the consequences, are explained through psychological categories that allow the working subject to be intervened, while omitting the conditions of flexibility and precarization of work and life. In the Colombian case, we can find this psychological construction of the entrepreneurial subject in studies about entrepreneurship, in public policy guidelines, in entrepreneurship training programmes, and in the development of an entrepreneurial culture in the country.

In particular, the studies and measurements developed by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) have been decisive for introducing a psychological reading[1] in the Colombian context. They apply categories of psychological nature to study entrepreneurship in the country, such as intentions to enterprise, entrepreneurial spirit, perception of risks/opportunities, social evaluation of entrepreneurship, or perception of capabilities (GEM Colombia, 2020) Thus, the GEM measurements are centred on a survey of adults between 18 and 64 years of age (Adult Population Survey) and interviews with expert entrepreneurs (National Expert Survey). The results of these measurements are intended to indicate how entrepreneurial societies are, the rates of

[1] The GEM methodology is based on the perceptions of adults regarding their attitudes and perceptions towards entrepreneurial activity as a measurement of how entrepreneurial a society is. These indicators are built underpinned on a highly psychological approach to the entrepreneurial subject, that reduces entrepreneurial activity as a drive that came from peoples' motivations rather than the labour market conditions.

entrepreneurship, on the one hand, and the entrepreneur's perception of their context and self, on the other. Likewise, the differentiation made by the GEM between entrepreneurs motivated by necessity and entrepreneurs motivated by opportunity was articulated in the National Entrepreneurship Act as a way of understanding the different types of entrepreneurial subjects. With it, motivation, as a psychological concept, is used to explain different social phenomena related to entrepreneurship such as informality, lack of innovation, or economic failure.

Furthermore, through these studies, the Colombian entrepreneur is portrayed as a young, highly motivated, or entrepreneurial-oriented subject, with a favourable perception of entrepreneurship, high-risk tolerance, and high levels of resilience (GEM Colombia, 2020). Thus, Colombia has one of the highest rates of early entrepreneurial activity (EEA) in the world. (GEM Colombia, 2020).

However, the fact that perception of opportunities and self-efficiency is low is also mentioned, principally as an explanation for the poor results of the policies. On the one hand, this perspective pictures the Colombian subject as a potential entrepreneur who wishes, thinks, or plans of enterprising, who values entrepreneurship as positive and considers it a good life option. That is to say, as a potential source of human capital, already affectively committed to the labour regime, that remains to be exploited. This potential also represents a good sign for investors, insurance companies, and international organizations that monitor and evaluate entrepreneurial activity as an indicator of economic development. On the other hand, the characterization of the Colombian entrepreneur as lacking perception of opportunities and self-efficiency – that is, as lacking an entrepreneurial spirit –, constructs the subject as a field for intervention as a means of assisting and equipping them with the confidence to assume the risks and responsibilities of entrepreneurship.

Meanwhile, other studies have contributed to the formulation of public policies. At the international level, the studies on the Colombian case made by LAVCA or World Bank's Doing Business) have been explicitly included in the 2009 National Policy on Entrepreneurship (MINCIT, 2009) and are constantly referenced in official reports and the media. Influenced by this series of research products, at a national level, studies by the National Learning Service (SENA) and the Chambers of Commerce have led the local studies about entrepreneurship.

In general, baseline studies made by this research have been aimed at consolidating the Neoliberal reforms, promoting the reduction of the state's presence in

economic life, and facilitating business activity through tax reductions and the simplification of bureaucratic procedures. Furthermore, they raise the need to promote a culture of entrepreneurship and an entrepreneurial mentality through reforms to the educational and labour systems. These reforms seek to develop skills and attitudes favourable to entrepreneurship from an early age, as well as to develop continuous training programmes aimed at providing tools for entrepreneurship throughout one's professional career.

In these interventions, psychology and management are again present; however, this time, it is not the traditional versions of the disciplines that operate in the spaces of entrepreneurship training. Pulido-Martínez (2008) points out how, in the face of new trends in the world of work and the crisis in the social form of employment, psychology is ineffective in addressing administrative needs outside formal labour organizations. Thus, the new conditions of flexible and independent work, as well as the dislocation of traditional organizational relationships, force psychology to reinvent itself so as to reach new workspaces and adapt to the different demands of administration. In response to this demand for change, the *psy-complex* reorganizes its terms, producing new technologies of the self that can be adapted to different working contexts. In this sense, coaching or mentoring appears as a way of intervening in the entrepreneurial subject to propitiate the skills and attitudes required to start and conduct an enterprise; that is, in a subject competent to adapt to the demands of the labour market.

Thus, by using various psychological knowledge and tools -such as coaching, neurolinguistic programming and cognitive-behavioural programs, creativity and innovation methodologies, local variations of logo-therapy and interventions based on life purpose theories, or adaptations of evolutionary and developmental perspectives related to the market-, coaching constantly invites the entrepreneur to think of themselves in terms that promote and strengthen the entrepreneurship-subject link.

Accordingly, these interventions invite the entrepreneur to think of itself in psychological terms as a free subject, sovereign of its persona, which is its own enterprise (Walkerdine, 2005; Rose, 1992).

The emphasis on coaching according to the market demands is reinforced through specific figures that operate as successful models of this type of self-management. Characters such as Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, Mark Zuckerberg, Jeff Bezos, Elon Musk, or Bill Gates, serve as living examples for other entrepreneurs. The use of exceptional cases as models is based on exalting certain subjective characteristics

of these characters to explain their success, without considering factors such as the socio-economic and psycho-educational conditions of the entrepreneur or the geopolitical place where the entrepreneurship occurs.

A myth is then generated regarding the figure of the entrepreneur as a subject who finds answers for economic and social success in their subjectivity. The entrepreneur is not only the favourite subject of Neoliberalism in economic terms. but also, in social and political terms. Thus, the heroism of the *Schumpeterian* entrepreneur is back, by overseeing improving society through innovation and the creation of new companies. This myth is reinforced by different cultural artefacts that seek to generate a favourable image regarding entrepreneurship at the cultural level. For example, in reality-shows like *Shark Tank Colombia*, in the talks of exemplary entrepreneurs at entrepreneurship fairs such as *Heroes Fest* or in the different cultural products dedicated to those unexceptional subjects, we find a mode of subjectivity that is sold as the key to success, as a personality type that facilitates success.

The psychological weight of these perspectives shows the close relationship between psychology and contemporary administration of the working subject on the one hand, and the link between the experience of work and the production of identities and ways of existing, on the other. In this way, psychology plays a fundamental role in the globalization processes of the different measures aimed at the governance of the working subject, it locates and compresses the different tensions that shape working conditions into problems of the psychological domain, such as motivation or worker perception (Pulido-Martinez, 2008). Likewise, it restricts its interventions to subjective space and the production of subjective modes that adapt to the working conditions of Neoliberalism. Considering that the production of the entrepreneurial subject is a call to accept working conditions produced by the Neoliberal reorganization, the role of psychology in this process is given a special role in forms of colonial administration and the production of subalternity (Pulido-Martínez, 2007).

Producing entrepreneurs in the tropics

Through the intervention of disciplines, especially psychology, a paradigmatic image of the entrepreneur is constituted as someone innovative, creative, young, avant-garde, risky, resilient, rational, and autonomous. A formulation that corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon conceptualizations of the entrepreneurial subject based on a model of a white man, educated, upper-middle-class inhabiting a North Atlantic country. However,

in countries from the Global South as Colombia, these models are applied as straight parameters of desirable social and economic behaviour. Concerning the process of *entrepreneurialization* of society described by (Marttila, 2018), we see how in the case of the Colombian society entrepreneurial practices, technologies, and rationalities are assembled to promote entrepreneurship at an economic, social, and personal level. This constitutes an entrepreneurial complex that operates as a machine of social and economic production through which entrepreneurship becomes the value for recoding social, economic, personal, or political events. Entrepreneurship then becomes a central issue in public affairs, present in various spaces of society such as work, education, culture, or the environment.

Today, issues concerning national entrepreneurship are of great interest to academics, researchers, and public policymakers. Not surprisingly, in recent years there has been a considerable number of studies and literature on the case of Colombia. These studies, from different disciplines and perspectives, seek to produce knowledge about the Colombian entrepreneur. They, focus upon entrepreneurship in the country, describing how to face social and economic challenges through entrepreneurship. In this sense, we can group these efforts into three segments to build an image of how entrepreneurship has been studied in the country: those studies which focus on the policies and their impact on the field of entrepreneurship; those studies focused on the entrepreneurial field itself and its characteristics; and lastly, those studies focused specifically on the Colombian entrepreneur.

Studies on the Colombian entrepreneurial public policy

From the perspective of studies focused on public entrepreneurship policy, we find studies such as those of Chamorro, Ceballos, & Villa (2013) or Martínez Vega (2018), where they study the public policy of entrepreneurship in relation to specific historical periods. Chamorro, Ceballos, & Villa (2013) make an analysis of the evolution of the entrepreneurship policy between 2002 and 2010, i.e., the presidency of Alvaro Uribe Velez, highlighting the role of SENA, universities, and the sector private sector in the development of entrepreneurship in the country. As we saw earlier, many such laws were enacted during this period, Law 1014 of 2006 for instance.

Martínez Vega (2018) analyses the evolution of legislation on entrepreneurship in the 2006 and 2016 period from the cognitive perspective and the Stevenson and Lundström (as cited in Martínez Vega, 2018) typology of public policies. The author

shows how the Colombian state has undergone a learning process about the country's business context, refining the orientation of its public policies by more complex approaches. Specifically, there was a transition from public entrepreneurship policies based on business creation to a holistic approach, to an understanding of entrepreneurship as a cultural phenomenon. Vesga (2015) explores the case of INNPulsa as an example of how entrepreneurial public policy evolved in the country, becoming more oriented to innovation.

Other studies such as Romero, Haro, & Ramírez (2017), Barrios Trujillo (2017), or Ríos & Roa (2020), examine the failure rate of business projects in the country concerning the public policy of entrepreneurship. Thus, Romero, Haro, & Ramírez (2017) evaluate the effectiveness of the Emprender Fund, one of the Colombian government's flagship projects, in terms of entrepreneurship, stating that in contrast to its aims, higher financing did not improve the success rates; something they attribute to the requirement to create jobs under the amount financed. In addition, according to these authors, there is no relationship between the success of the Business Project and the geographical location where entrepreneurship does not take place based on analysing the success rate in urban centres where the success rate is assumed to be higher. Meanwhile, Barrios Trujillo (2017) points to the information gap as the main difficulty, claiming that there is sufficient official support, but the decision of the entrepreneur is needed, attributing this lack of agency to a lack of information. Trujillo points out the relevance and necessity for intensified company training measures. Similarly, Ríos & Roa (2020) reduce the success problems of nascent companies in the country, to management problems when it comes to monitoring their projects, inviting the government to provide support in business training.

Another of the main analysis strategies was to compare the different laws and experiences in the Latin American region in search of explanations for business performance in Colombia. For example, Zambrano Carbonell (2016) compares the entrepreneurship policies of Colombia, Law 104 of 2006, (the Law for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship) and similar attempts in Ecuador, the Organic Law of the Popular Solidarity Economy and the Popular and Solidarity Financial Sector, created in the year 2011, and compares the results as a means of identifying key elements in the development of entrepreneurship in both contexts. From this, he shows how Colombia has a long-standing policy promoting entrepreneurship citing the law to promote an entrepreneurial culture and how these have translated into improved indicators on issues

such as human capital, business structure, demand, and platforms for science, technology, and innovation. Meanwhile, Ecuador shows favourable results in terms of business growth and potential entrepreneurs. However, despite these differences, it is shown how in both countries the business fabric is largely composed of entrepreneurs driven to engage with these programs from necessity. He points out how in both countries, entrepreneurship has been promoted mainly by the State and how results of the implemented policies have been small and gradual. Finally, he concludes by highlighting the importance of studying entrepreneurship and understanding the context of both countries.

Along the same lines, Parra Quevedo (2017) in her academic mission in Argentina, compared the public policy of entrepreneurship in Colombia and Argentina. In her report on the politics of Argentina, she presents the public policy commitments advanced by the government of Mauricio Macri in a positive light, claiming it imitates Colombia's strategy in terms of bureaucratic simplifications but focuses its objectives on issues related to science, technology, and innovation. Likewise, she points out that the tax burden on small and medium-sized companies is a factor that contributes to business failure.

Another work, Garzón & Ladino, (2018) compares the entrepreneurial experiences in Colombia and Chile between 2008 and 2018, employing a bibliographic review to identify how favourable the climate is in both countries regarding the creation of companies. A conclusion based on economic growth indicators. Thus, the authors show how, in both countries, there have been consistent State efforts to advance public policies that could translate into a growth in the number of companies while acknowledging that the informality and lack of access to finance are both elements that hamper the growth of entrepreneurship in these countries. Finally, they propose a strategy to promote an entrepreneurial culture in the country to strengthen entrepreneurial practices and make interventions more efficient.

In this way, we see how studies on the public policy of entrepreneurship show the high interest and participation of the Colombian state in fostering a business context. For this, we can see how efforts are articulated between different sectors such as academia, the public, and the private sector, to advance the entrepreneurship agenda at different levels of education and culture. We also see how the suggested interventions tend to be aimed at specifically addressing problems related simply to management and business training. Also, these studies indicate the importance of generating a more solid

institutional articulation at the local and regional level in the field of entrepreneurship. This perspective is also present in the study of Pérez & Niño (2017) which focuses on the need of developing entrepreneurial policy-oriented initiatives exclusively for women, due to their current relevance in the country's entrepreneurial life.

Studies on the Colombian entrepreneurial context

Apart from studies focused on public policy, other approaches have integrated different contextual elements to analyse the field of entrepreneurship in Colombia in a more complex way. Within these studies, there are two lines of analysis of entrepreneurship in Colombia, the first concentrating on a historical and conceptual review of the development of entrepreneurship in the Colombian context; and the second focusing on specific case studies of the spaces and territories where entrepreneurship takes place.

Regarding the first line of analysis, the essay by Vásquez (2011) produces a historical account regarding the different programs and initiatives that have emerged since the end of the 20th century, beginning their analysis with the business activities that generated the first industries in the country and advancing its analysis to the contemporary complex of institutions and organizations that making up the business fabric of Colombia today. In his exercise, Vásquez (2011) highlights institutions such as SENA, the Chambers of Commerce, the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Tourism, the Corona Foundation, and the role of different universities, mostly private, as agents for the promotion of Colombian business activity. It includes in its analysis different moments, or milestones of interventions that have configured the panorama of Colombian entrepreneurship, such as the enactment of the National Plan for the Development of Microenterprise between 1984 and 1994, the Labour Reform 789 of 2002, the creation of the Emprender Fund and Law 1014 of 2006 all key programs enacted to promote Colombian entrepreneurship.

Along the same lines, Rodríguez (2015) makes a historiographic study of the business activity of the country. In the analysis, the author points out how after the 80's the distinction between SME and the "big firms" became unclear due to the diversity of services and products that reached the national market. In this regard, Rodriguez (2015) shows how this situation is an opportunity to develop academic approaches to the Colombian case by studying entrepreneurship from a contextual approach. The complexity surrounding the phenomenon of entrepreneurship in Colombia is stressed by

González (2008) who approaches the object of study from an interdisciplinary perspective that integrates a historical perspective, a characterization of the entrepreneur's human capital, and an analysis of development and expansion of entrepreneurship in the region. With this framework of analysis, the author points out how there are economic, political, and sociocultural factors that affect business activity in the country. Specifically, González (2008) points out how factors such as the difficulties of creating a formal company in Colombia, added to the lack of education, contributes to the lack of innovation and high failure rates.

More recently, Henao Mesa (2020) makes a bibliographic review on administrative theories and reports from relevant organizations concerning indicators of business mobility and unemployment to point out the difficulties for entrepreneurship in Colombia. Mesa observes that the motivations for entrepreneurship are one of the problems for business activity in the country since one of the main causes of engagement is unemployment and need. He shows how this results in the production of entrepreneurs with little training, poor resources, or little information, particularly regarding risk. To counter this Mesa proposes new interventions in the field of business training as a way of overcoming impasses produced by the low training of Colombian entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, in the light of recent studies on entrepreneurship in specific contexts in Colombia, it is worth mentioning the work of Duran Peralta (2019) who explores the relationship between entrepreneurship and regional development from a regional perspective by comparing the per capita GDP and the Entrepreneurship Index, which measures the ratio of employers and self-employed, with high training in human capital, during the year 2005. The author points out the reciprocal relationships between both indicators during this period.

Patiño, Ruiz, & Pitre-Redondo (2018), also conduct a literature review concerning programs intended to stimulate entrepreneurship, especially social entrepreneurship, in the city of Cartagena, in the north of the country. They point to how entrepreneurship in the region is a matter of interest not only for private organizations but additionally for public policymakers and how despite individual differences, identical skills are offered to strengthen entrepreneurial mentality.

Consequently, Porras-Paez & Schmutzler (2019) use notions of social capital to show how, again in the north of the country, in the department of Atlántico and especially in the city of Barranquilla, a Business Ecosystem has been developed using

the articulated action of different actors such as the Barranquilla Commerce Camera or the National Entrepreneurship Networks. They point out how the central direction for the formation of an entrepreneurial ecosystem encounters difficulties through a lack of recognition of the local leadership within each region.

As is evident, these studies on the business context of Colombia are based overwhelmingly on statistical conceptualizations and measurements, creating a situation where empirical and local material remains scarce. Thus, the business context is characterized as a space presenting several complications and in which the lack of business training and institutional difficulties are presented as the biggest problems for Colombian entrepreneurship. In this sense, the recommendations and interventions proposed in these studies tend to build the Colombian entrepreneurial subject as an object of improvement in terms of business training and the Colombian business context; as a space to reform through measures that favour market activity; one in which the Colombian state should only be a guarantor, not a participant. It should also be noted, as these studies are based on theories, literature, and authors from the Global North for the most part, while the local bibliography is a minority. All of which points to the need to produce empirical material specifically focussed on how the Colombian business context is experienced.

Studies on the Colombian entrepreneur and their behaviour

Finally, the studies focusing on the entrepreneurial subject and its behaviour. Within these works, we typically find quantitative research based on business behaviour, as well as in recent years a different approach based on local entrepreneurial experiences.

About the former, we can see how the entrepreneur is characterized by demographic parameters, perception, and economic indicators as a means of evaluating schemes of entrepreneurial subject and business behaviour. Two examples of this type of study are the reports presented by Vesga (2008) and Varela et al (2020).

In the first study Vesga (2008), makes an analysis of the general panorama of Colombian entrepreneurship at three levels: macro, business, and individual. Thus, it articulates variables at the macro level - such as economic development, the size of markets or demographic diversity - with business-level factors, such as organizational culture, corporate governance, or business strategy- and with individual factors such as

level educational, development of business skills and abilities, individual preference for risk and what the author calls psychological resources.

With this exercise, the author shows how the country's empowerment activity does not use or produce innovation and how neither entrepreneurs nor Colombian companies, manage to successfully articulate innovation. It also points to how innovation is conditioned by a complex of variables that must be re-evaluated and intervened to adapt public policy to meet the needs of an economy based on entrepreneurship and innovation.

Along the same line a later report by Varela et al (2020) for GEM Colombia, describes Colombian business activity as well as investigating Colombian entrepreneurs and companies. Thus, from comparing the TEA results, produced by the GEM methodology, with socio-demographic indicators such as gender, age, and educational level, they propose an idea of the national entrepreneur as a young subject, man or woman, with a generally high educational level. Also, by analysing the number of emerging and consolidated companies in relation to the economic sectors and the use of technology and innovation, they show how Colombian companies tend to create traditional micro and small companies in the commercial sector that produce few jobs and do not use technology or innovation in their business projects.

Both studies coincide in pointing out the limited adaptation of science and technology innovation programs by Colombian entrepreneurs and companies. However, they differ in describing educational levels. Now, if we contextualize the GEM measurement, we realize that even though the indices of business behaviour increase as the educational level increases, the absolute number of people with university or postgraduate training are a large minority compared to people with primary, secondary, and technological training. Also, this can be related to the scarcity of job offers capable of absorbing into the Colombian workforce, those with university education and the resultant move towards business activity as an outcome.

Within this same group of corporate focussed studies, we find more specific works such as that of Castro, Galán, & Bravo (2014), who show how the longest-lived business incubators show better economic performance than the nascent ones based on a statistical analysis of social capital variables and business incubation strategies in the different cities of Colombia. Likewise, Gallego & Solís (2018) study the relationship between leadership, organizational climate, and entrepreneurship through questionnaires evaluating aspects such as leadership, organizational climate, organizational culture,

innovation, financial and non-financial returns, uses of social networks and business entrepreneurship. With this study, the authors seek to define entrepreneurship within the company as a driving factor in good business practices and higher performance.

Although this type of study tends to predominate, in recent years there have been a small number of interesting, studies on the subjects that investigate entrepreneurship within its contextual specificity. In this group of investigations, the work of González, Vargas, & Pineda (2017) or Castiblanco Moreno (2018) stand out.

For instance, Pardo (2017) uses attributional theory to study the factors that contribute to entrepreneurial failure. In her study, Pardo conducted 324 surveys of experienced Colombian entrepreneurs, concluding that the main reasons for failing were financial and organizational problems associated with insufficient income, lack of funding, managerial problems, and economic and legal instability.

Castiblanco Moreno (2018) through an analysis of in-depth interviews with entrepreneurs from Boyacá, highlights the relevance of studying the conditions of entrepreneurship specifically for peasant women, this being a key agent in the rural economy of the country, whose experience is qualitatively different from that of entrepreneurial barons, both rural and urban. Consequently, there are structural conditions - such as lack of access to capital or credit, lack of business training, lack of government support and legal definitions for female entrepreneurship, dynamics of gender violence, or high perception of risk- that make it more difficult for rural women to do business. It is also revealing that being a peasant entrepreneur involves different knowledge and sociocultural dynamics, implying more cooperative work than the traditional entrepreneurship model.

The research of González, Vargas, & Pineda (2017) was aimed at making a demographic characterization of women entrepreneurs in the informal sector. Their study shows how the participation of women in the labour market has increased in recent years, predominantly in the area of informal food retail and agricultural production. In addition, it shows how inequities, specifically regarding the lack of opportunities and income inequality within formal employment, shape the situation of female entrepreneurs.

These studies generated a more precise image of the entrepreneurial subject within their context by examining the experience of a relevant and highly vulnerable sector of the labour and business market. Finally, Rodriguez Bustos & Wilder Mildrey (2019), theorize from psychoanalysis, to discuss the subjective discomfort in

capitalism, showing how the process of enterprising implies a process of objectification through ideological devices. However, this work is limited to the theoretical exercise and the bibliographic review, without including empirical material on the experience of entrepreneurship in Colombia.

The question for local forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity

As shown in the previous section, there have been recent efforts from academia, private companies, and the public sector to produce knowledge and information regarding entrepreneurship in both Colombia and Latin America generally. In this way, from different disciplines such as political science, history, economics, or administration, the subject of entrepreneurship in Colombia is addressed through an analysis of public policy; statistical measurement of business activity and social capital strategies being the most important.

Thus, we observe how there have been numerous studies dedicated to analysing the public policy of Colombian entrepreneurship, within a historical perspective Chamorro, Ceballos, & Villa (2013) or Martínez Vega (2018); business activity as the result of public policy Romero, Haro, & Ramírez (2017), Barrios Trujillo (2017), or Ríos & Roa (2020) or through comparative analysis of international politics, of Zambrano Carbonell (2016), Parra Quevedo (2017), and Garzón & Ladino (2018). In all these studies, a fundamental role of the Colombian government in advancing the national entrepreneurial agenda through an evolving public policy is recognized. However, instead of questioning this strategy or engaging with poor outcomes in terms of economic growth, unemployment, informality, and poverty, these works focus on continuing the governmental strategy of labour flexibility, adaption to the requirements of international capital investment, and in advancing public interventions in training and business mentality. All of which are proposed as solutions to the socio-economic problems of existing schemes.

We have also seen how some studies on the Colombian business context are based on regional case studies (Patiño, Ruiz, & Pitre-Redondo, 2018; Duran Peralta, 2019; Porras-Paez & Schmutzler, 2019) as well as multidisciplinary readings of entrepreneurship in the country. While others mostly focused on the historical development of the business context for instance Rodríguez (2015), Vásquez, (2011) González L (2008) and Henao Mesa (2020). In these studies, local business dynamics related to structural elements such as the educational system, Colombian economic

history, and the role of different actors within their local entrepreneurial networks are evidenced.

However, these characterizations derive their information from secondary data and bibliographic reviews, which indicate a lack of empirical material on the Colombian business context. The same thing occurs when studying business behaviour in Colombia, where the studies are focused on discrete statistical indicators and secondary sources, as in Vesga (2008) and Varela et al (2020). In this sense, we find few works with empirical material regarding entrepreneurship in Colombia and the Colombian entrepreneur and when empirical material is included, typical this data is linked to predefined corporate categories (Gallego & Solís, 2018; Castro, Galán, & Bravo, 2014).

However, we have also seen works that directly go to the contextualized experience of entrepreneurship, in particular the studies of González, Vargas, & Pineda (2017), and Castiblanco Moreno (2018) on women entrepreneurs in Boyacá and Bogotá Here we see gather that examines the Colombian entrepreneurial subject within the context of their own life experience.

This material presents us with different challenges and paradoxes when it comes to studying entrepreneurship in Colombia. However, even though the situation of Colombian entrepreneurship revealed in these studies is very different from the canonical, entrepreneurial models of the North, many of these studies still reproduce the psychologizing and individualizing criteria imposed by Northern entrepreneurialism. In this sense, these readings of entrepreneurship in Colombia present us with discreet descriptions of the context and the subject concerning the categories proposed, but this is subordinated to what ultimately is an ahistorical and decontextualized image of the entrepreneurial subject. Consequently, these approaches do not account for structural elements, such as working conditions, or the implications of the work regimes on the working subject. Nor do they account for how these working conditions are experienced by the subject and how this determines the ways of existing in relation to work. In addition, they ratify the position of the local entrepreneur as a field for intervention without considering how they determine them as a subject. In other words, what these studies ultimately do is validate the construction of a subject appropriate for or Neoliberalism albeit within a Colombian context.

In this regard, three relevant tensions mark the studies on entrepreneurship in Colombia:

- The studies do not include the voices and experiences of the local entrepreneur as the central object of study. This reduces the approaches to abstractions and conceptualizations exterior to context.
- Because there is little empirical material on the context, dynamics, and agent of entrepreneurship in the country. Ultimately there is nothing that allows us to understand first-hand how entrepreneurship adapts at the local level.
- Because the adopted approach of these business studies begins from pre-established conceptualizations and contains little contextualized frames of reference, they reproduce an entrepreneurial view based on criteria and parameters derived from conditions socially, economically, and historically different from those of Colombia.

In this sense, this study aims to contribute to the discussion about entrepreneurship in Colombia, specifically in Bogotá, with empirical material, based on the experience of local entrepreneurs. Hopefully, this approach will allow us to understand how entrepreneurship is adapted to the Bogota context and what kind of business subjects are formed in this process. From this, it seeks to contribute ideas and reflections on legislation, business activity, activism, and research appropriate to the various experiences and voices of Colombian entrepreneurs, as they exist in spaces decisive for their actions.

Even so, there are conceptual gaps and epistemological difficulties when it comes to understanding how the entrepreneurial subject is produced in the Colombian context. As Guattari (1979) points out, the implementation of the subject's modelling programs is always partial, that is, when it comes to locating and adapting these prescriptions, the field opens for specificity and difference arising from the local conditions where interventions take place. This leads us to wonder about the validity and outcomes of these models in conditions different from those that produced them. How can the Colombian entrepreneur be studied without falling into psychological reductionism or reproducing their subordination to the Neoliberal forms of management? What does the experience of the local entrepreneur resemble? How do these entrepreneurship models materialize or actualize in contexts with, different histories and geopolitics? What forms of subjectivity are produced when the discourses and practices of entrepreneurialism are located as a vehicle for the construction of subalternity?

As references for this proposed investigation work, I have foregrounded four studies. One by Astrid Stensrud (2017) on the family business of street call sellers in La Paz, Peru; one by Jirón & Imilan's (2015) on the experience of precarity among flexible workers using public transport in Santiago de Chile and one by Godoy et al (2018) about the production of subjectivity in entrepreneurs from the Metropolitan Santiago de Chile and lastly, Carla Freeman's (2014) research on the experience of middle-class entrepreneurs in three Caribbean islands from a feminist ethnographic perspective. The latter being particularly relevant.

For this study, Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, will be the specific location for our investigation. Based on my literature review, I have formulated the following research questions:

• *How is entrepreneurial context assembled in Bogota?*
• *How can we characterize the experience of entrepreneurship in Bogota?*
• *How are forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity produced in Bogota?*

Thus, the objectives of this research are:

• *To map how entrepreneurialism is assembled in Bogotá*
• *To characterize the relevant social, economic, environmental, or political dynamics shaping the experience of entrepreneurs at Bogota*
• *To explore and describe the different entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity produced in Bogota in relation to the demands of contemporary Neoliberalism.*

Conclusion

W began the first section by presenting the process of reorganization of the social, economic, and political relationships crucial to the entrepreneurialization of Latin American societies. We focussed on the colonial relationships marking the Neoliberal reorganization in the territory. We then followed through analysis, the implications of the entrepreneurial demands imposed on Latin America and Colombia. I also showed how instead of transforming qualitatively the work dynamics in the region, the consolidation of entrepreneurship as the model of work during the '70s and '80s, consolidated and replicated post-colonial labour relationships.

Then we widened our focus to include techno-scientific prescriptions and interventions operating to produce entrepreneurial subjects in Colombia. Specifically, the analysis was oriented to the series of devices and technologies designed to produce

entrepreneurial subjects in the country, focusing on the strategies of interventions in public policy, and the different ways in which entrepreneurial activity and the entrepreneurial subject have been studied in the country.

Finally, we explored some relevant tensions and paradoxes that configure the local entrepreneurial context and how these tensions and paradoxes affect the experience of local entrepreneurs. Through this exploration, I problematize the generalizations of entrepreneurship as the main social, economic, and political rationality, showing how the studies of entrepreneurship in Colombia lacks the voice and the experience of the local entrepreneur and how this lack opens an epistemic gap in which we can study the experience of the entrepreneurial subject in situ. All of this is aimed at producing contextualized knowledge that contributes insights for those interested in Colombian entrepreneurialism. This leads back to the research questions and to my interest in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity and the configuration of entrepreneurialism in a *glocal* context, such as Bogotá.

So far, we have seen how the Neoliberal reforms of the last decades have positioned entrepreneurship as the predominant work paradigm and how this strategy leads to the reproduction of subalternity, with respect to the production of cheap labour, and the production of a form of existing adapted to market needs. Also, we have seen how psychology and disciplines related to administration, play a fundamental role in the construction of the entrepreneurial subject as an administrable, governable subject. Finally, we observed how entrepreneurship has become a central issue at a social, economic, and political level in Colombia and how it functions today as a reason for research and study. All of which leads us back to the proposed research questions.

Chapter 3. An ethnographic approach to the local entrepreneur

The recent research on entrepreneurship in Colombia shows a predominantly conceptual, quantitative mode in which the entrepreneur is understood through parameters produced in other contexts and through statistical measurements of psychological, demographic, or economic variables. This exercise also shows how this approach has been included systematically when designing public policy for entrepreneurship in the country in recent decades. Accordingly, the literature review shows how there is a lack of empirical information about the local entrepreneurs, who of course are the very objects of public policies of work and employment in the country. This lack of theoretical and empirical-based knowledge about the entrepreneurial subject from the Global South may explain the high rates of failure attending various public programmes of entrepreneurship developed in Colombia.

In addition, considering the role that entrepreneurship plays within the government of the neoliberal/neo-colonial order, we see how the knowledge that is applied and produced regarding these subjects, reproduces colonial subalternity by reducing them to variables and indicators. The omission of the relationship between entrepreneurship and Neoliberalism when studying entrepreneurship in Colombia and the entrepreneurial subject in the Colombian context, is an obstacle to understanding the qualities and concrete experiences of that entrepreneur. In addition, considering the production of ways of being and existing derived from the practice and experience of entrepreneurship, there is a pressing need to produce empirical and contextualized knowledge that speaks of who and how local entrepreneurs exist in their practice. Therefore, rather than insisting on a canonical approach productive of an unrealistic and decontextualized image of the Colombian entrepreneur we begin by problematizing this created object, the entrepreneur.

Such an approach of course demands an alternative theoretical one that escapes the limitations of positivism. Consequently, this chapter presents a methodological approach adapted precisely to produce pertinent and contextualized information about the local entrepreneur which hopefully allows us to understand possibilities at the individual, social, economic, cultural, environmental, and political level. This chapter presents, a methodological strategy, framed in qualitative research and ethnographic methods.

Having developed this methodology, I then present the research design, as an appropriate perspective for the study of the entrepreneurial phenomenon, showing the assembly of techniques, times, spaces, participants, and analysis models required for a study of the Colombian entrepreneurial experience.

The last section of this chapter presents reflections on my own position in relation to the fieldwork, in which I discuss the production of ethnographic knowledge, and highlight possible limitations, blind points, bias, or ethical concerns arising from this data.

General strategy

Quantitative approaches, from positivist perspectives, based on statistical measurements of economic, demographic, and psychological indicators have shown significant limitations when studying the entrepreneur in Colombia. This leads us to look for methodological alternatives to address this phenomenon. However, to be able to analyse the complex dynamics that shape Colombian entrepreneurship without losing sight of the global context requires a substantial paradigm shift. Thus, the search for alternatives to understand how entrepreneurship is experienced by subjects in particular contexts, not only undergoes methodological but also paradigmatic transformations, transformations that revaluate the traditional notions of the entrepreneur and how to study it.

As such the following sections explore different experiences and research options in the world of work in a manner that allows us to meet the objectives set. This first section, therefore, presents approaches within qualitative studies of social sciences and critical psychology that attempt to account for the complexity characteristic of the business phenomenon and the subjectivation processes related to entrepreneurship.

The second section presents an overview of ethnographic methodologies to gauge their usefulness as a tool in addressing complex social and cultural phenomena from the perspective of the different dynamics and meanings that configure specific settings.

Qualitative research: Critical approaches to the study of subjectivity.

The predominance of positivist perspectives is linked to how social reality is understood within these approaches. In terms of entrepreneurship, we see how the concept is born at the core of classic economics, characterized by a modern notion of

the subject. For example, we see how the perspectives of human capital developed by Becker and Schultz understand economic behaviour as a natural condition that makes humans behave in a manner that maximizes profits in every scenario. This is what is understood as *homo economicus*, a subject conceived from a notion of intrinsic egoism and competition drive, that is then generalized to include all other social and life aspects.

Another example is Von Hayek's notion of the market, who, through communication theory, poses the market as a natural scenario where those with better information adapt better and succeed, while those who cannot survive the competition perish. (Bröckling, 2015).

Within this conception of the economic field and economic subject, we see how different efforts arose to define them, centred around the notion of essence. Consequently, from the 18th century onwards, different authors have outlined their definitions of the entrepreneurial subject. Thus, for authors like Schumpeter, or Casson, the entrepreneur will be an agent endowed with special qualities of leadership and innovation that will place it in the central role of the economy. Likewise, other authors such as Von Mises or Krizner define it from their ability to anticipate and speculate about market behaviour.

We see how there is then, an effort to define those essential elements that constitute the entrepreneur and differentiate it from the other subjects and how this becomes the basis for observing their behaviour in the market. A circular argument where the conclusion is in truth built into the terms of the investigation itself. Thus, entrepreneurs exhibiting these qualities succeed while those lacking them fail and all this is naturalised, simply because it represents the playing out of pre-existing qualities given to the subject by the investigators themselves. As a result, various notions of the entrepreneur are translated into distinctive skills, perceptions, or attitudes that are to be measured and quantified. Specifically, the positivist conception of what subjectivity is and how can it be studied implies an essentialist understanding of subjectivity as an intrinsic, a priori, property of individuals. It also implies that subjectivity, as a natural phenomenon, can be studied by using experimental models to predict, control and replicate the knowledge about subjectivity without considering further implications. Thus, throughout the 20th century, we see how within disciplines such as psychology, management, or economics, a considerable number of studies are produced to determine the entrepreneurial subject, using the conceptual frameworks inherited by classical

economics and positivist sciences. This type of approach has prevailed when defining and understanding the Colombian entrepreneur. However, using other lines of thought derived from the social sciences, philosophy, and psychology, qualitative approaches have been proposed as an alternative to studying subjectivity. However, to study the entrepreneurial subjectivity in a particular local context, it is not sufficient to just adopt a qualitative perspective, because even this framework is highly diverse and controversial, including multiple epistemological and ontological schools. This means that there are diverse ways to construct and approach the phenomenon inside the umbrella of qualitative research (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 1999).

In this way, qualitative research schools such as Edwards and Potter (2005), Discursive Psychology (DP) also approach subjectivity through applying methods from discourse analysis to psychological phenomena by focusing on linguistic features such as speech and text. For this school, subjectivity implies a modern interiority, with a y topography of the psyche in which we find all the traditional psychological faculties as personality, attitudes, cognition, emotion, or morality. This inner space has a discursive property in that it operates under semiotic relations that are externalised through language and discourse. In this model the externalisation, discourse also interacts with this inner, psychological subjectivity. From this perspective, discourse is linked strictly to textual and linguistic features of speeches, it is referred to the language defining rules and structures, to the semiotic relations between psychological features such as attitudes, accounts, the self, categories, and representations, without considering the material basis of discourse; that is, the social relationships and the power tensions that configure the psychosocial subjects, and that underpin their subjective experiences.

In response to this approach, different approaches, and ways of understanding the subject have been developed using fields such as philosophy, social sciences, and critical psychology where work exists aimed at reconceptualizing the subject, in general. Inspired by the work of authors such as Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari, new conceptualizations of the subject based on the processes of production of subjectivity and governability have arisen.

Among these works, Blackman et al. (2008) work stand out because of how the subject has been conceptualized in different historical periods and schools of thought. They show, on the one hand, how the concept of subjectivity arises in modernity as a space in which different government devices operate and where social and political

relations are played out. Also, they show how the forms of subjectivity are produced in specific historical and cultural conditions.

Furthermore, from these critical perspectives, the work of Blackman et al (2008), or Papadopoulos (2003) have problematized the study of subjectivity in line with Badiou's criticism concerning the lack of a distinctive ontology of the subject. More specifically, this critique is oriented to show how subjectivity is always studied either from a determinist approach, focused on the structures that produce the subject, or an essentialist approach cantered in the agency of the subject and how this is the result of a set of inner qualities supposedly intrinsic to the 'self'.

This critique is oriented to problematize mainstream ontologies of the subject, defined as those limited to a pure socio-historical determinism or binary essentialism; while being also oriented to encouraging social researchers to explore in an eclectic-cross-disciplinary manner as a means of creating new theorizations and approaches to subjectivity. The separation from the humanist conception of the subject also carries an interdisciplinary posture that allows us to make reflections and associations without the inside-outside binarism contained within traditional perspectives of subjectivity.

For this reason, instead of measuring the entrepreneurs' psychological properties such as skills, motivation, attitudes or perceptions through discrete variables, this research asks how in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in the Colombian context, discourses and practices are embodied, in linguistic and extra-linguistic levels, within the daily experience of the processes production, diffusion, and localisation of the entrepreneurial discourses.

This perspective is oriented to understanding how the political, economic, and socio-historical settings are linked to the production of an agent able to reciprocally change its scenario while they are affected and transformed by that context. This conception of the entrepreneur demands from us a pertinent methodological approach that permits us to understand what kind of ideas and practices shapes their experience of themselves.

In that sense, this research adopts an interpretative and critical approach that provides us with a comprehensive framework to analyse the set of spaces, movements, rhythms, imaginaries, and forces of global entrepreneurialism in the construction of local subjectivities. In practical terms, this research perspective enables us to study the construction of Colombian entrepreneurial subjectivity in terms of how entrepreneurialism is localized in the embedded experience of Colombian

entrepreneurialism and how the forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced and reproduced in this context.

Ethnographic perspectives: multi-sited ethnography

Understanding subjectivity as a space, or surface, where social and political tensions take place represents a challenge. Moreover, understanding that subjectivity is a complex phenomenon configured by forces and tensions confronts us with the methodological need for an interdisciplinary effort to analyse and associate different perspectives. This challenge implies a certain distance from the mainstream and hegemonic conceptions of subjectivity that have traditionally dominated this field of study (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos, & Walkerdine, 2008; Papadopoulos, 2003). With this regard, a starting point to construct our methodological approach is interdisciplinarity, one of the most distinctive characteristics of the critical approaches of social sciences. This is important because it implies flexibility to intervening, mixing and modify the methodological tools when approaching the particularities of each context, rather than keep a sort of loyalty to theoretical or methodological impositions.

Hence, interdisciplinarity as a starting point will guide our methodological setting. Therefore, we need a methodological toolbox that enables us to gather and analyse diverse kinds of elements from fields such as the individual experience, the social world, economic dynamics, and geopolitical relationships. These methodological tools are a product of an assemblage of insights, strategies, and techniques from fields such as ethnographic research, sociology, and critical cartography for data analysis. This enclave permits us to identify and trace cultural formations of Colombian entrepreneurialism as they operate in the experience of local subjects. Still, ethnographic methods are diverse and heterogeneous, rooted in different epistemological traditions that make it necessary to specify the perspective adopted for this study.

Traditionally, ethnography has been associated with a thick, intensive characterization and interpretation of the cultural codes and social structures in a geographically and historically located single place. It is common to imagine the anthropologist as the outsider observer; whose role is to collect data from a “natural” social scenario and interpret it without intervening in the ethnographical space. This means that the ethnographical work is supposed to take place in a single physical, well-defined space, disconnected from the global dynamics, mostly places and communities

located in the former colonies of the last century North Atlantic potencies (Kurotani, 2004).

However, this conception of space and relation between the ethnographer, the fieldwork and the production of ethnographical knowledge is insufficient for gathering all the complexity that configures local contexts and subjects. A mono-sited conception of the field represents a limitation to study the continuities and discontinuities of forces and movements that sharpen the entrepreneurial phenomena around the world and in Colombia. The interconnections overlap and juxtapose between different and dispersed networks of entrepreneurial activity in the globalised Neoliberal world and their localisations are highly relevant to understand the kind of discourses and practices that circulate through the Colombian contexts of work and entrepreneurship.

This lack of recognition of the multiple extensions, interconnections, and rhythms that configures the entrepreneurial fieldwork, makes traditional perspectives of ethnography inopportune for exploring the production of subjectivity beyond the boundaries of modern linear time and static space. Consequently, alternative perspectives in the ethnographic palette must be considered in our search for a methodological approach pertinent to study entrepreneurial subjectivity in Colombia, in this regard Marcus's Multi-sited ethnography arises as a useful tool.

Since the late '80s, Marcus (1995) in recognition of the contemporary mobility of cultural formations across the globalised capitalism, challenges the hegemonic models of ethnographic work, proposing instead a shift from mono-sited ethnographic fieldwork to a multi-sited comprehension of the ethnographic field as a space located within a world system. As well, time is important for multi-sited ethnography. The dislocation between time and space enables us to analyse how different spaces are configured by multiple temporalities that do not behave as a linear, sequential, and passive unidirectional sequence of events. As Falzon (2016, pág. 8) claims, "In ethnography… time transforms and makes". For this reason, features such as simultaneity and parallelism are important to trace the circulation and changes of cultural forms (Hannerz, 2003). Following these ideas, many anthropologists and researchers of the social sciences have been testing and defying the boundaries between the local scenarios of ethnographic research and the global world system (Kurotani, 2004). For this study, this is convenient because, as it has been shown in the first chapters, the colonial relationship and their neoliberal reorganization that set the

Colombian context correspond to global dynamics interwoven across apparently dispersed scenarios and different pasts that are still present.

Multi-sited ethnography challenges the static notion of traditional ethnography, providing theoretical and methodological alternatives to the limitations of the mainstream and traditional paradigms. Thus, the next section presents those key elements of multi-sited ethnography regarding possible combinations within sociological studies and critical cartographies.

Considerations on the production of ethnographic knowledge

Before the methodological specifications are presented, certain ethical considerations should be included in two lines of reflection: the first, concerning the production of ethnographic knowledge, and the second, concerning the entrepreneur, the fieldwork, and the ethnographic activity. These ideas seek to warn about the limitations and possible shortcomings of this study.

Positioning yourself in the fieldwork

Considering the reflections displayed by Marcus (1995; 2011), Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) or Burawoy (1998), regarding the relationship between the ethnographer and the ethnographic field, the researcher's position within a social system must be considered, understanding ethnographic work as a reflexive exercise. In this sense, my social, economic, and cultural background is key to understand the possibilities that emerge during the process of picturing an image of the entrepreneurial field in Bogotá. So, let us analyse my initial position as a researcher, of my body in context: I am a mestizo-male-young-adult born in 1992, the only son of an urban middle-class family from Bogotá who have worked both as employees and entrepreneurs; I have undergrad studies in Psychology at the Pontifical Xaverian University, a religious private university with a relatively high social status and a proclaimed vocation of being empathic and engaging with a social issue. I have been involved with political activism and cultural activities in Bogotá and I am part of a *post-cold war* generation who grew up during the period when the economic and political scenario was taken over by free trade and Neoliberal politics, such as entrepreneurialism.

We can define my first relation to the entrepreneurial field as an academic researcher in issues of subjectivity and labour –through entrepreneurship–, which is also

linked to my institutional background and the socioeconomic position that allows it. This means, as an undergraduate male psychologist from the Pontifical Xaverian University from an upper-middle-class urban family who is studying a PhD in entrepreneurship at a competitive university from the Global North.

Secondly, my family history and my relationships with colleagues, close people, and friends, constitute other relevant links between my position as a researcher and my research topic. For instance, some of the points for meeting entrepreneurs came from colleagues and family who are involved in entrepreneurial activities, configuring my access to the field. Additionally, my personal interests in political, cultural, and social activism and social movements have influenced the kind of spaces, networks, and organizations I am familiar with within the city. Specifically, my political affinity with ideas from the left and progressive politics configures the networks of people involved with social issues who also share their contacts and access to the project. This results in a challenge, an academic bias, because of the "types" of entrepreneurs who might participate in the research. Rather than approaching participants with an a priori assumption of the "kinds" of entrepreneurs I would expect, this research aims to explore the entrepreneurial scenario in an open way to understand how the topic can be unfolded and produced by different trans-subjective experiences where subjective issues either mine or the para-ethnographers, came into the conversation and reflection to produce relevant and desired knowledge.

Therefore, these sets of relationships constitute the starting point of the ethnographic work, determining those, most spontaneous or naive, initial possibilities. For this purpose, we can consider my body as an academic one, especially as my position as the researcher was key to me achieving access to the different entrepreneurs and spaces.

As a strength, I can think of the sensibility and familiarity that I have with the people in these networks that enables me to empathize with them and this presents a good starting point to engage with the fieldwork. Another strength is the experience I have gathered in activism in terms of the first-hand experience of how public and political issues affect the daily life of individuals and communities as well as deepening my grasp of how these groups resist and propose alternatives as means to achieve their aims through struggle.

As a possible bias for this research, my involvement with activism and base movements can be related to the composition of the sample, most of the participants

being social and environmental entrepreneurs, as well as informal workers. Like wisely, high-impact entrepreneurs or ‘white unicorns’, as they are called, did not appear in the field and my attempts at contacting them were unsuccessful. An outcome that may relate to the time dynamics, rhythms, and spaces that configure the setting for that sort of entrepreneur. Nonetheless, the sample characteristics are coherent with the previous characterizations of entrepreneurial activity in Colombia, the typical economic activities in the Colombian market and the proportion of entrepreneurs working in those activities. Consequently, the sample was diverse but was still constituted mainly of women, working in the agricultural tradition and the informal sector.

Production of ethnographic knowledge

Once aware of one own voice, it is important to reflect now on the other voices in the fieldwork in terms of how to gather and embrace the otherness in the entrepreneurial contexts. As an ethnographer, -aware of the elements one could bring to the fieldwork, it is important to reflect upon the implications of the dialogues generated by the ethnography. This reflection is oriented to consider the qualities and intensities of the different live voices in the fieldwork and how to embrace the otherness and the experiences that arise within the research. This emphasis in reflecting on what one carries into the fieldwork is necessary because fieldwork relations are also where power dynamics and hierarchies take place, and as an ethnographer, one must be aware of this. For that reason, multi-sited ethnography is reflexive, (Burawoy, 1998), of the intra-subjective relation between the study, the subjects, the researcher, and the political dimension of this methodological perspective. As Marcus (1995) points out, the basis of fieldwork is a consciousness that the production of knowledge stems from diverse forms of intensities and qualities. By this I mean, that the way the ethnographer relates with other voices of the field says something about the pre-existing hierarchies that configure Colombian entrepreneurialism, hierarchies such as the academy, communities, public institutions, private investors, or international organisations. Moreover, this consciousness of the implicit tensions of ethnographic work represents a political positioning in this power dynamics.

Thus, there are two critical issues involved in the task of studying Colombian entrepreneurship: first, this conception of the entrepreneur is far from representing the diversity of entrepreneurs found in Colombia, where entrepreneurs exist in rural and urban territories of all the regions, originate from different social classes or work in

diverse economic sectors. Even more important, the traditional conception of the distance that the ethnographer should have to the field is a profound limitation in terms of the knowledge t produced by ethnographic work and to an understanding of its wider political implications. For instance, this separation of the ethnographer within the fieldwork and how the data is subsequently treated implies a separation implicit in a situation where the researcher is independent of the research subject and has the ultimate control over their words. This position as an outsider in the field who interprets what is natural to the field can be read as an imposition of an external reading by someone who can produce valuable knowledge for academia (Burawoy, 1998). In this dynamic, the voice of the people and communities in the ethnographic fieldwork is relegated to a secondary position, a subalternity, where the role of this voice is to echo, legitimate, reinforce and confirm the predominant voice of the ethnographer, who embodies the voice of academy as a strong, legit, and trustable voice, in short, who is the owner of the 'Truth'.

In contrast, the multi-sited ethnographic approach does not "look for confirmations but for theory's refutation" (Burawoy, 1998, pág. 20). The refusal of the dictatorship of the theory is not an attempt to destroy theoretical work; it is an opportunity for reinventing and recreating theory. For this reason, the theoretical background and the design arise from the ethnography itself. In an almost autopoietic[2] manner, multi-sited ethnography determines the conceptual apparatus and the design of the fieldwork (Marcus, 2011). For multi-situated ethnography it becomes essential to translate cultural forms into other cultural languages, to make relationships and associations. There is a construction of a cultural phenomenon that can be made by mapping, in the sense of following or tracing, subjects, things, social meanings, stories, literacy, conflicts, spaces, etc.

Let us stop here and think about what this engagement with the context and the ethnographic fieldwork implies in terms of who is the 'other' and what links exist between them. First, there is an initial relation in the simple fact of engaging with entrepreneurship in our daily experience, given that we all share our link with the global entrepreneurial culture. This does not mean that the shared link with entrepreneurialism

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[2] This is a concept introduced by the Chilean biologist and philosopher Humberto Maturana to designate the property of living systems to produce and modify themselves in autonomous ways. For further information please see: *Maturana, H., & Varela, F. (1998). De máquinas y seres vivos. Universitaria.*

implies a homogeneity of the discourses about entrepreneurship far from it. Rather it is precisely the differences between the narratives in terms of intensities and qualities that produce the diverse localizations of entrepreneurship in different geographical, historical, political, social, economic, and temporal contexts. Hence, it is important to be aware of the diversity of the voices that can be traced in the fieldwork and the continuities and discontinuities between them. It is precisely this inter-actional dynamic between different voices that locates the interplay of power dynamics and tensions.

However, this awareness of the power dynamics within the fieldwork at the time of collecting, systematising, and presenting the information, also implies a positioning of these tensions. Considering that some voices are weaker than others and that there are hierarchical relations between them, the weight we gave to each voice at the time of processing the information says something about our position concerning these power relations. Therefore, if this study has the aim of making visible voices other than the mainstream voice of entrepreneurialism, this exercise of positioning represents a challenge as a researcher.

Initially, a first idea could be to give the weak voices a privileged position or complement their claims with some connections with the periphery, still, this kind of solutions implies a distance where the ethnographer is privileged as a well-educated rescuer of the vulnerable. Of course, this privileged position itself represents a problematic social implication, mirroring the one in which the academy operates in daily life.

For this reason, Marcus (1995) proposes a way to consider the other in the multi-sited fieldwork, a positioning that locates them as para-ethnographers. He creates this term to understand the role of subjects in a multi-sited ethnography project as another, parallel, researcher. The para-ethnographer is not a remain of the past or a living testimony of a tradition, but a starting point for the analysis of the field experience. From this approach, the relation between the ethnographer and the otherness in the field is not in terms of a coalition of two different cultures. On the contrary, the otherness is considered as a difference, a singularity derived from the distribution of the fieldwork knowledge in wider systems. Thus, this approach locates para-ethnographer experience as part of that system, enabling mediations and interventions within the context.

This horizontality between ethnographer and para-ethnographer, contained within our conception of the field means that the knowledge produced by this kind of research differs from traditional ethnographical knowledge. For traditional

ethnographers, the whole force and purpose of the production of ethnographic knowledge is the thickness (Falzon, 2016), depth knowledge of singular sites as the way to characterise and define the structures of each local culture.

Despite the force of mainstream ethnography's considerations regarding the production of knowledge, the ideas and reflection produced by multi-sited ethnography carry a lack of depth/thickness, which constitutes, as Falzon (2016) pointed out, the principal advantage of ethnography itself. The knowledge produced by ethnographical work, the multi-sited ethnography represents a way to understand cultural forms of social meanings production without the modern duality between the local and the global. In this sense, the depth that is lost is represented in the gain of horizontal growth; the multi-sited ethnography is not interested in a vertical, segmented, immersion in cultural forms.

For this research, this means orienting our focus towards the relations, links, and extensions that one can trace in the contact with the fieldwork, rather than in the specific characteristics and the details of the fieldwork. Here, it is important to think about what else is implied in our attempt to trace horizontally, instead of vertically, in terms of spaces. With the attempt of following the entrepreneurial discursive practices in extended fieldwork, one must know that this exercise of tracing through disperse path implies movement, change, and dynamism for the ethnographer. As Hannerz (2003) titles his article, multi-sited ethnography means "being there… and there… and there!". What this author is saying is that to achieve extension you must move! By movement, I mean changing between different spaces, changing between physical spaces, changing between different positions and levels, changing between institutional spaces, changing between physical and virtual spaces. This permanent process of changing places is what provides us with a wider view, a bigger picture of the fieldwork.

In practical terms, this means that we will move and change between spaces that constitute Colombian entrepreneurialism. By adopting, for example, changes and movements, such as from the international to the national academy, from the public to the private sector, from the urban to the rural, from the physical to the virtual or from the mainstream to the underground. These movements will characterise our ethnographic work. These movements and shifting of spaces also represent a change in the ethnographer, the para-ethnographers, and the fieldwork itself; therefore, in multi-sited ethnography, the fieldwork is constructed as a dynamic space that is in permanent change, in a constant process of actualization.

In this sense, this research privileges the voice, experience, and ideas of the informants in their context, over categories of analysis established prior to the experience in the ethnographic field. In this way, the methodological assembly is designed so that unexpected and spontaneous elements that arise during the research process, shape both the interpretative frameworks and the development of the fieldwork itself. Thus, rather than producing knowledge with universalist aspirations, the results of this research seek to produce a partial, open, and workable picture of entrepreneurialism in Bogotá and the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity in this context. In ethical terms, due to the nature of the information reported by the para-ethnographers regarding their location in the city and their entrepreneurial activity, to assign a nickname to each participant and to omit information that would make them recognisable was decided. In addition to this consideration, the research does not involve any risk for them, since the techniques used to develop the fieldwork do not imply interventions or experimentation with the participants.

Research design

Multi-sited ethnography attempts to re-invent the ethnographical modern tradition, challenging the aesthetics and culture of mainstream ethnography, as it is centred in the circulation and change of cultural forms such as cultural meanings, identities, objects, ideologies, aesthetics, etc. in diffuse time and space (Marcus, 2011). Allegorically, this means shifting from a *just-be-there* paradigm into a new one based on *being there… and there… and there…*

This "new wave" of multi-sited ethnographic research has created new fieldworks in spaces such as the world of work, migration studies, digital communities, international economy, or marketing (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 1999). For example, the Labour Process Theory (LPT) has enriched the understanding of work as a complex global system where international labour relations constitute a whole network that configures local expressions in the space of work (Thompson & Smith, 2009). Casas-Cortés (2014) highlights the multi-sited condition of precarity, understood as complex phenomena constituted by continuities and discontinuities around the globe: chains of value, the global financial market, or the relations between the global North and the global South.

In the Latin American context, there are recent experiences where multi-sited contextually based ethnographies have been implemented to explore the world of work. For example, (Pulido-Martinez, 2008) deploys a multilocal ethnography with different transport companies in Bogotá to analyse the operation of psychology in the production processes of the driver as a modern working subject. García (2016) also uses this method to map informal commercial strategies to transport and market goods in central-western Mexico as a way of understanding how subjects establish socioeconomic schemes based on entrepreneurial skills and the production of goods. Another example is Peirano (2020) who through a multilocal ethnography gives an account of the processes of subjectivation of Chilean filmmakers derived from a series of observations in meeting spaces and economic, social, and cultural exchanges with the national artistic environment. Additionally, Piquinela Averbug (2020), through a multi-sited ethnography, analysed the acquisition, assembly, co-design, and circulation of a marquee for fairs, talks, and cultural events related to the social economy as a way of analysing the mode of subjectivation that emerges from the experience.

Considering these references, we understand how local practices and imaginaries are not separated from macro phenomena, instead, they are interconnected with forces, movements, and ideas that are dispersed in the world system, which demand movement as a means of understanding these dynamics. This kind of approach indicates alternative ways to study phenomena: labour and employment, entrepreneurialism, in multiple local spaces as it is configured in diverse ways by the Neoliberalism/neo-colonial world order.

In this sense, we will focus on the strategies of multi-sited research, the notion of the field, and the role of the ethnographer to determine the design of our research. According to Marcus (2011, pág. 105), “multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that define the argument of the ethnography.”.

Considering these lines of work in relation to the configuration of local entrepreneurialism, we must adopt more than one research strategy. Due to the complexity of entrepreneurial phenomena. this study presents a hybridization between different lines of work This exercise of mapping and following mobile objects in diffuse time-space, enable us to see a bigger picture of the world system and the relationship

between global and local contexts in it by the associating of different spaces, trends and convergences that are related in a non-necessary explicit way (Marcus, 2011).

The strategies adopted are: *following the people*, which consists in to move and accompany a singular group of subjects in their movements and trajectories, which enables to study the activities, spaces, and rhythms that shapes¡ the daily experience of local entrepreneurs; *following the metaphor*, in which the object of study is social correlates and associations that we can trace in language and ideological devices such as social media, public policy, or educational contexts, and finally, to reconfigure the single-sited fieldwork as an extension of a multi-sited perspective, where the ethnographic work is guided to understand how a place has positioned the world-system. The strategies adopted for this study will determine the way of producing the fieldwork.

It is relevant at this point to consider the notion of the fieldwork and the role of the ethnographer in this process as a means for understanding the application of these strategies. A starting point is our conception of the ethnographical fieldwork. Moreover, despite the differences with the mainstream perspectives of ethnography, the multi-situated ethnography considers that traditional ethnographical fieldwork is already multi-sited even if it is not in a reflexive way.

As this discussion shows multi-sited ethnography is a highly politicised method in the sense that the selection of the spaces and sites of investigation is always highly influenced by political and ethical factors of the researcher (Marcus, 2011).
Bearing all this in mind the next part presents the specific strategies and research tools that constitute the methodological approach for this study. In this sense, we present how the ethnographical strategies are disposed of, the production of the fieldwork in terms of location and sample, the selected research tools and techniques, the timetable of the fieldwork, and the cartographical approach given to the analysis.

Methodology

As mentioned, the strategies adopted for this multi-sited ethnography are *following the people, following the metaphor,* and a sort of *strategic single-site ethnography*. Consequently, the information collected from the entrepreneurs who participate in the study, the different spaces, ideas, movements, images, objects, and bodies and the socio-economic and geopolitical relationships that configure the space and how entrepreneurs are distributed in the setting.

F*ollowing the people* implies tracing and mapping how entrepreneurs and agents related to entrepreneurship are distributed across the fieldwork. By this, we set out a focus on how entrepreneurs move and interact within the context. Specifically, this means to map how they transit different territories and trajectories, the qualities of the places they inhabit, how the times and rhythms set the phase of the entrepreneurial life, the kind of objects and devices that the entrepreneur interacts with, and the activities that configure their daily life. This information enables us to know about the way how entrepreneurship is experienced in relation to the material conditions and the socio-economic dynamics that frame entrepreneurial activity.

Regarding, how to *follow the metaphor,* in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity, entrepreneurship itself is the key concept that articulates the practices and codes that constitute entrepreneurial life and entrepreneurial subjects. In this way, another line of work is to study how *entrepreneurship* as a concept is linked to different spaces, activities, objects, ideas, practices, ways of talking or discourses, affections, and experiences in different spaces to understand how the concept of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship operates with indifferent positions of the fieldwork. This information is relevant to understand how entrepreneurialism regards different qualities and elements taken from the context.

Lastly, it is relevant to make clear the approach to the *strategic single-site ethnography*. Considering the magnitude of the studied phenomena, the fieldwork is produced as a partial image within a world system instead of attempting to produce a complete, holistic map of it. In this sense, the ethnographic field is framed by different delimitations that make it possible to produce distinguishable knowledge about local contexts. Thus, Colombian entrepreneurialism is studied from a particular position among all the different localities that constitute the Neoliberal/neo-colonial world system, but in relation, as an extension, of multi-sited phenomena, expressed in local ways.

Location and duration

Once strategies are defined, we can define the locations where the ethnography will be developed.

Bearing in mind our objective, it is relevant to map those strategic points and routes that allow us to analyse multiple connections and movements within the country's entrepreneurial field. In this perspective, the industrial cities appear as the first option to

locate the research due to demographic concentration and economic activity. However, this should not translate into neglect of the country's agricultural tradition. It is always important to remember that these rural spaces contain the majority of Colombian entrepreneurship. Furthermore, considering the objective of studying the Colombian case concerning the different systems and relationships that configure the Neoliberal/neo-colonial world system, it is relevant to explore the different connections at the transnational level that configure entrepreneurial life in the country. In this sense, the location where we develop the multi-sided ethnography should present intense entrepreneurial activity, and also, multiple connections with spaces and dynamics including if possible both local spaces of entrepreneurship and global geopolitical and geoeconomics dynamics.

Following these considerations, Bogotá, the country's capital, was chosen as the initial scenario to explore Colombian entrepreneurial activity. With 8.8 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area, the city is home to about 20% of the country's population. A figure which has grown over the years of internal displacement and migration caused by armed conflict and rural abandonment. Thus, after years of urban growth, Bogotá is now the administrative, economic, touristic, and cultural centre of the country, hosting a high volume of entrepreneurial activity and multiple connections to national and international spaces.

Additionally, its territorial composition facilitated the analysis of different interconnections with productive dynamics in nearby rural areas. Although Bogotá has an urban area of more than 300 km^2, this is only 25% of the city's territory, the other 75% of Bogotá's territory is rural. Located at 2625 meters above sea level in the eastern cordillera of the Andes, Bogotá is positioned in the centre of Colombia, framed by a 2.500 km^2 savannah, which is primarily rural, with industrial, agricultural, and commercial land uses.

In addition, the high concentration and circulation of entrepreneurs increase the opportunity to explore multiple expressions and experiences of entrepreneurship that occur within the diversity of the city. Finally, the centrality and relevance of Bogotá's entrepreneurial life in the country's economy and politics allowed us to study broad connections linking local spaces with global market dynamics.

Thus, Bogotá was defined as the scenario for multi-sited ethnography, extending the ethnographic field beyond its geopolitical boundaries; understanding the city as a node that, on the one hand, is the result of multiple intersecting factors, shaping the

qualities of the context, and on the other hand, articulate diverse spaces and practices that connected by entrepreneurial activity within the city itself.

As for the duration of fieldwork, a period of eight (8) months was established to collect the expected information. This period allowed one academic semester for fieldwork plus two extra months for the immersion and closure of the process. The fieldwork was conducted between October 2017 and May 2018. Due to the dynamic and changing condition of multi-sited ethnography, the concept of time as an indicator of depth in the field was re-evaluated, towards a perspective that sought to explore the breadth and multiplicity of relationships.

Sample and access

We should therefore begin with our definition of an entrepreneur for this study. Despite the long academic tradition dedicated to the study of the entrepreneurial subject, Marttila (2018) points out how the term entrepreneur or enterprise has become indistinguishable due to its function as a metaphor to condense diverse qualities and attributes in different contexts, by different disciplines, and with multiple purposes. In this sense, there is a need to study how these ideas are adapted in specific contexts. The public policy of entrepreneurship in Colombia is a clear example of the ambiguity of the term entrepreneur. In the Law 1014 of 2006 (Congress of Colombia, 2006, pág. 9), the entrepreneur is understood as: "...a person with the capacity to innovate; understood as the capacity to generate goods and services in a creative, methodical, ethical, responsible and effective way". Furthermore, entrepreneurship is defined as:

> *"[A] set of people, variables, and factors that intervene in the process of creating a company. A way of thinking and acting oriented towards the creation of wealth. It is a way of thinking, reasoning, and acting that focuses on opportunities, approached with a global vision and carried out through balanced leadership and the management of a calculated risk; its result is the creation of value that benefits the company, the economy, and society."*
> (Congress of Colombia, 2006)

In this sense, more than a specific type of person or activity, what we follow is a series of practices, meanings, ideas, and relationships that are framed within an entrepreneurial culture, and which are materialised in the practice of local entrepreneurship. For this reason, we required a strategy that allows an exploration of the connection's prescient to entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá. Furthermore, this explanation must be centred on the experience of the subjects; that is to say, it must start

from the spaces and dynamics that mark the life of the entrepreneur. Also, the sampling method must be adapted to these dynamics and to the way with which the ethnographic field is produced autonomously, without imposing an agenda on the participants beyond the study of the entrepreneurial experience. We are therefore looking for a way to find those experiences that emerge spontaneously in the field and not to use the individual parameters –psychological, sociodemographic, or econometric– that have already been worked on extensively in this field.

Thus, within the qualitative methods, non-probabilistic sampling strategies are chosen, which allows access to people and communities that are not differentiated so clearly. Following this perspective produces various possible sampling alternatives. These strategies allow for direct access to participants in the field in various ways, with their respective advantages and disadvantages. Thus, for example, a self-selection process facilitates access to participants quickly and with a higher probability of engagement with the research; however, it generates a risk of bias and of not generating a representative sample (Sharma, 2017). In the case of the key actor sampling technique, it allows us to access those key agents who have access those with better information about the field; however, it generates delays when contacting the participants since, as they are key subjects, their access is more difficult (Tansey, 2007; Sharma, 2017).

Within these perspectives, sequential sampling and snowball sampling stand out, as these make use of the participants' connections with other potential participants (Etikan, Alkassim, & Sulaiman, 2015). However, the timing of the sampling differentiates these techniques. Thus, for sequential sampling, there are certain moments before the research when new participants are recruited by participants from the earlier stages of the research. However, there comes a point where sampling stops. Meanwhile, for snowball sampling, recruitment is carried out progressively throughout the study, looking for new connections through the participants, until there is sufficient information to sustain analysis (Noy, 2008; Etikan, Alkassim, & Sulaiman, 2015; Sharma, 2017).

The contextualised study of the production of subjectivity in entrepreneurs requires a change in perspective when approaching the local subject. This change of perspective demands an alternative way of selecting methodological tools that allow us to access local spaces spontaneously, moving away from an approach to the subject from an *a priori* theoretical perspective that reduces the sampling margin to non-contextualised categories. Thus, considering the objective of mapping subjects that are

not distinguishable, and therefore difficult to access, snowball sampling provides us with a technique that allows us to approach the field spontaneously from the knowledge and experiences of the context. This sampling approach resonates with Marcus' notion of fieldwork (2011), in which the ethnographic field is produced and reproduced throughout ethnography by the joint work of ethnographers and para-ethnographers, to form a complex image of a common field. Regarding the relationship between subjects when sampling, Noy (2008) points out how these encounters, produced by the sampling strategy, allow participants to have a greater influence on the production of knowledge as well as presenting means to explore organic social networks originating within a dynamic, constantly changing context.

The snowball strategy, specifically exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling (Sharma, 2017), is adopted as the sampling technique for this research. It allows each participant the freedom, or not, to make the connection with one or more potential participants at different points in the research. Specifically, this means that the sample will be constructed by asking the entrepreneurs to contact new participants that they feel might be interested in participating in the research. In this way, access is in the hands of the participants, who will guide the direction of the fieldwork at each moment, through their recommendations and indications of where to expand the ethnographic field. This provides the advantage of presenting a broad perspective, one which allows us to adapt in case the participation of subjects suggested by other participants cannot be actualised.

While snowball sampling is useful for approaching the local subject in a spontaneous and field-produced ethnographic way, it also presents a few limitations when exploring the different ways in which entrepreneurship is expressed at the local level. Thus, gaining breadth by following different entrepreneurship networks also limits the study of various networks that are not easily accessible to most participants, such as the networks of top executives, CEOs, and high-impact entrepreneurs. However, these types of entrepreneurs tend to have visibility in institutional or mainstream spaces, due to their orientation towards traditional models of the entrepreneurial subject; making it more interesting to ask about the production of subjectivity in those entrepreneurs who do not fit so clearly within such schemes. Moreover, leaving it up to the participants to recruit new informants may produce a sample that does not correspond to the official and traditional characterisations of working subjects by industry or activity.

In this sense, snowball sampling represents an alternative way to study the local entrepreneur outside of previous characterisations and based on their own experience. Even if the mapping reduces the extrapolation potential of the results, the study of entrepreneurship from the experience of the local entrepreneur allows us to analyse how Bogotá's entrepreneurial field is experienced by different subjects sharing workspaces and dynamics, as well as the forms of subjectivity they articulate when narrating their experience. In this sense, the information produced by this research does not seek to become generalisable or universalizable; on the contrary, it seeks to represent a partial image of the entrepreneurial field in Bogotá, as an alternative starting point for understanding the entrepreneurial phenomenon in this context. Thus, this image is open to being complemented, reinterpreted, and reconsidered in relation to different approaches that can be articulated to the ideas presented in this work.

It should be noted that the size of the sample is determined by the time allocated institutionally for the fieldwork and the quality of the information obtained during the ethnographic work, and not by criteria of statistical significance. Consequently, this study involved 25 cases of entrepreneurship in the city of Bogotá.

Data collection

Among the qualitative methods, interviews have occupied a privileged place within in-depth ethnographic studies in fields such as anthropology and sociology (de Mattos, 2005; Valles, 2007; Fontana & Prokos, 2007). This can be attributed to the numerous ways and strategies in which this technique can be implemented; be it in a structured, semi-structured, non-structured, group, professional, journalistic, psychosocial, focused, or in-depth way. Thus, we see how the interview is used in multiple contexts and different disciplines as a tool to study ideas, stories, memories, historical events, life trajectories, experiences linked to gender, and various other fields of application. Interviews produce information from an agreed-upon meeting where meaning is constructed together concerning the investigated (Valles, 2007). Particularly, Fontana & Prokos (2007) rescue the reflections of Marcus and Fisher to define the non-structured interview as the most powerful means to produce ethnographic information.

Following this line, it is relevant to consider certain criteria that characterise the non-structured interview. Thus, de Mattos (2005) points out how this type of interview seeks to give agency and decision to the interviewee when constructing their answers and orienting the interview. De Mattos also observes how unstructured interviews can

be understood from a pragmatic analysis of language as a type of conversation, in which the interviewee has greater participation in the interaction since they are given the field to associate or interrupt different questions and answers, as opposed to structured or semi-structured interviews. For this reason, unstructured interviews are powerful tools for producing information about the ethnographic field spontaneously by allowing the interviewee the freedom to respond, reformulate, introduce new topics, associate diverse issues, interrupt, or question.

Consequently, in these interviews, no pre-established or rigid scripts are used to guide the conversation (Valles, 2007). This opens the opportunity for themes and categories to emerge from the interview itself, rather than introducing a thematic agenda through a script. This makes the timing of the interview uncertain, and it can be done at different times and in different locations. This type of unstructured interview can be assimilated to the creative interview, which in sociology is understood as an interview that is flexible enough to adapt to unexpected circumstances and produce information (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). In this sense, the meeting places also change since this openness to uncertainty allows the interview to take place in locations outside the traditional methodological framework.

Following these ideas, the non-structured interview functions as the main technique in this study due to its power to produce information from the spontaneity of the interactions, its flexibility to adapt to unexpected situations, and its capacity to give space to the interviewee to decide about the interview. For this reason, by having only one question that opens the conversation, the different questions and topics of conversation arise from each encounter and from how the interviewee articulates their response. Also, in line with the productive intent of this interview technique, an open-ended question was posed, focusing on the ‘how’. An approach that allows for the greatest number of associations and gives the interviewee the freedom to approach it from their preferred perspective. Bearing all this in mind the question that marks the starting point of the conversation is: *What has your experience with entrepreneurship been like?*

This question opens the conversation about the experience of entrepreneurship, which is a micro-script. For this reason, it can be said that these interviews will be non-structured but standardised, in the sense that all participants will be asked the same question. However, the questions and topics that emerge from this will depend on the interviewee. Thus, the role of the interviewer is to follow the conversation according to

the interviewee's answers without losing the objective of the research. This required an effort on the part of the interviewer to identify and develop those key themes that the interviewee introduced to the conversation.

Finally, complementary to this technique, the opportunity was taken to use the flexibility of time and space to conduct non-structured interviews to make observations with the participants who accepted this, as well as allowing them to participate in key spaces or events indicated by the interviewees. In this sense, as agreed with the para-ethnographers, visits and/or accompaniments were made to the places and activities that the entrepreneurs inhabited in their daily lives. These observations were as a participant or only as a spectator, according to the authorisation and/or request of the para-ethnographers. Both the interviews and the observations are articulated around the exercise of mapping those interactions and experiences produced by the fieldwork, concerning a geopolitical context that shapes the social, economic, and political dynamics in Bogotá. This assemblage of interviews, observations and the mapping exercise constitute the methodological approach to the research techniques.

Analysis

The analysis started with the translation of the interviews, which represented a challenge considering the necessity to translate local versions of Colombian Spanish, including colloquial terms, slang, and jargon into academic standardized English. Consequently, this process was developed in different stages where the difference between both languages was negotiated to make the participants' ideas understandable for an academic public. Once the interviews have been transcribed and translated, they go on to the analysis stage, which we will describe in this section.

The North American philosopher Frederic Jameson (as quoted in Fisher, 2009) points out how in what we consider in this research to be the Neoliberal/Neo-colonial world order, there is no clear cognitive map that allows us to orient ourselves politically and to find alternatives to capitalist realism, as Mark Fisher (2009) terms it, an observation which marks the imagination, or lack of imagination, of post-modern/post-colonial politics. Consequently, he calls for the creation of new "cognitive maps" of political and economic relations shaping today's world, as the first step towards finding escape routes or lines of flight from the late capitalism that marks our imagination. This call to map the relationships that make up the World System resonates with the proposal of schizoanalytical cartographies outlined by Deleuze and Guattari, but especially by the

latter. For Guattari (1979), this analytical approach constitutes a creative effort to decode the different modern/colonial cartographies that are codified through techno-scientific interventions in what he considers territories or affective territories specifically; all these spaces where the subject is constituted. Consequently, the concept of territory extends to fields such as the body, the psyche, the environment, geography, architecture, social networks, language, politics, and the market, which constitute what he calls World Integrated Capitalism.

Under this notion of territory, Guattari proposes a mode of analysis that allows us to break limits marked by territories, to generate links and lines of flight that articulate multiple fields in creative production and through these means to make the step from a geopolitical analysis to a *geo-poetic* one (Holmes , 2009; Carvalho, 2009). For this reason, the analysis strategy consists of "mapping" the field based on the experience of the entrepreneurs to produce new cartographies of Colombian entrepreneurialism; that not only allow it to be understood in a complex and dynamic way, but also to guide political action in the search for alternatives to reformulate the field.

In this sense, the research assumes diagramming as a form of mapping and analysis. However, considering that the information comes from unstructured interviews and multiple observations in dispersed spaces, it is pertinent to specify how this exercise was carried out.

As Valles (2007) points out, interviews are first and foremost cultural productions, which emerge from an interaction agreed upon in the context of an investigation and should therefore be treated as such. Following this logic about Guattari's concept of territory, interviews are considered as new spaces, textual or narrative spaces produced within the World System through the ethnographic exercise. Furthermore, through the narration of different experiences associated with business activity, the participants carry out an exercise of subjective construction and positioning in the present that accounts for processes of subjectivation. Therefore, the interviews are understood as spaces/moments from which the subject is narrated and constituted subjectively, produced by ethnography that articulates other dispersed spaces where the entrepreneurial subject produces itself. The interview becomes an ethnographic field once it is registered and becomes a textual space.

However, this implies a challenge when mapping the interview because of the absence of a priori fixed categories with which to read the results. How to proceed?

Where to start? What to include? How to make the associations? To answer these questions, we turned to thematic analysis as a way of approaching interviews. This technique of qualitative text analysis is based on the identification of patterns and themes in datasets, i.e., the interviews and observations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These patterns can be explicit or can refer to latent aspects in the text. To identify them, it is necessary to examine the text systematically, looking for recurrent elements and themes; that is, presented in some distinctive way or that speak from their absence.

In this way, we identify those themes that characterise the different accents and common elements present in the interviews, and which allow us to identify how entrepreneurship is organised in Bogotá, what the entrepreneurial experience is like and what ways of existence emerge. Thus, all the categories of analysis are emerging categories, which can form patterns in the interviews.

Finally, the diagramming and production of thematic maps for each interview will be based on three key strategies: identifying the form that the interview takes based on the principles of breadth –how different topics are connected and lead to new ones–; depth –the intensity a topic is developed with–; and how different topics are present at different times in the interview. These criteria of breadth and density seek to draw on the hermeneutic dimension of ethnographic study as a way of systematically understanding the phenomenon. Specifically, the diagramming consisted of identifying and recording the different ideas and themes that emerged throughout the interview in such a way that the cartography produced, presents an account of the thematic changes and how each theme was articulated to the narrative in terms of breadth, how themes or voices are added to the conversation, and density of ideas within a single theme of conversation.

In visual/spatial terms, this implies recording graphically – using text boxes and connecting lines – the different ideas that composed each moment of the conversation, starting from a point 0, which represents the moment when the root question is asked. This way, as each topic is added, t they are recorded on the axis of amplitude and graphed as a new record horizontally; while each time an idea is identified adds a new presence on the axis of density, graphed vertically. Likewise, each question is graphed in a diagonal direction –down/horizontal– as a sign that there was an intervention by the interviewer.

Finally, using this way of diagramming the interview, a map of themes and ideas is obtained, showing the forms and movements that the interview took throughout its

duration. In this way, not only are the movements of the entrepreneur in the urban, working, or intimate space analysed, but also those of the discourse; showing how different elements from fields such as politics, urban space, affections, intersubjectivity, geography or traditions converge and interact in the subjects' narratives.

This mapping is framed within the production of new cartographies, *schizoanalytical* cartographies, which can be related to critical geographies/cartographies as a discipline that challenges modern geopolitical limits and biometric and statistical studies to characterise a territory. In this way, thematic maps function as part of a series of diagrams and figures through which analysis takes place. In terms of multi-sited ethnography, this implies an approach to the phenomenon through productions with aesthetic dimensions that disfigure modern temporal-spatial notions, challenge the paradigmatic sovereignty of essentialist perspectives on techniques, objects of study, and forms of analysis.

Conclusion

As an alternative to the predominance of essentialist positivist and discursive perspectives, the present study is positioned in the qualitative tradition, specifically in critical psychology and critical studies on subjectivity. Methodologically, this study is framed within ethnographic studies, adopting a multi-sided approach to study entrepreneurship in Colombia from the local experiences in relation to the world system where this phenomenon takes place.

Subsequently, the methodological details are presented concerning methodology, location, sampling, research tools, and information analysis. In this regard, the orientations assumed within multi-site ethnography are presented, as well as the strategic reasons why ethnography is located in Bogotá, the advantages provided by snowball sampling and non-structured interview as sampling and data collection techniques respectively, and the relevance and opportunities implied by an analysis based on critical cartographies hybridized with thematic analysis.

Finally, considerations are presented regarding the production of ethnographic knowledge and the relationship between the ethnographer and the field of work. Thus, how ethnographic knowledge is produced in an interrelated way, in a shared field where the ethnographer as a constitutive part, is presented. We now turn to Part Two, which presents the results that emerged from the ethnographic exercise applied.

Part Two

This section presents the results of the ethnography in terms of *cartographies* and *patterns*. The analysis focuses on patterns and dynamics that emerge from the exercise of tracing and interviewing entrepreneurs, and by observing entrepreneurial-related events and entrepreneurial daily experience across the city for eight months. In this sense, *cartographies* are a product of diagramming recurrent and accentuated themes which allow us to identify patterns both regarding themes and in relation to the production of the fieldwork. The cartographic analysis enables the identification of six patterns related to the research questions, this is about how the entrepreneurial contexts are assembled in Bogotá, the dynamics involved in the experience of the entrepreneurial city, and the patterns that shape the forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity produced in the context.

The section is divided into three chapters related to the cartographies produced during the analysis. In this order, the first Chapter 4 presents the production of the ethnographic field in five movements, which are synthesised in Cartography I. With this cartography, we start the analysis of the first pattern, which is related to the way entrepreneurial activity starts when following the market. Consequently, after describing the entrepreneurial context and this first pattern, Chapter 5 presents the second cartography, with the patterns related to the dynamics that shape entrepreneurial life in Bogotá. Specifically, regarding the interaction with the entrepreneurial complex of the city and how the market is extended to new spaces. Lastly, Chapter 6 is based on Cartography III, which presents those different patterns about how entrepreneurial activity is actualized in the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity, the experience of social, material, and affective change, the affective experience linked to entrepreneurial activity and the production of identity through entrepreneurialism. This analysis is centred on the movements and exchanges between/within the entrepreneurial core at the centre-east of Bogotá and other areas of the city. By understanding the entrepreneurial field as a “marketplace”, we are referring to a dynamic and heterogeneous territory, subject to change, and with high degrees of multiplicity. Thus, these flows are organized in two different registers: virtual and actual.

By selecting this model of analysis, we rescue the distinction proposed by Deleuze (1994) and by Guattari (2005). Therefore, when talking in terms of virtual and actual we are not referring to an opposition that constitutes the object of analysis – the entrepreneurial of Bogotá. Instead, the reading of the context in those two registers is

oriented to the production of two complementary, but differentiable, images that determine the object.

It is important to clarify that this distinction is not between “what is possible” and what is “real”. Both registries are constituted by what is real in the object, it is like the Moebius strip in where two different and independent surfaces constitute the object: In one hand, the *virtual* refers to all the set of forces and finalities that determine the potencies of an entity constituting what is and what is not possible for that object in the realm of the real. On the other hand, the *actual* refers to that process that responds to the *virtual* by a solution, a creation, that brings those potencies to the plane of existence.

In this sense, the analysis of how entrepreneurial subjectivity is produced by two general analytical movements. First, examining how entrepreneurial flows are organized allows us to produce an image of how Bogotá is configured and experienced as a market, setting the tensions and forces that make possible the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity through triggering entrepreneurial activity. In the second movement, I explore how those subjective productions resulting from the actualization of entrepreneurial experience become embedded forms of subjectivity. Consequently, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are oriented to show these images of Bogotá as a *virtual* while Chapter 6 shows those forms of subjectivity produced through entrepreneurial activity.

This section concludes by emphasising how the configuration of the entrepreneurial context in Bogotá is set firstly by an entrepreneurial core in a strategic geo-economic and cultural area in the northeast centre of the city. Secondly, how the relationship between entrepreneurs and the context is configured by the logics of the Neoliberal market, and finally, how entrepreneurialism in Bogotá produces new ways of subjectivity that result paradoxical in freedom-seeking and different projects of resistance.

Chapter 4. Cartography I: Producing the fieldwork

In this chapter, we show the different stages that constituted the production of the ethnographic field from the snowball sampling technique. Thus, I present the development of the fieldwork in five (5) movements, starting from the initial positioning in the context, going through each phase of the snowball sampling, to finally produce a first cartography that synthesizes that first image of the field produced through ethnography.

From the production of this image about the relevant socio-economic distribution of the city emerges the analysis of the first pattern, which consists of following the market as a way of getting involved with entrepreneurial activity. Follow-the-market refers to the distribution of entrepreneurial activity in relation to the urban setting, related to the Neoliberal order of cities. Specifically, I show how the entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá is configured by a nodal point in its centre-northeast. This *entrepreneurial core* shapes the different energetic and material flows related to entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá. Also, it shows how, by following the market, entrepreneurs engage in a dynamic of risks and opportunities that are determined by those dispositions of Bogotá's entrepreneurialism.

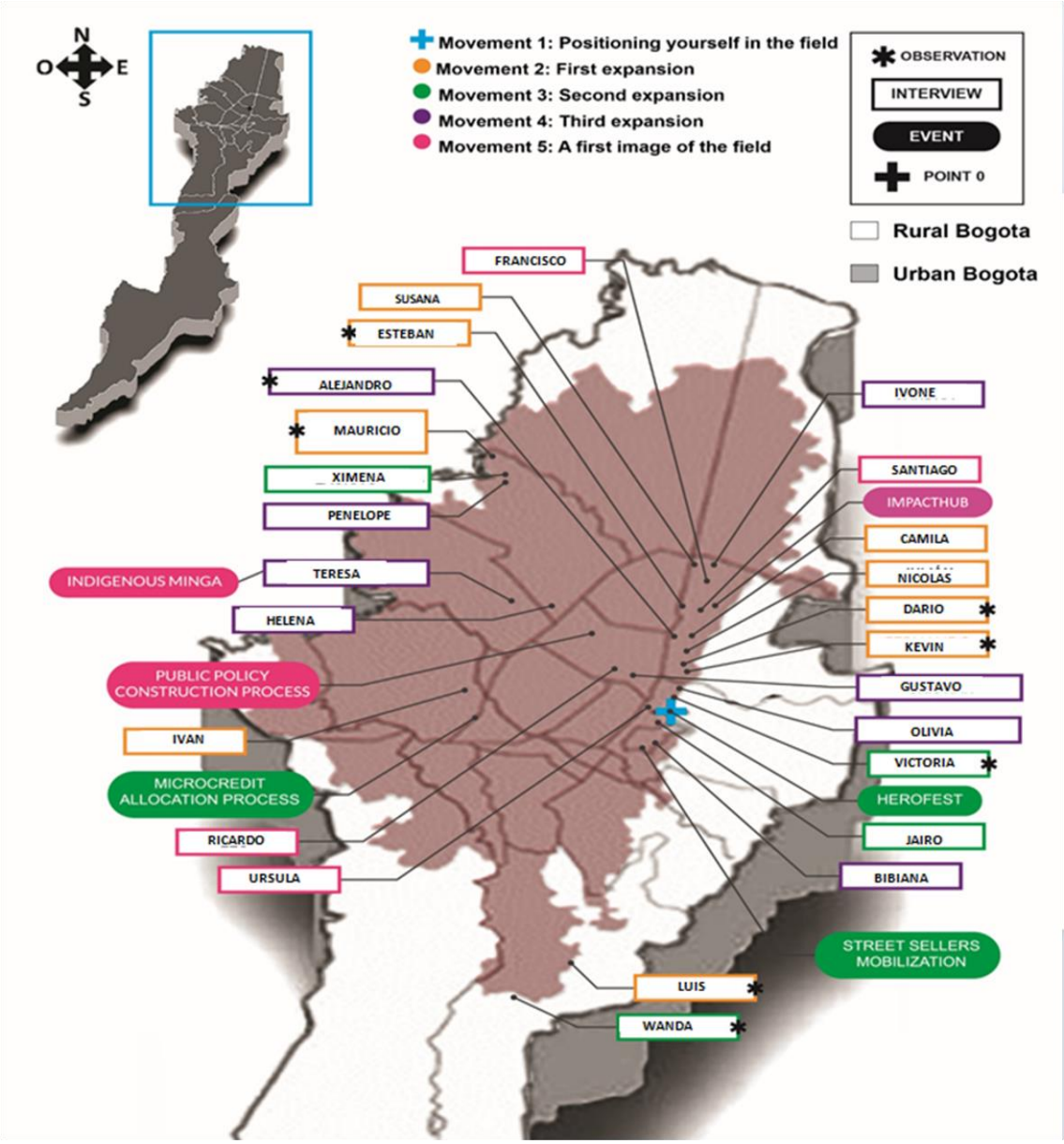
From *point 0* to Cartography I

In this section sampling phases are presented as movements since the sequence in which the fieldwork expanded was not linear, but rather as a field that grew in different directions simultaneously. It is important to highlight that the process of expansion of the sampling is not chronological or sequential, but it was a process with diverse lines of action that evolved simultaneously. The organization presented is focused on different ways to picture the development of this field through the connections established rather than in a fixed, linear timeline. Thus, the cartographies presented in this chapter should be understood as a mosaic of different images *captured* at different moments of the fieldwork when various movements were happening simultaneously, presenting some continuities and some discontinuities.

Accordingly, *Cartography I* is presented below, showing *point 0* from where the fieldwork started, as well as the different participants and events that constitute the research according to the movements of the expansion of fieldwork. From this initial mapping, the analysis of what it is like to follow the market according to the distribution presented by the cartography is displayed. How the field was constructed is described in the next parts of this section.

Figure 1

Cartography I. Distribution of ethnographic events per each sampling movement



Source: own elaboration.

Movement 1: Positioning yourself in the field.

This map shows the distribution of the ethnographic events for each movement of the fieldwork. In this way, the map picture the way how the ethnographic field was expanded at different moments, beginning from how I positioned myself in the context to an image of the field constructed by the suggestions and links provided by the para-

ethnographers. Considering myself as a body-in-academia, my institutional relationships with academic spaces are relevant, I explored first the possible connections found through Pontifical Xaverian University (PXU). Hence, space is understood as a space that is not only related to academic activities but also as a *living social actor* within social dynamics, involving the permanent and mobile communities flowing through and adjacent to this space.

This sector is one of the most traditional places in the city, with a rich colonial, modern, and contemporary history. The locality is characterized by a diverse socio-economic population, hosting communities from all the social strata, both in rural and urban areas. There is also a high presence of commercial, administrative, academic, health, financial, touristic, and cultural services in the locality, which makes it a central point in the city for many actors such as entrepreneurs, workers, students, visitors, activists and, in general, people from all around the city who transit through this place regularly for different purposes. This position within important transport routes produces a highly transited point, that many citizens pass through daily, even if they do not work, study, or visit Chapinero. In this way, the volume of interactions and activity in the surrounding of the University allowed recruiting different subjects in a relatively small area.

I started to explore the entrepreneurial activity near or related to the University in four lines of work: the academic offices or organizations of the University regarding entrepreneurship, the personal and professional contacts I was previously aware of from my studies at the university of entrepreneurial activity suggested by academic peers and colleagues who work in the area of labour and subjectivity, and lastly by some of the entrepreneurs who existed in areas surrounding the university.

Movement 2: First expansion

Once the starting point was defined, I proceeded to start contacting entrepreneurs. As the PXU did not have any clear office for entrepreneurship I searched for other entrepreneurial organizations that the University was part of. In this process, I discovered an institutional university network of entrepreneurship that operates at a national level. Thus, I contacted *Nicolás*, the coordinator of the network since 2012, who works as a teacher at the school of management of the *Piloto University*.

I continued expanding the field by searching for entrepreneurs who were recommended by some of my professional colleagues. Following this line, I met the following entrepreneurs who agreed to participate in the study:

- First, I was introduced to *Iván*, a 27-years-old graphic design student from the PXU, who has worked in two previous entrepreneurial projects related to food and textile production, and who was working in the political campaign for the senate. He received me at his home where he works in the south-centre of the urban Bogotá, in the district of Kennedy, where we had an interview.
- From my previous contacts, I also discovered *Mauricio*, a 29-year-old entrepreneur, with a professional background in business and management, who built, with his cousin, a barbershop in the northwest of Bogotá, in the district of Suba. He was kind enough to open the space for a series of participatory observations, three in total, where I worked and helped in managerial tasks in the barbershop.
- During this process, I also meet *Susana*, a young entrepreneur who is the founder and associate of an agency dedicated to assisting exclusively social entrepreneurial projects in terms of project formulation, project management, and consultancy.
- Another entrepreneur who appeared in this stage of the fieldwork was *Esteban*, the owner of an organization supporting social entrepreneurs. In his case, rather than an agency of consultancy, his project is a school of social entrepreneurship. He invited me to be part of one of the workshops he organised in the east of the city, and he allowed me to make observations with him for a whole workday while we shared a part of his daily experience moving through the north centre and centre of Bogotá.
- Another entrepreneur who I met through my university contacts was *Camila*, a 28-year-old entrepreneur who is the owner of a bakery at the centre-east of Bogotá. As a particularity, the bakery was created with a gender perspective as an attempt to include members of LGBTI+ communities, understood as a socio-economic vulnerable social sector.
- Additionally, also recommended by a contact at the university, I was presented to *Luis*, who is a community leader from an agro-ecological park located in the limit between the south-east of urban Bogotá and rural north-east of the city, in

the south of the Usme district. We visited two destinations in the rural periphery of Bogotá, having an interview while walking in the páramos located in the mountains behind the city.

Now, regarding the entrepreneurs who were in the proximities of the university, two particular people emerged from the exercise of transiting the surroundings of the university:

- *Kevin,* who is a street seller who has worked in the tunnel on 41st street, that gives access to the university, and who has done so for 27 years. Here, he sells a wide variety of products such as scarves, gloves, umbrellas, disguises, and different merchandise according to seasonal demand.
- *Darío,* who works as an informal food seller from Argentina who lived in Colombia for more than ten years, and who returned two years ago to start his Argentinian restaurant in the city. We met him in the National Park, a historical public space that is located contiguous to the University where students spend their leisure time. I had one session of observation with him in the park where he works every day.

Thus, positioning myself at the university allowed me to access different people engaged in the world of entrepreneurship at varied levels: university networks, academic projects, informal entrepreneurs who work and inhabit this area, or former students who are 'enterprising' now. This variety of participants was read as a hint concerning the different expressions of entrepreneurial activity that characterize the field. However, at the same time, this represented a challenge to explore these dynamics in a wider area rather than just the connections enabled by my relationship with the University.

Movement 3: Second expansion

Following the idea of gaining "amplitude", rather than depth, I started to search for contacts that had relationships with wider areas of Bogotá, trying to reach spaces far from point0. In this process, by asking for references to para-ethnographers, another three entrepreneurs agreed to collaborate with the study. The first two were referred by *Esteban* in one of the "Creative Happenings" he organised:

- *Victoria,* who created an organic market and cultural centre located in a bohemian and culturally relevant neighbourhood between Chapinero and the city centre, in the district of Santa Fe.

- *Jairo*, an ex-combatant of the paramilitary forces who returned to civil life and is an actor and creator of a theatrical play produced collectively by different victims of the Colombian armed conflict to show different experiences of war and peacebuilding. He was mentioned as an example of social innovation and cultural entrepreneurship.

Also, *Victoria* suggested I contact *Wanda*, who is part of a community-run, organic and sustainable farm based in Usme, a district in the southeast of Bogota, which is part of a wider network of organic producers. Moreover, by following *Kevin's* activity as an informal vendor, I attended a *street seller strike* in September of 2017, actioned against the mistreatment by the mayor's office denouncing the lack of socio-economic guarantees. They were denouncing the confiscations of their products and the aggressive eviction practices of the police. At this event, I was introduced to *Ximena*, an entrepreneur selling textile products as bath suits and underwear in an informal, self-managed, commercial passage located alongside a relevant public transport terminal and a shopping mall in the north-western periphery of Bogotá.

Regarding the institutional spaces, I went to two very different kinds of events. The first one was *Heroes Fest Bogota-2017*, which coincidentally was held that year at the Pontifical Xaverian University. This festival is the largest national event for entrepreneurs and people related to entrepreneurship and is organised by INNPulsa, the government office charged with centralizing and articulating the entrepreneurial agenda in the country. As part of the event, there were conferences by international experts, inspirational talks by "remarkable entrepreneurs", a competition of business pitches, networking events, and expositions of the programmes offered by public and private institutions.

The second event I observed was a visit made by a bank officer of a micro-credit bank, ascribed to an international bank, to a woman in process of getting credit for improving her pharmacy. Even if this woman was not interested in participating in the research, she agreed to me observing the session. I met this officer in a local office in the south centre of Bogotá, and then we moved to the pharmacy where he applied a survey and a structured interview, inquiring for some technical and logistic features of the business, as well as for this woman's socio-economic information.

Movement 4: Third expansion

After this first acceleration, I explored wider spaces of Bogota, but still, most of the ethnographic activity was centred near *point 0*- What follows is a second series of efforts for extending the fieldwork. During the observation with *Esteban,* I was introduced to *Yvone,* the CEO of an Organizational Development Centre, where they provide services of training, tutoring and support for entrepreneurs on different stages of their projects. *Victoria* suggested the following entrepreneurs for the research:

- *Gustavo,* whose project is a modification of his mother's business of tamales, a traditional dish from Latin American countries. He decided to use his knowledge and experiences related to Corporative Social Responsibility to improve the family business by including an organic perspective to the production of this traditional food.
- *Helena,* an agricultural engineer from the National University of Colombia, whose project is based in the production of organic chocolate bars, in different flavours and *presentations*, handmade from raw, organic cocoa farmed with traditional techniques in indigenous territories at the Snow Sierra from Santa Marta, north of Colombia, and commercialised in the organic markets of Bogota.
- *Alejandro,* one of the organisers of an informal network event, involving mainly social and environmental entrepreneurs and held monthly. *Alejandro* also works on two entrepreneurial projects, one related to rural tourism in a town near Bogotá, and the second in a family printing workshop.
- *Alejandro* invited me to the network event he organized, which was held in *Victoria´s* organic market during that month. In this space I interacted with a group of about 15 entrepreneurs, making new contacts for interviews. Access to networking events was key to expanding the ethnographic field. From this event I contacted the following entrepreneurs:
- *Olivia,* who is a *young* entrepreneur who uses the space she owns in her flat as a studio where she teaches yoga lessons. She also leases her space for classes and activities from different related disciplines. The studio is in the neighbourhood of *Victoria's* market, in the centre-east of Bogota.
- *Penelope,* a young plastic artist who left her teaching job to work on her two projects: a brand of handcrafted notebooks designed with allusion to emblematic

endemic animals from Colombia, and a line of organic and vegan *empanadas* -a corn flour pastry filled with meat or vegetables which she sells around the city.

- *Teresa*, a former executive assistant in the financial sector who invested her pension and now, works in the organic coffee farming, production and commercialization field in Bogota and nearby towns.
- *Bibiana*, an afro woman who migrated to Bogota. She has an entrepreneurial project dedicated to the elaboration of healthcare/ancestral products for reproductive health using traditional knowledge of the Afro Colombian Cauca. She also works as a social projects formulator and is involved with local empowerment of afro/migrant/urban communities.

Movement 5: A first image of the field

The movements made within the ethnographic exercise and the movements within the ethnographic field produce a simple but meaningful sensation: there is an area of the city where most of the services and spaces for entrepreneurship are concentrated –the centre-east and northeast- and entrepreneurs from different locations of Bogotá enter in a relationship with this space because of their entrepreneurial activity. With this idea in mind, I made another movement of expansion of the ethnographic field, also factoring in the closure of the fieldwork as I was reaching the limit of cases proposed for this study. Following those thoughts, I explored the lines of work given by the para-ethnographers by contacting entrepreneurs, this time, introduced or suggested by different sources.

In this way, I contacted *Francisco*, a young engineer from *Andes University* who owns a solar energy company that builds and installs solar panels. I met him through the suggestion of *Yvone*, in the Impact Hub, a relevant transnational franchise of co-working spaces that operates in Bogotá. Also, through a connection made by her, I met *Santiago*, the former director and founder of *INNPulsa* and current president of a national association of entrepreneurs, during a public policymaking event in which I conducted an observation. He also participates in two entrepreneurial projects related to food delivery and electronic waste recycling.

By connection with *Alejandro*, I meet *Ricardo*, co-founder of a laboratory for entrepreneurship and innovation related to social and environmental issues located at the heart of the Park Way, in Teusaquillo. Also, through an invitation made by *Alejandro* and *Teresa*, I attended a farmers *minga*, which is a collaborative organization

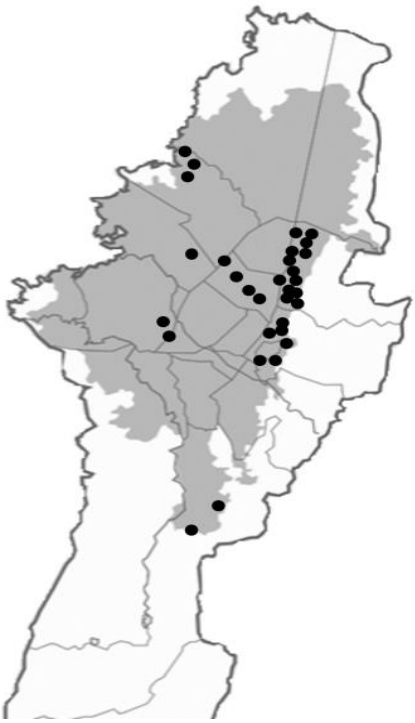
of work and social action for indigenous, afro and peasant communities. As a closure to the fieldwork, by the suggestion of *Gustavo,* I met *Ursula*, a middle-aged woman who owns a line of organic handcrafted food products, such as jam and pickles, and who is the leader of an organic entrepreneurs' network.

After the series of movements that constructed the fieldwork, the ethnographic work produced:

- 25 interviews with entrepreneurs and people related to entrepreneurship – *Alejandro, Bibiana, Camila, Dario, Esteban, Francisco, Gustavo, Helena, Ivan, Jairo, Kevin, Luis, Mauricio, Nicolás, Olivia, Penelope, Ximena, Ricardo, Santiago, Susana, Teresa, Ursula, Victoria, Wanda, Yvone.*
- 14 observations: eight of them with participants -*Esteban, Alejandro, Mauricio, Wanda, Luis, Victoria, Kevin, Dario*- and six in spaces and events related to entrepreneurial activity such as an indigenous *minga* of farmers, the events of public policy construction, the visit for microcredit allocation, the street seller strike, *INNpulsa Heroes Fest 2017* and the *Impact Hub*.

Pattern I: Following the market

Figure 2
Distribution of ethnographic events



Source: own elaboration

Departing from the image of the field produced by the ethnography, in Figure 2 we can visualize the distributions of events. We can highlight the concentration of events in the centre east of the city. To understand this pattern of concentration, this cartography must be compared in terms of space with the material, socio-economic dynamics of the city such as the distribution of economic centres, distribution of people in terms of where they live and work, the distribution of services and economies across the city.

For my purpose, this map is compared with different cartographies elaborated by Bogotá's Mayor's office in the Diagnose (Secretaría de Planeación, 2017) as a means of building a Territorial Order Plan (POT in Spanish). Specifically, three maps will be analysed: Map of Economic Centralities, Map of Concentration of Services, and the map of Territorial Unbalance i.e., two maps contrasting where people live and work, plus finally the Map of Socio-economic Stratification, showing the distribution of social and economic resources and goods and services within the city.

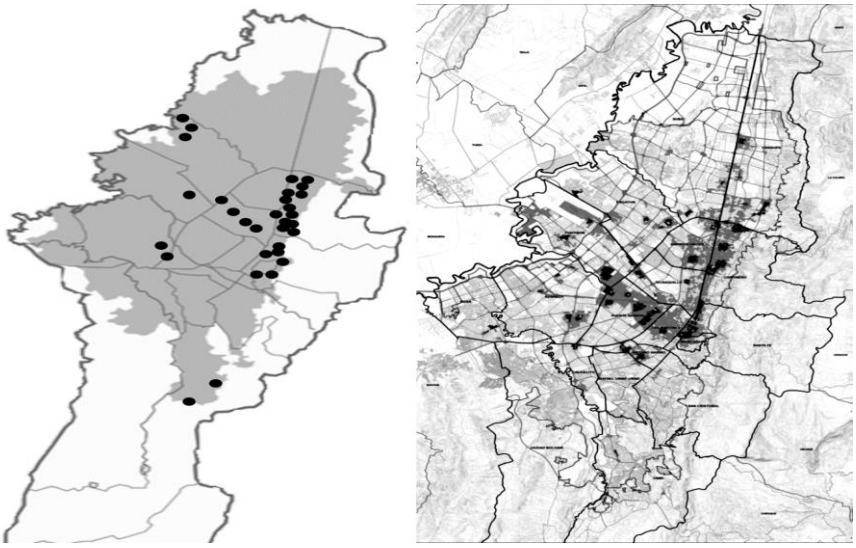
The contrast of the distribution of ethnographic events with the socio-economic and spatial dynamics of Bogotá existing in official documents enriched my understanding of how entrepreneurs located themselves in relation to the different configurations of the city as a non-homogenous field in economic, social, and geopolitical terms. With these comparisons, the cartographical exercise aims to show how the fieldwork was constructed regarding where people live, where they work, where they found financial and administrative services, where resources are concentrated and how entrepreneurs move across a field with these determinations.

By adding these "layers" to the analysis of the distribution we can see how these events occurred in locations that are articulated within a wider assemblage of relationships and how the entrepreneurial activity is configured following this order. This exercise of contrasting the distribution and these characteristics of the field allows us to make sense of the city as a place where t ethnographic events occurred and to propose further lines of analysis of the data.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of ethnographic events contrasted to the distribution of "economic centralities" proposed by the Mayor's Office of Bogotá. In this latter, the darker areas show the higher concentration of economic activity, categorized by centralities coloured in black, economic gatherings, and threshold areas in grey. Concerning this map, the report claims that, first, there is a concentration of economic activity in the centre-east of the urban area, and second, that the city has been unable to consolidate economic focus in the peripheral areas of Bogotá. This contrast shows how these entrepreneurs positioned themselves in places matching areas with a high concentration of economic activity, which introduce some notion of the types of entrepreneurial movement within Bogota.

Figure 3.

Distribution of ethnographic events vs Economic Centralities.



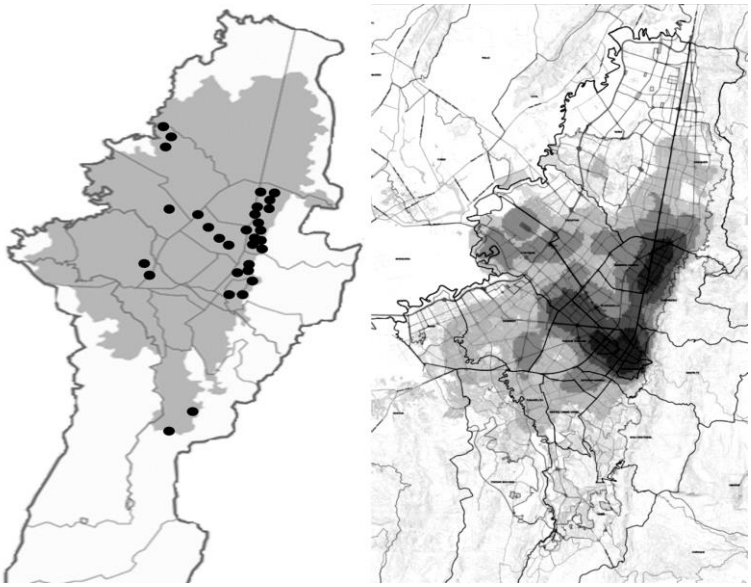
Source: Secretaría de Planeación (2017) Revisión General Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial: Diagnistico POT Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.

In the figure, we can also see how the distribution of events follows in a relatively consistent way the distribution of economic activity across Bogotá. According to the General Review of the Territorial Order Plan (Secretaría de Planeación, 2017), these centralities are conceived as areas that concentrate and channel services. This suggests how entrepreneurs reach places of economic interest, even if they do not live where their entrepreneurial activity takes place. In terms of mapping, this marks a pattern about the movements of these entrepreneurs in the city and how they tend to follow and inhabit spaces exhibiting certain kind of economic characteristics. Still, it is relevant to highlight how there are fewer concurred niches in some peripheral areas of Bogotá, which seems to be unarticulated with the entrepreneurial core. Nonetheless, it is important to explore further the fluxes of services and people that assemble those “hotspots”.

For this reason, the next layer of analysis contrasts the concentration of the ethnographic events on the economic centralities in the centre-east of Bogotá, with the cartography of the distribution of economic services in the city. As economic agents, entrepreneurs inhabit the city in relation to economic relationships, consequently, the distribution of economic services across the city becomes relevant to understanding the kind of spaces configuring the experience of entrepreneurs in the city.

Figure 4.

Distribution of ethnographic events vs Concentration of Services



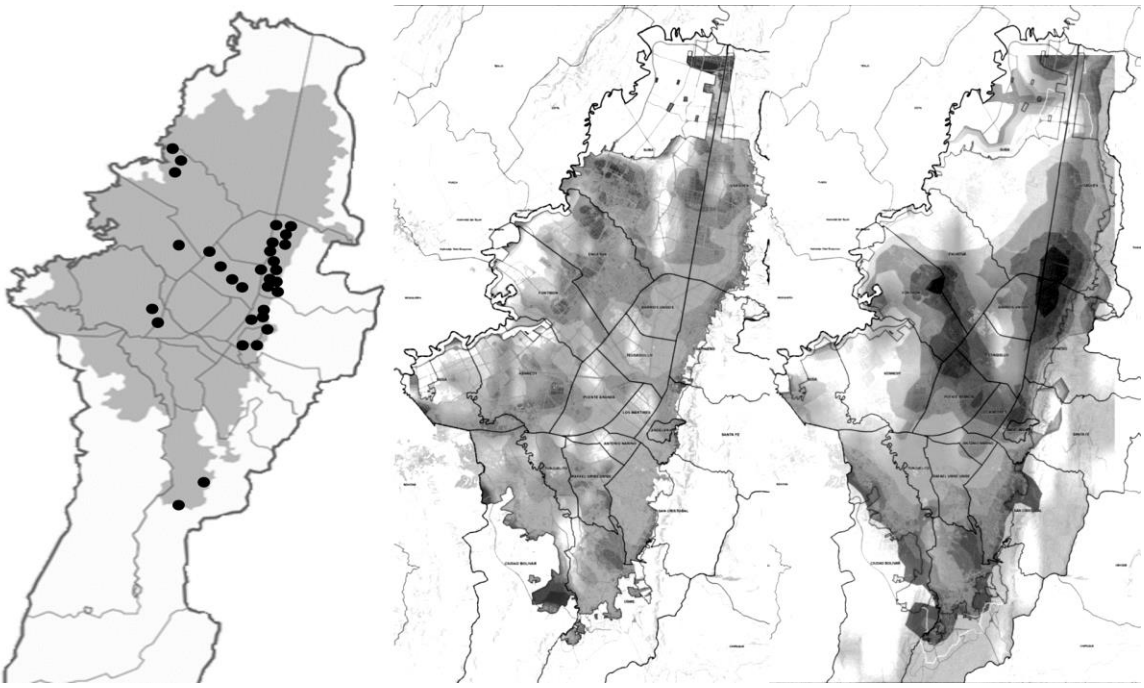
Source: Secretaría de Planeación (2017) Revisión General Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial: Diagnistico POT Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.

In this cartography, the dark areas, or hotspots, are also gathered in the centre. In detail, the services that are found in these regions are financial, administrative, and corporate businesses (Secretaría de Planeación, 2017). In this sense, the entrepreneurial events traced during the fieldwork tended to occur within the economic centralities of the city located in the centre-east region of Bogota, where financial and administrative services are concentrated. This also shows how entrepreneurs gravitate to areas of the city characterized by specific functions and activities regarding the political and economic fields. In terms of the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity, this pattern shows the kind of spaces and relationships with spatial configurations in where the entrepreneurialism experience itself.

It is also relevant to observe what these areas mean in terms of where people live and work. The following figure shows the distribution of the interviews in comparison to the distribution of living and working entrepreneurs, presented in the map of the middle and the right, correspondingly. This comparison allows us to understand the orientation of the different movements and trajectories the entrepreneurs experience during their activities.

Figure5.

Distribution of ethnographic events vs Residential distribution vs Workspaces distribution



Source: Secretaría de Planeación (2017) Revisión General Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial: Diagnistico POT Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.

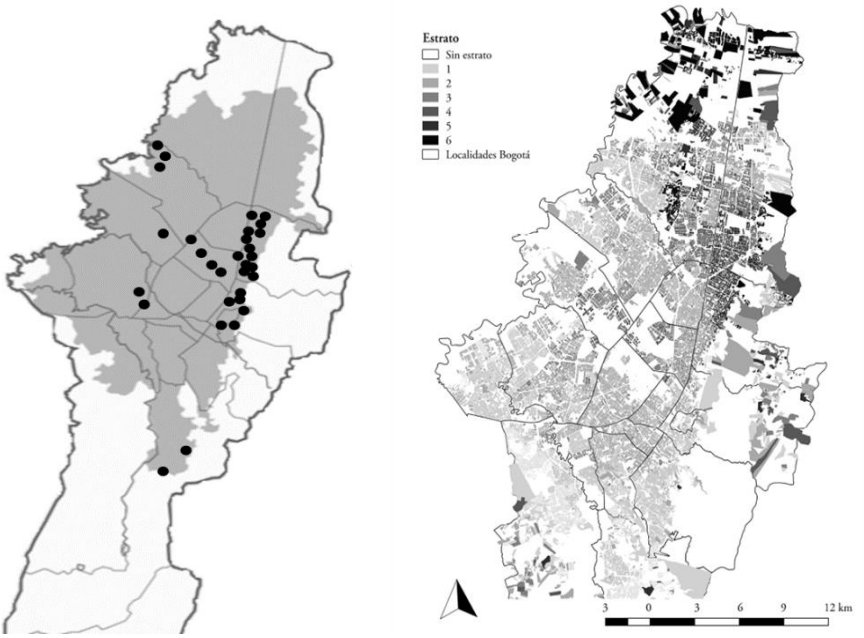
Figure 5 shows how there is an imbalance of people between where the people live, and where people work, which is centred where the economic activities and services are most intense. The entrepreneurial flows show the contrast between workplaces and housing areas and how entrepreneurs' transit to places where the volume of work is higher. However, the work performed at home and in the different movements is not reported in the maps from the Majors Office. This highlights the relevance and the impact of the socio-economic organization of the city around how entrepreneurs move and inhabit the different spaces of the entrepreneurial field. Then, we can relate the location of the ethnographic events to the flows of work, services, and institutions that configure the socio-economic dynamics of the city. Also, the contrast between these cartographies allows us to understand that people move from the peripheral areas to the centre-east of Bogota to work.

As a final layer of analysis in this exercise of contrast, it is relevant to include a comparison between the different areas where people live and how their work is configured socio-economically. It reveals how the distribution of resources is segmented and diverse, even if the distribution regarding residential spaces is relatively

homogeneous. Hence, the distribution of entrepreneurial events is also contrasted to the socio-economic stratification of Bogotá. In Figure 6, the comparison of the distribution produced by the ethnography and the socio-economic stratification of the city is presented. Regarding this latter map, the darker is the area, the higher the socio-economic strata. Specifically, the black and the grey areas correspond to strata 4 to 6, meaning the areas with the highest concentrations of socio-economic resources, and better access to goods and services. The lighter areas correspond to strata 0 to 3. Those areas are where most people live, that is, popular and working-class neighbourhoods, where access to goods and services is poorer. The contrast between the events of the fieldwork and the socio-economic distribution of wealth/poverty allows us to understand the nature of the spaces in where our ethnographic events occurred.

Figure 6.

Distribution of ethnographic events vs Socio-economic Stratification.



Source: Secretaría de Planeación (2017) Revisión General Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial: Diagnistico POT Bogotá. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.

Regarding this comparison, it is relevant to show how the ethnographic events do not match directly with the places where the concentration of resources is higher. Even if the centre-east of Bogota presents a higher concentration of goods and services in comparison to the general context, the places with the higher stratum are not reached by entrepreneurs that participated in the study. These places remain isolated in the north of the city, separated from the economic core that is pictured in the previous diagrams. In this sense, those places where entrepreneurial activity is concentrated plays the role

of *marketplace*, a space where products, resources and facilities are available for economic activity.

It can be concluded from these multi-layered comparisons that the entrepreneurial activity mapped by the ethnographic work is distributed along the main economic centres configuring the city. These knots are characterized by high concentrations of financial and administrative services. Moreover, this central point presents intense fluxes of economic activity, particularly regarding work. Considering these characteristics and the flows that assemble the dynamics of the city, it is relevant to understand what type of dynamics are produced within the setting that determines the ethnographic events.

The consolidation of an entrepreneurial core

The centre-east of Bogotá was shown to be a centre not only for the entrepreneurial events that compose this study but also for general economic activities determining flows of products, capital, labour, and currency within the city. To determine how the entrepreneurial context is configured, it is relevant to make explicit what kind of space is produced within these fluxes concerning the wider context of global Neoliberalism.

By observing how entrepreneurial activity follows niches of economic activity, the movements emerging from the fieldwork can be understood as following the market where materials (people, products, resources, clients, ideas) and energetic (work, affection, movements) flows are oriented to reproduce economic activity. This is relevant to understand how entrepreneurialism is configured within the city. The concentration of services and activities related to entrepreneurship, shaping the movements and the relations of entrepreneurs within the city, leads us to understand how market dynamics are produced. Thus, rather than saying that this nodal point is the entrepreneurial market, I propose that the distribution of events suggests the existence of flows and dynamics that are characteristic of capitalist markets. Specifically, this conclusion follows an understanding of how Bogotá, as a space for entrepreneurship, is assembled by different fluxes of people, labour, capital, and materials that can be coded in terms of the capitalist market.

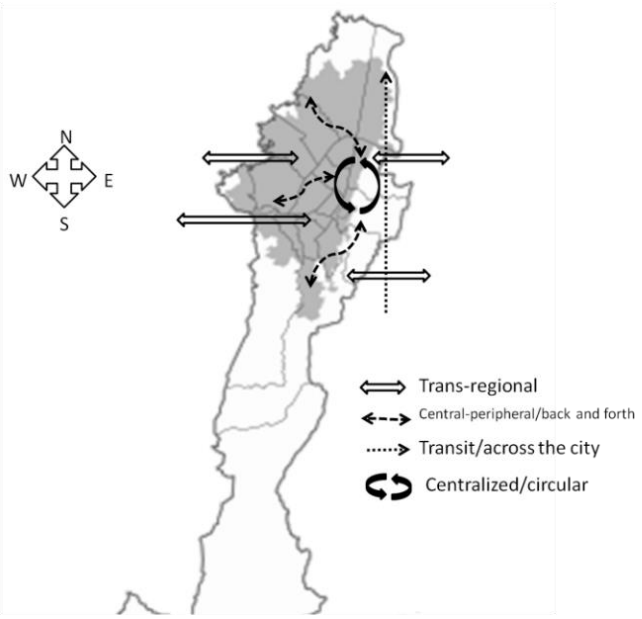
Moreover, this understanding of Bogotá as a configured entrepreneurial market allows us to contextualise the movements identified from the interviews and the observations. Specifically, three movements can be highlighted in terms of

entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá. The first movement can be described as a *centric movement*, and it is referred to the flows of services and products that circulate within the core identified by the distribution of ethnographic events and their relation to other socio-economic dynamics of the city. In the cases that constituted this study, this kind of movement is mainly performed by those entrepreneurs or institutions who provide services to other entrepreneurs or by entrepreneurs who have settled in this area because of its relevance. Another movement that can be identified from the fieldwork is marked by the flows between *centre-periphery*, marked by movements from scattered spaces of the city to the entrepreneurial centre, where they interact and relate with the services and facilities of this area, and then they return to their resident areas consequently impacting those peripheral spaces. Also, there are *trans/regional* movements, that include the flows between Bogotá and other regions from Colombia, as well as those flows between the cities with transnational scenarios which establish relationships with Bogotá, mainly through the entrepreneurial nodal point of the centre-east and lastly, the *transit movements* which refer to the movement across the city made by some entrepreneurs in their aim of accessing better and new markets from the north-east and north-centre of the city, areas containing wealthy neighbourhoods.

These movements are synthesised in Figure 7.

Figure 7

Movements identified across the entrepreneurial field.



Source: own elaboration.

These movements suggest a pattern of entrepreneurial transit and habitation of the city, pictured in terms of market activity. This pattern is linked to the socio-spatial relationships that configure Bogotá as an entrepreneurial city. These ways of moving and transiting the city are an outcome of the entrepreneurial core at the northeast areas of Bogotá and are shown in red to follow and encompass one's behaviour within the economic flows that gravitating around this nodal point.

As subjectivity is produced through the different ways in which subjects produce and appropriate the territories they inhabit, this pattern is useful to understand how the dynamics inherent in following the market are linked to the production of forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity in Bogotá. Moreover, it is relevant to explore how is the experience of following the market impacts these entrepreneurs and what it implies in terms of entrepreneurial subjectivity.

Market drive

So far, we have seen how our ethnography reveals a pattern whereby subjects tended to locate interviews in strategic places related to their activity as entrepreneurs. The pattern also shows how this distribution tends to cluster towards the centre-north and northeast of the city, where the largest volume of financial, business, and administrative services is concentrated. Furthermore, this is also a place where those sectors with high purchasing power in the city are concentrated. This shows how the different movements and positions made by the participants were related to the city's entrepreneurial core in spatial terms.

However, following the market is not just about movement within these spaces. In terms of business experience, following the market is linked to fulfilling certain market functions that are delegated to the entrepreneur, and which are related to the production of value. In this sense, the entrepreneur is in a constant search to produce certain tasks within the business life, such as taking and managing risks and constantly producing opportunities for themselves and their enterprise. In this sense, market orientation emerges as a response to the production demand of the business culture but also presents a way of subsistence and access to resources. For this reason, we will explore this pattern based on participants' experience of taking on such entrepreneurial roles.

Both functions are closely linked. Without taking risks, it is difficult to produce opportunities, but at the same time, poor risk management can end such

windows of opportunity. However, since the risk is an inherent element of all economic activity, we will begin from there.

Producing opportunities

The disposition of Bogotá as a space to host and create entrepreneurial activity is an attempt to transform the city into a territory of opportunities. Therefore, once the city is adapted for entrepreneurship, the following step is to drive entrepreneurs to start chasing opportunities while engaging with and overcoming risk. In this sense, the entrepreneurial tasks require entrepreneurs to constantly see different ways of throwing themselves into the market in their corresponding economic activity. This demand for activation is translated into terms such as motivation, empathy, or drive, which configure the image of the city as a good place for creating projects and starting a business. In this sense, there is an orientation to the market that variates according to each entrepreneur. In this respect, the different ways entrepreneurs orient themselves to economic activity is directly linked to how the entrepreneurial activity is experienced, specifically, in how this impacts the affective lives of subjects.

According to the Neo-liberal formula in which the more one possesses entrepreneurial mentality, the better the entrepreneurial outcomes, these opportunities derive exclusively from the work of the entrepreneur in producing and creating business opportunities.

In this sense, one can identify decisions in all participants oriented to capitalize on opportunities. However, this market drive was more accentuated in some discourses of entrepreneurs at the time of narrating their experience. Some examples can be found in the narration of Mauricio, Iván, Darío, or Úrsula, who all mentioned entrepreneurial drive, and the constant need to strive for opportunities during their interviews. In their narrations, their condition as entrepreneurs was linked to a drive for chasing opportunities. Market orientation acts as a necessary condition for behaving like an entrepreneur.

In the case of Joaquín, this drive came “since always” but was accompanied by the opportunity presented when he received an invitation for enterprising from his cousin.

> *I always wanted to find a way to become an entrepreneur […] I got some money, what should we do with it? Should we put it in a bank for bankers*

to enjoy or should we put it to use? So, we had the idea…" (APPENDIX 13)

In the case of Iván, this orientation to producing opportunities also came from his family background, as something inherited from his family, as they are entrepreneurs too. He explains this in the following terms:

My mom's grandparents were very enterprising and business-savvy. I must have inherited some of that because I try and look for opportunities in every situation that comes my way." (APPENDIX 9)

For Darío M, being an entrepreneur is part of his personal development and a life attitude of taking his experiences as learnings and practice. In this way, also bad things can be something with value in the entrepreneurial experience. Similarly, Úrsula shows how she pushed the project forward on her own, driven by the decision she made and the opportunity she intended to take advantage of. In her case, her discourse reveals an intense market-oriented focus.

"Who helped me? Nobody, I am mean, it was common sense, it was God, the opportunities that came my way and I made the most out of it. But also, that I took the risk. I saw that I could make the opportunities work with each other. That allowed me to work in a more effectively" (APPENDIX 21)

Thus, we see how in the experience of these entrepreneurs the market drive is oriented towards the production of opportunities or the capitalisation of the same. Thus, we see how the call to entrepreneurship and economic needs are motor for business activity, which translates into a subjectivity orientated to the production of entrepreneurial opportunity. However, in most cases, this orientation was related to contextual factors such as family, fashions or learning produced by the experience of the entrepreneurs themselves. Úrsula mentions the opportunities that presented themselves and which she took advantage of. This was frequent in the interviews, instead of the entrepreneur producing the opportunity, the opportunity produced the entrepreneur. This is worth analysing in detail.

Unlike what is commonly narrated when presenting the way entrepreneurs take advantage of opportunities, in several interviews, the decision to undertake appears to be due to an opportunity, usually unclear and coming from nearby networks, which generates interest and participation in entrepreneurship. It should be clarified that this does not mean that the opportunity appears out of nowhere, but that the entrepreneur finds it in their immediate context rather than after some intensive search designed to

produce opportunities. The following examples show, as in some cases, that opportunity makes the entrepreneur and not the other way around.

The first example is that of Gustavo, who began his entrepreneurial project by working in the tamale business that his mother started more than 20 years ago. There, in a situation of unemployment, he identifies how, by contributing his knowledge and skills, he could reinvent family entrepreneurship.

Gustavo points out:

> *I was unemployed and I started working with her doing things like helping her sell her product outside the neighbourhood, getting it out there […] it had been about two years when I decided to get fully involved; I saw the opportunity and I had the realization and figured the business could be successful if we tackled it from this and that side my head lit up and I said, that is not a business if we do it for this, this, and this side. (APPENDIX 7)*

This is also the case with Jairo, who co-authored, and acts in a theatrical play that resulted from a psychosocial project, about historic memory, and victims of war, that escalated at the point of being able to create a cultural product that is demanded by the public institutions. He explains that *"it was in the context of the same project that we realized, "This could become a theatre play!" because the idea was to do a show, and it turned into something bigger." (APPENDIX 10)*. Also, in the case of Teresa, stepping with opportunities in unusual scenarios, established her approach to the entrepreneurial world. She started her project when she bought land as she saw an opportunity given by some changes in the law, which enabled her to take her pension money at that moment and invest it in a project. This ended in Teresa's current project of organic coffee production. Thus, in the experience of these entrepreneurs, more than a search for opportunities, it was rather as if they were fishing in a pond, than if they were manufacturing their own opportunities in a planned way. Many of these opportunities appear in a circumstantial way in the close context of the entrepreneurs. Hence, it is suggested that the opportunity produces the entrepreneur as soon as there are conditions for a possible business opportunity that gain the attention of the subject, that leads them, to examine the situation under the eyes of the market and then to undertake the entrepreneurial activity. It is in this process that the entrepreneurs evaluate their own experience and their close context and through this means expand the market to new areas or updates their economic activity into new fields.

We can also understand that the emergence of opportunities is mediated both by the options offered by the context and by the different interpretations in business terms

made by the entrepreneurial subject. We will see that a reciprocal relationship is generated, in which taken opportunities open new ones, requiring constant work on their part in looking in market terms for new circumstances that emerge from their earlier decisions.

This is expressed by participants who constantly mention how opportunities emerge from contingent work and how this makes them constantly adapt to a changing context, transforming them as agents. The case of Wanda is a great example of how different projects in the territory of Usme managed to come together in a collective project creating an opportunity for several other organic food producers in the south of Bogotá. This opportunity emerged when they realized that they were in a solid network of organic producers to which they could offer different products. As a result, they associated to begin a new project. Wanda explains that *"[...] the time everyone came up with an idea… then we said, "We could unite and make something bigger together " That's when we decided to get going" (Appendix 23)*

This leads us to reflect on the relationship between the production of opportunities and the agency of the entrepreneur. In this sense, the experience shared by the entrepreneurs shows how, beyond individual production of opportunities, their agency was oriented to generating associations between contextual situations and market practices. Thus, when the context presents elements that entrepreneurs identify and interpret as feasible, it is then that the entrepreneur assembles the opportunity through a practice-oriented market evaluation. Thus, the relations and connections of the entrepreneur become a primary source of opportunities for the entrepreneur, re-evaluating the myth of individual production of opportunities as a function of the entrepreneur, who is more an articulator of business activity determined by the possibilities of the context.

Risk everywhere

Once entrepreneurs are thrown into the chase for opportunities, they face what can be described as "the opportunity within all opportunities": the chance of failing. This risk is particularly high in Colombia. This rate of *entrepreneurial exit* also occurs in a difficult socio-economic context in which unemployment, poverty, and socio-economic inequality characterize the experience of most people. In this sense, the decision to take risks in this context has quite a few implications. However, it is in such risky conditions that entrepreneurial activity finds its niche and produces a market drive

despite the limitations given by the context itself. This establishes a relationship between the entrepreneur and the context, one marked by high degrees of anxiety regarding access to resources and business survival.

Thus, we see for example that those entrepreneurs in a position of socioeconomic vulnerability, face an increased level of risk at the time of enterprising. Entrepreneurs in these conditions not only face the risk imposed by the market but also encounter structural risks that condition their experience of work. From debts to pay to police harassment, entrepreneurs unable to fulfil formalities required by authorities or who work in no-regulated spaces, also face a series of difficulties and threats. Even so, these same conditions produce the market drive necessary for these self-generated risks to be taken.

Under these conditions, the experience of enterprising is determined by factors such as lack of cash and resources for surviving or sustaining entrepreneurial activity. For instance, Helena shows how hard is to improve her workshop when dealing with debts:

> *It has been hard, I have had to work with the bare minimum, which is probably why I have no counters yet. I think about the counters because it is something I want to change. There is a lot I want to change, change many implements and other things, but I have not made any progress because of university debt. I have to put food on the table for my son too... luckily sales have been good." (APPENDIX 8)*

This experience of difficulty becomes more acute as socio-economic conditions become more precarious. Thus, those micro and small entrepreneurs who are in the informal sector are those who suffer most from the pressure of the working conditions attendant upon their informal enterprise. Undertaking this type of activity involves dealing with factors such as weather, pollution, crime-related insecurity, and police persecution. In the research, several entrepreneurs in this field expressed how difficult it is to take on informal work. The precarious work conditions of the streets of Bogotá and the dynamics between some informal entrepreneurs and the regulations jeopardizes the entrepreneurial task of producing opportunities. Participants show how this difficulty is associated with different factors, such as the marginalization of this sector in public policy or labour market conditions. For instance, Ximena expresses her experience of working in the public space:

> *"Working in the street is very difficult because you must face the elements, police and administrative harassment, [Working in the street] you could say*

we are basically the end of the line, well, is very difficult…" (APPENDIX 17).

This is also expressed by Kevin, who shared some experience about his years of working in the street, stressing how these insecure and precarious conditions are not his preferred choice. Instead, it is the different factors that make him stay in the same place selling informally.

"I have to bring home food and money for utilities and because of that [working] in the streets, it's very hard. I would like to work somewhere else… […] in my case, I am 47, it is very hard to find a job at 47. For someone of my age, practically the only option is work in the street" (APPENDIX 11)

This is also reported by entrepreneurs who also work in the streets, even if they are not traditional street sellers, showing how they are affected by the work conditions of public space. Due to different socio-spatial, economic, and political configurations, many entrepreneurs must travel to places far from their homes to make sales in public places such as parks. A similar case is Gustavo's experience working in the streets. Even if he does not consider himself a street seller, he is pushed to find clients in streets and public events, due to a change in the public fairs' policy of the Mayor's Office in where he cannot participate, thus creating himself as an object of police persecution. He shares that *"they are not very favourable with that but well, that is part of the landscape too. Then you also must fight with that, you must fight a lot with that"* (APPENDIX 7) Gustavo's case is just one example of how regulations on certain activities such as informal trade, limit but do not prevent commercial activity. However, they do create difficulty for the entrepreneur who takes risks that can have serious legal consequences. In this regard, others report similar difficulties in complying with different legal requirements such as INVIMA for small and medium scale food producers.

Helena expresses:

"So, those who want to be entrepreneurs have no options because […] you need the INVIMA certification and just getting registered has a cost; it's not only paying two and half million but also having the infrastructure, premises, complying with certain manufacturing regulations […] That's where you find the hardship in entrepreneurship, the law!" (APPENDIX 8).

In Helena's account, we see how meeting the formal requirements implies a considerable investment particularly given the size of her project. In the studies on the limitations of entrepreneurship in Colombia, these two factors were recurrent and related: bureaucratic obstacles and lack of financing. We, therefore, understand why

these factors strongly affect the entrepreneur's experience and their perception that bureaucratic requirements or public policies are not compatible with their reality as entrepreneurs with limited resources. These difficulties are not minor, since this type of entrepreneurs - food producers and/or traders - constitute most of the enterprises (GEM, 2020).

These legal demands required for much small business activity places them at a disadvantage in terms of accessing formalized markets because they are vulnerable entrepreneurs who lack sufficient funds to sustain formal business activity. In this sense, the market dynamics themselves reproduce the inequity and social inequality of the context in which business activity and its possibilities take place. Thus, for example, Ximena points out another structural difficulty stemming from the position of Colombia within the international market: entrepreneurs from various industries compete in asymmetrical conditions against strong transnational companies. These difficulties carry serious risks when undertaking larger projects. Regarding her experience as a small producer of swimsuits, Ximena has explored the option of accessing international markets, but this also represents a risk due to her socio-economic condition. About assuming a public loan or a commercial commitment with the authorities related to exportation, Ximena explains how *"(Public institutions) can bankrupt you, they can leave you in a debt of over 50 million to the state for exporting, I don't know, 100 swimsuits, so it can be life or death, it's something that needs to be handled extremely carefully, and you also need the knowledge to do that." (APPENDIX 17)*

This situation of vulnerability highlighted by Ximena has serious impacts on the entrepreneurs' experience if we consider that it is accompanied by intense working conditions that produce not only economic risks but also health risks. Úrsula exemplifies this situation by mentioning how her entrepreneurial activity.

> *"It's very exhausting. We went through a terrible crisis two months ago. We Were working in 12-hour days in Usaquén, and oftentimes we got home tired, hungry and cold only to realize we'd made only 30 thousand pesos." (APPENDIX 21)*

In general, both the entrepreneurial environment and the economic activity are experienced within shades of hostility. For example, the dynamics of competitiveness in a context where resources are scarce increases the risk factor associated with the same market dynamics of destructive creation. The lack of resources generates pressure to take advantage of the market, and the experience of entrepreneurship generates discomfort due to the aggressiveness with which one

competes for resources. This discontent impacts the life of the entrepreneur to the extent that they are creative of certain attitudes that must be adopted to compete in the business world, for example: naturalizing competition for space in economic life and expanding the market as a way of generating space. However, this is paradoxical due to the same difficulties and uncertainties characteristic of the business field. The examples we have presented point out that the difficulties encountered in entrepreneurship have impacted mostly upon micro and small informal entrepreneurs, most entrepreneurs in the country and the research sample. However, we see that this generalized sensation of difficulty within the entrepreneurial activity can be exemplified in the narration of medium entrepreneurs from formal industries too. For instance, the cases of Mauricio, Francisco or Susana showed how becoming entrepreneurial was experienced as an immersion in a dynamic or risk management that makes entrepreneurial activity difficult. As Francisco says:

> *"You can have savings and a budget, but as soon as you come out, you realize that every day you're bleeding money, that you're running out and that you won't be getting income any time soon." (APPENDIX 6)*

Likewise, Susana expressed:

> *"No months are alike. So, especially during the first two years, while you are getting on your feet, you can't give yourself a salary; you have to wait and see that business fluctuates up and down with each coming month." (APPENDIX 19)*

Mauricio also adds:

> *"It's not easy, when you're employed you can rely on your salary at the end of the month, but now you become an entrepreneur you feel somewhat scared because you don't really know if you're going to make anything. Luckily, our business has thrived." (APPENDIX 13)*

In general terms, we have seen how the risk inherent in entrepreneurship and inherent in Colombian contextual conditions is experienced by entrepreneurs from different circumstances and industries. This dynamic is decisive for the experience of the entrepreneur as it generates a demand for risk management that is related to affective work, especially in the area of self-management, to sustain business activity. Although such affective work is invested in by most, if not all, participants, those whose socio-economic situation was more delicate had to invest more of this work since the risks and uncertainty are greater in these cases. Furthermore, we see how these risks related to the country's economic, social, and political conditions are associated with the lack of relevance of public policies at various levels, making it difficult for those who

for socio-economic reasons cannot access the formalization processes required by the authorities to do business. However, this confronts us with a complex situation since, as we have seen, the problems associated with public policies by entrepreneurs cover areas such as industrial standardization policies, urban planning, international policies, or unethical business practices.

In this regard, some official sources and studies argue that in Colombia the economic costs and time that entrepreneurs and micro-entrepreneurs must invest for their formalisation are high (DNP, 2018; Fernández, 2018). According to the National Planning Department (DNP), Colombian legislation requires an average microenterprise to formalise, and comply with approximately 27 procedures and requirements, mostly of a labour and tax nature, at least during the first year of operation. Economically, the cost of satisfying these formalities can represent 34.3% of the gross profit that a microenterprise can have in its first year of formal operation (2018, pág. 34). On the other hand, the most recent results for 2020 of the Large Survey of Microenterprises, conducted by the National Association of Financial Institutions (ANIF), report that the most frequent reason why microenterprises, both formal and informal, do not have the documentation to accredit them as formal enterprises is that the procedures and taxes to be paid are very costly (28.1%) (ANIF, 2020). As a result of recent reforms to these formalisation processes, to shorten and streamline procedures, reforms such as the creation and implementation of the Unique Business Platform in 2018, the time it takes to comply is now a relatively less frequent reason among microenterprises for not complying with legal requirements (7.7%) (ANIF, 2020). While the issue has been studied more as an explanatory factor for entrepreneurial informality, it may also provide clues about the occurrence of business exits, i.e., the closure, transfer/sale, or abandonment of economic activity by an entrepreneur. It is estimated that, in 2019, approximately 5.9% of people discontinued their entrepreneurial activity (GEM Colombia, 2020).

Despite this difficult experience, entrepreneurs work to keep their projects alive in a context with high economic and psychosocial impact. This experience of risk that characterizes business activity precedes another form of experience that is necessary to follow the market. This is: to produce or to look for opportunities. Both the micro-entrepreneur and the medium and high-impact entrepreneur must take risks to make profits, in theory, the greater the risk the

greater the profit. However, in the cases analysed the opposite was seen. Those who risked the most did so because of precarious working conditions or socio-economic needs, in exchange for remuneration which is not usually very high. In this sense, the balance between risks and opportunities is, for many entrepreneurs, drastically tilted towards risks. This has implications for the experience of producing opportunities in a context where opportunities are scarce while risks are high.

Conclusion

In this chapter we reviewed the ethnographic events, showing how the field of work was constructed in each movement of the sampling, producing an image of Bogotá as a context for entrepreneurship. The mapping exercise shows how the dispersion of events was distributed, following those areas where the greatest economic and business activity is concentrated in the city. In particular, it shows how this entrepreneurial core, located in the centre and northeast of the city, shapes the different workflows, people, products, ideas, and capital in Bogotá. This is read as “following the market” since entrepreneurs move around following those spaces that facilitate business activity and the production of opportunities.

The experience of following the market is then analysed in terms of the production of opportunities, and therefore, the experience of taking risks in the market. This shows how, in terms of opportunities, these are articulated with a context that enables the entrepreneur to extend the market in a field of their experience. It also analyses how the business context is experienced as a hostile, one where the risks are high for the great majority of entrepreneurs, especially for those SME's. We also see how these risks increase as the conditions of precariousness become more acute, generating a very difficult condition for those entrepreneurs who do not have the resources to work under legal parameters which do not recognise the circumstances of this type of vulnerable entrepreneur.

Starting from this pattern of following the market, we continue with the analysis of the experience of Bogotá as a field of entrepreneurship by showing how the city's experience is characterised by the dynamics that result from this initial pattern of following the market. Consequently, the following chapter

explores in more detail how business infrastructure is articulated based on spaces and knowledge which then impact new spaces and dynamics.

Chapter 5. Cartography II: Entrepreneurial dynamics

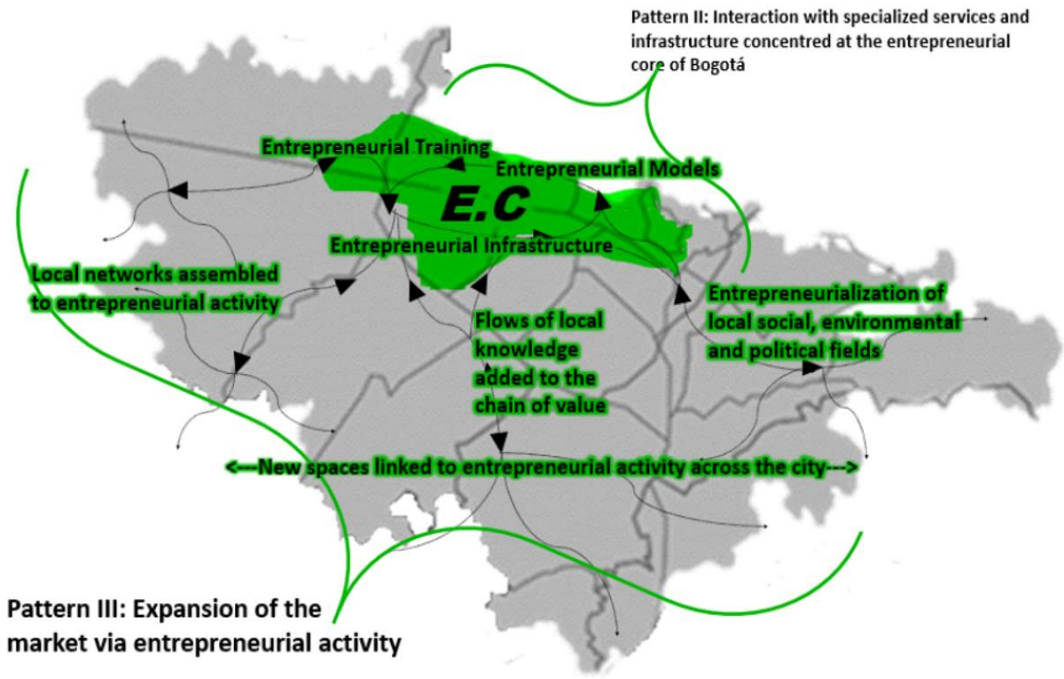
In this chapter, we will explore Patterns II and III through Cartography II (p.121). Thus, the analysis is centred on two key elements identified during the interviews: the interaction with entrepreneurial technologies, which circulate the city's core entrepreneurial area as well the expansion of market practices to new local scenarios.

In this sense, the analysis begins with Pattern II, related to how the business context is characterized in terms of the different services, programs, or cultural models aimed at entrepreneurs. Thus, we analyse the experience of the participants concerning the different spaces, facilities, training, or events aimed at the entrepreneurial subject. Then, the analysis continues with Pattern III, through which we study the experience of how, simultaneously with the circulation of entrepreneurial technologies, the market extends to new spaces in the city through the practice of entrepreneurship. Consequently, in this section, we will focus the analysis on those new spaces where entrepreneurial activity is articulated, as well as the different practices and local knowledge linked to entrepreneurship when entrepreneurs locate opportunities in their daily life and close context.

The aim is to produce an image of the business field in Bogota as a virtual space for the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity, as it is the setting where different economic and social flows forge the relationships of forces and tensions which later expressed in forms of subjectivity.

Figure 8

Cartography II



Source: own elaboration

Pattern II: Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex (E.C)

Entrepreneurial ideas flow through the landscape of entrepreneurial knowledge and technologies aimed at promoting and facilitating business activity in the country. We see how, from the urban organization, there is a setting of the space in which economic activity is concentrated i.e., in those spaces that are politically, administratively, and culturally relevant, thus configuring the movements of entrepreneurs and the distribution of business activity. This leads us to ask ourselves about the dynamics and characteristics that differentiate this area from other areas of the city. To do this, we must investigate the experience of this area and the different elements that make it up. We will call this an assembly of knowledge, technologies, and business models, of infrastructure and facilities designed to meet business needs, and institutions and authorities involved with the venture the entrepreneurial complex.

To study these interactions, this section first analyses the models and definitions that are addressed to entrepreneurs as models of success. Also, we will analyse the set of buildings and spaces specialised in hosting the business activity. Then, we will stop to analyse the different training and consultancy offer for entrepreneurship. Finally, we

will explore the offers of financing and connections that are linked to the production of opportunities in the city.

Entrepreneurial models

Regarding the notions and models of entrepreneurship that transit the different entrepreneurial circuits in the city, during the interviews, different, and even contradictory, ideas about what means to be an entrepreneur, who is an entrepreneur, and even what entrepreneurship is, emerged. Hence, it is relevant to explore how those ideas are organized and distributed across the context and their role in the constitution of *the entrepreneurial.*

Then, from superstar CEOs, maximising their profits in Wall Street, to food producers travelling across Bogotá using the public transport system, different images and notions of the entrepreneur arise. Moreover, those different notions vary according to the spaces that they tend to inhabit or transit. However, these ideas are not restricted to closed or isolated spaces. On the contrary, these ideas use the initial spaces as "trampolines to jump" to other spaces, setting in a multi-layered dynamic the prescriptions of who is the entrepreneur and how they behave.

Considering this, the different models of the entrepreneur that emerged during the fieldwork are organized according to how they tend to operate on different levels. The first model of entrepreneur that is presented is the one produced and articulated to the public and legal scenario, this model will be referred to as the *official entrepreneur*. The notion of entrepreneurs that circulate and mediate mainstream cultural spaces, will be nominated as *mainstream entrepreneurs*.

The official entrepreneur

A main entrepreneurial strategy of the government is to intervene with public policies, prescriptions, and technologies. This produces an official context that legitimises the chase of opportunities and the openness to risk, as the main components of entrepreneurial activity. Nonetheless, the models of the entrepreneurial subject that are included in the interventions are often designed and produced in the Global North, where the social, economic, cultural, and political conditions are different from Colombian ones. Still, the Colombian government has included strategies of intervention, such as legal definitions and training programmes, following the models

suggested by international organizations and think tanks like the World Bank and the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor.

With this stratification, there is a constitution of an official notion of a high valued entrepreneurial subject, motivated by economic activity and production of profits, who generates high profits, economic growth, development, technology, and innovations. This is set against a notion of the necessity-driven entrepreneur, a low valued subject whose practices are related to traditional activities, low production of capital and which is oriented to supply daily needs. Between those two poles, entrepreneurialism operates by positioning those high valued subjects as examples or models of the entrepreneurial activities while positioning those low valued subjects as a body that must be intervened and modelled if they are to achieve status as a desirable entrepreneur.

This is exemplified by Santiago A, who talked about the division between entrepreneurs by necessity and opportunity adopted in the Law 1014 of Entrepreneurship. He pointed out that in a determined moment of the construction of the public policy: *"One of the approaches is very academic, led by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor and Hoffman, who stated "Be wary because some become entrepreneurs due to opportunities while others do it out of necessity". This became widespread in public policies at some point." (APPENDIX 25)*

This can be seen in one of the main institutional entrepreneurial interventions, HEROES FEST. This event, which I attended as an observer in 2017 is the biggest event for entrepreneurs in the country. In the version I participated in, the activities were oriented to highlight emblematic cases and projects from the national entrepreneurial scene. For instance, the cases that were presented in the pitch rounds had scientific and technological backgrounds, such as DISECLAR, VBRAILE, ACUACARE. Those projects were competing for mixed (private and public) funding by presenting their enterprises in 3 minutes, showing their training and their selling skills on stage. To win, they had to prove that their business proposal was more profitable, innovative, and emphatic – a term used to refer to the "attitude" of the entrepreneurial project towards the context in which it is immersed-. Consequently, the arguments presented by the entrepreneurs in their presentations were oriented to show financial viability on one hand - numbers and comparative advantages- as well as business scalability -an orientation to grow in the market- on the other. In this way, entrepreneurs showed that it was safe to invest in their projects and how the opportunities they are chasing justified the funds they are contesting.

The projects that got to these main spaces for entrepreneurs were then used as model cases to promote an idea of entrepreneurship, the notion of a highly valued entrepreneur, oriented to profit, and underpinned by technology innovation. This was also present in two details that caught my attention. The first is how the host of the event systematically referred to the audience by calling them "Heroes", elevating the example of these successful entrepreneurs as the desirable subjects; the second, the figures they were using at the time concerning investment and profits that seemed, at least to me, quite inflated, perhaps even unfeasible and in any case way beyond what most Colombians could manage. All of which speaks of the intensity and fantasy surrounding these official strategies and how the idea of the opportunity-driven entrepreneur as the protagonist of economic life was reinforced and inculcated.

In this sense, there is an unwritten valuation of the different entrepreneurial activities, a hierarchy determining the desirability of one's project, a hierarchy constructed upon ideal virtues such, high impact entrepreneurship. This presents an immediate problem for, the traditional economic activities, based mostly on services and commerce. The government itself attributes this predominance of traditional economic activities to a lack of innovation and a low tolerance to risk. In this sense, the proposed interventions were oriented to include entrepreneurial training in the educational system and to "change the mentality" of entrepreneurs so they can be opened to market risks.

So, there are official voices that articulate the mainstream prescriptions to the public agenda, who propose as it were, an entrepreneurial invitation to Colombians to chase opportunity and assume risks. However, within those official spaces, critical voices did point out the tension between those prescriptions and the local context. These voices questioned the contexts from where Colombia imports entrepreneurial prescriptions, the way the local authorities implement those programmes, and the pertinence of these models concerning local contexts.

For instance, Yvone mentions how the policies for entrepreneurship that are used in Colombia came from different backgrounds, interacting with local features. She explains how these models came *"From the United States, Israel, even some products from Brazil, Europe as well, and in this rush to import new things there's also a very curious thing that happens and that is the fact that we're full of foreign lingo that we don't understand […] So you see that reflected in all our approaches, we learn slowly, sometimes stumbling along the way." (APPENDIX 24)*. In this same line of how we

import entrepreneurial technologies, Santiago, who has been involved in public policy decisions explain: *"I bring it to the Mass Challenge, that has the world's biggest accelerator, in 128… the most sophisticated in the world, specialized in health tech, to restructure a project whose main beneficiaries are the apprentices from the Entrepreneurship Fund (Fondo Emprender), technicians and technologists in Vichada, Guajira and Bogotá… there's a divide there since we think that everything foreign is better, we oftentimes end up paying more". (APPENDIX 25)*. In this fragment, he expresses how he felt about the way the institutions bring the most sophisticated and developed technologies in management and entrepreneurship to work on a programme that is oriented to users of the public programmes and whose backgrounds are from informal education and rural contexts.

In this last fragment, the tension between the uses and functions of those technologies and the Colombian context where they are applied is clear. These difficulties in implementing foreign programmes are present in the testimony of Nicolás, from REUNE, who shows how the main public fund, Fondo Emprender, was designed by following the model of CEBRAE, the Brazilian governmental institution dedicated to entrepreneurial activity, as a successful case, but which had not shown the expected results *(APPENDIX 14).*

These questioning voices warn how this generalized strategy to orientate subjects into the risk-opportunity paradigm is grounded in policies and strategies not pertinent to the local context. This inconsistency between those imported models and the actual possibilities for entrepreneurial activity in Colombia opens the question of how pertinent the invitation to risks made by this official entrepreneurialism actually is, particularly when it is the local subjects who assumes the risks attached to entrepreneurial activity.

In short, these models are vague concerning the way they impact the entrepreneurs' immediate experience. In this sense, the circulation of these definitions in the entrepreneurial field is positioned in institutional spaces rather than in the common imaginaries of local subjects. In this sense, it is fundamental to trace those images and forms that shape the models of entrepreneurial subjects. In this sense, models from entrepreneurial culture and national folklore are also analysed in the next sections.

The mainstream entrepreneur

Apart from those official prescriptions, other strong voices came from the mass-media-entrepreneur as a part of the entrepreneurial culture that is promoted in the country. With the growth of digital spaces such as social networks and digital communities, different actors have emerged in the social and cultural scenario. The inclusion of the services provided by companies such as Facebook, Google, Amazon, or Apple in the daily life of a large portion of the world's population has positioned the leaders of these enterprises as the main prototype of the successful entrepreneur.

The relevance of the influence of those cultural models in the social and economic scenario is exposed by Ricardo when explaining his project mission. He argues that his project's main goal is to support those entrepreneurs who work with them so they can later impact culture and society through technology and innovations. To illustrate this idea, he uses the case of Bauhaus, which had a high impact on modern culture, to picture the kind of impact he sought from his project. He said:

> *"You sit in a chair that has that design and doesn't look like a Victorian chair because of Bauhaus […] we're not sitting in chairs like that (Victorian), and this is slim because of Bauhaus, and 50 years ago they already were a tremendous university in Germany, you understand?" (APPENDIX 18)*

Another example of how these cultural entrepreneurial models impact society is a phenomenon called *uberization*, which departs from the principle of connecting users (demand) with providers (offer) based on geo-position systems. A key marketing strategy used by this company to attract clients is to produce a narrative of freedom based on the agency of the driver to decide when to work (UBER.com, 2020). In the interview, Iván mentioned this case to illustrate the importance of freedom in the entrepreneurial world of today. He argues that the developers of UBER read correctly a "macro situation" such as the desire for freedom, the generalized driving skills, and the demand for urban transport at the time of creating a platform that connects people who work by hours and the clients. About this, Iván said:

> *"For example, I think that what Uber had was a brilliant idea, because I think they were able to understand the world and see that unemployment is a brutal issue, that people no longer want to be tied to corporations, that they desire that kind of freedom" (APPENDIX 9)*

This example was accompanied by another iconic case from the entrepreneurial world, the Gillette model, to talk about how he designs a business with his partners. He mentions how some of those models inspired him personally. About these icons he said:

> *"I saw the Gillette story, I liked the vision he had, he was the one who came up with disposable razor blade during the World War, seeing how weapons just changed their munition and kept working, and he wanted to translate that into shaving. So, I thought something in that vein, disposable or quickly consumed could work." (APPENDIX 9)*

This also happens in the interview of Esteban, who brought up an anecdote he had talked about with the vice president of an important tourism agency called Aviatur. In their conversation, the figure of the president of Aviatur, a famous French entrepreneur, arose as an example. Such examples show how mainstream entrepreneurial models operate as *examples* or *standards* of the desirable entrepreneurial subject, and even, entrepreneurial morals. He shared his experience in the following terms:

> *"I once had an interview with Jean Claude Bessudo, there in Aviatur and he had the vice-president who was Colombian over and he said that Jean Claude had taught him to earn his place with hard work and discipline, adding that Colombians are too lazy and lack discipline. He said that he never received lectures from Jean Claude, he just taught through being an example, working hard and earning his place." (APPENDIX 5)*

Nonetheless, the tension between those models and the possibilities of success, hence of failure too, is recognized by some of those entrepreneurs who are closer to the innovation clusters and the mainstream entrepreneurial culture. Again, this is the case of Esteban, who expresses that he considers that the fashion-for-enterprising is modelled by those iconic entrepreneurial cases of success, without them realizing the implications of becoming an entrepreneur. While talking about how it was for him to become an entrepreneur, he shares:

> *"Now everyone talks about Jobs and Bezos and Elon Musk, and I think there is a lot that can be learned from them, but I also think that entrepreneurship is being portrayed as an end-all, where often, especially in technology, it's like a get-rich-quick scheme, so everybody wants to be an entrepreneur, and they don't realize all the sacrifices both personal and professional that it entails!" (APPENDIX 5)*

These critiques of the mainstream icons are also present in the narration of Yvone, *"Many have the idealization of what it means to be an entrepreneur, but it is so much more than creating an app, and it is the daily challenge of facing all the obstacles along the way". (APPENDIX 24).* Also, this problematization of the entrepreneurial

heroes is part of Santiago's reaction to the way Colombia imports international models of entrepreneurship oriented to seeking and promoting the production of potential 'Young Genius' by introducing entrepreneurial training to the educational system. He said:

> *"Then, we go to the other side and the only entrepreneur that matters to everyone, everywhere, be them from Nuqui, Guapi, Tentenpie or wherever is Elon Musk, the idealized figurehead of entrepreneurship […] So, for the first Heroes Fest I brink Steve Wozniak, but what the hell would Steve Wozniak know about Colombia? What of his knowledge will we able to apply to Colombia?" (APPENDIX 25)*

The examples presented in this section illustrates the mystification and idealization of the figure of the super-hero entrepreneur. These inspirational models do not represent the common entrepreneur from Colombia, even for those who are in the technological field, but rather function as motivation and living examples for many potential entrepreneurs. In terms of the entrepreneurial field, this shows a connection between models from foreign markets and the experience of local entrepreneurs. These models came mainly through the dispersion of objects and images of the market into the cultural field. These models are localized when entrepreneurs interact and relate their experience with those models. The effects produced by this interaction may vary. However, during the interviews, two patterns emerged: the use of these mainstream models as sources of inspiration, especially in terms of the style or rationality, to approach the market; and also, how these models interact with the experience of the entrepreneurial field in which conditions are precarious, producing *push-back scepticism* or criticism of localizing these ideas in the way past governments have done.

Considering this interaction between entrepreneurial models with the entrepreneurial field, it is worthy then to ask which other models operate in the field with this same function. Consequently, the proper local or national models of entrepreneurs that characterize the Colombian entrepreneurial culture were also analysed.

The criollo entrepreneur

The Colombian culture is also a source of examples and models for Colombian entrepreneurs. In different interviews, elements from what is known as a *national culture* emerged to define and describe how Colombians show an entrepreneurial mentality. From a motivational perspective, McClelland (1984) have proposed a link

between entrepreneurial behaviours and cultural issues which facilitates entrepreneurial activity, opening the door to linkages between national culture or identity and entrepreneurial performance and spirit. In this sense, there is an articulation of the entrepreneurial features from notions of the Colombian identity such as the braveness or the creativity self-attributed by many Colombians. These can be considered the entrepreneurial shared cultural background of most of the participants, in the sense, that these other models introduced in the cultural field interact with them. These interactions work as a basis for the localization of entrepreneurialism and entrepreneurial models, affecting the context in particular ways.

In relation to the way the *criollo entrepreneur*[3] is distinguished, different imaginaries surround this local figure. For instance, in the eyes of Alejandro, who came from an international background - Barcelona, Catalunya -, the Colombian case is marked by a cultural disposition to enterprising that is transversal to society. He pointed out that:

> *"Colombia is one of the most creative countries, having that sweet spot between creativity, bravery and willingness for entrepreneurship, everyone here does it, while in Europe everybody freelances, that is being an employee but with fewer rights (laughs), but not an entrepreneur." (APPENDIX 1)*

This national disposition to enterprising is also mentioned by Gustavo, who talked about how he has learned from sharing with other entrepreneurs from the city. Concerning sharing selling spaces with other food producers, he observed that these entrepreneurs are there because Colombians are always searching for something to do. He claims he learned that he must make people understand that if he, as a graduate communicator of an elite private university, is selling organic tamales it is a personal decision. He said talking about himself:

> *"People don't become entrepreneurs out of necessity, they do it because they are good at what they do, they sell it well… all of that was learned there (training program) being together with other inventors, as I call them, but there are resources here and people won't remain still while being out work, that just won't happen" (APPENDIX 7)*

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[3] Criollo is the term used to refer initially to those descendants of Spaniards who were born in colonial territories. Contemporary, this term is used to refer to local subjects and as an adjective to describe national products.

This vindication of the Colombian trend to be looking for what to do instead of assuming a victim role is also pictured by Úrsula, who claims that *"There are entrepreneurs here, obviously very learned people, but I've witnessed beautiful projects, and usually, when people here think of an entrepreneur, they think of someone down on their luck. Well, no, most entrepreneurs have a lot more than a product and the need to sell it!" (APPENDIX 21)*. Although, even if some participants agree that the Colombian has an inherited orientation to enterprising, there are also some other behaviours attributed to being Colombian that interfere with entrepreneurial activities. For instance, Yvone expresses how she has noticed by training entrepreneurs that the Colombian entrepreneur is not very constant and tends to enterprise just by necessity instead of following a passion. She said:

> *"I have realized as a consultant that entrepreneurs in Colombia aren't usually very constant, they tend to give up when obstacles arise, and I think that is because they aren't doing it with passion, and they also lack the knowledge as they are doing it out of necessity" (APPENDIX 24)*

Esteban also pointed out how some issues from the "countries mentality" such as a conservative mentality and the lack of execution/action, obstruct Colombian entrepreneurs in comparison to entrepreneurs from other contexts. He started discussing his experience in international entrepreneurial networks, that *"one usually is very scared of this kind of thing, growing up with such a conservative mentality, but when you start thinking about the internet and international expansion that opens your mind and helps you go beyond a lot of limitations from the culture, we grew up in." (APPENDIX 5)*. Esteban's answer shows a link that is usual in public policy recommendations: mentality and culture, and how Colombians experience cultural limitations that are then translated into a lack of entrepreneurial mentality. This link is also pointed out by Iván, who expressed how new generations have learned to get things easily, taking this to the field of business. He claimed that:

> *"I think we're a generation that consumes rapidly and that wants to have everything quickly, without effort. Therefore, we do not want to be tied to a boss or a company because oftentimes we can achieve the same, earn more money for a lesser effort without filling someone else's pockets from our work". (APPENDIX 9)*

Iván and Esteban claims point to an interesting issue regarding the source of these limitations which both claims are an outcome of growing up in the Colombian context. Following this analysis, some voices identify in those contextual issues a matter for intervention to facilitate entrepreneurial development. Ricardo presents this

by bringing into the conversation a comparison between mainstream entrepreneurs and an unfortunate icon of the Colombian national life: Pablo Escobar. This relationship between the Colombian history and the kind of entrepreneurs that emerged in the context is expressed by Ricardo in the following terms:

> *"We're behind, which carries a lot of challenges, like having a Pablo Escobar instead of a Steve Jobs in our context. Pablo Escobar was extremely rich, one of the richest in the world, but surely if he had been born somewhere else with opportunities and education, without guerrillas, drug-trafficking, he might have been in the top 100 of successful entrepreneurs". (APPENDIX 18)*

In contrast to the constitution of the "brave Colombian" that is pictured by the imaginaries of the entrepreneurial activity as heroic, those notions of the *colombianity* produce the image of the Colombian entrepreneur as a tropical/provincial subject. The modelling of the provincial entrepreneur becomes the central duty of entrepreneurial interventions. However, the operations and strategies displayed in the field face the obstacles and contradictions engendered by applying imported technologies without considering the specificities of the context. About these particularities, again Yvone exemplifies clearly how implicated these processes are and how determinant is the local context. Regarding what she has seen of the applications of the international policies by local institutions, she said this has been: *"Trial and error, it has been shown that it does not work and that you must adapt it through trial and error, and that carries a time and monetary cost. What happened with that first trial was that it was brought as-is and that needed to take the cultural factor into account, since things here work at a different pace." (APPENDIX 24)*

This led us to reflect on how these flows of knowledge could be problematic in terms of localizing ideas that come from different geopolitical regions in the local contexts. This is also an issue for Santiago, who explains the difficulty of understanding the Colombian entrepreneur from those imported perspectives. Regarding this process, Santiago said:

> *"The OECD says this, Doing Business says this, so I need to check the functionality because oftentimes we do things based on Doing Business and all those things without really looking at the Colombian businessman and those indicators don't give you the whole picture" (APPENDIX 25)*

Thus, there are two ways the entrepreneurial discourse articulates different images of the local entrepreneur: first, as a subject who is culturally inclined to entrepreneurial behaviour, who has an inherited disposition to deal with risks and a

constant drive to search for opportunities; and second, as a tropical subject who requires interventions to become a more standardized entrepreneur, legitimizing these interventions as a way improving risk management and making opportunity evaluation more effective. Still, there is a perceived disconnect between the knowledge and the technologies that guide those entrepreneurial operations and the historic, cultural, political, economic, social, and environmental specifics within the country.

Training programmes

Promoting skills is the main way official entrepreneurialism intervenes upon subjects. Both public and private agencies and organizations, provide training programmes and methodologies oriented to building and shaping skill sets and attitudes related to the creation of opportunities and risk management. The entrepreneurial demand for openness to risk and the constant chasing of opportunities is another forum for those services. This translates into the creation of different offices and organizations that provide the required entrepreneurial training to promote and facilitate entrepreneurial activity: Their enterprise is entrepreneurship itself. In Bogotá, organizations such as universities, the Commerce Chamber of Bogotá, INNPulsa, and a considerable number of organizations import, design, sell, and implement different methodologies and training programmes to boost entrepreneurial activity.

Most participants received entrepreneurial training at some point, especially from public institutions, showing how the contents provided are based on what Nicolás, described as *generic training*, along two training lines: management, financial skills, and marketing, on one side; and entrepreneurial mentality, creativity, and innovation on the other.

In this section, we highlight the experience of entrepreneurs who have developed services for other entrepreneurs as a project and show how these services are introduced to the business market. This is the case of entrepreneurs such as Yvone, Ricardo, Susana, and Esteban.

Traditional services

Various participants shared their experience in spaces of entrepreneurial training. As an example, Helena, Francisco, and Camila have all participated in the training programme provided by Fondo Emprender, a relevant funding programme of the Colombian government. Concerning this training, they refer to a mentality,

characterized by *psy* knowledge and socialization dynamics; training in management methodologies, such as the CANVAS; and training in commercialization and marketing skills, such as making pitches, presenting products, and networking. The experience of Helena summarizes how these programmes were structured. She explains:

> *It's basically psychology in-person classes, after which there's a project exhibit where everybody participates showing their work, which is great because it lets you see the projects here in the university […] Afterwards, you start getting appointments, so you go with your workgroup but there were only two of us […] and then we hold meetings where we can have an expert in food handling, or accounting or marketing and they look at the product and help out make sure it complies with correct procedure and regulations." (APPENDIX 8)*

However, other entrepreneurs such as Francisco or Camila shared some difficulties they had with these programmes. For instance, Francisco felt that *"The Emprender Fund uses a model in which the structure of their projects is too rigid and not flexible enough for new types of business models… I mean, it is designed for restaurants and such, more conventional businesses." (APPENDIX 6)*. Another difficulty of these programmes was highlighted by Camila who had to stop her participation in the *Fondo Emprender* programme due to logistic inconvenience related to her working and enterprising at the same time. She mentioned how when she was assigned a coach and was ready to start the business plan until things got difficult. Camila said: *"I met with this lady several times, I told her my story and she loved it, but then the training began for the financial plan, and this was one or two weeks, every afternoon in a set location, and I couldn't go, so that was it for me, I had no further options" (Appendix 3)*

From these quotes, we can see various experiences of training programmes provided in the city. In the three cases, the experience was different. However, what is interesting here is the demand for highly specialized services that set this market apart from other entrepreneurs who provide the kind of facilities not provided by public institutions. However, accessing these programmes is difficult for many entrepreneurs in ways far beyond the difficulties highlighted in the previous examples. For instance, the Bogotá Chamber of Commerce (CCB) currently offers training services aimed at strengthening entrepreneurial and business-oriented skills and knowledge, as well as specialized coaching and consultancy. While this portfolio includes a series of courses and bibliographic material available for free on the CCB's virtual platforms, another branch offers more specialized services accessible through subsidized fees, annual

memberships for a payment equivalent to 2.6 minimum wages, valid for the year 2021, or affiliations whose cost depends on the value of the entrepreneurs' assets. The lowest membership fee for the latter option is COP 37,000, equivalent to 4% of a minimum wage in force by 2021 (CCB, 2021).

The case of Yvone and Susana are good examples of how these are offered in the market of entrepreneurship. For instance, in the case of Yvone, her project consists of consulting entrepreneurs on issues such as project formulation, structuring, and management. Her organization has worked with a considerable number of entrepreneurs, helping them with diverse duties related to the construction and development of their projects. Additionally, her service is highly focused on connecting entrepreneurs with allies, clients, and possible sponsors. For this reason, she says.

> *"We guide entrepreneurs and realized they needed social network management, PR management […] so we go to universities and find students in appropriate majors that can make it a class project, like creating the corporate identity of the company. This helps both the student, because he gains knowledge and real-world experience, and the entrepreneur because he learns to manage employees, reduce costs and the possibility of contemplating further future connections with academia". (APPENDIX 24)*

In the case of Yvone's agency, the focus is to connect entrepreneurs with relevant networks and with academia as a source of services related to marketing and administration. Similarly, Susana's project is focused on attending to different duties of the organizational process such as "paperwork" and administrative tasks, organizational and personal management, marketing, and commercialization. Her organization provides structuring and managerial services for social entrepreneurs, which she illustrates by saying:

> *"Currently we have 3 lines of work. We structure projects, we design them from the ground up, calculate costs, manpower, timeframes, challenges, and requirements for already existing companies, etc. From there, the organization has two options, they can execute it on their own or they can hire us to manage and operate the project which is our second line of work. The management of operation of projects entails managing the day to day, representing the company, going to meetings, presenting proposals, resource gathering, sales, and everything it entails." (APPENDIX 19)*

Susana's approach then is focused on providing assessment and management of key processes within the organizational development of the entrepreneurs who use her services. Even if her focus is not on connecting entrepreneurs with other services and

allies, the function of her corporation is to work as an outsourcing solution for managerial duties, just like Yvone.

Specialized programmes

Apart from managerial services, there are other specialized services for entrepreneurs that transcend more traditional interventions. This is exemplified in the cases of Esteban and Ricardo. In the first case, by offering a perspective centred in a pedagogical accompaniment for the entrepreneurs; and in the second case, by proposing a mutual growth dynamic with some of the projects they support.

In his school of social entrepreneurship, Esteban develops entrepreneurial skills through individual and group reflection exercises regarding how to enterprise with a focus on social innovation. The purpose of these dynamics, rather than applying for a specific standardized training program, is to use entrepreneurs' experiences and possibilities, linked to a later brief theorization, to produce specific knowledge about each project. Esteban explained that *"there's research behind some of those things, nevertheless, despite much research, you can end up iterating, but evidently it won't be something as random. On the technical side, such as legal structure, or financial, we get assistance from specialized people, the learning experience that we are proposing goes into play right there, we have a pedagogical compass." (APPENDIX 5)*

Different from Esteban, Ricardo's programme works more schematically, having two different options according to the moment of the organization and the associativity he works with. The first working line is a non-profit organization oriented to support entrepreneurs by providing network services, while the second line is a profit-oriented organization that works as a company builder for the projects that are articulated under their umbrella. Concerning how they display their strategies in those two lines, Ricardo says:

> *"It is a non-profit association. First, we do general networking, we meet the entrepreneurs and people who can have business ideas and we direct them to our for-profit association which is a company builder, where we have a methodology that evaluates the project and once it is self-sustainable the company is constituted, say, in an 80% by the company builder in terms of shares, and then we find investors or associates and that generates companies. Afterwards, they become independent, and the company builder receives the utilities over the 80% that corresponds to it, that's how it works." (APPENDIX 18)*

In both cases, the focus on creativity is accentuated as a privileged way of producing value. For Esteban, this component of creativity is involved in the formation they provide and the exercises they propose for entrepreneurs to think about solutions for social issues. In his words *"So, it is demanding, it challenges your creativity, your divergent thinking, your problem solving, and we ask for both quantity and quality, we're not looking for the perfect answer but an abundance of them. Then you elaborate, you say, this could or not be." (APPENDIX 5)*. Likewise, for Yvone, innovation is also the main way to open a space in the market, even if this component is not directly related to the product but is rather associated with what happens around the product. Ricardo also expresses how, to take advantage of the talent that exists in Colombian entrepreneurs, the government must seek answers in innovation, specifically in innovation ecosystems. About this solution, Ricardo says that.

Thus, we see how creativity becomes a relevant element however there is an issue:

> *"No, the government doesn't do anything with that talent, you understand. […] What they should do is create innovation ecosystems, finance them on a national level, really finance them." (APPENDIX 18)*

Creativity circulates through the business field, producing a demand for it. It is thus positioned as a value and a need in the task of making entrepreneurship. With this, programs aimed at promoting or facilitating creativity also arise and begin to characterize the business core, where these discourses are concentrated. This reiteration and exaltation of creativity shape the experience of entrepreneurs, who are not only trained to produce creativity but are also offered services and products aimed at providing this quality. This is a further way in which entrepreneurialism impacts entrepreneurs' position in the field and upon expectations of their activity.

Entrepreneurial Infrastructure

As it was presented in the previous section, the high demand for services for entrepreneurs leads to the creation of projects and spaces for those purposes. While these services grow, new offices, meeting rooms and buildings are disposed to host these activities. With this higher intensity in the entrepreneurial core of the city, different spaces of Bogotá are incorporated as the infrastructure for specialized entrepreneurial events and places of interest, such as universities and public institutions.

In this sense, the pattern presents a high interaction with an infrastructure and business services complex which, in the experience of the entrepreneur, translates into walking the main streets of the entrepreneurial core, using the public transport system, inhabiting certain buildings, and visiting institutions of interest; in other words, accessing all this at a high price to them personally. These costs are considered as an investment. In terms of the experience of entrepreneurs in the field, this makes them frequent users of these places investing their time, resources, and energy in this area of the city. In return, the entrepreneurs find spaces and facilities to meet their needs and a means to be closer to the places of interest, which increases their possibilities in terms of networking, sales, and production of opportunities in general.

With the expansion of entrepreneurial spaces all over the city, entrepreneurs are not only connected with services, but the interaction with mentors, suppliers, clients, or other entrepreneurs thus, theoretically at least, also enabling the creation of more networks or clusters that configure the dynamics of the entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá. These clusters facilitate their journey, finding knowledge, favours, allies, and support. Thus, the relationship between entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial core also reproduces market dynamics in the sense of how these entrepreneurs behave as investors in themselves and it does this by positioning them in those spaces where opportunities can appear.

Other market sectors are not indifferent to this. Services providers, such as Yvone, Susana, and Ricardo highlighted the rise of new spaces for entrepreneurial life. As Susana pointed out, "*Co-working spaces are trending*" and the rising number of spaces destined for work and enterprising have resulted in the constitution of a whole alternative infrastructure, different from the traditional corporate offices and official meeting rooms. Mainly, these spaces are built under the logic of co-working, providing entrepreneurs not only with specialized services but also basic facilities such as worktables, electric installations, bathrooms, food and drinks, and Wi-Fi connections.

Some of these spaces are affiliated to transnational networks of co-working spaces such as 'WeWork' or 'The Impact Hub', the latter being a place recommended by Yvone as a space to recruit participants for my research. Moreover, the case of Ricardo is a clear example of how spaces have a key impact on providing services for entrepreneurs. He mentions:

> *"We founded it under the idea of coworking, but at that time we didn't know that coworking existed, we pretty much just found an abandoned house and*

started developing a space where we could host people with different expertise to enrich and create projects, which is what we like the most." (APPENDIX 18)

In terms of spaces for entrepreneurship, we can observe how the city changes and entrepreneurial-related territories start to emerge across Bogotá. Moreover, the constitution of new workplaces is not restricted to shared offices, rented meeting rooms, and modern hubs with basic facilities. For many other entrepreneurs, who also demand these services but do not want or cannot afford a subscription in a co-working place, even less structured spaces emerge such as workstations.

Apart from official and specialized infrastructure for entrepreneurial activity, other installations such as coffee shops, restaurants, pubs, shopping malls, small cafeterias, university installations, and even public space, emerge as territories that also host entrepreneurs. These other spaces function as auxiliary infrastructure within the development of entrepreneurial activities.

A good example of this is how Esteban's Wi-Fi is always connected to some network around the city as he moves constantly from place to place. Alejandro. According to Alejandro, Bogotá has good spaces for working independently. He says:

"First, it has free internet, which is why people go to Starbucks, not because they have good coffee. Where do you get your start-up in the United States? In a Starbucks! The thing is that here, we are coffee producers and there are good places with internet where you have good coffee at a fair price. So, you go there with your laptop, and you work there, that's what I mean." (APPENDIX 1)

Accordingly, the meeting with Alejandro was also in a coffee shop in the entrepreneurial core. This was a strong pattern as several meetings were in spaces like this. For instance, the meeting with Úrsula was in a coffee shop within the International Centre of Bogota; the meeting with Gustavo in a small cafeteria in the Parkway, the interview with Nicolás was also in a cafeteria near Piloto University, the observation with Esteban during a working day, we went to two coffee shops for meetings, the meeting with Jairo was in a small traditional cafeteria near his university in the centre of the city, the interview with Teresa, who met me in the food area of a shopping mall or, the interview with Santiago, who met me at a restaurant bar in the north-east of the city.

In this way, these spaces also hosted the research activities and served this purpose. This was related to their positioning in the field since the search for places of interest to produce meetings with entrepreneurs also followed the market in that sense. Finally, we see how there is an infrastructure that impacts the experience of

entrepreneurs to the extent that it offers the resources to solve needs associated with working outside the traditional workspaces. We also see how new specialised infrastructure is constantly emerging, associated with the urban transformation derived from entrepreneurial activity.

Pattern III: Extending the market into new fields.

In conjunction with the dispersion of technologies and services for entrepreneurship, the interactions produced in the countryside with the rural subjects have repercussions on other types of spaces and dynamics that initially do not seem to be directly linked to entrepreneurship. Through business practice, new spaces, knowledge, relationships, and communities are linked to entrepreneurship.

This section present Pattern III, showing how market dynamics become present in new fields through business activity. Thus, the analysis begins with the production of new spaces for entrepreneurship at different levels such as urban distribution, public space, domestic spaces, and extensive spaces all linked to complex territorial relations. The analysis then turns to explore how this production of spaces for entrepreneurship is associated with the production of networks of people who are directly or indirectly involved in business activity. We will also analyse the use of personal, local, or traditional knowledge linked to entrepreneurship through the search for new ways to produce value in the market. Finally, we analyse the production of new social and political relations that are shaped through the experience of entrepreneurship within Bogotá.

These factors show how the entrepreneur's background relates to the dynamics produced by entrepreneurship, in which these previous experiences nourish business activity by linking it to market-oriented knowledge and practices. Thus, we see how entrepreneurs expand the market in their immediate context and their close relationships produce opportunities and of course also business risks. Finally, we see how the flows of business knowledge are not confined exclusively within the centre-periphery or global-local direction. The expansion of the market and the construction of Bogota as a marketplace, show how ideas and practices related to entrepreneurship move through diverse spaces that escape the city's Neoliberal organisation, but at the same time extend it to new spaces.

New spaces for entrepreneurial activity

Apart from these more standardized spaces for meetings and networking, the expansion of the entrepreneurial practices connects places beyond the entrepreneurial core of the city reaching a variety of community spaces, local territories, and households. In this sense, space gains a centrality in entrepreneurial projects. For some entrepreneurs finding the correct place in the city and using it as a platform for their activities is crucial. In this sense, the location within the city becomes crucial. For instance, Ricardo shows the impact of a well-located space in entrepreneurial life. About this, he shared his experience of transforming and adapting an abandoned house for his and other projects, changing the city by introducing new spaces for entrepreneurial activity.

> *"After we paid the first remodelling he said, "alright, I am going to charge you rent now, but not like a house this big should pay" [...] that is how the process started, and we've already been here 3 years. Now we are starting to consolidate a fund to invest in projects, developing all the coffee, now we'd like to improve and move beyond the people who are renting and into those who share the space with us and develop their projects." (APPENDIX 18)*

About this, some entrepreneurs highlighted how special issues such as the neighbourhood are crucial to the development of their projects. For Camila, for example, the place to open her bakery was the result of a market study of possible customers per area of the city. Accordingly, the business was opened in Chapinero, near a wealthy neighbourhood in the entrepreneurial core of the city, close to potential clients. This is a good example of how entrepreneurs' relation with the city is mediated by market dynamics where being in an adequate location means better opportunities. In this line, Victoria shows how being in the correct space impacted her experience as an entrepreneur when they moved from a neighbourhood where the market was not prepared for their services - organic food commercialization - into a new neighbourhood in the centre of Bogotá, whose inhabitants are more familiarized with this kind of projects. About finding a better place for their business she said:

> *"Everything changed, our disposition towards the project, it was like liberating some frustration, some fear. People's reception changed within the neighbourhood, for us it was very important that they understood what the project meant and for it to receive support from that conviction, that it is something good for the neighbourhood, that generates a local economy, a sense of community and consciousness since we felt that the neighbourhood had been calling for a place like that for some time. It wasn't so clear at the*

beginning, but we've had strong support since the beginning that gave us strength, which doesn't mean that it was easy from the start either." (APPENDIX 22)

This strong support on behalf of the neighbours became crucial not only about feeling well received but more importantly, it is crucial for the boost it gave to sales and to the project itself. The narration of Victoria shows how central space is in terms of market activity and for the experience of entrepreneurship, where space is linked to certain people and dynamics that ease entrepreneurial success. In the same neighbourhood, just blocks from Victoria's organic market, Olivia's yoga studio also presents a particular relation between space and entrepreneurship. As shown, it is frequent that opportunities make the entrepreneur. The case of Olivia shows this clearly, in which those opportunities were presented to her which arose directly from the spaces she occupied. In her case, by owning a family flat in the centre of Bogotá she found an advantage related to her interests. She explained:

"The idea was to create a space where there was a place for very different things. We've had yoga classes on a constant basis, but also dancing workshops, singing lessons, cooking lessons, etc. […] but it all started as just an idea to offer a space for people who want to do what they do, as a space for other people more than for myself." (APPENDIX 15)

Due to the location of Laura's studio, ventures based on the rental and loan of space become feasible, since it is positioned in a central point that can attract users of this type of service. In this sense, Olivia's undertaking is related to other undertakings, to whom she lends her space. Furthermore, we see how business activity extends to intimate spaces such as the home, which can now be capitalised on through rent or the exchange of services and knowledge.

We have seen how space acquires a central value in the production of the business projects that have transformed the city and lead to a constant updating of the market in urban space. In Bogotá, this centrality of space is made more acute by the concentration of business activity and services in the centre and northeast of the city. The dynamics of being in the right place is then a key factor in being able to access markets efficiently, which makes business activity revolve more markedly around the economic centres of the city.

This is also exemplified by those entrepreneurs who work in public spaces. For participants such as Kevin, Dario, or Ximena, who develop their productive activity in the streets of the city, being able to locate themselves in places where their access to the market is facilitated, become a determining factor for their survival. In these cases, the

relationship with space has a more profound impact on the daily experience of enterprising since the levels of risk are greater in these places and the opportunities are highly competitive.

Kevin's case is a clear example of how space becomes a determining factor in the life of the entrepreneur. Kevin inherited the space in the 41st Street and 7th Avenue tunnel from his father, and since then he has sold different products to passers-by and students at the Pontifical Xaverian University who are his frequent customers. Kevin tells us:

> *"Luckily, I have worked here all my life, both through thick and thin. While students go on vacation I continue here. In December, when it is most lonely people look for me and give me little tokens of appreciation, and I sold Christmas hats. But people come and go, and I change my stock." (APPENDIX 11)*

Similarly, Andrés sells in the vicinity of the University even though he has only recently been working there. Like Kevin, Dario points out how the university population is an attractive market. This means that hanging around this area increases his chances of selling his empanadas. Also, Dario' objective was to open a restaurant, so his informal sale in the Parque Nacional was a way of advertising for his potential future clients. As he says: *"This I'm offering is gourmet. I bring it to the park in hopes of expanding my product." (APPENDIX 4)* For him, the dependence of his livelihood on space is decisive since these spaces are highly competitive among informal vendors and guarded by the police.

However, socio-economic conditions and the concentration of economic activity in certain points of the city force vendors to persist in working in these spaces. This is expressed by Ximena in the following terms:

> *"When you need to pay the electric bill, rent, you have kids and obligations, you find yourself in the need to run away from police, and those spaces won't be taken back because people don't care. Police come and go, and you must take the insults, but we are here out of necessity. If we had the monetary capacity, we would be in a retail location, but they could make 50 street vendors go away and now you'll find over a 100." (APPENDIX 17)*

Thus, we see how the relationship between entrepreneurship and space is also determined by factors such as labour market conditions and the socio-economic situation of the country, which forces several entrepreneurs to extend their business activity to the streets. However, this expansion does not only take place in public space. As we mentioned in Chapter 4, different types of entrepreneurs are forced to move

around the city to market and provide services that are developed in non-traditional workspaces, such as the home. Thus, we see how the entrepreneurial activity of entrepreneurs such as Helena, Darío, Úrsula, Penelope, or Gustavo connects different spaces through entrepreneurship by producing and working in their homes, commercializing around the city, and frequenting the entrepreneurial core in search of opportunities.

This transforming power of entrepreneurship shows how the market can be articulated from space and how they depend on spatial conditions. In this articulation, different dynamics related to space are connected, such as urban distribution, in which entrepreneurship is shaped by the concentration of economic activity or the public-private distinction that ends up being eliminated through the entrepreneurial activity. This power in the expansion of business activity also manages to connect spaces that are distant from the entrepreneurial core, such as the rural areas of Bogotá, the municipalities bordering the city, or ancestral territories.

As an example, we see the cases of Luis, who lives in rural Usme, in a village considered an "agro-ecological park" where peasant communities oversee to preserve the ecosystems surrounding the urban border. Thus, the ecological value of the territories is connected to the dynamics of rural community tourism that are implemented in other regions of the country as a means of involving peasant communities in productive projects linked to the care of ecosystems. Luis tells how, after a training:

> *"As a thought experiment, each one added up what they spent, and it came up to around 220 thousand per person. That was to help people see everything here has a cost. If not, there would be no point to it, you would be in a place just like Sochez, we also have lagoons here, that is the thing, that is what we would like you to understand and then the landscape starts gaining value and that is called tourism, isn't it?" (APPENDIX 12)*

Similarly, Teresa, Bibiana, or Helena join different territories scattered in Bogota through their activity. In their ventures, the products or services come from or are found in dispersed contexts, with no apparent relation to the preferred spaces for entrepreneurship in the city. For example, in the case of Teresa, the production of organic coffee in San Francisco, Cundinamarca, and its subsequent commercialisation in Bogotá connects the organic and traditional production practices of rural communities with the cafés and networking places of the entrepreneurial core. Similarly, Helena and Bibiana connect knowledge and products from ancestral regions

such as the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and the Cauca. The case of Helena is an example of how the ancestral cocoa production practices of the Sierra Nevada are connected to the entrepreneurial programmes offered by institutions such as SENA or the National University. In Bibiana's case, the ancestral knowledge of *viche, arrechón* or *tomaseca,* there are traditional drinks from the Afro-Cauca communities, which is connected to the spaces for project formulation and her possible markets among the Afro community that has moved to Bogotá in recent years.

Thus, Bibiana mentions how this displacement of Afro women triggers health problems for which their product can be marketed:

> *"An afro woman is free of a series of diseases that either due to the food we consume, the toxicity in our environment or the place we live, we develop a natural resistance. And that is not certifiable but that is what we wanted to try with this brand, not just have a product that is sold freely with an artisanal package or bottle, but a brand with meaning and therefore an added value." (APPENDIX 2)*

Thus, in these cases, we see how the participants connect different spaces in their experience and products as entrepreneurs. In this way, through business activity, new products and forms of production that come from other regions and cultures arrive in Bogotá, where they are articulated within the market. In this sense, the market expands to different territories producing transformations. Within these transformations, we see the constant production of new scenarios for business activity without distinctions such as public vs. private, or centres vs. peripheries.

As a tool or concept framed within capitalism, entrepreneurship fulfils its function of constantly breaking the traditional limits in terms of constant market expansion and revolution. This is identified in the pattern concerning space, where the connections generated by business activity break the notion of the traditional and institutional workplace. Finally, the entrepreneurs' narratives regarding space were marked by the presence of others who had made this space attractive for entrepreneurial activity. In this respect, the following section presents an analysis of the entrepreneurs' experiences concerning the networks in which they moved.

Expanding the entrepreneurial network

Networking is one of the main activities for entrepreneurs in the city. By getting in touch with potential allies, clients, mentors, or suppliers, entrepreneurs increase their opportunities for finding solutions and contacts they need for the success of their

projects. Nonetheless, given that access to these valuable spaces is also selective, entrepreneurs are pushed to practice networking in diverse spaces if they want to construct a network that facilitates their entrepreneurial activity. This can be seen in Luis's account of his work exploring new territories in the rural areas of Bogotá, opening community-based rural tourism routes. Guillermo expresses how he felt: *"I have climbed so many times I don't remember, but each time I do it I feel amazement… what's the best? Meeting new people, and my group of friends has grown like crazy." (APPENDIX 12)*

Interacting and sharing with different people is a fundamental part of how entrepreneurs narrate their experiences in the city. In a similar way to Luis's account of her experience of expanding her entrepreneurial network, Ximena shares shared with us that it has meant for her to generate bonds of solidarity with the other street vendors *"The networks that allow for knowledge transferral are endless […] I began showing the fruits because salesmen are also supportive of each other, and you start forming connections […] Solidarity has been wonderful." (APPENDIX 17)*. Although there are institutional efforts to establish entrepreneurship networks at the national and regional level, the impact of these networks is low, and they have little impact on the daily experience of these entrepreneurs. However, at the local level, different networks of entrepreneurs are spontaneously woven, exchanging knowledge, services, products, or tools in their entrepreneurial activity. Thus, these networks facilitate the production of opportunities through the constant connection between different entrepreneurs who meet in the spaces that host the business activity, such as networking events.

For example, Úrsula shows how she looks for solutions in her network of contacts *"That comes from your ability to associate, right now we're looking at our directory to see how we might access some specific plants at a good price, so that we might rent them per hour or a week, to do the things we'd like to do, to cater to our clientele." (APPENDIX 21)*. In this sense, the production of networks becomes a key task to guarantee the continuity of the business project not only on an individual level but also on a collective level. The more nourished the networks are, the more connections can be made, which translates into more options to find and exchange with other entrepreneurs, benefiting not only the individual entrepreneurs but also the group of entrepreneurs who make up the network and benefit from its growth. Networking was, thus a recurrent pattern in the interviews and indeed a fundamental part of the construction of the fieldwork.

In this sense, Alejandro shares:

> *"It already happened to us once already, we get there and you're supposed to be networking but then people are very shy and they end up talking to the same ones as always, which is pointless, as they end up going for beers next Tuesday because they are already friends or partners or whatever, but the important thing about networking is meeting people you haven't met, so that needs to be facilitated, this is important." (APPENDIX 1)*

Thus, several of the entrepreneurs who participated in the research were active participants in networks of organic entrepreneurs. For example, Esteban's accompaniment included a networking event with Yvone where a possible collaboration with two institutions providing services to entrepreneurs was assessed. In this case, both entrepreneurs had strong networks since they manage databases of their activities and are certainly very active in networking. From this interaction, the contact with Yvone arose, who consequently allowed access to the spaces of public policy construction. Also, through Esteban, I contacted Victoria at a networking event. This connection with Victoria created access for numerous participants, such as Teresa, Helena, Olivia, Penelope, Wanda, Gustavo, Úrsula, and Alejandro, all of whom were part of the network of entrepreneurs and suppliers related to their organic market.

As an example of networking, Úrsula and Alejandro stand out for their role as coordinators in two entrepreneurial networks that emerged, one spontaneously and the other as an adaptation of networking dynamics from other contexts. In the case of Úrsula, she has created a directory of producers and organic products with more than 200 members, which is recognized by the Chamber of Commerce of Bogota. Another example is Alejandro who is the facilitator of an informal event dedicated exclusively to networking and organized monthly. These events consist of the opening of a space in which entrepreneurs are invited to interact in a free and dynamic way, constantly changing workgroups in a style akin to speed-dating.

In both cases, various strategies promote this networking, this search for new ways to generate connections between entrepreneurs and to increase the possibility of finding opportunities. The intensity of this activity in the city is evidenced in movements 3 and 4 of the sampling, where the production of the field was accelerated due to the multiple connections generated by getting involved with these networks. Through the exercise of mapping different connections and networks, it becomes evident how entrepreneurs also articulate different networks, these being nodes between diverse groups of people. In this sense, my activity as an ethnographer consisted of

constant networking, as a way of finding connections that would allow me to expand the field.

It is easy to see how the intensity of this activity has a strong impact on the experience of the entrepreneur. In this respect, several of the entrepreneurs contacted through the networking expressed how this activity was part of the positive and pleasant aspects of business activity, being able to share with different people. We will talk about this emotional experience of networking in the next chapter. However, it can be concluded that the networks of contacts and services that entrepreneurs constantly produce in their search for opportunities, functions as one of the most determining factors in the experience of the entrepreneur.

Local knowledge and production of value

We see how entrepreneurs extend the market to their relationship with space and with those others with whom the field of entrepreneurship is shared, by generating connections between the entrepreneurial activity, its context, and close experience. In this sense, we see how Bogotá extends as a market to public, intimate, mobile, natural, or traditional territories. Furthermore, we see how the market is reproduced by the constant interaction between entrepreneurs who start relationships with entrepreneurial networks facilitating their activity. In these cases, we see how contextual elements: space, people surrounding the entrepreneur, are linked to the entrepreneurial activity, making the field of entrepreneurship grow in these other domains. This happens with the different local and experiential knowledge of the entrepreneur, which is invested in the business activity.

In this sense, the interaction between technologies and the entrepreneurs' knowledge generates new ways and strategies to produce value. As Andrés points out, describing his sources of inspiration. He said: *"I currently use YouTube to see different recipes… there are multiple sources for knowledge, maybe I saw an empanada on YouTube, but I can also have the creativity to cook the recipe in different ways." (APPENDIX 4).* In this way, the demand for creativity and value in the production of entrepreneurship can be identified in those spaces and discourses specialized for entrepreneurship. This is then translated into new articulations of context-grounded or local ideas, knowledge, images, practices, and customs not found within the business knowledge concentrated in the entrepreneurial core of the city.

This knowledge is part of the entrepreneurs' experiences, linked to other elements such as life stories, cultural practices, or personal interests, all of which are reinterpreted and re-articulated to their business activity. Thus, for example, entrepreneurs who have experience with ancestral or traditional knowledge find ideas within those bodies of knowledge, allowing them to produce value within industries such as organic production or community-based tourism.

In enterprises such as Bibiana's, Teresa's, Helena's, Gustavo's, or Luis's, traditional knowledge is used as a way of giving added value to their project. For example, in the case of Teresa, the knowledge of organic coffee production and the organisation of work in *mingas*, a collective way of working that belongs to peasant and indigenous communities, is articulated to the business activity through the participation of Teresa in these spaces. In the case of Helena, cocoa production is based on ancestral knowledge, which is seen as something "mystical" and unknown by the public. In Bibiana's case, ancestral knowledge related to the health of the peasant and Afro-Caucan communities is articulated into a product for the Afro communities established in Bogotá. Thus, this mysticism works as a feature adding value to the product, using traditional knowledge as something innovative. About this, she says:

> *"The added value of our product is that it has a shaman's touch, and we want to give that significance, that's why we added it into the product because we're innovating in a small way because it is a very magical piece of knowledge that people are not aware of." (APPENDIX 2)*

Similarly, in Gustavo's case the articulation of his learnings, in green industries and corporate social responsibility, and the traditional knowledge of his mum in the preparation of tamales, resulted in an innovative product in the market. To his mother's traditional business was the challenge to embed this component of innovation to the project. He shares:

> *"We work with a 100% artisanal process, we still hand wrap and hand tie the tamale, we use wooden instruments, the traditional cookware. We don't have automatic mixers or high technology machinery; we have an artisanal process and when you attempt to get the INVIMA (certification) that's going to change certain things." (APPENDIX 7)*

Producing tamales, a very traditional dish and involving "new-age" ideas, such as vegan and green production, represents a drastic change for a large portion of the public. Also, this fragment shows how to formalize and standardize their tamales, the traditional forms of production of this kind of food will suffer a transformation because of market requirements. But also, this is an attractive product for the increasing

vegan market. This relatively new trend in the city's gastronomy enables the application of different recipes and techniques to a wide range of products that are introduced to the market.

In this same industry, we find entrepreneurs like Úrsula, Penelope, Camila or Victoria who also involve knowledge about organic production and vegetarian gastronomy to offer products like coffee, jam and empanadas all prepared naturally. This also shows us how this knowledge impacts a context in which there is increasing demand. Thus, they use culinary and gastronomic knowledge that comes from their homes, as in the case of Darío or Camila; knowledge that comes from traditional and artisanal practices regarding organic production as in the case of Teresa, Helena or Bibiana; or practices related to new culinary trends that interact with traditional gastronomic recipes, as in the case of Penelope, or Gustavo.

Along the same lines, other knowledge coming from the experience of the context, such as ones related to environmental care or the experience of armed conflict, are articulated in the business activity in a creative way. For instance, Luis and Jairo, articulate their life experience and their knowledge of the context to create social projects that fall within the definitions of entrepreneurship. In this sense, Luis and a team of mountain guides dedicated more than a year to mapping the ecosystems of the eastern hills, especially in the southeast of the city, and the surrounding municipalities, producing routes to develop rural community tourism in specific areas of the city. Thus, training experiences linked to the care of the environment are offered, placing knowledge of the environment and its care as added values in the project. In addition to this, this new activity is linked to the dynamics of agricultural production in the territory, using natural products and traditional knowledge of production as attractive elements of the territory.

In the case of Jairo, his participation and co-authorship of a play about the armed conflict in Colombia are linked to his experience as a former combatant. After being recruited at the age of 13 by a paramilitary group, Jairo returned to civilian life at the age of 17. Since then, he has been involved in several programmes and projects related to the armed conflict. Among these is a play in which different victims of the armed conflict share their experiences from their own perspectives. This play has been successful in institutional and cultural spaces of the city and the country, being referenced as one of the social innovation projects to be highlighted.

On how the play is assembled, Jairo tells us how each actor contributed their experience and skills to mount the theatrical proposal, showing the close link between the experience and the aesthetic production of the play. About this, he describes the process in the following way:

> *"So, let us say there are others that have singing skills, or puppet skills, and I am a narrator, and we can continue finding people with other skills and empirical talents, and that is what is beautiful about it is that I cannot be wrong, it's my experience. Which is the opposite when we get a script telling us what to do or say, sometimes you just don't have that ability." (APPENDIX 10)*

With these examples, we have seen how different entrepreneurs combine their life experience together with knowledge and practices from the business world as a strategy to produce added value. We also see how this knowledge and business practices transform traditional forms of production, as in the case of Gustavo or Penelope, who turn typical Colombian foods such as tamales and empanadas into vegetarian ones. Thus, we can see how in multiple instances the flows of personal knowledge enter the field of entrepreneurship and how interacting with the personal experience of the entrepreneur, produces environmental, social, or monetary value.

Social, environmental, and political relationships

We have seen how the articulation of elements drawn from the immediate experience of the entrepreneur, in turn, generates a collateral expansion of the market in social and political relationships Thus, the different extensions of the market in public spaces, in urban design, in the networks of close contacts, in local knowledge and practices point to a transversal pattern, that is the transformation of social and political relations in relation to the market.

A clear example of this expansion is the emergence of different social, environmental, and political projects linked to business activity. Entrepreneurs working in different sectors, such as technology and innovation, production and marketing of organic products or services for entrepreneurs, point out how their business activity is linked to the production of value or social transformations. Thus, elements such as environmental care or the search for peace become elements that mark a political character of business activity.

Thus, we see how in the projects of Ricardo, Francisco, or Santiago, technological development is linked to social and environmental objectives such as

recycling or clean energy. In the case of Susana, Esteban, or Yvone, providing consultancy and training for social entrepreneurs is a way of multiplying the social impact of business activity. In the case of Gustavo, Penelope, Úrsula, Victoria, Teresa, Helena, or Bibiana, their projects in the organic food market are linked to caring for the environment, health, and traditional knowledge. Or the case of Jairo, whose activity in the cultural sector is a commitment to promoting a culture of peace.

This pattern shows us a connection between the market and business activity with how entrepreneurs position themselves socially and politically concerning their environment. This positions entrepreneurship as a value associated with social transformation, environmental preservation, and political action. The analogy that Iván makes about Claudia López, the mayor of Bogotá, sums up how entrepreneurship is positioned as a quality that crosses the boundaries between the economy and politics. In that sense, to express her admiration for this policy, Iván claims that *"She is an example for us, and I think the current entrepreneurship panorama in Colombia is very good and it lets you bet on your own ideas while always staying humble, be it out of knowledge or lack of it, you can always work with different disciplines." (APPENDIX 9)*

In this sense, the entrepreneur is not an apolitical being, as was proposed about the Neoliberal subject, but one involved with and related to, political and social fields through market activity. Thus, the social phenomena of the context become the working material for those who undertake to address these issues. This is expressed by Esteban and Alejandro when talking about social entrepreneurship in Bogotá and Colombia, referring to how the socio-economic and political conditions represent an opportunity to create solutions through entrepreneurship. For example, Esteban comments:

> *"Colombia is a country filled with issues and opportunities. Before, when Africa had no social entrepreneurship and it was all about welfare and international cooperation, people did not take sustainability into account, so work was counterproductive. Now I feel that this process is happening in a historic moment when people have thought about how to create a wellness society and how to generate projects that articulate the best of the private sector, the public sector and NGO's." (APPENDIX 5)*

Thus, politics and the market are also connected through business activity or business values, which stand as a model for social and political interaction at different levels. From the appropriation of public space, such as the vindication of traditional practices and knowledge, entrepreneurship transforms the way entrepreneurs relate to their context, thus impacting the social field through entrepreneurial activity.

Conclusion

Concerning Pattern II, we see how different entrepreneurial technologies related to promoting, improving, and facilitating entrepreneurial activity configure the entrepreneurial core and the dynamics of Bogotá. We saw how, for example, different entrepreneurial models circulate the imagination and experience of various entrepreneurs and also how the different services and training offered for entrepreneurs are becoming more and more sophisticated. As a result of this demand, we also showed how, in the entrepreneurial core, places are emerging that house entrepreneurial activity, and how this inaugurates a process whereby these new facilities, in turn, create further opportunities by their presence. Considering this, we can see how interactions between entrepreneurs and their settings become a key element in understanding the movements and dynamics experienced by entrepreneurs. In this sense, this pattern shows in detail how those movements related to producing opportunities in the city are linked to a specific kind of architecture or urbanism of economic spaces which in turn serves to generate a dynamic of improvement and adaptation within the city itself.

Simultaneously, Pattern III shows how, through entrepreneurial activity, the work for producing opportunities and mitigating risks in the entrepreneurial setting of Bogotá configures the relationship between the subject and the context as an expanding marketplace. This means that the activity of entrepreneurs who transit the field produces an extension of market rationalities and practices, opens new territories. unarticulated in mainstream main entrepreneurial scenarios. In this way, the market is expanded to include new fields such as public, private, urban, and natural spaces; how the interactions between the entrepreneur and the subjects create further sharing of activities; how within these developing relationships, local knowledge, and practices, as well as political and social relations, become mediated by business activity. In this regard, the transforming power of entrepreneurship is highlighted, as well as the way the articulation of new and different contextual elements re-shape traditional limits between society, politics, culture, and the economy. It also shows how entrepreneurs fulfil their role in expanding the market through the same exercise of entrepreneurship. It is through the practice of entrepreneurship that these expansions are managed, where the role of the entrepreneur is that of an articulator, generating connections between dispersed fields to produce value and expand the market as a way of facilitating the production of opportunities.

The interaction between subjects and the entrepreneurial setting in relation to the expansion of the market through entrepreneurial activity, configure Bogotá as a field in where the subjects own experience produces different forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity; something confirmed by entrepreneurs in their narrations. With this, we saw how these expanding relationships between the entrepreneur and the city were also marked by market logics that shaped these ways of being. However, the spaces, knowledge, and dynamics of entrepreneurship are not reduced to frequenting the centre/northeast of the city or simply providing or consuming entrepreneurial services. Instead, the permeation of entrepreneurial practices into different individual, social and cultural territories through entrepreneurial activity transform the way subjects inhabit and relate with their context, producing distinctive ways of experiencing the entrepreneurial city.

Chapter 6. Cartography III: Actualizing entrepreneurial subjectivity.

In the previous chapter, we analysed the experience of entrepreneurs in inhabiting their business context, showing how these interactions with entrepreneurial technologies and the practice of entrepreneurship, has the power to spread into different fields in different ways, according to spatial, social, and economic positions. These flows of ideas, people, technologies, products, and capital not only shape the entrepreneurial city but also the experience of the subjects who inhabit it. In this sense, to understand how entrepreneurial subjectivity is updated in Bogotá, it is also relevant to analyse the patterns reported by entrepreneurs regarding the impact of entrepreneurship on their experience as subjects.

Thus, after analysing how the entrepreneurial context is produced, characterized, and experienced, it is pertinent to examine how these dynamics are actualized in the entrepreneur's experience and how particular forms of the local subject are produced. In this sense, different elements are examined, such as the material and symbolic changes experienced by the entrepreneur, the affective experience of the entrepreneurial activity, and the different ways in which identity is produced in reference to entrepreneurship.

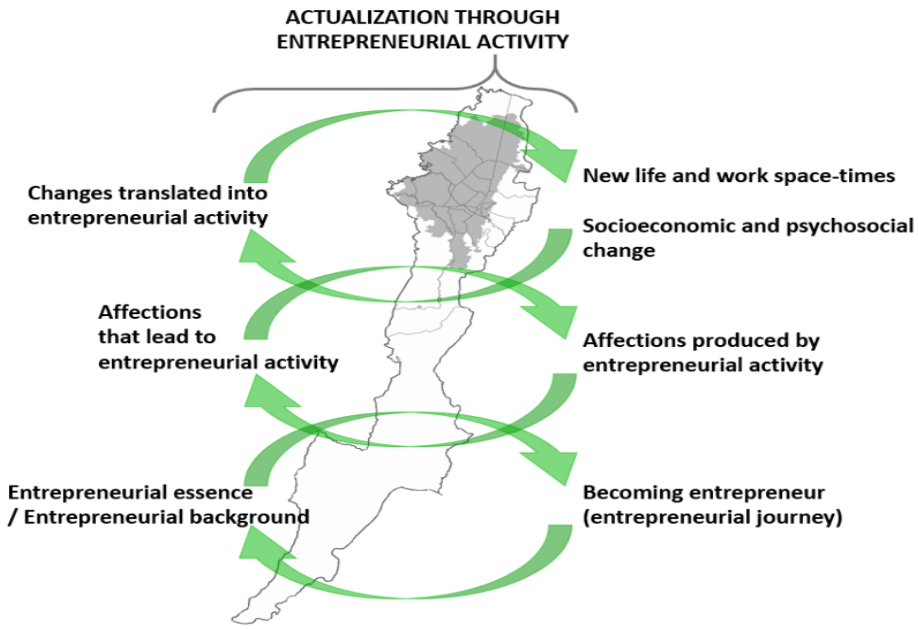
To this end, the patterns identified in Cartography III are analysed to determine, how different flows originating in the context, produce dynamics and tensions and how in turn, these ‘update’ various forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity. In this sense, the analysis begins with Pattern IV, which presents the experience of change associated with entrepreneurship. In this section, we will analyse the material, socio-economic or

psychosocial changes associated with entrepreneurship, specifically how entrepreneurship functions as a motor for changes in the subject's experience. Following on from this the analysis will focus on Pattern V, which discusses the affective experience produced or articulated to the entrepreneurial activity, considering how entrepreneurship also demands an affective investment and management as a resource linked to entrepreneurship.

Finally, in Pattern VI we stop to examine the different ways in which identity and entrepreneurship become related in the experience of the participants. Hopefully, this final section will show the productive power of entrepreneurship in terms of identity and forms of subjectivity. Consequently, Cartography III is presented in *Figure 9* is presented below. In this cartography there are localized three interrelated patterns involved in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity:

Figure 9

Cartography III



Pattern IV: Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity.

Something that marked the participants' narratives was the experience of change associated with the venture. We studied the changes in their relationship with work, as well as socio-economic or psychosocial changes associated with the venture itself. In this sense, the analysis of *figure 9* is divided into two parts: the first concerns how entrepreneurial activity reconfigures the relationship of time and space in the

entrepreneur's life and work; the second, on the different changes in social, economic, and personal relationships associated with entrepreneurship.

From these two patterns, we can analyse how entrepreneurship generates changes in the way the entrepreneur relates to their work and their environment. From this we show how entrepreneurship is not only articulated but also acts as an articulator, codifying different changes in the entrepreneur's life in business activity. Thus, entrepreneurship not only transforms the context where it is practised but also how the entrepreneurs experience themselves as a worker.

New spaces-time for life and work.

In the previous chapter, we saw how entrepreneurship expands into different spaces and relationships that are articulated through the activity of the entrepreneurial subject. With their practice, entrepreneurs extend knowledge of the business world into their context and close experience, expanding the market in these fields. However, the transformation managed by entrepreneurs also reshapes them along with the way they experience themselves as subjects. Thus, the material changes introduced by the entrepreneur in their life-work relationship has a direct impact on their experience of work and of themselves as workers. These changes are associated both with those fields where the entrepreneur extends their business activity; that is, spaces, knowledge, and social relations, and with the flows of business activity that make up the city.

Thus, we see how several participants manifest changes related to their routines and how these changed when mediated by business activity. These changes were especially evident in those people who had already experienced this form of employment or in those who had to adapt their environment to their business project. A stark and obvious example of this are participants such as Gustavo, Úrsula, Helena, Penelope, and Camila, who initially transformed their kitchens into workplaces. These changes are associated with objects, such as infrastructure or inputs, which begin to occupy these spaces. With this, the movements and dynamics at the household level also change.

Patricia comments on how the process of adapting her home by installing a workshop has also modified the dynamics and relationships in the home, which she now experiences as an entrepreneur.

> *"You are creating your own structure, your own schedule, so you need to be more organized, get up earlier, set your own time limits, know when to say*

no. It was hard in the beginning, having my family see me at home every day and not sharing as much with them since I spent most of my time in the workshop." (APPENDIX 16)

Regarding how changes linked to entrepreneurship within the home impacted both relationships and the experience of this intimate territory, another is shared by Camila, who shows how the adaptation of the family kitchen affects relationships within the home. Camila says:

"I went back to baking cakes, and I really liked it at the beginning but then I had a lot of orders and I felt I wouldn't be able to fulfil them all in my house's kitchen, everything was very bare-bones and I'm married, so my husband got very mad he got home and every day the kitchen was a mess and made me feel inferior, that's the truth." (APPENDIX 3)

In Camila's case, these changes caused her to subsequently open her premises outside her home, assuming new rhythms and responsibilities for the care and maintenance of the premises. In other entrepreneurs, such as Helena or Úrsula, this also implies working in spaces that are not completely suitable for production, which translates into a feeling of discomfort when working. These types of changes, while small, have direct repercussions on the way these entrepreneurs experience their environment and their work.

Other changes linked to the material experience of entrepreneurship, are related to the different times and rhythms that make up the day-to-day life of the entrepreneurial subject. Entrepreneurship escapes from the traditional times and spaces of work, extending into their lives a different dynamic that makes up their daily existence. In this sense, those entrepreneurs who have made a transition from being employed to being an entrepreneur, are more aware of this contrast between the rhythms and demands of salaried work and those of entrepreneurship. Thus, the issue of flexibility becomes central in the experience of the entrepreneur, who now are required to perform multiply business activities at different times of the day and in different places.

This can be identified in the stories of Penelope, Mauricio, Úrsula, Victoria, Olivia, Camila, Susana, Alejandro, or Teresa. In the case of these participants, entrepreneurship introduced new demands and dynamics that represent a substantial change in terms of spaces, times, and work-related activities. Thus, entrepreneurship was related to being constantly available to attend to unexpected situations related to the business project, a situation which substantially changed their work experience related to their experience as employees. Entrepreneurship, faced with a changing and uncertain

context, generates demand for administration and management unknown in their previous employment.

Thus, Victoria tells us about her process of entrepreneurship:

> *"I had to do all kinds of juggling and sacrifices for the project. The hours are not as much of a problem anymore, as there's two of us and we've had good support from people that have believed in us from the start, but not having a salary and reaching a point where our savings have been long gone, we've had to put our house on Airbnb, which helped us pay our rent, trade and try other forms of economy that don't depend as much on cash." (APPENDIX 22)*

Victoria uses the word "juggling" to describe her experience of assuming the working regime of the enterprise and reveals the different strategies she uses to mitigate uncertainty, all of which involve breaking down the boundaries between home and market, giving the space a triple function: as a place for sales and activities, as a home and as a space for loan and rent.

We see how these new activities are usually driven by the need for income, which, being unstable, demand entrepreneurs utilise their resources to adapt to the changes that mark business life. This experience was alien in the setting of employment, where he was not responsible for arranging these conditions. Mauricio illustrates this situation in the following way:

> *"We've done well, luckily, but sometimes you don't know if your earnings will be reliable, or if you're earning or lose, or if it will be more-or-less. But I think that keeps you on your toes thinking about what you can do to maximize your business, and I like that. Otherwise, you become stagnant, here I have the freedom to learn and know my suppliers, to do what seems best to me." (APPENDIX 13)*

The flexibility required for entrepreneurship and the constant attention to unexpected circumstances generate this experience of freedom and learning that Joaquín comments upon. It is an experience shared by most of these entrepreneurs, who have made the transition from steady employment to entrepreneurship. This feeling of constant novelty is referred to as a central element in the experience of change introduced by business activity. This is reflected in Francisco's account, who comments on his transition from employment to entrepreneurship:

> *"The transit has been very much a learning experience, both personal and professional. Even doing paperwork might seem a very easy thing to do, but you need to know what you are doing and you are interacting with the company owner and not secretaries, things like that, you know?" (APPENDIX 6)*

This element of novelty is also evident in the case of Gustavo, who despite not having worked under the mode of employment, experienced this sense of change and novelty reported by other participants. In this respect, he shares with us:

> *"My life changed a lot, it's like you're always going out in search of something new, instead of going to an office, having a checklist in your agenda and sometimes that boxes you in. This got me out of that mindset, and it's shown me totally different days." (APPENDIX 7)*

Socio-economic and psychosocial change

Another way in which entrepreneurship is articulated to the experience of change is related to the changes of socio-economic or psychosocial circumstances. We see not only changes in the position of employees or students who become entrepreneurs, but this transformation also has deep changes in the social and economic positions that the subjects occupy when it comes to entrepreneurship. Examples of this are those entrepreneurs who left highly valued jobs in the labour market to undertake activities such as food production. Thus, we can identify several of these transitions as in the case of Camila, who occupied a medium level public position but due to dissatisfaction with her work and her taste for creative activity decided to become an entrepreneur. However, this change meant a change at the socio-economic level concerning her socialisation networks. Camila shares this experience:

> *"I used to go to a party with friends and people would ask me "what are you doing, have you found a job yet?" and I would answer "No, I bake cakes", and this was embarrassing for me, I had such great grades in college, and baking cakes don't define my identity or who I am." (APPENDIX 3)*

These changes have a direct impact on the way entrepreneurs experience themselves and their environment. This example shows how the changes introduced by business activity impact on and transform the relationships between the entrepreneur, their work, the context, and with it, the experience of entrepreneurship. Another example is shared by Penelope, who went from being a teacher in a public school to be a producer and marketer of organic pies and handmade notebooks. Patricia shares with us:

> *"I'd be working now with colleagues, earning 4 or 6 million, but I wouldn't be investing anything at all, I'd be working all day, every day, having one*

off day per week to rest and would have forgotten myself as a person, my potential for creativity." (APPENDIX 16)

In her excerpt, Penelope shows how the decision to undertake entrepreneurial activity involved giving up a job option that represented a considerably high source of income given the average income in Colombia. This change in her socio-economic position is linked to the priority she gives to these entrepreneurial possibilities in terms of creativity and personal care. Thus, entrepreneurship allows her to invest in herself, while salaried work does not. This release of time is only possible if the workflow is directed away towards her creativity and personal satisfaction and away from those spaces where there are static rhythms and responsibilities, but also better pay, we thus see how there are exchanges between different forms of capital that configure the entrepreneur in socio-economic terms. The decision about of giving preference to issues such as her creative process and her personal wellbeing over a fixed salary exemplify how the entrepreneur subject themselves become objects of investment. This relationship between the subject and itself reinforces the individual emphasis on the entrepreneur, in which the subject is the main resource and thus, an object of management. More specifically self-management.

Examples such as these can be found in the stories of Olivia – who went from working in the audio-visual industry to being a yoga instructor or Victoria who went from working in an educational NGO in Spain to managing and attending an organic market in Bogotá or Susana who went from working in the financial sector to opening a company providing services for social entrepreneurs. In these cases, the decision to undertake entrepreneurial work involved different changes at the socio-economic level, such as having a flexible income and depending upon one's own resources.

However, entrepreneurship and socio-economic change are not only related to changing the experience of the entrepreneur's work. Contrary to this dynamic where entrepreneurship introduces change, the narrative of participants such as Teresa, Darío, Yvone, Bibiana, Jairo, or Alejandro shows how changes in the socio-economic and psychosocial field also accompany the choice of entrepreneurial activity. Thus, adopting entrepreneurship brings with it immediate changes related to migration, pension, or unemployment.

Thus, we see how in Teresa's case, the transition between employment and pension opened the opportunity for her to work the farm she had invested in a few years earlier. In Jairo's case, her participation in the play is related to the experience of change

she had when she returned to civilian life. In Yvone's case, the idea of opening a company to advise entrepreneurs arose from a trip to the United States where she worked in an administrative position, making explicit her desire for more intellectually challenging activities. In this sense, we see the multiple transitions that accompany this turn to business activity, showing the versatility of entrepreneurship when it comes to adapting to different circumstances and moments in the life of the entrepreneur. In this respect, Sandra shares with us:

> *"I started when I was 19, but my entrepreneurship started strongly when I came back from the United States in 2002, after finishing my degree, having done an internship in New York with some savings, and I thought, "well, I've got some savings and my dad has been successful setting up different business establishments" […] and I was doing well, but as my earnings grew so did my dissatisfaction of not doing anything that challenged me […] so I decided to quit to pursue my dream of helping other entrepreneurs make their projects real." (APPENDIX 24)*

Migration appears to be a factor that often leads to business activity. Thus, cases such as those of Alejandro, Helena, Darío, or Victoria show how migration translates into business activity. For example, Alejandro's activity as an entrepreneur emerges from the migration, he first makes from Spain to Brazil to work, and in a second migration to Colombia, where he decides to move away from his old job as an engineer and develop business projects in a land belonging to his wife's family. In the case of Darío, his business project in gastronomy begins with his migration from Argentina to Colombia because his partner is Colombian. The same happens with Bibiana, who identified a business opportunity in the production of traditional beverages once she migrated from Tolima to Bogotá, where these products become exotic and attractive. In this regard, Bibiana comments:

> *"When we got here, to the urban periphery, where we no longer feel identified as Afro or indigenous, or anything because we had to occupy the urban space, I spent some time trying to build a commercial and strategic niche for my life's project, which is what I intended to do." (APPENDIX 2)*

This relationship between entrepreneurship and migration becomes relevant in the context where contemporary Colombia and especially Bogotá are experiencing a massive influx of Venezuelan citizens. In this sense, the absence of participants who have migrated from Venezuela and are now enterprising in the city can be attributed to the disconnection of these communities with the local entrepreneurial networks in which the ethnography was carried out. However, this is an issue that urgently needs to

be studied in terms of the magnitude of migration and its effects on the fields of labour and entrepreneurship[4].

Through these examples, we can see how entrepreneurship lends itself as a tool or resource in the field of labour or employment; a tool that can be quickly articulated to the possibilities and implications of socio-economic or psychosocial changes. In this sense, we see how a pattern exists between entrepreneurship and different changes in the lives of entrepreneurs, thus shaping the experience of their environment and the self. This occurs not only to the extent that entrepreneurship introduces changes in the work dynamics and the contexts of the entrepreneurs but also to the extent that the entrepreneurship manages to articulate itself to different changes, as a resource for adaptation in today's work dynamics. Socio-economic and psychosocial stabilisation is achieved through entrepreneurship in these cases. Consequently, Pattern IV shows how enterprising also represents an adaptation to a context. In this sense, the changes produced by entrepreneurial activity are linked to the process of becoming a subject, one that adapts to the contemporary work market and socio-economic dynamics. This adaptation can be exemplified both in changes of spatial and temporal distribution between life and work, and, in the change of socio-economic status or conditions associated with entrepreneurial activity.

Pattern V: Affective experience of entrepreneurship

Another pattern identified concerning the experience of being an entrepreneur is the constant production of affects linked to business activity. Here the analysis focuses on the affective experience produced or articulated through business activity. We will also consider how entrepreneurship demands an affective investment and management of affect as resources linked to entrepreneurship. This follows the Neoliberal call to produce affect as a resource available for investment in the business project.

The experiences reported by the participants show how entrepreneurship serves to articulate or precipitate different modes of affect related to the rhythms and dynamics

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4 For June of 2020, the number of Venezuelan immigrants registered by the migration office of the Colombian Government was estimated in 1.7 million people. For the Colombian labour market this represented an injection of low-cost workforce. This contributed to the unemployment crisis produced by the plus of workforce offer in a labour market which cannot absorb it. Source: *https://www.migracioncolombia.gov.co/infografias/venezolanos-en-colombia-corte-a-30-de-junio-de-2020*

of business life, as well as impacting the emotional experience of other fields such as space and social relations. Thus, we see how there is a link between affect and market through entrepreneurial activity, links which shapes how entrepreneurs are influenced by the environment, and how these affects are redirected to the market through business activity.

In this section, we will analyse this pattern by examining the experiences of the participants concerning those affects that derive from business activity. Specifically, in the first part, we will talk about those affective charged experiences referenced as causing or leading to entrepreneurial activity. Likewise, the second part analyses the production of affect generated by entrepreneurial activity.

Affects related to becoming an entrepreneur.

The changes associated with entrepreneurship show there are different reasons why working subjects move from the employment mode to the entrepreneurial mode. Furthermore, the experience of entrepreneurs also shows the way entrepreneurship is linked to significant changes in the lives of the subjects. In this sense, there are experiences before entrepreneurship that are oriented or updated in the decision to enterprise, in the sense that entrepreneurial activity lends itself to channelling these affects.

The narratives of the entrepreneurs show dissatisfaction with their previous employment experience as the clearest pattern in this respect. Several of the participants who experienced the transition from employment to entrepreneurship express how this transition was associated with dissatisfaction with their past jobs. For example, in the narration of how they experienced this transition, participants such as Victoria, Camila, Maria K, Úrsula, Penelope, Olivia or Mauricio mention dissatisfaction with elements such as lack of decision-making responsibilities, lack of autonomy, static work rhythms, workload or work environment as factors that contributed to their transition to entrepreneurship.

For example, Úrsula shares her frustrations regarding how she was discriminated against by her alopecia at the workplace. She adds:

> *"Why did I start my company? Because I have alopecia, nobody wanted to hire me. I had two options then, either wear a wig or be who I am. They are denying me my rights, they want to make me wear a wig to fit in a society that says women need to have hair to work in a company. My issue is merely*

aesthetic, do you care that I have hair? Do you think that limits my thinking, my actions? That's why I decided to become an entrepreneur." (APPENDIX 21)

Similarly, Olivia shows us this example where she explains her reasons for exiting the multimedia industry:

"Out of dissatisfaction and frustration against work conditions, that resulted in me looking for something to change the way I was feeling. I've always clashed with both the employment world and the world of academia, so that crisis led me to search for something that changed the whole dynamic and I found Yoga as a student and continued to pursue it." (APPENDIX 15)

In this sense, we see how there is a previous production of affect configures a tension that finds an outlet through entrepreneurial enterprise. Thus, just as in the case of those entrepreneurs who experienced changes such as migrating or leaving employment, entrepreneurship lends itself as a way out, that resolves these conflicts as a form of re-adaptation. In these circumstances, entrepreneurship articulates the search for emotional well-being not found in traditional work models. Thus, entrepreneurs such as Susana, Esteban, Iván, Victoria, or Úrsula point out how the decision to undertake entrepreneurial work was linked to a search for quality of life reflected in elements such as working in an activity with which they felt more identified or having autonomy in work decisions.

As an example, they highlight the experiences shared by Victoria, Esteban, or Susana, in which they point out how their business activity is a response to a search for a positive impact on the context and how this became the driving force behind their entrepreneurial activity. These effects related to the social-environmental field and the particularities of context are channelled into business activity. Thus, Susana shares this experience with us:

"We liked volunteering, and Julio and I ran into each other, we shared our interests for social causes, but it was a hobby for us, and sometimes that can happen, a job that you do for few hours on Saturday and for free can make you feel more passionate that our Monday through Friday jobs which we're getting paid for. So, we started discovering the social entrepreneurship model." (APPENDIX 19)

In this sense, not only are the tensions with the world of work updated in their new business activity but also those affects linked to those values or activities are transcendental for entrepreneurs. These cases show us how entrepreneurship operates as a channel to redirect "prosocial" activities or those with high social value to the market

as a platform for these feelings. Thus, we see the power of business activity to codify different affects within the market through a process in which entrepreneurs expand and adapt business practices to their lives. Following this line, affects related to the search for tranquillity and dignified living conditions are channelled into business activity. In this sense, the experiences shared by Iván, and Penelope show us how, in their cases, entrepreneurship is a way of leading a more fulfilled life.

For instance, Iván shared how enterprising enabled him to build a space for tranquillity so he can balance his life-work experience by working from home where he can be near his family. As he mentions: *"For me, that has been a teaching in my personal brand and, that is, I am my own priority, my own tranquillity and personal stability is above everything else, as long as I feel stable and calm, and I am able to share with my family and my cat, everything will be fine." (APPENDIX 9)* Likewise, in the case of Penelope, her departure from work was linked to a search for well-being in terms of health, as stress and workload prevented her from taking care of her emotional and physical well-being. In her recovery process, business activity appeared on the horizon as a work option. Likewise, in stories such as those of Victoria, we find an affective relationship between her and the city of Bogotá, due to a previous experience of living in the city, in which entrepreneurship appears as a project that allows them to meet the territory.

Also, in the case of Yvone, despite having a long history of entrepreneurship, the change from the commercial sector to the service sector was related to an experience of depression which translated into finding an activity that represented a greater intellectual challenge and gave a transcendental meaning to her work.

Thus, Yvone comments:

> *"My dissatisfaction grew over the years I had the retail locations, almost 12 years. Always stressed about money and I started having depression and anxiety issues because of it. That is why I also talk about emotional management because that dissatisfaction generated issues until I decided to sell the retail locations and do what I do now, consulting in project structuring and management, in the formulation and resource management." (APPENDIX 24)*

With these examples, we see how the needs and practices of self-care are linked to business activity as a means of creating these changes. Thus, the entrepreneur's affects are also mediated by business activity, directly shaping the experience of itself and the relationship with work. Jairo's case illustrates this clearly because his work,

centred on different experiences of war, are articulated in a cultural production experienced by its participants as therapeutic. Jairo shares:

> *"Theatre has been paramount in the transformation of our lives; it not only transforms people mentally but also physically. Many people arrived here sick, and you see they are doing a lot better because the unloaded all that weight the brought from the war and conflict, so that is the message, and I hope that we get the chance to transmit that joy and knowledge to other people to build a better country." (APPENDIX 10)*

In contrast to this relationship between welfare and entrepreneurship, for those informal entrepreneurs and those in a situation of socio-economic vulnerability, the affections that lead to entrepreneurial activity are different. The examples of Kevin and Ximena show how working in the street is the product of a precarious experience, in which entrepreneurship is more than an option for channelling dissatisfaction, it is the only alternative, particularly for those marginalised by the labour market. This process of exclusion is also linked to class conditions as those entrepreneurs in conditions of vulnerability tend to inherit these conditions from previous generations who also had a precarious existence. Although in the examples presented above, the entrepreneurial tone is more accentuated in the participants' narratives as it was a higher proportion of the participants, the experiences shared by Kevin and Ximena may be the most common experiences of the population in Bogotá. In this sense, concerning the experiences that lead to their entrepreneurial activity, Kevin shares:

> *"I would have liked to have a job with all the benefits, but sadly that is very hard to find now. So, what did I have to do? To be an informal street vendor, and I had to take to the streets because of my situation, and a lot of people say that I like being in the street, but no, I have spent over 25 years in the streets, and it has as many good things as bad" (APPENDIX 11)*

Likewise, Ximena points out:

> *"People who are on the street do it out of sheer necessity, one of the arguments of the administration here is that people are getting rich with these stalls, so you must disappear because you're already companies, because if you're wearing a uniform or a hat that makes you a company" (APPENDIX 17)*

In any case, in the examples presented in this section, entrepreneurship operates as a solution to different tensions related to the affective experience of themselves and their context. Likewise, the stress reported by those participants who shared their experiences of the transition from waged work to entrepreneurial activity, show how the intimate relation of the subject with itself can be easily actualized in entrepreneurial

activity. For most participants, whether it is discomfort at work, transcendental aspirations, lifestyle searches, or survival, the affects produced by psychosocial or socio-economic tensions are channelled to entrepreneurialism as a vehicle to change their circumstances. In terms of the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity, entrepreneurship appears as a potent device to articulate vital experiences into a personal vital project.

Affective experience produced by entrepreneurial activity.

Thus, we see that the changes introduced in the life of entrepreneur impact spaces and relationships in their immediate context, such as their home, their family, their community, or their territory. These changes shape the experience of the subjects, producing new spaces, moments, relationships, and work practices that generate a feeling of novelty and openness to uncertainty. In this sense, entrepreneurship is also a producer of experiences that involve constant recombination and articulation in the process of producing opportunities. This power to produce experiences links the rhythms and intensities of the affective experience of entrepreneurs with the economic fluctuations that mark market and business life.

Thus, the experience of entrepreneurial work directly influences the production of different affects within the process of entrepreneurship. Specifically, the interaction of factors such as the business performance, business activity, the daily events in the life of the entrepreneur, and the experience of working for oneself, connect fields such as the economy and personal life, producing a unique experience of business activity. However, despite the uniqueness of each entrepreneur's experience, there is a pattern that characterises the participants' narratives. Thus, a term coined by Esteban to describe his affective experience of entrepreneurship is ‘rollercoaster’, alluding to the ups and downs that mark business life. Esteban tells us:

> *“At the beginning you can go months without a client, sometimes you offer the product and you’re so self-absorbed thinking you created such a great product, and the client doesn’t like it and you have to rethink it, and it gets you down, so it’s been a whole roller coaster.” (APPENDIX 5)*

Mauricio's story shows how these fluctuations in entrepreneurial life affect the spirit of the entrepreneur. Mauricio shares:

> *“There are days when you have all the energy, but some others you don’t want to do anything. That always happens, most of the times you have all*

the energy to work, but there are days when you don't even want to look at the barbershop." (APPENDIX 13)

We can thus identify moments of rising or well-being that fluctuate with other moments of fall or discomfort. In the different stories recounted by entrepreneurs, good and bad moments are constantly identified. Of course, this is a common experience, however, when the risk is constant, potentially devastating, and personal, the effects upon entrepreneurs are proportionally much greater and more impactful than they are for people in steady, official employment. Thus, moments experienced as positive are usually associated with factors such as the sensation of novelty, the production of new spaces accessing new networks and experiences related to the autonomy and personal responsibility associated with entrepreneurship. At the same time, factors experienced as negative are usually associated with those moments where the impasses or the difficulty of entrepreneurship itself threaten the continuity of the business activity. One added factor associated with entrepreneurial activity is that these dual states sit very close to each, indeed the same moment can contain both good and bad reactions. Given that many entrepreneurs work alone, there is also a lack of immediate support: One tends to face these issues alone without the support of co-workers of the sort available in an office setting.

Regarding those positive elements of entrepreneurship, autonomy is linked not only to the motives for undertaking such work, but also to personal responsibility one is forced to accept. Thus, we see how Camila shares her experience of taking on the management of her project:

"It's great because you get to do what you love everyday day, of course, there's a lot of little things you don't like to do, but it's yours and you decide the direction it takes, everything is possible, working toward something you believe in. If it does not work, it is your prerogative to change it and make it work, it is not working for someone else, it's working for your own thing and what you believe in." (APPENDIX 3)

Likewise, Victoria points out:

"I hope that this new space can give at least a similar stability to what I had at my job, but I'm very thankful for the freedom to boost projects I believe in and that will be useful, investing my time into that instead of being frustrated at the end of the day and think it was pointless." (APPENDIX 22)

However, the most frequent pattern regarding the production of positive experiences regarding entrepreneurship is the meeting with other entrepreneurs and the inhabiting of new spaces, something which is recurrent in the experiences of

entrepreneurs. With these examples, we can see how the changes introduced into the lives of entrepreneurs by business activity have an impact on the production of affect, where encounters with others become a factor that improves the experience of entrepreneurship. For example, Teresa points out how finding a new activity in rural areas and meeting new people through entrepreneurship is a way of living retirement in an enriching way. Teresa shares:

> *"I have worked a lot in my life, I wouldn't like to commit to more activities right now because I'm enjoying what I do, so I wouldn't like a more serious commitment. I enjoy my sales, my crop, and I have time left to share, to work in the association, to grow the network. I like attending social gatherings, so I wouldn't like to commit further." (APPENDIX 20)*

In Esteban's case, entrepreneurship also allows him to connect with people whose social and political interests are compatible with their own. Also, Ximena or Kevin points out that despite the difficulties of working in the public space, meetings with colleagues and the production of solidarity networks have been a positive component of entrepreneurship. In Gustavo's case, entrepreneurship also allows him to get involved with different networks of producers and clients and for him, these generate a constant feeling of novelty and interest. Something similar is reported by Penelope, for whom entrepreneurship represented an economic alternative based on improving her well-being. She shares:

> *"It's been great, having empanadas, talking about the product, making an impact on people, I think those networks have been a great learning experience for me, knowing the dynamics of everything and how people work with their projections. Now we will have another gathering and I am looking forward to it, to network and feel you are sharing with other people that have the same energy, I think it's great." (APPENDIX 16)*

Thus, unexpectedly, the positive experiences reported by entrepreneurs tend to refer to the intersubjective or relational experience of entrepreneurship. Other factors such as autonomy or freedom are presented as something inherent to entrepreneurship but not as a product in their experience. On the contrary, the negative factors that marked those moments of decline are linked to elements associated with the business activity and the market such as stress and tiredness, unfair competition, or bureaucratic limitations. Thus, these examples of Úrsula, Helena, and Victoria illustrate these situations. For example, Úrsula shares:

> *"We work and we're stressed out, that's pretty hard. I have not faltered because I am a mentally strong woman, but sometimes I do feel mental and physical fatigue. Some days I get up and I say, I do not want to do anything!*

So, I turn off my phone and unplug for a while. Some days I question what I am doing, and I wonder if it is really worth it." (APPENDIX 21)

Helena also talks about her experience where unfair competition was a source of acute discomfort:

"I suffered that depression from feeling my project had been cloned because I spoke to them about the Sierra, the mamos, the permits I needed, and they did it all. […] but your adaptability needs to kick in and you need to get over it and try to be more efficient, reach more clients, fulfil your orders." (APPENDIX 8)

Victoria also shares her experience of discomfort on those days when she is visited by the health authorities to inspect the organic market. She points out:

"There are days where I wish I had not left my job, I'd be much more comfortable, and there are days where it feels like it's worth it. Of course, there are days where nobody comes in, or when the health department comes and gives us problems because none of our producers has INVIMA (certifications), so I can become desperate and think about how easy everything used to be." (APPENDIX 22)

These different experiences regarding the affects produced by business activity show the dynamic affective life of entrepreneurs concerning their work. These ups-and-downs points to the high, affective intensity linked to entrepreneurship and the demand for entrepreneurship to manage these flows. This administration is aimed at ensuring that the changes between good and bad times do not end the business activity. In this sense, we identify another pattern regarding the production of affects through the experience of entrepreneurship, which is: the persistence of affective investment and emotional work in the business project.

In this way, the production of affections is generated not only from the business project but also towards the business project. In the moments of ascent, this production of affection towards the enterprise occurs through new dynamics and spaces. In the descents, this affective production occurs through resilience or perseverance, which are oriented so that the entrepreneur does not give up on their business project. Regarding the affective relationship between the entrepreneur and their business, Victoria and Esteban make an analogy to the father-son relationship.

In this respect, Victoria refers in the following terms:

"The project is like a little son to me, kind of like starting a project is a childbirth process, including the pain. To me the project is something I feel proud of, that reconnects me to myself and lets me see the possibilities and the excitement of building something from the ground up, like seeing the bravery in that, and going into the unknown." (APPENDIX 22)

Esteban, shares a similar perspective:

> *"It's like my baby, I tell that to all entrepreneurs I work with, "this is your baby". I use that analogy because when you have a son, you cannot lock him out when he starts crying, or you cannot kick him out of the house once he reaches puberty. You must face it because it's your baby and you need to assume the turbulences but also know that crises are the biggest moment for growth, where you define the direction it'll take, where it'll go." (APPENDIX 5)*

In this way, the link between the entrepreneur and their work is a reflection of their personal growth. This functions to channel the different affects produced by the entrepreneurial activity back into their work almost as a reinvestment.

Thus, a link is generated between work and the individual in which the affective investment in the enterprise is translated into an investment in one's own life. For example, Gustavo talks about how his efforts are projected into the future as a way of guaranteeing a family enterprise. In this case, enterprising means depositing his dreams and efforts in his family business as a way of producing social and ecological value. In this way, the work on the project is oriented to guarantee the continued existence of their enterprise. Gustavo shares:

> *"Choosing that it is going to be a real business that will last 3 or 4 generations […] that's the idea, try to make it into that something that will last and support generations after ours, that's the idea that we have, and all our changes have followed that in the recent 4 years we have been developing it." (APPENDIX 7)*

Similarly, Olivia mentions how entrepreneurship brings the possibility of working in a less alienating activity related to her values and ideas. She comments:

> *"Choosing that it is going to be a real business that will last 3 or 4 generations […] that's the idea, try to make it into that something that will last and support generations after ours, that's the idea that we have, and all our changes have followed that in the recent 4 years we have been developing it." (APPENDIX 7)*

The entrepreneurial link is the object of care for the entrepreneur, who must work on this relationship so as not to bury the entrepreneurial efforts. As an example of this, we find the stories of Mauricio or Darío, who mention how there must be a constant investment of work and management in entrepreneurship in order not to fail. This requires the entrepreneur to adopt different ways of being and existing, aimed at keeping business activity going.

Thus, he shares:

"You must take a lot of responsibility. I know I was irresponsible; you need to own what's yours, and there's simply no excuses, you grow it on your own or not, and it all depends on you." (APPENDIX 4)

Similarly, Mauricio points out how persistence becomes fundamental for the entrepreneur to maintain his motivation and encouragement regarding entrepreneurship and thus not give up:

"The first problem you find when you want to become an entrepreneur is the financing, but if you want to do it, you need to be constant. Some people become entrepreneurs and after one month they are feeling down because they are not successful, but in general, my recommendation is to be constant in what you want if they believe in it." (APPENDIX 13)

These examples illustrate how entrepreneurship generates different affective flows that directly shape the experience of enterprising, as well as the relationship of the entrepreneur with their project and with themselves. This intense flow of emotions produced by the entrepreneurial activity is then recaptured by the entrepreneur by linking the production of projects with this personal growth. Thus, the entrepreneur generates an affective bond with respect to their enterprising in such a way as to guarantee persistence and a constant investment of work in the project. In this sense, elements such as persistence, constancy, or resistance speak of new affects produced by the entrepreneurial activity concerning itself. Pattern V then shows the centrality of affect in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity as it becomes part of the *infrastructure* of desires and experience where entrepreneurialism is articulated. Also, the constant production of affect towards entrepreneurship became crucial to establish the link between the entrepreneur and its project, guaranteeing the continuity of entrepreneurial activity.

Pattern VI: Production of identity through entrepreneurship

Another pattern identified in the participants' narrative is the articulation of the venture through the production of stories about their identity. The affective relationship between entrepreneur and entrepreneur generates an identity relationship where one is a representation of the other. As Esteban or Victoria point out, entrepreneurship is a product of the entrepreneur. In this sense, we analyse how the production of identity and entrepreneurship are jointly articulated in the entrepreneurs' narrative, three ways in which this articulation takes place are discussed.

Consequently, the first sub-section is dedicated to the production of an entrepreneurial identity. By this, I refer to the strategy analysed in different narratives where entrepreneurship and identity have a conjoint relationship.

In the second subsection, the analysis turns to those moments when the entrepreneur places that orientation towards business activity within contextual factors. Finally, we analyse those experiences of identity production in terms of how entrepreneurship is a process, and that identity is constantly being produced.

Entrepreneurial essence (or being born an entrepreneur)

Entrepreneurs' stories show various ways in which identity is produced in relation to their business activity. According to essentialist definitions of the subject, some participants pointed out how the condition of entrepreneurs is an inherent part of their person. Although it was not a particularly recurrent pattern, some entrepreneurs refer to their role as something inherent in themselves, as something they were 'destined' for. In this sense, the condition of being an entrepreneur is located by these subjects as something intrinsic to themselves, recognised as attitudes, dispositions, and behaviours related to what is defined as entrepreneurial mentality or entrepreneurial drive.

Hence, factors that tend to be located at the subject's interiority, such as passion, creativity, curiosity, motivation, bravery, or ambition, are then positioned as intrinsic motors materialized in entrepreneurial activity. In this way, the disposition towards entrepreneurship is articulated to an identity but moreover to their way of being as a proper condition of themselves.

This can be identified in the stories of entrepreneurs such as Esteban, Andrés, or Bibiana. For example, in Esteban's story, entrepreneurship is something that came "in his package", which has been present all his life and that is now consolidated in his school of social entrepreneurship.

> *"I consider myself fortunate, a lot of people ask me how I had the clarity after so many years to know I wanted to invest in my life, and I tell them, I have not a clue. I do not know where my social sensibility came from, or my entrepreneurial mind or my proactivity, it came with me. I am not saying it is better or worse than someone else's, that's just what I had." (APPENDIX 5)*

Thus, we see how one way of producing identity is by relating entrepreneurship with individualisation factors that facilitate business activity and market orientation. In

this strategy, we find a strong accent on individuality and the figure of the individual as a vector in which the business identity is articulated. This focus on the individual is recurrent in the predominant theories of entrepreneurship, which argue that entrepreneurship is an individual activity guided by inherent talents. In Esteban's case, we find how entrepreneurial identity is linked by him to an intrinsic social sensitivity. In contrast, we see the case of Darío, where creativity and attitude have pushed him to get involved in various businesses in Colombia and Argentina. He shares:

> *"You have to make it on your own. Partnerships are no good, they make ideas clash. Entrepreneurship is for individuals, your own creativity. The thing is doing what you really like, and you must seek it, that's what you need to do." (APPENDIX 4)*

In this fragment, Darío shows how business activity is driven by a need for individual expression that translates into creative work when producing food. Moreover, this search for individual expression is accompanied by an attitude towards the market and business activity in which the subject is ultimately responsible for their project. This relationship of identity between the entrepreneur and their business allows the production of biographies or life stories narrated through the business activity. Thus, several entrepreneurs with long entrepreneurial histories, such as Yvone, Bibiana, or Esteban, codify different moments of their life experiences through an entrepreneurial story that demonstrates the intimate relationship between these particular subjects and their entrepreneurial activity.

For example, Bibiana points out how her relationship with entrepreneurship begins at an early age and relates her life experience through her history of struggle as a young mother and social leader. She tells us:

> *"My relationship with entrepreneurship started at a very young age. I am from the Tolima territory, a cultural manager, a young political leader, and a single mother since I was 16. We developed a sociocultural project and the entrepreneurial side as well […] I'm 36 now and I started at 16, so do the math as to how long I've been at it." (APPENDIX 2)*

The fragment shared by Bibiana illustrates how, over time, entrepreneurial activity sediments into life stories and identities gathered around the idea of entrepreneurship. Typically, this form of self-narration characterises entrepreneurial subjects where the essential qualities linked to entrepreneurship are presented in relation to their personal story of interactions with the market and their own notion of their business identity. However, in the participants' narratives, this way of producing the entrepreneurship-identity relationship was not particularly common. As can be seen in

several narratives, such as Bibiana's, entrepreneurship arises from interacting with the economic and community dynamics in the Tolima region, or in Esteban's case, where his sensitivity is produced within an environment demanding that sort of sensitivity. Thus, the production of entrepreneurial identity is expressed concerning different elements of the context. In the following section, we analyse how this other form of articulation occurs.

Entrepreneurial background (or learning how to be an entrepreneur)

The relationship made by Bibiana regarding her identity as an entrepreneur, in which the experiences of the context forge the history or biography of the entrepreneur, is an example of a strategy often found in entrepreneurs and which is expressed in the stories they tell themselves. In the last section, we saw how in some cases the identity-entrepreneurship relationship was narrated as an intimate link that was located in the person of the entrepreneur. In contrast, in this section, we explore how this identity-entrepreneurship relationship has a relational and contextual character, in which entrepreneurs articulate different experiences and factors coming from the different spaces and moments inhabited within the practices and context of entrepreneurialism.

Specifically, entrepreneurs link their condition as entrepreneurs to their life history and their context. In these instances, entrepreneurialism is something learned or inherited from their context and their life history. This was recurrent in interviews such as that of Bibiana, Gustavo, Yvone, Ximena, Darío, Iván, Kevin, or Mauricio, who, in their narratives, point out how the idea, taste or ability to enterprise, emerged from a relationship with learning from the context. Generally, these learnings come from their close environment, being the family space where the business heritage comes from.

For example, in Gustavo's case, his idea of entrepreneurship stems from his involvement in his mother's traditional business, producing his knowledge of marketing and organic practices. Mauricio also points out how his father encouraged a high appreciation of entrepreneurship from an early age, which is why he always wanted to become an entrepreneur himself. Besides, his training in administrative skills at university and the initiative of a family member contributed to his decision to become an entrepreneur. As Mauricio comments: *"I started feeling that spark of wanting to have my own thing, just like dad, so I felt it and I just thought, let's become entrepreneurs!" (APPENDIX 13)*

Kevin also points out how he learned to work from his father, who was also an informal salesman and who inspired him when he had to start his own sales position. This articulation of contextual elements in the production of a biographical sense of the entrepreneurial being can be found in various moments in which the participants told their entrepreneurial story. Similarly, Ximena comments on how she learned the necessary skills for entrepreneurship at an early age while working with her father. Ximena tells us:

> *I "I sell here since I was 11, my father lived in Honda and during that time I went there to live with him for a while and I went out to sell into the towns, and I've always had a knack for sales and I like trading, but overall, I like the administrative side. You won't see me sewing but I like selling, buying, getting the prices, reducing costs, I love it." (APPENDIX 17)*

This pattern of learning to enterprise through the family is most evident in the case of Iván or Yvone, who mention how they were both part of entrepreneurial families and the effect this had on them both. The latest, comments on how her relationship with entrepreneurship is situated in her family, who are entrepreneurs with a long tradition in Manizales. In this respect, Yvone comments:

> *"There's an important subject that also influences what kind of entrepreneur you will be, and that is the question, are entrepreneurs born or made? And I think it is both, some are born, they grow in an environment where their family are entrepreneurs and business people, and this happened to me, I was born in a context where different members of my family were entrepreneurs and I helped them set up shop, work with them, and you see the value of work and entrepreneurship, see that it can give you a means of livelihood, that's how I've seen it." (APPENDIX 24)*

In the same way, Iván locates the origin of his relationship with the enterprise in his family, who are dedicated to the production of uniforms and equipment for various jobs. Iván comments:

> *"I come from a family of entrepreneurs. My grandfather retired from Avianca, my grandfather on my mother's side decided to quit Avianca to become an entrepreneur along with my mother, and they started a business making company uniforms for big companies like ESSO, ONU, the police, National Geographic, those kinds of brands. You could say I was raised in an environment where we were not destined to work for someone else, to work for yourself by your own means." (APPENDIX 9)*

With these examples, we see how contextual elements fold into the identity of the entrepreneur, maintaining a relational character between the entrepreneur and his context. The recurrence of the family, the place where the entrepreneurial relationship

begins, shows how the dynamics and logic of what is understood today as entrepreneurship, are part of the extensive experience of other generations who have also dedicated themselves to business activity. This can be related to the recent history of self-employment, informal work, and small and medium enterprises in the country.

Thus, we see how the working model with which several participants interacted in their early ages contributed to the fact that their contemporary work is approached through entrepreneurship and not through paid employment. We can then consider how the repertoire of practices and dynamics related to work that several entrepreneurs experienced and learned in their homes, laid the foundations for the entrepreneurial identity articulated in their life stories. In these life stories, entrepreneurship appears as a tool to condense and produce meaning through the articulation of identity.

Entrepreneurial journey (or becoming an entrepreneur)

Finally, in addition to situating the identity-entrepreneurship link, either within the entrepreneur or in his close context, other participants showed how this relationship was a process that developed over time. Thus, it is shown how the entrepreneurial identity, more than a static and well-defined product, is a process in which the business practice generates changes in the subject in an immanent way. This way of articulating identity and entrepreneurship shows how, on the one hand, subjectivity is constantly produced in relation to the experience of a context that constantly unfolds in the subject; on the other hand, how this state of openness/permissibility of the subject allows its production, its adaption, and its articulation to different programmes such as entrepreneurship. Ricardo shares a fragment that can be understood as a metaphor to produce identity through entrepreneurial practice. Regarding his relationship with the world of entrepreneurship, Ricardo points out how his group started to work and later they realised that their practice was framed within the concept of entrepreneurship. Ricardo points out:

> *"For us, it didn't start with the word entrepreneurship. We were thinking about projects, but the word came up later down the line because we founded it under the idea of coworking, but at that time we didn't know that coworking existed, we pretty much just found an abandoned house and started developing a space where we could host people with different expertise to enrich and create projects, which is what we like the most." (APPENDIX 18)*

This fragment shows how business activity precedes the concept of entrepreneurship, which then operates to frame this production within a working paradigm that facilitates its administration. The case of Ricardo serves as a metaphor showing how most participants start a business activity before framing it within the concept of entrepreneurship. Likewise, it shows how in the production of business identity, entrepreneurship works as a framework in which different processes and activities that are in constant transformation, can be channelled through a concept.

In that sense, understanding entrepreneurship as an open process in which identity is constantly produced, we see how different participants described entrepreneurship as a process, or a journey, that transforms the experience of the entrepreneur. For example, Yvone talks about how the change in her activity has been an experience of discovery and learning to deal with new aspects of business life. Also, Penelope shows how this new experience of being an entrepreneur has been a process of exploring her interests and creative capacities. Likewise, Camila talks about how entrepreneurship means a search for a "true being" that is just beginning and of which there is not a final result. Thus, when asked about this new self, produced by her entrepreneurial activity, Camila answers:

> *"I'm still discovering that (laughs) […] You give up on all those expectations that you had on yourself because somebody told you this o that, and once you do that, you have a whole world of possibilities and anything you want to do becomes possible, things start aligning and happening." (APPENDIX 3)*

This openness pointed out by Camila to experience as a means to perform different activities than those typically carried out in a salaried job. What he had to learn is linked in his account to the autonomy and freedom of entrepreneurship, which is constantly articulated in relation to the new dynamics and activities that entrepreneurial activity unleashes. This possibility of reinvention has a direct impact on how the entrepreneur generates an identity since entrepreneurship becomes the device or condition for this open process of identity production to be maintained. Thus, entrepreneurship allows entrepreneurs to open to different ways of experiencing themselves and therefore of understanding and relating to themselves.

Consequently, the narratives shared by entrepreneurs point out how this openness produced by entrepreneurship impacts the way they experience themselves, with entrepreneurial activity being a way of generating changes in their lives. Thus, Victoria shares her experience on why she decided to leave her job and start a business:

> *"If you must work for so many years of your life, better to do in something you believe in, and becoming an entrepreneur is a way of having that freedom and independence while maybe having other plans. At this point in my life, I have started caring about that sort of things, if I want to have kids or to organize my time a certain way, or take 6 months to study, so wellness is that for me, having the freedom to make choices inside your own project." (APPENDIX 22)*

This fragment identifies how the state of openness generated by the venture allows Victoria to keep different options on the horizon, such as having a child, organizing her life, and making decisions about her own work. Similarly, in the case of Olivia, this openness is linked to the possibility of relating to her work differently and experiencing it at another, less dizzying pace than that of the audio-visual industry. Thus, Olivia points out:

> *"I'm trying to live in the present moment and focus on it, but I've been very lonely in this space, trying to manage it all, and sometimes it's something that demands your attention on multiple different fronts." (APPENDIX 15)*

In the same sense, Teresa points out how the process of entrepreneurship is experienced as starting a new life, showing how this openness to change is also typical in a wider sense of adulthood itself. In this regard, Teresa shares:

> *"For me, it was like beginning a new life, a total transformation. I finished my past life, for the time that job lasted, and finding a new one in a job that frees you […] it was a radical change and right now I see that it's given me a lot of joy, a lot of happiness, being able to share with people, lead people and taking them to know the processes, it's a form of rebirth which is very beautiful in my opinion." (APPENDIX 20)*

With these examples, the transformative power of entrepreneurship is once again highlighted. Thus, entrepreneurship frames the different transformations regarding the relationship of the subjects with their work and with themselves as a journey or a process, keeping the openness so that these processes of change can take place continuously. The demand for hyperactivity inherent within Neoliberalism is actioned at an existential level through entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we began with Pattern IV, in which the changes linked to the entrepreneur's experiences are analysed. Thus, both the changes in temporal and spatial relationships, as well as the socio-economic changes associated with entrepreneurship, mark the experience of the entrepreneur in the process of producing entrepreneurial

forms of subjectivity. It also shows how entrepreneurship functions as a means for these people to codify different changes in the entrepreneur's life through their business history and activity. Thus, entrepreneurship not only transforms the context where it is practised but also how the entrepreneurs experience themselves as a worker. Consequently, Pattern IV shows how enterprising can be linked to processes of adaptation to a Neoliberal context.

Thus, the changes introduced by entrepreneurship are articulated in the participants' narration as crucial issues under the general umbrella of 'becoming entrepreneurial'. This adaptation is exemplified both in the change of spatial and temporal distribution between life and work, and also, in the change of socio-economic status or conditions associated with entrepreneurial activity. As such we can say entrepreneurship generates changes in the way the entrepreneur relates to their work and environment.

Then, in Pattern V, the experiences reported by participants show how entrepreneurship serves to articulate different affections related to the rhythms and dynamics of business life, as well as impacting the emotional experience of other fields such as space and social relations. Thus, we see how there is a link between affect and market-driven entrepreneurial activity, activities that shape how the entrepreneur is affected by their environment and how these affections are redirected to the market through business activity. Pattern V then shows the centrality of affect in the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity as it became part of the *infrastructure* of desires and experience in where entrepreneurialism is articulated Also, the constant production of affect towards entrepreneurship became crucial to establish the link between the entrepreneur and its project, guaranteeing the continuity of entrepreneurial activity.

In Pattern VI, I presented the analysis of those moments in which the participants located the entrepreneurship-identity relationship in their person or as a priori essence that explains the production of their entrepreneurial identity. I showed how this type of strategy places a strong emphasis on individuality and individual differences as a means of explaining the production of their entrepreneurial identity. Furthermore, it was pointed out how this way of linking entrepreneurship and identity was not common, while other strategies related to the context and experience of entrepreneurship were more widely used.

Concerning these latter types of narratives, it was shown how especially the family space and context of the entrepreneur are articulated in a biographical story

which positions intimate attitudes in terms of family influence. This also shows the relational dimension of identity, as it is produced via different contexts, moments, and people features in the experience of the entrepreneur.

Finally, it shows how identity and entrepreneurship are usually related in a way of becoming, in which entrepreneurship constitutes a journey or a process that transforms the entrepreneur but, also, keeps them in a constant state of openness to different experiences related to their entrepreneurial process. Something which contrasts with the notion of the entrepreneur as a person simply exhibiting some innate essence. In this respect, the openness that implies both the production of the subject and the entrepreneurship can produce new experiences related to their entrepreneurial activity that is then recodified through stories described in entrepreneurial narration. Thus, both entrepreneurship and identity are understood as processes in constant production and change.

As a conclusion, we point out that, in terms of the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity, change directly marked the experience of entrepreneurs due to their activity and how this transforms the relationship between the subject and its context. I highlight how affects become central to the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity as the affective experiences related to work and entrepreneurship became decisive in producing and maintaining an intimate link between the entrepreneurial subjects and their entrepreneurial activity. Finally, the various accounts showed how, unlike the classical notions of the entrepreneur, as a selfish, individualistic, and market-oriented subject, the entrepreneur's identity is forged from experiences and relationships with a context mediated by entrepreneurial activity and articulated by the entrepreneur in different ways in the production of narratives about themselves. With this, it becomes evident how it is impossible to identify a fundamental business essence in the participants. On the contrary, what is identified is a variety of subjects who, based on business practice and their own life experience, articulate in their narratives their identity as their activity as entrepreneurs. Thus, we can see the versatility and the productive capacity associated with entrepreneurship, where the term more than designating qualities, designates activities, which are later sedimented in forms of subjectivity.

Part Three

Chapter 7. The production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity in Bogotá

The exercise of mapping the territory through interviews, observations and cartographies show patterns relevant to understanding the relationship between Bogotá and the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity. Specifically, I highlight six main patterns that were particularly accentuated during the fieldwork. These are: *Pattern I,* related to the distribution of the entrepreneurial dynamics of the city around a node, or core, in the centre and east-north areas of Bogotá and multiple peripheries linked through entrepreneurial activity; *Pattern II,* which shows how the interaction with the urban and socio-economic organization of Bogotá configures qualitatively the experience of enterprising in the city and which reciprocally, changes the city in response to entrepreneurial demand; *Pattern III, which shows* how entrepreneurial activity tends to expand itself into intimate, public, environmental and social spaces, producing changes in the relation between entrepreneurs and their immediate context; *Pattern IV,* which shows how entrepreneurship introduces changes that impact how entrepreneurs experience themselves and their context, showing the potency of entrepreneurship to introduce material and socio-economic changes into entrepreneurs daily life; *Pattern V,* that highlights the centrality of the production and management of affects for the emergence and continuity of entrepreneurial activity, and how entrepreneurship operates as a device that channels diverse affects into market practices; lastly, *Pattern VI,* which shows how varied entrepreneurs articulate their activity to identify themselves in their narrations, and how, instead of adopting an essentialist perspective, most entrepreneurs relate their activity to contextual factors, ways of feeling and perception as a means of understanding the context they live and operate in.

These patterns show us how the entrepreneurial context is organised/assembled, the relationship between different experiences of entrepreneurship, and how these forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced in Bogotá. To discuss the relationship of the research questions to the analysis, I have divided the chapter into 3 sections.

Consequently, the first subsection addresses the question *How is the entrepreneurial context assembled in Bogota?* In this way, factors such as the consolidation of a core of entrepreneurship in the city, the formation of centre-periphery dynamics and the dynamics related to the mobility, spaces and times of the city are considered, as well as the importing of entrepreneurial knowledge from other geographies, its distribution within the city and how entrepreneurial activity produces,

flows of people, work, products, money and knowledge all related to entrepreneurial activity.

The second section addresses the question of *How we characterize the experience of entrepreneurship in Bogota?* In this respect, patterns such as the centrality of the mobility-space-time relationship; the high risk, the scarcity of opportunities, the need to produce them in unexpected spaces through innovative means; the different forms of appropriation of territory and the affective relationship with it as well as the tensions existing at different levels between the entrepreneur, the authorities and institutions are all analysed.

Finally, the third section is centred on addressing the question of *how are forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity produced in Bogota?* We focus especially on three images that can be constructed based on the interviews and ethnographic work carried out: first, on the entrepreneur as a social/environmental hero; second, on the anxious entrepreneur as a rummager or risk-taker; and third, on entrepreneurship as a lifestyle associated with adventure and freedom.

How is the entrepreneurial context assembled in Bogota?

Before understanding the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in Bogota, we must ask ourselves how the context of analysis is arranged, what dynamics characterise it and, more specifically, how the "entrepreneurial" is assembled in the city? In this sense, the information produced by the mapping of the ethnographic field shows a series of patterns showing how this organisation is actioned in terms of entrepreneurship. These patterns can be summarised in the formation of an entrepreneurial core in the northwest of the city which generates centre-periphery dynamics, as well as the intensification of exchanges and movements associated with entrepreneurship.

In this way, the trends are analysed concerning the spatial, socio-demographic and socio-economic distributions that shape the dynamics of the city. In this regard, reflections on Neoliberal schemes for distributing and organizing cities in the Global South are considered, as well as the relations of epistemic coloniality and their role in the operation of distribution and reproduction of knowledge.

Entrepreneurial centralism: core/periphery dynamics

Initially, the distribution shown by the points where the interviews were carried out and how they correlate with centres of high economic, financial, academic, political and cultural activity needs to be highlighted. This zone is assembled between those places where the spaces, institutions, organizations, and companies that provide the services and infrastructure that facilitate certain entrepreneurial activities, such as commerce, networking, public procedures or training programs, are concentrated. This is exemplified in a small way by the fact that all the interviews for this project were held in the Centre: Teusaquillo, Chapinero and southern Usaquén. In addition, the various places and institutions that were referred to during the interviews are such as the Bogotá Chamber of Commerce, numerous cafés and co-working spaces, main public and private universities, banks and financial institutions are all grouped in precisely the same area.

This area functions as a nodal point between the flows of ideas, entrepreneurial knowledge and local spaces, as it hosts those spaces and actors linked to the import, adaptation and dissemination of international entrepreneurial knowledge, through devices such as public policies, entrepreneurial methodologies and training courses. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) point out, capitalist markets are assembled, consequently, how economic activity is articulated responds to the forces and tensions that constitute the plain upon which entrepreneurial commitment becomes possible. In the case of Bogotá, considering its position at the intersections between different centres and peripheries, the market reflects the Neoliberal/Neo-colonial order in which the centre contains those areas with a high concentration of capital while the periphery is relegated to being an area for intervention by the centre, contributing mostly cheap labour and consumers (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010; Prebisch, 1980).

Accordingly, the concentration of public institutions, universities and organisations providing services to entrepreneurs generates a network through which different ideas and models of entrepreneurship are brought from different parts of the world. A global centre-periphery flow is thus forged. In this way, models such as MassChallenge, Pentagrowth or CANVAS arrive, in the cafés, offices, classrooms and conference rooms of the northeast and centre of Bogotá from places like Boston, Barcelona or Zurich.

From the other direction, the periphery- ideas, projects, knowledge, and local experiences are produced, becoming the object of diagnosis and intervention by different organisations, both public and private. Thus specific Colombian organisations such as INNPulsa, the Chambers of Commerce or the Secretariat of Economic

Development – are inscribed with state responsibility regarding the spread of various elements of entrepreneurial ‘theory’. Thus, in turn, these entrepreneurial models developed in the city return to the periphery and appear in the formulation of public policy programmes. Likewise, these flows become the object of speculation in larger markets operating from the entrepreneurial centre seeking to capitalise on the opportunities produced by the high level of entrepreneurial activity in Bogotá.

In this way, an *entrepreneurial core* is generated as an area determined and designed to meet certain needs of entrepreneurs located in the northwest and centre of Bogotá, where entrepreneurial activity is concentrated. This point also becomes a "funnel" that channels the flows between peripheral sectors in the south and south-west of the city, and north-eastern Bogotá, where the neighbourhoods with the greatest purchasing power are sought after by many entrepreneurs.

As a result, this core concentrated those participants who were more related to the provision of services for entrepreneurs such as Esteban, Yvone, Nicolás, Susana or Santiago, who work and/or travel in the sector. Similarly, entrepreneurs whose activities are related to technology and innovation, such as Ricardo or Francisco, are located in this centre and find there the services and facilities to develop their activities. Participants such as Camila, Olivia, Victoria, and Kevin also live and work there. In their case, despite not being involved in activities belonging to the innovation and technology sector, the location in this sector is related to the proximity to potential customers, i.e., as a way of approaching their target market.

This pattern is associated with the way the city is structurally organised. However, this distribution also coincides with the Neoliberal organization of urban spaces. Neoliberal urban reforms and restructuring schemes fragment the city, arranging the city exclusively according to the market under the logic of strategic investments. Thus, new economic centralities are formed, from processes such as selective investment in public works, the implementation of new legislation for urban planning, renovation, and expansion, especially oriented towards actions such as the beautification of environments, the promotion of tourism and the facilitation of entrepreneurship in multifunctional areas (Brites, 2017). These interventions in the city produce different effects in terms of the social, economic and cultural dynamics of Bogotá.

For example, authors such as Acosta Barreto (2017) stress how the organisation of urban space within Bogotá, based on market and value production logics, is related to the dynamics of marginalisation and socio-economic exclusion, using the case of the

Usme locality, where participants such as Luis and Sandra live and work. Their cases are useful as a territorial example of spatial, social, and economic *peripheralization* processes linked to the Neoliberal organisation of the city. Thus, phenomena such as *peripheralization*, gentrification and socio-economic and spatial segregation are becoming increasingly evident in Latin American urban contexts, where spatial and economic differences are becoming more acute. Among these contexts is Bogotá, where market-based zoning has produced a process of *peripheralization* to the south, west and a strip of the east of the city. These areas are where the popular neighbourhoods and communes are concentrated, and the bulk of Bogota's working-class lives, fed for decades by the migration produced by the country’s internal war and the high population growth of the most precarized social sectors. Thus, most of those who today can be considered entrepreneurs by Colombian legislation, formal or informal, live and work in neighbourhoods marginalised by the urban market-centre design that has oriented reforms and expansions of the city during the last decades (Brites, 2017; Acosta Barreto, 2017).

At the productive level, these areas of the city are characterized by high volumes of trade and exchange of services, largely in an informal manner. Although there are several industrial locations around these places, the demand for labour in relation to the people seeking work is low. In addition, the few jobs that are offered are usually precarious, insecure, seasonal and low-paid, in areas such as construction or recycling. Thus, in the periphery of the city, production shares spaces with places such as the home, public space and community spaces. This is clear in the accounts of Sandra, Jairo, Úrsula, Penelope, Ximena, Mauricio, Helena, Bibiana, Gustavo, Darío and Iván, who live and/or work in these areas.

The interviews and life experiences of Alejandro, Teresa, or Luis presents a different way of living spaces. The first two live in a rural area and travel to Bogotá occasionally to market and attend to networking activities; in the latter case his clientele travel from other sectors of the city to the south-eastern edge of urban Bogotá to visit his agro-ecological park.

Likewise, in these peripheral areas, the infrastructure, services and institutions are much more dispersed, scarce and not particularly specialized regarding entrepreneurship. This lack restricts access to entrepreneurial assistance for those entrepreneurs who inhabit these places and require such facilities.

The hyperactive city: Intense flows of entrepreneurial activity

The organisation of the city according to the market and the consolidation of centre and periphery dynamics configure the flows of people, work, ideas, or capital related to entrepreneurship. The positioning of the entrepreneurial centre in the northeast and centre of the city conditions the movements, coordinates, and intensities of these flows. Thus, the entrepreneurial centre contains a vast array of entrepreneurial spaces ranging from public infrastructure to the interior of the home, including road corridors, cafés, classrooms, and offices.

Concerning mobility, the organisation of the city remains a key aspect in understanding how entrepreneurs move around in the city. A large part of the flow of people, work and products related to entrepreneurship depends on this, for those who need to cross the city, whether to attend clients or partners, to go to meetings, to do financial or administrative procedures, to obtain inputs or to make sales and close deals.

As Stensrud (2017) and Jirón & Imilan (2015) both observe the constant and required interaction with the public space or the transport system, determines the experience of the flexible and vulnerable working subject, who assumes precarious forms of existence due to the need to adapt to Neoliberal work regimes. Participants such as Úrsula Gustavo, Helena, Camila, Penelope, Darío, Ximena, of Wanda all point out in their interviews, that in order to carry out activities related to their entrepreneurial projects –such as delivering products, attending organic fairs and markets, entrepreneurial training courses, networking meetings and entrepreneurial events–, they are forced to move within the city, which implies a considerable effort due to the high costs, security problems and lack of cheap public transport in Bogotá.

In addition, given the importance of mobility, the transit and movement between different spaces make it necessary to constantly plan and readapt the different movements of entrepreneurs within the city. This implies an almost permanent state of flexibility for the entrepreneur, demanding that they adapt, flow and inhabit a city that is also in a constant state of intervention and redesign. As indicated by Jiron & Imilan (2015), the flexibilization of working conditions is related to the flexibilization of time-spaces in the city, impacting on the experience of the working subjects who live in the city and who transit this flexibilization into new spaces which are now organised according to production and the market, spaces such as the home and public space (Jirón & Imilan, 2015; Stensrud, 2017; Tsianos & Papadopoulos, 2006). This

flexibilization is related to the hyperactivity associated with the incarnated experience of precarity in Neoliberalism (Tsianos & Papadopoulos, 2006). Thus, it imposes an imperative upon the entrepreneur to accommodate themselves continually to different circumstances to be able to access spaces.

The construction of the entrepreneurial subject embeds a mandate to organise and direct life as an enterprise, this dictate permeates different spheres of social and personal life, and in this case, it forces entrepreneurs to assume the precarious conditions produced by the flexibilization of time and space at the city level. However, in this process not only is the subject transformed into a company but also the city itself becomes a participant in this process. Regarding how the subject experiences their context, we see how entrepreneurs make a constant series of articulations that expand market practices and rationalities to different spaces and relationships, and which thereby connect entrepreneurial activity to urban, environmental, intimate, public, or socio-cultural territories. Thus, by inhabiting the city as entrepreneurs, Bogotá is built as-a-company itself, where there are different areas with specific functions such as production, rest, sale, socialization, administrative advice, or finances.

The intense flows of entrepreneurial activity across the city, materialized in movements of people, products, work, commodities, ideas, and affections, show how today the entrepreneurialism process of Colombian society impacts the way in which Bogotá is inhabited by this new workforce that is framed within the entrepreneurship mode. This new way of inhabiting the city is characterized by the experience of hyperactivity indicated by Tsianos & Papadopoulos (2006) that facilitates flexibility in socio-economically, precarious contexts.

The generalisation of this dynamic within the city, given the flexibility of working conditions, times, and spaces, allows us to read the entrepreneurial context of Bogotá as a hyperactive city, in which there is a constant demand for adaptation and flexibility. This demand is accompanied by a demand to be resilient, as it is not easy for the entrepreneur to overcome the challenges and risks that Bogotá presents as an entrepreneurial context. For example, the impact of the space – and the flows that make it up – is evident in the case of those entrepreneurs whose activity depends fundamentally upon access to public space. This is the case with Kevin, Darío or Ximena, who all mention in their interviews how difficult and insecure working on the street can be and all of whom point to the high level of insecurity and police persecution. They also point out their total dependence on the flow of clients in public

spaces and the competition for strategic spaces. Thus, the call for constant activity and readjustment is reinforced by a call for resilience, which guarantees the continuity of entrepreneurial hyperactivity despite the precarious conditions of the context.

This constant demand for movement and the influence of the entrepreneurial focus on the rest of the city shape the intensity and intensify the flows of entrepreneurial activity. Thus, these flows are characterised by a high influx of entrepreneurs, products, services, and capital reflected, for example, in the saturation of the road network and the integrated public transport system (SITP), as well as the multiplication of entrepreneurial projects in the city's peripheral areas. This becomes more pronounced when one considers that the density of services, spaces, institutions, and people in the entrepreneurial core of Bogotá intensifies centre-centre and peripheral-centre movements, congesting southern and south-western flows towards northern markets.

Regarding the movements within the centre, intense entrepreneurial activity in this sector means that there is a large internal influx of entrepreneurs who move between the different spaces, institutions and people associated with the enterprise. Furthermore, the specialisation of this area of the city in facilitating activities related to entrepreneurship, makes it a catalyst area for opportunities, where the volume of entrepreneurial activity favours the materialisation of these opportunities. Thus, this entrepreneurial core is consolidated as the "hot area" of entrepreneurship in the city, where different entrepreneurs find options and facilities to carry out their projects. Consequently, this attraction of the entrepreneurial centre with respect to the peripheral areas of the city generates other intensities in those places.

While the centre is a catalytic area where opportunities are precipitated, the peripheral areas are configured as spaces of production, creation, or experimentation. Although these areas are not located within the economic centres of the city, they occupy a fundamental role as it is here that the ideas and practices offered in the entrepreneurial core are applied and reproduced. It is then that the flows between the centre and the periphery are intensified: from the periphery to the centre, there are movements of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial projects in search of opportunities and solutions, while from the centre to the periphery, knowledge, technologies and capital travel, impact and reconfigure the local spaces in the periphery.

This intensification of entrepreneurial activity in peripheral spaces of the city also generates exchanges between different peripheries of the city. Specifically, it highlights the flow between the southern and western peripheries towards the north of the city,

where the neighbourhoods with higher purchasing power are located, that is, the markets with the most opportunities. In this sense, the flow towards the markets of the north, where commercial activity is also located, is intensified.

In this way, it is evident how different areas of the city are altered fundamentally by entrepreneurial activity. In the light of these changes, therefore, becomes possible to characterise Bogotá as a city whose Neoliberal design makes it an entrepreneurial city. Thus, the local entrepreneur can also be understood as a function of how they experience the flows that configure the city. In this sense, the transit between the different places where entrepreneurial activities take place becomes a key factor that determines not only the possibilities in terms of entrepreneurial activity (where one can go, when and at what cost) but also the experience of entrepreneurship. Ergo, the city becomes an object of evaluation in terms of risks, costs, and benefits in relation to the dynamics of time and space: the city becomes both market and a company. Thus, the city is not only configured as a stage but as an additional living agent that determines the experience of entrepreneurship. This circumstance generates an experience in relation to entrepreneurial activity for which the city acquires certain connotations of value for the entrepreneur.

How can we characterize the experience of entrepreneurship in Bogota?

Considering the configuration of the entrepreneurial city, we will now proceed to analyse the experience of entrepreneurs within this context. In this respect, patterns are analysed such as the engagement with dynamics of calculation, adjustment, and re-adjustment according to factors such as costs, benefits, risks, and opportunities that arise from the city as an enterprise in itself (Brites, 2017).

Attention is paid to the high-risk psycho-social-economic experience, the scarcity of opportunities and the need to produce/manufacture them in unexpected spaces through innovative and creative ways. Consequently, the discussion turns to the relationship between entrepreneurs and the set of regulations and obstacles imposed by the city upon their entrepreneurial activity. Next, I discuss the incorporation of technologies driven by the constant need for improvement of the entrepreneurial self as a means of adapting to the market. Then, I discuss the affective relationship between the entrepreneur and entrepreneurial activity, as constitutive to the production of entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity. Finally, I focus the analysis on how the strategic enclave of cultural, historical, socio-economic, and geopolitical circumstances, produce and reproduce the

perseverance, resilience and eternal striving demanded from entrepreneurs by Neoliberalism and neo-coloniality.

Dancing: between costs, benefits, risks, and opportunities.

The hyperactivity characteristic of entrepreneurship produced in the city responds to the demand for economic activity generated by Neoliberalism. Thus, the social body becomes excited about entrepreneurship, in response to the contingency of factors that have contributed to the Neoliberal/neo-colonial reorganisation within Colombia and Bogota. After years of political, labour, economic and urban reforms, entrepreneurship has become a central issue in the lives of millions of workers of various classes, ethnicities, cultures, genders, and ideologies.

In this way, a multiplicity of lived experiences is produced concerning these different social, cultural, and economic forces positions. Of course, the variety of Bogota produces different experiences of entrepreneurship, specifically in terms of risk management and the production of opportunities, which unleash a game of calculations, strategic movements and reforms that characterise the work of the entrepreneur and mark their experience of entrepreneurship.

In this sense, fulfilling the functions of the entrepreneurial subject described by Bröckling (2015) with respect to administrative coordination, risk management, competition through innovation and capitalization of opportunities becomes part of the daily operation of the entrepreneur. Precarious practices typical of Neoliberal labour regimes, such as multitasking are then applied to the varied aspects associated with the administration of an entrepreneurial project (Rose, 1992). For example, participants such as Camila, Victoria, Francisco, Mauricio, Gustavo, Teresa, Penelope, Olivia, Úrsula, Alejandro and Jairo mention how entrepreneurship introduced changes in their lives associated with the organisation of time and space required to attend to new tasks. This reorganisation of the rhythms determined for each task produces a constant state of simultaneity and recombination (Tisanos & Papadopoulos, 2006; Walkerdine, 2005) where the different tasks, rhythms and spaces that the entrepreneur must attend to, generate constant demands on different work fronts.

Thus, entrepreneurs, such as Yvone, Esteban, Mauricio, Iván, Gustavo, Penelope, Dario or Úrsula, show in their narratives a high orientation to the permanent production of opportunities. This is expressed in a constant translation of different events in terms of the opportunities these events present. This is achieved via a series of

calculations regarding these latent possibilities, calculations regarding factors such as capacity, costs, risks and benefits, all aimed at the task of how to capitalise on these latent opportunities. For these entrepreneurs opportunities are produced: they require agency in order to be realised, a perspective which is the exact opposite to the notion of opportunities as entities floating freely and somehow discovered simply by being "in the right place at the right time". For these entrepreneurs opportunities require work on the part of the entrepreneur to propitiate them. This translates into reforms and recalculations of their product, constant attention to the forms of production, understanding of the entrepreneurial model, attention to price, spaces or methods of commercialisation as well as constant enlargement in the network of contacts, constant attention to consumer demands and many other factors, all associated with greater possibilities of capitalisation (Bröckling, 2015; Rose, 1992).

However, the production of opportunities carries with it risks intrinsic to the activity of entrepreneurship. Thus, as soon as the entrepreneur launches themselves in search of opportunities, they are also exposed to a series of risks that threaten the continuity of the venture. The experience of entrepreneurship is based on the constant production of both opportunities and risks, and both must be managed.

Considering the characteristics of Bogotá, a constant state of vulnerability is required regarding the entrepreneur's openness to opportunities and their management of risk. Specifically, as Vesga (2008), González, Vargas, & Pineda (2017) or Castiblanco Moreno (2018), points out, entrepreneurs in Colombia tend to be small and medium-sized entrepreneurs who work informally, in sectors of traditional production and commercialization of goods and services. As a group, they characteristically lack socio-economic security, have none or little access to education or business training and often function without access to credit. In this sense, the experience of producing opportunities in this sort of precarious context cannot be equated with descriptions of entrepreneurial experiences imported from the Global North which typically focus on entrepreneurs who work at a much higher level and who typically, do not face the issues characteristic of small or medium entrepreneurs in Bogota.

Regarding opportunities, production, innovation and creativity form the central strategy for generating better options for entrepreneurial development. Thus, several entrepreneurs such as Gustavo, Iván, Ricardo, Bibiana, Camila, Francisco, Darío or Penelope look to creativity and innovation to face the difficulties produced by entrepreneurial activity. However, the version of these concepts is

updated/adapted/localized in relation to the repertoires of knowledge and skills developed regarding the personal history of each entrepreneur. Then, different entrepreneurs design and execute strategies and products that can be considered creative, ingenious, innovative or novel and which exist outside the hegemonic margins of entrepreneurial discourses that define innovation and creativity as scarce and exotic qualities, restricted to few subjects. For example, the cases of Kevin, Camila, Gustavo, Jairo, Luis, or Penelope show how in the past they have used creative ways to improve or create new products, as well as to propose new entrepreneurial models associated with parameters such as productivity and technology that escape the traditional definitions of entrepreneurship.

For example, among the entrepreneurs discussed here, adapting their homes for production, incorporating traditional knowledge and practices into production, taking advantage of their territory, or contributing to aesthetic and artistic production in the cultural industry from the experiences of the armed conflict, have all emerged as elements that have been used to "creatively" assemble their entrepreneurial projects from a combination of perceived possibilities and personal experience.

In this sense, entrepreneurs in the Neoliberal market have become agents in the processes of codification and re-codification of flows at a local level, in the micro spaces of the entrepreneur's daily life. These are territories where subjectivity is constructed as a product of the tension between different components or vectors of subjectivation and that positions the subject as a terminal, a complex assembly of socio-economic, historical, cultural, racial, sexual, epistemological, ethical/aesthetic, environmental, ideological, political, and other factors (Guattari, 1979; Holmes, 2009; Walkerdine, 2014). In the case of this research, the entrepreneurs show that instead of adopting the normative models prescribed in the mainstream entrepreneurial models, the discourses of innovation and creativity is rather translated into the articulation of territories such as the home, the environment, public space, traditional communities, close relationships, or political and social projects, all mediated in particular ways, through business activity (Morrison, 2008).

In the Colombian context, where opportunities are difficult to produce and risks abound, the implicit call to incorporate socio-economic vulnerability into the life experience of the entrepreneur only prolongs the state of risk and precariousness. However, it is worth noting that the various adaptations that different entrepreneurs make in their lives allow for the articulation of relevant issues such as the environment,

gender, culture, or peace within productive projects, which all open all sorts of spaces for them in economic life. This raises a series of ethical and political questions as to whether the social or critical mode of entrepreneurship, offers real possibilities for change along the lines mentioned above. As Morrison (2008) points out, the articulation of entrepreneurship within alternative and resistance processes, such as those of indigenous, Afro or peasant communities, brings an articulation to Neoliberalism arising from those elements that resist it. Thus, community values, cultural traditions, and local identities are made available to the market, with neo-colonial consequences for those projects of resistance (Escobar, 1998).

Institutional obstacles and State absence

The expansion of market practices and rationalities to the social, environmental and political fields implies a re-codification of these areas according to how the entrepreneur articulates these spaces through their activity. In this way, different projects, knowledge, traditions, and communities are made available to the market as new measures of value in the economies of sustainable development (Escobar, 1998; Morrison, 2008). As Hardt & Negri (2000), Deleuze & Guattari (1987) or Dardot & Lavar (2014) point out, capitalism expands by codifying new flows in exchange value, thus articulating them to the market. In this sense, the colonization of these new areas of interest through entrepreneurship recodes the relationship between the entrepreneurial subject with politics, society, environment, or culture.

The mediation of these relationships by business activity is reflected in the proliferation of various business projects with a social, cultural, or ecological orientation. In the interviews of participants such as Esteban, Susana, Francisco, Camila, Helena, Bibiana, Gustavo, Yvone, Alejandro, Teresa, Victoria, Úrsula, Olivia, Penelope, Jairo or Ricardo, a close link is expressed between business activity and the production of social, environmental and cultural values. Specifically, this articulation is characterized by the investment of affects and experiences produced by inhabiting the local context, into business activity as a way of impacting these wider fields.

This pattern, the mediation of entrepreneurship to the subject's socio-political and environmental relationships, shows the level of penetration of business practices and logics in the socio-political field; as well as the power of entrepreneurship to release new fields of expansion.

This can be read under the lens of entrepreneurialism of society, exposed by Marttila (2018), highlighting how the social organization of society under the Neoliberal banner has repercussions at the political level by configuring how subjects relate to each other on a social and individual level. In this sense, these changes make sense within a Neoliberal order by promoting a relationship between citizens and the state in terms of the market and under corporate parameters (Connell & Dados, 2014; Marttila, 2018). This relationship guarantees Neoliberal governance by reducing social and political relations to issues between businessmen, that is, free and rational subjects, as a political paradigm.

Consequently, we see how when referring to the regulations and forms of government that configure the business field of Bogotá, entrepreneurs adopt certain political positions. Instead of the apolitical and distant relationship, theorized in Neoliberal subjects (Fisher, 2009), entrepreneurs were highly committed to political causes and projects that were linked to business activity. Politics do not escape from the entrepreneurial expansion of market relationships.

For example, those participants involved with the formulation of public policy such as Nicolás, Yvone or Santiago, instead of demanding economic freedom and radical reduction of the state, point out the need for a strong institutional network and policies pertinent to the needs and the reality of Colombian entrepreneurs.

As Bröckling (2015) points out, the ordo-liberal heritage of Neoliberalism requires a coordinating state, which facilitates interactions between citizens, which in the case of Neoliberalism are businessmen. As Dados & Connell, (2018) points out, this is related to political institutionalism as the preferred legal form of Neoliberalism; a form that requires supervision and activity on the part of solid institutions (Dardot & Laval, 2014).

Self-management: improvements and investment in the self.

For the entrepreneur, getting involved in these games of opportunity and risk implies engaging with persistent dynamics of vulnerability, hyperactivity, simultaneity, and recombination engagements which requires constant work in the different spaces constituting the entrepreneurial subject. To overcome the emotional issues entrepreneurship brings, entrepreneurial training aims to provide entrepreneurs with knowledge and skills that equip them to face entrepreneurial life. In this sense, this

intervention of entrepreneurial knowledge is considered an essential factor for understanding the experience of the entrepreneur.

These programmes come in different forms: books; multimedia material, training courses, specialised services provided by organisations and coaching schools. For some entrepreneurs, it is part of the prevailing culture as it is in the case of Esteban or Iván. Despite this multitude of diverse methodologies and programmes found in the field, the essential aspect of these programmes can be grouped into three components: the first one is based on motivational attention or promotion of entrepreneurial mentality, the second contemplates financial and administrative training, and the third one refers to marketing and sales issues.

About the first component, different participants who have gone through various entrepreneurial training programmes point out how these begin with talks and exercises to encourage an entrepreneurial mentality; that is, in adopting a willingness to take risks and be in perpetual production of opportunities, investing elements of their "interiority": motivations, desires, passions, objectives, aims and so on, to create an intimate bond that can then underpin their entrepreneurial activity (Freeman, 2015; Walkerdine, 2005). Utilizing psychological techniques, especially instrumental in coaching programmes, these programmes seek to produce the essence that drives the subject to constitute, think, experience and act as an entrepreneur. To achieve this, the sense of responsibility, belonging and bonding is reinforced, on the one hand, while on the other, the image of the entrepreneur as a self-sufficient, sovereign, and free subject is constituted, but affectively committed, not to a work organisation as in the case of Mayo's affective worker, but to the work regime itself. Therefore, certain entrepreneurs who provide entrepreneurial training services give a central value to this component, such as Esteban or Yvone, since the continuity of the entrepreneurial activity depends to a great extent on it.

With this type of intervention, the subject is invited to invest part of themselves as an initial quota to forge the link between the entrepreneur and their entrepreneurial activity. This invitation resonates with the Neoliberal liberation of economic flows that codifies different affects and territories traditionally reserved for other domains within the capitalist market. Thus, the invitations to '*find your purpose or path'*, '*monetise your hobbies'*, '*dare and take the plunge'* or, '*be free to do what you like'*, all maxims of this sort of training, direct different flows of affection and energy within the campaign of constant reproduction of the Neoliberal market (Pulido-Martinez, 2008;

Pulido-Martínez, 2007; Rose, 1992; Walkerdine, 2005). Thus, we see how different entrepreneurs point to a relationship between their activity as entrepreneurs and elements of their personalities that are reflected in the projects.

For example, in the interviews with Camila, Esteban, Yvone, Iván, Victoria, Penelope, Gustavo, Úrsula, Helena, or Mauricio, is shown how connections between personal or intimate aspects of the entrepreneur are coupled with the decision to undertake and persist in their activity despite risks and difficulties. In this way, the personal aspects are used as a way of strengthening the affect for the entrepreneurial activity. This contributes to the fact that this incitement to commit to the entrepreneurial activity affects and mediates how the subject experiences itself in an entrepreneurial way. However, the motivational factor is usually found *a priori*, from the moment they call to develop an entrepreneurial mentality begins. Recent studies on the motivations of entrepreneurs in the region, as well as the GEM studies of recent years, show how in Colombia the reasons that lead subjects to undertake entrepreneurialism are related to survival and the need to obtain income (GEM Colombia, 2020; Vesga, 2008), as well as the cost of stopping their projects and the fear of losing one's investment. In that sense, such an exaltation seeks to form an entrepreneurial mindset that can be encapsulated in the motto: *remember why you are doing all this*.

In addition to this, several participants in such entrepreneurial mindset training programmes, state that this is not the main component and is often seen as the 'soft part' of the training. They also say that it is the content related to the other two training components –financial and management skills training on the one hand and marketing and sales training on the other– that provides the most relevant tools to deal with entrepreneurship. It is through that learning, that entrepreneurs such as Camila, Gustavo, Helena, Francisco, Wanda or Mauricio learn how financial tools, tools such as the design of an entrepreneurial model, financial projections, and accounting skills, help the entrepreneur to take control of the project and manage it strategically, according to their needs. According to these participants, this knowledge is empowering, because it is then when the entrepreneur makes decisions and controls the different aspects of the project, facilitating its articulation in the calculation and speculation games of the market. It is when this ‘technical knowledge’ starts operating within entrepreneurial decisions that the degrees of freedom of the entrepreneur in specific matters can begin to be estimated.

As for the marketing and sales component, training in these aspects is very useful in the task of generating and capitalising on entrepreneurial opportunities. For example, Gustavo, Iván, Ricardo, and Darío point out in their interviews the importance of selling and knowing how to sell yourself as part of your product in the world of entrepreneurship (Walkerdine, 2005). In this area, practical knowledge of the *psy*-complex is used as a guide and examples of successful strategies where the entrepreneur's personality is again the object of intervention. Employing models and techniques, the aim is for the entrepreneur to be able to adopt the different poses catalogued as charismatic or assertive, which are necessary to successfully achieve their objectives as a market subject. Thus, the body of the entrepreneur is taught to pose in such a way that their product, and them as an entrepreneurial subject, becomes attractive in different contexts. This generates new demand for flexibility in the subject who must adapt to the circumstances and seek sales and business in different spaces and different ways (Tsianos & Papadopoulos, 2006; Pulido-Martinez, 2008).

We can see then how an offer of technologies of the self, especially coaching, is arranged in a manner oriented to produce the entrepreneurial subject. The aim is to orient the subject in different areas towards the market, such as personal motivation or purpose, as well as the different ways of acting and addressing others. Then, the production of the entrepreneurial self, postulated by Rose (1992), takes place, in which the subject is the place of intervention of different techniques and programmes is oriented to improve the self and to endowed this ‘self’ with a series of attributes and qualities that will allow them to create themselves in a market-orientated manner. Through this process of subjectivity production, the subordinate worker is ‘constructed as a subject of the Neoliberal/Neo-colonial labour regime. Of course, in turn, this Neoliberal/Neo-colonial regime is itself also constructed (Pulido-Martínez, 2007), producing, through entrepreneurial training, a worker who can adapt to the demands of flexibility, hyperactivity, and resilience of the market at low cost.

In this way, we can see how the operations of the psy-complex are implemented and adapted as ways of producing working subjects who effectively respond to the demands of the Neoliberal labour regime. However, empowerment with the necessary tools to face the flows and intensities of the entrepreneurial world represents, without a doubt, a utility for the entrepreneur, giving them a sense of control over their work and diminishing the levels of uncertainty regarding the possibilities of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship and affective territories

Once invested inside the entrepreneurial flows and calculation game, the entrepreneur is confronted with a series of intensities and rhythms that are inscribed in their body in the form of affect. In this way, the different sensations and emotions produced by the entrepreneurial activity configure the affective experiences of entrepreneurship in the subject. Thus, we see how there is a relationship between entrepreneurship and the production of affect that is determinant in understanding how the entrepreneur experiences their activity in the context. This relationship is established in different moments, before the decision to undertake, when entrepreneurship is positioned as a desirable and striking activity, to when the challenges and responsibilities involved in enterprising are assumed.

In particular, we can identify two relevant patterns to the production of affect and the experience of entrepreneurship: the first, regarding a fluctuation of emotions and a high intensity of emotional activity, and the second, regarding the centrality of space and social interactions in the production of affect in the entrepreneurial subject.

Regarding the first pattern, the entrepreneurial "dance" between risks and opportunities produces a fluctuation of different affective intensities. Participants such as Esteban or Susana describe this experience as a ‘roller coaster’, referring to the variation of intensities in terms of rhythms, emotions and uncertainty that characterise the entrepreneurial experience (Castel, 2009; Tsianos & Papadopoulos, 2006; Stensrud, 2017; Casas-Cortés, 2014). This fluctuation occurs between different sensations such as anxiety, feeling overwhelmed, expectation, overcoming, adrenaline, fullness, fulfilment, gratification, curiosity, tiredness or uncertainty; all of which respond to the events and changes that occur throughout the process of enterprising. In this way, factors of the entrepreneurial project, such as performance, sustainability, difficulties, sales or profits, begin to become part of the affective life of the entrepreneur. In this sense, the experience that the entrepreneur has of their activity and of themselves varies according to the emotional rhythm produced by the unstable and vertiginous lifecycle of their business. Depending on how the business is doing, that is how the entrepreneur is also doing.

We see again how there is an affective investment that links the identity of the entrepreneur to the enterprise, while the performance of the latter defines the former (Rose, 1992; Walkerdine, 2005). For example, participants such as Yvone, Úrsula,

Francisco S, Victoria T, Susana, Esteban, Camila, Iván, or Gustavo explain how their ventures is a part of themselves that is invested in the project and how what happens with their entrepreneurial activity has repercussions on their mood and emotional state. This emotional link is fundamental not only for the reproduction of entrepreneurial activity but also for the production of entrepreneurial forms of existence.

In some cases, even affect related to social, environmental, or political concerns, such as frustration, indignation, anger, or fear, are translated into entrepreneurial activity, channelled to the market, and codified within Neoliberalism in the form of entrepreneurship. Thus, we see how different activities not traditionally associated with the market, such as activism, environmental or cultural preservation, pedagogy, or artistic production, are now framed within entrepreneurial categories such as corporate social responsibility, social entrepreneurship, critical entrepreneurship, environmental entrepreneurship, or community or cooperative entrepreneurship.

Thus the dreams, triumphs, illusions and hopes, as well as the struggles, efforts, frustrations, worries, curiosities, expectations or concerns of the entrepreneur, are articulated to the entrepreneurial activity; reciprocally, those events linked to entrepreneurship, both rewarding and distressing, are materialised back in the body of the entrepreneur as an affect that mediates how the subject exists and how life for them is experienced. They also mention how what happens to them in their personal lives affects their entrepreneurial activity and their performance as entrepreneurs. Thus, we see how the close link between the entrepreneurial subject and their activity, how entrepreneurial activity unleashes and channels several affective flows, generating again an affective experience of entrepreneurship that is related to the feeling of freedom, autonomy, responsibility, or struggle that the entrepreneurial activity entails.

This tendency to link affection and entrepreneurship is related to the second pattern concerning the centrality of space and the interactions in the production of affects. As Foucault (2007) points out, space is fundamental to the production and governance of subjects; consequently, in the case of this study, the relationship between the experience of entrepreneurship and space is fundamental to understanding how the entrepreneurial subject is produced. Thus, the spaces that inhabit the body of the entrepreneur and the way in which they interact with other actors and dynamics becomes a determining factor in the affect produced and associated with the entrepreneurial activity. In this sense, the relationship of the subject with their economic

activities is strongly mediated by how the workspaces, urban organisation, or personal and work relationships are experienced.

, Thus when talking about their experience, numerous participants such as Esteban, Úrsula, Susana, Gustavo, Luis, Kevin, Victoria, Laura, Laura, Sandra, Alejandro, Teresa, Sandra, Jairo, Mauricio, or Camila, specifically express how they inhabit different spaces, such as entrepreneurial events, fairs, workshops, courses, co-working places, markets, homes, kitchens, cafés, restaurants, parks, pavements or rural areas, and how this habitation becomes factors that produce satisfaction regarding one's entrepreneurial experience. Modifying intimate spaces such as the home and the house, producing new workspaces in the city, discovering new spaces and new people, accessing facilities or services or establishing relationships with communities in specific areas shape the emotional experience of entrepreneurs and determine how this relationship between the entrepreneurial subject and these spaces is lived.

In these places, entrepreneurs produce different affects related to their encounter with other actors who accompany the entrepreneurial life such as clients, groups or collectives, mentors, colleagues, allies, friends, family, or simply other entrepreneurs. Given this centrality of space for the production of experiences and ways of existing and inhabiting these spaces, especially in terms of security and mobility, space also becomes a source of stress and discomfort for the entrepreneurial subject.

Thus, the dynamics and interactions that take place in these spaces significantly shape the experience and the way of existence of the entrepreneur. Specifically, this generates links between the subject and the entrepreneurship, since the activity of entrepreneurship implies the creation or alteration of affective territories; that is, the production of spaces that are inhabited in a sensitive way where subjectivity is assembled. This refers to how the subject inhabits, discovers, manufactures, and appropriates the different spaces in which their experience as an entrepreneur takes place. As Blackman et al (2008) point out, subjectivity is produced concerning a socio-historical and economic context that determines the different ways of experiencing and existing in that context. Therefore, this affective relationship of the entrepreneur with their space is crucial to their formation as a subject because it is in this space where the entrepreneur builds the relationships with their activity, their environment and themselves.

Thus, entrepreneurship generates a fold of contextual elements, such as rhythms, space or otherness, in the affective and intimate life of the entrepreneurial subject. It is

particularly relevant to highlight how enterprising and taking on the ‘roller coasters’ associated with entrepreneurial activity, produce a link between the entrepreneur and their work, since part of them is committed to that cause. It is also relevant to highlight how this affective experience of entrepreneurship is usually related to inhabiting spaces, sharing with people, learning things, feeling part of something, getting to know places. In this way, the following section discusses which forms of experience or which forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced in this network of affections, spaces, and rhythms.

Persistence, resiliency, resistance

Within the different experiences, another point where the production of affect and the experience of entrepreneurship is found is in resilience. Because of the implication of the production of this kind of affect within a global Neoliberal/Neo-colonial context, it is worth dedicating a section exclusively to this issue. It offers an interpretation of how the channelling and reproduction of affect related to resilience, such as resistance, plays a fundamental role in both the economic and subjective production process. Specifically, this role can be read as building consent for the unsafe and precarious working conditions of Neoliberalism/Neo-colonialism.

In recent years, the term resilience has become more and more relevant in the world of entrepreneurship under the hypothesis that resilience is correlated with entrepreneurial success (Maca Urbano & Rentería Pérez, 2020). In the entrepreneurial context, resilience is usually defined as an ability /power/ to adapt, reinvent itself and overcome adverse or painful circumstances, improving and growing as a person and, in the case of the entrepreneur, as a professional. Thus, we see how, from different perspectives, the relationship between resilience and entrepreneurship is studied.

The local entrepreneur is constructed then in two registers: the first, as a resilient subject who can adapt to working conditions; the second, as a subject not resilient enough and as such requiring intervention by techno-scientific programmes specifically targeted to overcome this perceived deficiency. From the perspective of Latin American critical psychology, Pulido-Martínez (2007) has shown how the working subject of the Global South is constructed from games of excesses and deficiencies of qualities that enable the intervention of disciplines such as management and psychology, which guarantee the accommodation and adjustment of the working subject to the Neoliberal

labour regime. In this sense, resilience becomes one of the privileged psychological constructs intended to appeal to the affectivity of the entrepreneur.

Thus we can identify how in the interviews for participants such as Camila, Helena, Laura, Yvone, Úrsula, Gustavo, Kevin, Sandra, Darío, Victoria, Esteban, Francisco and Bibiana, the experience of difficulty associated with the life of an entrepreneur was made explicit, as well as how the process of enterprising involved a constant overcoming and management of difficulties and risks intrinsic to the undertaking, all of course in conjunction with all other personal or contextual circumstances that might arise. Even if the term resilience is not specifically used during the interviews, entrepreneurs showed an impulse to persist in their activity even if it is terribly difficult or unsustainable. Persisting is precisely the challenge in a context when most entrepreneurial projects fail in less than five years. With the courage of entrepreneurs to sustain entrepreneurship as a model of work and life despite the risks and uncertainties, the resilience demanded by Neoliberalism is obtained. In this way, the subordination of the person, their ‘consent’ to the global Neoliberal labour market is built up through their affects and materialised in the affective commitment of an entrepreneur, whose projects, dreams, expectations, worries, energy, projections and uncertainty, end up being invested in the market via the actions of entrepreneurship.

However, this emphasis on entrepreneurial activity, expressed individually as a capacity for resilience, can be reinterpreted in the light of the context where this resilience occurs. Thus, when we consider factors such as the limited options for waged, secure work offered by the country's labour market, the history and normalisation of high unemployment and informality, and the growing poverty, inequality and precarization that are becoming more intense in the context, we see how the affective investment that resilience requires is related as a vital response to a context that constantly threatens the stability and continuity of life. It can be understood that the perseverance, persistence, insistence or constancy of the entrepreneur, which is read as the source of individual resilience, has to do with a survival response that each subject deploys, in the face of the adversities produced by the precarious dynamics of high uncertainty and market risks.

In this situation, resilience is perhaps closer to affects such as fear and anxiety where, instead of a sense of overcoming or transformation, the constant demands for readjustment, hyperactivity and flexibility at the personal level demand resilience to overcome adversity and guarantee the continuity of the enterprise. If there is an

analogous relationship between the enterprise and the entrepreneur, when the project fails and disappears, the entrepreneur puts at-risk part of themselves that was invested in their activity. In the interviews with Camila, Helena, Victoria, Mauricio, Úrsula, Kevin, Bibiana, and Ximena, we can see how frustration, anxiety and exhaustion are expressed when experiencing problems with their projects, in terms of the emotional work, involved in keeping their projects afloat.

Thus, we can see how the affects demanded of entrepreneurship, such as stress, fear and urgency, affects grouped under the concept of resilience, are socially valued as heroic, honourable or romantic. As Deleuze and Guattari (1983) rightly point out, capitalism operates through the decoding and recoding of different kinds of flows; as a device of Neoliberalism, entrepreneurship operates by channelling and codifying the flows of affects associated with one's life experience and the concurrent constitution of the subject, within a grammar that allows these flows to be translated into economic value.

The emotionality of the working subject is thus exploited in favour of the Neo-liberal/neo-colonial market. In the Colombian context, such affective production contributes to perpetuating the economic burden placed on those workers who have historically, experienced vulnerable and precarious conditions in their engagement with global capitalism. Thus, the availability of labour at a very low cost is guaranteed and this cheap labour assumes the risks and the burden of the creation, execution and administration of productive projects that are attractive in a society where access to opportunities is scarce. This guarantees the subalternity of the worker in the Global South through entrepreneurship.

This raises further questions concerning resilience and how it operates contextually. Politically, this situation creates challenges in building non-precarious ways of experiencing work. After all, if it is precisely the flexible and precarious working conditions that allow me to constitute myself as an entrepreneurial subject, what possibilities are there to change these conditions without abandoning, or at least drastically modifying, the notion of the entrepreneurial subject and the way of producing it? Today, when there is a generalised call for entrepreneurship with a special emphasis on the younger generations in countries with more insecure and precarious labour markets, what political implications does this demand from the entrepreneurship generate and what forms of subjectivity can emerge from this way of building oneself as a subject?

What forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced in Bogota?

Once the socio-economic and spatial organization of the business city and the trends that mark the entrepreneur's experience in this context have been considered, it is time to analyse the different forms of subjectivity that occur in the said enclave. It is worth remembering at this point the way how subjectivity is understood to determine how these forms of subjectivity are produced by business activity in Bogotá. Thus, we return to the notion of subjectivity as a process/becoming, assembled or produced immanently from economic, historical, psychic, cultural, environmental, digital, cybernetic, technological, sexual, aesthetic flows that delimit the possibilities of the subject to experience itself (Blackman et all, 2008; Papadopoulos 2003).

In this case, the subject acts as a terminal, node, or intersection – a point of confluence – of those flows that determine their possibilities of action, thought, imagination or ways of speaking. This position of the subject as the terminal of material and energy flows that are in permanent self-reconfiguration positions subjectivity as that space, as an interface or surface, where the world, without distinction between interiority or exteriority, happens.

In this sense, it is not interesting to search for a constitutive and distinctive essence of the entrepreneurial subject of Bogota or to organize the various experiences and expressions of entrepreneurship within strict categories that define the entrepreneur based on their differences. What is discussed in this way are the different ways in which subjects in Bogotá talk about their experience in the context and how entrepreneurs position themselves within the flows that configure their horizon of possibilities. In this sense, the ethnographic work focused on the production of records of those ways in which the entrepreneurial subject inhabits their context and how they experience themselves in it. This approach seeks to understand the forms of subjectivity as forms of existence, forms of life or forms of embedding in those flows that constitute their experience.

Thus, ethnographic work produces a partial image where the different modalities of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced through the practice of entrepreneurial activity. Here, rather than making a typology of subjects, what is produced are *images*, or *semblances*, of how being an entrepreneur is experienced in Bogotá. Therefore, there is no attempt to produce a final or definitive categorization of the entrepreneurial subject, but rather an experience is systematized that allowed the production of different

records, through ethnographic work, of the forms of subjectivity produced by the entrepreneur in the city. In this way, the types of business subjectivity described do not seek to pigeonhole the subjects in them, they only offer a description of forms, poses, facets or angles of the entrepreneurial experience in the city that various subjects must assume in the context. In this sense, entrepreneurs with diverse socio-economic, racial, gender, ideological or geographical configurations can assume the same “face” at certain times and with their respective peculiarities. Similarly, an entrepreneur can pose differently according to the different experiences that constitute it as a subject: a subject can be inhabited by different ways of being and existing that depend on the experience of the subject in the different territories that they inhabit. For this reason, the reading of the entrepreneur's experience in the light of different profiles should not be understood as labelling or categorizing the local entrepreneur.

The production of these images, records or portraits seeks to in turn produce a broader image of how local forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are inserted in the world-system in which they occur. Thus, the objective of this section is to put into dialogue the different ways of experiencing the entrepreneurial subject in the context, considering the geopolitical, historical, cultural, and socio-economic relationships that configure it. Taking into account the neo-colonial reorganization of which Colombia was the object, the business demands that have configured the country socially, politically and economically, and the centrality of production and the government of subjectivity within Neoliberalism, the relationship between the forms of subjectivity produced by entrepreneurship are assembled within the Neoliberal world system, or integrated world capitalism, and are articulated within the neo-colonial order.

This exercise focuses on distinguishing between colonial elements present in these modes of existence to understand the production of colonial, or subaltern, subjectivities in the Neoliberal context. This seeks to generate questions regarding the alternatives and implications, in political, socio-economic, and environmental matters, of the government through the production of business subjectivities typical of Liberalism (Papadopoulos, 2003; Rose, 1992; Walkerdine, 2005). Thus, we briefly focus on three forms of subjectivity that were built from ethnography that speak about the experience of undertaking in the city: The first, of the entrepreneur as an anxious searcher or a risk-taker, and their relationship with the model precarious work that predominates in the country; the second, of entrepreneurship as a lifestyle associated with adventure and

freedom, concerning the production of affects and desire; finally, the entrepreneur as a social/environmental hero in relation to the expansion of the market in new spheres.

The stressed entrepreneur: risk-takers and opportunity rummagers.

The first record of the form of business subjectivity in the context is of the entrepreneur as an anxious subject pressured to take high risks to manufacturing opportunities in new places. This way of being of the entrepreneurial subject in Bogotá is characterized by high exposure to socio-economic risks that are exacerbated by the business configuration of the city. This experience occurs with intense affective flows based on the need and urgency to survive in a hostile context. Thus, the anxious entrepreneur must supply a demand for affective work and self-administration that allows it to continue in its search for opportunities.

This way of being an entrepreneur in Bogotá has been generalized in recent years to other types of trades and socio-economic sectors, which were previously characterized by experiencing job security, and which now enter the vertiginous nature of entrepreneurship. In this way, entrepreneurs who work in different economic sectors, such as Santiago, Yvone, Francisco, or Esteban who are in the area of knowledge and technology, are exposed to the dynamics of insecure and precarious work, as well as entrepreneurs in the food sector such as Ximena, Gustavo, Victoria or Úrsula. We then see how the feeling of vulnerability, hyperactivity, simultaneity, readjustment that entrepreneurship implies, configures the experience of various subjects with different socio-economic and biographical trajectories. This is what Tsianos & Papadopoulos (2006) refers to as a *generalized experience of precarity* that characterizes today's Neoliberal regime of work.

The link between the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship is taken to the most basic level of survival, thus capitalizing on the need to undertake produced by the working conditions in the country. Thus, the tradition of insecure and precarious work is reproduced, which was accentuated with the Neoliberal economic and political reforms of the 20th century that sharpened the practices of flexibility, precariousness, and uncertainty, and that today is re-framed within entrepreneurship as an economic and policy allowed by the government. In terms of coloniality, it is identified how the operation of entrepreneurship as a Neoliberal governmental device, then facilitates the

government of the working subject based on the geo-economics and geopolitical reorganization of colonial relations (Boaventura de Sousa, 2010; Castro-Gomez, 2007).

The conditions of precariousness and vulnerability of the working classes are taken advantage of to precipitate the production of subjects who in different ways assume the functions of risk management and the creation of opportunities that sustain the Neoliberal market. Examples such as unsafe and unstable working condition guarantee the supply of low-cost labour force, the production of projects and ideas according to the market, the management of high risks through high investment in affect work, and the constant manufacture of new opportunities that are capitalizable for large investors who buy the risk assumed by the entrepreneur.

It can be concluded therefore that this form of entrepreneurial subjectivity is the face of the precarious component of entrepreneurship, reproduced in the great majority of the working subjects of Neoliberalism. In addition, this way of existing undermines the political possibilities of the subject insofar as it creates a tired, anxious, and need-driven subject, and reduces their field of political action into one conditioned by the dynamic of constant survival.

This image of the entrepreneur is a distant form imported from the Atlantic North, far from the conditions of precariousness that characterizes the Colombian context. In this sense, the lack of relevance of these models of subject and behaviour as a canonical characterization of the entrepreneur is evident. The modern, autonomous, rational, and free subject prescribed by hegemonic economic theories can be then reduced as a metaphorical and intellectual resource of Liberalism to model the working subject to the needs of the market. Moreover, considering the colonial dimension that configures this dynamic, the distance between the conceptualizations of the entrepreneurial subject and the experience of most entrepreneurs in the country makes evident how in political terms there is a notorious gap between the expected results of Neoliberal interventions and the experiences produced by Neoliberal regime of work.

Lifestyle, adventurism, and freedom

This facet is related to the experience of intimacy and control of the entrepreneur and their activity. Specifically, this image of the entrepreneur is based on how the freedom, imposed by the market, is experienced in terms of the administration of the

body, its movements, and its rhythms. Thus, we see how the way of being an entrepreneur is forged through the adoption of the lifestyle produced by flexible working conditions and how the entrepreneur takes charge in this scenario to act and perceive themselves as the architect and producer of their own reality (Walkerdine, 2005; Rose, 1992). In this sense, we see how in general the participants point out how autonomy and independence in terms of their times and work dynamics constitutes a large part of their experience as an entrepreneur. Whether they are entrepreneurs who work moving in public spaces such as Kevin, Ximena, Darío, Gustavo, Penelope or Úrsula, or entrepreneurs who work in their homes such as Iván, Olivia, Luis, or entrepreneurs who work in offices and specialized locations such as Yvone, Ricardo, Susana or Francisco, in each case they position themselves as active agents in the construction and administration of their work dynamics.

It is in this facet that the production of identities, biographies and life stories as an output of their living and experiencing as entrepreneurs, is accentuated more intensely. Thus, we see how in this form of entrepreneurial subjectivity there is also a high demand for affective investment by entrepreneurs as a way of reproducing this form of entrepreneurial activity. In this manner the entrepreneurial subject is committed to the production process of their own reality and how this reinforces the link between the worker and the demand to constantly produce and reproduce themselves as an object of improvement and investment (Walkerdine, 2005).

This way of relating to oneself in terms of sovereignty and individuality more clearly emulates the business subject models that predominate in academia and public policy spaces, where the entrepreneur acts as an administrator of themselves and their business activity as a way of expressing their individuality. Thus, the entrepreneur projects themselves to themselves as an adventurer, a missionary, a hero, a rebel, a creative or an altruist within this process of life management. Also, this show who the Neoliberal image of a free, daredevil subject is emulated in local spaces, adapting the different experiences of the subject into a biographical narrative (Bourdieu, 2011). This discursive strategy enables the production of biographical sense through coding life experiences as productions of entrepreneurial qualities.

Perhaps this semblance of the entrepreneurial subject is the one that most closely resembles the traditional notion of the desirable economic subject. Following this, the subject is not only in charge of managing the different market functions but for this, they produce a business identity. Thus, the entrepreneur's affective investment in

themselves establishes a link with their activity and functions as a decisive factor for subjectivation (Pulido-Martinez, 2007: Walkerdine 2005).

However, even though this record of being an entrepreneur has relevant subjectivation effects, it is not very frequent. On the one hand, the living conditions, and the field of possibilities for most Colombian entrepreneurs are far from the models of the modern subject promoted by entrepreneurship. On the other hand, this administration process usually occurs concerning attending events and contextual factors that compromise the entrepreneur's decision-making. Rather, this existential autonomy is maintained as a floating idea that functions as a promise to achieve freedom and absolute independence and as a consolation in overcoming the obvious difficulties and shortcomings that litter their path. In terms of coloniality, this form of business subjectivity sustains the myth of the self-sufficient subject independent of context, the same template promoted by the entrepreneurial subject models. Clearly, this business subjectivity promotes egocentric and individualistic ways of relating, both towards themselves and towards their context, and the wider collectivist values that might present an alternative set of values with which to face the alienating and precarious conditions of their existence (Morrison, 2008). Also, this way of being an entrepreneur strengthens the links between the local subject and Anglo-centric models of the entrepreneur that seek to produce the ideal subaltern of Neoliberalism.

Social/environmental hero/rebel

This facet of entrepreneurialism results from the different overlaps and adaptations of entrepreneurship in new spaces that were previously marginalized in the economic world, such as environmentalism and activism. The image of the entrepreneur is then formed as a *pro-social* (market=society) subject with a heroic/revolutionary/emancipatory vocation, which is directed through entrepreneurship towards the market. Generally, the construction of this image uses the concept of innovation to describe in market terms the different translation processes of activities with high social value. Thus, entrepreneurship is rooted in the historical economic and social problems of the country.

This permeation of entrepreneurship into non-traditional spaces of production is read as the key to the operation of the capitalist axiomatic described by Deleuze and

Guattari, in which different types of values (environmental, cultural, social, civil) are recorded within the capitalist order by being reduced to a monetary value as capitalism's preferred exchange term. Thus, we see that entrepreneurs with concerns and interests in different areas of the political, social, environmental, or cultural reality of the country, articulate their affections and actions regarding these issues as entrepreneurship.

From a de-colonial point of view, this process of market expansion in the social, political, cultural and environmental fields has serious consequences. Contemporary entrepreneurship, framed in the paradigm of sustainable development and human capital, has shown its power to capture and codify diverse knowledge and practices about nature and local cultures and to redirect them to the market (Escobar, 1998; Morrison, 2008). For local projects that resist the dynamics of absolute free trade, this represents a threat to the marginalized epistemologies and ontologies (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007) that configure the grammars in which various communities have learned to live and resist.

This raises questions about the absorption of different spaces that were previously marked by resistance, criticism, or the production of political and social and economic alternatives to the Neoliberal market. This produces a caution regarding the demand for colonial subalterns to manage new commodities, such as nature and culture, in founding the market. The recoding of entities and knowledge of high social, cultural and community value in the Neoliberal market would only deepen the relations of subordination that today threaten that knowledge and practices.

This represents a considerable risk for local knowledge and spaces that today resist the dynamics of Neoliberalism. At the same time, the articulation to the business life of various projects that previously were marginalized, such as environmental activism, opens the door for different ways of existing and experiencing themselves, to find a space in economic life. Hence, paradoxically, these articulations also open the opportunity of new assemblages of economic spaces, practices, and rationalities, such as organic production, traditional markets, or fair-trade exchange.

Conclusion

As an answer to the question about how the entrepreneurial context is assembled in Bogota, the analysis shows that the Neoliberal urban and socio-economic distribution of the city propitiates centre-peripheries flows in terms of entrepreneurial activity,

impacting the experience of entrepreneurs who inhabit the city. We showed how Bogotá itself is produced through entrepreneurial activity in the market, as entrepreneurs inhabit the city in terms of chasing opportunities and expanding the market into local and immediate contexts. In this way, the city is also affected and transformed through entrepreneurial activity and this, in turn, produces new spaces, networks, and knowledge concerning entrepreneurship.

We characterized the experience of entrepreneurship in Bogota by showing how the city is experienced as a living actor in the entrepreneurial life, a life that imposes its demands upon entrepreneurs. This means that different dynamics, such as security, mobility, or urban design became factors to be managed by entrepreneurs at the time of conducting their daily activities. Consequently, Bogotá is experienced by entrepreneurs as a field that demands management, where risks are high while opportunities are limited. At the same time, it was shown how the relationship between the city and the entrepreneur is mediated by various affects, which are inscribed or translated into entrepreneurial activity as a way of guaranteeing the reproduction of the market. Paradoxically this results in the entrepreneurs developing a love/hate relationship with their own activity, while simultaneously developing an analogous affective relationship towards a context that originates their anxiety.

To this idea, we can now interrogate the question regarding the forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity produced in Bogota. Entrepreneurial forms of existing are produced in relation to the context, which facilitates the emergence of images or semblances of being entrepreneurial in the city. Considering the entrepreneurial setting of Bogotá, local forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity are produced concerning a context that is experienced by entrepreneurs as hostile in psychosocial and socio-economic terms. In this way, the forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity existing in the city can be summarized in the following three images: the stressed, need-driven entrepreneur, who acts following socio-economic needs, a state of vulnerability experienced by entrepreneurs to different degrees; the free lifestyle/adventurous entrepreneur, who appears at those moments when entrepreneurial activity enables the entrepreneur to explore their work in creative and autonomous ways. Finally, the social/political/environmental heroes, who appear when entrepreneurs position their economic activity beyond lucrative parameters and work to articulate local struggles and conflicts in the process of value production in new spheres of the Neoliberal economy.

These local forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity pictured by the research are linked to the affects related to entrepreneurial activity. The affective experience of being an entrepreneur in the city is then crucial to understand how these ways of existing relationships to how Bogotá is configured as an entrepreneurial context. In this sense, entrepreneurial subjectivity is produced concerning factors such as the urban and socio-economic disposition of the city, which impacts the experience of activities related to entrepreneurship such as moving in the city, finding clients or suppliers in the city, working in the public spaces of the city, or inhabiting the rural peripheries of Bogotá. Consequently, the local forms of subjectivity produced in the city respond to particular historical and economic configurations that do not allow us to understand the production of the entrepreneur's subjectivity in the light of the traditional models defining the entrepreneurial subject. It can be said that the image of the entrepreneur usually projected is that of a young white man in some scenario of the global north, from an upper middle class, well-educated and rational; who through technology, creativity, and innovation, produces added value; and who through business spirit and self-management skills produce opportunities and deal with risks in competitive markets. However, in Bogota and Colombia, the image of the entrepreneur seems more like a group of women, young and elderly, who sell and exchange goods and services based on traditional production, generally working informally, in precarious working conditions and multiple scenarios, from farms in the periphery of the city, to the offices of the Commerce Chamber of Bogotá, passing through classrooms, kitchens, sidewalks and buses.

Chapter 8. Epilogue: Ideas and reflections for policymaking, academia, activism and entrepreneurial activity in Bogota.

As an epilogue to this work, the ideas that have gone through this research are presented, as well as the results and discussions that emerged from them. In the spirit of contributing relevant concepts and ideas for the analysis of the problems and needs that give rise to the research, reflections and clues are presented at different levels about entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in Bogotá, in the hope that they may provide tools for people involved in various aspects of entrepreneurship: government organisations, public policymakers, academics and activists among many.

These meditations revolve around strategic issues related to the experience of the entrepreneur in the context, such as the centrality of the space, the relational nature of the entrepreneurial subject, the local circulation of knowledge or the relevance of autonomy in the organisation of work for the entrepreneur. Furthermore, the implications at the political, social and economic level of the possibilities and risks generated by the proposed lines of analysis are evaluated. To close, this section the conclusions of the study are presented.

Implications for Public Policy: risks and opportunities.

As a conclusion to this section, the political, economic, and social implications of the ideas outlined in the previous section are summarised.

Opportunities

The proposed Entrepreneurship Law -MIPYMES Law of 2020 - approved in the Congress of the Republic , is an attempt to modernize Law 1014 of 2006. Thus, it seeks to provide a regulatory framework oriented to the micro, small and medium enterprises, representing the greatest number of enterprises in both the city and the country. In terms of relevance, public policy has advanced positively in different directions. For this reason, we will explore the main advantages that can be found in this project.

In financial matters, the MIPYMES Law of 2019 presents a progressive aspect by regulating the payment times to small and medium-sized companies when they have contracts for the provision of services. In tax matters, the Law also advances by facilitating formalization processes for SMEs.

Regarding entrepreneurial culture and intervention programs, this Law continues with the essentialist tradition inherited by the Neoliberal reforms of the Nineties. In this sense, the Law persists in its focus upon the entrepreneurial mentality coupled with the long-standing policy of interventions in the educational system; all presented as ways to improve entrepreneurial performance.

However, perhaps the most positive aspect is the diversification of areas of business activity, since it opens opportunities to experiment in areas of production of ecological, social or political value.

The entrepreneurial boom has demanded a considerable amount of time and energy from Colombian society in recent decades. Today, it is one of the main issues in public life and government agendas, configured as essential for improving living conditions in

the country. Thus, activists, philanthropists, communities, victims of armed conflict, young people and women, approach the entrepreneurial world as a way of finding alternative employment in which their ideas and values can be articulated.

Paradoxically, we see how different resistances in gender, environmental, cultural and political matters, matters often distant from Neoliberal markets, are today linked to economic life through entrepreneurship. It is therefore essential to analyse possible lines of flight (Bröckling, 2015; Guattari, 2005) potent enough to produce alternatives and strategies to take advantage of the critical spaces and dynamics related to entrepreneurship. As an example, we showed the case of different FARC ex-combatants who have developed their civil reintegration process based on cooperative and environmental entrepreneurship. This is also the case with the agro-ecological cooperatives that operate in areas surrounding the cities and that advocate for the alimentary sovereignty and food security of their regions. This is linked to the possibility that there are lines of flight in environmental matters, gender, resistance, or peace, that can settle into autonomous ways of producing and inhabiting alternative networks in the market

These new spaces also provide opportunities to produce new relationships and ways of being regarding work. The close link between work and the production of subjectivity offers the possibility of producing fewer alienating relationships between the working subjects as long as the contextual, collective, and relational character of the working subject is understood. Extrapolating this idea to geopolitical terms, the empowerment of economic life by communities or at the collective and political level opens the opportunity to take agency in the colonial reorganization that continues to be lived in the territory. That is, when society and life have been colonized by the market, it also provides an opportunity to pose and answer the question, what markets do we want in our territories? In which markets do we want to establish ourselves as working subjects? And even at the national level, what undertaking do we need and want? From this perspective, the vagueness of entrepreneurship as a concept allows its use by social sectors that used to be intensely marginalized from economic life. Thus, entrepreneurship is positioned as a political tool by those today seek changes within the Neoliberal market itself.

Risks

The continuation of mainstream intervention strategies, based on the promotion of the entrepreneurial mentality and culture, reproduces the omission of the concrete working conditions of entrepreneurs when formulating public policy. This omission becomes problematic today, in the face of the socio-economic crisis generated by the COVID-19 pandemic, since it has resulted in entrepreneurship becoming the only alternative for generating income for many Colombians. Taking into account that working conditions in Colombia are mostly informal, insecure, precarious and unstable, public policy is required to address as a priority those factors that determine the experience of the entrepreneurial subject.

In addition, considering the link between entrepreneurship and the paradigm of sustainable development, it becomes pertinent to attend to the voices of those, who today, initiate entrepreneurial activities outside the canonical definitions of entrepreneurship as a practice guided exclusively by economic interest. Thus, above all, it becomes necessary to involve these subjects in the discussion and formulation of public policy, as a guarantee of the continued relevance of institutional interventions. Despite the alternative windows that entrepreneurship opens into political and economic matters, the re-territorializing potential of capitalism and its ability to translate any code alterity into market terms, should not be underestimated. Likewise, it is naive to think that entrepreneurialism can operate without transforming the place of its operation. Neoliberalism has already shown its ability to transform objects such as culture and nature into commodities ready for speculation or exchange within the market.

In this sense, the articulation of traditional knowledge, environmental projects, political stakes and alternative aesthetics, or indeed values such as solidarity and cooperation within the enterprise, carries the risk that these expressions are re-codified in market terms and therefore, subject to market criteria such as productivity, efficiency, or competitiveness. This would represent a subordination of the different counter-hegemonic projects to Neoliberal rationality, where entrepreneurship functions as the preferred encoder of the various aspects of life and society to the capitalist axiomatic. In geopolitical terms, this would imply a great step in the Neo-colonial/Neoliberal organization, where not only culture, nature or aesthetics are colonized by market logic, but now also revolution. It is therefore essential to take special care and prudence when operationalizing entrepreneurialism in these spaces and to keep a critical attitude when

it comes to experimenting in this field. It is therefore about finding a way to subordinate entrepreneurship to the life projects of communities and subjects, and to produce the market as a democratic space, open to constant production / re-production, instead of perpetuating the subordination of individual and collective life projects to the market. To go further, and here we are alluding to the destructive creativity postulated by Schumpeter (2003). Entrepreneurship might require a certain degree of heroism to experiment with the notion to the point indeed, of redefining, resigning, deconstructing, or even disfiguring the entire concept of entrepreneurship, to make the life of entrepreneurs less precarious.

In addition to this, there is one last risk, more present today than ever, and that is to maintain the entrepreneurial perspective that is currently handled in training and decision-making spaces. The individualistic and mechanistic conceptions regarding the entrepreneur have proven to be decisive for the intensification of socioeconomic and psychosocial insecurity. Continuing to import and impose de-contextualized models runs a high risk of continuing to waste resources on irrelevant strategies which do not achieve expected results. Considering this, it is worthwhile to concretely review, in a conscientious and democratic way, the opportunities and risks implied by the decisions made in public policy spaces and to critically explore the different ways of undertaking such training so they are adjusted to the needs, possibilities and intentions of those who undertake them.

Key intervention aspects

Taking into account what was expressed by the participants, as well as the ethnographic experience, this section rescues those patterns that are more determining in the shared experience of the participants. This exercise can then be considered as a translation of different experiences in the field and local knowledge into ideas and reflections that serve as tools for those interested in generating impact in the context of city entrepreneurship.

It is not the intention here to offer a manual, guide or formulas for solving the problems associated with entrepreneurship, which would not only be pretentious but unrealistic. Instead, a series of 'clues' or guidelines are presented, designed to facilitate the movement and inhabit the different forces and flows that make up the reality for the city's entrepreneur. These strategic lines are the centrality of the space in the experience and possibilities of the entrepreneur, the importance of relationality, the possibilities of

connection of the entrepreneurial subject with others, the flows of ideas and related knowledge that make up the field, and the relevance of autonomy concerning the organisation of work and life in the affective experience of the entrepreneur. Around these issues, different questions and tensions arise in relation to the regulations and intervention strategies in the field of entrepreneurship in Bogotá.

The relevance of space

Perhaps the most accentuated theme throughout the research is the constant reference to different spaces where entrepreneurship happens and where business activity is experienced. Thus, different places and territories such as Transmilenio, pavements, cafés, fairs, universities, offices or moors were articulated in the entrepreneurs' narratives regarding their experience. Also, different movements and rhythms began to appear in relation to these spaces. For example, mobility through the city, the gravitation of business activity around the city's socio-economic nucleus, the re-adaptation of vital spaces according to entrepreneurial activity, resistance to the displacement of strategic points, the exploration of new spaces for commerce and production, or the circulation of the different networks that make up Bogotá's business life. Concerning these issues, I will outline some brief reflections aimed at pointing out possibilities for making the entrepreneur's lives less precarious.

Initially, a frequent problem for the life of an entrepreneur in Bogota is transport, especially public transport. These difficulties respond to structural issues regarding the urban organisation of the city, therefore the solutions to this issue are not simple. Today, projects aimed at improving mobility in the city are mainly oriented towards increasing transport capacity by expanding the public transport network and road network; secondly, by encouraging the use of alternative means of transport such as bicycles or electric scooters; finally, some voices opt for an urban redesign that prevents the city from continuing to be centralized. Although the most intense efforts are made in the first two lines, where entrepreneurship is articulated at a very high level, it is in the third axis where entrepreneurs have the possibilities to assemble and shape their territories without the obligation of crossing the city and facing its traffic.

Today, despite the need to renew the transport system, expand road networks and promote alternative means of transport, the physical and demographic size of Bogotá represents a challenge that is difficult to overcome. These realities impact qualitatively the experience of entrepreneurs moving around the city. Furthermore, these

measures are aimed at adjusting the city's Neoliberal reorganization and its centre-periphery dynamics, which structurally determine congestion in terms of mobility. Thus, the city's decentralisation strategy provides options for local entrepreneurs to find services, facilities and opportunities in spaces closer to the subject and to facilitate their activity as entrepreneurs.

However, this type of urban reform must take into account certain dynamics in terms of spaces for entrepreneurship. Specifically, in terms of generating spaces that are conducive and close to entrepreneurs, it is essential to think about the relationship between the entrepreneur, the public space and the institutional infrastructure. For example, public space, while central to many formal entrepreneurs, impact informal entrepreneurs particularly as these people who depend directly on this factor. In the peripheral neighbourhoods of Bogota, where the vast majority of the city's entrepreneurs live, we find particular ways of relating to spaces where the distinctions between formality-informality, public-private space, or spaces for production, commercialisation, networking, rest, recreation and so on, take place. Thus, the spaces that are thought out for these local entrepreneurs must remain close to them and not force them to cross the city unless it is necessary. Furthermore, they must adapt to local conditions rather than replicate spaces that today constitute the business nucleus of the northeast of the city.

In this way, it is essential to provide public infrastructure accessible to working communities in the peripheries through which the different facilities provided in the city centre, such as training programmes, financial services or entrepreneurial events can be accessed. In turn, these spaces need to be accessible to those entrepreneurs who are not in the process of formalization but who depend on the adjacent flows of clients and capital that produce other activities. In this sense, these spaces must be adapted to the dynamics of local spaces where the commercialisation spaces, trade fairs and community use of public space characteristic of the Bogotá outskirts are located. That is, to adapt the different commercial spaces in the peripheral neighbourhoods for entrepreneurship in an integrated manner and not to offer solutions from spaces that are difficult to access.

Thus, the character of these spaces should be interactive so that they welcome and promote local forms of entrepreneurship that are safe and dignified for the communities to which they are directed. This leads us to ask ourselves about the local spaces of production in which the entrepreneurs live. Although today these spaces are

decentralised, they are not specialised. Consequently, it is common today in Bogotá for different goods and services to be produced precariously in kitchens, patios, garages and other spaces that make up the entrepreneurs' habitat. Today however there are many examples of shared production and service spaces that range from community kitchens and dining rooms to co-working and public spaces. The collaborative dynamics generated around these types of places facilitate the activity of the entrepreneur to the extent that they distinguish their workspaces from their rest spaces, provide access to suitable tools and working conditions, and allow the entrepreneur to interact with actors of interest. These types of spaces at intermediate points between the centre and the peripheries of the city could bring production closer to the commercialisation centres, as well as facilitating the provision of services to entrepreneurs in spaces closer to where they live.

In addition, today the rural areas of Bogotá play a fundamental role in the production of ecological value and food security in the city. The city's green areas are becoming more and more closely linked to business activity. It is essential to take care of how this process evolves and how these spaces preserve their environmental and cultural value, respecting the entrepreneurs who live there. Care must be taken not to subject these territories to unfettered market interests that do not take into account the local dynamics that seek their own, autonomous way of articulating with the world of entrepreneurship.

Community/Collectiveness

Another recurrent aspect in the research is the relational character of the entrepreneurial subject and how their interactions are of vital importance in their experience and performance as an entrepreneur. Thus, this section seeks to challenge the traditional view of the entrepreneur as being above all individual and self-sufficient. On the contrary, what the interviews show is how the entrepreneur is never alone. The entrepreneur is accompanied by different actors in different spaces, thus influencing their ideas, affects or decisions. In this sense, the entrepreneur's experience is always related to another. To think of the entrepreneur as an isolated and indivisible island is a serious mistake. The different interactions that forge the entrepreneurial subject also forge their possibilities. Bearing this in mind, it is key to understand that a greater number of connections and interactions between the entrepreneurial subject with

different subjects and spaces increase the potential for entrepreneurs to find support, references, solutions or opportunities more easily. Thus, the wider and more diverse the entrepreneur's network, the more the vulnerability implicit in facing the Neoliberal self-employment regime is reduced.

For this reason, this section seeks to describe different forms and spaces of relationships relevant to understanding the local entrepreneur. Let's start with the entrepreneur's family and inner circle. About the relationships that are forged in the intimate spheres, it is these relationships that most support the entrepreneur's activity, as well as their health and well-being. We are talking then about the circle of people closest to the entrepreneurial subject. This type of relationships impacts entrepreneurial projects at many levels, from their gestation to their execution and maintenance. In this sense, we see how entrepreneurs rely on their families and close circles to think about their projects, to decide to undertake, to endure the difficulties of entrepreneurship or to develop various work tasks. Today in Colombia, most of the entrepreneurial activity is translated into family projects. Bearing this in mind, ways of promoting entrepreneurship must be thought of which respect these spaces and do not subordinate them to the market. We must therefore think about how to make entrepreneurship a labour model that does not attempt to damage or abuse this relationship.

Another fundamental relationship in the entrepreneur's experience is their contact with other entrepreneurs. For entrepreneurs, 'colleagues' are those with whom it is possible to share experiences and knowledge directly related to the business activity. Thus, this type of meeting is fundamental for the experience of the entrepreneurial subject in not feeling alone and in strengthening their business networks. In this sense, facilitating and promoting these meetings between entrepreneurs is very useful for the entrepreneurial subject who finds opportunities and solutions in these spaces. These meetings are similar to the meetings between entrepreneurs and those actors who can provide direct solutions for entrepreneurship. In this sense, the networks of clients, partners and suppliers are essential to facilitate business activity. It is key to support the multiplication of these spontaneous efforts that today, various entrepreneurs in the city are advancing towards consolidated networks which allow them to develop and consolidate their businesses.

Finally, it is important to examine the relationship between the entrepreneur and the figure of the expert. Today, with the ‘massification’ of business culture through virtuality and technology, the figure of the expert is being questioned. Today on social

networks, different business knowledge and technologies circulate relatively freely and impact local spaces with ease. When a series of experts and gurus emerge in these spaces who market generic business formulas, we need to ask ourselves whether this type of expertise responds to the needs of the context. In this sense, it is important to draw on the knowledge of those entrepreneurs who are truly committed to the context and its realities. Thus, the challenge is to promote the sharing of experiences and the circulation of knowledge relevant to the business life of a particular context. In this sense, it is not sufficient to point to particular outstanding and exceptional cases as a universal form of expertise, but rather to generate a two-way sharing between subjects who are in different positions in the business context. It is key to guarantee wide access for diverse entrepreneurs to this kind of meetings.

Local knowledge

Regarding this last point and the questioning of the figure of the expert and the type of expertise that is relevant to the context, the circulation of different types of knowledge that make up the context of entrepreneurship is now being considered as a key line of action. In this respect, the diversity produced by the processes of localisation of business knowledge which arrive as foreign models and which are then adapted and reproduced in the field is highlighted. The hybridization of different local knowledge with business practices is also considered. Thus, there is a constant process of mixing knowledge that is assembled around entrepreneurial activity.

We saw how the exercise of creating projects and producing value in new ways occurs in unexpected places in various ways. This type of expression takes on the forms allowed by the context. In this way, instead of reproducing identically the hegemonic models of creativity and innovation that come from the North Atlantic, local entrepreneurs deploy their efforts around other types of local knowledge and practices not included in these models, practices such as the intuitive, popular ancestral and/or traditional knowledge that circulates in the networks of entrepreneurs. The *mestizo* character of Colombian demography and culture allows for the emergence and proliferation of knowledge and techniques linked to the complex and diverse assembly of historical, cultural, geographical, political and cultural contingents that today converge in the country's business field.

As an example of this, the production, transformation and commercialisation of food and/or traditional or artisanal products were frequent lines of work in several case studies. This coincides with the concerns expressed in public policy spaces regarding the high rate of traditional entrepreneurs in the food sector and with the perception of several entrepreneurs that there are a high number of people involved with this economic sector. In particular, several entrepreneurs in the sector who participated in the research, articulated organic, collaborative and artisanal knowledge with new spaces and dynamics of production and commercialization, producing market networks and local clusters where they found solutions and alternatives to sustain their business projects.

This example is an invitation to pay attention and take into account the different ways in which entrepreneurs today already manage their projects creatively or innovatively through other knowledge, ancestral and popular, related to the administration of work and resources, such as *mingas*, cooperative associations or community-based work.

In terms of public policy, therefore, it is essential to take into account these knowledge flows and multiple contextual skills to offer meaningful support to entrepreneurs and networks of entrepreneurs who function in this context. This may well be a more productive path than simply imparting imported methodologies alien to the entrepreneur and difficult to apply in real market contexts. The challenge then is to be able to make these translations back and forth between knowledge that already operate and support the activity of "common" entrepreneurs, and knowledge-oriented towards technifying and specialising the business activity in these subjects.

Autonomy

Finally, the fourth line of action focuses on the relevance of autonomy in the experience of the entrepreneur. This concept is routinely expressed in psychological terms to produce the image of a self-sufficient subject oriented towards their own individuality. Moreover, this concept is usually linked to other concepts of entrepreneurship, such as individual and economic freedom. However, based on the entrepreneurial experiences examined, this notion needs to be challenged in order to include the many different instances in which the entrepreneur exercises their autonomy in relation to different spaces and actors. Particularly in the experience of entrepreneurs, at least three types of autonomy become fundamental: concerning the organisation of

their work/life, with respect to access to local spaces, and with respect to the decisions made in terms of public policy which affect their reality as entrepreneurs.

In the first place, it is for the entrepreneur to be able to make decisions about their project since their project involves different aspects that are not reductive to their work but involve the whole life of the subject. That is to say, decisions made at work have an impact on spaces such as the home, the body or the community, and vice versa, the different decisions made in these other spheres have an impact on the life of the business project. Bearing this in mind, it is essential to provide conditions in which entrepreneurs can make balanced decisions about their life and work without having to guarantee one at the expense of the other. Ensuring an adequate balance between the life and work of entrepreneurs is essential for the subject to increase their scope for action. Widening the entrepreneur's margin of action concerning their own business and life project allows for creation and innovation in a way that is not tortuous for the entrepreneur.

The strategy of increasing insecurity and pressure on the entrepreneur as a way of squeezing out resourcefulness and innovation has been shown to be extremely limited, with a few exceptional cases being the best it can offer. It is untrue that stress does the entrepreneur good; on the contrary, it limits all possibilities and actions to short term ones, dictated simply by urgency and necessity. In this respect, the figures regarding the success and continuity of the entrepreneurial projects in the country show clearly how this strategy has failed, as shown in Part One. In this context, it is necessary to consider the possibility that having resources and a capacity to experiment, innovate and try and fail with relative stability, could be more productive in the long term than pressuring the country's entrepreneurs to seek miraculous formulas or make decisions with their hands tied.

The policy search for entrepreneurial growth and sustainability therefore cannot simply be reduced to interventions along the lines of mere emotional management and entrepreneurial mentality. These efforts must materialise in the life of the entrepreneur qualitatively through elements such as the capacity to save, access to credit, subsidies or investment capital, or having a more or less stable income flow that does not lead to situations of desperation. To this end, different proposals have emerged in the field regarding tax extensions for entrepreneurs and subsidies for entrepreneurship; however, these measures do not currently impact the majority of the country's entrepreneurs and lend themselves to acts of corruption. It is therefore essential to pay rigorous attention

and to generate a high level of citizen oversight of how these extensions and subsidies are distributed.

Now, although it is essential to start from autonomy in terms of the organisation of the life-work relationship the second form of autonomy is oriented towards the decisions that must be taken by the entrepreneur, decisions determined by the entrepreneur's environment and how they relate to their context. In this sense, this autonomy is related to the possibility of the entrepreneur to access the resources and spaces needed for their work and to be able to execute the different tasks involved in the business project without further obstruction. In this respect, it has already been mentioned how issues such as security, mobility and the context of the city, limit the entrepreneur's ability to carry out their work in a fluid and safe manner. Thus it becomes critical to understand how these factors limit access of entrepreneurs to knowledge, resources, actors or spaces of interest and also limit the entrepreneur's margin of action and the possibilities of their particular business project.

In this sense, this autonomy exceeds the notion of individuality of the entrepreneurial subject and focuses on the relational character of the subject. In this sense, this autonomy is given about concrete possibilities and ways of making decisions regarding this context. Therefore, the processes of empowering entrepreneurs and seeking to give them control over their own projects must be accompanied by guarantees of access to knowledge, spaces, people and events that multiply their possibilities instead of diminishing them. This multiplication of the powers of the business project is what gives the entrepreneur room to manoeuvre and to fulfil that experience of freedom that is sold with the enterprise.

The centrality of relationality for the experience of autonomy leads us to the third form of autonomy: that of being part of and included in the decisions that are made specifically regarding their condition as an entrepreneur. This refers to a political dimension of the entrepreneur, according to which they are the subject of public policy intervention and, as such, he must also have a voice and a vote concerning these policies. In this sense, expressions such as the Association of Colombian Entrepreneurs (ASEC), the trade union participation of workers outside formal employment organisations, or the championing of certain politicians for the causes of certain groups of entrepreneurs, are examples of this autonomy which is relevant to the entrepreneur and which is linked both to autonomy in relation to work and life, and to the autonomy provided by access to key resources.

This search for political autonomy also links the business and life projects of each subject with a broader collective experience of seeking to improve their living conditions and to overcome the risks involved in an entrepreneurial activity which tend to make life more precarious. Despite the differences between the entrepreneurs who participated in this research, there is a general awareness that in Bogotá opportunities are not only elusive but scarce, while risks abound. In this sense, the political dimension of the entrepreneur and its autonomy, in a collective way, to take part in decisions regarding itself, directly challenges the apolitical stance of Neoliberalism where decisions are delegated to groups of expert technocrats and statistical models. Accordingly, a serious invitation is made to reformulate the psychological and individual-centric view when thinking about the entrepreneurial subject. On the contrary, taking into account the contingent, contextual, relational and political character of the entrepreneur, we see how the collective views on the subject are more relevant both to understand how entrepreneurship happens in the different sectors of the country, as well as to think about the possibilities that facilitate successful entrepreneurial activity.

Conclusion

Entrepreneurship in Colombia has a particular history and configuration that does not allow us to understand the production of the entrepreneur's subjectivity in the light of the traditional European categories that have defined the entrepreneurial subject. Additionally, the government strategy of the recent decades, based on producing entrepreneurial subjects and making Colombia a more entrepreneurial country as a way of facing phenomena such as poverty and unemployment, are not reflected in the results of public policies aimed at addressing those problems. This makes it highly pertinent to ask how the local entrepreneurial subject is constructed in relation to the political, social and economic contingencies and the implications that entrepreneurialism entails.

This thesis has sought to contribute to this discussion by showing how the production of entrepreneurial subjectivity in Bogotá is associated with the experience of the city's spatial and socio-economic distribution and how this produces forms of subjectivity that escape traditional definitions of the entrepreneurial model, articulated within the dynamics of global Neoliberalism and Neo-colonialism.

My theoretical contribution is to show how subjectivity, specifically in entrepreneurs, is an open process that allows a constant reinvention and re-invention of

the subject according to the different economic flows that determine the Neoliberal labour market. Thus, it shows how entrepreneurship, understood as a Neoliberal/neo-colonial government device, is powerful or effective in inducing behaviours of constant adaptation to the market, reproducing the subordination of the working subject.

In addition, in methodological terms, the implementation of multi-site ethnography shows how dispersed fields can be related in the analysis, configuring the field for the production of experiences linked to processes of subjectivation. Specifically, it shows the way in which areas such as geo-economics, intimate life or the city habitat, intersect in the experience produced by business activity.

Finally, the complexity of Colombian entrepreneurialism, given the diversity and magnitude of the entrepreneurial phenomenon, requires studies addressing the breadth and depth of the different factors involved in the production of forms of entrepreneurial subjectivity. In this sense, considering the Colombian context, it is worth asking about the specificity of the experience of actors from different economies, which transcends modern distinctions of labour. This means that there are still questions about expressions of entrepreneurship in areas such as the social, environmental, political, illegality, violence and other phenomena that characterize the national landscape. This implies including rural and marginalised areas in the image of the Colombian entrepreneurial world. Furthermore, it is important to connect these experiences with phenomena related to entrepreneurialism in contexts where geopolitical and economic relations resonate with colonial history and experiences of liberal projects in Colombia.

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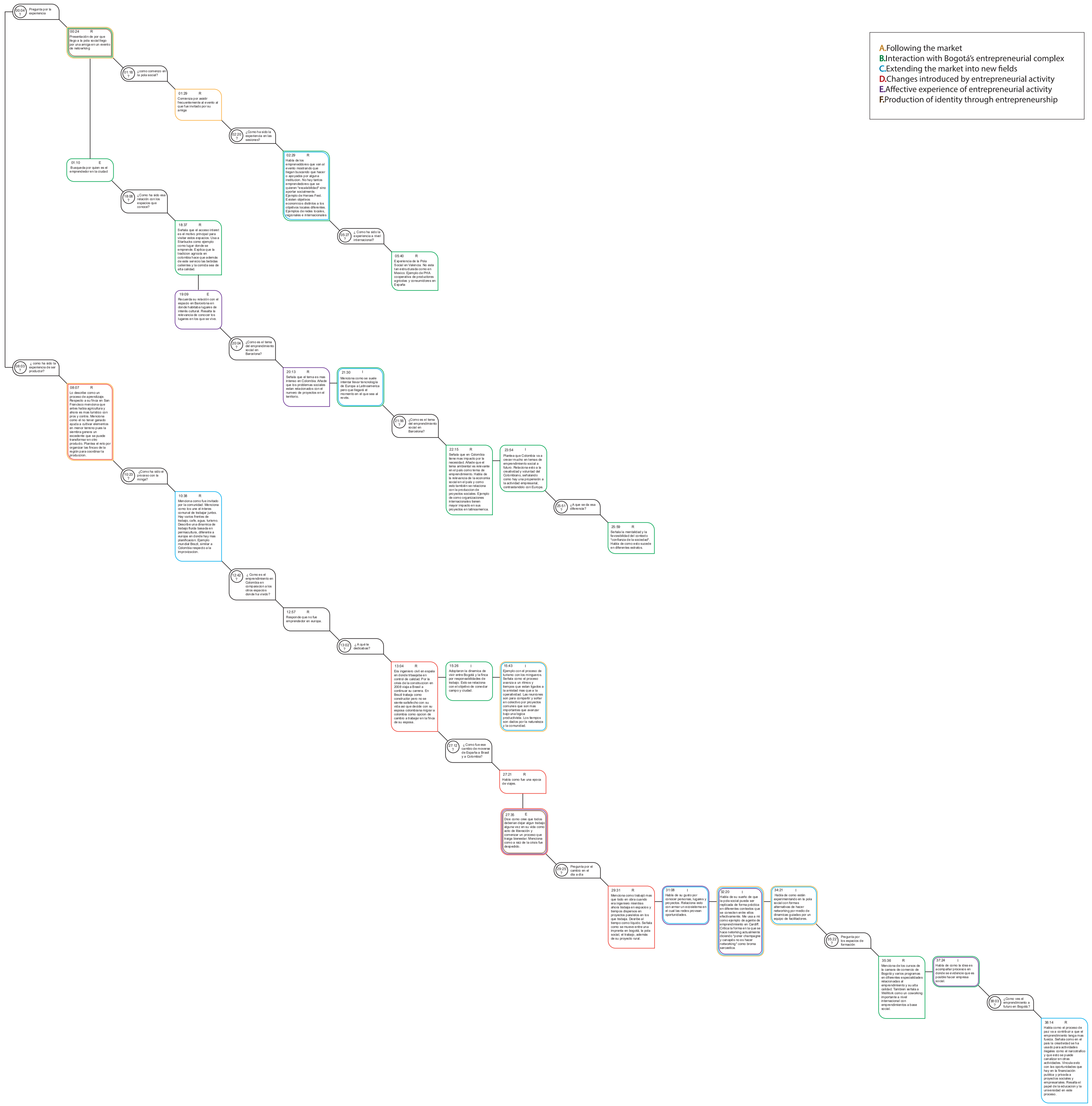
Appendix



00:04 ? Pregunta por la experiencia

00:24 R
Presentación de por que llego a la pola social llego por una amiga en un evento de netowrking

01:18 ? ¿como comenzo en la pola social?

01:29 R
Comienza por asistir frecuentemente al evento al que fue invitado por su amiga

02:20 ? ¿Como ha sido la experiencia en las sesiones?

02:29 R
Habla de los empreneddores que van al evento mostrando que llegan buscando que hacer o apoyados por alguna institucion. No hay tantos emprendedores que se quieren "escalabilidad" sino aportar socialmente. Ejemplo de Heroes Fest. Existen objetivos economicos distintos a los objetivos locales diferentes. Ejemplos de redes locales, regionales e internacionales

05:27 ? ¿ Como ha sido la experiencia a nivel internacional?

05:40 R
Experiencia de la Pola Social en Valencia. No esta tan estructurada como en Mexico. Ejemplo de PHA cooperativa de productores agricolas y consumidores en España

01:10 E
Busqueda por quien es el emprendedor en la ciudad

18:08 ? ¿Como ha sido esa relación con los espacios que conoce?

18:37 R
Señala que el acceso interet es el motivo principal para visitar estos espacios. Usa a Starbucks como ejemplo como lugar donde se emprende. Explica que la tradicion agricola en colombia hace que además de este servicio las bebidas calientes y la comida sea de alta calidad.

19:09 E
Recuerda su relación con el espacio en Barcelona en donde habitaba lugares de interés cultural. Resalta la relevancia de conocer los lugares en los que se vive.

20:04 ? ¿Como es el tema del emprendimiento social en Barcelona?

20:13 R
Señala que el tema es mas intenso en Colombia. Añade que los problemas sociales estan relacionados con el numero de proyectos en el territorio.

21:30 I
Menciona como se suele intentar llevar tencnologia de Europa a Latinoamerica pero que llegará el momento en el que sea al revés.

21:56 ? ¿Como es el tema del emprendimiento social en Barcelona?

22:15 R
Señala que en Colombia tiene mas impacto por la necesidad. Añade que el tema ambiental es relevante en el pais como tema de emprendimiento. Habla de la relevancia de la economia social en el pais y como esto también se relaciona con la produccion de proyectos sociales. Ejemplo de como organizaciones internacionales tienen mayor impacto en sus proyectos en latinoamerica.

23:54 I
Plantea que Colombia va a crecer mucho en temas de emprendimiento social a futuro. Relaciona esto a la creatividad y voluntad del Colombiano, señalando como hay una propensión a la actividad empresarial, contrastandolo con Europa.

25:51 ? ¿A que se da esa diferencia?

25:59 R
Señala la mentalidad y la favorabilidad del contexto "confianza de la sociedad". Habla de como esto sucede en diferentes estratos.

08:03 ? ¿ como ha sido la experiencia de ser productor?

08:07 R
Lo describe como un proceso de aprendizaje. Respecto a su finca en San Francisco menciona que antes habia agricultura y ahora es mas turistico con pros y contra. Menciona como el no tener ganado ayuda a cultivar elementos en menor terreno pues la siembra genera un excedente que se puede transformar en otro producto. Plantea el reto por organizar las fincas de la región para coordinar la produccion.

10:23 ? ¿Como ha sido el proceso con la minga?

10:38 R
Menciona como fue invitado por la comunidad. Menciona como los une el interes comunal de trabajar juntxs. Hay varios frentes de trabajo, cafe, agua, turismo. Describe una dinamica de trabajo fluida basada en permacultura, diferente a europa en donde hay mas planificacion. Ejemplo mundial Brazil, similar a Colombia respecto a la improvizacion.

12:42 ? ¿ Como es el emprendimiento en Colombia en comparacion a los otros espacios donde ha vivido?

12:57 R
Responde que no fue emprendedor en europa.

13:02 ? ¿ A qué te dedicabas?

13:04 R
Era ingeniero civil en espala en donde trbaajaba en control de calidad. Por la crisis de la construccion en 2008 viaja a Brasil a continuar su carrera. En Brazil trabaja como constructor pero no se siente satisfecho con su vida asi que decide con su esposa colombiana migrar a colombia como opcion de cambio a trabajar en la finca de su esposa.

15:26 I
Adoptaron la dinamica de vivir entre Bogotá y la finca por responsabilidades de trabajo. Esto se relaciona con el objetivo de conectar campo y ciudad.

15:43 I
Ejemplo con el proceso de turismo con los mingueros. Señala como el proceso avanza a un ritmos y tiempos que estan ligados a la amistad mas que a la operatividad. Las reuniones son para compartir y soñar en colectivo por proyectos comunes que son mas importantes que avanzar bajo una logica productivista. Los tiempos son dados por la naturaleza y la comunidad.

27:12 ? ¿ Como fue ese cambio de moverse de España a Brasil y a Colombia?

27:21 R
Habla como fue una epoca de viajes.

27:35 E
Dice como cree que todos deberian dejar algun trabajo alguna vez en su vida como acto de liberación y comenzar un proceso que traiga bienestar. Menciona como a raiz de la crisis fue despedido.

29:25 ? Pregunta por el cambio en el dia a dia

29:31 R
Menciona como trabajó mas que todo en obra cuando era ingeniero mientras ahora trabaja en espacios y tiempos dispersos en proyectos paralelos en los que trabaja. Desribe al tiempo como líquido. Señala como se mueve entre una imprenta en bogotá, la pola social, el trabajo, además de su proyecto rural.

31:08 I
Habla de su gusto por conocer personas, lugares y proyectos. Relaciona esto con armar un ecosistema en el cual las redes provean oportunidades.

32:20 I
Habla de su sueño de que la pola social pueda ser replicada de forma práctica en diferentes contextos que se conecten entre ellos efectivamente. Me usa a mi como ejemplo de agente de emprendimiento en Cardiff. Critica la forma en la que se hace netorking actualmente diciendo "poner champagne y canapés no es hacer networking" como broma sarcastica.

34:21 I
Habla de como están experimentando en la pola social con formas alternativas de hacer networking por medio de dinamicas guiadas por un equipo de facilitadores.

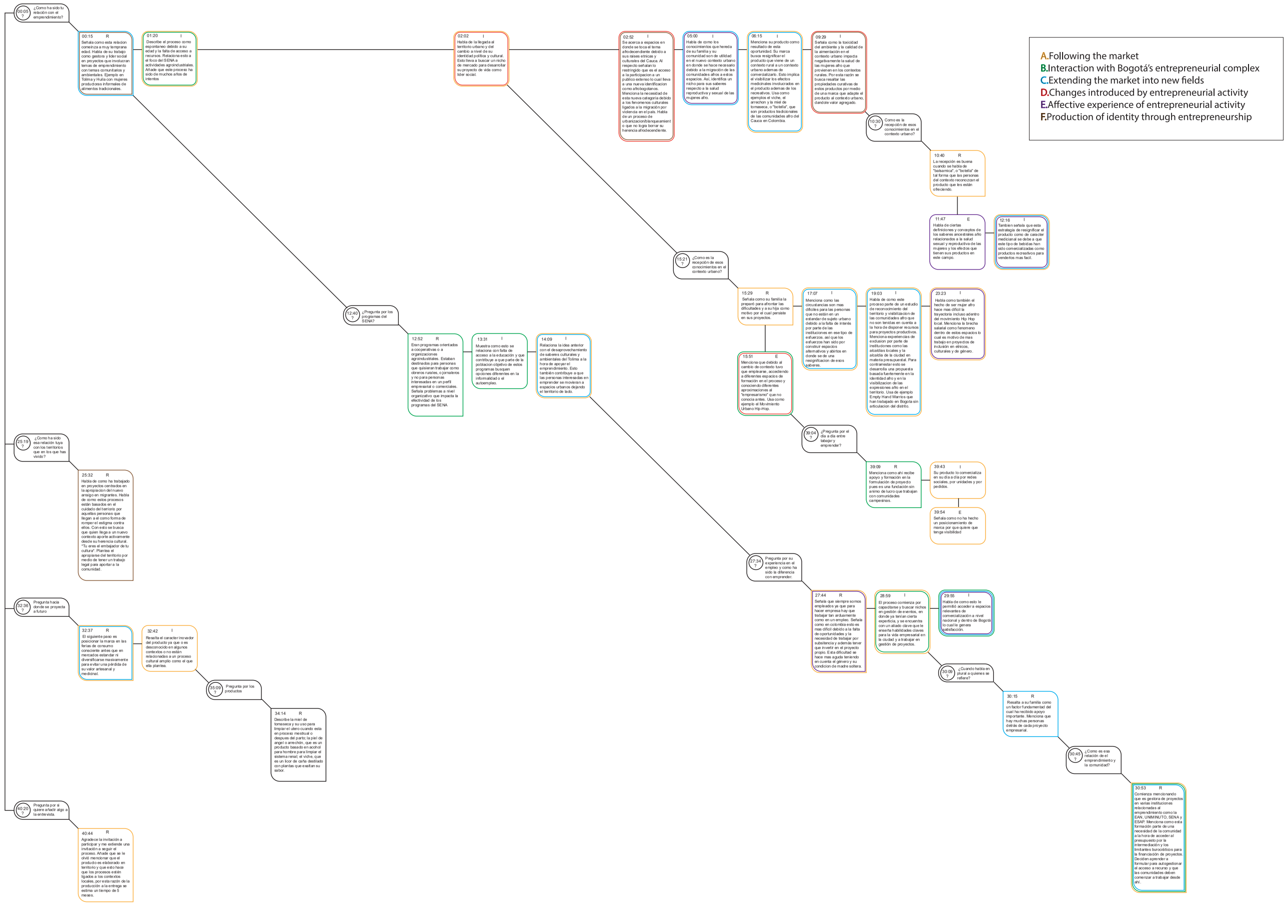
35:22 ? Pregunta por los espacios de formación

35:36 R
Menciona de los cursos de la camara de comercio de Bogotá y varios programas en diferentes especialidades relacionadas al emprendimiento y su alta calidad. Tambien señala a WeWork como un coworking importante a nivel internacional con emprendimientos a base social.

37:24 I
Habla de como la idea es acompañar procesos en donde se evidencie que es posible hacer empresa social.

38:03 ? ¿Como ves el emprendimiento a futuro en Bogotá.?

38:14 R
Habla como el proceso de paz va a contribuir a que el emprendimiento tenga mas fuerza. Señala como en el pais la creatividad se ha usado para actividades ilegales como el narcotrafico y que esto se puede canalizar en otras actividades. Vincula esto con las oportunidades que hay en la financiación publica y privada a proyectos sociales y empresariales. Resalta el papel de la educacion y la universidad en este proceso.



A. Following the market
B. Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C. Extending the market into new fields
D. Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E. Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F. Production of identity through entrepreneurship

00:05 ? ¿Como ha sido tu relación con el emprendimiento?

00:15 R Señala como esta relacion comeinza a muy temprana edad. Habla de su trabajo como gestora y lider social en proyectos que involucran temas de emprendimiento con temas comunitarios y ambientales. Ejemplo en Tolima y Huila con mujeres productoras informales de alimentos tradicionales.

01:20 I Describe el proceso como espontaneo debido a su edad y la falta de acceso a recursos. Relaciona esto a el foco del SENA a actividades agroindustriales. Añade que este proceso ha sido de muchos años de intentos

02:02 I Habla de la llegada al territorio urbano y del cambio a nivel de su identidad politica y cultural. Esto lleva a buscar un nicho de mercado para desarrollar su proyecto de vida como lider social.

02:52 I Se acerca a espacios en donde se toca el tema afrodecendiente debido a sus raises etnicas y culturales del Cauca. Al respecto señalan lo restringido que es el acceso a la participacion a un publico extenso lo cual lleva a una nueva identificacion como afrobogotanos. Menciona la necesidad de esta nueva categoria debido a los fenomenos culturales ligados a la migración por violencia en el pais. Habla de un proceso de urbanizacion/blanqueamiento que no logra borrar su herencia afrodecendiente.

05:00 I Habla de como los conocimientos que hereda de su familia y su comunidad son de utilidad en el nuevo contexto urbano en donde se hace necesario debido a la migración de las comunidades afros a estos espacios. Así, identifica un nicho para sus saberes respecto a la salud reproductiva y sexual de las mujeres afro.

06:15 I Menciona su producto como resultado de esta oportunidad. Su marca busca resignificar el producto que viene de un contexto rural a un contexto urbano ademas de comercializarlo. Esto implica el visibilizar los efectos medicinales involucrados en el producto ademas de los recreativos. Usa como ejemplos el viche, el arrechon y la miel de tomaseca, o "botella", que son productos tradicionales de las comunidades afro del Cauca en Colombia.

09:29 I Señala como la toxicidad del ambiente y la calidad de la aimentación en el contexto urbano impacta negativamente la salud de las mujeres afro que provienen en los contextos rurales. Por esta razón se busca resaltar las propiedades curativas de estos productos por medio de una marca que adapte el producto al contexto urbano, dandole valor agregado.

10:30 ? Como es la recepción de esos conocimientos en el contexto urbano?

10:40 R La recepción es buena cuando se habla de "balsamica", o "botella" de tal forma que las personas del contexto reconozcan el producto que les están ofreciendo.

11:47 E Habla de ciertas definiciones y conceptos de los saberes ancestrales afro relacionados a la salud sexual y reproductiva de las mujeres y los efectos que tienen sus productos en este campo.

12:16 I Tambien señala que esta estrategia de resignificar el producto como de caracter medicianal se debe a que este tipo de bebidas han sido comercializadas como productos recreativos para venderlos mas facil.

15:21 ? ¿Como es la recepción de esos conocimientos en el contexto urbano?

15:29 R Señala como su familia la preparó para afrontar las dificultades y a su hija como motivo por el cual persiste en sus proyectos.

17:07 I Menciona como las circustancias son mas dificiles para las personas que no están en un estandar de sujeto urbano debido a la falta de interés por parte de las instituciones en ese tipo de esfuerzos. así que los esfuerzos han sido por construir espacios alternativos y abirtos en donde se de una resignifcacion de esos saberes.

19:03 I Habla de como este proceso parte de un estudio de reconocimiento del territorio y visibilizacion de las comunidades afro que no son tenidas en cuenta a la hora de disponer recursos para proyectos productivos. Menciona experiencias de exclusion por parte de instituciones como las alcaldias locales y la alcaldia de la ciudad en materia presupuestal. Para contrarrestar esto se desarrolla una propuesta basada fuertemente en la identidad afro y en la visibilizacion de las expresiones afro en el territorio. Usa de ejemplo Empty Hand Warrios que han trabajado en Bogota sin articulacion del distrito.

23:23 I Habla como también el hecho de ser mujer afro hace mas dificil la trayectoria incluso adentro del movimiento Hip Hop local. Menciona la brecha salarial como fenomeno dentro de estos espacios lo cual es motivo de mas trabajo en proyectos de inclusión en etnicos, culturales y de género.

15:51 E Menciona que debido al cambio de contexto tuvo que emplearse, accediendo a diferentes espacios de formación en el proceso y conociendo diferentes aproximaciones al "empresarismo" que no conocia antes. Usa como ejemplo el Movimiento Urbano Hip-Hop.

39:04 ? ¿Pregunta por el dia a dia entre tabajar y emprender?

39:09 R Menciona como ahi recibe apoyo y formación en la fomulación de proyecto pues es una fundación sin animo de lucro que trabajan con comunidades campesinas.

39:43 I Su producto lo comercializa en su día a día por redes sociales, por unidades y por pedidos.

39:54 E Señala como no ha hecho un posicionamiento de marca por que quiere que tenga visibilidad

12:40 ? ¿Pregunta por los programas del SENA?

12:52 R Eran programas orientados a cooperativas o a organizaciones agroindustriales. Estaban destinados para personas que quisieran trabajar como obreros rurales, o jornaleros y no para personas interesadas en un perfil empresarial o comerciales. Señala problemas a nivel organizativo que impacta la efectividad de los programas del SENA

13:31 I Muestra como esto se relaciona con falta de acceso a la educación y que contribuye a que parte de la poblacion objetivo de estos programas busquen opciones diferentes en la informalidad o el autoempleo.

14:09 I Relaciona la idea anterior con el desaprovechamiento de saberes culturales y ambientales del Tolima a la hora de apoyar el emprendimiento. Esto también contribuye a que las personas interesadas en emprender se movieran a espacios urbanos dejando el territorio de lado.

27:34 ? Pregunta por su experiencia en el empleo y como ha sido la diferencia con emprender.

27:44 R Señala que siempre somos empleados ya que para hacer empresa hay que trabajar tan arduamente como en un empleo. Señala como en colombia esto es mas dificil debido a la falta de oportunidades y la necesidad de trabajar por subsitencia y además tener que invertir en el proyecto propio. Esta dificultad se hace mas aguda teniendo en cuenta el género y su condicion de madre soltera.

28:59 I El proceso comienza por capacitarse y buscar nichos en gestión de eventos, en donde ya tenian cierta experticia, y se encuentra con un aliado clave que le enseña habilidades claves para la vida empresarial en la ciudad y a trabajar en gestión de proyectos.

29:55 I Habla de como esto le permitió acceder a espacios relevantes de comercialización a nivel nacional y dentro de Bogotá lo cual le genera satisfacción.

30:09 ? ¿Cuando habla en plural a quienes se refiere?

30:15 R Resalta a su familia como un factor fundamentad del cual ha recibido apoyo importante. Menciona que hay muchas personas detrás de cada proyecto empresarial.

30:45 ? ¿Como es esa relación de el emprendimiento y la comunidad?

30:53 R Comienza mencionando que es gestora de proyectos en varias instituciones relacionadas al emprendimiento como la EAN, UNIMINUTO, SENA y ESAP. Menciona como esta formación parte de una necesidad de la comunidad a la hora de acceder al presupuesto por la intermediación y los limitantes burocráticos para la financiación de proyectos. Deciden aprender a formular para autogestionar el acceso a recurso y que las comunidades deben comenzar a trabajar desde ahí.

25:19 ? ¿Como ha sido esa relación tuya con los territorios que en los que has vivido?

25:32 R Habla de como ha trabajado en proyectos centrados en la apropiacion del nuevo arraigo en migrantes. Habla de como estos procesos están basados en el cuidado del terriorio por aquellas personas que llegan a el como forma de romper el estigma contra ellos. Con esto se busca que quien llega a un nuevo contexto aporte activamente desde su herencia cultural. "Tu eres el embajador de tu cultura". Plantea el apropiarse del territorio por medio de tener un trabajo legal para aportar a la comunidad.

32:36 ? Pregunta hacia donde se proyecta a futuro

32:37 R El siguiente paso es posicionar la marca en las ferias de consumo consciente antes que en mercados estandar ni diversificarse masivamente para evitar una pérdida de su valor artesanal y medicinal.

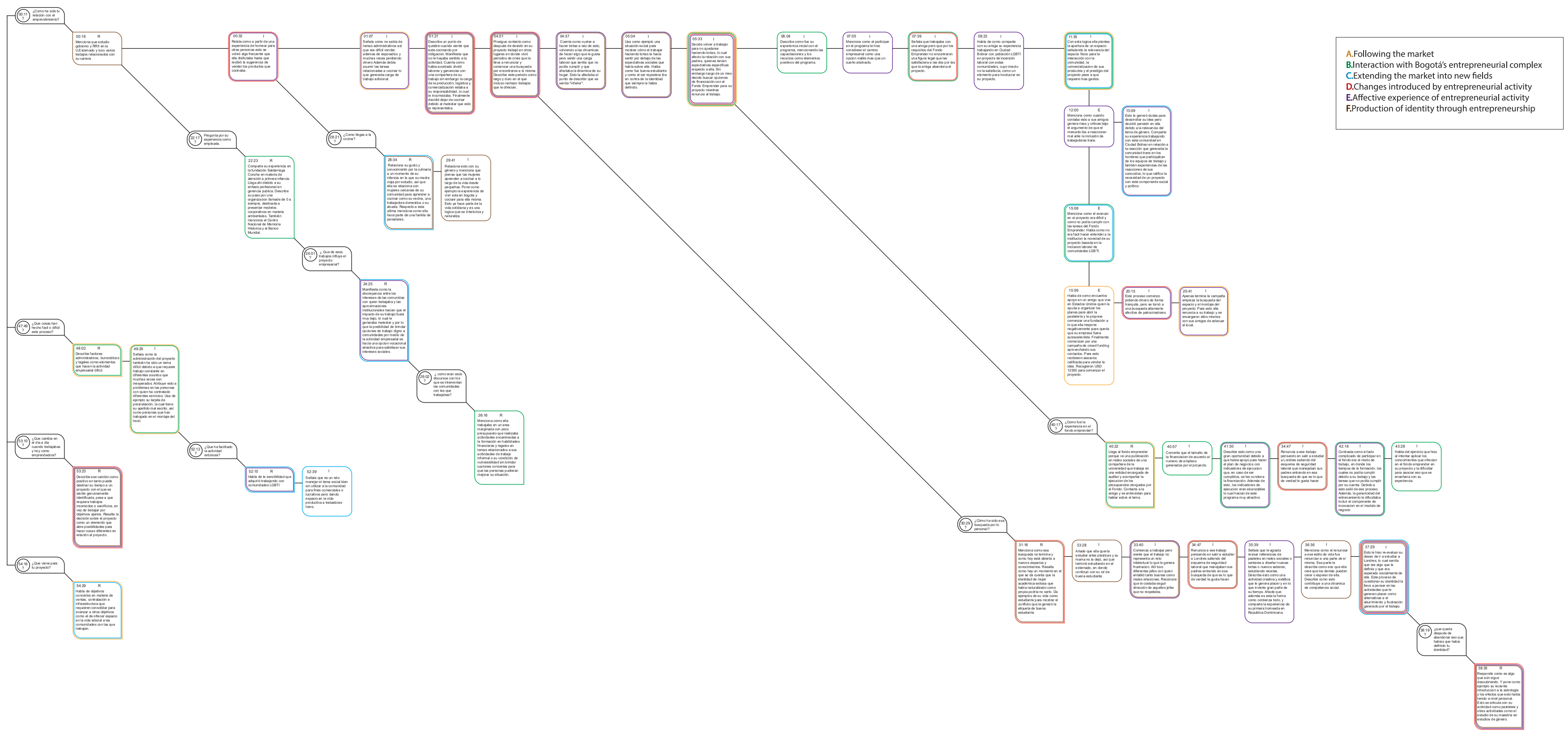
32:42 I Resalta el caracter inovador del producto ya que o es desconocido en algunos contextos o no están relacionadas a un proceso cultural amplio como el que ella plantea.

35:09 ? Pregunta por los productos

34:14 R Describe la miel de tomaseca y su uso para limpiar el utero cuando esta en proceso mestrual o despues del parto; la piel de angel o arrechón, que es un producto basado en acohol para hombre para limpiar el sistema renal; el viche, que es un licor de caña destilado con plantas que exaltan su sabor.

40:20 ? Pregunta por si quiere añadir algo a la entrevista.

40:44 R Agradece la invitación a participar y me extiende una invitación a seguir el proceso. Añade que se le olvió mencionar que el producto es elaborado en territorio y que esto hace que los procesos estén ligados a los contextos locales, por esta razón de la producción a la entrega se estima un tiempo de 5 meses.



00:11 ? ¿Como ha sido tu relación con el emprendimiento?

00:16 R
Menciona que estudio gobierno y RRII en la U.Externado y tuvo varios trabajos relacionados con su carrera

00:32 I
Relata como a partir de una experiencia de hornear para otras personas esto se volvió algo frecuente que ella disfrutaba hasta que recibió la sugerencia de vender los productos que cocinaba.

01:07 I
Señala como no sabia de temas administrativos asi que era dificil vender, ademas de esporadico y muchas veces perdiendo dinero Además debia asumir las tareas relacionadas a cocinar lo que generaba carga de trabajo adicional.

01:21 I
Describe un punto de quiebre cuando siente que esta cocinando por obligacion. Manifiesta que no le hayaba sentido a la actividad. Cuenta como habia acordado dividir labores y ganancias con una compañera de su trabajo sin embargo la carga de la producción, logistica y comercialización estaba a su responsabilidad, lo cual le incomodaba. Finalmente decidió dejar de cocinar debido al malestar que esto le representaba.

04:01 I
Prosigue contanto como después de desistir en su proyecto trabajó en otros lugares en donde vivió periodos de crisis que la lleva a renunciar y comenzar una busqueda por encontrarse a sí misma. Describe este periodo como largo y duro en el que incluso rechazo trabajos que le ofrecian.

04:37 I
Cuenta como vuelve a hacer tortas a raiz de esto, volviendo a las dinamicas de hacer algo que le gusta pero sentir una carga laboral que sentia que no podia cumplir y que afectaba la dinamica de su hogar. Esto la afectaba al punto de describir que se sentia "inferior".

05:04 I
Usa como ejemplo una situación social para mostrar cómo el trabajar haciendo tortas la hacia sentir por debajo de las expectativas sociales que habia sobre ella. Habla como fue buena estudiante y como el ser repostera iba en contra de la identidad que siempre la habia definido.

05:33 I
Decide volver a trabajar para no quedarse haciendo tortas, lo cual afecto la relación con sus padres, quienes tenian expectativas especificas respecto a ella. Sin embargo luego de un mes decide buscar opciones de financiación con el Fondo Emprender para su proyecto mientras renuncia al trabajo.

06:04 I
Describe como fue su experiencia inicial con el programa, mencionando las capacitaciones y los recursos como elementos positivos del programa.

07:05 I
Menciona como el participar en el programa le hiso considerar el camino empresarial como una opcion viable mas que un sueño abstracto.

07:39 I
Señala que trabajaba con una amiga pero que por los requicitos del Fondo Emprender no encontraron una figura legal que las satisfaciera a las dos por las que la amiga abandona el proyecto.

08:23 I
Habla de como comparte con su amiga su experiencia trabajando en Ciudad Bolivar con población LGBTI en proyects de incersión laboral con estas comunidades, cuyo imacto no la satisfacia, como un elemento para involucrar en su proyecto.

11:35 I
Con esta logica ella plantea la apertura de un espacio señalando la relevancia del espacio fisico para la interacción con la comunidad, la comercializacion de sus productos y el prestigio del proyecto pese a que requiere mas gastos.

12:00 E
Menciona como cuando contaba esto a sus amigos genera risas y criticas bajo el argumento de que el mercado iba a reaccionar mal ante la inclusión de trabajadoras trans.

13:09 I
Esto le generó dudas para desarrollar su idea pero decidió persistir en ella debdo a la relevancia del tema de género. Comparte su experiencia trabajando con esta comunidad en Ciudad Bolivar en relación a la reacción que generaba la comunidad trans en los hombres que participaban de los equipos de trabajo y tambén experiencias de las reacciones de sus conocidos, lo que ratifico la necesidad de un proyecto con este componente social y politico.

15:08 E
Menciona como el avanzar en el proyecto era dificil y como no podia cumplir con las tareas del Fondo Emprender. Habla como no era facil hacer entender a la institucion la novedad de su proyecto basada en la inclusion laboral de comunidades LGBTI.

15:56 E
Habla de como encuentra apoyo en un amigo que vive en Estados Unidos quien le ayuda a organizar los planes para abrir la pasteleria y le propone comenzar una fundación a lo que ella respone negativamente pues queria que su empresa fuera autosostenible. Finalmente comienzan por una campaña de crowd funding aprovechando sus contactos. Para esto recibieron asesoria calificada para vender la idea. Recogieron USD 12500 para comenzar el proyecto.

20:15 I
Este proceso comenzo pidiendo dinero de forma tranquila, pero se tornó a una busqueda altamente afectiva de patrocinadores.

20:41 I
Apenas termina la campaña empieza la busqueda del espacio y el montaje del proyecto. Para esto ella renuncia a su trabajo y se encargaron ellos mismxs con sus amigos de adecuar el local.

40:17 ? ¿Como fue la experiencia en el fondo emprender?

40:22 R
Llega al fondo emprender porque ve una publicación en redes sociales de una compañera de la universidad que trabaja en una entidad encargada de auditar y acompañar la ejecucion de los presupuestos otorgados por el Fondo. Contacta a la amiga y se entrevistan para hablar sobre el tema.

40:57 I
Comenta que el tamaño de la financiacion de acuerdo al numero de empleos generados por el proyecto.

41:30 I
Describe esto como una gran oportunidad debido a que habia apoyo para hacer el plan de negocios con indicadores de ejecucion que, en caso de ser cumplidos, se les condona la financiación. Además de esto, los indicadores de ejecucion eran alcanzables lo cual hacian de este programa muy atractivo.

34:47 I
Renuncia a ese trabajo pensando en salir a estudiar a Londres saliendo del esquema de seguridad laboral que manejaban sus padres entrando en esa busqueda de que es lo que de verdad le gusta hacer.

42:18 I
Contrasta como el lado complicado de participar en el fondo era el modo de trabajo, en donde los tiempos de la formación, los cuales no podia cumplir debido a su trabajo y las tareas que no podia cumplir por su cuenta. Debido a esto salió de ese proceso. Además, la genericidad del entrenamiento le dificultaba incluir el componente de innovacion en el modelo de negocio

43:28 I
Habla del ejercicio que hiso al intentar aplicar los conocimientos que ofrecian en el fondo emprender en su proyecto y la dificultar para asociar eso que se enseñana con su experiencia.

30:29 ? ¿Cómo ha sido esa busqueda por lo personal?

31:16 R
Menciona como esa busqueda no termina y como hoy está abierta a nuevos espacios y conocimientos. Resalta como hay un momento en el que se da cuenta que la identidad de mujer académica exitosa que había naturalizado como propia podría no serlo. Da ejemplos de su vida como estudiante para mostrar el conflicto que le generó la etiqueta de buena estudiante.

33:28 I
Añade que ella queria estudiar artes plasticas y su mama no la dejó, así que terminó estudiando en el externado, en donde continuó con su rol de buena estudiante.

33:40 I
Comienza a trabajar pero siente que el trabajo no representa un reto intelectual lo que le genera frustracion. Allí tuvo diferentes jefes con quien entabló tanto buenas como malas relaciones. Reconoce que le costaba seguir dirección de aquellos jefes que no respetaba.

34:47 I
Renuncia a ese trabajo pensando en salir a estudiar a Londres saliendo del esquema de seguridad laboral que manejaban sus padres entrando en esa busqueda de que es lo que de verdad le gusta hacer.

35:39 I
Señala que le agrada revisar referencias de pasteles en redes sociales o sentarse a diseñar nuevas tortas o nuevos sabores, estudiando recetas. Describe esto como una actividad creativa y estética que le genera placer y en lo que invierte gran parte de su tiempo. Añade que además es esta la forma como comienza todo, y comparte la experiencia de su primera horneada en Republica Dominicana.

36:36 I
Menciona como el renunciar a ese estilo de vida fue renunciar a una parte de sí misma. Esa parte la describe como eso que ella cree que los demás pueden creer o esperar de ella. Describe como esto contribuye a una dinamica de competencia social.

37:29 I
Esto le hiso re-evaluar su deseo de ir a estudiar a Londres, lo cual sentia que era algo que la definia y que era esperado socialmente de ella. Este proceso de cuestionar su identidad la lleva a pensar en las actividades que le generan placer como alternativas a el aburrimiento y frustración generado por el trabajo.

38:19 ? ¿que queda después de abandonar eso que habias que habia definido tu identidad?

38:35 R
Responde como es algo que aún sigue descubriendo. Y pone como ejemplo su reciente introduccion a la astrología y los efectos que esto habia tenido a nivel personal. Esto se articula con su actividad como pastelera y otras actividades como el estudio de su maestría en estudios de género.

28:21 ? ¿Como llegas a la cocina?

28:34 R
Relaciona su gusto y conocimiento por la culinaria a un momento de su infancia en la que su madre viaja por estudio, así que ella se relaciona con mujeres cercanas de su comunidad para aprender a cocinar como su vecina, una trabajadora domestica o su abuela. Respecto a esta ultima menciona como ella hace parte de una familia de panaderas.

29:41 I
Relaciona esto con su género y menciona que piensa que las mujeres aprenden a cocinar a lo largo de la vida desde pequeñas. Pone como ejemplo la experiencia de vivir sola en bogota y cocianr para ella misma. Esto ya hace parte de la vida cotidiana y es una logica que se interioriza y naturaliza.

22:17 ? Pregunta por su experiencia como empleada.

22:23 R
Comparte su experiencia en la fundación Saldarriaga Concha en materia de atención a primera infancia. Llega ahi debido a su enfasis profesional en gerencia publica. Describe su paso por una organizacion llamade de 0 a siempre, destinada a presentar modelos corporativos en materia ambientales. También menciona el Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica y el Banco Mundial.

24:01 ? ¿ Que de esos trabajos influye el proyecto empresarial?

24:25 R
Manifiesta como la discrepancia entre los intereses de las comunidas con quien trabajaba y las aproximaciones institucionales hacian que el impacto de su trabajo fuera muy bajo, lo cual le generaba malestar y por lo que la posibilidad de brindar opciones de trabajo digno a comunidades por medio de la actividad empresarial se hacia una opcion vocacional atractiva para satisfacer sus intereses sociales.

26:02 ? ¿ como eran esos discursos con los que se intervenian las comunidades con las que trabajabas?

26:16 R
Menciona como ella trabajaba en un area marginada con poco presupuesto que realizaba actividades encaminadas a la formación en habilidades financieras y legales en temas relacionados a sus actividades de trabajo informal o su condición de vulnerabilidad sin brindar opciones concretas para que las personas pudieran mejorar su situación.

47:49 ? ¿Que cosas han hecho facil o dificil este proceso?

48:02 R
Describe factores administrativos, burocráticos y legales como elementos que hacen la actividad empresarial dificil.

49:29 I
Señala como la administración del proyecto también ha sido un tema dificil debido a que requiere trabajo constante en diferentes asuntos que muchas veces son inesperados. Atribuye esto a problemas en las personas con quien ha contratado diferentes servicios. Usa de ejemplo su tarjeta de presnetación, la cual tiene su apellido mal escrito, así como personas que han trabajado en el montaje del local.

52:12 ? ¿Que ha facilitado la actividad entonces?

52:15 R
Habla de la sencibilidad que adquirió trabajando con comunidades LGBTI

52:39 I
Señala que es un reto manejar el tema social bien sin utilizar a la comunidad para fines comerciales o lucrativos pero dando espacio en la vida productiva a trabadoras trans.

53:10 ? ¿Que cambia en el día a día cuando trabajabas y hoy como emprendedora?

53:23 R
Describe ese cambio como positivo en tanto puede destinar su tiempo a un proyecto con el que se siente genuinamente identificada, pese a que requiera trabajos incomodos o sacrificios, en vez de trabajar por objetivos ajenos. Resalta la decisión sobre el proyecto como un elemento que abre posibilidades para hacer cosas diferentes en relación al proyecto.

54:16 ? ¿Que viene para tu proyecto?

54:29 R
Habla de objetivos concretos en materia de ventas, contratación e infraestructura que requieren consolidar para avanzar a otros objetivos como el de ofrecer espacio en la vida laboral a las comunidades con las que trabajan.

A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship

00:06 ? ¿Cómo ha sido su relación con el emprendimiento?

00:13 R
Precisa si en Colombia o en su vida.

00:20 ? En su vida.

00:22 R
Considera que ha ido desarrollándose con los años y que ha cambiado mucho porque el emprendimiento emerge como un concepto para clasificar algunos comportamientos de ciertos individuos que siempre ha existido. Recuerda que en el colegio decidió crear una fundación que se llamaba "Una sonrisa por Colombia" donde hacía actividades de carácter asistencialista, sin saber que era un emprendimiento, y desde ese momento se podría decir que mostró una mentalidad emprendedora, que tenía capacidades de crear algo nuevo, que sus ideas eran originales, con valor para ponerse en práctica. Afirma que ahí empezó la relación con el emprendimiento. Cuenta que en la universidad se fue empapando de lo que estaba pasando en el mundo y del concepto de emprendimiento, más concretamente del emprendimiento social. A partir de lo cual se propuso ser un emprendedor social y propender por una sociedad donde la gente piense en forma proactiva frente a los problemas personales y de la comunidad.

02:47 I
Cree que vivimos en una sociedad muy conforme, rezagada, que le falta chispa para arrojarse y arriesgarse a crear algo nuevo, a proponer ideas nuevas, y proponer ideas nuevas en emprendimiento implica ejecutarlas

03:29 I
Confiesa que actualmente está casado con emprendimiento porque oficialmente tiene una empresa constituida legalmente, que paga impuestos, con toda la estructura legal necesaria, con todo el sistema de ventas apropiado, con un equipo de trabajo, un adecuado manejo de recursos, gestión de las partes interesadas, con una estrategia muy clara. Dice que esto significa ya más que la buena intención, una realidad.

04:45 I
Cuenta que la escuela de emprendimiento social, que es su propia empresa, donde adicionalmente trabaja con emprendedores, es un escenario de transferencia de conocimientos, de habilidades y de competencias. Reafirma su creencia de que el emprendimiento tiene que ver con las calidades de la persona: si una persona no es sólida, es inconsistente, sin claridad de quién es y para donde va en la vida, ni de los valores defiende, es una persona frágil y posiblemente fracasará porque el viaje del emprendimiento es una montaña rusa, es muy caótico, de mucho pedaleo, de triunfos y fracasos, difícil de enfrentar y genera mucha inestabilidad

06:07 ? ¿En qué sentido genera inestabilidad?

06:09 R
Contesta que se refiere a la inestabilidad emocional. Cree que cuando la persona está bien con su vida, sabe bien por qué está trabajando en esto y tiene un buen equilibrio emocional, logra enfrentar el sube y baja de una manera más tranquila y entiende que el dinamismo entre el caos y el orden es parte del proceso.

07:21 I
Se considera una persona que siempre está buscando el crecimiento, clave en los propósitos que tiene para su vida en las siguientes tres dimensiones: a nivel individual, a nivel organizacional y a nivel social. Explica que el crecimiento es desarrollo, es prosperar, es permitirle a las personas u organizaciones pensar cada día cómo pueden ser mejor. Dice que no cree en estados perfectos, cree en estados Beta, cree que siempre hay algo que se puede mejorar y siempre hay ideas nuevas que se pueden proponer.

08:04 I
Expresa que enfrenta con mucha pasión el proyecto que tiene, donde pretende capturar esa gente que esta sedienta de cambio, frustrada y reunirla en un mismo espacio, ponerla a conspirar y generar ideas para llevarlas a la práctica, a experimentar, a fallar, a aprender de los errores y volver a experimentar de una forma más inteligente, hasta que le encuentren la comba al palo

09:09 ? ¿Cómo ha sido la experiencia de trabajar con otros emprendedores?

09:32 R
Afirma que le ha parecido muy interesante. Cree que la parte educativa juega un papel importante y es una de sus grandes pasiones.

09:42 E
Plantea que se debe entender que todo el mundo tiene un proceso de aprendizaje diferente, y es un proceso que no es lineal a diferencia de lo que muchos creen y a diferencia de cómo está concebido el modelo educativo actual, tanto el escolar como el universitario, donde todos siguen un mismo currículo en un lapso igual, esperando los mismos resultados, cuando existen muchos estudios que comprueban que el aprendizaje no es lineal. Remarca que hay personas que se demoran más tiempo en incorporar un conocimiento, pero cuando logran incorporarlo les es más fácil llegar a un conocimiento más complejo, de manera más rápida, que incluso de quien llegó a incorporarlo más tempranamente. Dice que lo menciona porque en emprendimiento observa que pasa lo mismo, sobre todo porque cada emprendedor es distinto y cada emprendimiento es distinto, y no se puede tratar igual a un proyecto de agricultura urbana que a cualquier otro proyecto

11:58 I
Insiste que cada proyecto de emprendimiento es distinto y cada emprendedor también es muy distinto, porque vienen de contextos muy diferentes, de una educación escolar muy distinta, nacimos en contextos diferentes, entonces no se puede tratar de la misma forma a alguien que no tuvo el mismo nivel o la misma calidad de educación que a alguien que tuvo una altísima calidad educativa. Prefiere no hablar de clasificar ni de segmentar ni mucho menos de discriminar, simplemente sugiere ver de una forma realista y entender que el proceso de cada uno toma un tiempo diferente. Propone evaluar un modelo en que las personas vayan escalando en la medida que logren los resultados esperados con un enfoque práctico, para medir la forma de poner el conocimiento a rodar en la vida real, en la calle.-

13:42 I
Explica su enfoque teniendo en cuenta el trabajo social que hace su Fundación, y porque alguien que entre al emprendimiento social debe calarle muy hondo en el alma, que siente que algo de la sociedad que lo inconforma profundamente y quiere invertirle su energía y su talento y sus pasiones a intentar transformar los desequilibrios que no están bien.

14:19 ? En su caso ¿cómo fue el pasar de la idea al hacer, como fue ese proceso?

14:58 R
Siente que es muy inquieto, casi hiperactivo, que tiene que estar moviéndose permanentemente, también ha sentido en muchos escenarios dificultad para teorizar, que aprende más con la experimentación, lo que explica que el proceso no hubiera sido difícil. Cree que crear algo es apasionante y adictivo. Confiesa que en los años universitarios le resulto frustrante lo muy académico y teórico, la distancia con la realidad. Cuenta que cuando salió de la academia logró rápidamente aterrizar sus frustraciones y conocimientos en la empresa que inició en 2013 cuando estaba aún estudiando en la Universidad Javeriana

17:49 I
Reconoce que estuvo inspirado, como en mucha gente, en las experiencias exitosas de Jobs y de Jeff Bezos, de Elon Musk y toda esta gente de quien cree que hay mucho que aprender. Observa que todo el mundo anda en la moda de emprender, porque eso es lo que está pegando y la gente no se da cuenta de todo el sacrificio a nivel profesional y a nivel personal que esto implica: ingresos inestables; dinero porque para montar un emprendimiento se necesita plata; pagar todos los impuestos y gastos que se generan plano legal; hacer mercadeo; montar y administrar la página web; hacer las tarjetas de presentación; el transporte; almorzar con clientes, y es difícil porque todo eso cuesta. Señala los sacrificios de no contar con porque lo aísla de la vida social e inclusive afectivamente.

20:21 E
Comenta que hay personas que le preguntan cómo tuvo la claridad para saber lo que quería, a lo que responde que no sabe cómo fue, no tiene idea de dónde le viene la sensibilidad social o de dónde le sale la mentalidad emprendedora, solo sabe que desde temprano en la universidad quería dedicar su vida a buscar una sociedad más justa y pacífica, y a dedicarse a su pasión por la educación, quería crear esta escuela porque es lo que lo hace feliz. Dice que lo primero que tiene que pensar un emprendedor es el tipo de vida está dispuesto a llevar, con qué personas está dispuesto a relacionarse, y valorar los sacrificios que posiblemente tenga que realizar.

23:19 E
Recalca que todas las experiencias que ha tenido las tiene en cuenta a la hora de trabajar con emprendedores porque no hacerlo, él nunca va a salir adelante y si no se entiende la lógica circular del emprendimiento se crean emprendedores mediocres, sin poner las ideas en marcha, y al primer fracaso dicen: "yo mejor me retiro de esto y vuelvo a mi vida..."

24:03 ? ¿Cómo ha sido para Camilo la montaña rusa de QUANTICA?

24:31 R
Responde que ha sido buena y que se la ha gozado

24:44 ? ¿por eso puso el ejemplo de la montaña rusa?

24:45 R
Confiesa que le producen mucho susto, pero le encantan. Reconoce que ha sido duro, sobre todo mientras despega, mientras uno no sabe bien cómo darle estructura al asunto, la estructura legal, con conocimientos que uno no tiene, los números de "cuánto vale lo que usted me está ofreciendo", pasar meses donde no se consigue ni un cliente. -

26:07 I
Afirma que QUANTICA es como su bebe, y es una analogía que siempre la enseña a sus emprendedores, porque a un bebe hay que consentirlo, asumir todas las turbulencias de la pubertad y enfrentar la crisis de crecimiento y experiencias traumáticas de la adolescencia, concibe que lo mismo sucede con el emprendimiento: manejar situaciones difíciles con un cliente, no saber qué precio poner, no saber qué impuestos pagar y cuándo hacerlo.

27:55 ? Comentario: QUANTICA fue una idea que surge en conjunto de un laboratorio de experimentación social.

28:07 R
Responde que sí

28:08 ? ¿Cómo fue eso: Quiénes conformaban el grupo y qué hacían?

28:12 R
Recuerda cómo nació: él se encontró con el término "desviación positiva" en la diapositiva de una clase y le causó inquietud, buscó el significado y le interesó el concepto. Adiciona que poco a poco el grupo se fue diluyendo en la universidad porque la gente comenzó a priorizar otras cosas. Cree que ninguno de los compañeros del grupo tenía un propósito tan personal como lo tenía él. Cuenta que hizo hice una maestría en emprendimiento social en San francisco y Londres, lo que le ayudo a consolidad y aterrizar las ideas, en como escalar de un grupo universitario de "Desviación positiva" a emprender una escuela, entonces conformó conforme un equipo, definió una estrategia, aprendió de finanzas, aprendió de la parte legal, y cuando volvió a Colombia se dedicó a darle vida al proyecto.

35:28 ? Del grupo que se propuso transgredir normas culturales, al proyecto de acompañamiento a emprendedores qué cosa quedan y qué cosas se transformaron.

35:55 R
Considera que formalizaron muchas cosas, muchos procesos se volvieron más técnicos, más aterrizados, cree que ahora es mucho más un laboratorio de impacto que un laboratorio de ideas. Manifiesta que la informalidad es buena porque da más libertad pero que la estructura dentro de esa libertad les da vida a más ideas y de una forma más sostenible. Afirma que la esencia es la misma, la gente que es emprendedora social está transgrediendo, y simplemente les estamos dando herramientas para que se infiltren dentro del sistema y lo hagan desde adentro en vez de echar piedra y a pintar con grafitis las calles, a hacer una rebeldía inteligente, con causa. Confiesa que esto no se lo dice a todo el mundo, a algunos les gusta el lenguaje revolucionario porque es catártico, pero también hay personas muy tradicionales que se asustan con estos lenguajes, entonces debe manejar estos lenguajes dependiendo con quien hable. Concluye que emprendedor social por definición se encarga de desviar un estatus quo que no está bien, que crea un proyecto transgresor, desviado siempre de la norma, siempre.

38:30 ? La creación tiene que ver mucho con la transgresión. ¿Qué tipo de los experimentos que realizaban en QUANTICA?

38:44 R
Resalta los ejemplos que desarrollaron en la universidad.

42:29 I
Menciona que en los talleres que se realizan hoy día usan todavía la tienda autoservicio, también usan el intercambio de frases y estas se comunican entre diversos grupos, lo que lleva al concepto de cooperación involuntaria.

43:32 I
Le parece interesante los experimentos, aunque fueran esporádicos, de impactos mínimos, pero muy jugosos a nivel intelectual, explica que con ellos no pretendían cambiar la universidad, pero les permitía elaborar intelectualmente.

44:19 I
Se propone desde la Escuela y dentro del emprendimiento social darle más potencia a estas cosas, es decir, buscar la forma de crear estructuralmente sistemas que motiven y den los incentivos correctos para cambiar normas, pero no cambiarlas por un día, cambiarlas para que se queden. Reitera que esa razón es que el emprendimiento social es tan importante, porque ya no es algo de un día, es algo sostenible.

44:54 ? Comentario: Esta forma de emprendimiento no solo es una idea sino todo un proyecto político, que pretende motivar a muchos emprendedores a pensar no solo como un sujeto económico sino como un sujeto político, que tienen injerencia en la vida propia y en la de los demás.

45:25 R
Está de acuerdo con la interpretación del entrevistador. Aporta un ejemplo para reforzar la idea en donde fue evaluado desde una óptica prejuiciosa por parte de unas colegas.

45:46 E
Continúa mencionando como este encuentro fue aprovechado para invitarlas a ir más allá de un colectivo y a que le dieran una estructura a su cuento, pues se notaba que en el mundo de las ideas estaban muy sintonizas y entusiasmadas, ellas accedieron y actualmente están aprovechando mejor el tiempo.

48:44 ? ¿Cómo es el balance entre los conocimientos empíricos y sensitivos y los conocimientos formales que usted adquirió en la maestría?

50:21 R
Responde que es un balance igual, donde a pesar de mucho estudio se puede terminar iterando y que en cosas tan técnicas como la estructura legal o la forma de crear un modelo financiero, entra la experiencia de educación que están proponiendo. Afirma que maneja un compás pedagógico que funciona por medio de trabajar situaciones problemáticas como forma de incentivar el pensamiento divergente y la creatividad. Luego contrasta esto con la teoría

54:23 ? Comentario: ese balance se enfoca en la experiencia del emprendedor y en el uso de la teoría como una herramienta que permita consolidar algo en su experiencia. ¿Cómo fue la experiencia de la maestría?

55:10 R
Comenta que lo más importante es que en la maestría se le abrió el mundo en la cabeza. Dice que se dio cuenta cómo funciona todo y que en el mundo de hoy gracias a la tecnología todo está al alcance de la mano. Aclara que esto no significa que sea fácil, pero se aprende a ver el mundo de manera global y a actuar como si fuera local. Percibe que en Colombia todavía hay mucho atraso y aún somos muy parroquiales. Le sorprendió ver tanta gente de diferentes países que está dispuesta a metérsela toda a esto, y fue una experiencia que lo ayudó a querer más a Colombia y a sentir que este país es su hogar, donde se siente a gusto. Siente que la maestría lo ayudo mucho a organizar su pensamiento, cree que volvió con una estructura mental distinta, más organizada, más estratégica y dado que donde hizo la maestría es una escuela de aprendió el paso a paso, el método

59:29 ? Cómo se diferencia el emprendedor colombiano o bogotano de los distintos emprendedores que conoció en otro espacio de otros países?

1:00:00 R
Resume y ejemplifica así: uno va a un evento de emprendimiento en Colombia y la gente le dice "no pues yo quiero hacer esto", uno va a un evento de emprendimiento en San Francisco o Londres y la gente le dice "yo estoy haciendo esto", lo cual cambia todo porque el emprendedor es el que ya está haciendo.

1:00:30 I
Critica que muchos emprendedores en Colombia se jactan de "su emprendimiento", diciéndose mentiras, creen que con decirlo y tener un logo es suficiente pero eso no es verdad, muchas veces son equipos de dos personas, trabajan tiempo completo y solo sacan para el proyecto dos horas a la semana, ve que ese tipo de emprendedor no está dispuesto a hacer los sacrificios necesarios para que su proyecto prospere. Resalta la importancia de que los emprendedores digan lo que quieren, pero además requieren incorporar una mentalidad de trabajo duro y de fuerte compromiso

1:02:34 ? A partir de ese viaje se consolida el equipo de trabajo, ¿hoy quiénes son QUANTICA?

1:02:55 R
Responde que en estos momentos son tres personas de tiempo completo: él, Nicolás Corrales que es administrador de empresas y Alan Pierce que es de estados unidos y vive en Bogotá, está Camila Sarri, de medio tiempo, miembro fundador, es colombiana y está terminando su maestría en Rotterdam, Holanda, trabajan actualmente dos practicantes universitarias y hay dos personas que trabajan para un proyecto que se desarrolla en colegios, en total 9 personas. Expresa que la empresa ya tiene una estructura importante y se proyecta bastante porque están trabajando muy duro.

1:05:15 I
Está convencido que a QUANTICA la ven sólida, como una buena marca buena, con una página buena, con un equipo comprometido, con un Camilo que no hace esto en sus tiempos libres de clases, sino que ven a Camilo sudando la gota gorda, metiéndosela toda, y a un Nicolás igual. Dice que lo más bonito es que todos trabajan siempre poniendo la humanidad por delante, sin dejarse contaminar de dinámicas inhumanas como muchas empresas, sino que justamente quieren reformular la noción de empresa empezando desde adentro.

1:06:16 ? ¿En qué consiste reformular la noción de empresa?

1:06:30 R
Afirma que la empresa usualmente se ha concebido como un motor económico enfocada solamente en obtener lucro a toda costa. Que el objetivo de QUANTICA no es ganar dinero sin importar a quien exploten o a quien le pasarle por encima, plantea que el lucro a toda costa es una lógica que esta mandada a recoger y que poco a poco ha ido cambiando, en las empresas tradicionales un poco más lento. Dice que QUANTICA tiene todas las características que la ubican en el campo de la economía naranja con nuevos modelos organizacionales, pues es fresca y esta acomodada a la flexibilidad y la adaptabilidad muy rápidamente. Califica a su empresa como motor de cambio desde diferentes ámbitos, donde no se ve el lucro como el fin último sino que conciben la empresa como un sistema que puede ser motor de desarrollo económico, social y ambiental. Las tres en el mismo nivel, no jerarquizadas.

1:13:25 ? Después de regresar a Bogotá ¿cómo encuentra el mundo del emprendimiento en esta ciudad, qué opinión le merece?

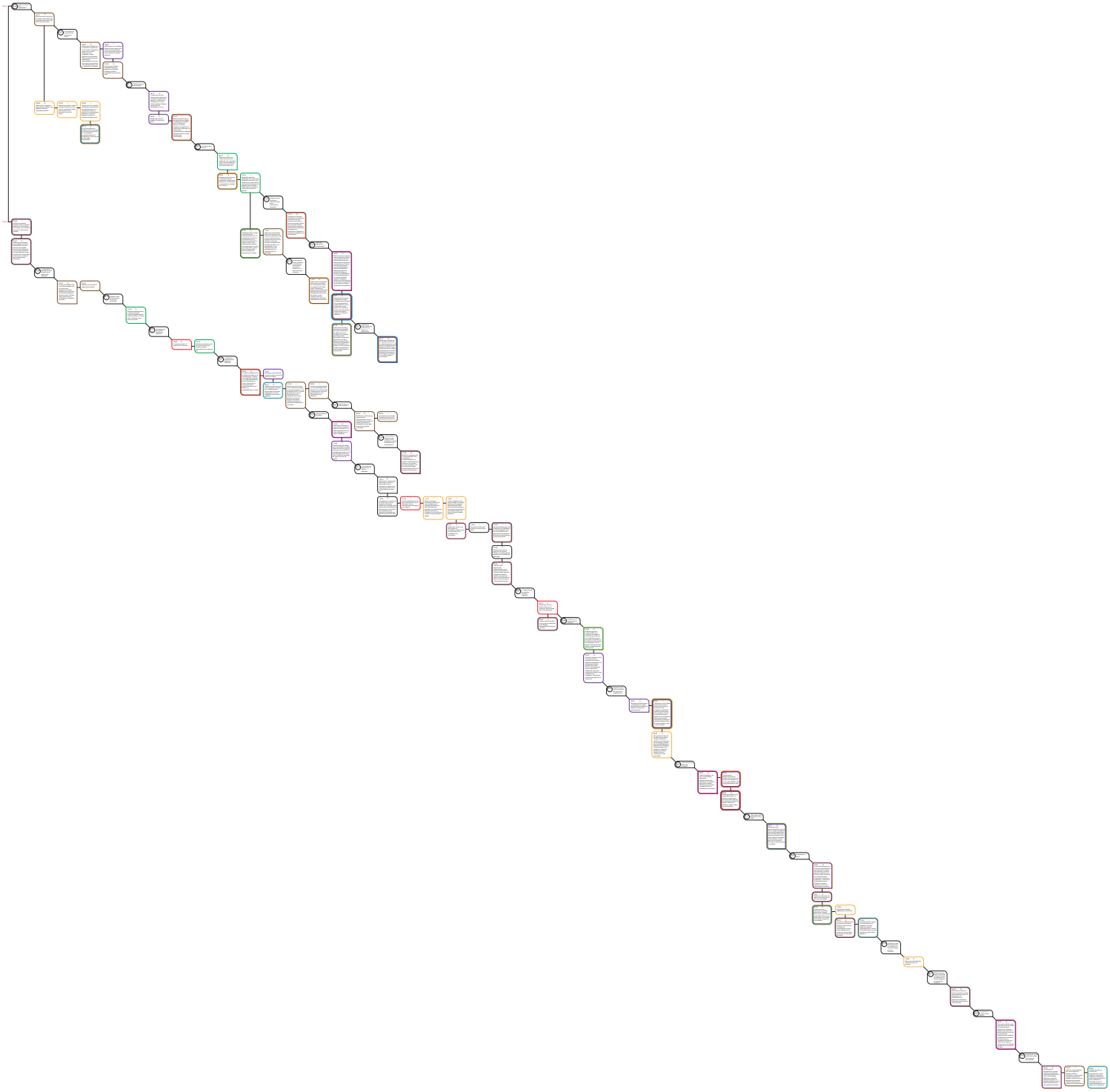
1:14:02 R
Opina que Colombia va está actualmente en un lugar privilegiado de la historia, porque está en un momento de transición, de disrupción, intentando cerrar a las patadas un ciclo de mucha violencia, de mucha sangre y con muchos líos, cerrando poco a poco, de una forma más lenta de lo que se esperaba y Colombia es un país lleno de problemas pero también lleno de oportunidades. Siente que este proceso nos encuentra en un momento de la historia donde la gente ya se ha repensado mucho, de cómo crear una sociedad de bienestar y cómo podemos generar proyectos que articule lo mejor que tienen el sector privado, el sector público y el sector de las ONGs. Considera que hay mucho camino por recorrer, pero hay semillas en nuestras cabezas, en nuestras mentalidades y también hay proyectos que muestran potencial. Asegura que si se logra potenciar el emprendimiento social, el emprendimiento consiente, el emprendimiento sostenible, como se quiera llamarlo, y si logramos que las personas que pueden ser potenciales emprendedores lo vean como una forma de vida, que los políticos honrados vean su viabilidad y lo valoren como un camino inteligente, y veamos al sector privado dispuesto a invertir recursos en esto, yo creo que Colombia es un terreno completamente fértil para comenzar a crear proyectos que generen de verdad ese país que la gente está buscando

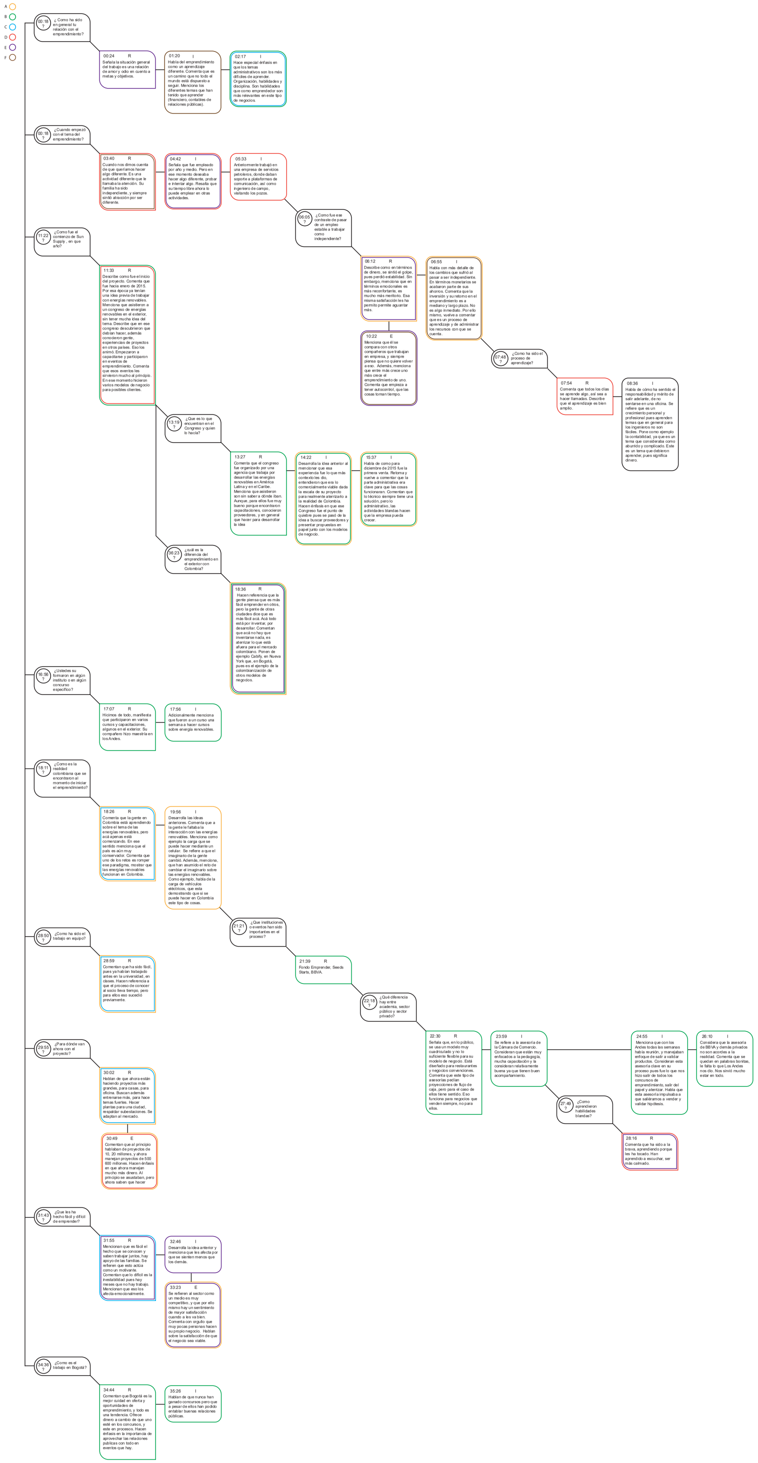
1:08:39 ? ¿En qué consiste reformular la noción de empresa?

1:09:33 R
Cree que es muy turbulenta, muy rápida, mientras que antes para hablar con alguien de Hong Kong se podría demorarme un mes, ahora se demora tres días en contactarlo al personaje, si no es que me responde el mail al siguiente día, lo que hace que se trabaje mucho y muy rápido. Señala que hoy en un día se pueden contactar a 15 personas o más por skype. Siente que estamos en un momento de la historia donde aprender a definir prioridades es algo crítico, porque sino la marea nos lleva y la marea no pide permiso; que es complicado atender muchas cosas al mismo tiempo, porque es una habilidad difícil de de adquirir. Insiste que el mundo anda a toda, y que las dinámicas juveniles son muy adaptable, la gente está muy abierta al cambio, a la gente le está gustando navegar más libre, sin la oficina estática y lo que eso significa. Plantea que está cambiando la economía: de una economía donde la moneda más valiosa era el dinero a una donde el recurso más valioso es el tiempo, lo que significa que las personas necesitan sentirse útiles y no están dispuestas a perder el tiempo.

1:12:43 ? Comentario: Le entiendo.

1:12:46 R
Ratifica que ese tipo de vida empresarial le parece un reto chévere, aunque pueda tener lados y momentos difíciles, pero hay personas abiertas a nuevas ideas y a intentar nuevas vainas, cada vez más libres de dogmas y de estructuras de museo, personas que quieren vivir la vida.





00:18 ? ¿ Como ha sido en general tu relación con el emprendimiento?

00:24 R Señala la situación general del trabajo es una relación de amor y odio en cuento a metas y objetivos.

01:20 I Habla del emprendimiento como un aprendizaje diferente. Comenta que es un camino que no todo el mundo está dispuesto a seguir. Menciona los diferentes temas que han tenido que aprender (financiero, contables de relaciones públicas).

02:17 I Hace especial énfasis en que los temas administrativos son los más difíciles de aprender. Organización, habilidades y disciplina. Son habilidades que como emprendedor son más relevantes en este tipo de negocios.

00:18 ? ¿Cuando empezó con el tema del emprendimiento?

03:40 R Cuando nos dimos cuenta de que queríamos hacer algo diferente. Es una actividad diferente que le llamaba la atención. Su familia ha sido independiente, y siempre sintió atracción por ser diferente.

04:42 I Señala que fue empleado por año y medio. Pero en ese momento deseaba hacer algo diferente, probar e intentar algo. Resalta que su tiempo libre ahora lo puede emplear en otras actividades.

05:33 I Anteriormente trabajó en una empresa de servicios petroleros, donde daban soporte a plataformas de comunicación, así como ingeniero de campo, visitando los pozos.

06:05 ? ¿Como fue ese contraste de pasar de un empleo estable a trabajar como independiente?

06:12 R Describe como en términos de dinero, se sintió el golpe, pues perdió estabilidad. Sin embargo, menciona que en términos emocionales es más reconfortante, es mucho más meritorio. Esa misma satisfacción les ha permito permite aguantar más.

10:22 E Menciona que él se compara con otros compañeros que trabajan en empresa, y siempre piensa que no quiere volver a eso. Además, menciona que entre más crece uno más crece el emprendimiento de uno. Comenta que empieza a tener autocontrol, que las cosas toman tiempo.

06:55 I Habla con más detalle de los cambios que sufrió al pasar a ser independiente. En términos monetarios se acabaron parte de sus ahorros. Comenta que la inversión y su retorno en el emprendimiento es a mediano y largo plazo. No es algo inmediato. Por ello mismo, vuelve a comentar que es un proceso de aprendizaje y de administrar los recursos con que se cuenta.

07:48 ? ¿Como ha sido el proceso de aprendizaje?

07:54 R Comenta que todos los días se aprende algo, así sea a hacer llamadas. Describe que el aprendizaje es bien amplio.

08:36 I Habla de cómo ha sentido el responsabilidad y mérito de salir adelante, de no sentarse en una oficina. Se refiere que es un crecimiento personal y profesional pues aprenden temas que en general para los ingenieros no son fáciles. Pone como ejemplo la contabilidad, ya que es un tema que consideraba como aburrido y complicado. Este es un tema que debieron aprender, pues significa dinero.

11:22 ? ¿Como fue el comienzo de Sun Supply , en que año?

11:33 R Describe como fue el inicio del proyecto. Comenta que fue hacia enero de 2015. Por esa época ya tenían una idea previa de trabajar con energías renovables. Menciona que asistieron a un congreso de energías renovables en el exterior, sin tener mucha idea del tema. Describe que en ese congreso descubrieron que debían hacer, además conocieron gente, experiencias de proyectos en otros países. Eso los animó. Empezaron a capacitarse y participaron en eventos de emprendimiento. Comenta que esos eventos les sirvieron mucho al principio. En ese momento hicieron varios modelos de negocio para posibles clientes.

13:19 ? ¿Que es lo que encuentran en el Congreso y quien lo hacia?

13:27 R Comenta que el congreso fue organizado por una agencia que trabaja por desarrollar las energías renovables en América Latina y en el Caribe. Menciona que asistieron son sin saber a dónde iban. Aunque, para ellos fue muy bueno porque encontraron capacitaciones, conocieron proveedores, y en general que hacer para desarrollar la idea

14:22 I Desarrolla la idea anterior al mencionar que esa experiencia fue lo que más contexto les dio, entendieron que era lo comercialmente viable dada la escala de su proyecto para realmente aterrizarlo a la realidad de Colombia. Hacen énfasis en que ese Congreso fue el punto de quiebre pues se pasó de la idea a buscar proveedores y presentar propuestas en papel junto con los modelos de negocio.

15:37 I Habla de como para diciembre de 2015 fue la primera venta. Retoma y vuelve a comentar que la parte administrativa era clave para que las cosas funcionaran. Comentan que lo técnico siempre tiene una solución, pero lo administrativo, las actividades blandas hacen que la empresa pueda crecer.

36:23 ? ¿cuál es la diferencia del emprendimiento en el exterior con Colombia?

18:36 R Hacen referencia que la gente piensa que es más fácil emprender en otros, pero la gente de otras ciudades dice que es más fácil acá. Acá todo está por inventar, por desarrollar. Comentan que acá no hay que inventarse nada, es aterrizar lo que está afuera para el mercado colombiano. Ponen de ejemplo Cabify, en Nueva York que, en Bogotá, pues es el ejemplo de la colombianización de otros modelos de negocios.

16:56 ? ¿Ustedes su formaron en algún instituto o en algún concurso específico?

17:07 R Hicimos de todo, manifiesta que participaron en varios cursos y capacitaciones, algunos en el exterior. Su compañero hizo maestría en los Andes.

17:56 I Adicionalmente menciona que fueron a un curso una semana a hacer cursos sobre energía renovables.

18:11 ? ¿Como es la realidad colombiana que se encontraron al momento de iniciar el emprendimiento?

18:26 R Comenta que la gente en Colombia está aprendiendo sobre el tema de las energías renovables, pero acá apenas está comenzando. En ese sentido menciona que el país es aún muy conservador. Comenta que uno de los retos es romper ese paradigma, mostrar que las energías renovables funcionan en Colombia.

19:56 I Desarrolla las ideas anteriores. Comenta que a la gente le faltaba la interacción con las energías renovables. Menciona como ejemplo la carga que se puede hacer mediante un celular. Se refiere a que el imaginario de la gente cambió. Además, menciona, que han asumido el reto de cambiar el imaginario sobre las energías renovables. Como ejemplo, habla de la carga de vehículos eléctricos, que esta demostrando que si se puede hacer en Colombia este tipo de cosas.

21:21 ? ¿Que instituciones o eventos han sido importantes en el proceso?

21:39 R Fondo Emprender, Seeds Starts, BBVA.

22:18 ? ¿Qué diferencia hay entre academia, sector público y sector privado?

22:30 R Señala que, en lo público, se usa un modelo muy cuadriculado y no lo suficiente flexible para su modelo de negocio. Está diseñado para restaurantes y negocios convenciones. Comenta que este tipo de asesorías pedían proyecciones de flujo de caja, pero para el caso de ellos tiene sentido. Eso funciona para negocios que venden siempre, no para ellos.

23:59 I Se refiere a la asesoría de la Cámara de Comercio. Consideran que están muy enfocados a la pedagogía, mucha capacitación y la consideran relativamente buena ya que tienen buen acompañamiento.

24:55 I Menciona que con los Andes todas las semanas había reunión, y manejaban enfoque de salir a validar productos. Consideran esta asesoría clave en su proceso pues fue lo que nos hizo salir de todos los concursos de emprendimiento, salir del papel y aterrizar. Habla que esta asesoría impulsaba a que saliéramos a vender y validar hipótesis.

26:10 I Considera que la asesoría de BBVA y demás privados no son acordes a la realidad. Comenta que se quedan en palabras bonitas, le falta lo que Los Andes nos dio. Nos sirvió mucho estar en todo.

27:49 ? ¿Como aprendieron habilidades blandas?

28:16 R Comenta que ha sido a la brava, aprendiendo porque les ha tocado. Han aprendido a escuchar, ser más calmado.

28:50 ? ¿Como ha sido el trabajo en equipo?

28:59 R Comentan que ha sido fácil, pues ya habían trabajado antes en la universidad, en clases. Hacen referencia a que el proceso de conocer al socio lleva tiempo, pero para ellos eso sucedió previamente.

29:55 ? ¿Para dónde van ahora con el proyecto?

30:02 R Hablan de que ahora están haciendo proyectos más grandes, para casas, para oficina. Buscan además entrenarse más, para hace temas fuertes. Hacer plantas para una ciudad, respaldar subestaciones. Se adaptan al mercado.

30:49 E Comentan que al principio hablaban de proyectos de 10, 20 millones, y ahora manejan proyectos de 500 600 millones. Hacen énfasis en que ahora manejan mucho más dinero. Al principio se asustaban, pero ahora saben que hacer

31:43 ? ¿Que les ha hecho fácil y difícil de emprender?

31:55 R Mencionan que es fácil el hecho que se conocen y saben trabajar juntos, hay apoyo de las familias. Se refieren que esto actúa como un motivante. Comentan que lo difícil es la inestabilidad pues hay meses que no hay trabajo. Mencionan que eso los afecta emocionalmente.

32:46 I Desarrolla la idea anterior y menciona que les afecta por que se sienten menos que los demás.

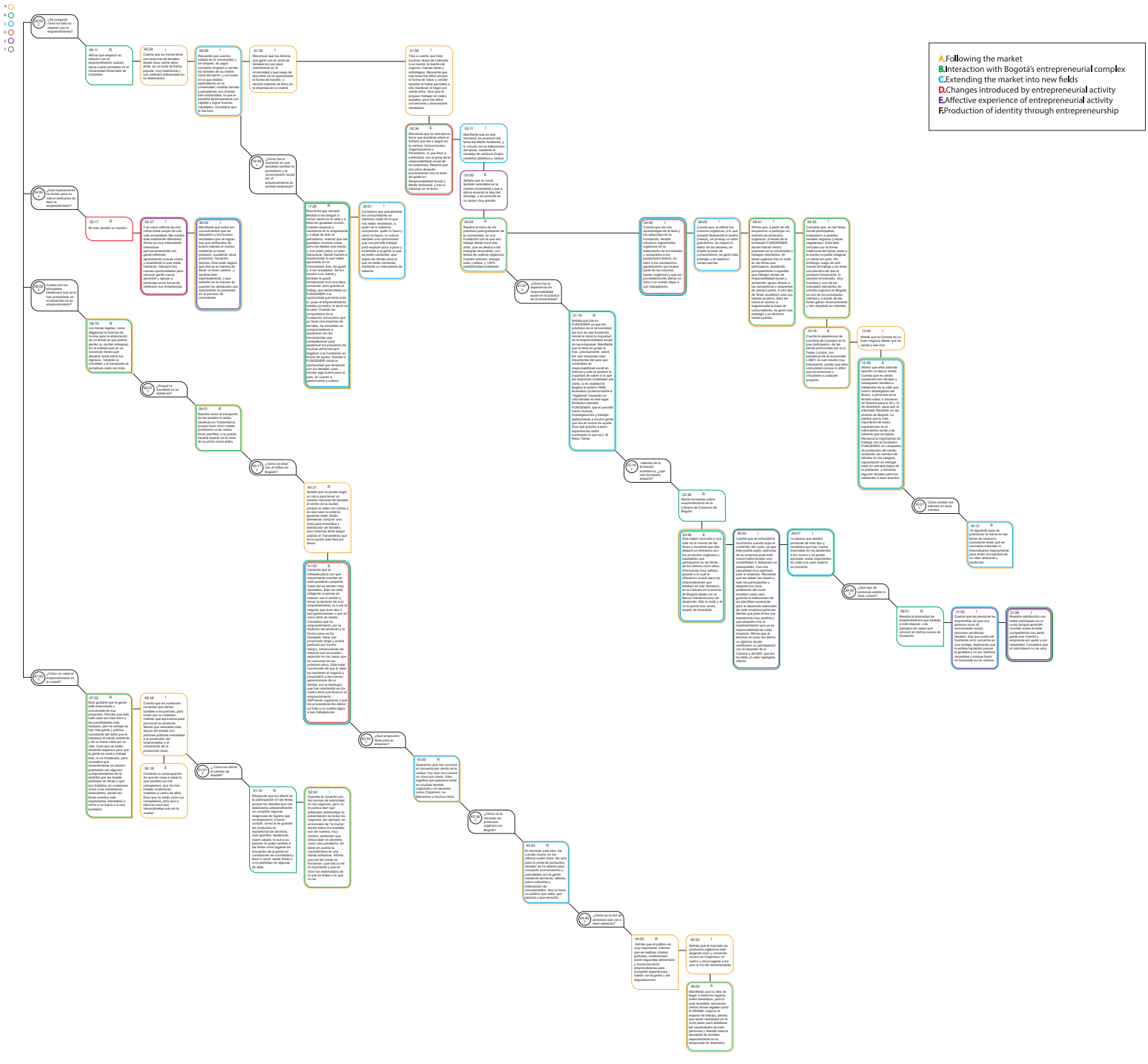
33:23 E Se refieren al sector como un medio es muy competitivo, y que por ello mismo hay un sentimiento de mayor satisfacción cuando a les va bien. Comenta con orgullo que muy pocas personas hacen su propio negocio. Hablan sobre la satisfacción de que el negocio sea viable.

34:36 ? ¿Como es el trabajo en Bogotá?

34:44 R Comentan que Bogotá es la mejor cuidad en oferta y oportunidades de emprendimiento, y todo es una tendencia. Ofrece dinero a cambio de que uno esté en los concursos, y este en procesos. Hacen énfasis en la importancia de aprovechar las relaciones publicas con todo en eventos que hay.

35:26 I Hablan de que nunca han ganado concursos pero que a pesar de ellos han podido entablar buenas relaciones públicas.

A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship



A ○
B ○
C ○
D ○
E ○
F ○

A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship

00:05 ? ¿Se pregunta cómo ha sido su relación con el emprendimiento?

00:11 R
Afirma que empezó su relación con el emprendimiento cuando hacía cuarto semestre en la Universidad Externado de Colombia.

00:39 I
Cuenta que su mamá tenía una empresa de tamales desde hace veinte años atrás, en un local de barrio popular, muy tradicional y con métodos artesanales en su elaboración.

00:58 I
Recuerda que cuando estaba en la universidad y sin empleo, en algún momento empezó a vender los tamales de su madre fuera del barrio, y con base en lo que estaba aprendiendo en la universidad, visitaba tiendas y panaderías con charlas bien entrenadas, lo que le permitía desempeñarse con rapidez y lograr buenos resultados. Considera que le fue bien.

01:36 I
Reconoce que los dineros que ganó con la venta de tamales los uso para mantenerse en la universidad y que luego de dos años vio la oportunidad, la forma de hacerlo, y decidió meterse de lleno en la empresa de su mamá.

01:56 I
Trae a cuento que trato muchas veces de cultivarle a su mamá, la dueña del negocio, nuevas ideas y estrategias. Recuerda que esa tarea fue difícil porque la forma de hacer y vender tamales le había permitido a ella mantener el hogar por veinte años. Dice que le propuso trabajar en redes sociales, pero fue difícil convencerla y demostrarle resultados.

02:34 E
Recuerda que en esa época tenía que decidirse sobre el énfasis que iba a seguir en la carrera: Comunicación Organizacional o Periodismo, lo que llevó a enfrentarlo con el tema de la responsabilidad social de las empresas. Reseña que dos años después precisamente hizo la tesis de grado en Responsabilidad Social y Medio Ambiente, y eso lo introdujo en el tema.

03:11 I
Manifiesta que en ese momento se enamoró del tema del Medio Ambiente, y lo vinculó con la elaboración del tamal, mediante el reciclaje de residuos (hojas, cubiertos plásticos y vasos).

03:50 E
Señala que su novia también estudiaba en la misma universidad y que a ella le encanto la idea del reciclaje, y se convirtió en un apoyo muy grande.

04:04 E
Reseña el inicio de las prácticas para graduarse de la universidad, en una Fundación con la que aún trabaja desde hace tres años, que se dedica a las energías renovables, con temas de cultivos orgánicos, huertas urbanas, energía solar y eólica, y 100% sostenibilidad ambiental.

04:49 I
Cuenta que con los aprendizajes de la tesis y los adquiridos en la Fundación, decidió introducir ingredientes orgánicos en la elaboración de los tamales y comprarlos a los productores directo, es decir a los campesinos, garantizando que buena parte de los insumos fueran orgánicos y que los proveedores les dieran un trato y un sueldo digno a sus trabajadores.

06:09 I
Cuenta que, al utilizar los insumos orgánicos, a lo que accedió fácilmente la dueña (mama), se produjo un salto grandísimo: se mejoró el sabor de los tamales, se amplió la base de consumidores, se ganó más prestigio y se abrieron varias puertas.

06:41 I
Afirma que, a partir de allí, empezaron a participar en eventos de productos orgánicos, a través de la fundación FUNCERNER, donde habían hecho prácticas en la universidad y trabajos voluntarios. El tamal orgánico fue un éxito en las ferias que participaron, asistiendo principalmente a aquellas que trabajan temas de responsabilidad social y ambiental, apoyo directo a los campesinos y esquemas de precios justos. A otro tipo de ferias acudieron solo con interés lucrativo. Esto les indicó el camino a seguiramplió la base de consumidores, se ganó más prestigio y se abrieron varias puertas.

08:55 I
Comenta que, en las ferias donde participaban empezaron a pedirles tamales veganos y tamal vegetariano. Esta idea chocaba con la forma tradicional del tamal, pues a la dueña no podía imaginar un tamal sin pollo. Sin embargo, luego de seis meses de trabajo y de estar convencidos de que el producto funcionaría, lo sacaron al mercado. Hoy funciona y uno de los mercados relevantes de comida orgánica en Bogotá es uno de los principales clientes y a través de las ferias ganan reconocimiento y han ampliado su clientela.

10:16 E
Cuenta la experiencia de una feria de inclusión en la que participaron, de las tantas promovidas por la U. Tadeo Lozano, con asistencia de la comunidad LGBTI, la cual resulto muy interesante, puesto que esta comunidad conoce lo difícil que es enterarse o vincularse a cualquier proyecto.

12:44 I
Añade que la Comida es un buen negocio desde que se venda y sea rica.

12:49 E
Afirma que ellos además aportan un apoyo social. Cuenta que en varias ocasiones han donado y obsequiado tamales a habitantes de la calle que fueron desalojados del Bronx, a personas de la tercera edad, a ancianos de Soacha para el 24 y 31 de diciembre, igual que al internado Nazareth en las afueras de Bogotá. Le parece que lo más importante de estas experiencias es el intercambio social y de saberes que se logran. Remarca la importancia de trabajar con la fundación FUNCENER, en campañas de protección del medio ambiente, de siembra de árboles en los colegios, capacitación en energía solar en estratos bajos de la población, y donando algunos tamales para los asistentes a esos eventos.

16:07 ? Cómo median los saberes en esos eventos

16:13 R
El siguiente paso es posicionar la marca en las ferias de consumo consciente antes que en mercados estandar ni diversificarse masivamente para evitar una pérdida de su valor artesanal y medicinal.

21:07 ? ¿Cómo fue la experiencia de responsabilidad social en la práctica de la Universidad?

21:19 R
Señala que fue en FUNCENER ya que las prácticas de la Universidad las hizo en esa fundación, donde le nació la inquietud de la responsabilidad social de las empresas. Manifiesta que la tesis de grado la hizo, precisamente, sobre las cien empresas más importantes del país que mostraban su responsabilidad social en Internet y esto le sembró la inquietud de saber si lo que las empresas mostraban era cierto, si en realidad le llegaba al público WEB, llevándolo posteriormente a "regalarse" haciendo un voluntariado en ese lugar fantástico llamado FUNCENER, que le permitió hacer muchas investigaciones y trabajar apalancando a mucha gente que iba en busca de ayuda. Dice que gracias a esas experiencias están mostrando lo que son: El Mejor Tamal.

23:14 ? Además de la formación académica, ¿qué otra formación adquirió?

25:38 R
Recibí formación sobre emprendimiento en la Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá.

23:26 E
Dice haber conocido a una líder en el mundo de las ferias y recuerda que ella elaboró un directorio con los productos orgánicos y saludables que participaron en las ferias de los últimos cinco años, información muy valiosa, gracias a lo cual le ofrecieron cursos para los emprendedores que estaban en ese directorio, en la Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá aliada con el Banco Interamericano de desarrollo. Ella lo invitó y él no lo pensó dos veces, aceptó de inmediato.

26:03 I
Cuenta que se entusiasmó muchísimo cuando supo el contenido del curso, ya que éste podría suplir carencias de su empresa pues esta nunca había llevado una contabilidad ni elaborado un presupuesto. Fue una casualidad muy oportuna para la empresa. Recuerda que les daban las clases a todo los participantes y después los cinco profesores del curso tomaban cada caso, guiando la elaboración de las plantillas necesarias para el desarrollo adecuado de cada empresa particular. Señala que para él fue una experiencia muy positiva y que después vino la implementación que ya es responsabilidad de cada empresa. Afirma que al terminar el curso les dieron un diploma donde certificaron su participación con el respaldo de la Cámara y del BID, que les ha dado un valor agregado valioso.

29:07 I
Le parece que asisten personas de todo tipo y considera que hay mucha diversidad en los asistentes a los cursos y se puede aprender cosas importantes de cada uno para mejorar su proyecto.

29:45 ? ¿Qué tipo de personas asisten a esos cursos?

29:51 R
Resalta la diversidad de emprendedores que asistían a este espacio y da ejemplos de casos que conoció en dichos cursos de formación.

31:03 I
Cuenta que las personas se sorprendían de que una persona como él, comunicador social, estuviera vendiendo tamales. Eso que podía ser frustrante, él lo convertía en una ventaja, explicando que lo estaba haciendo porque le gustaba y no por extrema necesidad o porque fuera un fracasado en su carrera.

31:58 I
Muestra satisfacción con haber participado en el curso porque aprendió muchas cosas al estar compartiendo con tanta gente que inventa y emprende por gusto y por necesidad. Considera que el colombiano no se vara.

16:48 ? ¿Cómo fue el momento en que decidiste cambiar el periodismo y la comunicación social por el emprendimiento en comida tradicional?

17:26 R
Recuerda que siempre llevaba a los amigos a comer tamal en la casa y a ellos les gustaban mucho. Cuando empecé a centrarme en lo empresarial y a dejar de lado el periodismo, entendí que me gustaban muchas cosas, pero me faltaba una misión y una visión clara, un plan estructural. Decidí hacerlo e implementar lo que había aprendido en la Universidad. Eso me gustó y vi los resultados. Se los mostré a mi mamá y también le gustó. Inicialmente hice una labor comercial, pero gracias al trabajo que desarrollaba en FUNCENER vi la oportunidad que tenía ante sí, pues el emprendimiento estaba ya hecho, lo tenía en la casa. Cuando los compañeros de la Fundación conocieron que yo tenía una empresa de tamales, de inmediato se comprometieron a ayudarme con las herramientas que manejábamos para apalancar los proyectos de muchas personas que llegaban a la Fundación en busca de ayuda. Gracias a FUNCENER vimos la oportunidad que teníamos con los tamales, para brindar algo bueno para el país, en cuanto a gastronomía y cultura.

20:01 I
Considera que actualmente los consumidores no sabemos nada de lo que nos están vendiendo, a quién se lo estamos comprando, quién lo hace y cómo lo hacen, lo cual es también una oportunidad que nos permite trabajar para explicar poco a poco y enseñarle a la gente lo qué se están comiendo, que sepan de dónde viene lo que se están comiendo, mediante un intercambio de saberes.

34:55 ? ¿Qué implicaciones ha tenido para su vida el dedicarse de lleno al emprendimiento?

35:17 R
Mi vida cambió un montón.

35:27 I
Fue como salirme de una rutina diaria propio de una vida encasillada. Me mostró días totalmente diferentes. Ahora es muy estimulante interactuar permanentemente con gente diferente, aprendiendo nuevas cosas y enseñando lo que estás haciendo. Siempre hay nuevas oportunidades para conocer gente nueva, aprender y apoyar a personas como forma de retribuirle sus enseñanzas.

36:59 I
Manifiesta que todos los conocimientos que se adquieren y los buenos resultados que se logran, hay que retribuirlos de buena manera al mundo, mediante un buen producto, ayudando otros proyectos, haciendo favores. Dice estar seguro que esa es la manera de llevar un buen camino y sentirse bien espiritualmente, y que también es la manera de superar los obstáculos que diariamente se presentan en el proceso de crecimiento.

38:08 ? Cuáles son los principales obstáculos que se le han presentado en el desarrollo de su emprendimiento?

38:19 R
Los temas legales, como diligenciar la licencia de Invima para la elaboración de un tamal ya que podría perder su carcter artesanal. En la medida que se va creciendo tienes que declarar renta sobre los ingresos. También la movilidad y el transporte se complican cada vez más.

39:37 ? ¿Porqué la movilidad es un obstáculo?

39:51 R
Muestra como el transporte de los tamales lo estan haciendo en Transmilenio, porque hace cinco meses prohibieron a las motos llevar parrillero y no puedo hacerle repartir en la moto de su primo como antes.

40:17 ? ¿Cómo es lidiar con el tráfico de Bogotá?

40:21 R
Señala que no puede coger un carro para llevar un número reducido de tamales al centro de la ciudad, porque no salen los costos y en ese caso no estaría ganando nada. Están planeando comprar una moto para domicilios y distribución de tamales, pero mientras tanto seguir usando el Transmilenio que es la opción más fácil por ahora.

41:03 E
Comenta que la infraestructura con que actualmente cuentan se está quedando pequeña. Cada día se sienten más apretados. Esto los está obligando a pensar en realizar una inversión y tomar la decisión de si el emprendimiento va a ser el negocio que dure dos o tres generaciones o que en cinco años se venda. Considera que su emprendimiento, por la tradición del producto y la forma como se ha trabajado, tiene una proyección larga y podría perdurar por mucho tiempo, introduciendo las mejoras que se puedan aprender en los casos que se conozcan en los próximos años. Dice estar convencido de que lo ideal es mantener el negocio y proyectarlo a las nuevas generaciones de su familia, con la ideología que han mantenido en los cuatro años que lleva en el emprendimiento. - AEFfueran orgánicos y que los proveedores les dieran un trato y un sueldo digno a sus trabajadores.

42:44 ? ¿Qué proyección tiene para su empresa?

43:00 R
Queremos que nos conozca el cincuenta por ciento de la ciudad, hoy solo nos conoce un cinco por ciento. Esto significa que podamos estar en muchas tiendas orgánicas y en sectores como Chapinero, La Macarena y muchos otros.

43:36 ? ¿Cómo ve el mercado de productos orgánicos en Bogotá?

43:43 R
El mercado está bien. Ha crecido mucho en los últimos cuatro años. No solo para la venta de productos, también se ha abierto para compartir conocimientos y actividades con la gente, mediante siembras, talleres, actos culturales y elaboración de documentales. Hoy se tiene un público que sabe, que aprecia y que escucha.

44:46 ? ¿Cómo es la red de personas que van a esos espacios?

44:55 R
Señala que el público es muy importante. Informa que se realizan charlas gratuitas, conferencias sobre seguridad alimentaria y reuniones entre emprendedores para compartir experiencias, hablar con la gente y dar degustaciones.

45:32 I
Señala que el mercado de productos orgánicos está pegando duro y creciendo mucho en Chapinero, el centro y otros lugares a los que no ha ido recientemente

46:00 E
Manifiesta que su idea es llegar a todos los lugares antes señalados, para lo cual necesitan solucionar ciertos temas legales como el INVIMA, mejorar el espacio de trabajo, planes que serán realizados en el corto plazo para satisfacer las necesidades de más personas y atender toda la demanda de tamales, especialmente en la temporada de diciembre.

47:05 ? ¿Cómo ve usted el emprendimiento en la ciudad?

47:22 R
Dice gustarle que la gente esté enamorada y convencida de sus proyectos. Percibe que esto está cada vez más lleno y las posibilidades más escazas, pero la ventaja es hay más gente y público consciente del daño que le hacemos al medio ambiente y de no hacer nada por la vida. Cree que se están abriendo espacios para que la gente se meta y trabaje bien, lo ve fortalecido, pero considera que recientemente se sienten golpeados con algunos comportamientos de la alcaldía que les impide participar en ferias y que son tratados, en ocasiones, como a los vendedores ambulantes, siendo las ferias eventos más organizados orientados a servir a un barrio o a una localidad.

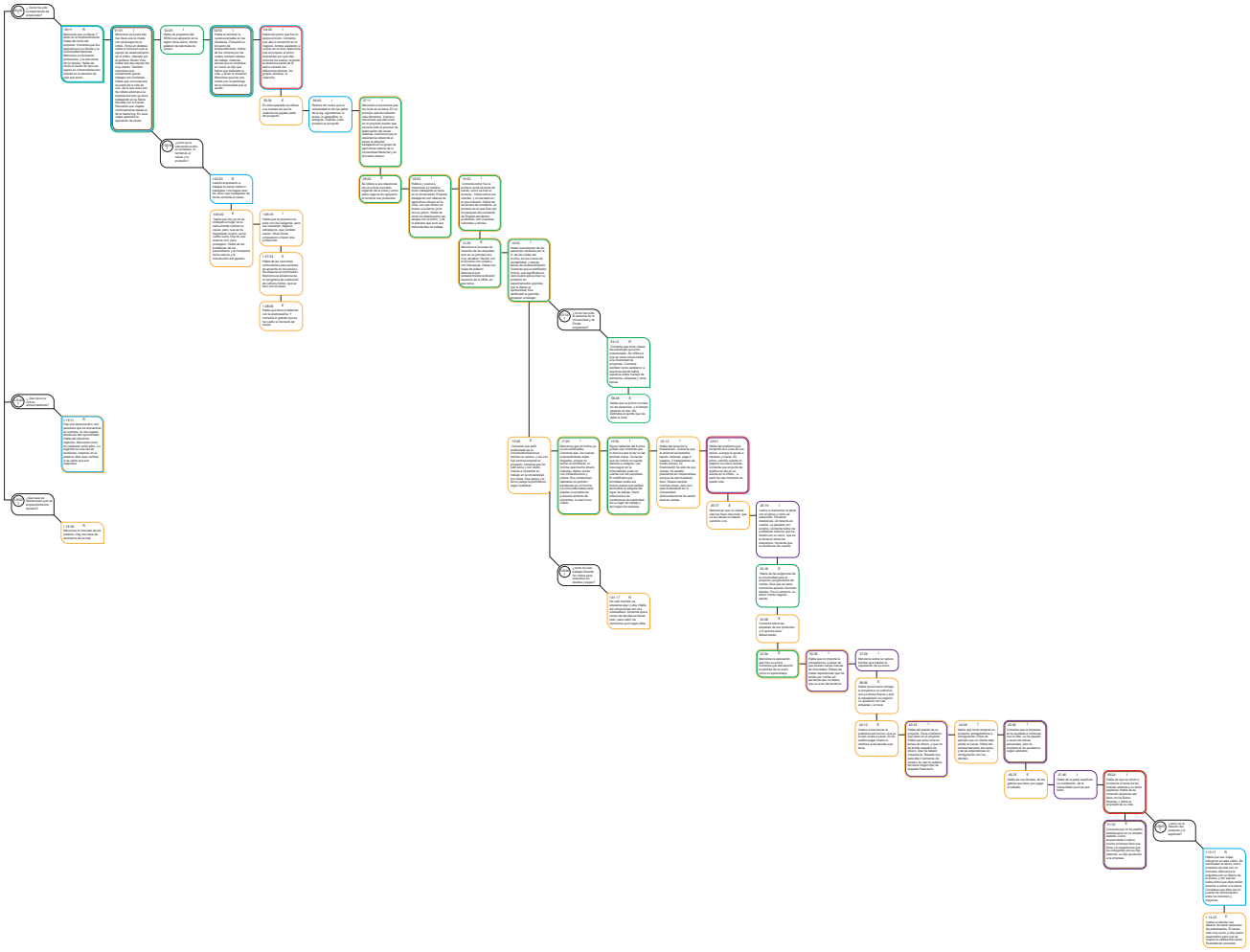
49:38 I
Cuenta que en ocasiones ha tenido que darles tamales a los policías, para evitar que lo molesten, método que aprovecha para promover su producto. Siente que necesitan más apoyo del estado con políticas públicas orientadas a la protección del emprendedor y el crecimiento de la producción local.

50:16 E
Comenta su preocupación de que les vaya a pasar lo que sucedió con los campesinos, que los han tratado cruelmente, matando a varios de ellos. Dice que no están como los campesinos, pero que a ellos les toca que rebuscárselas solo en la ciudad.

51:01 ? ¿ Cómo los afectó el cambio de alcalde?

51:10 R
Responde que los afectó en la participación en las ferias, porque los tamales que son elaborados artesanalmente no cumplían algunas exigencias de higiene que se empezaron a hacer cumplir, como la de guardar los productos en repositorios de aluminio, usar guantes, tapabocas, super carpas, lo que a su parecer le quitan sentido a las ferias como lugares de encuentro de la gente en condiciones de normalidad y llevó a cerrar varias ferias o a no participar en algunas de ellas.

52:43 I
Expresa su acuerdo con las normas de salubridad en los negocios, pero no le parece bien que pretendan estereotipar la presentación de todos los negocios, por ejemplo: en el mercado de "la trocha" donde todos los muebles son de madera, muy bonitos, pretender que ahora sean en aluminio, como una panadería, sin tener en cuenta la característica de una tienda artesanal. Afirma que así las cosas no funcionan, que eso no es lo importante y que no sirve los estereotipos de lo que es limpio o lo que no es.



00:02 ? ¿ Como ha sido la experiencia de emprender?

00:11 R
Menciona que ya llevan 7 años en el emprendimiento. Habla del inicio del proyecto. Comenta que fue apoyado por su familia y la Universidad Nacional. Menciona su formación profesional, y la estructura de su familia. Habla de cómo el hecho de que sus papás en comerciantes han influido en la decisión de vida que tomó.

01:01 I
Menciona que para ella fue clave una la charla con psicología de la UNAL. Entra en detalles sobre la forma en que el equipo de asesoramiento de la UNAL, liderado por el profesor Álvaro Viña. Habla que ese equipo fue muy atento. También menciona que inicialmente quería trabajar con Orellanas. Habla que una empresa es parte de la vida de uno, de lo que unos son. Se refiere además a la experiencia que ya tenía trabajando en la Sierra Nevada con el Cacao. Recuenta que viajaba continuamente desde el 99 al hasta hoy. En esos viajes aprendió la operación de cacao.

02:25 I
Habla de proyectos del SENA que apoyaron en la región de la sierra, donde estaban las plántulas de Cacao.

02:55 I
Habla al terminar la carrera pensaba en las Orellanas. Presentó un proyecto de emprendimiento. Habla de los motivos por los cuales rechazó ofertas de trabajo. Además, piensa que su empresa en como un hijo que había que dedicarle la vida, y tener la vocación. Menciona que fue una charla con la psicóloga de la Universidad que le ayudó.

04:26 I
Habla del primo que fue un apoyo al inicio. Comenta que ella lo encaminó en el negocio. Ambos asistieron a cursos en la Unal. Menciona que le propuso al primo emprender por que ella. conocía los suelos, la gente, la dinámica social de la sierra nevada, las diferencias étnicas, los grupos sociales, la violencia.

05:54 E
En este apartado se refiere a la manera en que la violencia ha jugado parte del proyecto.

06:40 I
Retoma de nuevo que la universidad le dio las gafas de la ing. agronómica. lo social, lo geográfico, lo biológico. Gracias a ello empezó su proyecto.

07:11 I
Menciona a la persona que los inicio en el tema. En un principio querían abordar más alimentos. Vuelve a mencionar que ella inicio en el proyecto puesto que conocía todo el proceso de elaboración del cacao. Además, menciona que la experiencia referente al cacao la adquirió trabajando en el grupo de agricultura urbana de la Universidad Nacional y en la huerta urbana.

08:00 E
Se refiere a sus relaciones con el primer mercado orgánico de la zona y como estos lugares los apoyaron al comprar sus productos.

09:22 I
Reitera y vuelve a mencionar su historia. Inicio trabajando el tema en la Universidad. Empezó trabajando con talleres de agricultura urbana en la Unal, con ese dinero se fueron a la sierra, junto con su primo. Habla de cómo se distribuyeron las cargas con el primo, y de lo precario que eran sus herramientas de trabajo.

10:53 I
Comenta como fue la primera venta de bulto de cacao, como se hizo el proceso. Habla sobre sus clientes, y el mercado en el que entraron. Habla de las tomas de occidente, un proceso en el que iban por los parques del occidente de Bogotá vendiendo productos, con muestras culturales y demás.

12:26 E
Menciona el proceso de creación de las etiquetas, que en un principio era muy amateur. Hacían con el proceso con vinipel y con fotocopias. Hasta con hojas de plátano. Menciona que posteriormente recibieron asesoría de la UNAL en ese tema.

14:02 I
Habla nuevamente de las asesorías recibidas por la U. de las visitas del Invima, de los cursos de contabilidad. y demás temas de emprendimiento. Comenta que el certificado Invima, que significaba el visto bueno para poner su producto en supermercados grandes. que le dieran la oportunidad. Ese certificado le permitía empezar a trabajar.

53:34 ? ¿Como han sido la asesoría de la Universidad y de Fondo emprender?

54:12 R
Comenta que tomo clases de psicología que eran presenciales. Se refiere a que en esos cursos había una diversidad de proyectos. Comenta también como asistieron a sesiones donde había asesoría sobre manejo de alimentos, etiquetas y otros temas.

58:48 E
Habla que su primo no creía en las asesorías, y el tiempo gastado en eso. No estimaba el aporte que les daba la Unal.

15:49 E
Comenta que salió endeudada de la Universidad Nacional, termino la carrera, y así con hijo encima empezó el proyecto. comenta que ha sido terca y con visión. Vuelve a comentar su trabajo en la Universidad, por horas. Ese apoyo y el de su pareja le permitieron seguir adelante.

17:20 I
Menciona que el Invima ya no da certificados. Comenta que. los nuevos emprendedores están fregados, porque no tienen el certificado, el Invima vale mucho dinero. Además, deben contar con infraestructura y planta. Sus condiciones laborales no podrían aprobarse por el Invima. La única alternativa sería alquilar una planta de procesos amiento de alimentos, lo cual no es viable.

19:54 I
Sigue hablando del Invima puesto que comenta que lo duro es que la ley no les permite crecer. Comenta que sin Invima no puede atender a colegios. Les toca seguir en la informalidad, pues no cuenta con los requisitos. El certificado que brindaban antes era bueno puesto que podían demostrar la asepsia del lugar de trabajo. Hace referencia a las condiciones de salubridad de su lugar de trabajo y del majeo de residuos.

22:13 I
Habla del tema de la financiación. Comenta que el arriendo es bastante barato. Además, paga 2 salarios, 2 trabajadores de medio tiempo. La financiación ha sido de sus ventas, ha sacado prestamos en cooperativas, aunque ha sido bastante duro. Desea cambiar muchas cosas, pero aun esta endeudada en la Universidad, afortunadamente ha tenido buenas ventas.

23:51 I
Habla del problema que ha tenido con unos de sus socios, aunque le ayudo a madurar y crecer. Su primo, cambió cuando el negocio se volvió exitoso. Comenta que el punto de quiebre se dio en un evento en la UNAL., a partir de ese momento se quedó sola.

25:37 E
Mencionan que un cliente casi los hace renunciar, que no les decían si habían vendido o no.

26:19 I
vuelve a mencionar el pleito con el primo y como se desarrolló. Tomaban decisiones, sin tenerla en cuenta. Le pasaban por encima. Comenta todos los problemas internos que ha tenido con su socio, que se le llevaron todos los elementos. Comenta que su familia se dio cuenta.

30:18 E
Habla de las exigencias de la universidad para el proyecto: proyecciones de ventas. Dice que en esos momentos apenas conocían tiendas. Por el contrario, su primo monto negocio aparte.

32:08 E
Comenta sobre las etiquetas de sus productos y lo que les hace diferenciador.

32:54 E
Menciona la asociación que hizo su primo. Comenta que ella asumió la pérdida de su socio como un aprendizaje.

35:26 I
Habla que no importa la competencia, a pesar de que existan varias marcas de chocolates. Relata las malas experiencias que ha tenido por confiar en personas que no debía, que no eran del territorio.

37:26 I
Menciona sobre la ruptura familiar que implico la separación de su socio.

38:56 E
Habla que el socio entrego el proyecto a un colectivo, que ya tenían fuerza y que le respaldaron su negocio. Lo ayudaron con las etiquetas y el local.

40:10 E
Vuelve a mencionar el problema del Invima, que ya la han vuelto a sacar, no ha podido pagar Vuelve a referirse a las deudas que tiene.

40:18 I
Habla del estado de su proyecto. De la confianza que tiene en el proyecto. Habla que esta corta en temas de dinero, y que no ha tenido respaldo de dinero. Que ha fallado maquinaria. Resalta que para ella 2 semanas de receso, es casi la quiebra. No tenía ningún tipo de respaldo financiero.

43:28 I
Habla que como empezó su producto, entregándolos a consignación. Pone de ejemplo que un cliente dejo perder el cacao. Habla del almacenamiento del cacao, y de las experiencias en consignación con los clientes.

45:05 I
Comenta que la empresa le ha ayudado a continuar con la vida. Le ha pesado a veces los temas personales, pero la empresa le ha ayudado a seguir adelante.

46:23 E
Habla de sus deudas, de los gastos que tiene que pagar el sábado.

47:46 I
Habla de la parte espiritual. La meditación. de la tranquilidad que hay que tener.

49:24 I
Habla de que se volvió a involucrar el tema de las huertas urbanas y su tema espiritual. Habla de su conexión espiritual que tiene con la Sierra Nevada, y sobre el propósito de su vida.

51:32 E
Comenta que no ha podido establecerse en un empleo estable. Como emprendedora valora mucho el tiempo libre que tiene y la experiencia que ha compartido con su hijo. Además, su hijo ayudando a la empresa.

1:09:57 ? ¿como es la relación del producto y lo espiritual?

1:10:17 R
Habla que sus viajes influyeron en esta visión. Se caminaban la sierra, como propósito de vida con su hermana. Menciona la anécdota con un Mamo de la Sierra, y por qué les había dicho que ellos tenían derecho a entrar a la sierra. Considera que ellos son el puente de comunicación entre los menores y mayorías.

1:14:22 E
vuelve a retomar sus deseos de hacer asesorías de postcosecha. El cacao sale muy sucio, y ella quiere asesorarlos para que se mejore la calidad del cacao. Estandarizar procesos.

1:00:48 ? ¿como ha sido trabajar lidiando con todos esos requisitos de deudas y pagos?

1:01:17 R
Ha sido horrible, es atrasarse aquí y allá. Habla del compromiso con sus codeudores. Comenta que a veces las deudas se llevan todo, para cubrir los elementos que hagan falta.

1:03:19 ? ¿como es la interacción entre lo cometario, lo territorial, el cacao y tu producto?

1:03:23 R
cuando empezaron a trabajar el cacao nadie lo trabajaba. Los koguis eran los único que manejaban de forma correcta el cacao.

1:04:40 E
habla que hoy ya no es inhóspito el lugar de la sierra donde cultivan el cacao, pero, que se ha degradado mucho, se ha vuelto sucio. Hoy es una reserva civil, para protegerlo. Habla de los problemas de los paramilitares y el monopolio de la cuenca y la introducción del ganado.

1:06:19 I
Habla que el proceso era ellos con los indígenas, pero fue creciendo, llegaron extranjeros. que vendían cacao. Otras fincas empezaron a hacer otra producción.

1:07:23 E
Habla de las reuniones comunitarias para ponerse de acuerdo en los precios. Se disperso el movimiento. Menciona la existencia de un programa de sustitución de cultivos ilícitos, que se hizo con el cacao.

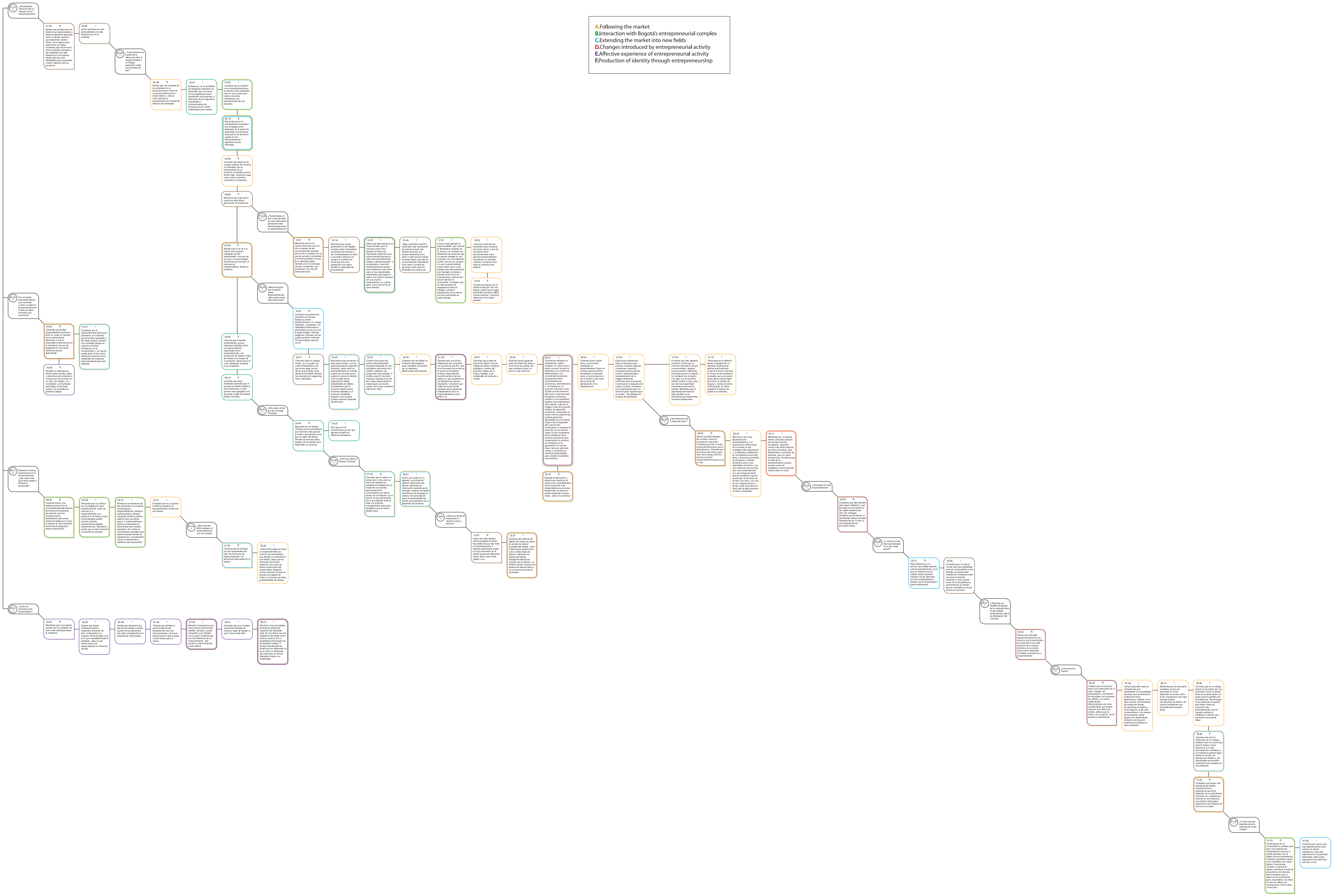
1:08:58 E
Habla que tiene problemas con la postcosecha. Y comenta lo grande que se ha vuelto el mercado de cacao.

1:15:43 ? ¿ Que tal es la red de emprendedores?

1:16:11 R
Hay una desconexión, son personas que se encuentran en eventos, en los lugares donde les dan oportunidad. Habla del directorio orgánico. Menciona como se colaboran entre ellos. Lo orgánico es una red de confianza, creemos en la palabra. Mas para verificar si es cierto que son orgánicos.

1:19:22 ? ¿Que caso es referenciado que de emprendimientos sociales?

1:19:36 R
Menciona el mercado de los pueblos. Hay una tesis de economía de la unal.


A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship

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1:07:15 ¿Nos puede decir cómo ha sido esto de la obra?

50:12 R
Relata como una reconocida actriz y directora de teatro, le propuso a él, crear que trabajaba con víctimas para que le ayudara a contarles que ocurrió hablar con esas personas, y en la entrevista con el midler le propuso que hicieran el proyecto con víctimas de minas y acciones del conflicto. El midler aportó la idea y consiguieron recursos para desarrollar el proyecto, que terminó siendo una obra enfocada en un proceso pedagógico y processual, donde la importancia de la obra no es tanto la obra en sí, sino el hecho.

1:01:13 ¿Por qué arte fue esto?

02:14 R
Eso fue en 2016.

02:20 I
Relata cómo llegó a la obra. Se reconoce como artista, como mujer, autodefensa y como víctima del conflicto porque la guerrilla mató a su hermana de diez años. Trabajaba en el proyecto por Agencia para la reincorporación y la normalización (ARN), y mediante un proceso de entrevistas a 80 personas, de los cuales seleccionó diez, de ellas una de ellas, Florencia, de Nariño, se sensibiliza y actualmente queda decidida.

1:01:20 ¿Cuántas eran esas veinte personas que participaron del proyecto?

03:38 R
Afirma que en los veinte participantes hubo representación de todos los grupos armados, fuerzas públicas, exguerrillas, excolombianos, excombatientes de las FARC, víctimas de los grupos armados y del Estado. Explica que a varios les interesaba el acercamiento al proyecto por cuestiones de seguridad.

1:01:26 ¿Cómo fue el proceso de convocatoria de que iba a ser una muestra en una obra de teatro?

42:07 R
Sugiere que cuando el entrevistador vea la obra tiene que ver con el acto de ser que más participa, debido a que cada uno cuenta las historias a su manera y el trata cada, cada una de las historias, lo agrupa un recitamento a una representación de un ser que quiere ser visto con un recitamento. Manifiesta que la muestra parte de partituras de cada una de los miembros del grupo, que cada uno hace una propuesta y dependiendo de ella se va construyendo la muestra, esta parte de ver la condición humana de cada una de los integrantes, sigue la presentación de cada uno de los integrantes, sus cualidades positivas de cada cual, después hacemos una representación del recitamento, luego la partitura del combate, de las cicatrices de una forma guerrillera, del sonido de la guerra, de cómo nos conformamos un arbol de donde salamos como un tejido, finalmente movilizamos a la gente a que se vea como un ser de paz y la reconciliación. Expresa que hacen tartas, los platillos que resulte la muestra de hacer una obra.

1:01:16 ¿La obra es producto de una propuesta del grupo que inició con la muestra?

45:27 R
Afirma que la obra es del grupo que inició con la muestra.

1:01:20 ¿Cómo fue la convocatoria para sumar que la muestra se convirtiera en obra?

49:05 R
Cuenta que los promotores de la muestra, como equipo de trabajo, convocaron a Medellín y un programa que decía que hacer cada participante, que ellos también sirvió mucho, pero llegó el momento en que de las actividades salían muchas ocasiones experimentaba y se hacía una obra de teatro haciendo era como si esta cosa en un laboratorio de teatro, que ellos hicieron dejó de lado los libretos que los promotores de la muestra traían y empezaron a recoger todas las experiencias de los actrices, construyendo las piezas de un rompecabezas. Considera que la muestra y la obra es propiedad del grupo.

1:01:23 ¿Cómo se convocó a los integrantes?

47:20 R
Manifiesta que la convocatoria fue muy hueda, que primero empezaron en la Casa de Teatro de Medellín con una primera presentación para las personas más cercanas y la sorpresa fue que el teatro se llenó, y en las filas de atrás quedaron de teatro también se llenó. Le llamó la atención que al final de la obra muchas de quienes iba, entonces tomaron la decisión de hacer un conversatorio al terminar la obra y la gente se quedó hasta el conversatorio los fue motivando mucho para seguir promoviendo la obra en muchas otras partes del país. Cuenta que también se ha presentado en otras localidades como Florencia y en varias partes, y generaciones nuevas, la cual fue sido bien acogida.

1:01:24 ¿Cómo es la convocatoria de cada uno? ¿cómo se toman las decisiones?

52:34 R
Expresa que las decisiones siempre se toman colectivamente.

51:47 I
Ejemplifica la forma de trabajo del grupo con la actriz Ana, que, como compañera, sufre tiene dificultades para expresarse por medio del lenguaje oral pero se expresa muy bien a través del baile y los sonidos. Dice que otros integrantes del grupo tienen otras habilidades. Sobre el cuento que hace la relatoría. Resalta que los talentos son empíricos, que vienen de sus propias experiencias. Añade que eso les exita les, que a veces también no tienen un gusto estético para integrarlas.

1:01:26 ¿Cómo ha sido la experiencia de subirse a un escenario tan reconocido como el Teatro Colón, que se sierre estar en una temia de ese tamaño?

1:02:00 R
Expresa que el teatro y el escenario han sido los mejores para compartir con los participantes y del grupo. Pero él, el escenario le ha servido para él, para expresar el mensaje que quiere dar, confiesa que en los primeros presentaciones pudo haber algo de miedo, pero que ya se sentía muy perfecto para hacer solo la primera vez.

1:03:38 I
Afirma que trabajar en el escenario ayuda mucho al trabajo de la memoria social, porque se apropian de la obra y el público ya no es el público que uno conoce, es público sólo en un sitio, pero trasiedo en el teatro ayuda mucho.

1:01:27 ¿Cómo vino la proyección de la obra, ¿hacia dónde se dirige el proyecto?

58:38 R
00:38 := Comenta que lo que ha escuchado es que lo quieren llevar a los niños desde ese sitio directamente a los colegios porque ha sido un evento muito dulce. Explica que ellos se pueden proyectar en cualquier sitio: plazas y estudios o en espacios pequeños en cocinas intermedias. Puntualiza el principal objetivo de los próximos momentos es reducir la polarización que existe, que es muy grande, que conduce a mas violencia. Comenta que estén a la espera de que personas o instituciones les digan a donde van a ir, que es esperan que la época electoral que se avecina no los perjudique.

1:01:28 ¿Han trabado de cual lo obra con fines políticos?

58:48 R
Relata que un candidato al senado contrato la obra para hacer una presentación abierta pero no sabían que lo iba a utilizar para publicitar al candidato. Opina que el candidato pudo haber aprovechado para ver la obra, pero de ninguna manera colocarle su logo de campaña.

1:01:29 Pregunta por algo que quiere mencionar

1:04:37 R
Le gustaría mencionar cómo estos proyectos transforman a las personas, que los transforman y se ayda han sido fundamentales en la vida de muchas personas que han estado en el grupo, especialmente para la transformación y superación de barras instituciones que tenían problemas con el proyecto. Estaba en que los centros además de que nos ayudaron a cuenta que algunos, compañeros llegaron enfermos al rotus del proyecto y ahora se encuentran bien gracias a entiendo que ellos fue posible porque pudieron compartir con el grupo, gente que tuvo cáncer, Espera que le sigan dando la oportunidad de transmitir la alegría y en conocimiento de que hay muchas otras personas llevando el mensaje de que es posible cambiar para bien.

1:01:30 Conoce otras experiencias similares a la obra

1:07:14 R
Responde que no conoce otras experiencias similares a la obra, pero que sí conoció un amigo que es trier comunitario y tenía una obra de teatro en Santa Fe que trabaja con la población LGBTI, por la población que está en la calle, y por los desplazados.

1:01:31 ¿Cómo se vivió la experiencia de ser actor?

1:07:34 E
Considera necesario contar algunas cosas de su vida. Cuenta que es administrador de Empresas y que está a punto de graduarse en una maestría en Administración de paz en la Universidad de los Andes. Es asesor de función pública en una institución del Estado, que hace de la paz, que hace de hacer pedagogía para la paz y pedagogía de cómo la ciudadanía se empodera de los acuerdos de paz, en lo que él participa asesorando y formando sus conocimientos y experiencias.

1:01:32 ¿Cómo fue su formación en Administración de Empresas? ¿Qué filosofía que actualmente cursa en los Andes?

1:01:33 Cuéntenos cómo son el trabajo en el teatro y la academia

54:08 R
Responde que eso no lo manejan ellos y que les tocaba las veces en Cuna Encantada.

1:01:34 Cómo se manejan los ingresos de sin presentaciones, ¿ser remunerados?

54:17 R
Afirma que la obra no tiene mayores ingresos por venta de tiquetes, que se proveyeron de los apoyos institucionales cuando necesitaron, que los actores dan recursos y por lo regular la entrada es gratis, siempre está abierta al público y le promueve una cultura de la reconciliación que por cada presentación los apoyan para el transporte y les dan un bonitico o ayuda, pero no un sueldo.

59:39 I
Resulta que la red se ha ampliado sin necesidad de incurrir en costos.

1:01:35 Cómo se vivió la proyección de la obra en temas de las víctimas?

59:59 R
Plantea que para poder responder debe regresar y contar algunos detalles de su vida. Empieza por decir que es hijo de campesino y como a partir de una toma guerrillera en donde mataron a su hermana, sufre un desplazamiento y como a los 14 años negoció a escondidas su vinculación a las guerrillas. Cuenta cómo evitó el reclutamiento de su hermana como combatiente y cómo entendió que debía pagar su pena. Describe como ha sido ese proceso desde el reclutamiento, el reclutamiento hasta la actualidad, señalando las instituciones en las que ha estado y las características de la realidad desde entornos, como estudiar en el sector privado, en el sector privado, privado y público.

1:01:36 ¿Cómo fue el tema de las víctimas?

59:54 R
Tras a cuento el encuentro con un compañero que le proveyó de una serie de procedimientos para obtener un Certificado de excombatiente. Eso le interesó, se vinculó a la red de investigación, que le obliga a trabajar con víctimas y con personas de muchas clases. Fue el momento en que empezó a trabajar en el tema de las víctimas a través de ese tipo de excombatientes que dan a arreglar parques y que trabajan con la población vulnerable y también trabajo con niños de escasos recursos, recaudando fondos.

02:08 I
Se comenta que el conocimiento del tema y la experiencia aporta mucho a la obra. Se ve en la obra. Resalta que la vida le llevó a trabajar con población vulnerable, que conoce la pobreza, aparte tiene tratamiento y vivir tranquilo, entendiendo que todos los actores son complejos.

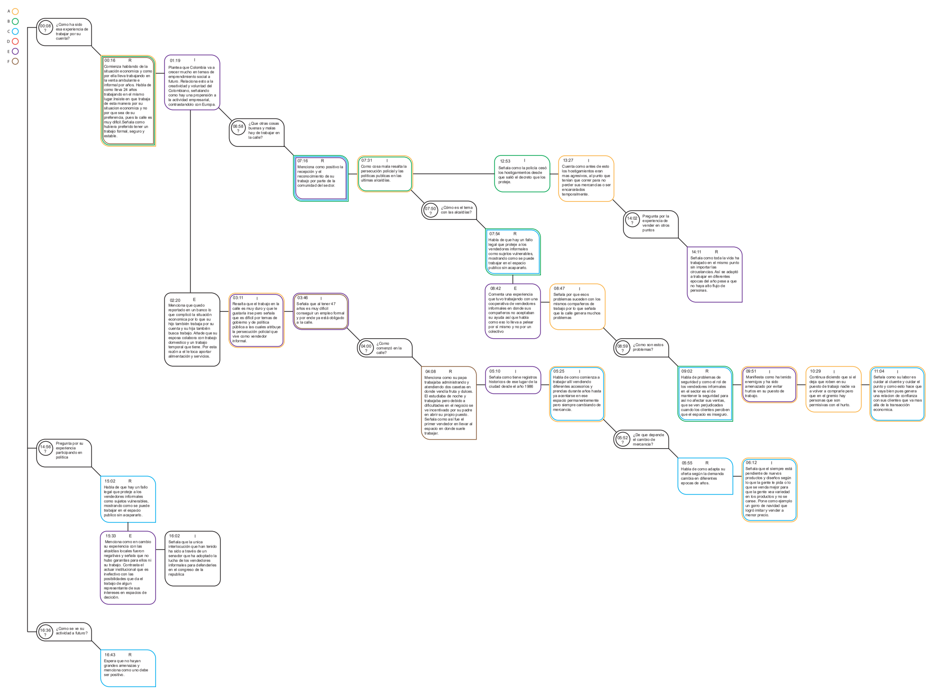
02:16 I
Habla lo que le produjo esa experiencia de trabajar con víctimas y lo describe como muy bonito. Dice que le ha servido para construir un país mejor. Considera que si tiene lo que tiene es porque ha tenido la oportunidad vulnerable sin desigualdade, cree que al cabo de 20 o 30 años los hijos o los nietos. Considera que tiene ese paso de dejar de estar buscando excusas para quejarse y buscando satisfacción por el trabajo que realiza con las excombatientes, que llegan por primera vez a la ciudad, que nunca salieron de sus veredas, muchísimas en cerros y comunidades que es posible mejorar, mostrando su experiencia como ejemplo.

00:37 I
Relata que después de trabajar en la Corporación Minuto de Dios, comenzó a trabajar con la red, vinculada a los exelo Regalados a la reinserción, como manejar su rula de reintegración. Que se vinculó con ellos, trabaja o conector entre la institucionalidad y los excombatientes Exelo Regalados. Considera que ese puente es muy importante para relacionar a los excombatientes, porque muchas veces no tienen entendias con los psicólogos no entienden las características de ellos, que dicienda porque el dicen a no lo entienden o les produce miedo.

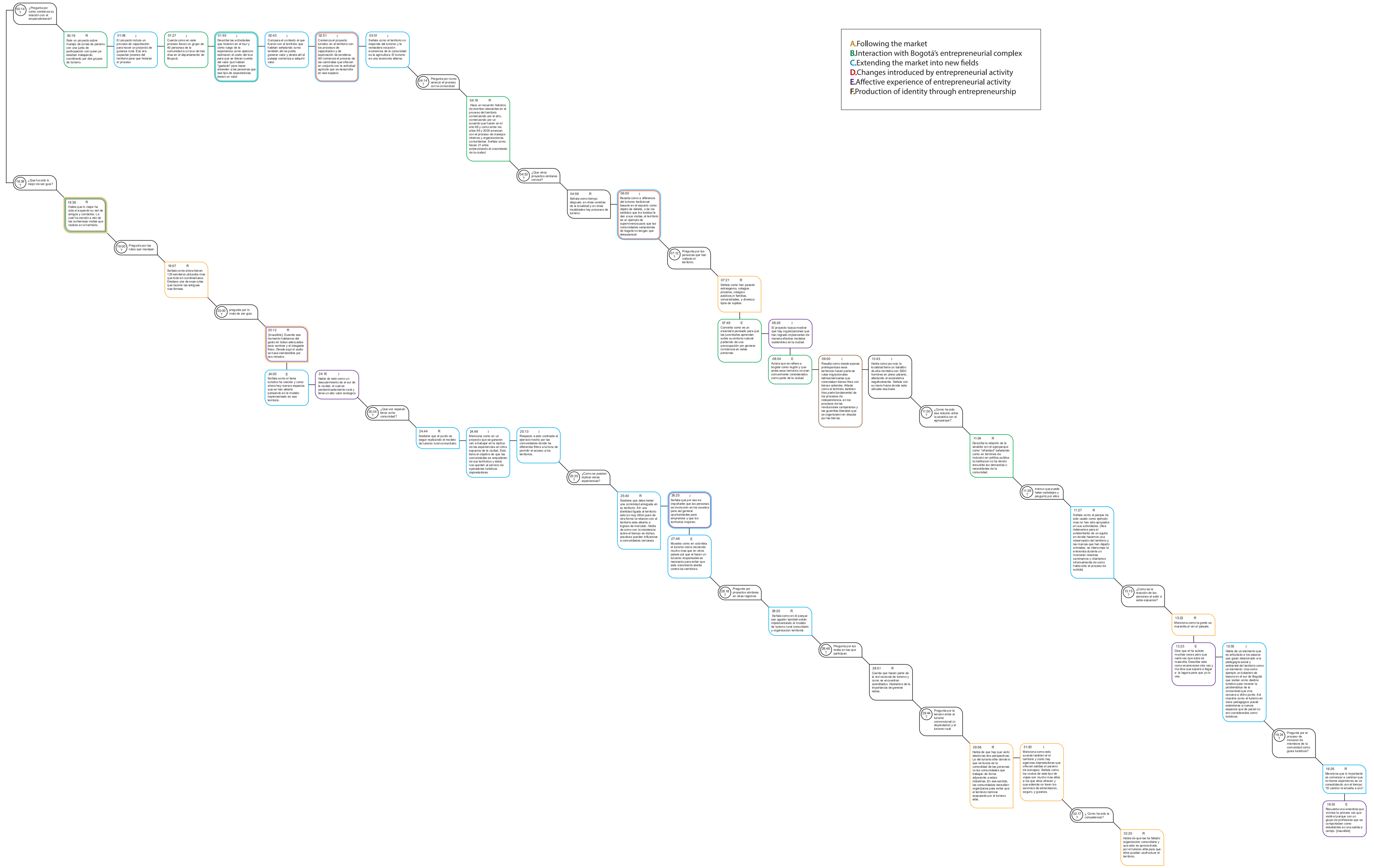
00:48 I
Resalta la importancia de que el excombatiente que llega suelte con un asesor que le acompañe a hacer las entrevistas, la tranquilice. Menciona que participó junto a un enguardiero de la ARIC en la elaboración del Protocolo de bienvenida para excombatientes que tiene como objetivo que sepan orientarse a los excombatientes.

39:38 I
Resalta que la gente no sabe de la implementación de los acuerdos de paz. Cuenta que en la ciudad esta primera fase consiste en orientar a los servidores públicos en este tema. Esta capacitación la están recibiendo en todos los funcionarios públicos. Considera que esta labor es muy importante para polarización que es su criterio nos está perjudicando mucho.

40:45 E
Comenta que está terminando la maestría para ser mejor ciudadano, ecuinoccente, el digital. Porque en la universidad aprendió a ser ciudadano digital y el no es bueno en esa materia. Ratifica que ya terminó las materias y la tesis, que sólo le falta el inglés.



A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship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00:14 ?
¿Pregunta por como comienza su relación con el emprendimiento?

00:19 R
Sale un proyecto sobre manejo de zonas de paramo con una junta de participación con quien ya estaban trabajando, coordinado por dos grupos de turismo.

01:06 I
El proyecto incluia un proceso de capacitación para hacer un proyecto de guianza rural. Eso era capacitar jovenes del territorio para que hicieran el proceso

01:27 I
Cuenta como en este proceso llevan un grupo de 40 personas de la comunidad a un tour de tres días en el departamento de Boyacá.

01:55 I
Describe las actividades que hicieron en el tour y cómo luego de la experiencia como ejercicio estimaron el costo del tour para que se dieran cuenta del valor que habian "gastado" para hacer entender a las personas que ese tipo de experiencias tienen un valor.

02:43 I
Compara el contexto al que fueron con el territorio que habitan señalando como también allí se podía generar valor y desde allí el paisaje comienza a adquirir valor.

02:51 I
Comienza el proyecto turistico en el territorio con los procesos de capacitacion y de exploración de senderos. Allí comienza el proceso de las caminatas que ofrecen en conjunto con la actividad agrícola que se desarrolla en ese espacio.

03:51 I
Señala como el territorio no depende del turismo y la verdadera vocación economica de la comunidad es la agricultura. El turismo es una economía alterna.

04:14 ?
Pregunta por como arrancó el proceso con la comunidad

04:18 R
Hace un recuento historico de eventos relevantes en el proceso del territorio comenzando por el año, comenzando por un acuerdo que hacen en el año 96 y como entre los años 99 y 2000 arrancan con el proceso de manejos internos y organizaciones comunitarias. Señala como llevan 21 años sobreviviendo al crecimiento de la ciudad

04:53 ?
¿Que otros proyectos similares conoce?

04:59 R
Señala como tiempo después, en otras veredas de la localidad y en otras localidades hay procesos de turismo.

06:00 I
Resalta como a diferencia del turismo tradicional basado en el espacio como objeto de deleite, o de los sentidos que los turistas le dan a sus visitas, el territorio es un ejemplo de supervivencia para que las comunidades campesinas de bogotá no tengan que desaparecer.

07:12 ?
Pregunta por las personas que han visitado el territorio.

07:21 R
Señala como han pasado extrangeros, colegios privados, colegios publicos,m familias, universidades, y diversos tipos de sujetos.

07:49 E
Comenta como es un escenario pensado para que las juventudes aprendan sobre su entorno natural partiendo de una preocupación por generar conciencia en estas personas.

08:26 I
El proyecto busca mostrar que hay organizaciones que han logrado implementar de manera efectiva modelos sostenibles en la ciudad.

08:54 E
Aclara que se refiere a bogotá como región y que antes esos terriorios no eran comunmente considerados como parte de la ciudad.

09:00 I
Resalta como desde epocas prehispanicas esos territorios hacen parte de rutas migracionales latinoamericanas que conectaban tierras frías con tierras calientes. Añade como el territorio tambien hiso parte fundamental de los procesos de independencia, en los procesos de las revoluciones campesinas y las guerrillas liberales que se organizaron en disputa por las tierras.

10:43 I
Habla como por eso la localidad tiene un batallón de alta montaña con 3000 hombres en pleno páramo, afectando el ecosistema negativamente. Señala con su mano hacia donde esta ubicada esa base.

11:00 ?
¿Como ha sido esa relación entre la alcaldía con el agroparque?

11:04 R
Describe la relación de la alcaldía con el agroparque como "orfandad" señalando como en terminos de inclusion en politica publica la institucion no ha tenido encuenta las demandas o necesidades de la comunidad.

11:26 ?
insinuo que puede haber sabotajes y pregunto por ellos

11:27 R
Señala como el parque ha sido usado como ejemplo mas no han sido apoyados en sus actividades. (Nos detenemos para el avistamiento de un aguila en donde hacemos una observación del territorio y las marcas que han dejado animales; se interrumpe la entrevista durante un momento mientras caminamos y charlamos informalmente de como habia sido el proceso de subida)

13:15 ?
¿Como es la reacción de las personas al subir a estos espacios?

13:22 R
Menciona como la gente se maravilla al ver el paisale.

13:23 E
Dice que el ha subido muchas veces pero que cada vez que sube se maravilla. Describe esto como enamorarse otra vez y me dice que espere a llegar a la laguna para que yo lo vea.

15:55 I
Habla de un elemento que es articulado a los paseos que guian relacionado a la pedagogía social y ambiental del territorio como un elemento. Usa como ejemplo un botadero de basura en el sur de Bogotá que visitan como destino turistico para mostrar la problemática de la comunidad que vive cercana a dicho punto. Así muestra como el turismo en clave pedagogica puede extenderse a nuevos espacios que de persé no son considerados como turisticos.

16:24 ?
Pregunta por el proceso de inclusion de miembors de la comunidad como guias turisticos?

16:26 R
Menciona que lo importante es comenzar a caminar que la misma experiencia se va consolidando con el tiempo. "El camino le enseña a uno"

16:53 E
Recuerda una anecdota que vivimos la primera vez que visité el parque con un grupo de profesores que se comportaban como estudiantes en una salida a campo. [inaudible]

18:38 ?
¿Que ha sido lo mejor de ser guia?

18:36 R
Habla que lo mejor ha sido el expandir su red de amigos y contactos. La cual ha crecido a raiz de las numerosas visitas que reciben en el territorio.

19:00 ?
Pregunta por las rutas que manejan

19:07 R
Señala como ahora tienen 125 senderos ubicados mas que todo en cundinamarca. Destaca una de esas rutas que recorre las antiguas vias ferreas.

20:00 ?
pregunta por lo malo de ser guia

20:12 R
[Inaudible]: Durante ese momento hablamos del gasto en botas adecuadas para caminar y el desgaste fisico. Desde aquí el audio se hace inentendible por dos minutos.

24:00 E
Señala como el tema turístico ha crecido y como ahora hay nuevos espacios que se han abierto pensando en el modelo implementado en ese territorio.

24:16 I
Habla de esto como un descubrimiento de el sur de la ciudad, el cual es predominantemente rural y tiene un alto valor ecologico.

20:34 ?
¿Que voz esperan tener como comunidad?

24:44 R
Sostiene que el punto es seguir replicando el modelo de turismo rural comunitario.

24:48 I
Menciona como en un proyecto que se ganaron van a trabajar en la replica de las experiencias en otros espacios de la ciudad. Esto tiene el objetivo de que las comunidades se empoderen de sus territorios y estos nos queden al servicio de operadores turisticos depredadores.

25:13 I
Respecto a esto contrasta el ejercicio hecho por las comunidades donde ha diferentes filtros a la hora de permitir el acceso a los territorios.

25:35 ?
¿Como se pueden replicar estas experiencias?

25:40 R
Sostiene que debe haber una cominidad arraigada en su territorio. Sin una identidad ligada al territorio esto es muy difícil pues de otra forma la relacion con el territorio esta abierta a logicas de mercado. Habla de como con la insistencia sobre el tiempo en dichas practicas pueden influenciar a comunidades cercanas.

26:25 I
Señala que por eso es importante que las personas se involucren en los asuntos para así generar oportunidades para emprender y que los territorios mejoren.

27:49 E
Muestra como en colombia el turismo viene creciendo mucho mas que en otros paises así que el hacer un turusmo responsable es necesario para evitar que este crecimiento atente contra los territorios.

28:18 ?
Pregunta por proyectos similares en otras regiones

28:20 R
Señala como en el parque san agustin también están implementando el modelo de turismo rural comunitario y organizacion territorial.

28:46 ?
Pregunta por las redes en las que participan.

28:51 R
Cuenta que hacen parte de la red nacional de turismo y como se encuentran acreditados. Hablamos de la importancia de generar redes.

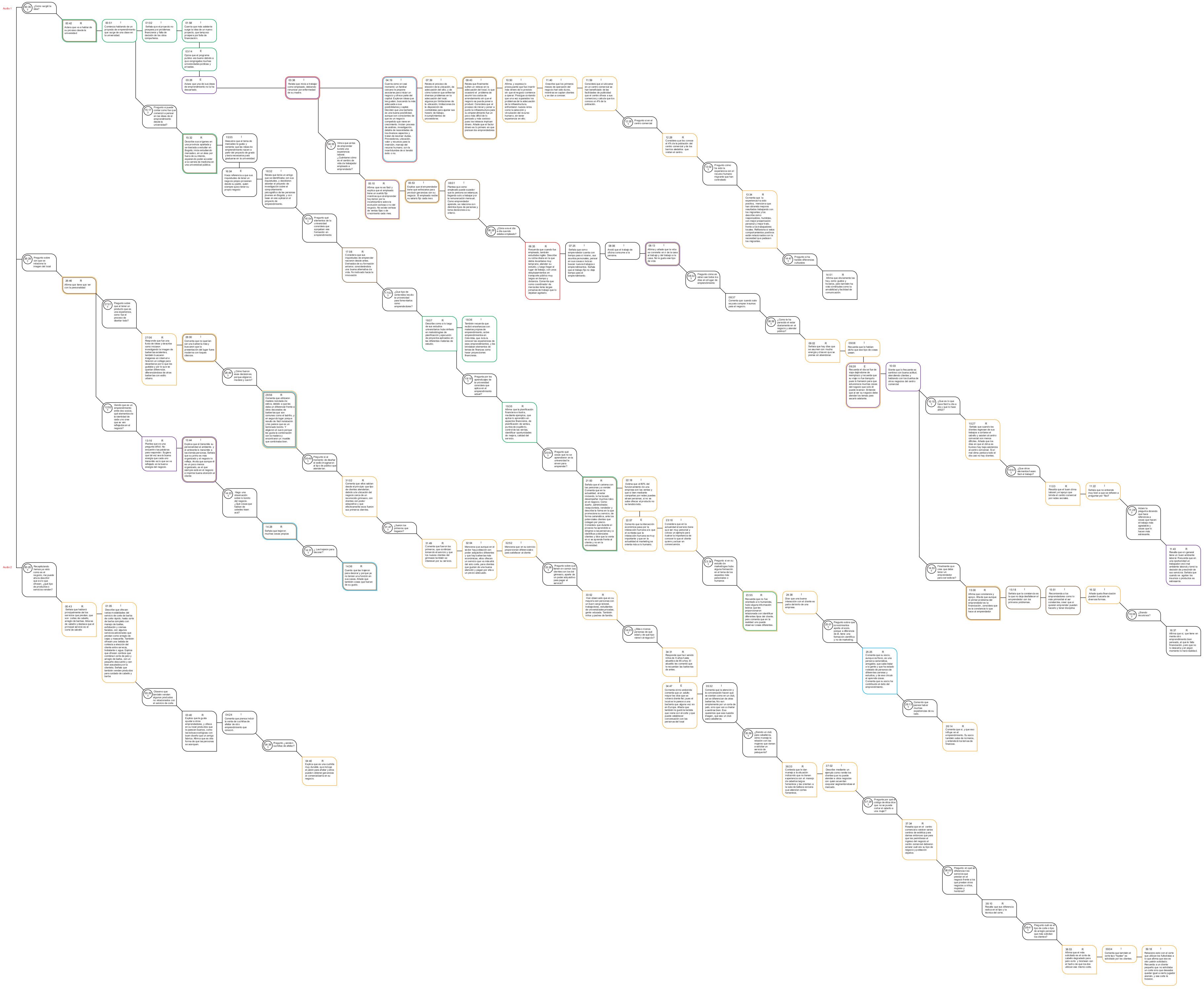
29:44 ?
Pregunta por la tension entre el turismo convencional (o depredador) y el turismo rural

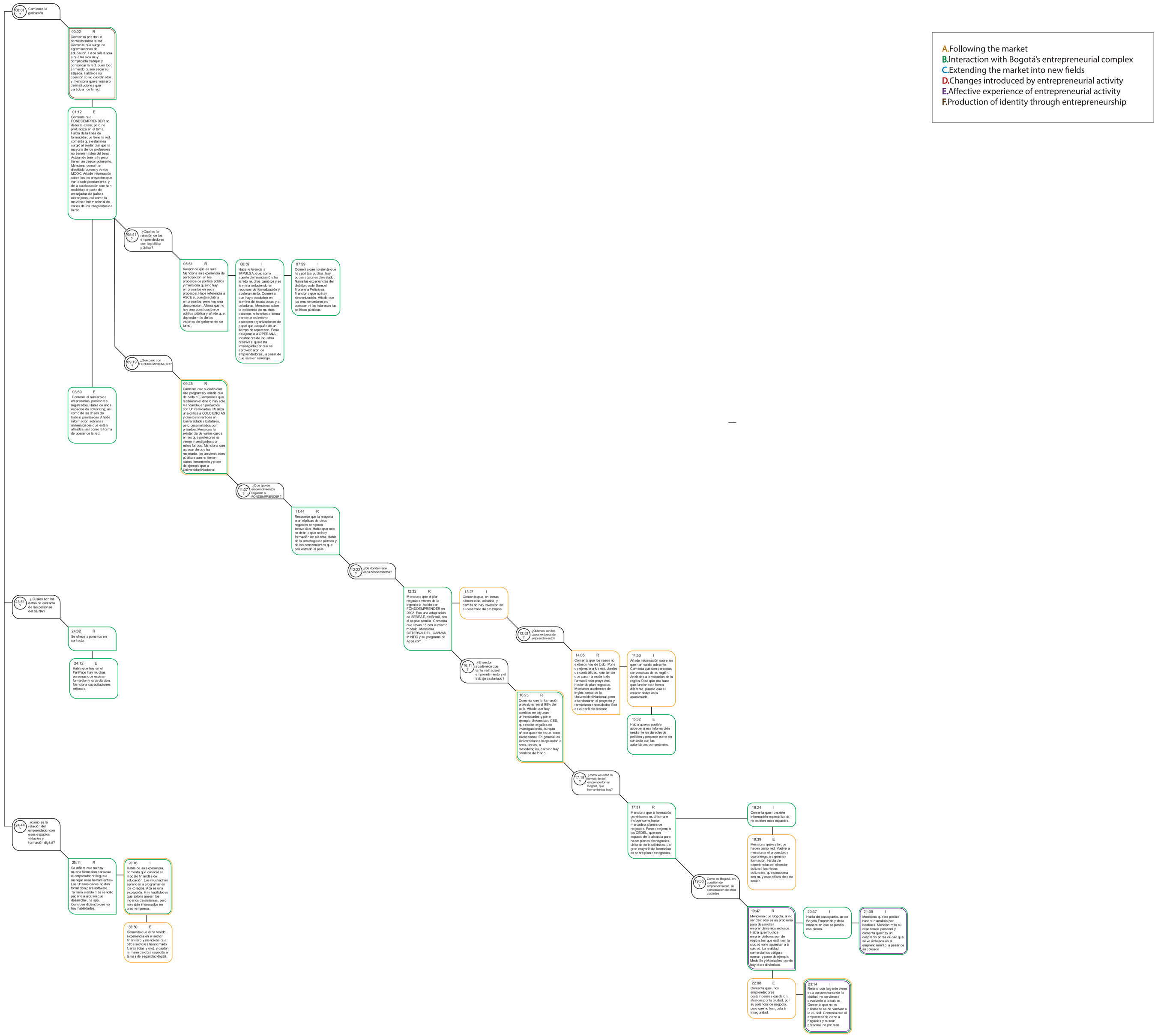
29:56 R
Habla de que hay que verlo desde las dos perspectivas: La del turismo elite donde lo que se busca es la comodidad de las personas vs las comunidades que trabajan de forma adyacente a estas industrias. En ese sentido, las comunidades necesitan organizarse para evitar que el territorio termine acaparado por el turismo elite.

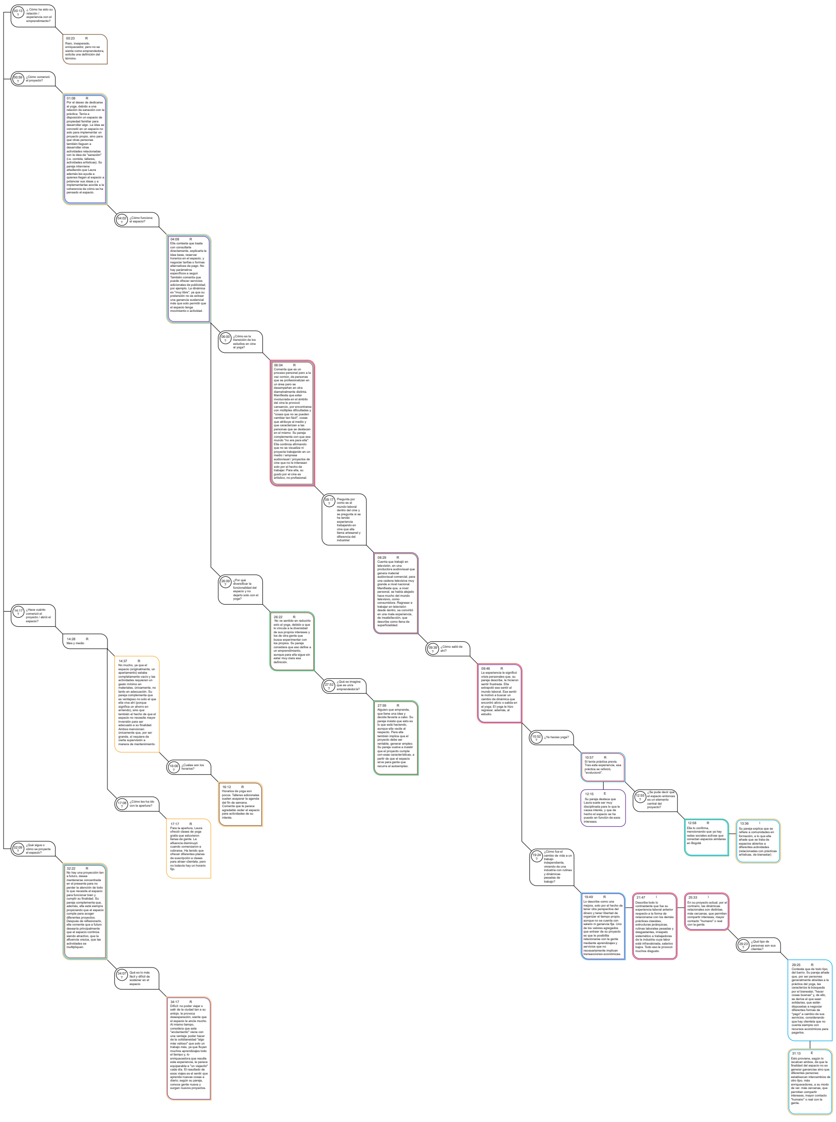
31:00 I
Menciona como esto sucede tambien el el territorio y como hay agencias depredadoras que ofrecen salidas al paramo de sumapaz. Señala como los costos de este tipo de viajes son mucho mas altos a los que ellos ofrecen y que además no traen los servicios de alimentacion, seguro, y guianza.

32:17 ?
¿ Como ha sido la competencia?

32:20 R
Habla de que las ha faltado organizacion comunitaria y que esto es aprovechado por el turismo elite para que ellos puedan usufructuar el territorio.


Audio 1
00:35 ? ¿Como surgió la idea?
00:42 R Aclara que va a hablar de su proceso desde la universidad
00:51 I Comienza hablando de un proyecto de emprendimiento que surge de una clase en la universidad.
01:02 I Señala que el proyecto no prospera por problemas financieros y falta de decisión de los otros compañeros.
01:58 I Cuenta que más adelante surge la idea de un nuevo proyecto, que tampoco prospera por falta de financiación.
03:14 E Opina que el programa publico era bueno debido a que congregaba muchas universidades públicas y privadas.
03:28 E Aclara que una de sus ideas de emprendimiento no la ha descartado.
03:38 I Relata que inicia a trabajar como empleado, debiendo renunciar por enfermedad de su madre.
04:19 I Cuenta como en ese momento un familiar cercano le propone asociarse para iniciar un negocio y ofrece parte del capital. Exploran ideas que les gusten, buscando la más adecuada a sus posibilidades y capital. Deciden que una barbería es una buena posibilidad, aunque son conscientes de que es un negocio competido que viene en crecimiento. Inician proceso de análisis, investigación, detalle de necesidades de los diversos aspectos y tratan de resolver dudas. Proveedores, ubicación, valor y recursos para la inversión, manejo del recurso humano, con la incertidumbre de si tendrá éxito o no.
07:39 I Relata el proceso de elección de la ubicación, de adecuación del sitio, y de cómo tuvieron que enfrentar diversos problemas en la adecuación del local, algunos por limitaciones de la ubicación, limitaciones de la disposición de contratistas para ajustar sus horario de trabajo, incumplimientos de proveedores
09:43 I Relata que finalmente sufren un retraso en la adecuación del local, lo que ocasionó el problema de asumir los costos de arrendamiento sin que el negocio se pueda poner a producir. Considera que el proceso de iniciar y poner a punto la infraestructura para su emprendimiento fue un poco más difícil de lo pensado y más costoso pues los retrasos implican dinero. Añade que el factor dinero es lo primero en que piensan los emprendedores
10:50 I Afirma, y expresa lo preocupante que fue invertir más dinero de lo previsto sin que el negocio comience a operar. Prosigue contando que una vez superados los problemas de la adecuación de la infraestructura, enfrentaron nuevos retos como la selección y vinculación del recurso humano, sin tener experiencia en ello.
11:40 I Describe que los primeros meses de operación del negocio han sido duros, mientras se captan clientes y se dan a conocer.
11:59 I Considera que al ubicarse en un centro comercial se han beneficiado de las facilidades de publicidad que el centro ofrece a sus comercios y calcula que los conoce un 4% de la población.
12:28 ? Pregunto si en el centro comercial
12:28 R Considera que los conoce el 4% de la población del centro comercial y de los barrios aledaños que visitan el centro.
13:02 ? Pregunto cómo ha sido la experiencia con el recurso humano migrante que han contratado
13:34 R Comenta que la experiencia ha sido positiva, menciona que han obtenido mejores resultados trabajando con los migrantes y los describe como responsables, humildes, con mejor presentación personal y mejor trato, frente a los trabajadores locales. Reflexiona si estos comportamientos positivos están relacionados con la necesidad que padecen los migrantes.
14:47 ? Pregunto si ha habido diferencias culturales
14:51 R Afirma que obviamente las hay, como gustos y horarios, pero también ha visto similitudes como la amabilidad y facilidad de comunicación.
04:55 ? Vimos que antes de emprender tuviste una experiencia laboral. ¿Cuéntame cómo es el cambio de vida de trabajador empleado a emprendedor?
05:10 R Afirma que no es fácil y explica que el empleado tiene un sueldo fijo mientras que al emprender hay temor por la incertidumbre sobre la evolución exitosa o no del negocio. No existe certeza de ventas fijas o de crecimiento cada mes.
05:53 I Explica que el emprendedor tiene que esforzarse para producir ganancias con su negocio. El empleado recibe su salario fijo cada mes
06:01 I Plantea que como empleado puede suceder que la persona se estanque, llegando solo a trabajar por la remuneración mensual. Como emprendedor aprende, se relaciona con distintos tipos de personas y toma decisiones a su criterio.
06:29 ? ¿Cómo era el día a día cuando estaba empleado?
06:35 R Recuerda que cuando fue empleado, también estudiaba inglés. Describe su rutina diaria en la que debía levantarse muy temprano, atender su estudio, y luego llegar al lugar de trabajo, con unos desplazamientos en transporte público muy largos en tiempo y distancia. Comenta que como coordinador de mercadeo tenía largas jornadas de trabajo que lo dejaban agotado.
07:25 I Señala que como emprendedor cuenta con tiempo para sí mismo, sus asuntos personales, pensar en sus cosas e incluso buscar nuevos trabajos o emprendimientos. Señala que el trabajo fijo no deja tiempo para el emprendimiento.
08:06 I Anotó que el trabajo de oficina consume a la persona.
08:13 I Afirma y añade que la vida se convierte en ir de la casa al trabajo y del trabajo a la casa. No le gusta ese tipo de vida
08:32 ? Pregunto cómo es estar casi todos los días en el lugar de emprendimiento
08:37 Comenta que cuando sale es para comprar insumos para el negocio.
08:56 ? ¿Como te ha parecido el estar diariamente en el negocio y atender público?
09:02 R Señala que hay días que se asumen con mucha energía y días en que se piensa en abandonar.
09:08 I Recuerda que le habían dicho que ese tipo de cosas pasan.
09:28 E Recuerda el día se fue de viaje dejándome de reemplazo y recuerda que su viaje no fue tranquilo pues lo llamaron para que solucionara muchas cosas del negocio que solo él puede resolver. Entiende que al ser su negocio debe atender los temas para sacarlo adelante.
10:03 Siente que lo frecuente es sentirse con buena actitud, atendiendo clientes y hablando con los dueños de otros negocios del centro comercial
10:15 ? ¿Que es lo que hace fácil tu día a día y que lo hace difícil?
10:27 R Señala que cuando los clientes regresan de sus trabajos a cortarse el cabello y asisten al centro comercial son menos difíciles. Añade que los días en que el clima es lluvioso hay baja asistencia al centro comercial. Si el mal clima perdura todo el día casi no hay clientes.
10:53 ? ¿Que otros elementos hacen fácil el trabajo?
11:03 R Resalta que el buen clima laboral y el apoyo que brinda el centro comercial por redes sociales.
11:22 I Señala que no entiende muy bien a que se refieren a preguntar por "fácil"
11:28 ? Aclaro la pregunta diciendo que hace referencia a cosas que hacen el trabajo más agradable y cosas que lo hacen más estresante.
11:43 R Resalta que en general tiene un buen ambiente laboral. Recuerda que en una oportunidad un trabajador creó mal ambiente laboral y tomó la decisión de prescindir de sus servicios. Señala que cuando se agotan los insumos o productos es estresante.
14:53 ? Finalmente que cree que debe tener un emprendedor para ser exitoso?
15:00 R Afirma que constancia y apoyo. Añade que aunque el primer problema del emprendedor es la financiación, considera que es la constancia lo que hace al emprendedor
15:18 I Señala que la constancia es la que no deja desfallecer al emprendedor con los primeros problemas.
15:51 I Recomienda a los emprendedores como lo más primordial el ser constantes, creer que si quieren emprender pueden hacerlo y tener disciplina
16:32 I Añade quela financiación pueden buscarla de diversas formas.
16:36 ? ¿Siendo recursivos?
16:37 R Afirma que si, que tiene en mente otro emprendimiento bien pensado, al que le falta financiación, pero que no lo descarta y en algún momento lo hará realidad.
15:17 ? Pregunto si puede contar como fue que comenzó a pensar en las ideas de el emprendimiento desde la universidad?
15:32 R Describe sus orígenes en una provincia apartada y se traslada a estudiar en Bogotá, inicia estudiando mercadeo, en un área por fuera de su interés, esperando poder acceder a la carrera de medicina en una universidad pública.
15:55 I Descubre que el tema de mercadeo le gusta y comenta que las ideas de emprendimiento nacen a partir del proyecto de grado y tesis necesarios para graduarse en la universidad.
16:04 E Hace referencia a que sus inquietudes de tener un negocio propio provienen desde su padre, quien siempre quiso tener su propio negocio
16:32 I Relata que tenía un amigo que se identificaba con sus inquietudes, y decidieron abordar el proyecto de investigación sobre el comportamiento psicográfico de las personas jóvenes en Bogotá, y con base en eso aplicaron el proyecto de emprendimiento.
16:54 ? Pregunto qué elementos de la universidad considera que apoyaban esa formación en emprendimiento
17:08 R Considera que sus inquietudes de emprender nacieron desde antes. Derivadas de su formación anterior, considerándola una buena alternativa de vida. Fe motivado hacia la innovación
17:53 ? ¿Que tipo de contenidos les dio la universidad para fomentarlos como emprendedores?
18:07 R Describe como a lo largo de sus estudios universitarios hubo énfasis en metodologías de planificación y ejecución de proyectos aplicados en las diferentes materias de estudio.
18:36 I También recuerda que recibió enseñanzas con materias propias de emprendimiento, sobre emprendimientos en Colombia, que incluía conocer las experiencias de esos emprendimientos, y les brindaban elementos de temas de finanzas como hacer proyecciones financieras.
19:18 ? Pregunta por los aprendizajes de la universidad considera que aplica en el emprendimiento actual?
19:35 R Afirma que la planificación financiera e ilustra, mediante ejemplos, que aplica lo aprendido en aspectos financieros, de planificación de ventas, puntos de equilibrio, control de las ventas, identificar oportunidades de mejora, calidad del servicio.
20:50 ? Pregunto qué cosas que no se aprendieron en la universidad le sirven para emprender?
21:00 R Señala que el carisma con las personas y a vender. Comenta que en la actualidad, al estar iniciando, le ha tocado desempeñar muchos roles en el negocio. Como dueño, administrador, recepcionista, vendedor y describe la forma en la que promociona su servicio, de forma carismática, ante los potenciales clientes que indagan por precio. Considera que durante el proceso ha aprendido a dirigirse a las personas y a identificar potenciales clientes y dice que la venta en si se aprende frente al cliente y no en la universidad.
22:18 I Estima que el 80% del funcionamiento de una empresa son las ventas y que si bien mediante campañas por redes puedes atraer personas, si no se sabe ofrecer el producto no se tendrá éxito.
22:57 E Comento que la interacción económica pasa por la interacción humana a lo que el contesta que la interacción humana es muy importante y que en la actualidad el marketing se orienta más a lo humano.
23:18 I Considera que en la actualidad el servicio tiene que ser muy personal y coloca un ejemplo para ilustrar la importancia de conocer lo que el cliente quiere y actuar en consecuencia.
23:34 ? Pregunto si en su estudio de marketingse hubo alguna formación en el tema de los aspectos más personales o humanos
23:55 R Recuerda que no fue orientado a lo humanista, hubo alguna información teórica que les proporcionaron relacionada con identificar diferentes tipos del cliente, pero comenta que en la realidad uno puede observar cosas diferentes.
24:38 I Dice que una buena interacción con el cliente es parte del éxito de una empresa.
25:01 ? Pregunto sobre que conocimientos aporta el socio, porque a diferencia de él, tiene una formación científica y no de marketing.
25:25 R Comenta que su socio, aunque es físico, es una persona carismática, amigable, que sabe tratar a la gente y que ha estado rodeado de personas de diferentes carreras y estudios, y de ese círculo el aprende cosas. Comenta que su socio ha contribuido al éxito del emprendimiento.
26:13 ? Comento que parece haber muchas experiencias de su lado.
26:14 R Comenta que si, y que eso influye en el emprendimiento. Su socio también sabe de números, y entenderá los temas de finanzas.
26:28 ? Pregunto sobre con que se relaciona la imagen del local
26:46 R Afirma que tiene que ver con la personalidad
27:01 ? Pregunto sobre que al tener un producto que es una experiencia, como fue el proceso de diseñar todo?
27:06 R Responde que fue una lluvia de ideas y describe como iniciaron investigando la imagen de barberías existentes, también buscaron imágenes en internet e hicieron un collage para decantarse por lo que les gustaba y por lo que se querían diferenciar, diferenciándose de otras barberías con estilo urbano.
28:00 I Comenta que no querían ser una barbería más y buscaron que la presentación del lugar fuera moderna con toques clásicos.
28:49 ? ¿Cómo fueron esas decisiones, porque eligieron madera y cuero?
28:56 R Comenta que utilizaron madera reciclada de estiva, debido a que les daba un diferencial frente a otros decorados de barberías que son comunes como el ladrillo, y en segundo lugar porque resulto de fácil instalación y les parece que es un terminado bonito. Y eligieron el cuero porque les gusta la combinación con la madera y encontraron un mueble que combinaba bien.
30:49 ? Pregunto si al momento de diseñar el estilo imaginaron al tipo de público que atenderían.
31:02 R Comenta que ellos sabían desde el principio que tipo de clientes atenderían, debido a la ubicación del negocio cerca de un reconocido gimnasio, con clientes con poder adquisitivo y que efectivamente esos fueron sus primeros clientes.
31:47 ? ¿fueron los primeros que llegaron?
31:49 R Comenta que fueron los primeros, que continúan tomando el servicio y que los nuevos clientes del gimnasio también se interesan por su servicio.
32:04 I Menciona que aunque en el sector hay población con poder adquisitivo diferentes y que hay barberías más económicas, ellos ofrecen un servicio que va más allá del solo corte, para clientes que gustan de una buena atención y pagan por ella a un precio adecuado.
32:52 I Menciona que en su servicio proporcionan diferenciales para satisfacer al cliente
33:26 ? Pregunto sobre que tienen en común sus clientes con los del gimnasio, aparte de un poder adquisitivo para pagar el servicio?
33:52 R Han observado que en su mayoría son personas con un buen cargo laboral, trabajadoras, estudiantes de universidades privadas, gente educada. También niños y padres de familia.
34:25 ? ¿Más o menos personas de qué edad y de qué tipo vienen al negocio?
34:31 R Responde que han venido niños de 6 años hasta abuelitos de 85 años. El abuelito les comentó que le recuerdan las barberías de antes.
34:47 E Comenta cómo anécdota comenta que un adulto mayor les dice que se volverá cliente fiel, pues el local se le parece a una barbería que alguna vez vio en Europa. Añade que también le gustó la bebida que viene con el corte y que puede establecer conversación con las personas del local
35:32 I Comenta que la atención y la conversación hacen que se sientan como en un club, así se diferencian de otras barberías, No van simplemente por un corte de pelo, sino que van a charlar a sentirse bien. Esa queremos que sea nuestra imagen, que sea un club para caballeros.
35:59 ? ¿Siendo un club para caballeros, cómo maneja la relación con las mujeres que vienen a solicitar un servicio de peluquería?
36:33 R Contesta que le dan manejo a la situación indicando que no tienen experiencia con el manejo de cabellos largos femeninos y las orientan a la sala de belleza cercana que atienden cortes femeninos.
37:02 I Describe mediante un ejemplo como remite los clientes que no puede atender a otros negocios con quien acuerdan cooperar segmentándose el mercado.
37:29 ? Pregunta por qué el código de ética dice que no se puede cortar el cabello a una mujer?
37:34 R Resalta que en el centro comercial a existen varios centros de estética para damas entonces que para que les permitieran el ingreso del negocio al centro comercial debieron aclarar cuál era su tipo de negocio y población objetivo.
38:00 ? Pregunto en qué se diferencian los servicios que prestan en el negocio frente a los que prestan otros negocios a niños, mujeres y hombres?
38:10 R Resalta que sus diferencia radica en el tipo y la técnica del corte.
38:41 ? Pregunto cuál es el tipo de corte o tipo de arreglo personal que más solicitan los clientes?
38:53 R Afirma que el más solicitado es el corte de cabello degradado para pelo corto y bromean con el hecho de que los dos utilizan ese mismo corte.
39:04 I Comenta que también el corte tipo "hipster" es solicitado por los clientes.
39:18 I Relaciono esto con el corte que utilizan los futbolistas a lo que afirma que ese es otro patrón solicitado. Recuerda a un cliente pequeño que no solicitaba un corte sino que deseaba quedar igual a cierto jugador alemán, y ese corte le hicieron.
12:50 ? Viendo que es un emprendimiento entre dos socios, qué elementos de la identidad de cada uno cree que se ven reflejados en el negocio?
13:16 R Plantea que es una pregunta difícil. No encuentro las palabras para responder. Sugiere que tal vez sea la buena energía que cada uno transmite es lo que se ve reflejado en la buena energía del negocio.
13:44 I Explica que el transmite su personalidad al ambiente, y el ambiente lo transmite a las demás personas. Señala que su primo es más organizado y el negocio lo refleja. Anota que aunque él es un poco menos organizado, es el que siempre está en el negocio e imprime buena atención al cliente
14:23 ? Hago una observación sobre lo bonito del negocio. ¿Qué cosas que hablan de ustedes traen acá?
14:28 R Señala que trajeron muchas cosas propias
14:31 ? ¿ Las trajeron para decorar?
14:36 R Cuenta que las trajeron para decorar y porque ya no tenían una función en sus casas. Añade que también cosas que fueran de su gusto.
Audio 2
00:20 ? Recapitulando hemos ya visto como es el negocio, me puede ahora describir que es lo que ofrecen, ¿qué tipo de productos o servicios venden?
00:43 R Señala que hablará principalmente del los servicios que prestan, que son cortes de cabello, arreglo de barbas, tinturas de cabello y destaca que el principal servicio es el corte de cabello
01:05 I Describe que ofrecen varias modalidades del servicio de corte de barba de corte rápido, hasta corte de barba completo con manejo de toallas, exfoliación y cremas faciales, con algunos servicios adicionales que prestan como arreglo de cejas y mascarilla. También ofrecen una bebida de cortesía a elección del cliente entre cerveza, hidratante o agua. Explica que ofrecen combos que combinan corte de pelo y arreglo de barba, con un pequeño descuento y son bien aceptados por la clientela. Señala que también venden productos para cuidado de cabello y barba
03:29 ? Observo que también venden algunos productos no relacionados con el servicio de corte.
03:40 R Explica que le gusta ayudar a otros emprendedores, y ofrece en su local productos que le parecen buenos, como las bolsas ecológicas con buen diseño que un amigo fabrica. Afirma que es otra forma de que las personas se acerquen.
04:24 I Comenta que piensa incluir la venta de cuchillas de afeitar de otro emprendimiento que conoció.
04:38 ? Pregunto ¿venden cuchillas de afeitar?
04:40 R Explica que es una cuchilla muy durable, que incluye el jabón para afeitar y ellos pueden obtener ganancias al comercializarla en su negocio.


A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship
00:01 ? Comienza la grabación
00:02 R Comienza por dar un contexto sobre la red. Comenta que surge de agremiaciones de educación. Hace referencia a que ha sido muy complicado trabajar y consolidar la red, pues todo el mundo quiere sacar su atajada. Habla de su posición como coordinador y menciona que el número de instituciones que participan de la red.
01:12 E Comenta que FONDOEMPRENDER no debería existir, pero no profundiza en el tema. Habla de la línea de formación que tiene la red, comenta que esta línea surgió al evidenciar que la mayoría de los profesores no tienen ni idea del tema. Actúan de buena fe pero tienen un desconocimiento. Menciona como han diseñado cursos y varios MOOC. Añade información sobre los los proyectos que van a salir prontamente, y de la colaboración que han recibido por parte de embajadas de países extranjeros, así como la movilidad internacional de varios de los integrantes de la red.
05:41 ? ¿Cual es la relación de los emprendedores con la política pública?
05:51 R Responde que es nula. Menciona su experiencia de participación en los procesos de política pública y menciona que no hay empresarios en esos procesos. Hace referencia a ASCE supuesta aglutina empresarios, pero hay una desconexión. Afirma que no hay una construcción de política pública y añade que depende más de las visiones del gobernante de turno.
06:59 I Hace referencia a IMPULSA, que, como agente de financiación, ha tenido muchos cambios y se termina reduciendo en recursos de formalización y aceleramiento. Comenta que hay descalabro en termino de incubadoras y a celadoras. Menciona sobre la existencia de muchos decretos referentes al tema pero que así mismo aparecen organizaciones de papel que después de un tiempo desaparecen. Pone de ejemplo a OPERANA, incubadora de industria creativas, que esta investigado por que se aprovecharon de emprendedores., a pesar de que sale en rankings.
07:59 I Comenta que no siente que hay política publica, hay pocas acciones de estado. Narra las experiencias del distrito desde Samuel Moreno a Peñalosa. Menciona que no hay sincronización. Añade que los emprendedores no conocen ni les interesan las políticas públicas.
03:50 E Comenta el número de empresarios, profesores registrados. Habla de unos espacios de coworking, así como de las líneas de trabajo priorizados. Añade información sobre las universidades que están afiliadas, así como la forma de operar de la red.
09:19 ? ¿Que paso con FONDOEMPRENDER?
09:25 R Comenta que sucedió con ese programa y añade que de cada 100 empresas que recibieron el dinero hay solo 4 andando, en proyectos con Universidades. Realiza una critica a COLCIENCIAS y dineros invertidos en Universidades Estatales, pero desarrollados por privados. Menciona la existencia de varios casos en los que profesores se vieron investigados por estos fondos. Menciona que a pesar de que ha mejorado, las universidades públicas aun no tienen claros lineamiento y pone de ejemplo que a Universidad Nacional.
11:37 ? ¿Que tipo de emprendimientos llegaban a FONDEMPRENDER?
11:44 R Responde que la mayoría eran réplicas de otros negocios con poca innovación. Habla que esto se debe a que no hay formación en el tema. Habla de la estrategia de pivoteo y de los conocimientos que han entrado al país.
12:22 ? ¿De donde viene esos conocimientos?
12:32 R Menciona que el plan negocios vienen de la ingeniería, traído por FONDOEMPRENDER en 2002. Fue una adaptación de SEBRAE, de Brasil, con el capital semilla. Comenta que llevan 15 con el mismo modelo. Menciona OSTERVALDEL, CANVAS, MINTIC y su programa de Apps.com.
13:27 I Comenta que, en temas alimenticios, robótica, y demás no hay inversión en el desarrollo de prototipos.
13:53 ? ¿Quienes son los casos exitosos de emprendimiento?
14:05 R Comenta que los casos no exitosos hay de todo. Pone de ejemplo a los estudiantes de contabilidad, que tenían que pasar la materia de formación de proyectos, haciendo plan negocios. Montaron academias de inglés, cerca de la Universidad Nacional, pero abandonaron el proyecto y terminaron endeudados Ese es el perfil del fracaso.
14:53 I Añade información sobre los que han salido adelante. Comenta que son personas convencidas de su región. Anclados a la vocación de la región. Dice que eso hace que funcione de forma diferente, puesto que el emprendedor esta apasionada.
15:32 E Habla que es posible acceder a esa información mediante un derecho de petición y propone poner en contacto con las autoridades competentes.
16:11 ? ¿El sector académico que tanto va hacia el emprendimiento y el trabajo asalariado?
16:25 R Comenta que la formación profesional es el 95% del país. Añade que hay cambios en algunas universidades y pone ejemplo Universidad CES, que recibe regalías de investigaciones, aunque añade que este es un. caso excepcional. En general las Universidades le apuestan a consultorías, a metodologías, pero no hay cambios de fondo.
17:18 ? ¿como ve usted la formación del emprendedor en Bogotá, que herramientas hay?
17:31 R Menciona que la formación genérica es muchísima e incluye como hacer mercadeo, planes de negocios. Pone de ejemplo los CEDEL, que son espacio de la alcaldía para hacer planes de negocios, ubicado en localidades. La gran mayoría de formación es sobre plan de negocios.
18:24 I Comenta que no existe información especializada, no existen esos espacios.
18:39 E Menciona que es lo que hacen como red. Vuelve a mencionar el proyecto de coworking para generar formación. Habla de experiencias en el sector cultural, los nodos culturales, que considera son muy específicos de este sector.
19:33 ? Como es Bogotá, en cuestión de emprendimiento, en comparación de otras ciudades
19:47 R Menciona que Bogotá, al no ser de nadie es un problema para desarrollar emprendimientos exitosos. Habla que muchos emprendedores son de región, los que están en la ciudad no le apuestan a la cuidad. La realidad comercial los obliga a operar, y pone de ejemplo Medellín y Manizales, donde hay otras dinámicas.
20:37 I Habla del caso particular de Bogotá Emprende y de la manera en que se perdió ese dinero.
21:09 I Menciona que es posible hacer un análisis por localices. Mención más su experiencia personal y comenta que hay un desprecio por la ciudad que se ve reflejado en el emprendimiento, a pesar de su potencia.
22:08 E Comenta que unos emprendedores costarricenses quedaron atraídos por la ciudad, por su potencial de negocio, pero que no les gusta la inseguridad.
23:14 I Reitera que la gente viene es a aprovecharse de la ciudad, no se viene a devolverle a la cuidad- Comenta que no es necesario se no vuelven a la ciudad. Comenta que el empresariado viene a negocios y buscar personal, no por más.
23:51 ? ¿ Cuales son los datos de contacto de las personas del SENA?
24:02 R Se ofrece a ponerlos en contacto.
24:12 E Habla que hay en el FanPage hay muchas personas que esperan formación y capacitación. Menciona capacitaciones exitosas.
24:44 ? ¿como es la relación del emprendedor con esos espacios virtuales y formación digital?
25:11 R Se refiere que no hay mucha formación para que el emprendedor llegue a manejar esas herramientas- Las Universidades no dan formación para software. Termina siendo más sencillo pagarle a alguien que desarrolle una app. Concluye diciendo que no hay habilidades.
25:46 I Habla de su experiencia, comenta que conoció el modelo finlandés de educación. Los muchachos aprenden a programar en los colegios. Acá es una excepción. Hay habilidades que solo la anejan los ingeríos de sistemas, pero no están interesados en crear empresa.
35:50 E Comenta que él ha tenido experiencia en el sector financiero y menciona que otros sectores han tomado fuerza (Gas y oro), y captan la mano de obra capacita en temas de seguridad digital.



00:13 ? ¿ Cómo ha sido su relación / experiencia con el emprendimiento?

00:23 R
Raro, inesperado, enriquecedor, pero no se siente como emprendedora, solicita una definición del término.

00:59 ? ¿Cómo comenzó el proyecto?

01:08 R
Por el deseo de dedicarse al yoga, debido a una relación de sanación con la práctica. Tenía a disposición un espacio de propiedad familiar para desarrollar algo. La idea se concretó en un espacio no solo para implementar un proyecto propio, sino para que otras personas también lleguen a desarrollar otras actividades relacionadas con la idea de "sanación" (i.e. comida, talleres, actividades artísticas). Su pareja interviene añadiendo que Laura además les ayuda a quienes llegan al espacio a potenciar sus ideas y a implementarlas acorde a la coherencia de cómo se ha pensado el espacio.

04:02 ? ¿Cómo funciona el espacio?

04:08 R
Ella contesta que basta con consultarle directamente, explicarle la idea base, reservar horarios en el espacio, y negociar tarifas o formas alternativas de pago. No hay parámetros específicos a seguir. También comenta que puede ofrecer servicios adicionales de publicidad, por ejemplo. La dinámica es "muy libre", ya que su pretensión no es extraer una ganancia sustancial más que solo permitir que el espacio tenga movimiento o actividad.

06:00 ? ¿Cómo es la transición de los estudios en cine al yoga?

06:04 R
Comenta que es un proceso personal pero a la vez común, de personas que se profesionalizan en un área pero se desempeñan en otra diametralmente distinta. Manifiesta que estar involucrada en el ámbito del cine le provocó cansancio, por encontrarse con múltiples dificultades y "cosas que no se pueden cambiar tan fácil", cosas que atribuye al medio y que caracterizan a las personas que se destacan en el mismo. Su pareja complementa con que ese mundo "no era para ella". Ella continúa afirmando que no se visualiza ni proyecta trabajando en un medio / empresa audiovisual / proyectos de cine que no le interesan solo por el hecho de trabajar. Para ella, su gusto por el cine es artístico, no profesional.

08:17 ? Pregunta por como es el mundo laboral dentro del cine y se pregunta si se ha tenido experiencia trabajando en cine que ella llama artesanal y diferencia del industrial

08:29 R
Cuenta que trabajó en televisión, en una productora audiovisual que genera material audiovisual comercial, para una cadena televisiva muy grande a nivel nacional. Manifiesta que, a nivel personal, se había alejado hace mucho del mundo televisivo, como consumidora. Regresar a trabajar en televisión desde dentro, se convirtió en una mala experiencia, de insatisfacción, que describe como llena de superficialidad.

09:39 ? ¿Cómo salió de ahí?

09:46 R
La experiencia le significó crisis personales que, su pareja describe, le hicieron sentir frustrada. Ella extrapoló ese sentir al mundo laboral. Ese sentir le motivó a buscar un cambio de dinámica que encontró alivio o salida en el yoga. El yoga le hizo regresar, además, al estudio.

10:52 ? ¿Ya hacías yoga?

10:57 R
Sí tenía práctica previa. Tras esta experiencia, esa práctica se reforzó, "evolucionó".

12:15 E
Su pareja destaca que Laura suele ser muy disciplinada para lo que le causa interés, y que de hecho el espacio se ha puesto en función de esos intereses.

12:55 ? ¿Se pude decir que el espacio entonces es un elemento central del proyecto?

12:58 R
Ella lo confirma, mencionando que ya hay redes sociales activas que conectan espacios similares en Bogotá

13:36 I
Su pareja explica que se refiere a comunidades en formación, a lo que ella añade que se trata de espacios abiertos a diferentes actividades (relacionadas con prácticas artísticas, de bienestar)

19:24 ? ¿Cómo fue el cambio de vida a un trabajo independiente, viniendo de una industria con rutinas y dinámicas pesadas de trabajo?

19:49 R
Lo describe como una mejora, solo por el hecho de tener otra perspectiva del dinero y tener libertad de organizar el tiempo propio, aunque no se cuenta con salario ni ganancia fija. Uno de los valores agregados que extraer de su proyecto es que le posibilita relacionarse con la gente mediante aprendizajes y servicios que no necesariamente implican transacciones económicas.

21:47 I
Describe todo lo contrastante que fue su experiencia laboral anterior respecto a la forma de relacionarse con los demás: prácticas clasistas, estructuras jerárquicas, rutinas laborales pesadas y desgastantes, irrespeto sistemático a trabajadores de la industria cuya labor está infravalorada, salarios bajos. Todo eso le provocó muchos disgusto.

25:33 I
En su proyecto actual, por el contrario, las dinámicas relacionales son distintas, más cercanas, que permiten compartir intereses, mayor contacto "humano" o real con la gente.

29:23 ? ¿Qué tipo de personas son sus clientes?

29:25 R
Contesta que de todo tipo, del barrio. Su pareja añade que, por ser personas generalmente atraídas a la práctica del yoga, les caracteriza la búsqueda por el bienestar, "hacer cosas buenas" y, de ello, se deriva el que sean solidarias, que están dispuestas a negociar diferentes formas de "pago" a cambio de sus servicios, considerando que hay clientela que no cuenta siempre con recursos económicos para pagarlos.

31:13 E
Esto proviene, según lo recalcan ambos, de que la finalidad del espacio no es generar ganancias sino que diferentes personas establezcan intercambios de otro tipo, más enriquecedores, a su modo de ver. más cercanas, que permiten compartir intereses, mayor contacto "humano" o real con la gente.

26:09 ? ¿Por qué diversificar la funcionalidad del espacio y no dejarlo solo con el yoga?

26:22 R
No ve sentido en reducirlo solo al yoga, debido a que lo vincula a la diversidad de sus propios intereses y los de otra gente que busca experimentar con los propios. Su pareja considera que eso define a un emprendimiento, aunque para ella sigue sin estar muy clara esa definición.

27:52 ? ¿Qué se imagina que es un/a emprendedor/a?

27:59 R
Alguien que emprende, que tiene una idea y decide llevarla a cabo. Su pareja insiste que esto es lo que está haciendo, aunque ella vacile al respecto. Para ella también implica que el proyecto debe ser rentable, generar empleo. Su pareja vuelve a insistir que el proyecto cumple con esas características, a partir de que el espacio sirve para gente que recurre al autoempleo.

14:17 ? ¿Hace cuánto comenzó el proyecto / abrió el espacio?

14:28 R
Mes y medio

14:37 R
No mucho, ya que el espacio (originalmente, un apartamento) estaba completamente vacío y las actividades requieren un gasto mínimo en materiales, únicamente, no tanto en adecuación. Su pareja complementa que es ventajoso no solo el que ella viva ahí (porque significa un ahorro en arriendo), sino que también el hecho de que el espacio no necesite mayor inversión para ser adecuado a su finalidad. Ambos mencionan únicamente que, por ser grande, sí requiere de cierta supervisión a manera de mantenimiento.

16:06 ? ¿Cuáles son los horarios?

16:12 R
Horarios de yoga son pocos. Talleres adicionales suelen acaparar la agenda del fin de semana. Comenta que le parece agradable ceder el espacio para actividades de su interés.

17:08 ? ¿Cómo les ha ido con la apertura?

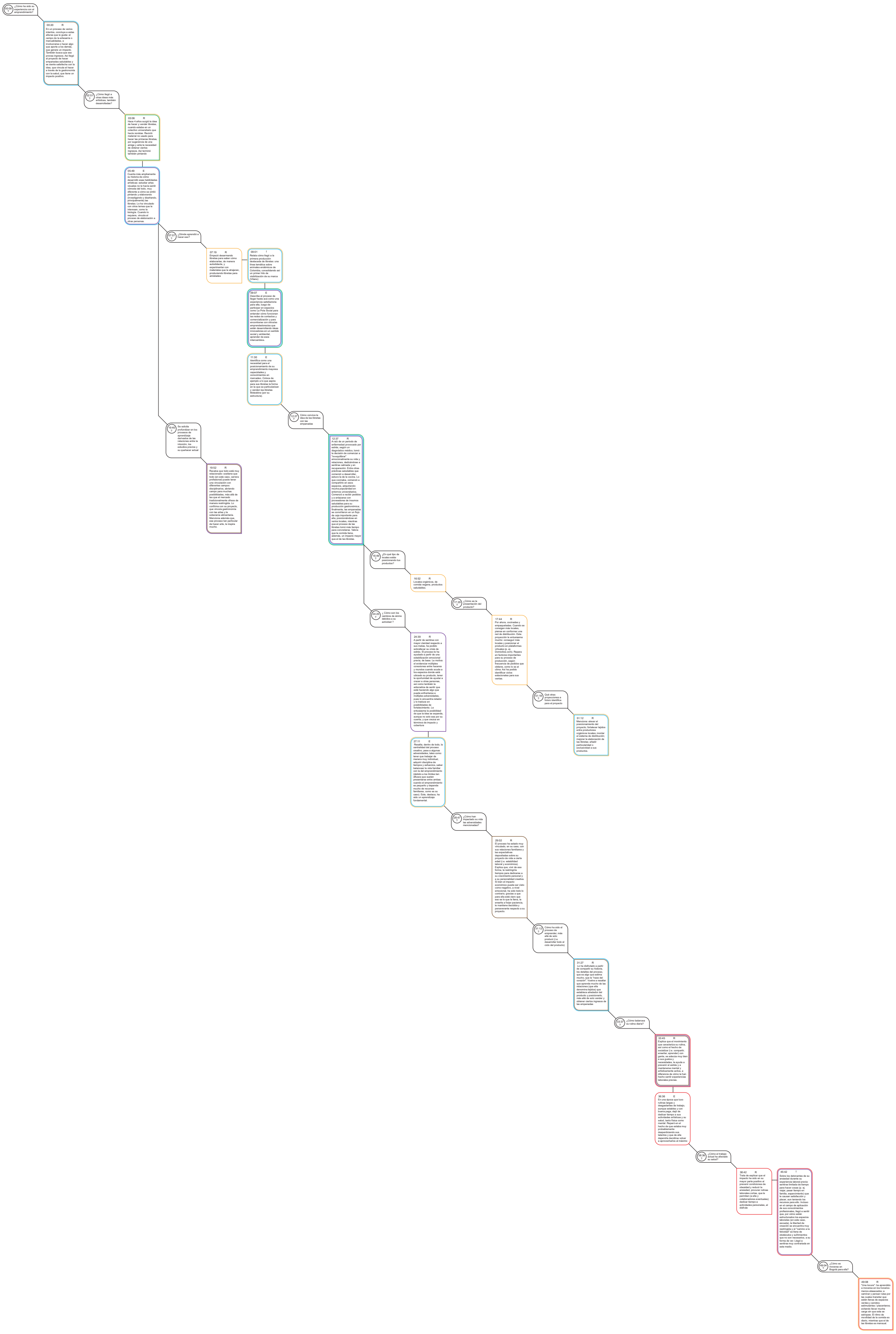
17:17 R
Para la apertura, Laura ofreció clases de yoga gratis que estuvieron llenas de gente. La afluencia disminuyó cuando comenzaron a cobrarse. Ha tenido que ofrecer diferentes planes de suscripción a clases para atraer clientela, pero no todavía hay un horario fijo.

32:09 ? ¿Qué sigue o cómo se proyecta el espacio?

32:22 R
No hay una proyección tan a futuro, desea mantenerse concentrada en el presente para no perder la atención de todo lo que necesita el espacio para funcionar bien y cumplir su finalidad. Su pareja complementa que, además, ella está siempre propiciando que el espacio cumpla para acoger diferentes proyectos. Después de reflexionarlo, ella comenta que a futuro desearía principalmente que el espacio continúe siendo atractivo, que la afluencia crezca, que las actividades se multipliquen.

34:07 ? Qué es lo más fácil y difícil de sostener en el espacio

34:17 R
Difícil: no poder viajar o salir de la ciudad tan a su antojo, le provoca desesperación, siente que el espacio le ancla mucho. Al mismo tiempo, considera que este "anclamiento" viene con una ventaja: poder hacer de la cotidianeidad "algo más valioso" que solo un trabajo más, ya que fluyen muchos aprendizajes todo el tiempo y, lo enriquecedora que resulta esta experiencia, le parece equiparable a "un viajecito" cada día. El resultado de esos viajes es el sentir que aprende nuevas cosas a diario; según su pareja, conoce gente nueva y surgen nuevos proyectos.



00:09 ?
¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia con el emprendimiento?

00:20 R
En un proceso de varios intentos, concluye a estas alturas que le gusta: el campo de la artesanía o manualidades, e involucrarse o hacer algo que aporte a los demás, que genere un impacto. También busca que eso provea ingresos. Así llegó al proyecto de hacer empanadas saludables y se siente satisfecha con la idea, que vincula el hacer a través de la gastronomía con la salud, que tiene un impacto positivo.

02:51 ?
¿Cómo llegó a otras ideas más artísticas, también desarrolladas?

03:06 R
Hace 4 años surgió la idea de hacer y vender libretas, cuando estaba en un colectivo universitario que hacía revistas. Recicló material no usado para hacer las primeras libretas, por sugerencia de una amiga y ante la necesidad de obtener ciertos ingresos. Así terminó también pintando

05:49 E
Cuenta más ampliamente su historia de cómo desarrolló esas habilidades artísticas: estudiar artes visuales no le hacía sentir cómoda del todo, muy diferente a cómo se sintió pintando y elaborando (investigando y diseñando, principalmente) las libretas. Lo ha vinculado con otros temas que le interesan, como la biología. Cuando lo requiere, vincula al proceso de elaboración a otras personas.

07:07 ?
¿Dónde aprendió a hacer eso?

07:19 R
Empezó desarmando libretas para saber cómo elaborarlas, de manera autodidacta, y experimentar con materiales que le atrajeran, produciendo libretas para amistades

09:01 I
Relata cómo llegó a la primera producción destacada de libretas: una línea temática sobre animales endémicos de Colombia, consolidando así un primer hito de visibilización de su marca (Vilano)

09:07 E
Describe el proceso de llegar hasta acá como una experiencia satisfactoria para ella, luego de participar en espacios como La Pola Social para entender cómo funcionan las redes de contactos y comercialización y para encontrarse con otros/as emprendedores/as que están desarrollando ideas innovadoras en un sentido social y ambiental, aprender de esos intercambios.

11:30 E
Identifica como una necesidad para el posicionamiento de su emprendimiento mayores capacidades y conocimientos en mercadeo. Coloca de ejemplo a lo que aspira para sus libretas la forma en la que se particularizan y venden las libretas Moleskine (por su estructura).

12:27 ?
Cómo convive la idea de las libretas con las empanadas

12:37 R
A raíz de un periodo de enfermedad provocado por estrés, según un diagnóstico médico, tomó la decisión de comenzar a "re-equilibrar" emocionalmente su vida y relaciones, dedicándose a sentirse calmada y en recuperación. Entre otras prácticas saludables que comenzó a desarrollar, estuvo la de la cocina. Lo que cocinaba, comenzó a compartirlo en esos espacios, adquiriendo mucha popularidad en entornos universitarios. Comenzó a recibir pedidos y a enlazarse con proveedores de insumos saludables para su producción gastronómica; finalmente, las empanadas se convirtieron en un flujo de caja importante para ella, posicionándose en varios locales, mientras que el proceso de las libretas tomó más tiempo para concretarse. Valora que la comida tiene, además, un impacto mayor que el de las libretas.

16:49 ?
¿En qué tipo de locales estás posicionando tus productos?

16:52 R
Locales orgánicos, de comida vegana, productos saludables.

17:29 ?
¿Cómo es la presentación del producto?

17:44 R
Por ahora, cocinadas y empaquetadas. Cuando se consigan más locales, piensa en conformar una red de distribución. Esta proyección le entusiasma mucho: conseguir más locales y posicionar el producto en plataformas virtuales (p. ej. Domicilios.com). Repara en factores importantes para su proceso de producción, según frecuencia de pedidos que obtiene, como lo es el clima. Así ha podido identificar ciclos estacionales para sus ventas.

19:40 ?
Se solicita profundizar en los procesos de aprendizaje derivados de las relaciones entre la intuición, los estudios previos y su quehacer actual

19:52 R
Recalca que todo está muy relacionado: sostiene que todo (en este caso, carrera profesional) puede tener una vinculación con diferentes campos disciplinarios, abriendo campo para muchas posibilidades, más allá de las que el mercado tradicionalmente ofrece de manera restringida. Lo confirma con su proyecto, que vincula gastronomía con las artes y la soberanía alimentaria. Menciona además que, ese proceso tan particular de hacer arte, le inspira mucho.

24:25 ?
¿ Cómo son los cambios de ánimo debidos a su actividad ?

24:39 R
A partir de sentirse con mayor claridad respecto a sus metas, ha podido sobrellevar su crisis de estrés. El proceso le ha ayudado a partir de una estabilización emocional previa, de base. Le motiva: el evidenciar múltiples conexiones entre haceres y mundos cuando acude a los espacios donde está ubicado su producto, tener la oportunidad de ayudar a crecer a otras personas, así como también la adrenalina de sentir que está haciendo algo que puede enfrentarse a múltiples adversidades, pues lo encuentra retador y lo traduce en posibilidades de fortalecimiento. Le entusiasma la posibilidad de que la idea se expanda, aunque no solo sea por su cuenta, y que crezca en términos de impacto y cobertura

27:11 E
Resalta, dentro de todo, la centralidad del proceso creativo, pese a algunas adversidades, tales como: tener que trabajar de manera muy individual, adquirir disciplina de tiempos y esfuerzos, saber balancear la vida familiar con la del emprendimiento (debido a los límites tan difusos que suelen presentarse entre ambas cuando el emprendimiento es pequeño y depende mucho de recursos familiares, como es su caso). Este, destaca, ha sido un aprendizaje fundamental.

28:47 ?
¿Cómo han impactado su vida las adversidades mencionadas?

29:02 R
El proceso ha estado muy vinculado, en su caso, con sus relaciones familiares y las expectativas depositadas sobre su proyecto de vida a cierta edad (i.e. estabilidad laboral y económica). Explica que, vivir de esa forma, le restringiría tiempos para dedicarse a su crecimiento personal y a su personalidad creativa. Si bien el impacto económico puede ser visto como negativo, a nivel emocional, ha sido todo lo contrario, gracias a que para ella está claro que eso es lo que le llena, le enseña a forjar paciencia, le mantiene decidida y perseverante respecto a su proyecto.

31:12 ?
Cómo ha sido el proceso de emprender, más allá de solo producir (i.e. desarrollar todo el ciclo del producto)

31:27 R
Lo ha disfrutado a partir de compartir su historia, los detalles del proceso, que es algo que estima mucho, que le "nace del corazón". Vuelve a resaltar que aprende mucho de las relaciones (que ella denomina tejidos) que establece alrededor del producto y posicionarlo, más allá de solo vender y obtener ciertos ingresos de las empanadas

33:37 ?
¿Cómo balancea su rutina diaria?

33:45 R
Explica que el movimiento que caracteriza su rutina, así como el hecho de socializar (i.e. compartir, enseñar, aprender) con gente, se adecúa muy bien a sus gustos y necesidades, le ayuda a prevenir el estrés y a mantenerse mental y artísticamente activa, a diferencia de cómo le han hecho sentir experiencias laborales previas.

36:36 E
En una época que tuvo rutinas largas y desgastantes de trabajo, aunque estables y con buena paga, dejó de dedicar tiempo a sus actividades artísticas y su salud, tanto física como mental. Reparó en el hecho de que estaba muy probablemente desperdiciando sus talentos y que de ella dependía decidirse volver a aprovecharlos al máximo

38:36 ?
¿Cómo el trabajo actual ha afectado su salud?

38:42 R
Trata de explicar que el impacto ha sido en su mayor parte positivo al prevenir condiciones de obesidad y reducir la ansiedad, procurar rutinas laborales cortas, que le permitan (a ella y colaboradores eventuales) dedicar tiempo a actividades personales, al disfrute

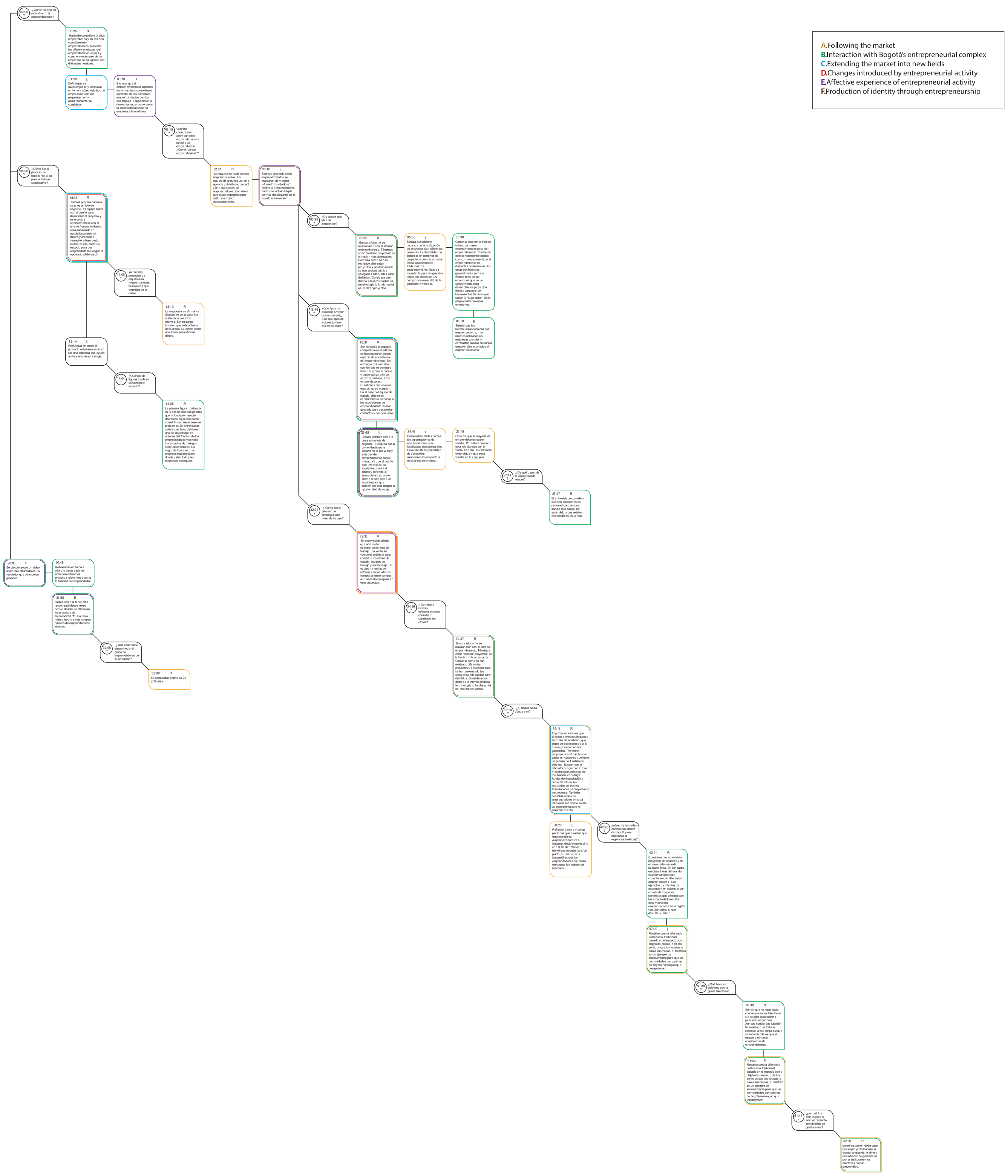
45:42 I
Sobre los detonantes de su ansiedad durante su experiencia laboral previa: sentirse limitada de tiempo para hacer cosas (p. ej. viajar, pasar tiempo en familia, esparcimiento) que le causan satisfacción y placer, aun teniendo los recursos para ello. Incluso en el campo de aplicación de sus conocimientos profesionales, llegó a sentir que, por cómo están estructurados los espacios laborales (en este caso, escuela), la libertad de creación se encuentra muy restringida y el "camino a la felicidad" se llena de obstáculos y sufrimientos que no son necesarios, a su forma de ver. Llegó a sentirse muy contrariada en este medio.

49:04 ?
¿Cómo es moverse en Bogotá para ella?

49:08 R
"Una locura": ha aprendido a moverse en los horarios menos atasacados; a caminar y pensar rutas por las cuales transitar que estén llenas de espacios verdes y sonidos estimulantes / placenteros; evitando llevar mucha carga sin que esta se estropee. El ritmo de movilidad de la comida es diario, mientras que el de las libretas es mensual.

51:18 ?
Qué otras proyecciones a futuro identifica para el proyecto

51:12 R
Menciona: elevar el posicionamiento del proyecto; fortalecer tejidos entre productores orgánicos locales; montar el sistema de distribución; mejorar la elaboración de las libretas; añadir particularidad o exclusividad a sus productos.



00:20 ? ¿Cómo ha sido su relación con el emprendimiento?

00:25 R Habla de cómo lleva 3 años emprendiendo y su relación con diferentes emprendedores. Describe las diferentes etapas del emprendedor en el país y como el crecimiento de las empresas se categoriza con diferentes nombres.

01:20 E Define que es microempresa y reflexiona en torno a cómo este tipo de empresa no son tan pequeñas como aparentemente se consideran.

01:50 I Expresa que el emprendimiento se aprende en la marcha y como desea aprender de los diferentes emprendimientos con los que trabaja. Especialmente, desea aprender como pasar la brecha de la pequeña empresa a la mediana.

02:15 ? Ustedes comenzaron acompañando emprendedores a la vez que emprendiendo. ¿Cómo fue ese emprendimiento?

02:31 R Señala que tiene diferentes emprendimientos. Un estudio de arquitectura, una agencia publicitaria, un café y una asociación de emprendedores. Considera que estas organizaciones están avanzando adecuadamente.

03:16 I Expresa que todo estos emprendimientos se realizaron de manera informal "moviéndose". Define al emprendimiento como una actividad que permite desplegarse en el mundo a "moverse"

03:35 ? ¿De donde esta idea de emprender?

03:39 R En sus inicios no se relacionaron con el término emprendimiento. Términos como "realizar proyectos" se le hacían más adecuados. Comenta como se han realizado diferentes proyectos y posteriormente se han encontrado las categorías adecuadas para definirlos. Considera que debido a la movilidad de la terminología lo fundamental es realizar proyectos.

05:30 I Señala que obtiene recursos de la realización de proyectos con diferentes personas. La flexibilidad de entender en términos de proyecto le permite no estar atado a la estructura tradicional de emprendimiento. Esto es importante para las grandes ideas que necesitan un compromiso más allá de la ganancia inmediata.

06:38 I Comenta que con el tiempo obtuvo un mayor entendimiento técnico del emprendimiento. Contrasta este conocimiento técnico con como es presentado el emprendimiento en diferentes conferencias. En estas conferencias generalmente se hace énfasis más en las emociones que en un conocimiento para desarrollar los proyectos. Enlista una serie de herramientas técnicas que serían la "superación" de la etapa centrada en las emociones.

08:00 E Señala que las herramientas técnicas del emprendedor son las mismas utilizadas en empresas grandes y contrastan con los discursos emocionales asociados al emprendedurismo.

18:15 ? ¿Qué tipos de espacios tuvieron que moverse?¿ Con qué tipos de actores tuvieron que interactuar?

18:34 R Señala como el espacio compartido en el edificio se ha convertido en una especie de ecosistema de emprendimiento. Sin embargo, los modelos con los que se compara tienen mayores recursos y una organización de apoyo monetario a los emprendedores. Cuestiones que en este espacio no se cumplen. En el caso del equipo de trabajo, diferentes oportunidades cercanas a los ecosistemas de emprendimiento les han ayudado para desarrollar contactos y conocimiento.

22:05 E Señala primero como la casa es un lote de engorde. El equipo habla con el dueño para desarrollar el proyecto y este decide comprometerse con el mismo. Ya que el dueño está interesado en ayudarlos, presta el dinero y arrienda el inmueble a bajo costo. Define el sitio como un espacio para que emprendedores tengan la oportunidad de surgir.

24:49 I Existen dificultades porque las agremiaciones de emprendedores son focalizadas en solo un área. Esto dificulta la posibilidad de desarrollar conocimientos respecto a otras áreas relevantes.

26:15 I Observa que la mayoría de emprendedores saben vender. Considera que todo está relacionado con la venta. Por ello, es relevante tener alguien que sepa vender en los equipos.

27:44 ? ¿ De qué depende la capacidad de vender?

27:47 R El entrevistado considera que son cuestiones de personalidad, aunque señala que puede ser aprendido y que existen entrenadores en ventas.

32:34 ? ¿ Cómo fue el proceso de conseguir ese ritmo de trabajo?

32:36 R El entrevistado afirma que aún están obteniendo el ritmo de trabajo. La venta se vuelve el estándar para constituir los ritmos de trabajo, equipos de trabajo y aprendizaje. El equipo ha realizado reformas en los últimos tiempos al observar que aún necesitan mejorar en esos aspectos.

34:26 ? ¿ Con estas nuevas estructuraciones como han cambiado los ritmos?

34:27 R En sus inicios no se relacionaron con el término emprendimiento. Términos como "realizar proyectos" se le hacían más adecuados. Comenta como se han realizado diferentes proyectos y posteriormente se han encontrado las categorías adecuadas para definirlos. Considera que debido a la movilidad de la terminología lo fundamental es realizar proyectos.

35:10 ? ¿ Ustedes hacia dónde van?

35:11 R El primer objetivo es que todo los proyectos lleguen a su punto de equilibrio, que sigan de esa manera por 6 meses y aumenten las ganancias. Tienen un proyecto con el que buscan ganar un concurso que tiene un premio de 1 millón de dólares. Buscan que el laboratorio logre consolidar metodologías robustas de incubación, construya fondos de financiación y convertir a todo los asociados en buenos formuladores de proyectos y vendedores. También constituir redes de emprendedores en toda latinoamérica donde existe un ecosistema para el emprendimiento.

38:20 E Reflexiona como muchas personas que evalúan que un proyecto de emprendimiento va a fracasar, deciden no decirlo con el fin de obtener beneficios económicos. Un punto crucial de esos fracasoS es que los emprendedores no toman en cuenta las lógicas del mercado.

42:20 ? ¿cómo ve las redes construidas dentro de bogotá y en relación a la región(suramérica)?

42:41 R Considera que no existen proyectos en conjunto y no existen redes en toda latinoamérica. En contraste, en otras áreas del mundo existen canales para conectarse con diferentes emprendedores. Los ejemplos de intentos de asociación en colombia dan cuenta de los pocos beneficios que ofrecen para los emprendedores. Por este motivo los emprendedores en la región trabajan solos, lo que dificulta su labor.

47:00 I Resalta como a diferencia del turismo tradicional basado en el espacio como objeto de deleite, o de los sentidos que los turistas le dan a sus visitas, el territorio es un ejemplo de supervivencia para que las comunidades campesinas de bogotá no tengan que desaparecer.

50:38 ? ¿Qué hace el gobierno con la gente talentosa?

50:39 R Señala que no hace nada con las personas talentosas. No existen ecosistemas para emprendedores. Aunque señala que Medellín ha realizado un trabajo respecto a ese tema. Lo que se recomienda es que el estado promueva ecosistemas de emprendimiento.

51:43 E Resalta como a diferencia del turismo tradicional basado en el espacio como objeto de deleite, o de los sentidos que los turistas le dan a sus visitas, el territorio es un ejemplo de supervivencia para que las comunidades campesinas de bogotá no tengan que desaparecer.

51:44 ? ¿por qué los fondos para el emprendimiento son difíciles de gestionarlos?

52:00 R comenta que en dado caso que el proyecto fracase la deuda es grande, el dinero que ofrecen es gestionado por la institución y los mentores no han emprendido.

08:20 ? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de habilitar la casa para el trabajo cooperativo?

18:36 R Señala primero como la casa es un lote de engorde. El equipo habla con el dueño para desarrollar el proyecto y este decide comprometerse con el mismo. Ya que el dueño está interesado en ayudarlos, presta el dinero y arrienda el inmueble a bajo costo. Define el sitio como un espacio para que emprendedores tengan la oportunidad de surgir.

13:09 ? Ya que hay proyectos de arquitectura ¿fueron ustedes mismos los que organizaron la casa?

13:13 R La respuesta es afirmativa . Gran parte de la casa fue restaurada por ellos mismos. Sin embargo, tuvieron que subcontratar otras áreas. Lo define como una forma para ahorrar dinero.

12:14 E Profundiza en cómo el proyecto está interesado en ser una empresa que ayuda a otras empresas a surgir.

14:04 ? ¿Qué tipo de figuras jurídicas existen en el espacio?

14:05 R La primera figura nombrada es la asociación que permite que la fundación asocie diferentes emprendedores con el fin de buscar resolver problemas. El entrevistado señala que la egolatría es una de las principales razones del fracaso de los emprendedores y por ello los espacios de diálogos son fundamentales. La segunda figura es una empresa tradicional en donde están todos las empresas del equipo.

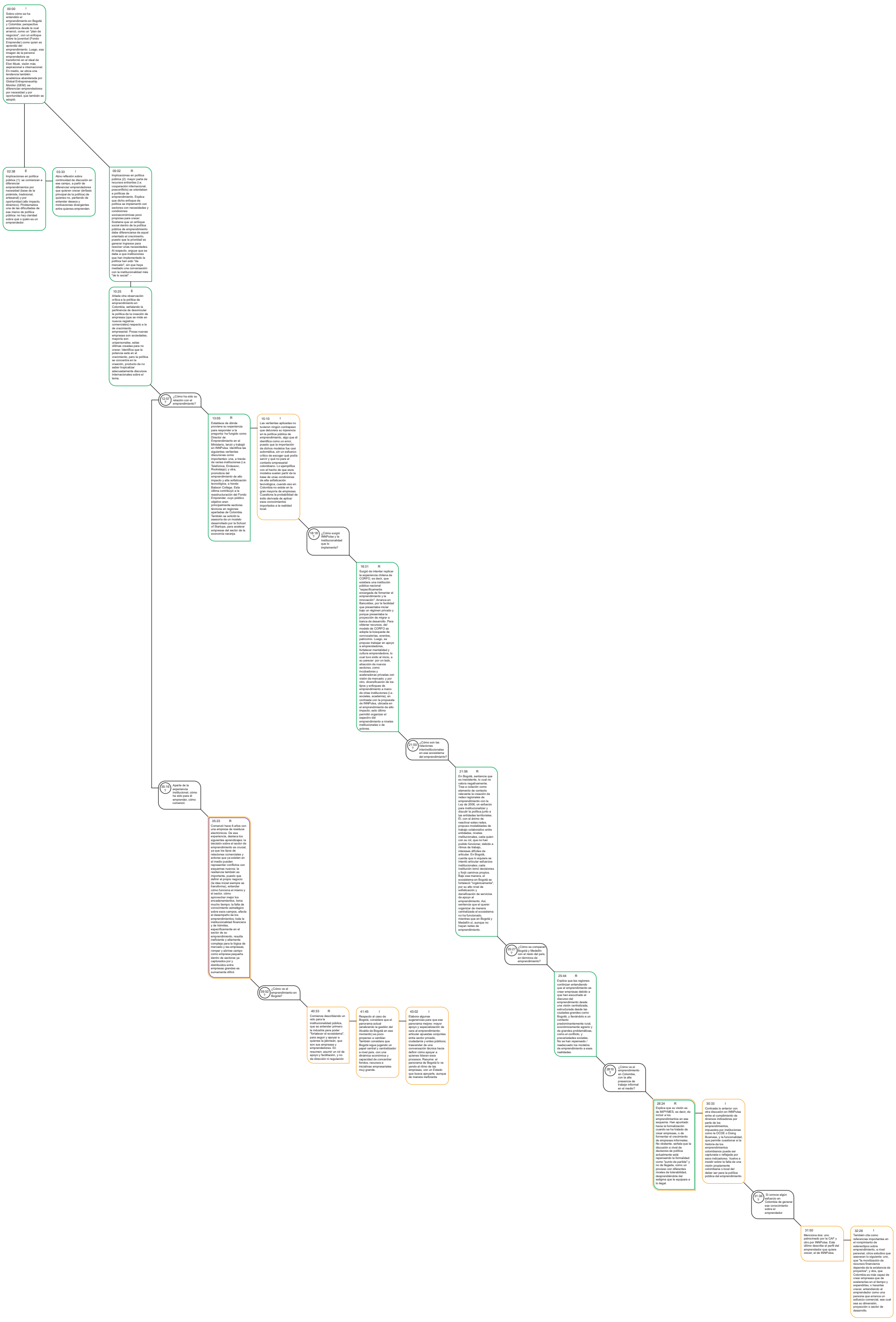
28:00 E Se discute sobre un video altamente difundido de un vendedor que consideran gracioso.

30:48 I Reflexionan en torno a cómo la venta permite entrar en diferentes procesos relevantes para la formación del emprendedor.

31:50 E Indica cómo al tener más responsabilidades como hijos o deudas se dificultan los procesos de emprendimiento. Por este mismo hecho existe un gran número de emprendedores jóvenes.

32:08 ? ¿ Qué edad tiene en promedio el grupo de emprendedores de la fundación?

32:09 R La comunidad online de 24 y 32 años.



00:00 I
Sobre cómo se ha entendido el emprendimiento en Bogotá y Colombia: perspectiva académica desde la cual arrancó, como un "plan de negocios", con un enfoque sobre la juventud (Fondo Emprender) como quien es aprendiz del emprendimiento. Luego, esa imagen de la persona emprendedora se transformó en el ideal de Elon Musk, visión más aspiracional e internacional. En medio, se ubica una tendencia también académica abanderada por Global Entrepreneuship Monitor (GEM): se diferencian emprendedores por necesidad y por oportunidad, que también se adoptó.

02:38 E
Implicaciones en política pública (1): se comienzan a diferenciar emprendimientos por necesidad (base de la pirámide, tradicional, artesanal) y por oportunidad (alto impacto, dinámico). Problematiza una de las dificultades de ese marco de política pública: no hay claridad sobre qué o quién es un emprendedor.

03:33 I
Abre reflexión sobre continuidad de discusión en ese campo, a partir de diferenciar emprendedores que quieren crecer (énfasis principal de la política) de quienes no, partiendo de entender deseos y motivaciones divergentes entre quienes emprenden.

05:02 R
Implicaciones en política pública (2): mayor parte de recursos entrantes (i.e. cooperación internacional, posconflicto) se orientaban a políticas de emprendimiento. Explica que dicho enfoque de política se implementó con sectores con necesidades y condiciones socioeconómicas poco propicias para crecer. Sostiene que un enfoque social dentro de la política pública de emprendimiento debe diferenciarse de aquel orientado al crecimiento, puesto que la prioridad es generar ingresos para resolver unas necesidades. Al respecto, arguye que se debe a que instituciones que han implementado la política han sido "de mercado", sin que haya mediado una conversación con la institucionalidad más "de lo social". -

10:25 E
Añade otra observación crítica a la política de emprendimiento en Colombia, señalando la pertinencia de desvincular la política de la creación de empresas (que se mide en nuevos registros comerciales) respecto a la de crecimiento empresarial. Pocas nuevas empresas son sociedades, mayoría son unipersonales, estas últimas creadas para no crecer. Identifica que la potencia está en el crecimiento, pero la política se concentra en la creación, producto de no saber tropicalizar adecuadamente discursos internacionales sobre el tema.

12:57 ?
¿Cómo ha sido su relación con el emprendimiento?

13:05 R
Establece de dónde proviene su experiencia para responder a la pregunta: ha fungido como Director de Emprendimiento en el Ministerio, lanzó y trabajó en INNPulsa. Identifica las siguientes vertientes discursivas como importantes: una, a través de varias instituciones (i.e. Telefonica, Endeavor, Rockstapp); y otra, promotora del emprendimiento de alto impacto y alta sofisticación tecnológica, a través Babson College. Esta última contribuyó a la reestructuración del Fondo Emprender, cuyo público objetivo eran principalmente sectores técnicos en regiones apartadas de Colombia. También se solicitó la asesoría de un modelo desarrollado por la School of Startups, para acelerar empresas del sector de la economía naranja.

15:10 I
Las vertientes aplicadas no tuvieron ningún contrapeso que detuviera su injerencia en la política pública de emprendimiento, algo que él identifica como un error, puesto que la importación de dichos modelos fue casi automática, sin un esfuerzo crítico de escoger qué podía servir y qué no para el contexto empresarial colombiano. Lo ejemplifica con el hecho de que esos modelos suelen partir de la base de unas condiciones de alta sofisticación tecnológica, cuando eso en Colombia no existe en la gran mayoría de empresas. Cuestiona la probabilidad de éxito derivada de aplicar esos conocimientos importados a la realidad local.

18:18 ?
¿Cómo surgió INNPulsa y la institucionalidad que lo implementa?

18:31 R
Surgió de intentar replicar la experiencia chilena de CORFO, es decir, que existiera una institución pública nacional "específicamente encargada de fomentar el emprendimiento y la innovación". Arranca en Bancoldex, por la facilidad que presentaba iniciar bajo un régimen privado y porque presentaba la proyección de migrar a banca de desarrollo. Para obtener recursos, del modelo de CORFO se adopta la búsqueda de convocatorias, eventos, patrocinio. Luego, se propuso trabajar en apoyo a emprendedores, fortalecer mentalidad y cultura emprendedora, lo cual tuvo éxito al inicio, a su parecer: por un lado, atracción de nuevos sectores, como incubadoras y aceleradoras privadas con visión de mercado; y por otro, diversificación de los tipos y enfoques de emprendimiento a mano de otras instituciones (i.e. sociales, academia), en contraste con la propuesta de INNPulsa, ubicada en el emprendimiento de alto impacto; esto último permitió organizar el espectro del emprendimiento a niveles institucionales o de actores.

21:50 ?
¿Cómo son las relaciones interinstitucionales en ese ecosistema del emprendimiento?

21:56 R
En Bogotá, sentencia que es inexistente, lo cual no valora negativamente. Trae a colación como elemento de contexto relevante la creación de redes regionales de emprendimiento con la Ley de 2006, un esfuerzo para institucionalizar y discutir la política junto a las entidades territoriales. Él, con el ánimo de reactivar estas redes, propuso modalidades de trabajo colaborativo entre entidades, niveles institucionales, cada quien con su rol, que no han podido funcionar, debido a ritmos de trabajo, intereses difíciles de articular. En Bogotá, cuenta que ni siquiera se intentó articular esfuerzos institucionales; cada institución tomó decisiones y forjó caminos propios. Bajo esa manera, el ecosistema en Bogotá se fortaleció "orgánicamente", por su alto nivel de sofisticación y densificación de servicios de apoyo al emprendimiento. Así, sentencia que el querer organizar de manera centralizada el ecosistema no ha funcionado, mientras que en Bogotá y Medellín sí, aunque no hayan redes de emprendimiento.

25:27 ?
¿Cómo se comparan Bogotá y Medellín con el resto del país, en términos de emprendimiento?

25:44 R
Explica que las regiones continúan entendiendo que el emprendimiento es crear empresas debido a que han escuchado el discurso del emprendimiento desde una visión centralizada, estructurada desde las ciudades grandes como Bogotá, y llevándolo a un contexto predominantemente rural, económicamente agrario y de grandes problemáticas, como el conflicto, y precariedades sociales. No se han repensado / readecuado los modelos de emprendimiento a esas realidades.

28:10 ?
¿Cómo ve el emprendimiento en Colombia, con la alta presencia de trabajo informal en el medio?

28:24 R
Explica que su visión es de MIPYMES, es decir, de incluir a los emprendimientos en ese esquema. Han apuntado hacia la formalización cuando se ha tratado de crear empresas, o de formentar el crecimiento de empresas informales. No obstante, señala que la discusión a nivel de decisores de política actualmente está repensando la formalidad como "punto de partida" y no de llegada, como un proceso con diferentes niveles de tolerabilidad, desprendiéndole del estigma que le equipara a lo ilegal.

30:33 I
Contrasta lo anterior con otra discusión en INNPulsa entre el cumplimiento de diversos indicadores por parte de los emprendimientos, impuestos por instituciones como la OCDE o Doing Business, y la funcionalidad, que permite cuestionar si la historia de los emprendimientos colombianos puede ser capturada o reflejada por esos indicadores. Vuelve a insistir sobre la falta de una visión propiamente colombiana o local del deber ser para la política pública del emprendimiento.

31:36 ?
Si conoce algún esfuerzo en Colombia de generar ese conocimiento sobre el emprendedor

31:50
Menciona dos: uno patrocinado por la CAF y otro por INNPulsa. Este último describe el perfil del emprendedor que quiere crecer, el de INNPulsa.

32:26 I
También cita como referencias importantes en el rompimiento de estereotipos sobre emprendimiento, a nivel personal, otros estudios que aseveran lo siguiente: uno, que "la movilización de recursos financieros depende de la existencia de proyectos", y dos, que Colombia es más capaz de crear empresas que de sostenerlas en el tiempo y expandirlas, o hacerlas crecer, entendiendo al emprendedor como una persona que arranca un esfuerzo comercial, sea cual sea su dimensión, proyección o sector de desarrollo.

35:16 ?
Aparte de la experiencia institucional, cómo ha sido para él emprender, cómo comenzó

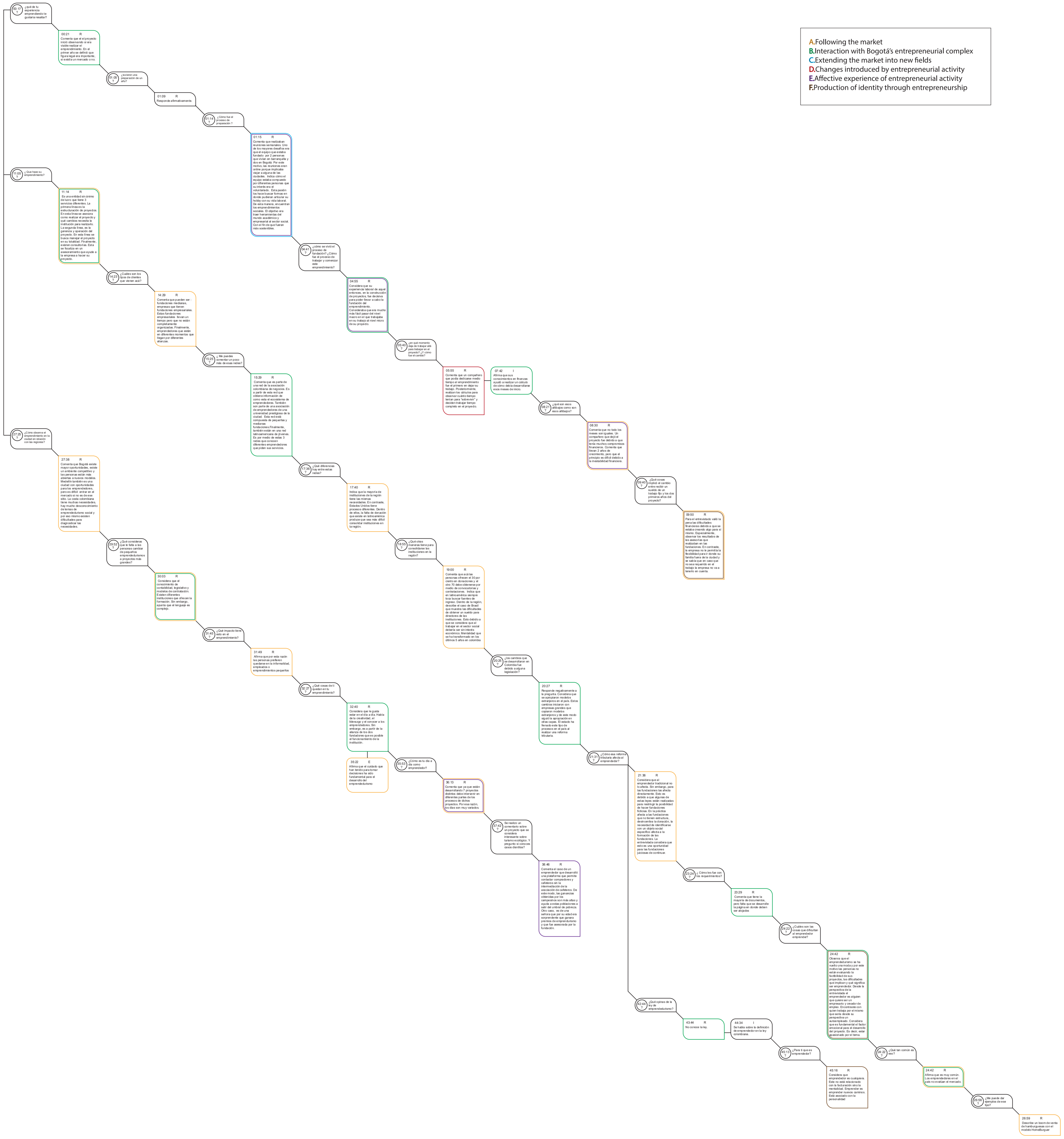
35:23 R
Comenzó hace 6 años con una empresa de residuos electrónicos. De esa experiencia, destaca los siguientes aprendizajes: la decisión sobre el sector de emprendimiento es crucial, ya que los tipos de relaciones comerciales y actores que ya existen en el medio pueden representar conflictos con esquemas nuevos; la resiliencia también es importante, puesto que definir el propio negocio (la idea inicial siempre se transforma), entender cómo funciona el mismo y el sector, cómo aprovechar mejor los encadenamientos, toma mucho tiempo; la falta de conocimiento estratégico sobre esos campos, afecta el desempeño de los emprendimientos; toda la institucionalidad financiera y de trámites, específicamente en el sector de su emprendimiento, resulta ineficiente y altamente compleja para la lógica de mercado y las empresas; romper y abrirse campo como empresa pequeña dentro de sectores ya capturados por y distribuidos entre empresas grandes es sumamente difícil.

39:52 ?
¿Cómo ve el emprendimiento en Bogotá?

40:33 R
Comienza describiendo un reto para la institucionalidad pública, que es entender primero la industria para poder "fortalecer el ecosistema", para seguir y apoyar a quienes la jalonean, que son sus empresas y emprendedores. En resumen: asumir un rol de apoyo y facilitación, y no de dirección ni regulación

41:45 I
Respecto al caso de Bogotá, considera que el panorama actual (analizando la gestión del Alcalde de Bogotá en ese momento) es poco propenso a cambiar. También considera que Bogotá sigue jugando un papel central y centralizador a nivel país, con una dinámica económica y capacidad de concentrar fondos, recursos e iniciativas empresariales muy grande.

43:02 I
Elabora algunas sugerencias para que ese panorama mejore: mayor apoyo y especialización de cara al emprendimiento; articular apuestas conjuntas entre sector privado, ciudadanía y entes públicos; trascender de una conversación técnica hacia definir cómo apoyar a quienes lideran esos procesos. Resume: el panorama de Bogotá lo ve yendo al ritmo de las empresas, con un Estado que busca apoyarle, aunque de manera ineficiente



00:17 ? ¿qué de tu experiencia emprendiendo te gustaria resaltar?

00:21 R
Comenta que el el proyecto inició observando si era viable realizar el emprendimiento. En el primer año se definió que figura legal era importante, si existía un mercado o no.

01:05 ? ¿tuvieron una preparación de un año?

01:09 R
Responde afirmativamente.

01:14 ? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de preparación ?

01:15 R
Comenta que realizaban reuniones semanales. Uno de los mayores desafíos era que el equipo que estaba fundado por 2 personas que vivían en barranquilla y dos en Bogotá. Por este motivo, las reuniones eran online porque implicaba viajar a alguna de las ciudades. Indica cómo el equipo estaba compuesto por diferentes personas que su interés era el voluntariado. Esta pasión los hace buscar formas en donde pudieran articular su hobby con su vida laboral. De esta manera, encuentran los emprendimientos sociales. El objetivo era traer herramientas del mundo académico y empresarial al sector social. Con el fin de que fueran más sostenibles.

04:41 ? ¿cómo se vivió el proceso de fundación? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de trabajar y comenzar este emprendimiento?

04:55 R
Considera que su experiencia laboral de aquel entonces, en la construcción de proyectos, fue decisiva para poder llevar a cabo la fundación del emprendimiento. Consideraba que era mucho más fácil pasar del nivel macro en el que trabajaba en su trabajo al nivel micro de su proyecto.

05:40 ? ¿en qué momento deja de trabajar allá para trabajar en el proyecto? ¿Y cómo fue el cambio?

05:55 R
Comenta que un compañero que podía dedicarse medio tiempo al emprendimiento fue el primero en dejar su trabajo. Posteriormente, realizan los cálculos para observar cuánto tiempo tenían para "sobrevivir" y deciden trabajar tiempo completo en el proyecto.

07:42 I
Afirma que sus conocimientos en finanzas ayudó a realizar un cálculo de cómo debía desarrollarse esos meses de inicio.

08:21 ? ¿qué son esos altibajos como son esos altibajos?

08:30 R
Comenta que no todo los meses son iguales. Un compañero que dejó el proyecto fue debido a que tenía muchos compromisos financieros. Comenta que llevan 2 años de crecimiento, pero que el principio es difícil debido a la inestabilidad financiera.

09:40 ? ¿Qué cosas implicó el cambio entre recibir un sueldo de un trabajo fijo y los dos primeros años del proyecto?

09:50 R
Para el entrevistado valió la pena las dificultades financieras debido a que se estaba creando algo para sí mismo. Especialmente, observar los resultados de las asesorías que realizaban en las fundaciones. En contraste, la empresa no le permitía la flexibilidad para ir donde su familia fuera de la ciudad y se sabía que en caso que no sea requerido en el trabajo la empresa no va a tenerlo en cuenta.

11:05 ? ¿ Que hace su emprendimiento?

11:14 R
Es una entidad sin ánimo de lucro que tiene 3 servicios diferentes. La primera línea es la estructuración de proyectos. En esta línea se asesora como realizar el proyecto y qué cambios necesita la institución para realizarlo. La segunda línea, es la gerencia y operación del proyecto. En esta línea se busca manejar el proyecto en su totalidad. Finalmente, existen consultorías. Esta se focaliza en un asesoramiento que ayude a la empresa a hacer su proyecto.

14:23 ? ¿Cuáles son los tipos de clientes que vienen acá?

14:29 R
Comenta que pueden ser : fundaciones medianas, empresas que tienen fundaciones empresariales. Estas fundaciones empresariales llevan un tiempo pero que no están completamente organizadas. Finalmente, emprendedores que están en diferentes momentos que llegan por diferentes alianzas.

15:25 ? ¿ Me puedes comentar un poco más de esas redes?

15:29 R
Comenta que es parte de una red de la asociación colombiana de negocios. Es a partir de esta red que obtiene información de como esta el ecosistema de emprendedores. También son parte de una asociación de emprendedores de una universidad prestigiosa de la ciudad. Esta red está compuesta de pequeñas y medianas fundaciones.Finalmente, también están en una red latinoamericana de jóvenes. Es por medio de estas 3 redes que conocen diferentes emprendedores que piden sus servicios.

17:36 ? ¿Qué diferencias hay entre estas redes?

17:40 R
Indica que la mayoría de instituciones de la región tiene las mismas necesidades. En contraste, Estados Unidos tiene procesos diferentes. Dentro de ellos, la falta de donación que existe en latinoamérica produce que sea más difícil consolidar instituciones en la región.

18:55 ? ¿Qué otras maneras tiene para consolidarse las instituciones en la región?

19:00 R
Comenta que acá las personas ofrecen el 30 por ciento en donaciones y el otro 70 debe obtenerse por medio de convocatorias y contrataciones. Indica que en latinoamérica siempre toca buscar fuentes de ingreso. Dentro de la región, describe el caso de Brasil que muestra las dificultades de obtener un sueldo para directores de las instituciones. Esto debido a que se considera que al trabajar en el sector social debería ser sin interés económico. Mentalidad que se ha transformado en los últimos 5 años en colombia

20:25 ? ¿los cambios que se desarrollaron en Colombia fue debido a alguna legislación?

20:27 R
Responde negativamente a la pregunta. Considera que se apropiaron modelos extranjeros en el país. Estos cambios iniciaron con empresas grandes que copiaron modelos extranjeros y de este modo siguió la apropiación en otras capas. El estado ha frenado este tipo de procesos en el país al realizar una reforma tributaria.

21:31 ? ¿Cómo esa reforma tributaria afecta al emprendedor?

21:36 R
Considera que al emprendedor tradicional no lo afecta. Sin embargo, para las fundaciones las afecta directamente. Esto es debido a que algunas de estas leyes están realizadas para restringir la posibilidad de hacer fundaciones ficticias. En la práctica afecta a las fundaciones que no tienen estructura, desincentiva la donación, la necesidad de identificarse con un objeto social específico afecta a la formación de las fundaciones. La entrevistada considera que esto es una oportunidad para las fundaciones juiciosas de continuar.

23:24 ? ¿ Cómo les fue con los requerimientos?

23:29 R
Comenta que tiene la mayoría de documentos, pero falta que se desarrolle la página en donde deben ser alojados

24:22 ? ¿Cuáles son las cosas que dificultan al emprendedor emprender?

24:42 R
Observa que el emprendedurismo se ha vuelto una moda y por este motivo las personas no están evaluando la factibilidad de sus proyectos, las dificultades que implican y qué significa ser emprendedor. Desde la perspectiva de la entrevistada el emprendedor es alguien que quiere ser un empresario y creador de empleo. Encontraste con quien trabaja por el mismo que sería desde su perspectiva un autoempleado. Considera que es fundamental el factor emocional para el desarrollo del proyecto. Es decir, estar apasionado por el tema.

24:22 ? ¿Qué tan común es eso?

24:42 R
Afirma que es muy común. Los emprendedores en el país no evalúan el mercado.

26:56 ? ¿Me puede dar ejemplos de ese tipo?

26:59 R
Describe un boom de venta de hamburguesas con el modelo HomeBurguer

42:44 ? ¿Qué opinas de la ley de emprendedurismo?

43:44 R
No conoce la ley.

44:34 I
Se habla sobre la definición de emprendedor en la ley colombiana.

45:13 ? ¿Para ti que es emprendedor?

45:16 R
Considera que emprendedor es cualquiera. Este no está relacionado con la facturación sino la mentalidad. Emprender es emprender nuevos caminos. Está asociado con la personalidad

27:25 ? ¿Cómo observa el emprendimiento en la ciudad en relación con las regiones?

27:38 R
Comenta que Bogotá existe mayor oportunidades, existe un ambiente competitivo y las personas están más abiertas a nuevos modelos. Medellín también es una ciudad con oportunidades para los emprendedores, pero es difícil entrar en el mercado si no es de ese sitio. La costa colombiana tiene muchas necesidades, hay mucho desconocimiento de temas de emprendedurismo social y por eso mismo existen dificultades para diagnosticar las necesidades.

29:52 ? ¿Qué consideras que le falta a las personas cambiar de pequeños emprendedurismos a proyectos más grandes?

30:03 R
Considera que el conocimiento de contabilidad, legislativo y modelos de contratación. Existen diferentes instituciones que ofrecen la formación. Sin embargo, apunta que el lenguaje es complejo.

31:45 ? ¿Qué impacto tiene esto en el emprendimiento?

31:49 R
Afirma que por esta razón las personas prefieren quedarse en la informalidad, empleados o emprendimientos pequeños

32:27 ? ¿Qué cosas de ti quedan en tu emprendimiento?

32:40 R
Considera que le gusta estar en el día a día. Habla de la creatividad, el liderazgo y el conocer a los emprendedores. Sin embargo, es a partir de la alianza de los dos fundadores que es posible el funcionamiento de la institución.

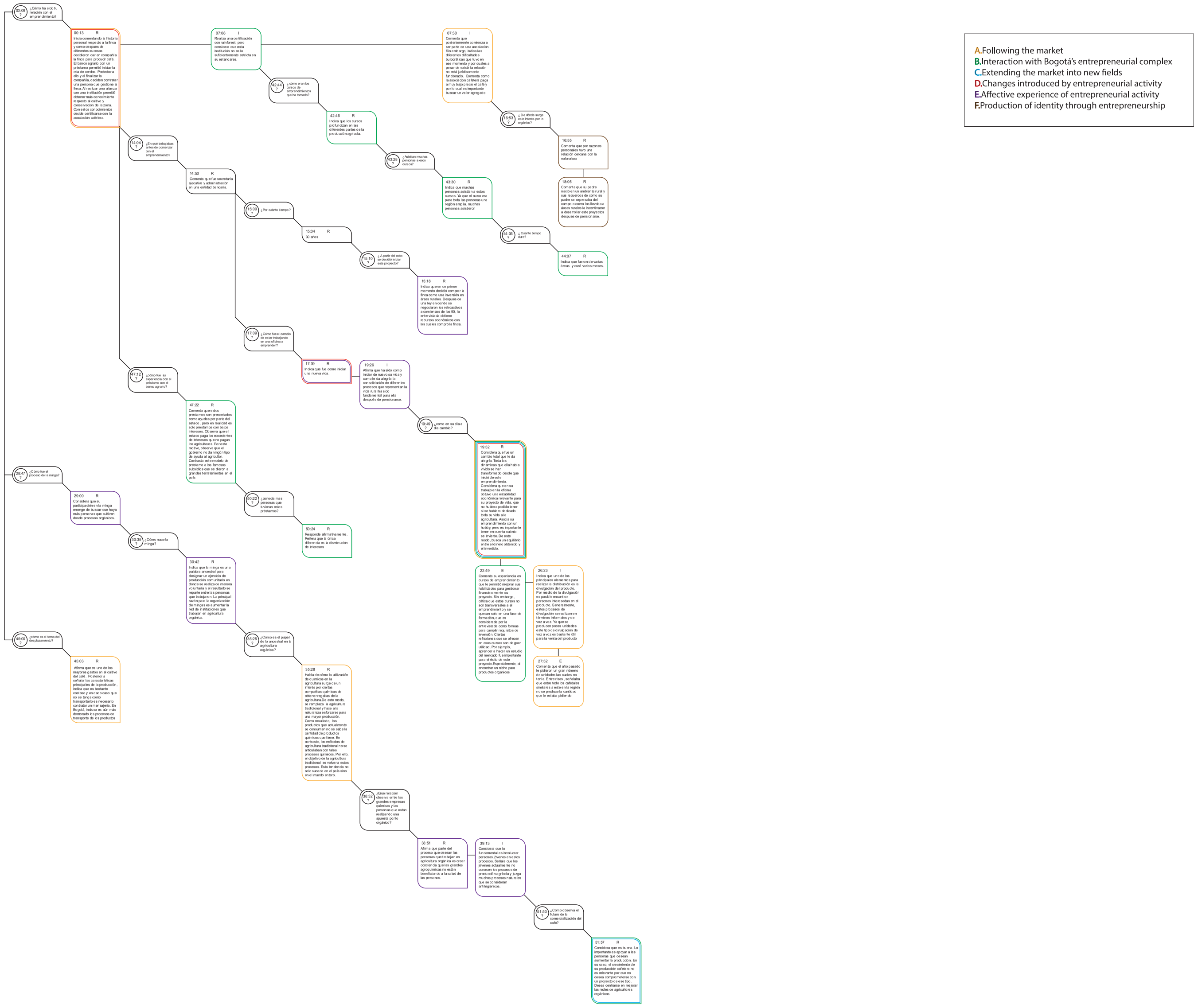
35:22 E
Afirma que el cuidado que han tenido para tomar decisiones ha sido fundamental para el desarrollo del emprendedurismo

35:53 ? ¿Cómo es tu día a día como emprendedor?

36:13 R
Comenta que ya que están desarrollando 7 proyectos distintos debe intervenir en diferentes partes de los procesos de dichos proyectos. Por esa razón, los días son muy variados.

37:42 ? Se realizo un comentario sobre un proyecto que se considera interesante sobre turismo ecológico. Y pregunto si conoces casos disntitos?

38:46 R
Comenta el caso de un emprendedor que desarrolló una plataforma que permite contactar compradores y cafeteros sin la intermediación de la asociación de cafeteros. De este modo, las ganancias obtenidas por los campesinos son más altas y ayuda a estas poblaciones a salir del umbral de pobreza. Otro caso, es de una señora que por su edad era sorprendente que ganara premios de emprendurismo y que fue asesorada por la fundación.



00:09 ? ¿Cómo ha sido tu relación con el emprendimiento?

00:13 R
Inicia comentando la historia personal respecto a la finca y como después de diferentes sucesos decidieron dar en compañía la finca para producir café. El banco agrario con un préstamo permitió iniciar la cría de cerdos. Posterior a ello y al finalizar la compañía, deciden contratar una persona que gestione la finca. Al realizar una alianza con una institución permitió obtener más conocimiento respecto al cultivo y conservación de la zona. Con estos conocimientos decide certificarse con la asociación cafetera.

07:08 I
Realiza una certificación con rainforest, pero considera que esta institución no es lo suficientemente estricta en su estándares.

42:44 ? ¿ cómo eran los cursos de emprendimientos que ha tomado?

42:46 R
Indica que los cursos profundizan en las diferentes partes de la producción agrícola.

43:28 ? ¿Asistían muchas personas a esos cursos?

43:30 R
Indica que muchas personas asistían a estos cursos. Ya que el curso era para toda las personas una región amplia, muchas personas asistieron

44:06 ? ¿ Cuanto tiempo duro?

44:07 R
Indica que fueron de varias áreas y duró varios meses.

07:30 I
Comenta que posteriormente comienza a ser parte de una asociación. Sin embargo, indica las diferentes dificultades burocráticas que tuvo en ese momento y por cuales a pesar de existir la relación no está jurídicamente funcionado. Comenta como la asociación cafetera paga a muy bajo precio el café y por lo cual es importante buscar un valor agregado

16:53 ? ¿ De dónde surge este interés por lo orgánico?

16:55 R
Comenta que por razones personales tuvo una relación cercana con la naturaleza

18:05 R
Comenta que su padre nació en un ambiente rural y sus recuerdos de cómo su padre se expresaba del campo o como los llevaba a áreas rurales la incentivaron a desarrollar este proyectos después de pensionarse.

14:04 ? ¿En qué trabajabas antes de comenzar con el emprendimiento?

14:50 R
Comenta que fue secretaria ejecutiva y administración en una entidad bancaria.

15:00 ? ¿Por cuánto tiempo?

15:04 R
30 años

15:10 ? ¿ A partir del robo se decidió iniciar este proyecto?

15:18 R
Indica que en un primer momento decidió comprar la finca como una inversión en áreas rurales. Después de una ley en donde se negociaron los retroactivos a comienzos de los 90, la entrevistada obtiene recursos económicos con los cuales compró la finca.

17:09 ? ¿Cómo fue el cambio de estar trabajando en una oficina a emprender?

17:39 R
Indica que fue como iniciar una nueva vida.

19:26 I
Afirma que ha sido como iniciar de nuevo su vida y como le da alegría la consolidación de diferentes procesos que representan la vida rural ha sido fundamental para ella después de pensionarse.

19:49 ? ¿como en su dia a dia cambio?

19:52 R
Considera que fue un cambio total que le da alegría. Toda las dinámicas que ella había vivido se han transformado desde que inició de este emprendimiento. Considera que en su trabajo en la oficina obtuvo una estabilidad económica relevante para su proyecto de vida, que no hubiera podido tener si se hubiera dedicado toda su vida a la agricultura. Asocia su emprendimiento con un hobby, pero es importante tener en cuenta cuánto se invierte. De este modo, busca un equilibrio entre el dinero obtenido y el invertido.

22:49 E
Comenta su experiencia en cursos de emprendimiento que le permitió mejorar sus habilidades para gestionar financieramente su proyecto. Sin embargo, critica que estos cursos no son transversales a el emprendimiento y se quedan solo en una fase de formación, que es considerada por la entrevistada como formas para cumplir requisitos de inversión. Ciertas reflexiones que se ofrecen en esos cursos son de gran utilidad. Por ejemplo, aprender a hacer un estudio del mercado fue importante para el éxito de este proyecto.Especialmente, al encontrar un nicho para productos orgánicos

26:23 I
Indica que uno de los principales elementos para realizar la distribución es la divulgación del producto. Por medio de la divulgación es posible encontrar personas interesadas en el producto. Generalmente, estos procesos de divulgación se realizan en términos informales y de voz a voz. Ya que se producen pocas unidades este tipo de divulgación de voz a voz es bastante útil para la venta del producto

27:52 E
Comenta que el año pasado le pidieron un gran número de unidades las cuales no tenía. Entre risas , señalaba que entre todo los cafetales similares a este en la región no se produce la cantidad que le estaba pidiendo

47:12 ? ¿cómo fue su experiencia con el préstamo con el banco agrario?

47:22 R
Comenta que estos préstamos son presentados como ayudas por parte del estado , pero en realidad es solo prestamos con bajos intereses. Observa que el estado paga los excedentes de intereses que no pagan los agricultores. Por este motivo, observa que el gobierno no da ningún tipo de ayuda al agricultor. Contrasta este modelo de préstamo a los famosos subsidios que se dieron a grandes terratenientes en el país

50:22 ? ¿conocia mas personas que tuvieran estos préstamos?

50:24 R
Responde afirmativamente. Reitera que la única diferencia es la disminución de intereses

28:47 ? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de la minga?

29:00 R
Considera que su participación en la minga emerge de buscar que haya más personas que cultiven desde procesos orgánicos.

30:35 ? ¿Cómo nace la minga?

30:42 R
Indica que la minga es una palabra ancestral para designar un ejercicio de producción comunitario en donde se realiza de manera voluntaria y el resultado se reparte entre las personas que trabajaron. La principal razón para la organización de mingas es aumentar la red de instituciones que trabajan en agricultura orgánica.

35:25 ? ¿Cómo es el papel de lo ancestral en la agricultura orgánica?

35:28 R
Habla de cómo la utilización de químicos en la agricultura surge de un interés por ciertas compañías químicas de obtener regalías de la agricultura.De este modo, se remplaza la agricultura tradicional y hace a la naturaleza esforzarse para una mayor producción. Como resultado, los productos que actualmente se consumen no se sabe la cantidad de productos químicos que tiene. En contraste, los métodos de agricultura tradicional no se articulaban con tales procesos químicos. Por ello, el objetivo de la agricultura tradicional es volver a estos procesos. Esta tendencia no solo sucede en el país sino en el mundo entero.

38:32 ? ¿Qué relación observa entre las grandes empresas químicas y las personas que están realizando una apuesta por lo orgánico?

38:51 R
Afirma que parte del proceso que desean las personas que trabajan en agricultura orgánica es crear conciencia que las grandes agroquímicas no están beneficiando a la salud de las personas.

39:13 I
Considera que lo fundamental es involucrar personas jóvenes en estos procesos. Señala que los jóvenes actualmente no conocen los procesos de producción agrícola y juzga muchos procesos naturales que se consideran antihigiénicos.

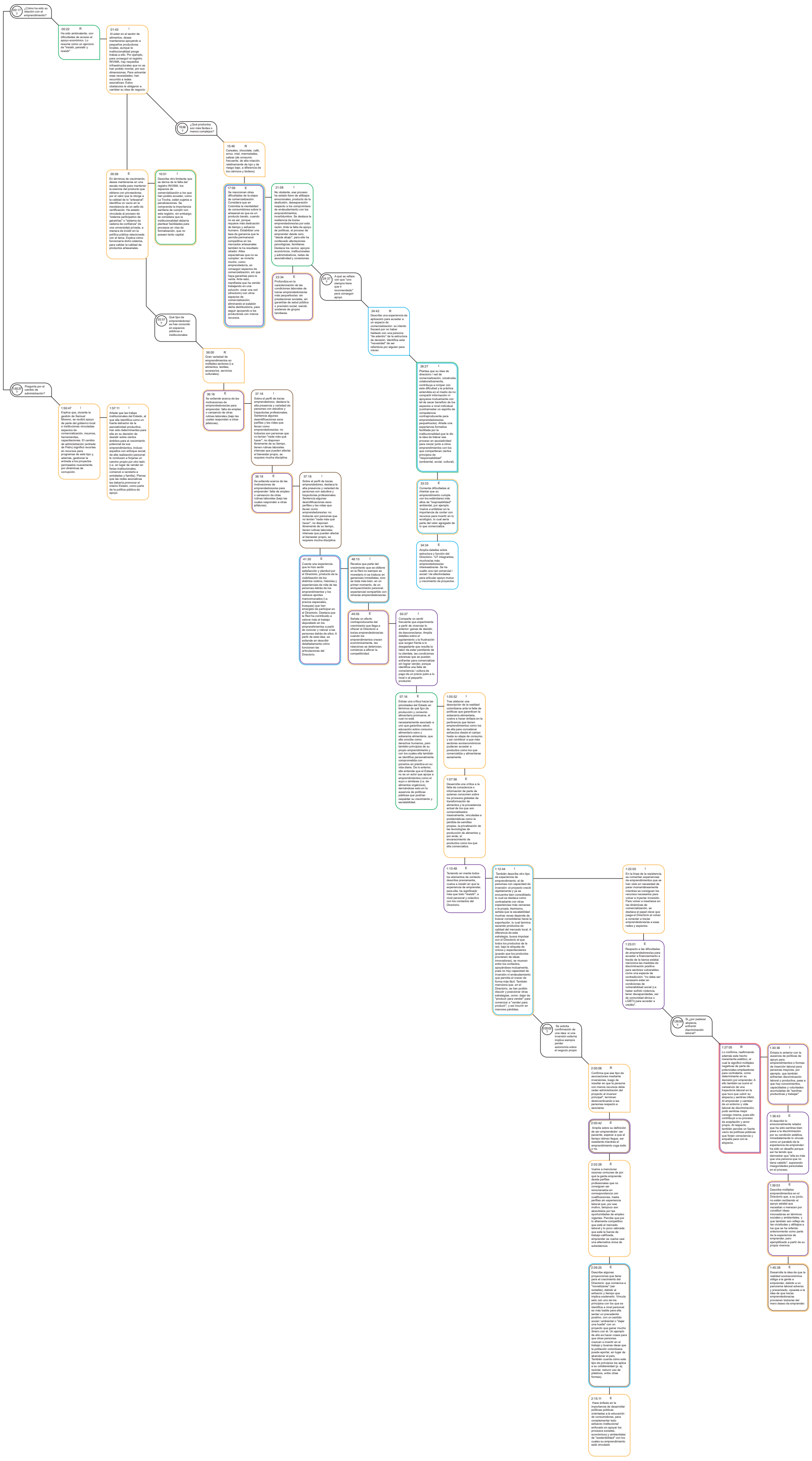
51:53 ? ¿Cómo observa el futuro de la comercialización del café?

51:57 R
Considera que es buena. Lo importante es apoyar a las personas que desean aumentar la producción. En su caso, el crecimiento de su producción cafetera no es relevante por que no desea comprometerse con un proyecto de ese tipo. Desea centrarse en mejorar las redes de agricultores orgánicos.

45:00 ? ¿cómo es el tema del desplazamiento?

45:03 R
Afirma que es uno de los mayores gastos en el cultivo del café. Posterior a señalar las características principales de la producción, indica que es bastante costoso y en dado caso que no se tenga como transportarlo es necesario contratar un mensajería. En Bogotá, incluso es aún más demorado los procesos de transporte de los productos

A. Following the market
B. Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C. Extending the market into new fields
D. Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E. Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F. Production of identity through entrepreneurship



00:17 ? ¿Cómo ha sido su relación con el emprendimiento?

00:22 R
Ha sido ambivalente, con dificultades de acceso al apoyo económico. Lo resume como un ejercicio de "insistir, persistir y resistir"

01:43 I
Al estar en el sector de alimentos, desea mantenerse apoyando a pequeños productores locales, aunque la institucionalidad ponga trabas a ello. Por ejemplo, para conseguir el registro INVIMA, hay requisitos infraestructurales que no se han podido montar, por sus dimensiones. Para solventar esas necesidades, han recurrido a redes asociativas. Estos obstáculos le obligaron a cambiar su idea de negocio.

05:59 E
En términos de crecimiento, desea mantenerse en una escala media para mantener la esencia del producto que obtiene con proveedores, por el valor que le otorga a la calidad de lo "artesanal". Identifica un vacío en la inexistencia de un sello de certificación. Ha estado vinculada al proceso de "sistema participativo de garantías" o "sistema de cadena de confianza" de una universidad privada, a manera de incidir en la política pública relacionada con el tema. Explica cómo funcionaría dicho sistema, para validar la calidad de productos artesanales.

10:51 I
Describe otro limitante que se deriva de la falta del registro INVIMA: los espacios de comercialización a los que han podido acceder, como La Trocha, están sujetos a penalizaciones. Se comprende la importancia sanitaria de cumplir con este registro, sin embargo, se considera que la institucionalidad debería plantear facilidades para procesos en vías de formalización, que no poseen tanto capital.

15:36 ? ¿Qué productos son más fáciles o menos complejos?

15:46 R
Cereales, chocolate, café, arroz, miel, mermeladas, salsas (de consumo frecuente, de alta rotación, relativamente de lujo y de riesgo bajo, a diferencia de los cárnicos y lácteos)

17:09 E
Se mencionan otras dificultades de la etapa de comercialización: Considera que en Colombia la mentalidad de consumidores sobre lo artesanal es que es un producto barato, cuando no es así, porque requiere más dedicación de tiempo y esfuerzo humano. Estabilizar una tasa de ganancia que le permita permanecer competitiva en los mercados artesanales también le ha resultado retador. Altas expectativas que no se cumplen: se invierte mucho, como emprendedoría, en conseguir espacios de comercialización, sin que haya garantías para la venta. Ante esto, manifiesta que ha venido trabajando en una solución: crear una red (directorio) con otros espacios de comercialización, eliminando el eslabón del/la distribuidoría, para seguir apoyando a los productores con menos recursos.

21:58 I
No obstante, ese proceso ha estado lleno de altibajos emocionales, producto de la desilusión, desesperación respecto a los compromisos de endeudamiento con los emprendimientos, incertidumbre. Se destaca la resiliencia de los/as emprendedores/as por esta razón. Ante la falta de apoyo de políticas, el proceso de emprender desde cero, "desde abajo", para ella ha conllevado afectaciones psicológicas, familiares. Destaca los vacíos: apoyos económicos, institucionales y administrativos, redes de asociatividad y conexiones.

23:34 E
Profundiza en la caracterización de las condiciones laborales de los/as emprendedores/as más pequeños/as: sin prestaciones sociales, sin garantías de salud pública o previsión social, siendo sostenes de grupos familiares.

24:37 ? A qué se refiere con que "uno siempre tiene que ir recomendado" para conseguir apoyo

24:42 R
Describe una experiencia de aplicación para acceder a un espacio de comercialización: su intento fracasó por no haber hablado con una persona "de adentro" de la estructura de decisión. Identifica esta "necesidad" de ser referido/a por alguien para crecer.

26:27 I
Plantea que su idea de directorio / red de comercialización, construida colaborativamente, contribuya a romper con esta dificultad y la práctica extendida en el medio de no compartir información ni apoyarse mutuamente con tal de sacar beneficio de los espacios a nivel individual (contrarrestar un espíritu de competencia contraproducente para emprendedores/as pequeños/as). Añade una experiencia formativa facilitada por la institucionalidad que le dio la idea de liderar ese proceso en asociatividad para crecer junto a otros emprendimientos con los que compartieran ciertos principios de "responsabilidad" (ambiental, social, cultural).

33:33 E
Comenta dificultades al intentar que su emprendimiento cumpla con los estándares más altos de "resprnsabilidad" ambiental, por ejemplo. Vuelve a enfatizar en la importancia de contar con recursos para invertir en lo ecológico, lo cual sería parte del valor agregado de lo que comercializa.

34:34 E
Amplía detalles sobre estructura y función del Directorio: 127 integrantes, muchos/as más emprendedores/as interesados/as. Se ha vuelto una red comercial / social / de afectividades para articular apoyo mutuo y crecimiento de proyectos.

35:51 ? Qué tipo de emprendedores/as has conocido en espacios públicos e institucionales

36:00 R
Gran variedad de emprendimientos en múltiples sectores (i.e. alimentos, textiles, accesorios, servicios culturales).

36:18 E
Se extiende acerca de las motivaciones de emprendedores/as para emprender: falta de empleo o cansancio de otras rutinas laborales (bajo las cuales responden a otras jefaturas).

37:18 I
Sobre el perfil de los/as emprendedores, destaca la alta presencia y variedad de personas con estudios y trayectorias profesionales. Sentencia algunas desmitificaciones esos perfiles y las vidas que llevan como emprendedores/as: no todos/as son personas que no tenían "nada más qué hacer", no disponen libremente de su tiempo, tienen rutinas laborales intensas que pueden afectar el bienestar propio, se requiere mucha disciplina.

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41:30 E
Cuenta una experiencia que le hizo sentir satisfacción y plenitud por el Directorio, producto de la visibilización de los distintos rostros, historias y experiencias de vida de las personas detrás de los emprendimientos y los valiosos aportes mancomunados (i.e. precios especiales, trueques) que han emergido de participar en el Directorio. Destaca que la Red ha contribuido a valorar más el trabajo depositado en los emprendimientos a partir de conocer y valorar a las personas detrás de ellos. A partir de esta idea, se extiende en describir detalladamente cómo funcionan las articulaciones del Directorio.

48:15 I
Recalca que parte del crecimiento que se obtiene en la Red no siempre es monetario ni se traduce en ganancias inmediatas, sino se trata más bien, en un primer momento, de un enriquecimiento personal, experiencial compartido con otros/as emprendedores/as.

49:55 E
Señala un efecto contraproducente del crecimiento que llega a ofrecer el Directorio a los/as emprendedores/as: cuando los emprendimientos crecen económicamente, las relaciones se deterioran, comienza a aflorar la competitividad.

50:27 I
Comparte un sentir frecuente que experimenta a partir de vivenciar lo anterior: ganas de desistir, de desconectarse. Amplía detalles sobre el agotamiento y la frustración que surgen frente a lo desgastante que resulta la labor de estar pendiente de la clientela, las condiciones adversas que se pueden enfrentar para comercializar sin lograr vender, porque identifica una falta de consciencia / cultura de pago de un precio justo a lo local o al pequeño productor.

57:16 E
Extrae una crítica hacia las prioridades del Estado en términos de qué tipo de producción y consumo alimentario promueve, el cual no está necesariamente asociado a uno que garantice salud, educación sobre consumo alimentario sano y soberanía alimentaria, que ella concibe como derechos humanos, pero también principios de su propio emprendimiento y con los cuales ella también se identifica personalmente comprometida con ponerlos en práctica en su vida diaria. De lo anterior, ella entiende que el Estado no es un actor que apoye a emprendimientos como el suyo o similares (i.e. de alimentos orgánicos), derivándose esto en la ausencia de políticas públicas que podrían respaldar su crecimiento y escalabilidad.

1:05:52 I
Tras elaborar una descripción de la realidad colombiana ante la falta de políticas que garanticen la soberanía alimentaria, vuelve a hacer énfasis en la pertinencia que tienen emprendimientos como los de ella para concatenar esfuerzos desde el campo hasta su etapa de consumo, y así contribuir a que más sectores socioeconómicos pudieran acceder a productos como los que comercializa y alimentarse sanamente.

1:07:56 E
Desarrolla una crítica a la falta de consciencia o información de parte de quienes consumen sobre los procesos globales de transformación de alimentos y la procedencia actual de los que son comercializados masivamente, vinculadas a problemáticas como la pérdida de semillas propias, la privatización de las tecnologías de producción de alimentos y, por ende, el encarecimiento de productos como los que ella comercializa.

1:10:48 E
Teniendo en mente todos los elementos de contexto descritos previamente, vuelve a insistir en que la experiencia de emprender, para ella, ha significado más que todo "resistir", a nivel personal y colectivo con los contactos del Directorio.

1:12:44 I
También describe otro tipo de experiencia de emprendimiento, el de personas con capacidad de inversión: el proyecto creció rápidamente y ya se encuentra bien consolidado, lo cual se destaca como contrastante con otras experiencias más cercanas o la propia. Asimismo, señala que la escalabilidad muchas veces depende de buscar consolidarse hacia la exportación, lo cual termina sacando productos de calidad del mercado local. A diferencia de esta estrategia, busca impulsar con el Directorio el que todos los productos de la red, bajo la etiqueta de únicos y espectaculares (puesto que los productos provienen de ideas innovadoras), se muevan entre los contactos, apoyándose mutuamente, pues no hay capacidad de inversión ni endeudamiento que permita el crecer de forma más fácil. También menciona que, en el Directorio, se han podido discutir y posicionar otras estrategias, como: dejar de "producir para vender" para comenzar a "vender para producir", y así incurrir en menores pérdidas.

1:22:55 I
En la línea de la resistencia, se comentan experiencias de emprendimientos que se han visto en necesidad de parar momentáneamente mientras se consiguen los recursos necesarios para volver a inyectar inversión. Para volver a insertarse en las dinámicas de comercialización, se destaca el papel clave que juega el Directorio al volver a conectar a los/as emprendedores/as a esas redes y espacios.

1:25:01 E
Respecto a las dificultades de emprendedores/as para acceder a financiamiento a través de la banca estatal, menciona las medidas de discriminación positiva para sectores vulnerables como una especie de contradicción: "no debe ser necesario estar en condiciones de vulnerabilidad social (i.e. haber sufrido violencia, tener discapacidades, ser de comunidad étnica o LGBTI) para acceder a crédito".

1:26:59 ? Si, ¿por padecer alopecia, enfrentó discriminación laboral?

1:27:05 R
Lo confirma, reafirmando además este hecho meramente estético, el cual le significó múltiples negativas de parte de potenciales empleadores para contratarla, como determinante en su decisión por emprender. A ello también se sumó el cansancio de una trayectoria laboral en la que tuvo que cubrir su alopecia y sentirse infeliz. Al emprender y cambiar de un entorno y vida laboral de discriminación, pudo sentirse mejor consigo misma, pues ello contribuyó a su proceso de aceptación y amor propio. Al respecto, también percibe un fuerte vacío de políticas públicas que forjen consciencia y empatía para con la alopecia.

1:30:36 I
Enlaza lo anterior con la ausencia de políticas de apoyo para emprendimientos o formas de inserción laboral para personas mayores, por ejemplo, que también enfrentan discriminación laboral y productiva, pese a que hay conocimientos, capacidades y voluntades acumuladas de "sentirse productivas y trabajar"

1:36:43 E
Al describir lo emocionalmente retador que ha sido sentirse bien pese a la discriminación por su condición estética, inmediatamente lo vincula como un paralelo de la experiencia de emprender: ha sido un desafío porque así ha tenido que demostrar que "ella es más que una persona que no tiene cabello", superando inseguridades personales en el proceso.

1:39:03 E
Describe múltiples emprendimientos en el Directorio que, a su juicio, no están recibiendo el apoyo estatal que necesitan o merecen por constituir ideas innovadoras en términos sociales y ambientales, y que también son reflejo de las vicisitudes y altibajos a los que se ha referido anteriormente como parte de la experiencia de emprender, pero ejemplificado a partir de su propia vivencia.

1:45:38 E
Desarrolla la idea de que la realidad socioeconómica obliga a la gente a emprender, debido a un panorama laboral adverso y precarizado, opuesta a la idea de que los/as emprendedores/as provienen todos/as del mero deseo de emprender.

1:50:37 ? Pregunta por el cambio de administración?

1:50:47 I
Explica que, durante la gestión de Samuel Moreno, se recibió apoyo de parte del gobierno local e instituciones vinculadas: espacios de comercialización, insumos, herramientas, capacitaciones. El cambio de administración (entrada de Petro) significó recortes en recursos para programas de este tipo y, además, gestionar la entrada a los proyectos permeados nuevamente por dinámicas de corrupción.

1:57:11 I
Añade que las trabas institucionales del Estado, al que ella identifica como un fuerte detractor de la asociatividad productiva, han sido determinantes para ella en su decisión de desistir sobre ciertos ámbitos para el crecimiento potencial de sus emprendimientos, incluso aquellos con enfoque social, de alta realización personal: le conducen a forjarse un camino propio por otro lado (i.e. en lugar de vender en ferias institucionales, comenzó a venderle a amistades y familia). Piensa que las redes asociativas las debería promover el mismo Estado, como parte de la política pública de apoyo.

2:00:02 ? Se solicita confirmación de una idea: si una inversión externa implica siempre perder autonomía sobre el negocio propio

2:00:08 R
Confirma que ese tipo de asociaciones mediante inversiones, luego de resultar en que la persona con menos recursos debe ceder administración del proyecto al inversor principal", terminan desincentivando a las personas respecto a asociarse.

2:00:42 E
Amplía sobre su definición de ser emprendedor: ser paciente, esperar a que el tiempo idóneo llegue, ser resistente mientras el emprendimiento coge éxito o no.

2:02:28 E
Vuelve a mencionar razones comunes de por qué la gente emprende: desde perfiles profesionales que no consiguen ser remunerados en correspondencia con cualificaciones, hasta perfiles sin experiencia laboral que, por ese motivo, tampoco son absorbidos por las oportunidades de empleo vigentes. Percibe que por lo altamente competitivo que está el mercado laboral y lo poco valorada que está la fuerza de trabajo calificada, emprender se vuelve casi una alternativa única de subsistencia.

2:09:25 E
Describe algunas proyecciones que tiene para el crecimiento del Directorio: que comience a "monetizarse" (ser rentable), debido al esfuerzo y tiempo que implica sostenerlo. Vincula esto con uno de los principios con los que se identifica a nivel personal: es más loable para ella sentar un precedente positivo, con un sentido social / ambiental o "dejar una huella" con un proyecto que ganar mucho dinero con él. Un ejemplo de ello es hacer cosas para que otras personas crezcan e invertir en el trabajo y buenas ideas que la población colombiana puede aportar, en lugar de abandonar el país. También cuenta cómo este tipo de principios los aplica a su cotidianeidad (p. ej. reciclar, reducir uso de plásticos, entre otras formas).

2:15:11 E
Hace énfasis en la importancia de desarrollar políticas públicas orientadas a la educación de consumidores, para complementar todo esfuerzo institucional enfocado en apoyar los procesos sociales, económicos y ambientales de "sostenibilidad" con los cuales su emprendimiento está vinculado

01:17 ¿Cómo fue el proceso de creación de Escuela?

00:49 R
"Yo había sido antes estudiante en la Universidad, hasta el tercer semestre, porque me pareció que la universidad no me estaba enseñando lo suficiente sobre mi carrera y me estaba aburriendo con el sistema educativo, con la metodología del pensum."

00:44 I
La decisión fue un acuerdo de pareja. Empezaron a trabajar en el taller y la familia les dio apoyo, a la vez que les preocupaba la estabilidad financiera.

02:17 ¿Cómo se vuelve un empresario emprendedor?

04:22 R
Antes del proyecto, hubo otros intentos de negocios previos (Fotos y Ropa). La mentalidad empresarial se forjó en la práctica, aprendiendo a vender, a pagar salarios, a tener contratos, a gestionar relaciones y encontrar un equipo para que lo ayude a crecer. Fue una lección frustrante, se gastó energía y esperanza.

08:01 I
Se sentía desgastado y frustrado por haber invertido tiempo, energía, trabajo y dinero sin. Surgió en ellos la duda de si valía la pena el proyecto, tener talleres, expandir de un nuevo lugar, además era tarde.

03:17 Cómo decidieron crear Escuela, Colombia

43:33 R
Los jóvenes habían sido desacompañados de "las pedidas", por medallas de Fuerza cuando fueron a recibir, reflexionaron si era el momento de desertar o iniciar el proyecto en pareja.

05:17 ¿Qué motivaba la toma de riesgo en este tiempo de duelo?

10:35 R
Mantener la banda afinada, la gente que estaba allí, que confiaron en el proyecto, pese a las pérdidas.

06:17 ¿Qué es Le Tracto, en término generales?

46:59 R
Espacio de experimentación de prácticas orgánicas y alimentarias a manera de laboratorio, con un equipo de jóvenes pertenecientes a pueblos campesinos. Se considera este sector como vulnerabilizado de la ciudad, con pocas prácticas de alimento, que debe obtener respaldo y protección. Por eso, proyectos como este, que integran a la comunidad, el reconocimiento del valor de la cosecha y del trabajo, son fundamentales para dignificar el campo. Este reconocimiento conmueve que no pague arriendo y que el trabajo no corresponda con una remuneración justa en el campo. Se ve reflejado en el desarrollo de una cocina decomercialización (2-4) supermercados (3) proyecto también de turismo y de pedagogía, de sensibilización hacia los niños y niñas en la importancia de un consumo responsable, consciente con la salud. Queremos producir productos de calidad, que remuevan un espacio también de debate y formales, sobretodo para habitantes urbanos.

07:17 ¿Cómo fue el proceso de vincularse con productores, quienes son ellos?

50:41 R
Le Tracto trabaja con 80 pequeños productores de las veredas de Bogotá y Ubaté. Se trata de una Escuela de campesinos, sobre la región al plato, identificando lugares similares, metodologías, que se pueden aplicar a productores y productoras concretos y dándoles tomar el proceso de producción, de "cómo quiero trabajar la tierra y cómo" se hacen sumando más productores. Presentan los productos a los programas porque son estrategias que generaban cierto nivel de desinformación.

08:17 ¿Cómo surge la motivación de la Universidad el proyecto, por parte de Carol Rivera?

54:26 R
Nace a través. Unos productores de proyectos tienen INVIMA, otros no. Se trata de un grupo de (desconocimiento, burocracia, costos altos) que no tienen el sello del INVIMA que es una legislación económica, "un negocio". Nace la necesidad de crear un consumidor productor sin INVIMA, tan de calidad como los que tienen el sello, de la producción contemplativa (secretaría de salud). Hacer redes de agricultores y llamados a instituciones oficiales.

09:17 ¿Qué tipo de empresa?

59:10 R
Relaciones cercanas la Universidad, con la comunidad educativa, empresas, se han cumplido, parcialmente. Actualmente está siguiendo el tema de la Secretaría de Salud, especialmente la Secretaría del INVIMA de parte de cierto productos. Se están especiando productos, se está haciendo una alianza de asociación de personas, instituciones o de la Universidad, con el proyecto productivo, con apoyo de entidad correspondiente.

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12:40 I
Aparecía por ejemplo que otras personas que tenían productores tienen, entender su proceso, para poder ver como lo pudo. Competencias de este tipo, que son muy difíciles. Tenía llegar al estado actual.

13:17 ¿Cómo fue llegar ahí, cual camino?

14:00 R
Las mostró el medio como el proyecto la exposición / Ruta Maestra, aparecían, fue como la frustración...

14:58 I
El barrio parecía necesitar un espacio así, el proyecto entusiasmaba, consultado.

15:17 ¿Cómo se vuelve al corrido al proyecto?

16:35 R
El proyecto empezó a crecer, a tener más avances que no estaban en un punto de equilibrio. La Ruta Maestra, que era el barrido original, expandió al sitio anterior. Pendiente diversas y pasaron para continuar hasta seis meses, se encontraron en el barrio.

16:17 ¿Qué implica no estar del punto de equilibrio?

19:28 R
Tener un salario fluctuante / inestable. No hay ganancia, se está en emprendimiento social, entendiendo que el proyecto funcionaría

17:17 ¿Cómo han estado en este tiempo de incertidumbre?

21:38 R
Haciendo "malabares". Las fincas y cosechas están en Ubaté, se está pagando el arriendo de una cocina, no vendía a granel y rebusca no encontraba ayuda. Se hizo un Fondo de Solidaridad social en experiencias laborales previas, se pagaba sólo en un corto medio año.

24:09 E
El liderazgo que ejercía con el proyecto se tradujo en financiación en social proyecto tener de tipo de la Universidad, se sentía cohesionar al trabajo porque es una parte importante de la vida. Tiene que pasar por un proceso de aprendizaje para aquí sólo sólo, pasa por un proceso de trabajo real para crecer.

18:17 ¿Qué motivaba y detenía?

25:36 R
Una ONG participaba en temas de educación con jóvenes, en Bolívia en Perú y en Bogotá.

19:17 ¿Cómo se inicia este camino?

27:15 R
El trabajo anterior provoca un cambio en cuanto a cómo pensaba, pero, la premisa seguía pero no había plata. Se hizo un ejercicio de un grupo de la Universidad decidieron salir a vivir en el barrio. Se perdió mucha experiencia en el barrio, se perdió el proyecto en barrio, se perdió conocimiento y facilidad. Se hizo un trabajo de empoderamiento sobre la decisión.

20:17 ¿Qué decidieron vender?

30:32 R
Antes se hablaban semillas nativas en Andalucía, allá, así se hizo un trabajo de sociología y educación comunitaria. Se han sembrado en jardín de la academia, aquí en Bogotá, se hicieron semillas con el área del proyecto.

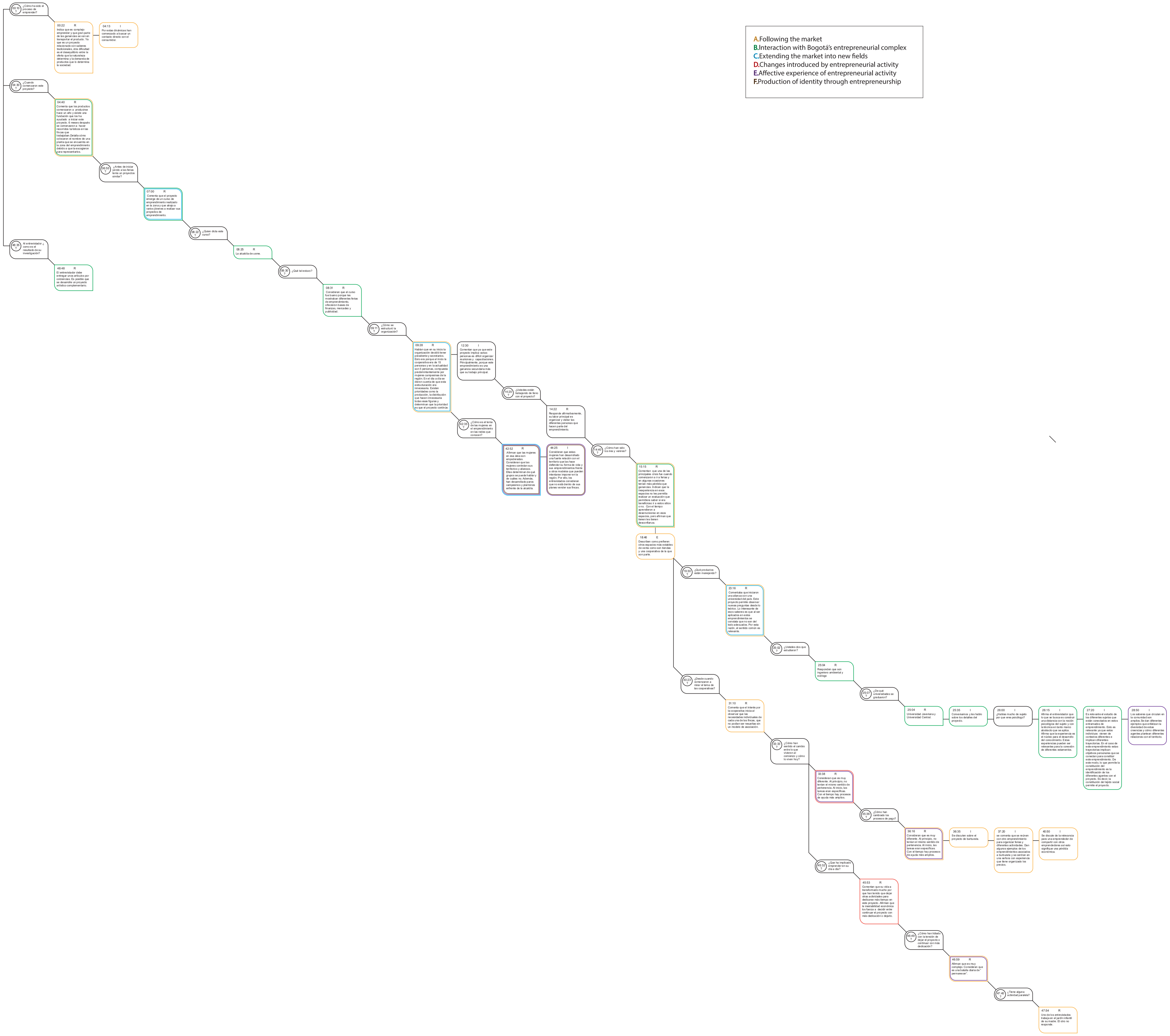
30:20 E
Sintieron necesidad de llevar a la práctica lo aprendido; esta academia que se hizo en Andalucía, se hizo en una casa (Tejer los grandes temas y palabras con realidad), mientras que en el proyecto

21:17 ¿Cómo se vuelve un espacio de encuentro?

53:52 R
En Escuela, en un mismo lote negocio, (redundante) en terraza educativa.

22:17 ¿Cómo surgió el nombre del proyecto en Escuela?

34:25 R
También por mantenimiento con trabajo artesano, que es lo que hacen, con comercio de semillas nativas, formación y participar en la Universidad a Cómo se presenta el gusto la idea "pr ikuf" es llevar a cabo el emprendimiento en Escuela.



A.Following the market
B.Interaction with Bogotá's entrepreneurial complex
C.Extending the market into new fields
D.Changes introduced by entrepreneurial activity
E.Affective experience of entrepreneurial activity
F.Production of identity through entrepreneurship

00:10 ? ¿Cómo ha sido el proceso de emprender?

00:22 R
Indica que es complejo emprender y que gran parte de las ganancias se van en transportar el producto. Ya que es un proyecto relacionado con saberes tradicionales, otra dificultad es el desequilibrio entre la oferta que la naturaleza determina y la demanda de productos que lo determina la sociedad.

04:13 I
Por estas dinámicas han comenzado a buscar un contacto directo con el consumidor.

04:30 ? ¿Cuando comenzaron este proyecto?

04:40 R
Comenta que los productos comenzaron a producirse hace un año y existe una fundación que los ha ayudado a iniciar este proyecto. 6 meses después se comenzaron a hacer recorridos turísticos en las fincas que trabajaban.Detalla cómo colocaron el nombre de una planta que se encuentra en la zona del emprendimiento debido a que la escogieron para representarlos.

06:55 ? ¿Antes de iniciar yendo a las ferias tenía un proyectos similar?

07:00 R
Comenta que el proyecto emerge de un curso de emprendimiento realizado en la zona y que atrajo a varios jóvenes a realizar sus proyectos de emprendimiento.

08:22 ? ¿Quien dicta este curso?

08:25 R
La alcaldía de usme.

08:30 ? ¿Qué tal estuvo?

08:31 R
Consideran que el curso fue bueno porque les mostraban diferentes ferias de emprendimiento, ofrecieron bases de finanzas, mercadeo y publicidad.

09:11 ? ¿Cómo se estructuró la organización?

09:28 R
Hablan que en su inicio la organización decidió tener presidente y secretarios. Esto era porque al inicio la cooperativa era de 15 personas y en la actualidad son 5 personas, compuesta predomintantemente por mujeres campesinas de la región. En el día a día se dieron cuenta de que esta estructuración era innecesaria. Existen prioridades como la producción, la distribución que hacen innecesaria todas esas figuras y determinan que la prioridad es que el proyecto continúe.

12:30 I
Comentan que ya que este proyecto implica varias personas es difícil organizar reuniones y capacitaciones. Principalmente, porque este emprendimiento es una ganancia secundaria más que su trabajo principal.

14:20 ? ¿Ustedes están trabajando de lleno con el proyecto?

14:22 R
Responde afirmativamente, su labor principal es organizar y visitar las diferentes personas que hacen parte del emprendimiento.

14:40 ? ¿Cómo han sido los ires y venires?

15:15 R
Comentan que una de las principales crisis fue cuando comenzaron a ir a ferias y en algunas ocasiones tenían más pérdida que ganancias. Indican que la inexperiencia en esos espacios no les permitía realizar un evaluación que permitiera saber si era beneficioso ir a estos sitios o no. Con el tiempo aprendieron a desenvolverse en esos espacios, pero afirman que tienen les tienen desconfianza.

18:46 E
Describen como prefieren otros espacios más estables de venta como son tiendas y una cooperativa de la que son parte.

19:30 ? ¿Qué productos están manejando?

23:16 R
Comentaba que iniciaron una alianza con una universidad del país. Este proyecto permite observar nuevas preguntas desde lo teórico. Lo interesante de esos saberes es que al ser aplicados en estos emprendimientos se constata que no son del todo adecuados. Por esta razón, el sentido común es relevante.

25:02 ? ¿Ustedes dos que estudiaron?

25:04 R
Responden que son ingeniero ambiental y ecólogo

25:07 ? ¿De qué universidades se graduaron?

25:04 R
Universidad Javeriana y Universidad Central.

25:35 I
Conversamos y les hablo sobre los detalles del proyecto.

26:00 I
¿Hablas mucho de sujeto por que eres psicólogo?

26:15 I
Afirma el entrevistador que lo que se busca es construir una distancia con la noción psicológica del sujeto y con la técnica en tanto marco abstracto que se aplica. Afirma que la experiencia es el núcleo para el desarrollo del conocimiento. Estas experiencias pueden ser relevantes para la conexión de diferentes estamentos.

27:20 I
Es relevante el estudio de los diferentes sujetos que están conectados en estos entramados de emprendimiento. Esto es relevante ya que estos individuos vienen de contextos diferentes e implican diferentes trayectorias. En el caso de este emprendimiento estas trayectorias implican objetivos personales que se conectan para constituir este emprendimiento. De este modo, lo que permite la constitución del emprendimiento es la identificación de los diferentes agentes con el proyecto. Es decir, la constitución del tejido social permite el proyecto.

28:50 I
Los saberes que circulan en la comunidad son amplios. Se dan diferentes ejemplos que enfatizan la diversidad de estas creencias y cómo diferentes agentes plantean diferentes relaciones con el territorio.

30:23 ? ¿Desde cuando comenzaron a mirar el tema de las cooperativas?

31:10 R
Comenta que el interés por la cooperativa inicia al observar que las necesidades individuales de cada una de las fincas, que no podían ser resueltas sin un modelo de asociación.

33:33 ? ¿Cómo han sentido el cambio entre lo que vivieron al comienzo y cómo lo viven hoy?

33:38 R
Consideran que es muy diferente. Al principio, no tenían el mismo sentido de pertenencia. Al inicio, las tareas eran específicas. Con el tiempo hay procesos de ayuda más amplios.

35:36 ? ¿Cómo han cambiado los procesos de pago?

36:16 R
Consideran que es muy diferente. Al principio, no tenían el mismo sentido de pertenencia. Al inicio, las tareas eran específicas. Con el tiempo hay procesos de ayuda más amplios.

36:35 I
Se discuten sobre el proyecto de burburata.

37:20 I
se comenta que se reúnen con otro emprendimiento para organizar ferias y diferentes actividades. Dan algunos ejemplos de los emprendimientos asociados a burburata y se centran en una señora con experiencia que tiene organizado los precios.

40:50 I
Se discute de la relevancia para una emprendedor de compartir con otros emprendedores así esto signifique una pérdida económica.

45:32 ? ¿Que ha implicado emprender en su día a día?

45:53 R
Comentan que su vida a transformado mucho por que han tenido que dejar otras actividades para dedicarse más tiempo en este proyecto. Afirman que la inestabilidad económica los fuerza a decidir entre continuar el proyecto con más dedicación o dejarlo.

46:49 ? ¿Cómo han lidiado con la tensión de dejar el proyecto o continuar con más dedicación?

46:59 R
Afirman que es muy complejo. Consideran que es una batalla diaria de " permanecer".

47:45 ? ¿Tiene alguna actividad paralela?

47:54 R
Uno de los entrevistados trabaja en el jardín infantil de su madre. El otro no responde.

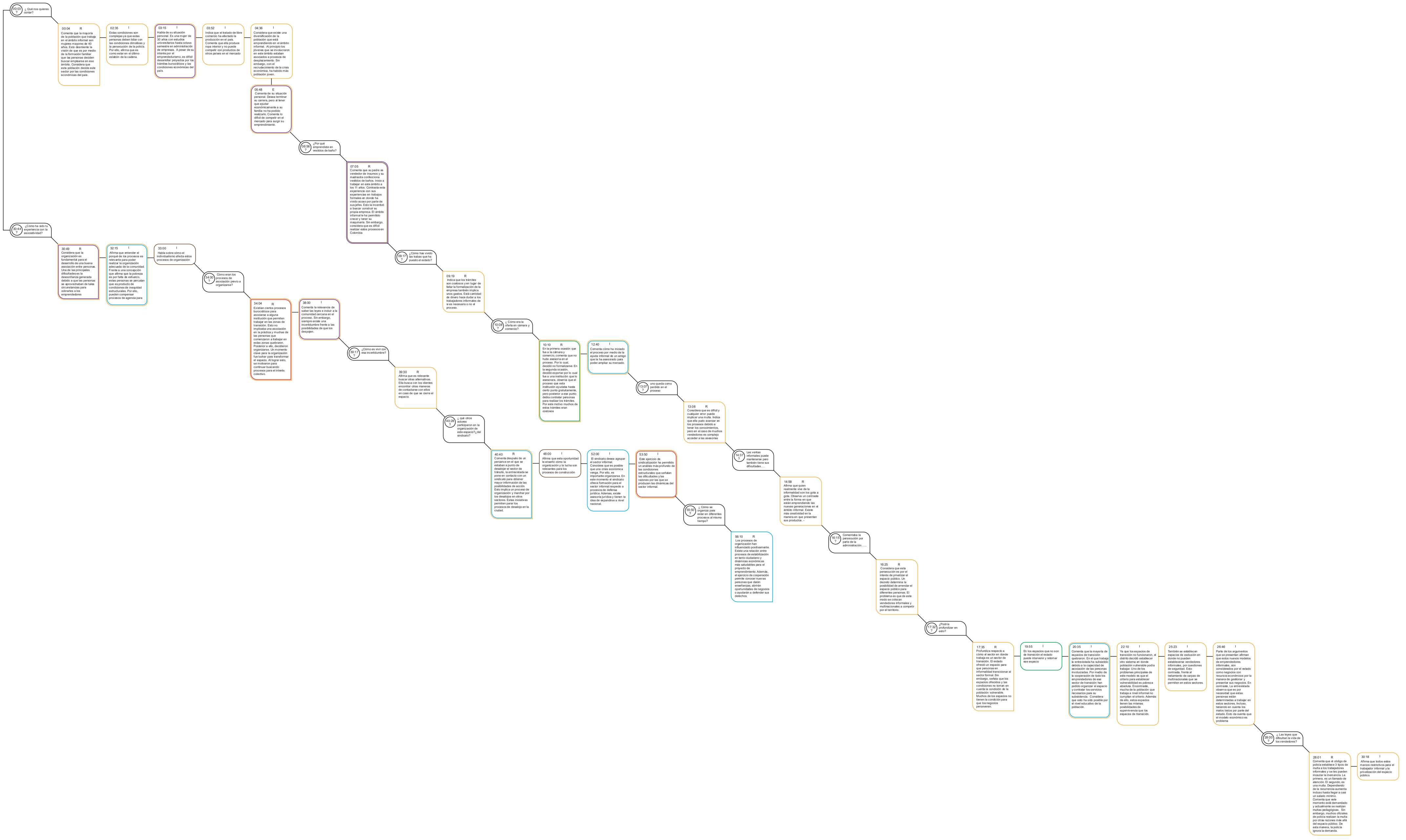
42:35 ? ¿Cómo es el tema de las mujeres en el emprendimiento en las redes que conocen?

42:52 R
Afirman que las mujeres en esa área son empoderadas. Consideran que las mujeres controlan sus territorios y alianzas. Ellas determinan de qué grupos se puede hablar y de cuáles no. Además, han desarrollado paros campesinos y plantones enfrente de la alcaldía.

44:25 I
Consideran que estas mujeres han desarrollado una fuerte relación con el territorio que las hace defender su forma de vida y sus emprendimientos frente a otros modelos que pueden intentarse imponer en la región. Por ello, los entrevistados consideran que no está dentro de sus planes vender sus fincas.

48:35 ? Al entrevistador ¿ como es el resultado de su investigación?

48:48 R
El entrevistador debe entregar unos artículos por colciencias. Es posible que se desarrolle un proyecto artístico complementario.



00:03 ? ¿ Qué nos quieres contar?

00:04 R
Comenta que la mayoría de la población que trabaja en el ámbito informal son mujeres mayores de 40 años. Esto desmiente la visión de que es por medio de la formación familiar que las personas deciden buscar emplearse en ese ámbito. Considera que esta población decide este sector por las condiciones económicas del país.

02:35 I
Estas condiciones son complejas ya que estas personas deben lidiar con las condiciones climáticas y la persecución de la policía. Por ello, afirma que es como estar en el último eslabón de la cadena.

03:15 I
Habla de su situación personal. Es una mujer de 30 años con estudios universitarios hasta octavo semestre en administración de empresas. A pesar de su interés por el emprendedurismo, es difícil desarrollar proyectos por los trámites burocráticos y las condiciones económicas del país.

03:52 I
Indica que el tratado de libre comercio ha afectado la producción en el país. Comenta que ella produce ropa interior y no puede competir con productos de otros países en el mercado

04:36 I
Considera que existe una diversificación de la población que está emprendiendo en el ámbito informal. Al principio los jóvenes que se involucraron en este ámbito estaban asociados a procesos de desplazamiento. Sin embargo, con el recrudecimiento de la crisis económica, ha habido más población joven.

05:48 E
Comenta de su situación personal. Desea terminar su carrera, pero al tener que ayudar económicamente a su familia no ha podido realizarlo. Comenta lo difícil de competir en el mercado para surgir su emprendimiento.

06:56 ? ¿Por qué emprendiste en vestidos de baño?

07:05 R
Comenta que su padre es vendedor de insumos y su madrastra confecciona vestidos de baños. Inicio a trabajar en este ámbito a los 11 años. Contrasta esta experiencia con sus experiencias en trabajos formales en donde ha vivido acoso por parte de sus jefes. Esto la incentivó a buscar construir su propia empresa. El ámbito informal le ha permitido crecer y tener su maquinaria. Sin embargo, considera que es difícil realizar estos procesos en Colombia

09:17 ? ¿Cómo has vivido las trabas que ha puesto el estado?

09:19 R
Indica que los trámites son costosos y en lugar de fallar la formalización de la empresa también implica unos gastos. Está cantidad de dinero hace dudar a los trabajadores informales de si es necesario o no el proceso.

10:08 ? ¿ Cómo era la oferta en cámara y comercio?

10:10 R
En la primera ocasión que fue a la cámara y comercio, comenta que no hubo asesoría en el proceso. Por lo cual, decidió no formalizarse. En la segunda ocasión, decidió exportar por lo cual fue a una institución que lo asesorara. observa que el proceso que esta institución ayudaba hasta cierto punto gratuitamente, pero posterior a ese punto debía contratar personas para realizar los trámites. Por este motivo muchos de estos trámites eran costosos

12:40 I
Comenta cómo ha iniciado el proceso por medio de la ayuda informal de un amigo que la ha asesorado para poder ampliar su mercado.

13:07 ? uno queda como perdido en el proceso

13:08 R
Considera que es difícil y cualquier error puede implicar una multa. Indica que ella pudo avanzar en los procesos debido a tener los conocimientos, pero en el caso de muchos vendedores es complejo acceder a las asesorías

14:37 ? Las ventas informales puede mantenerse pero también tiene sus dificultades….

14:58 R
Afirma que quien realmente vive de la informalidad son los gota a gota. Observa un contraste entre la forma en que están emprendiendo las nuevas generaciones en el ámbito informal. Existe más creatividad en la manera en que presentan sus productos. -

16:15 ? Comentaba la persecución por parte de la administración……

16:25 R
Considera que esta persecución es por el interés de privatizar el espacio público. Un decreto determina la posibilidad de arrendar el espacio público para diferentes personas. El problema es que de este modo se colocan vendedores informales y multinacionales a competir por el territorio.

17:32 ? ¿Podría profundizar en esto?

17:35 R
Profundiza respecto a cómo el sector en donde trabaja es un sector de transición. El estado ofreció un espacio para que personas en informalidad transicionar al sector formal. Sin embargo, señala que los espacios ofrecidos y las condiciones no toman en cuenta la condición de la población vulnerable. Muchos de los espacios no tienen la condición para que los negocios perseveren.

19:55 I
En los espacios que no son de transición el estado puede intervenir y retomar ese espacio

20:35 I
Comenta que la mayoría de espacios de transición quebraron. En el que trabaja la entrevistada ha subsistido debido a la capacidad de asociación de las personas involucradas. Por medio de la cooperación de todo los emprendedores de ese sector de transición han podido organizar el espacio y contratar los servicios necesarios para su subsistencia. Considera que esto ha sido posible por el nivel educativo de la población.

22:10 I
Ya que los espacios de transición no funcionaron, el distrito decidió establecer otro sistema en donde población vulnerable podía trabajar. Uno de los problemas principales de este modelo es que el criterio para establecer vulnerabilidad es pobreza absoluta. Encontraste, mucha de la población que trabaja a nivel informal no cumplían el criterio. Además de ello, estos espacios tienen las mismas posibilidades de supervivencia que los espacios de transición.

25:23 I
También se establecen espacios de exclusión en donde no pueden establecerse vendedores informales, por cuestiones de seguridad. Esto contrasta, frente al tratamiento de carpas de multinacionales que se permiten en estos sectores.

26:46 I
Parte de los argumentos que se presentan afirman que estos nuevos modelos de emprendedores informales, son considerados por el estado como negocios con recursos económicos por la manera de gestionar y presentar sus negocios. En contraste, La entrevistada observa que es por necesidad que estas personas están determinadas a trabajar en estos sectores. Incluso, teniendo en cuenta los malos tratos por parte del estado. Esto da cuenta que el modelo económico es problema

28:00 ? ¿ Las leyes que dificultan la vida de los vendedores?

28:01 R
Comenta que el código de policía establece 3 tipos de multa a los trabajadores informales y se les pueden incautar la mercancía. La primera, es un llamado de atención. El segundo, es una multa. Dependiendo de la recurrencia aumenta incluso hasta llegar a casi un salario mínimo. Comenta que este momento está demandado y actualmente se realizan multas pedagógicas. Sin embargo, muchos oficiales de policía realizan la multa por otras razones más allá del espacio público. De esta manera, la policía ignora la demanda.

30:18 I
Afirma que todos estos marcos restrictivos para el trabajador informal y la privatización del espacio público.

30:44 ? ¿Cómo ha sido tu experiencia con la asociatividad?

30:49 R
Considera que la organización es fundamental para el desarrollo de una buena asociación entre personas. Una de las principales dificultades es la desconfianza generada debido a que las personas se aprovechaban de tales circunstancias para cobrarles a los emprendedores

32:15 I
Afirma que entender el porqué de los procesos es relevante para poder realizar la organización adecuada de la comunidad. Frente a una concepción que afirma que la pobreza es por falta de esfuerzo, estas personas se percatan que es producto de condiciones de inequidad estructurales. Por ello, pueden compensar procesos de agencia para

33:00 I
Habla sobre cómo el individualismo afecta estos procesos de organización

34:00 ? Cómo eran los procesos de asociación previo a organizarse?

34:04 R
Existían ciertos procesos burocráticos para asociarse a alguna institución que permiten trabajar en las zonas de transición. Esto no implicaba una asociación en la práctica y muchas de las personas que comenzaron a trabajar en estas zonas quebraron. Posterior a ello, decidieron organizarse. Un momento clave para la organización fue luchar para transformar el espacio. Al lograr esto, se motivaron para continuar buscando procesos para el interés colectivo.

38:00 I
Comenta la relevancia de saber las leyes e incluir a la comunidad cercana en el proceso. Sin embargo, siempre existe una incertidumbre frente a las posibilidades de que los despojen.

39:17 ? ¿Cómo es vivir con esa incertidumbre?

39:30 R
Afirma que es relevante buscar otras alternativas. Ella busca con los clientes encontrar otras maneras de contactarse con ellos en caso de que se cierre el espacio.

40:28 ? ¿ qué otros actores participaron en la organización de este espacio?¿del sindicato?

40:40 R
Comenta después de un percance en el que se estaban a punto de desalojar el sector de tránsito, la entrevistada se pone en contacto con un sindicato para obtener mayor información de las posibilidades de acción. Esto implica un proceso de organización y marchar por los desalojos en otros sectores. Estas iniciativas permiten parar los procesos de desalojo en la ciudad.

48:00 I
Afirma que esta oportunidad le enseñó cómo la organización y la lucha son relevantes para los procesos de construcción

52:00 I
El sindicato desea agrupar el sector informal. Considera que es posible que una crisis económica venga. Por ello, es importante organizarse. En este momento el sindicato ofrece formación para el sector informal respecto a procesos de defensa jurídica. Ademas, existe asesoría jurídica y tienen la idea de expandirse a nivel nacional.

53:50 I
Este ejercicio de sindicalización ha permitido un análisis más profundo de las condiciones estructurales que señalan las dificultades y las razones por las que se producen las dinámicas del sector informal.

55:50 ? ¿ Cómo se organiza para estar en diferentes procesos al mismo tiempo?

56:10 R
Los procesos de organización han influenciado positivamente. Existe una relación entre procesos de estabilización en tanto ciudadano y dinámicas económicas más saludables para el proyecto de emprendimiento. Además, el ejercicio de cooperación permite conocer nuevas personas que darán enseñanzas, abrirán oportunidades de negocios o ayudarán a defender sus derechos

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¿Nos puede contar cómo ha sido su experiencia con el emprendimiento?

00:08 R
Considera que la respuesta tiene dos partes: Una como emprendedora y la otra como asesora de potenciales emprendedores. Como emprendedora manifiesta que es un reto muy duro por varias razones, entre las que se destacan: la legislación colombiana es muy complicada; los tiempos para montar empresa son demorados, los impuestos al formalizarse como empresa son caros; si no se formaliza la empresa pierde oportunidades de hacer negocios con otras empresas; sacar una cuenta bancaria es difícil por el tema de prevención de lavado de activos y además son costosas.

01:21 I
Expresa que la ley 1014 que es la ley de emprendimiento, expedida en 2006, establece muchas cosas que en la realidad no se cumplen. Pone los siguientes ejemplos: Según la ley, todas las instituciones académicas, de todo orden y nivel, deben promover espacios donde la gente desarrolle proyectos, y en la práctica muchas instituciones no están comprometidas con el tema, mucho menos con el propósito de crear emprendedores que generen proyectos de impacto, es decir, que crean valor agregado directamente a la comunidad y al país a través de la innovación. Resume diciendo que hay una brecha muy grande entre lo que dice la ley y lo que está pasando en la realidad

03:00 I
Explica que la ley dice que debe haber articulación de todos los entes públicos y privados que promueven el emprendimiento, pero entidades como INNPULSA, del Estado, HUGBOG y GUAIRA, empresas privadas aceleradoras de proyectos tecnológicos y Wikiideas no presentan ningún grado de articulación. Adiciona que la ley también establece que todas las instituciones financieras deben crear programas que favorezcan el emprendimiento, pero cuando un emprendedor se acerca a un banco que tiene programas para la MIPYMES la cantidad de trabas son insalvables y mucha gente desiste de continuar con el proyecto.

04:12 I
Le parece muy importante señalar que además de los problemas de trámites legales, de impuestos y de escases de recursos, y desde su experiencia personal, que uno de los temas más difíciles del emprendimiento es el de lidiar consigo mismo. Considera que hay un reto grande en el emprendimiento que consiste en administrar adecuadamente las emociones cuando hay problemas o cuando logras cosas buenas, gestionar la inteligencia emocional, las habilidades blandas, las capacidades de liderazgo y de trabajar en equipo, capacidades de comunicación, etcétera que son fundamentales a la hora de administrar una empresa.

05:10 I
En cuanto a su experiencia como asesora y consultora, cree que a los candidatos a emprendedores no se les habla de los problemas que tienen que enfrentar, desde los legales hasta los emocionales y cuando éstos inician, no tienen idea en qué se están metiendo. Observa que las personas que inician proyectos llegan sin conocimiento previo de lo implica emprender y muchos tienen idealizado el referente de emprendimiento en Bill Gates y Mark Zuckerberg, sin entender que emprender va más allá de crear una APP y de superar los obstáculos que se presentan a diario.

06:23 I
Como asesora encuentra que el emprendedor en Colombia no es muy constante, tira rápido la toalla cuando se le presentan los problemas y cree que esto se debe a que no parte, a la hora de emprender, de una pasión, y no distingue la diferencia entre emprender por oportunidad y emprender por necesidad. Precisa que el emprendedor por necesidad es aquel que perdió el puesto, que está desocupado, y que necesita unos ingresos para subsistir, a diferencia del emprendedor por oportunidad que empieza a identificar problemas que requieran solución y oportunidades de mercado que pueda satisfacer u ofrecer soluciones. Señala también que muchos emprendedores desconocen las instituciones de emprendimiento y las fuentes de financiamiento.

08:10 I
Confirma que existe mucha diversidad entre los emprendedores. Comenta que están haciendo un trabajo interesante a través de instituciones públicas y privadas, apoyando proyectos productivos que nacen por necesidad, convirtiéndolos en proyectos por oportunidad. Cuenta que el año pasado hicieron, de la mano con la Corporación Reiniciar, con emprendedores víctimas del genocidio contra la Unión Patriótica, con la Gobernación de Cundinamarca, con recursos de la reparación manejados por el Departamento de la Prosperidad Social, y la asesoría de Wikiideas, proyectos de tecnificación de sus unidades agrícolas.

09:47 ? ¿Cómo es el proceso de convertir proyectos de necesidad por proyectos por oportunidad?

10:19 R
Ejemplifica con el caso de una señora que fabrica arepas en la casa para mostrar que la innovación no solo está en los productos en sí, también está en los procesos de elaboración, en el uso de los ingredientes y de los recursos alrededor del producto y de la manera como se impacte con ellos el medio ambiente. Resalta que la innovación también está en el servicio, y que con frecuencia el emprendedor por necesidad entrega el producto y se desentiende del cliente, sin obtener información de qué puede hacer para mejorar el producto o el servicio, lo que lleva a perder oportunidades.

13:08 ? ¿Cómo son las personas que emprenden por necesidad y las que emprenden por oportunidad?

13:20 R
Inicialmente responde que no sabe cómo son, pero luego señala que las personas que emprenden por necesidad los hacen para conseguir su sustento y tienen como referente los negocios de la familia o de los amigos, sin preocuparse por impactar de manera positiva el mercado o la sociedad, lo que sí hace el emprendedor por oportunidad.

14:33 ? ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva en el tema del emprendimiento?

14:43 R
Plantea un tema que le parece importante que determina un poco el tipo de emprendedor, es si el emprendedor nace o se hace. Considera que las dos cosas pueden ocurrir, porque hay quienes nacen en un medio familiar de emprendedores o se desarrollan en ese medio, lo que los incentiva a estar pendientes de entrar en proyectos de negocios. Cuenta que en su caso ella nació y se crío en una familia de negociantes, donde aprendió el valor del trabajo para conseguir el sustento, pero con los años descubrió que con el emprendimiento se puede ayudar a construir un mejor país, una mejor sociedad mediante la creación de iniciativas de impacto, que es a lo que se dedica ahora.

15:14 I
Narra que empezó desde niña de la mano de sus padres en el mundo de los negocios y a los diecinueve años ya tenía su propio almacén de accesorios femeninos en Bogotá, donde le fue bien, pero al poco tiempo se fue del país, cuando volvió montó otra vez el negocio que resolvía principalmente el problema del bolsillo, sin ir más allá, lo que al cabo del tiempo la llevó a vender el negocio y montar la empresa Wikiideas, hace tres años y medio, y ha entendido que ayudando a los emprendedores a estructurar proyectos viables y sostenibles es una mejor forma de trabajar por el país

17:02 I
Insiste en que el emprendedor por necesidad tiene una visión cortoplacista, de resolver los problemas del día a día, sin visión y sin preocuparse por mejorar su producto y el mercadeo a través de la innovación. Confiesa que después de empezar muchos proyectos por necesidad, decidió hacerlo de una manera diferente, ayudando con mi experiencia a los emprendedores con la misión de convertir esos proyectos que nacen por necesidad en proyectos de oportunidad, y esa es su historia de los últimos tres años con Wikiideas. También insiste en que emprender en Colombia es caro y complicado, es un reto de reinventarse constantemente para enfrentar los obstáculos y las vicisitudes.

18:56 ? ¿Sus padres en qué trabajan?

18:59 R
responde que sus padres toda la vida han sido comerciantes de San Andresito.

19:05 I
Manifiesta que la parte más fuerte de su emprendimiento la hizo al regresa en el año 200 de los Estados Unidos, después de haber terminado la carrera y de la práctica que hizo en Nueva York. Dado que había hecho ahorros y contaba con el apoyo y la experiencia del papá, montó una tienda donde todo se consigue a mil pesos. Dice que le fue bien y el bolsillo empezó a agrandarse sin mayores esfuerzos y sin algo que le representara un reto, que así pasaron varios años con muy buenos resultados, pero en 2014 decidió renunciar, hacerle caso a su vocación e ir tras sus sueños de apoyar a los emprendedores.

20:23 ? ¿Cómo fue la práctica que realizó en Nueva York?

20:38 R
Confirma que realizó la práctica en Nueva York del 2000 al 2002. En agosto de ese año regresó al país y a principios del 2003 inició sus proyectos de venta de accesorios para dama.

20:59 ? ¿Hizo práctica de qué carrera?

21:03 R
Afirma que cursó Administración de Empresas en el Externado de Colombia.

21:06 ? ¿Qué funciones realizó en la práctica?

21:11 R
Recuerda que inicialmente en donde hacia la práctica le tocaba hacer de todo menos servir tintos, le tocaba sacar fotocopias, hacer cuadros en Excel, generar informes, al mes de práctica le dijo al jefe que la pusiera a trabajar y desde entonces le asignaron una labor comercial importante, convirtiéndose en la asistente de la vicepresidencia comercial en una compañía de subastas por Internet, donde trabajo durante dos años. En esos dos años que estuvo allá, logró buenos ahorros, pero no se acostumbró a ser empleada, siempre tenía en mente montar empresa.

22:34 ? ¿Cómo se siente estar empleada y pasar a ser emprendedora?

22:41 R
Confiesa que no le disgusto ser empleada, por el contrario, le gustó muchísimo porque le representaba un mayor reto intelectual. Cuando regresa de los Estados unidos con dinero y con el chip de emprender, no se podía permitir ser empleada. Reitera que al ser empleada durante esos años le representó una exigencia profesional al poner en práctica lo que había aprendido en la universidad, cosa que no se logra en los almacenes donde las cosas son mucho más simples, pero dan dinero. Los doce años dedicada a los almacenes le produjo depresión y crisis de ansiedad (por eso habla de la gestión de las emociones), la insatisfacción y problemas de salud la llevaron a la decisión de renunciar a las ventas y a los almacenes y dedicarse a lo que está haciendo ahora, asesorando a emprendedores en la estructuración de proyectos y gestión de recursos.

24:39 ? ¿Cómo fue esa transición?

24:43 R
Le pareció muy duro, sobre todo por la presión familiar, por el ejemplo que estaba obligada a dar por ser la mayor de cuatro hermanos, eso lo hizo un poco complicado, pero cuando solté y vendí los almacenes sentí un gran alivio ya que podía dedicarme a lo que quería. Cuenta que de todas maneras tuvo que lidiar con las emociones, las incertidumbres y la ansiedad al vender los almacenes, cosa que regularmente les pasa a muchos emprendedores.

30:59 ? ¿Qué tan grande es la red de contactos de Wikiideas.?

31:08 R
Precisa que en un Excel tienen más de tres mil emprendedores, que han sido registrados a través de varios tipos de eventos.

31:17 I
Expone los objetivos de Wikiideas para los eventos que realiza y los tipos de eventos. Señala que los objetivos de los eventos que se hacen con los emprendedores son: inspirarlos a través de escuchar las historias de grandes líderes y emprendedores del país; contarles cómo es el proceso de emprender, mediante conferencias dictadas por entidades públicas y privadas; mostrarles las oportunidades de conseguir financiamiento por medio de entidades inversionistas o presentándose a convocatorias, todo enfocado a inspirar e informar

32:47 ? ¿Cómo percibe a los emprendedores lidiando consigo mismos?

32:57 R
Dice que no lo ve fácil, porque se ha descuidado muchísimo en la asesoría, incubación y aceleración de proyectos la formación para que los emprendedores puedan separar las situaciones 2personales de los proyectos que desarrollan, para evitar generar problemas en los equipos de trabajo; en la formación para constitución de sociedades, para dejar muy claro las condiciones de la sociedad, desde el momento cero de la constitución; de enseñar a comunicar bien las ideas y a escuchar la información que recibe; enseñar a gestionar las emociones y las habilidades blandas de los emprendedores. Considera que el entrenamiento a los emprendedores debe ser como el de los deportistas: si quieres ser un duro, tienes que practicar todos los días.

34:34 I
Ve con preocupación que hay emprendedores que se deprimen por falta de tolerancia al rechazo y a la frustración, consideran que no van a ser capaces, que el proyecto no funciona y terminan tirando el proyecto justo cuando estaban muy cerca de lograr lo que tanto deseaban. Considera que lo anterior le ha pasado al setenta por ciento de los emprendedores que han pasado por Wikiideas.

35:17 I
Adiciona que una habilidad muy importante en el emprendimiento es la de generar redes de contactos, puesto que de ello depende muchas veces la solución de muchos problemas. Cuenta que en ocasiones hacen ejercicios con los emprendedores de buscar los contactos "ocultos", y descubren que tiene a la mano personas que las podrían o las pueden ayudar.

35:57 ? ¿A qué se refiere cuando habla de las habilidades blandas?

36:05 R
Lo explica de la siguiente manera: Es la capacidad de hacer redes de contacto, de ejercer liderazgo, de comunicar bien y asertivamente, la capacidad de acomodarse al trabajo en equipo, en fin, a todas esas capacidades que no se desarrollan en la formación académica. Pone de ejemplo contrario a las personas que no pueden hacer una llamada porque les da pena, y a quienes le da pena ser entradores y cuando tienen que hacerlo se mueren de nervios. Resalta que una de las habilidades más importantes es la de ser multifuncionales debido a que, por falta de recursos, el emprendedor que comienza regularmente tiene que realizar varias tareas al mismo tiempo

37:35 I
Recuerda que la administración del tiempo es también una importante habilidad, considera que cuando éste no se gestiona bien, en medio de tantas cosas por hacer, hay invasión de ansiedad, de nerviosismo y el estrés se agudiza cuando al tiempo está pensando en conseguir la plata para pagar el arriendo, pagar la nómina y mil cosas más.

38:03 ? ¿Cuando participa en la construcción de política pública, ¿cómo ve a las instituciones actuando?

38:33 R
Responde que de puertas para dentro todas las instituciones hablan mucho, sobre todo de la falta de articulación y de los problemas del sector, pero cuando se va a ver el grado de compromiso que tienen para proponer y hacer, es muy pequeño. Cuenta que programan reuniones de las entidades relacionadas con el emprendimiento y muchas no asisten porque consideran que no vale la pena. Se ratifica en que se dice una cosa y se hace otra y que no hay participación en la construcción de políticas públicas

39:21 I
Pone de ejemplo la campaña electoral al congreso de la república que se está realizando, el gremio no se ha puesto de acuerdo y muchas instituciones ni siquiera se han dado a la tarea de revisar las propuestas de los candidatos que están interesados en el tema, de revisar si las propuestas promueven leyes de investigación, innovación y desarrollo para que el emprendimiento jalone la economía del país. Plantea que hay un candidato que conoce bien el ecosistema de emprendedores en Colombia, que sabe cuáles son las dolencias del ecosistema y propone cosas bien interesantes. Se lamenta que hace falta compromiso de los que participan en el emprendimiento para hacer cosas en favor del sector.

40:28 ? Qué organización tienen los emprendedores, así como la de los trabajadores (sindicatos).

40:42 R
Puntualiza que existe la Asociación de Emprendedores de Colombia (ASEC), pero la mayoría de quienes estamos en esto no saben que existe

41:49 E
Invita a entrevistar a Mauricio Toro, miembro de la Cámara de Representantes, quien tiene un profundo conocimiento de estos temas e incluso fue director de INNPULSA (Oficina gubernamental de emprendimiento)

42:23 ? Hablando de construcción de política pública, ¿Por qué cree que todo está desarticulado?

43:26 R
Plantea que se habla mucho, se hacen propuestas, pero que claramente en Colombia se habla mucho de lo que se necesita, de lo que se quiere, pero cuando se invita a proponerse para poner en marcha las propuestas, nadie está dispuesto a medírsele a ese "chicharrón". Considera que falta compromiso para trabajar la parte colectiva y que cada cual se guerreo el emprendimiento por su cuenta.

44:00 ? ¿Por qué cree que suceda eso?

44:03 R
Cree que eso sucede por un problema cultural, que el colombiano siempre ha estado acostumbrado a lo individual: "yo protejo y cuido mis intereses, los de mi familia cercan y si el resto está bien o mal me importa poco o no me importa". Afirma que el colombiano es muy prevenido por un tema cultural, de que el vivo vive del bobo, del tema de la trampa, de que le roben sus ideas y proyectos, o que le roben sus clientes

45:07 ? ¿No hay confianza?

45:08 R
Responde que ciertamente no hay confianza, producto de nuestra cultura, y es una de las principales razones por la que no existe articulación clara, que las políticas públicas en el papel digan una cosa y que en la realidad no se propicien los espacios de interacción.

25:22 ? Usted afirma que el emprendedor tiene que lidiar consigo mismo y que la actividad está muy relacionada con la persona, en su caso, ¿cómo ve la relación entre el emprendedor y su emprendimiento?

25:52 R
Plantea que ese es el verdadero tema. Desde la óptica del asesor o del consultor, el emprendimiento es fiel reflejo de lo que es la persona del emprendedor. Para esto da un ejemplo de una de las emprendedoras con las que trabaja

29:02 ? Comentario: Pasa algo similar con Camilo. Uno siente esa identidad con sus preocupaciones íntimas y sus preocupaciones por el mundo en que vivimos, por las injusticias, pero también con su estilo fresco, juvenil, muy cercano a la gente, lo cual se nota en el lenguaje que usa.

29:31 R
Responde al comentario señalando que en últimas así debe ser siempre, fiel reflejo de que se es, por eso dice que el tema de las emociones siempre se expresa. Señala que cuando un líder de un proyecto es una persona insegura, lo más seguro es que tome decisiones de manera insegura en la empresa, lo que hará que la empresa se mueva de manera muy lenta y si la persona es inconstante, pues un día la lucha y otro día posiblemente no. Confiesa que a ella le pasa con frecuencia.

30:00 ? Cuénteme por qué

30:01 R
Responde que cuando tuvo problemas de depresión y ansiedad, Wikiideas también bajo de ritmo, también porque ella no sabía delegar y quería tenerlo todo amarrado. Cuenta que eso le sucedió no hace mucho y la llevó a descuidar cosas importantes. Concluye que finalmente uno termina proyectando los problemas propios, hasta de salud, en la empresa que ha creado, lo que obliga a soltarse un poco para dedicarse a sí misma.

45:38 ? Cuáles son los más importantes aprendizajes en su trayectoria?

45:53 R
Resalta que uno de los más importantes y de gran relevancia es la de construir redes de contactos. Como asesora y como docente se ha dado cuenta de que el estudiante y el emprendedor por pilos que sean y por muchas ideas buenas que tengan, si no generó redes de contactos para moverse en la vida real, puede fracasar. Otro aprendizaje que resalta como determinante es el manejo de las emociones y de todas las habilidades blandas para el éxito de un proyecto. El tercer gran aprendizaje que ha aprendido en su trayectoria es que las grandes ideas no valen nada sin ejecución: muchos emprendedores llegan jactándose de tener "una gran idea", pero no empiezan a ejecutarla de inmediato, tiene el peligro que alguien se le adelante

47:46 ? ¿Cómo ha sido la relación entre la experiencia como docente y el emprendimiento?

48:14 R
Afirma que ella dicta clases se emprendimiento a estudiantes de tercer semestre en la carrera de Negocios y Relaciones Internacionales en la universidad de la Salle, de acuerdo al espíritu de la ley 1014 en cuanto a la promoción del emprendimiento, pero observa que la mayoría de estudiantes no tienen ese "chip", esa mentalidad que viene desde la casa, desde la niñez, para cuando jóvenes sean proactivos y sensibles ante las problemáticas que los rodean y sean capaces de buscar soluciones, crear proyectos que les permita crecer profesionalmente. Lamenta que exista una desconexión total entre la academia y la realidad.

48:51 I
Plantea que en Wikiideas están tratando de acercar la academia y la realidad, aprovechando los conocimientos de marketing digital y temas de comunicación que enseñan en la universidad con las necesidades de los emprendedores que están asesorando. Dice que el asesoramiento a emprendedores detecta necesidades que pueden resolverse en un proyecto académico, se ponen en contacto con los estudiantes de la universidad, les plantean las necesidades, construyen el proyecto entre estudiantes y el emprendedor. Ha detectado que en los estudiantes de último año surgen, como proyecto de grado, investigaciones que tienen muchos elementos interesantes y que les pueden servir a los emprendedores. Concluye que están trabajando para conectar las investigaciones que se realizan en la universidad con proyectos de emprendimiento.

51:33 ? En prospectiva, ¿Cómo ve el emprendimiento en Bogotá, en el marco de coyuntura política que estamos viviendo?

51:53 R
Dice que ella lo llevaría a un tema de emprendimiento y también de liderazgo, en el marco de construir una mejor ciudad. Remarca la labor que realiza el señor Mauricio Toro, en torno al liderazgo y a las propuestas para movilizar mucha gente interesada en el emprendimiento y reclamar al Estado formas para generar desarrollo económico, y generar cambios importantes para el país. Ve con buenos ojos esos liderazgos en Bogotá, que acompañado con movimientos sociales que están ayudando a desarrollar el tema, como el colectivo "100 en un día"

53:26 I
Recuerda haber descubierto otro: Colectivo 2600, que están haciendo cosas por construir una mejor ciudad mediante más ciclo rutas, pintar cebras en la calle para proteger al peatón, e instalar semáforos que ayuden a personas discapacitadas. Le parece que este es otro tipo de emprendimiento, no económico, sino en el sentido de tomar acciones frente a algo y llevarlo a feliz término.

54:19 ? Comentario: El término empoderamiento se ha vuelto popular, de pronto en política hace falta tomarnos este rol y asumir la tarea de poner la voz de los emprendedores en todos los espacios.

54:43 R
Está de acuerdo con el comentario. Cree que es un reto para los docentes, cuya responsabilidad es empoderar a los estudiantes: considera importante dejar de quejarse de todo y que la responsabilidad es de todos, que exista conciencia en la importancia del voto, de considerar el emprendimiento solo sea un tema de crear empresas, que las cosas pueden cambiar desde la vocación de cada cual, del músico, del deportista, desde esos espacios se puede emprender, en el sentido más amplio de la palabra, para ayudar a construir país. -

56:29 I
Manifiesta estar de acuerdo con el comentario. Añade que un factor importante a tener en cuenta es el miedo al fracaso, que es cultural y paralizante.

56:58 ? ¿Por qué cree que el miedo al fracaso es tan importante?

57:02 R
Deduce que el miedo al fracaso es un miedo aprendido, un miedo al rechazo y al juicio social. Usa el ejemplo para afirmar que pocos son capaces de arriesgar, lo que explica que la tasa de emprendimiento en Colombia sea alta, la de fracasos también porque el miedo nos hace predispuestos al fracaso. Introduce otro factor cultural heredado del narcotráfico, es el de pensar en conseguir plata de manera fácil, lo que hace que el emprendedor quiera ver resultados ya, y enriquecernos de manera rápida, con una mirada cortoplacista

58:45 I
Manifiesta que la mayoría de los jóvenes quieren emprender para hacer mucho dinero, como lo constata con sus estudiantes que le dicen: "no, yo lo que quiero es hacer plata" … "lo que sea, lo que me toque hacer".

59:30 I
Considera que esa cultura nos permea en la forma como pensamos y tomamos decisiones, lo que termina impactando directamente los índices de fracaso que muestra la Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá, en el informe 2014/ 2015, el cual señala que en cinco años solo sobreviven 6 de cada 100 empresas creadas.

1:00:06 I
Señala que la cifra es dramática y que ello se debe a la carga impositiva, a la cultura cortoplacista de no ver resultados financieros rápidos entonces desisten, al mal manejo de las emociones, a la falta de estímulos en la legislación que facilite el trabajo del emprendedor, a la falta de ayuda de las instituciones financiera, y a otros factores adicionales.

1:01:04 I
Manifiesta su preocupación. Insiste en que los índices de fracaso son muy altos, a pesar de la creación las incubadoras y aceleradoras de proyectos creados a partir de 2006, que de todas maneras han ayudado a reducir los fracasos. Cuenta que el director de Guaira, que es la empresa aceleradora de proyectos de base tecnológica más grande en Colombia, del grupo Telefónica, comentaba que ellos convocan a emprendedores que estén facturando para acelerar el proceso de generar mayores ventas, y encuentra que la tasa de éxito de esas empresas es muy baja. -

1:02:21 I
Señala otro elemento que no ayuda es el pensamiento extranjerizante de la cultura colombiana. Explica que se importan experiencias de otros países que no tienen nada que ver con el nuestro: les parece muy "chic" traer modelos de emprendimiento de Silicon Valley y de Finlandia, pero si esos modelos no se adaptan al contexto colombiano fracasan. Recuerda lo que pasó cuando empezó el bum del emprendimiento en Colombia, se trajo modelos de otro lado y llegaron a la conclusión que el emprendimiento debe hacerse a lo criollo.

1:03:08 ? ¿De dónde traían esos modelos?

1:03:12 R
Responde que los traían de los Estados Unidos y de Israel, que es un referente importante, y algunas cosas de Brasil y de España. Afirma que esto nos ha llenado de extranjerismos que a veces no se entienden como "Desing Thinking" o pensamiento de diseño

1:04:07 ? ¿ Cómo ha sido el proceso de adaptación de metodologías?

1:04:11 R
Señala que a través de ensayo y error. Dice que se han traído y se ha visto que no funcionan, que hay que volverlas más criollas por medio de ensayos, que han implicado tiempo y costos.

1:04:40 ? ¿ Qué cosas fueron las más difíciles de negociar?

1:04:50 R
Ejemplifica el tema de la innovación, que estaba tan de moda hace un tiempo. Explica que para innovar es necesario contar con el contexto y el ambiente propicio que tiene estados Unidos, que tiene leyes que permiten crear empresas en seis días, mientras en Colombia se demoran más de treinta, en ese país los proyectos innovadores que puedan jalonar el desarrollo del país cuentan con recursos públicos.

1:05:25 I
Se lamenta de que en Colombia se habla de ciencia, de tecnología, de investigación y desarrollo, que es lo que propicia la innovación, y el gobierno nacional reduce el presupuesto de Colciencias en más de un 40% lo que hace imposible articular el modelo de triple hélice (Estado, academia y sector privado), de la mano con un presupuesto importante. Dice que la ley lo contempla pero que el Estado no ayuda, que no hay interés ni voluntad política

1:06:46 ? Qué otra cosa desea comentar?

1:07:02 R
Observa que es una frustración generalizada que los estudiantes universitarios hagan sus trabajos de grado, sean monografías o tesis, por cumplir un requisito, sin importar a quién le puede servir en la vida real. Lamenta la desconexión que existe entre academia y el mundo real.

1:07:52 I
Enfatiza en que ha hablado de las cosas negativas, pero que también es necesario señalar las muchas cosas positivas que hay. Reconoce que hay mucho emprendedor social que está haciendo cosas importantes por el país. Concluye que sobre este tema falta difusión.

1:09:31 I
Considera que falta mucha difusión, cuenta que sus estudiantes de emprendimiento, y también emprendedores, no conocen la existencia de una institución gubernamental de emprendimiento que se llama INNPULSA, que existen ángeles inversionistas y muchas cosas más. Opina que en la etapa del posconflicto, que empieza a transitar Colombia, el emprendimiento es un instrumento que puede jalonar el desarrollo del país, canalizando recursos del estado y recursos privados.