Equestrian Tourism in Trinidad

*Every horse has something to teach, every human something to learn.*

**Author:** Katja Björlinge & Sanna Johansson

**Supervisor:** Per Pettersson- Löfquist

**Examiner:** Hans Wessblad

**Date:** 2016-01-11

**Subject:** Tourism

**Level:** Bachelor Thesis, C-level

**Course code:** 2TR42E
Abstract
This Minor Field Study, sponsored by SIDA, undertaken as a Bachelor’s Thesis investigates equestrian tourism in Trinidad, Cuba. Tourism has become a vital tool for development of the destination. Since the legalization of equestrian excursion, horses have become a link between less developed areas and the profit from tourism. The income from equestrian excursions is vital for people's livelihood. A rapid increase of excursions due to low entry barriers have led to varying quality. Equestrian excursions in Trinidad face challenges concerning horses’ welfare and safety. When the equestrian tourism is growing, it is crucial that the development is sustainable to ensure this vital income in the future. A number of critical factors were identified and solutions presented involve planning for carrying capacity, industry coordination, raising producer awareness and integrating animal welfare in the community.

Keywords
Cuba, Trinidad, Equestrian Tourism, Carrying Capacity, Animal Welfare
Acknowledgement

We would like to thank SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) for granting us the Minor Field Study Scholarships. Without the scholarships, this study would not have been possible.

Thank you to the families, without being mentioned by name, for letting us in to your life. We would like to thank the people we met during our journey for your time, hospitality and endless kindness. Thank you for the memories and the laughter!

We would like to express our gratitude to Per Pettersson-Löfquist for his advice and support.

A special thanks to all the horses, the powerful, majestic and beautiful animal for all the joy you have given us.

Finally, thank you to friends and family, sometimes words are not enough.

Thank You!

__________________________________________  _______________________________________
Katja Björlinger                                       Sanna Johansson

Kalmar
11 January 2016.
# Table of Content

1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1

2 Research Problem .............................................................................................. 2
   2.1 Purpose of the study ......................................................................................... 2

3 Methodology ......................................................................................................... 3
   3.1 Scientific approach .......................................................................................... 3
   3.2 Hermeneutics .................................................................................................. 4
   3.3 Collection of data ............................................................................................. 5
      3.3.1 Participant Observation .......................................................................... 5
      3.3.2 Interviews ................................................................................................ 6
   3.4 Setting and Informants .................................................................................... 6
      3.4.1 Informants ................................................................................................. 7
   3.5 Coding and categorization of the material ..................................................... 8
      3.5.1 Coding and Sorting of the interviews ....................................................... 9
   3.6 Methodology discussion .................................................................................. 9
   3.7 Ethical statement ............................................................................................. 11
      3.7.1 Informed consent ...................................................................................... 11
      3.7.2 Confidentiality .......................................................................................... 11
      3.7.3 Ethical dilemmas ....................................................................................... 12
      3.7.4 Performing studies in Cuba .................................................................... 13

4 Equestrian tourism ............................................................................................... 14
   4.1 Gender in the equestrian world ...................................................................... 16

5 Tourism in Cuba .................................................................................................. 18

6 Trinidad ............................................................................................................... 21
   6.1 Trail Riding in Trinidad .................................................................................. 22

7 Equestrian Excursions in Trinidad ..................................................................... 26
   7.1 A real cowboy ................................................................................................. 26
   7.2 Horses ............................................................................................................. 28
List of Figures
Figure 1. Body Condition Scoring adapted from Carroll C.L. and Huntington P.J. (1988). p.58

List of Pictures
Picture 1 & 2. Horses arrive early in the morning. Author’s Pictures. p.24
Picture 3 & 4. Cowboys’ general dress code. Author's Picture. p.26
Picture 5. Trail. Author’s picture. p. 37

List of Tables
Table 1. Critical factors in animals’ welfare and safety. p.50
Table 2. Suggestions of actions. p.69
1 Introduction

There are millions of working animals in the developing world. They are working under the hardest of conditions. The animals help their owners to earn a living, buy food, clothing and pay for school for their children. One working animal has the potential to feed a family. They are essential for their owners’ livelihoods. The animals are working hard, sometimes until they can’t work anymore. This is a result from poverty and the race against time as they work as fast as they can (Brooke, 2013). A Large number of these animals are used in the tourism industry to provide unique and exclusive tourists experiences such as entertainment, adventure and pleasure activities (Fennell, 2013). This thesis will discuss equestrian tourism and the possibility to sustain animal welfare in a development country.

Tourism is as an economic activity which can create development initiative and support the tourism growth for development societies (Hall, 2008). Equestrian Tourism is a big industry involving everything from trail riding to shows and races (Ollenburg, 2005). Equestrian tourism has become popular in developing countries as there a low entry barriers, farmers often already own everything that is needed: a horse, saddle and cords. This thesis will focus on equestrian excursions in Trinidad, Cuba. Equestrian tourism in Trinidad has created a link between tourism and less developed areas. It has become a vital source of income for the people in the countryside. A number of critical factors will be presented in regards to safety and animal welfare.

It will be argued that tourism increased residents’ income and is thereby essential. The need for tourism planning will be highlighted. The necessity of tourism planning is significant to reach sustainable development. Tourism products and services need to be customized in relation to the area's capacity, environment and assessments (Carnerio, Lima & Silva, 2015; Kiernan, 2013). A suggestion on how to eliminate the critical factors identified will be presented. In tourism products including animals, the animal welfare has to be included in the planning process in order to not exceed a level of activity that compromises animal welfare.
2 Research Problem
There is a lack of attention concerning animals’ welfare in the tourism industry. Research about poor people, their relationship and the use of animals in the tourism industry is needed. Animals can be great assets for poor people as there are plenty of opportunities to start a business. Lack of funds, education and languages can hinder these humans to start businesses. The use of animals in the tourism industry is immense. Should all humans be allowed to use them as an assessment? More attention to decide who is allowed to use the animals in the tourism industry is needed (Fennell, 2014). Animal welfare and safety need to be taken into consideration in the development of tourism products (Fennell, 2014). Animals are a large part of our society and industry, more research about insurance of animals’ welfare and use in the tourism industry are required (Butcher, 2014; Fennell, 2014).

Even though an equestrian tour is a common tourist activity, there is little documented about the phenomena (Ollenburg, 2005). As the equestrian tours are growing, it is crucial that the development is sustainable (Kline et al, 2015). The low entry barriers have led to rapid growth resulting in varying quality in regards to the execution of the tours. Little research has been made in developing countries where the incomes from the equestrian tours are vital for people's livelihoods. It is noticeable that equestrian tourism has a major impact in people's life and therefore it is necessary to ensure sustainable development. A sustainable development approach is essential to ensure that this vital income will sustain in the future.

2.1 Purpose of the study
The purpose of the study is to investigate threats for further development of equestrian excursions as a tourism product in Trinidad and answer the question:

Where are the critical factors for development of the Equestrian Excursions in Trinidad?
3 Methodology
The study was conducted as a Minor Field Study during eight weeks in Cuba. The empirical material was collected by mixed qualitative methods. An ethnographic study was conducted were the primary method for collection of data was participant observation. In order to understand the informants’ subjective view, a qualitative study design was chosen. The thesis is using a hermeneutic scientific approach to interpret and understand the social context of Equestrian tourism.

3.1 Scientific approach
The concept of ontology is referring to the understanding of reality. The conception of what is real is only obvious to us. To become conscious of our own perception of reality, we need to be aware that there exists more than the perception that is obvious to us (Åsberg, 2001).

To the question ‘What is reality?’ the thesis is based on a subjective approach. The reality is subjective, there is no objective truth to be observed in the social setting of the study. The reality cannot be generalized, instead it is dependent of interpretation. The interpretation is based upon social connection, prejudices and knowledge. The interpretation of the material is focused on understanding the reasons behind our actions, and to interpret the meaning of thoughts instead of creating absolute truths as in natural science. In the same matter, the material is no objective truth but our interpretation of the observed.

Epistemology is the study of knowledge, how we create knowledge, when we think we know something, and how we find out something (Åsberg, 2001). To answer the question of ’How do we understand reality?’ the explanation is through understanding of the individualistic perception and understanding of reality. The aim is to understand the actions and behaviour of the individuals as well as the group. The epistemological view is to understand the individual's perception of the world. An inductive approach was used where the main objective is to gather data from the field. The objective of the study was to gain deeper knowledge from conversation with the people we met, how they perceive themselves and how they view the changes of inviting tourism into their lives. Observations from the field is presented in an idiographic view, it seeks the different, unique and peculiar. The objective is therefore not to end in generalization,
but to seek deeper information about the specific. To understand the individual in relation to the social context, an inductive approach is best suited. The conclusions and interpretations are derived from empirical findings.

3.2 Hermeneutics
Hermeneutic research uses interpretation as the primary method. The hermeneutic approach does not seek to generalize or to find an absolute truth. Hermeneutics emphasis the expression of subjectivism (Smith, 2010). The observations and interaction with informants form an understanding for their reality and perceptions. An essential view in the hermeneutic approach is that the phenomena can only be understood when smaller parts are related to the whole picture. In order to achieve knowledge the ‘whole’ has to be illuminated into patterns and through that, we are able to understand the whole. The hermeneutic way of interpretation can be explained through a circle, as there is a constant relationship between the whole and the parts. The interpretation can also be described as a learning spiral where the researcher moves between the whole picture and the smaller parts. The researcher increases the understanding of the phenomena and it is thereby possible to find hidden parts (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

In order to understand the informants’ subjective view of Equestrian Tourism, the single action can only be understood in the context of the environment. We have used a hermeneutic ethnography design since our purpose of the study is to interact and get access to informants’ life and own experiences of the phenomena. Participants’ views are essential to understand people’s actions, activities and their way of life. We were able to observe what the guides were doing, we also were able to see the inner and meaningful aspects that are a central perspective in an ethnography study. The informants could easily talk about their experiences and we learned about their culture as well the social interaction between those involved with equestrian tourism.

The interpretation of the field will be affected from the pre-understanding of the field, as it is part of the term of reference in the interpretation. Both authors have experience from many years of involvement in Equestrian Sports. Our pre-understanding involves understanding of horses’ natural behaviours, safety procedures, horseback riding etc. As preconceptions play a mere role in the hermeneutic interpretation, we wrote down our
beliefs and prejudices about the field before departure. During the fieldwork we wrote down our experiences and clarified our preconceptions in the field notes, as a result we became more aware of how we could act in the interpretations process.

3.3 Collection of data
The nature of the fieldwork and the combination researcher-roles makes the combination of methods suitable (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). Multiple methods can provide a richer picture and deeper insight to the phenomena (Smith 2010). Participant observation was used as the primary source of the empirical data. Participant observations were complemented with unstructured interviews. The combination of methods gave us a deeper insight to the informants’ life within the tourism industry, the focus was to understand the people and how they perceive their life. As the name tells, the method is a combination of participation and observation. During participant observations the researcher has different roles, with various degrees of participation and observation. As the degree of participation gets higher, the conversation takes the form of an interview, as the researcher is involved in the social interaction. Thus, the two methods are related (Fangen & Nordli, 2005).

In total, we have conducted 102 participant observations and eight interviews. A list of all the observations and interviews were made for separation and used as timeline for the field study (Appendix A & B).

3.3.1 Participant Observation
Participant observation was the primary source of empirical data. Fangen & Nordli (2005) states, participant observation are a method that demands high degree of engagement as it involves interaction between researcher and informants. The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection, as the researcher participates in and observes the community being studied. The method is suitable for fieldwork, as the researcher interprets the behaviour by sharing the actives and lives with those being studied. The method gives the researcher opportunity to study the social behaviour as they occur (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). Smith (2010) declares, participant observation allows the researcher to gather first-hand information and personal knowledge based on social interaction. This method provided a deeper understanding for the complexity and dynamics of the situation. The method made it possible to gather data without staging
the social context for research, as for example in interviews. Instead, the data is collected from the field, by participating in the informants’ everyday life. The method made it possible to make sense of what people do, and how it differs from what they say they do. Participant observation made it possible for us to gather data and information and created a relaxed relationship to the informants.

Detailed field notes were written every day in the field. The field notes are records of what was observed, who was participating, conversations and our personal experience from time in field. The field notes are the majority of the empirical material.

3.3.2 Interviews
Unstructured interviews were used as a complement to our primary method. Throughout coding our participant observations, we found topics or situations that we felt needed to be discussed more with our informants. The interviews allow us to get a deeper understanding of certain topics. We have selected informants that will provide a deeper insight.

In addition to the participants observations we interviewed three other guides and two additional persons involved with the equestrian excursions. In total, we conducted eight interviews.

3.4 Setting and Informants
Participant observation has normally no strict process for the delineation. Instead, the informants and settings will appear naturally from the field as more knowledge is collected (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). The field was determined before departure through mapping areas with Equestrian Tourism in Cuba. The area was chosen due to its characteristics of tourism. The equestrian tourism has become increasingly popular and this makes the setting beneficial for the purpose. Selective delineation was made from the mapping of destinations with equestrian tourism.

The social unit for the study was the guides performing tours from Trinidad to the waterfall in the Valley de los Ingenios. Our objective has been to seek unique informants; they should be as different as possible from each other. By selecting informants who are different from each other, we were able to get a bigger picture.
Informants were chosen strategically from the information they could give to the study. The delineation of field, social unit and informants are related as they were all chosen through a strategic delineation for the purpose of the study.

The informants for the interviews were selected in a similar manner. They were people we met through social connections during the study. The delineation is therefore not representative for the population, but neither was this the aim.

### 3.4.1 Informants

Three informants were chosen for the participant observations, we stayed with them and followed them during a period in their daily lives. By following them, we got the opportunity to observe the conduction of the tours in Trinidad. By participating in the tours, we had the ability to observe other guides and their actions.

Manuel, 38 years old, owns a farm in the countryside in Valley de los Ingenios that is a newly turned into a Casa Particular. He is new in the business and is still working on establishing a customer base. His main source of income is from the Equestrian Tours he arranges through cooperation with a Casa Particular in the city of Trinidad. Manuel both owns his horses and organizes the excursions. Manuel lives by his philosophy “I’d rather have one million friends than one million dollars!” and is a man with countless friends and social connections.

Nicholas is 49 years old and a bit of a ‘local-celebrity’ in Trinidad. Nicholas is called ‘the horse whisperer of Trinidad’ and teaches his techniques in Horsemanship. A few years back, he started a project called the Isabella Project to help the horses of Trinidad. He helps with medicine and education for farriers, in medical treatments and by buying and treating neglected horses. He has worked many years in the tourism industry and has a well-established customer base. Together with his family, he owns and runs a Casa Particular in the city, where he organises lectures about his life and workshops in photography, among other things. He owns horses that are used for equestrian excursions but he hired guides to do the trips.

Ronaldo is a 32 years old tour guide. He organizes a range of tours such as hiking and equestrian excursions. He rents the horses from a farmer when he needs them. He works
a bit differently from the other guides in Trinidad, his main marketing channels is through internet and the Lonely Planet Guidebook. He gets most of his clients through reservations from emails. He has a good reputation and good reviews on TripAdvisor are many. We suspect that the reason is due to his sense of humour, the way he interacts with his tourists and the fact that he never hesitates to pick up a set of maracas and sing a local tune.

3.5 Coding and categorization of the material
Schatzman and Strauss (1973) suggest coding the field notes in different categories depending on the characteristics of the text. The categories for sorting were Observation Notes (ON), Theoretical Notes (TN) and Methodological Notes (MN).

The ON is the observations of what happened, whom were participating, what were said etc. without too much interpretation. Example from the 7th of November:

"One man arrived later, he had a bitter look in his face and a big umbrella in his hand. He did not greet anyone, he just sat down and nodded at Nicholas and sat on a chair behind the others" (Field note, 2015-11-17).

The notes in the category TN differs from ON as they are more of a reflective character. They are trying to make sense of previous field notes and making conclusions from what was observed.

From what I have seen, there seems to be different social groups between the guides. The guides who are making more money actually treat their horses worse than the poor guides do. It feels like the 'over class' only sees their horse as a tool and they have different limits for what is accepted behaviour” (Field note, 2015-11-10).

The MN is instructions and reminders to us, thoughts about the conduction of the study, quality of the material and so on. They are also notes of self-reflection and more emotional impressions from the field.
"It seems as this man takes a while to get to know. He is kind and helpful but gives short answers to our questions and shows almost no emotional expression. Difficult setting as we sat down at a moment when his work was a bit quieter. As soon as new tourists arrived his focus was elsewhere” (Field note, 2015-10-24).

The notes were read multiple times and coded in different colours for ON, TN and MN. We found this model for coding the field notes very useful. By sorting the text, the categories grew naturally from the material. The coding made dominant themes visible, the themes are then made into categories. The process for creating categories is repeated for each of the informants. By repeating the process, the material from the previous informant is not influencing the categories for the following. The coding and sorting of material has been done simultaneously as the collection of new material.

3.5.1 Coding and Sorting of the interviews
The interviews have been transcribed, from notes or recording deepening on the informant. Smiths (2010) way of coding the interviews using preliminary coding and Meta-coding were used to find the categories from the interviews. Transcribed comments were selected from the interviews and coded with preliminary codes. The preliminary codes were used to identify themes of what were said. The preliminary codes for the longer interviews were written down on small pieces of paper and sorted into categories. The categories were used to create the Meta-codes, they reflect the underlying processes and deeper themes.

The categories from the field notes and the interviews were compared and together they are the final categories from our empirical material.

3.6 Methodology discussion
There are some barriers and challenges with participant observation. We needed to be aware that our presence might influence the people involved and the social situation of our study (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). Participant observation gives a high degree of credibility, the study measure what it intended to measure, since it does not construct a specific setting for the research. The study was conducted in the social setting of the informants (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). In order to avoid leading the social situation we
tried to blend in the conversation and not to lead the conversations in a specific direction. However, it is difficult for us to know how much our presence influenced the social situation. Our observations are based on various degrees of participation and observation and our presence most likely influenced the social situation.

The transferability of the study refers to the ability to apply the findings from the study into other similar contexts (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). The transferability of the study is low, the study is specific for the area of Trinidad and can therefore not be applied in other development countries with Equestrian Tourism. Cuba as a country gives a special setting, as there are numerous laws and regulations affecting the transferability. Some of the problems and attitudes from the field can be recognized in similar settings, but the study findings are not transferable from the specific area.

The question of dependability, in the sense that an independent observer should have made the same conclusions in the same setting, is impossible to answer as the researcher herself is the primary tool for interpretation. Instead, the dependability in this thesis refers to whether the notes and transcriptions are accurate and free of bias. The problem with researcher bias is observations made in order to support prejudices and preconceptions (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). In order to minimize the researcher bias we have made several participant observations at the same location, with the same people over a period. The mixed methods approach has also helped to minimize bias, as well as being two persons. The field notes are written separately and the transcribes has been controlled by both of us.

In order to minimize the error we were aware of the potential error in interpretation in participant observations. The narrative fallacy occurs when the researcher adds information to create a story from single observations. A story is easier for the mind to understand than independent observations. The confirmation error on the other hand occurs when the researcher only looks for the facts that will ’fit in’ in the study and confirm predetermined conclusions (Smith, 2010). During the fieldwork, we have tried to keep an open mind. We made observations that differed from each other, this could be an indication that there is low confirmation error. The advantage of being two persons conducting the study is also that we have two examples of observations of many of the occurred events. However, the interpretation of the material is influenced
by our preference. The selection of observed events is based upon our selection of what we believed to be relevant and important. Therefore the description of the field is not a full description, it is a description influenced by our personal beliefs.

It should be emphasized that other method as survey, websites, administrative data etc. could be used to gather information about our phenomena. Related to our purpose of the study, survey would not allow us to acquire deeper insight into our phenomena, thereby this method was not selected. Another option that could complement our data is to study our informants’ websites and administrative data but it is time consuming and we decided to focus on participant observation and interviews.

3.7 Ethical statement
Participant observation gives many ethical dilemmas to be considered (Laine, 2000). During the fieldwork we came close to our informants, we were living in their houses and followed them during their everyday life. The ethics for the study was therefore a priority. The information collected was only used for the purpose of the study. The study has been conducted with informed consent and confidentiality.

3.7.1 Informed consent
Information has been given to all participants about their part in the project. The participation was voluntary and they were free to withdraw at any time. The informants gave their approval to participate in the study. All informants were adults and no special permissions were necessary. The informants were free to decide the conditions for participation. They could withdraw without any negative effects. In their decision to participate or withdraw they were not exposed for any pressure or influence from us. All informants were informed about the purpose of the study. However, the method itself makes it impossible to be fully open due to the method’s flexibility (Fangen & Nordli, 2005). In public areas the observations are made without informing everyone present about our purpose, it would have been impossible.

3.7.2 Confidentiality
All information about persons whom could be identified through our field notes has been stored and written in way so ‘outsides’ could not identify them. Field notes were written in Swedish due to confidentiality. Names of people who provided delicate information were not written down, instead they were changed immediately. Most of
the information collected about the informants is not of sensitive character. It is a description of their lives and their occupation.

3.7.3 Ethical dilemmas
Laine (2000) states that ethical dilemmas are unavoidable during fieldwork. The fieldwork puts the researcher in direct contact with people and creates both social and personal relationships. The ethical guidelines and codexes are generalizations and are therefore not able to help decide the action in a specific situation or context (Laine, 2000). During the fieldwork, we experienced several ethical dilemmas. We were spending a lot of time with the informants, and over time our social relationship developed into friendship. The informants expressed that they liked our presence.

*Manuel says several times that he is always there if we need him. When we were about to leave he said: "You are a part of my family now!"* (Field note, 2015-11-05).

*Ronaldo says he likes seeing our horses with us, the horses can tell that we were experienced riders. ... On the way back to town, he says he wishes all his clients were like us* (Field note, 2015-11-27).

*Nicholas says he likes having us as guests. It gives him happiness to help young people who want to be involved in projects. He says, "You girls really mean a lot to me"* (Field note, 2015-11-14).

The character of our relationship to the informants gives an ethical dilemma to consider. Even if we have been honest with our role and the purpose of our stay, our role became less noticeable over time as we became a part of the social interplay. They came to trust us with information and opinions, the friendships gave access to some sensitive information. However, with consideration to the informants’ privacy this information is not included in the study. During the fieldwork, we stayed together with them and in some cases also their families. Personal information regarding their personal relations with no relevance to the study is not included in the study. Through discussion with each other and others, we were able to keep the necessary distance needed for the analysis.
3.7.4 Performing studies in Cuba
In Cuba, people are not always free to speak their minds. They are restricted from talking about the Government in a critical way. In Cuba, the government is present since the governmental control is always noticeable. The informants who have expressed critic to the government has done this by own initiative, this have never been the focus of the study. During interviews, the informants often asked us not to take notes on some topics, and this request was followed and the information is not included anywhere in the material. This is also the reason why some interviews are not recorded.
4 Equestrian tourism
Throughout history, horses have always had an important role. This created cultural significance for the animal, a beautiful horse was a sign of status and a factor for envy (Hedenborg, 2015; Plymoth, 2012). In the Caribbean Islands, the horse had a similar role. It symbolized power, conquest and strength. The positive attributes of the horse were also believed to be found in its master (Xande, 1999). Today, the number of riders in Europe is at an all-time high and equestrian tourism is growing.

The definition of equestrian tourism is “all kinds of leisure linked to horses, ponies or donkeys practiced by a person outside their normal place of residence for more than 24 hours and less than four months” (Pickel-Chevalier, 2015). This definition gives a broad spectrum of activities that should be included in equestrian tourism, not only the activities directly linked to the horse but also fairs, shows and educational meetings etc. The most common activities are trail riding or horse trekking. Equestrian trail riding includes trips on the horseback for less than 24 hours, it is also known as horse rental. Equestrian tourism is after all a big industry. Even though equestrian tourism has become a major industry there is no specific horse tourism industry as there are specific industries for example skiing or surfing. The equestrian tourism is diverse and can be viewed as a part of many sectors within the tourism industry: the nature-based tourism, ecotourism, sports tourism, heritage tourism, and adventure tourism. However, trail riding falls under the category of adventure tourism. The excursions are packaged in various ways, depending on the preferences and skill of the customer (Ollenburg, 2005).

There is no official statistics for equestrian tourism but according to European Horse Network (2015), the total equestrian sector is contributing to 100 billion euros and supplies 400 000 full time employments. Equestrian tourism has become popular among farmers, as it is affordable. It is proven to support the development in rural areas, especially in North America, Europe and Australia (Ollenburg, 2005). The equipment used for arranging an equestrian tour is saddles and cords. The heritage link creates opportunities for farmers to start equestrian excursions as they have horses, equipment as well history and natural resources (Beeton, 1999).
Equestrian tourism differs from other types of adventure tourism. The main element of the tourism product is an animal. The animals cannot simply be turned off and stored when not used. It demands care and maintenance even if there is a tour or not.

All these products are linked by one overriding factor, namely the horse itself. No matter how client interactions with horses are packaged, the tour operator must have facilities and staff to care for the horses; and the tour staff must have the skills to train, ride and manage the horses, as well as managing the tour clients and the interaction between the two. This is very different from mechanized adventure tourism where equipment can be turned off when not in use, serviced or replaced when broken, and stored in the off season (Ollenburg, 2005:48).

Equestrian tourism has become a popular tourist activity in countries where they have a strong cultural heritage of horse-use. United States, Iceland and Australia have access to nature-based experiences such as a rich animal life, wilderness and protected areas. The nature experience is essential for the equestrian tourism as it allow tourists to come close to the culture of the society (Newsome, Smith & Moore 2008). People arranging equestrian excursions are facing some dilemmas between the protected areas and managers. There is no doubt that protected areas provide attraction value and opportunities but at the same time, there is a need to protect and sustain the area. In some cases, this creates a conflict between the tour guide and the managers of the protected area (Newsome, Smith & Moore, 2008).

Haigh and Thompson (2015) states that equestrian excursions and other horse related activities are dangerous as it is a high risk of injury. Many of the equestrian accidents are related to road incidents. Horses are large and strong animals, even at the ground, horses are dangerous as they can injure humans by kicking, biting and crushing (Thompson & Matthews, 2015). Horses have a sharp and sensitive flight instinct, the horse is an unpredictable animal capable of speeds of up to 70 kph and of kicking with a force of up to 1 ton (Hasler et al., 2011). The sudden passing of a car, motorcycle or any other vehicle can trigger the flight response and cause a traumatic scene where the horse runs into traffic (Thompson & Matthews, 2015). The flight response can also be triggered from seeing something as ordinary as a plastic bag by the side of the road.
Horse related activities are one of the most high-risk groups of injuries but still helmets are not mandatory in many countries. Although, the use of helmet has been highlighted in modern research. The safety aspect is of great importance and the use of helmets has been improved (Haigh & Thompson, 2015). Even though, all people do not respond to the risk and safety aspect as the social and cultural values and attitudes are still of greater importance. Some people believe that they can control risks and they ‘feel’ if something is wrong with the horse or that accidents can happen anyhow (Haigh & Thompson, 2015). In order to increase the use of helmets within the equestrian activities there is a need to improve the education and training related to safety and risks. People need to be aware and reminded of the injury statistic (Safe Work Australia, 2014). The safety aspect must be improved all over the globe, as it is significant for the socio-cultural, economy, moral and public health reasons (Thompson, McGreevy & McManus, 2015). There is little research about the understanding of horse-related risks. This might be due to a robust and strong culture that accepts hazards of riding. Equestrian activities are complex as they are rooted and constructed in socially, culturally and historically behaviours which are difficult to change.

4.1 Gender in the equestrian world
The relationship to the horse varies greatly between different parts of the world. Some areas and disciplines of the equestrian sector is femininely dominated and perceived as a ‘girl-thing’, whilst in other countries and disciplines masculinity is the dominating norm (Hedenborg, 2015). The equestrian world has a complex image of gender, from the masculine cowboy to the effeminate dressage rider (Birke & Brandt, 2009). The equestrian sport is also somewhat unique in the sense that women and men compete in the same class, in the competition events there is a sense of equality (Plymoth, 2012). The equestrian sport in Europe is today femininely dominated. However, the professional elite are highly dominated by men (Birke & Brandt, 2009).

Historically, the horse has been associated with men and masculinity as it was used in the military, farming and agriculture (Plymoth, 2012). The rider had to be tough and strong to control this big and potentially dangerous animal. Therefore, the perception is that the cowboys behave in a macho and masculine way. The word macho comes from the Spanish word "Machismo; a strong or exaggerated sense of manliness, an
assumptive attitude that virility, courage, strength, and entitlement to dominate are attributes or concomitants of masculinity” (Dictionary, 2016). The skill of training horses is described as horsemanship, the word itself is gendered. One of the most traditional images in equestrian sports is the image of the cowboy. In traditional worlds, there is still the notion of being though when riding a horse, galloping through the landscape, controlling and dominating the horse. Natural Horsemanship, NH, has become the new notion of the cowboy. The NH challenges the perception of the cowboy as tough and macho. It rejects the old way of interaction the horse with roughness and celebrates a caring and loving way of interaction (Birke & Brandt, 2009).

Hedenborg (2015) describes how the social norms of equestrian sports have changed in Sweden. Throughout history, the sport was highly associated with the military. The gender norm changed from the perception of strength and adventure to a more feminine notion of softness and ‘silky hands’. The social perception of the sport changed as it turned into an amateur sport where the focus is to care for the horse. However, the social construction of gender connected to equestrian sport is still complex as it includes the perception of toughness and strength for both men and woman (Hedenborg, 2015).

The human-horse relationships, as well as the gender relations, are performed. The relations between the two are different depending on how the riders are expected to behave. The relation is complex, and cannot be understood in isolation. The relations between animal and human have to be understood in the context of the community (Birke & Brandt, 2009). In order to understand the relation to the horse in Cuba it is therefore necessary to understand the social context of the Cuban tourism industry.
5 Tourism in Cuba

“The fairest island human eyes have yet beheld... It is certain that where there is such marvellous scenery, there must be much more from which profit can be made.”

Christopher Columbus, October 24, 1492

It is no wonder that Columbus uttered these words as he reached the Cuban coast. Cuba is in modern times a dream destination for many tourists, and tourism has become the way of which profit is made. But beyond the tourism image of salsa, cigars, mojitos and classic cars it is a more complex and problematic way of life for Cuban people in the tourism industry (Villaboy & Vega, 2014).

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 resulted in economic crisis, the years that followed are known as the ‘Special Period’. During the crisis the country's BNP dropped by 40, 1 percent according to Cuban statistics (Gustafsson, 2011). This due to the loss of trading partners and relationships with communist countries (Sanchez & Adams, 2008). Cuba experienced a dramatic drop in domestic sales and the problem with their economy continued. As a result, they had to start negotiating with other countries, as they could no longer rely on the Soviet Union. Tourism became a vital aspect to rescue the economy, it forced Cuba to open up for tourism (Padilla & McElroy, 2007). Cuba opened up for mass tourism in 1984 (Gustafsson, 2011).

Cuba's status as a forbidden destination rapidly increased the number of tourists. They experienced an intensive period and tourism grew fast. After 30 years of isolation tourism increased from 300,000 yearly arrivals in 1989 to 2.5 million in 2005 (Padilla & McElroy, 2007). The traditional export of sugar, cigars and rum do not have the significant role as previously (Jensen, 2003). Tourism has become a competitive advantage for the island (Sanchez & Adams, 2008). The tourism sector became the most important source of income (Gustafsson, 2011).

Tourism was initially restricted to resorts where tourists would be segregated from Cuban society, referred to as the tourism apartheid. The tourists were supposed to be
separated from the Cuban people. The tourism police were patrolling outside the hotels to keep Cubans from contacting tourists (Gustafsson, 2011). The rapid growth of tourism during the Special Period had widespread social and economic repercussions in Cuba and led to the emergence of a two-tier economy. Cuba is the only country in world with two national currencies. The system consists of Cuban Peso, CUP and Cuban Convertible Peso, CUC. The common currency is the CUP, and is the currency payed and used by the government. CUC is only available to people involved in tourism, resulting in difference in welfare between the Cuban people as they generate more net income.

“My life is way better now, you can imagine living on 20 CUC per month, and I have three children. This is impossible! For example, your t-shirt costs 12 CUC here, this does not work. This created the black market, but this is Cuba. If you are not born in Cuba, it is impossible to understand our way of life. It is Cuba (Elena, 2015-10-23).

The Cuban economy relies on hard currency, increased tourist arrivals and domestic production (Jensen, 2003). The use of the double-currency system creates situation where people involved with tourism are the only ones who get access to hard currency. All earnings from tourism products and services are distinguishable from the Cubans who are not employed in the tourism industry. There is no doubt that people involved with tourism earn more than Cubans who are not (Tanaka, 2010).

In 1995, the government introduced reforms for the tourism industry, it was now legal to run a private business. Due to the legalization of small enterprises and constructions of hotels, the tourism industry started to grow fast (Sanchez & Adams, 2008; de Holan & Phillips, 1997). The restrictions for contact with tourists were lifted. The government permitted people in Cuba to start Casa Particulares, private rooms to rent for tourists.

The growth of tourism led to an uneven and unequal development (Gustafsson, 2011). Cuba has a complex political history and is today a socialist society ruled as a single-party state. The aim as a socialist society is that all the inhabitants’ regardless occupation should have equal terms and salary. Cuban people is highly controlled and with numerous laws, rules and restrictions. All citizens should be on the same level,
there should be neither middle class nor upper class. All Cubans who are involved with the tourism sector, whether it is working at a hotel or selling tourist products illegally, have access to hard currency. This might be the most paradoxical outcome of the tourism boom (Sanchez & Adams, 2008). Because of tourism, it is problematic for the government to reach the goal as an equal nation.

“Since the government can no longer provide for all basic needs and has accepted the notion of unemployment, many who lack access to hard currency now live in the kind of poverty visible in other developing countries” (Sanchez & Adams, 2008:33).

“Only those who are born here can understand the system and how we can survive. If you are not born in Cuba, it is impossible to understand our way of life. It is Cuba. … In Cuba we don’t learn to think about the future instead we have to live in the present” (Elena, 2015-10-23).

The socio-economic difference from the tourism industry has opened the door for an informal economy, known as the black market or the trading economy (Gustafsson, 2011). The difference in incomes and standards make occupation in the tourism sector highly desired. The government controls the private business with restrictions and numerous controls, to the effect that many work illegally within the tourism industry. Cubans in the tourism sector earns better than doctors working for the government (Tanaka, 2010). A highly educated surgeon had to accept that a janitor in a hotel could earn more in tips in one day than his salary in a week (Gustafsson, 2011).
6 Trinidad
Trinidad is one of the most frequently visited cities in Cuba, the high amount of tourist arrivals have created various private businesses. As the private business expands, so does the difference in welfare. The touristic areas are well kept and renovated, while the areas outside the city centre are very run down (Tanaka, 2010). Trinidad is the city where the fieldwork took place due to its specific characteristics of tourism.

Trinidad is one of the oldest towns in Cuba. Trinidad is a touristic place with international tourists all year due to its unique character, it is often referred to as an ‘outdoor museum’ or ‘frozen in time’. The sugar industry was in the early nineteenth century one of Cuba's most important industries. The sugar mills in the nearby Valley de los Ingenios were the most famous productions site. Valley de los Ingenios, or Valley of the Sugar Mills, is a 12-kilometre valley of old sugar cane fields and rivers surrounded by mountains on both sides. The sugar boom drastically declined after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the government had to open up for tourism. Today Trinidad is dominated by tourism (Tanaka, 2010). In 1988, Trinidad and the Valley de los Ingenios was declared as a UNESCO World Heritage site for its architectural and historical value.

“Trinidad and the Valley de los Ingenios is authentic in terms of locations and settings, forms and designs, and materials and substances. Because Trinidad is comprised predominantly of single-family houses, the overcrowding common to other historic centres has been avoided, thereby contributing greatly to the retention of the original interiors. The use of centuries-old techniques and building materials has persisted, including traditional lime mortar, wood, terracotta clay roofing tiles and cobbled streets. The Valley contains vestiges of farms in different states of conservation, many houses and huts, the components of the sugar industry, and remains of the main activity – sugarcane cultivation – and of the rail and road network. The property’s attributes thus express its Outstanding Universal Value truthfully and credibly” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2016).
More and more Cubans want to be involved with tourism as it offers a better income. Similarly, the amount of Casa Particulares has increased. It is obviously that Trinidad is an attractive destination as the Casa Particulares has increased and today it is about 1100. These Casa Particulares are legally started (Field note, 2015-10-21). The competitions among renting rooms are significant. When the town was declared as a heritage site tourism increased drastically. The hidden gem was now discovered. The city centre is overwhelmed with Casa Particulares, street markets, restaurants, shops etc. (Tanaka, 2010). One criteria from UNESCO is that the city and Valley de los Ingenios is protected from tourism development, as a form a control the Oficina del Conservador de la Ciudad de Trinidad y el Valle de los Ingenios was created. The Oficina del Conservador is responsible sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value through updating and implementing a Conservation Management Plan (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2016). Trinidad is different compared to other destinations in Cuba. In cities such as Santa Clara, Camagüey and Cienfuegos there are not as high competition as in Trinidad. In these cities, even Cubans can visit restaurant and eat an affordable dinner. In Trinidad, it is almost impossible. In Trinidad, the government build restaurants for tourists as they gain hard currency. As Tanaka (2010) declares in her paper, there are different spaces for residents and tourists in Trinidad.

6.1 Trail Riding in Trinidad
Equestrian excursions has become a tremendously popular tourism activity in Trinidad, there are horses literally everywhere. They are used as transportation, drawing horse-carriages, and farming but most commonly as a tourist attraction. In the hill down to the Valle de los Ingenios there are around 400 horses standing in a line, waiting for tourists to arrive.

The excursions have been arranged in the town for as long as there have been tourists, however before 2011, equestrian tourism was illegal but many guides performed the activity illegally.

_He told us about how it was before the legalization. If the police came, the guides would panic, jump off and leave their horses. They would then run as fast as they could into the forest while the police was shooting after them. I asked “What about the tourist?”, they were simply left there in the_
woods with the horses and had to find their way back into town best they
could. This sounded so bizarre to me and I wondered if it was a bad script
from a wild western movie. It is hard to imagine that this happened until
only five years ago, as the excursions did not become legal until 2011
(Field note, 2015-11-26).

After the legalization of equestrian excursions, the guides need to pay for a license that
permits them to arrange equestrian excursions legally. Today there is about 60 guides
holding a license but still many guides do the excursions illegally. As long as they are
not stopped and controlled by the police it works, otherwise they might be in trouble
(Field note, 2015-10-23; Ronaldo, 2015-11-26). Every third month the guides have
meetings with the government, however few guides attend the meetings (Manuel, 2015-
10-22; Ronaldo, 2015-11-27). According to the guides, the topics discussed on the
meetings are few. The perception is that the only restriction that is given is that guides
are not allowed to ride in the city. No restrictions are about horses’ welfare or tourists’
safety are discussed (Ronaldo, 2015-11-26). There are some attempts to regulate
amount of equestrian excursions in Trinidad, the government currently have introduced
a stop for guides who are applying for a licences and will not approve any more than the
ones who are given out at the moment (Ronaldo, 2015-12-03).

You can easily identify a guide when walking in the city. They all dressed in a similar
way, and they are all men. They usually wear a cowboy hat, a shirt usually with check
pattern or rhinestones, jeans and either rubber- or leather outfits with big metal spurs in
the form of stars. However, if someone differs from the dress code you will recognise
him anyway from his behaviour. They are loud, macho and always yelling after tourists.
In Trinidad, you will see them everywhere trying to sell their excursions. If you, as a
woman, politely say, no you might get the reply “Okay, well... What about a
boyfriend?”

The day for the guide, starts early with either him or the person responsible for the
horses bring them to the city from the countryside outside the town. It is quite a
fascinating view to see the guides transport four horses while riding on one the self.
Some horses are panting in total freedom behind the guide, just following the pack.
The horses are standing in small group and guides are standing in small groups talking before the tourists arrives. They use the horse as a place to sit while they wait. Since there is only one way in and out to the city into Valley de los Ingenios the exit point for the excursions is more or less the same. The horses are then all standing in line waiting for the tourists to arrive. A day on the horseback costs everything from 10 to 40 CUC (equal to 10 to 40 Euros).

The time for starting and arriving to the exit point is also the same. The excursions start between 09 and 10 AM and finishes around 2 to 4 PM. The guide then usually walks to the Casa Particular or hotel to bring the guests. It is easy to spot the tourists going on a tour as they walk behind the guy dressed as a cowboy through the city. The guides provide the tourists with horses and start the tour. The way into the valley starts with a steep asphalted hill. Some guides lets the tourists mount their horses and ride down, while some are walking down the hill. The excursions go along the main road into the Valley and later continue along it into and through the small village La Pastora. The destination for all trips is the waterfall Hoyo del Pilón. The waterfall has two natural swimming pools and is located in a Nature Reserve. Some have a stop on the way, for coffee or sugar cane juice, but most guides go for the waterfall directly.

Since the waterfall is located within a Nature Reserve, the government protects it. When arriving to the waterfall you will be greeted by a government official and pay an entrance fee of 9 CUC per person. The horses all stand in lines waiting by the entrance to Nature Reserve. The tourists have to walk for about 15 min on a difficult mountain trail to reach the waterfall. While the tourists go swimming the guides, sit and talk or take a nap in the shade. The waterfall is crowded with tourists that make the area around the site narrow and impassable. At mid-day when the place is overwhelmed with
tourists and the rocks are slippery, the site might be dangerous as there is little space to walk on when reaching the natural swimming pool. At the waterfall there is a ‘shop’ where visitors can buy mojitos and other cocktails. Usually tourists buy something to drink and cocktails are frequently served. The tourists stay at the waterfall as long as they like, usually between half an hour to two hours.

When the tourists are ready they meet up with the guides and mount the horses again and the excursion continues up to the mountains. The way up to the viewpoint is a difficult trail. Tourists have to ride up a rocky, slippery and extremely steep mountain trail. At the top of the mountain tourists stop and take photographs and enjoy the view. Shortly after the guide takes the tourists to a restaurant for a lunch. Sometimes the lunch are included otherwise tourists had to pay between 7-10 CUC per meal. This is the last stop of the tour before they continue back to the city where the excursion has its end at the same point as the excursion started from.
7 Equestrian Excursions in Trinidad
Every day the guides offer tourist excursions to the waterfall and tourists will hear the common phrase: *Horseback riding today? Horseback riding tomorrow? Look, look, beautiful waterfall!* They use their photography album to show the waterfall and their horses.

7.1 A real cowboy
As much as Cuba takes you back in time, the equestrian excursions are taking you into a real Wild West setting. The guides are admired in the city and role models for the younger generation. The dream of owning a horse is a dream of many young boys. They are also coping the guides’ behaviour, both good and bad.

*We are passing a small boy, around four years old, who is standing by the side of the road and playing with a long stick. He is standing and lifting it up and down, but when the horses are passing, he starts to hit Sanna’s horse with the stick. I feel terrible, that so small children already learned to treat horses this way* (Field note, 2015-11-10).

The cowboy culture is still present and the guides do their jobs with great pride. They march through the city in their cowboy boots, followed by tourists, and receive looks of envy on the way.
We are walking together through the city and he explains that they cannot ride through the city. He says this is because in Cuba everyone is supposed to be the same. If they would ride with the tourists in the city this could create envy from the people who are not working with tourism when they see the people who do. The envy would come from seeing that they do in fact have more than they do. He shows with his hands how the government makes everyone equal, not by giving more to those who have less but by taking from those who have. “After the revolution we had to learn to accept this.” On the meeting they have with the government they are always telling us the same thing, he says. They are always telling us “You can’t ride through the city” he says with a funny voice. Many of the guides do it anyway, even though they are risking very high fines (Field note, 2015-11-26).

The guides are all starting from the same point. When they wait for the tourists in the morning, the discussions are many and loud. The result of everyone starting from the same point at the same time is that all the horses are walking together in big groups. The guides are all riding together side by side. They are talking to each other, smoking, listening to music and checking out girls. Their tourists are left on their own, but they will give their horses a whip to make them go forward as often as they feel needed (which is often). The guides working with the excursions are their own social group, the ones everyone looks up to like the cool kids in school. Within the group there is expectations that you should act in certain way, you should look and act as a macho cowboy.

“We took a different way than the rest of the tourists on the way back. The difference in the guides was enormous. Now the pace was slow and the mood was relaxed. There were no other guides there they could talk to, so they were behaving differently. I began to wonder if their previous behaviour were the result of macho culture and peer pressure, where you have to be tough to fit in. The toughness was maybe also recognized as being cruel to the horse. Today it was clear that there are different groups among the guides, the ones by the river and the ones by the coffee stand.
The ones by the stand are always shouting after us as we are walking by, things like "beautiful", "where are you from?" and "have you been swimming?”. They are similar to the guys who are yelling after us in the streets in their behaviour. The guides by the river are waiting calmly for their tourists to return. There is also a great difference in how friendly they seem” (Field note, 2015-11-10).

As previously mentioned, most of the guides are doing the same tour and behaving in more or less the same way. Ronaldo told us about the problems he was facing.

“If I say that this action with horses is not good they say you are homosexual because the farmers have to [be] macho. They have to be strong with the animals because the animals get the control. The animal get the control if you let them take the control but it is not necessary to use violence” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

He had no desire to fit in the big group of macho guides, he were interacting with his guests instead. When he talks about the horses, you cannot miss his passion. During our conversation, we mentioned how horseback riding is a sport dominated by women in our country, and how it is a problem that the men who do it are often teased and called homosexuals. He was very surprised to hear this. During the excursions we did together with him, we noticed that he had the same joke with almost everyone he met. They were joking and imitating how they thought homosexual men were acting.

7.2 Horses
The common course of action is to hit the horse when they should go faster. This extends to all horses, the guides hit horses that belong to others and people passing on the road can also ‘give a helping hand’ if they think one of the horses is moving too slow.

They hit them to go faster, they hit them to stop, they hit them downhill and they hit them uphill. Everywhere I look, I see guides hit horses. … He sits and spins a rope constantly during the tour. He constantly hits his horses to go faster. As we reach the hill, I see that we further ahead will
meet a truck on the road. I slow down, so we can get in behind the horse in front of us. A man who is out and riding with his child in his arms sees that my horse is slowing down. When he sees the horse slowing down, he hits it. My horse kicks after him as a protest. I get mad and tell him to stop. He looks at me with a questioning look on his face. Our guide does not react at all. This is very dangerous behaviour, and for an inexperienced rider this situation could have ended badly (Field note, 2015-11-10).

Tourists do not know if the horses are in good conditions, or if they are badly treated. It is difficult to see on the pictures. Numerous of the guides standing in the city are working illegally and sell excursions for 10 CUC per person. The cheap price can reveal the quality of the tour. Even if the price can reveal the quality, it is impossible for the tourist to know if they do not compare with others. This behaviour and treatment of their horses is a common outlook during the excursion. The Cuban horse is very small. A common view is to see neglected and skinny horses. Horses’ conditions seem not to be a priority. Horses are not supposed to carry more than one tourist, although it is not uncommon to see two persons on one horse.

When we went into the restaurant, we saw two incredibly skinny horses. “Look at this” Ronaldo said and pointed at the two horses while shaking his head. It was a big French group inside the restaurant singing and drinking beer. Shortly after we arrived, they went out to the skinny horses with beers in their hands. At first, one woman jumped up on the horse, shortly after another women sat behind the other female tourist. They were two people sitting on that skinny horse. The horses did not seem to be able to carry even one of them. How will the horse even survive the ride in the mountains with two tourists? Then the guide. He was driving the carriage with too many tourists. In his small carriage, he had eight tourists. I felt terrible, it was the worst I have ever seen. I could not speak a word. It is animal abuse. Ronaldo came and asked if we saw the two tourists on the skinny horse. He looked sad and said that he really disliked that kind of excursions. He mentioned that they probably were poor farmers. Then he started to explain the problem. The problem is that guides do not have any
knowledge or desire to protect the horses’ well-being. The actual problem is that there are no rules for the excursions (Field note, 2015-11-27).

The license the guides hold is just a license to show that they have the permission from the government, there is no control or rules for the quality of the tour included. Most of the excursions start at the same time, the horses and riders catch up to each other along the road outside of town. The tourists walk in a long line with their horses instead of in the small groups they were starting in. Instead of giving instructions to their tourists, the guides are riding together in a line behind them. They have no control of their tourists and the horses are walking as they please.

The guides completely lost their focus and tourists were riding into each other. The tourists did not have any control of their horses. Another guide rode so inept that it was difficult to determine if he was an inexperienced tourist or not. His horses, equipment and clothes were inappropriate. His horses were tiny, the equipment was in bad condition and he was riding in sneakers. Instead of trying to make his horse step up the pace with his legs, he was hitting the horse hard with a stick from a tree. He did not give a serious impression and it felt like he only did the excursions as it generates a lot of money (Field note, 2015-11-10).

During the excursions, horses do not have access to water. Even if there is a waterfall, guides do not supply horses with water. Since all tourists arrive to the waterfall at the same time, some horses do not have access to any shelter. This is problematic as the Cuban sun is very strong and strenuous. In dry season, the lack of food is immense, especially for the animals. It is also in this season the highest amount of tourists arrive, and therefore the time when most excursions are done. The lack of food and the difficult living conditions people face sometimes has its effect on the horses.

He tells us that they have to move the horses in the night, if they do not people will steal them for their meat. The horses are the most popular animal to kill, a cow has to be slaughtered at the scene whilst a horse can be transported to a quieter place. They ride away on them, kill them, and sell the meat (Field note, 2015-11-21).
At the hill, I see many vultures circling in the air, unfortunately we have come to learn what that means. I look down at the side of the road and see a ribcage that is still red from blood. I recognize the size and I feel how it ties in my stomach, I freeze. The parts belong to a horse. The head and neck is still intact, but the rest is just the skeleton. I do not know how to react, I cannot believe what I see, but there is in fact a dark brown horse lying there on the side of the road. ... We met Ronaldo and his tourist, he sees that something is bothering us and asks how we are. He looks sad and troubled when we tell him, “Was it still lying there?” he asked. One of the tourists says “We saw it in the morning” with a tone that sounds like she is talking about an exciting movie. Ronaldo tells us that when they were passing it in the morning there were a lot of people standing and cutting meat from the body (Field note, 2015-12-05).

Since the body of the slaughtered horse was situated near the roadside, tourists would be subject to this view on their way back from the waterfall. The circling vultures and the smell from the dead horse was strenuous, anyone would recognize it. To leave a horse by the side of the road where hundreds of tourists pass each day on horses is not a sustainable way to perform equestrian excursions. These circumstances influence tourists’ experience of the excursions.

7.3 Safety
As the guides have the same starting point and leave at the same time, there is a long line of horses along the road. Tourists and guides catch up with each other, sometimes it can be as many as 100 horses in the same spot. Instead of one private excursion with the guide, the excursion now consists of a large group of people. The guides ride far behind, talk with each other instead of communicating to, and help their clients. They do not give tourists any further instructions of how to ride. Tourists ride into each other since they cannot control their horses. Sometimes tourists ride so close that they more or less can stick into each stirrup and their legs might get hurt. Neither the guides nor the inexperienced tourists see the consequences of riding too close. Most of the guides do not care if the tourists have way too long leathers for the stirrups or if they have no control of their horses. They do not care if they wear inappropriate clothing, many
tourists wear short shorts, tank tops, flip-flops and sandals. Guides rely on what they call the ‘automatic horse’. It can be described as:

“The horses the guides use at the excursions for tourists are automatic horses. When the tourists want the horse to run the horse is running. When the tourists want the horse walking the horse is walking, when like stay quiet they stay quiet” (Manuel, 2015-10-29).

The riders are so far ahead that the guide cannot see them anymore. They yell and ask for directions, as a response the guide yells “It’s a semi-automatic horse!”. The tourist lets go of the reins, instead she sits flapping her arms from side to side. The guide is still so far behind that he misses when she nearly falls off the horse (Field note, 2015-12-07).

The expression comes from the way the horse is controlled. The guides have the perception that they control the speed of the horse, not the rider. They will make it go faster by hitting it, and slower by voice commands. Since the horse is perceived as safe, the tourists sometimes behave in an inappropriate way and the excursion gets dangerous anyhow. Many tourists are riding with cameras and smartphones in their hands without any control of their horses. They want the horse to go faster even if they cannot control the horse.

On the way up to the mountain, we saw a couple from Asia, probably China. The man held the reins in one hand and filmed his girlfriend with his mobile in the other hand. When we almost caught up with the woman, she lost control of her horse and starts to gallop up the mountain. She jolts and pulls the reins. Their guide is far behind as he is about to close the fence. Fortunately, the horse slowed down when the guide shouted “ooh” and when we stopped our horses. None of tourists wears helmets (Field note, 2015-10-21).

The poor safety and lack of routines leads to potentially dangerous situations. The tourists are often inexperienced riders, and with no instructions on how to steer and
control the horse there is often situations that easily can spin out of control and lead to serious injury for both horses and riders.

A new group is arriving, an old man with no control whatsoever of his horse goes straight into the horses who are parked by the side of the road. Chaos erupts, as he is not even trying to steer his horse. The horse is walking into the others while he is sitting and holding on with both hands on the saddle. The horses that are parked starts to kick after him, the guide arrives in full gallop with his whip ready. He whips the horse as hard as he can, the horse gets even more stressed and seeks shelter with the other horses. He chases it out and the horse runs straight into the people who are standing on the other side. The old man on the horse is laughing. ... Later as we are waiting on the other guide, the same man comes again. Once again, he walks straight into the group of horses. The horses kick after him, and one of the horses hits the other one very close to the rider. The guide hits the horse that kicked two times with all his power. The horse with the old man is coming into our group of horses. He zick-zacks between them and sets off in full speed. We ride in a long line of horses, with several hundred meters in between. It is impossible for the guide to see or for that matter control his group. Without the signal from the guide the tourists sets of in gallop. Since they do not have the skill to either steer or control the speed of their horses, they get too close to each other. The horses kick each other and hits very close to the rider's leg. The safety is a disaster (Field note, 2015-12-07).

As the note states, the consequences for the horses and the riders are dangerous. The lack of skills to steer the horse can also get dangerous in regards to the Cuban traffic. The road on which the excursions are held are as previously mentioned the only in and out of town, therefore it is often heavily trafficked. The drivers take little regards to the horses on the road, they come in high speed and signal for them to move. The problem is with as many riders and horses as it usually is, there is no way to move away from traffic. The riders do not know how to steer their horse away from the road, and often come directly towards the trucks and tractors. The problem is both due to the lack of instructions but also from the lack of effort from the tourists.
He jokes and imitates how the tourists they cannot control the horse. He describes the problem when the tourists cannot steer the horse when there are coming ongoing traffic. These situations can sometime be difficult since they do not listen to the instructions. Even if tourists receive instructions before the excursions start, they tend to ride in the middle of the road. I say ride to left and they continue in the middle. He informs us about shoe gear. He tell us that we need to have a shoe that protect our feet's, converse is okay. When we said that we had real boots he looked pleased (Field note, 2015-11-25).

All guides who sell excursions to the waterfall describe the waterfall as something unique and big. They tell tourists that the excursion is a real adventure and the waterfall is an authentic place to visit. In dry season, the waterfall dries out due to the strong sunlight. A conflict between the guides and clients arise, as tourists do not want to pay for the excursions. Another critical factor is that most of guides start the excursions at the same time and all tourists arrive at the same time. At mid-day, the place is overcrowded. The space around the waterfall is small, it is crowded, slippery and the surfaces are made of sharp stones. The tourists do not have space to sit down and relax during their stay. As most of the guides stay at the horse parking tourists have to stay alone at the waterfall without any protection. Ronaldo clarify the problem:

“The guides stay on the horse parking and the tourist has to go alone to the waterfall without any protection and it is very slippery there. If a tourist slip and have damage on their head, what happen? It is difficult even for me if I am there because I have to protect my clients. If I give help to the tourist in danger, I have to leave my client alone without any protection. Because obviously I will assist that tourist in problem and I have to leave my clients without any protection without any assistants” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

As Ronaldo described, many guides do not see the necessity to interact with their clients and in this situation one guide are responsible for all tourists at the site. If an emergency occur his clients suffer attention since the other guides are not there to help their clients.
7.3.1 Equipment

It is very difficult and expensive for Cubans to get access to get equipment for horses. There are no shops selling equipment for horses. It is expensive and most of the guides do not afford to buy it. The equipment for horses is expensive and hard to find in Cuba. The only way to get something is through travelling to a big city, from friends or on the black market. Medicines such as deworming for the horses are also non-existing in Cuba and have to be imported. Therefore, Cubans must rely on people they know to solve their problems.

“In Cuba you might think we have such strong relations, but we have too, we are dependent on other people. We need each other to fix problems. When I needed to repair my mother's sink, I borrowed the tools from my neighbour. We do not have the possibility to buy for example tools, imagine if their opened a shop here in the corner that were selling tools, I could go and buy whatever I needed from there. Then my neighbour and I would ignore each other” (Nicholas, 2015-10-11).

Equipment for excursions such as helmets is expensive. Estimated, there are only three guides who offer helmets on their excursions. Helmets need to be replaced as often as every third month as the quality is low. Even though the quality is low, the price is still high. Most of those guides involved in equestrian tourism cannot afford to buy and maintain the quality to achieve good quality. Nicholas use helmets and good saddles on his excursions, which has led to that guides need to adapt in order to meet the competition. His horses are in good conditions and well treated, they are larger than normal horses in Trinidad. It costs a lot of money, but for him the most important is that the excursions are safe and that the horses are well treated. Tourists have started to choose his horses as they are larger and look healthier.

Farriers also have problem to get access to equipment, which is problematic when they should treat horse's hoofs. The farriers shoe the horse as they have been taught through generations. The methods do not always have the anatomy of the hoof in mind. Instead, they put a way too small shoe and cut off the horse's toes so it fit the shoe. The farriers use a machete to cut the hoof. This method is faster and generates more money, they can
do five horses in one afternoon. With the ‘correct’ method, it is only possible to do three treatments in one afternoon.

When we walked back to the car, Nicholas says that the farrier did the shoeing and treatment wrong. He did not say anything to the farrier in public because he did not want to ‘embarrass him’. Instead he told his friend that he should be attentive and he would come back and talk to the farrier and give him some advice (Field note, 2015-11-21).

Due to the lack of knowledge, many horses are treated wrong. It is difficult to improve horses’ healthcare without any education or program. Even if Nicholas tries to share his knowledge and experience, some farriers do as they always have done.

7.3.2 Infrastructure
During the excursion, several steep hills can be difficult for inexperienced tourists to handle. The first advanced hill is directly after the starting point for the excursion. Few guides recommend tourists to lead their horses down the hill, instead they ride down the hill without any control. The problem is that the hill is asphalted and very steep and slippery. It is difficult for horses to get a grip especially when the tourists do not know how to steer or balance their body. Even if some guides lead their horses down the hill it can be problematic.

We jumped off the horses and led them down the hill. It felt like the guides were serious, but I should never thought that. After 15 seconds, everything changed and this day would be the worst so far. The guide’s horse went slowly and carefully down the hill. The problem was that the guide wanted the horse to move faster. He dragged the horse and then the guide was annoyed and angry. Therefore, in the middle of the hill he started to hit the horse with his rope. The horse slipped on the asphalt and the horses legs sprawled in different directions. Then he hit the horse even more and shouted “gatsho” (which means move faster). I felt terrible. Why can't they just accept the horses' pace, why do they keep on hitting them, the guides should have more knowledge (Field note, 2015-11-10).
It is common that guides hit their horses, but in a steep hill where it is heavy traffic it is
dangerous. Horse can easily be scared and their flight response can quickly turn on. If
the horses slip, there can be enormous consequences both the guides themselves but
also for the government and tourists. During our time with Ronaldo, we got the
opportunity to ride down the hill. He wanted us to know and feel the danger and unsafe
aspects down the hill, which many tourists have to experience.

_I think it was good for us to ride down the hill. Before we only stood by the
hill and watched tourists ride down the steep hill. It has not been an
impressive view, they usually have no control and it has looked unsafe and
dangerous. To sit on a horseback and ride down the hill is one of the worst
experiences I ever have had. It was very slippery. If I wouldn’t have my
knowledge and experience I would have been terrified. Actually, I was a
bit uncomfortable down the hill. I started to think about the chaos that
would ensue if the horse would slip and fall. What would the
inexperienced tourists do? How would they handle the situation? Without
any helmet or clothing on the arms and legs there would be many
damages (Field note, 2015-11-27)._  

There are several mountains and steep hills during the excursions as the excursions are
held in the valley. These hills are not asphalted instead there are loose stones which
make it slippery and hard to climb. When it rains the trails are quickly filled with water
and it is really muddy and difficult for horses to come around. Within 15 minutes of
rain, the roads look like a river.

![Picture 5. Trail. Author’s picture.](image-url)
Although, guides do the excursion even if the circumstances are bad. In rain season, the heavy rain can continue for many days and it can be problematic and dangerous to do the excursions. The trails are incredibly muddy, slippery and difficult to ride on. The conditions of the roads and trails make it impossible to reach the areas in the countryside by car. However, most of the time it is still possible to get there by horse. As long as the horses can get there, the excursions are running. There is another aspect in this matter, since the excursions are running when vehicles cannot drive on the roads leads to the fact that in situations of a serious accident there is no possibility for an ambulance to get there. What would happen if tourist falls of the horse and is severely injured? An ambulance could also be needed in the case of for example a heart attack or any chronic illness. Even in dry season it is hard for an ambulance to reach the waterfall area.

7.3.3 Language
Many of the guides do not speak English, out of about 60 guides working legally, only six them speak very limited English (Manuel, 2015-10-29). The other guides can more or less only ask if tourists want to go horseback riding. One common opinion is that language is not the most central aspect of the experience and therefore does not matter. Instead the view of the countryside, mountains, the tranquil surroundings and nature are of more importance. Manuel states that language is important, because the business will become better when people understand each other.

“Because when you have language you have connection and when you have connection, the tourist can easily understand the Trinidad city and the Valle de Los Ingenios” (Manuel, 2015-10-29).

Many guides did not have the opportunity as child to learn any other language besides Spanish. Manuel (2015-10-29) mentioned that guides do not have patience to practice, instead guides feel frustrated because it is difficult to learn. Most guides do not see the advantage of speaking English as the tourists enjoy the landscape anyhow. It takes time and money to learn, therefore many guides do not want to learn (Ronaldo, 2015-12-06).
During the lunch Ronaldo and his two clients sat and talked. It was not quiet for a second as there was constant conversation. His clients had many questions and he was very open about his life in Cuba. He shared his entire life. He really interacted with his tourists and there were many jokes. The tourists seemed to appreciate it. One of the other tourists at the restaurant commented that he spoke very good English, he replied that he learned it by talking to his clients. I could see in her face that she thought he was joking, but I know for a fact that he did not, he actually learned it all from tourists (Field note, 2015-12-05).

Few guides talk English during the excursion. Tourists ride in the middle of the trail without any control. The guides do not give any instruction about how to steer or take control.

Why do not guides give instructions to their clients? Simple words like faster, slower, or right and left should not take that long to learn. It must be that they do not care. The tourists experiences are not important, instead all that matters is to earn money. It must have been what Nicholas meant when he said they are not good people (Field note, 2015-11-10).

The English skills are limited and the guides do not control the tourists instead they rely on the semi-automatic horse.

7.3.4 Alcohol
Daily use and consumption of alcohol is common in Trinidad, one reason might be their self-production of rum that make up a large part of Cuban life. Rum cost about three CUC that is more or less the same price as one and a half litres water. The consumption of alcohol is notable among Cubans, even when they are at work. The bottle of rum is always present on excursions. At the stop at the waterfall, guides relax in the shadow and drinks rum while the tourists enjoy the bath in the waterfall. Some guides even offer their clients to have a sip from their bottle. Sometimes the consumption of alcohol severely affects the quality of the tour:
When we had been on the horses for a while, our guide disappeared several times. When he came back, the third time he explained to us that he had a problem with his stomach. When we about to set off again he gets a troubled look in his face and says “Momento...Problem” and disappears into the forest again. We are waiting for him in the middle of a deserted country road for about 15min before he returned. Then once again got the troubled look on his face, tied his horse to a tree and ran into the forest. ...

After the stop at the restaurant we stayed at what felt like forever. When it is finally time for us to leave, I wondered if he had been drinking. I thought I was just imagining but when we arrive to the next stop there is no question about it, the guide is helplessly drunk. He is wobbling and almost hits the ground when he jumps off the horse. The other guides laughs and imitates him. He lies down on the muddy field, and falls asleep with his hat resting on his stomach. ...

When we are about to leave, the other guides wants us to join another group as it is not safe for us to go alone with him. Two of them have to help our guide up on the horse. In addition, as we ride, the guy has to sit and hold him so he will not fall off the horse. The guide who is helping him loses all focus of his tourists and has no control of the group (Field note, 2015-12-07).

This incident was explained later by the guide and his family as an outcome of his stomach problem. He had mixed his medicine with a small sip of rum. No matter if, this was the real reason or not, the outcome is still unacceptable.

Tourists also drink alcohol during the excursions, both at the waterfall and restaurants. When guides and tourists consume too much alcohol, the excursion can take a dangerous turn. Horses have to carry uncontrolled humans with strange behaviour. In these situations the excursions consists of a low degree of safety. The tourists do not know their limitations and instead they want the horse to go faster. They smash their horse with their hand behind the saddle and the guides hit the horses with their whips. Another problem with the consumption of alcohol is that some professionals, for example veterinarians, drink when they do treatment on horses.
I did not get a good first impression of the veterinarian. We were on our way to leave our bags when I saw the vet with a bottle of rum in his hand. He took a sip and asked if I wanted to try. I shook my head and moved on. ... I could see that he was drunk both from the way he moved but also by looking in his eyes. When he tried to catch the horse with the lasso he was not prepared for the strength of the horse and he fell down to the ground. At his third try he caught the horse. The horse looked afraid and stressed. ... the horse got the vaccines and in exchange, the vet got another bottle of rum (Field note, 2015-10-25).

Manuel did not even have to pay the veterinary, since he was a friend of his. To show his appreciation he gave the veterinary a bottle of rum, this is one way why friends are such important in Cuba.

7.4 Life in Equestrian Tourism
Most of the persons who are arranging the excursions have former careers that they have given up in order to start equestrian excursions. Many of them had academic careers but the informants have been working as everything from security guards to Djs. The changes in their life have been many and great, working with tourism has led to improvements. The change of occupation gives many advantages. As described by one man working as a guide:

“It is very nice. Life is better now. Now I can sleep in the night and work in the day. Before I was always working, both night and day. I was so tired I slept at work” (Juan, 2015-10-25).

Previously he was working as a security guard. He describes the job as very demanding, the hours were long and he was always tired. The change of occupation has led to less time at work and finally he can sleep at night. As a result, he describes his life as better. In similar ways, many guides have given up their jobs for the government to be self-employed in the tourism industry. Working for the government is often demanding, the hours are long and the pay is low. This makes life difficult for many Cubans who are struggling just to get by. Everyday life is an impossible equation. Carlo, a man who is
working at the entrance to the Nature Reserve, is one of many with an interesting story to share. He describes working with tourism as freedom.

“I enjoy working with tourism because I feel free. I am employed by the government, and I work 7-8 h hours per day. I am 69 years old, so really I am supposed to be retired. Instead, I work here. The freedom comes because now I have both my pension from the government and I earn my salary” (Carlo, 2015-10-25).

In Cuba, the possibility to work with tourism is often described as freedom. Not in the way we would call it, in Cuba few things are as we know them. The possibility to earn more money is essential for everyday life. The freedom is not to be retired and enjoy the spare time but to be able to earn enough money for your family. Tourism is the only way some families can ensure a positive future and provide for their families.

“For me the most important thing is to organize the future for my sons. In this moment, I stay in the business for horse riding for rent house and only I organize the future for my sons. Maybe later this is the life of my sons. Because later I am an old man ... I only continue because I like to prepare the future for my sons” (Manuel, 2015-10-29).

An outcome of tourism as a way to improve the way of life is that some also work within the industry thus having the desire to do something else.

It soon was revealed that he did not want to work as tour guide at all. It tore tremendously on his body, but he was forced to in order to make his income. He looked frustrated and said that all he really wanted to do was to work in his farm. It was inconceivably for him that he had to pay 150 CUC in taxes no matter if he worked at the farm or with tourism. The high tax made it impossible for him to do what he really wanted (Field note, 2015-10-17).

Some changes in their life are also affecting the social life as the hours are long, and there are tourists there almost every day of the year. This makes the tourists arrive to
island all year. For many this means a lot of time away from family for example Manuel who stays at the farm while his family lives in the city.

7.4.1 Money
There are notable differences in people’s income dependent if they are involved with tourism or not. The salary is low and many inhabitants struggle with the government control, regulations and taxes. Many Cubans declare the problem with a low salary. The normal salary is around 15 CUC per month and therefore the society becomes corrupt, people do business illegally.

He says he toils every day to barely get an income that he can support himself, and then there are Cubans who are dishonest and cheat people. These people can earn about 1000 CUC in one day (Field note, 2015-10-17).

“The best part for me is also when I get the tips” (Ricardo, 2015-10-25).

Another problem for the residents is that the government do not pay their wages every 25 days as promised. Sometimes the money can come 50 days later than expected. This makes it impossible for the Cubans to pay tax at agreed time. Inhabitants suffer because when the government do not receive the payment, they do not have the funds and the people will not get any payment the following month. For many residents in Trinidad, equestrian excursions are a vital part of their livelihood and an important source of income. Due to lack of control, everyone who own horses have the potential to build a business. It creates opportunities and therefore people tend to quite their job in order to earn more money.

“Previously, I worked as a teacher, but the salary was so low and I couldn’t afford to support my family, that's the reason why I changed occupation to tourism” (Elena, 2015-10-23).

One of the foundations in Cuban politics is that everyone should have the same conditions and equal standards. Until 2011, it was illegal to run equestrian excursions as it gave better earnings. Now Cubans in Trinidad are allowed to run both Casa
Particulares as well equestrian excursions among other private businesses. However, there are still many rules to follow and many guides do the excursion illegally.

Owners of Casa Particulares have started to combine renting rooms with different activities, the most popular activity is equestrian excursions. Guides know that working with tourists give better income and money is an essential motivational factor.

“Sometimes some guides only do the horse riding in order to earn money. It is in the moment when the excursion loss value” (Manuel, 2015-10-29).

The lack of internet access has resulted in that few Cubans have access to reliable booking system and some guides steal clients from other guides. There few guides who are able to establish reservation system as it is a complex process and cost a lot of money. Ronaldo receive most of his clients through his booking system on internet. Through a deposit, the tourists are guaranteed to participate in the equestrian excursion. Despite this, it still happens that tourists never show up at agreed time this due to Jineteros (hustlers) who pretend to be the guide.

When we sat and waited for Ronaldo a man came, he said “Do you have a reservation to go horseback riding at 8 o’clock? It is my brother, he is waiting for you around the corner! How many persons?” We understood that something was wrong, since we met his brother yesterday and we had decided a meeting spot. When we did not answer, he walked away. Awful to try to steal other's customers like that. ... We told Ronaldo what happened, and he said that it happens every now and then. It has happened that he sat and waited for customers who never showed. When he texted them to ask where they are he got the reply “What do you mean? We are with you” (Field note, 2015-11-27)

There are no rules for reservations, payments and refunds since there is no organisation behind the excursions. There is possibility to complain to an official agency and get the money refunded if you are not satisfied or if there is a problem during the tour. The unsecure procedures runs both ways, some of the guides are not paid enough for their excursions. Even though money is essential for those who change occupation, there are
also people who are involved in the equestrian industry for other purposes. They enter the business for genuine interest in horses rather than money. These guides get more clients and earn more since money is not the primary motive to start a business. The primary motive is instead to have high quality and satisfied clients. They shared the common philosophy that even though money is important there is other essential things in life.

“The money is not the most important for me, of course the money is very useful for my life but for me the most important is that the clients have a good satisfaction at the end. Sometimes it is even more difficult for me to organize a tour at a different place but I enjoy when the client show me the satisfaction. When they are happy” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

“The happiness does not come from having the best car or having many things. It is the small things that give you happiness. If I go to bed in the night knowing that for example I helped you with your project then I feel happy. I like helping young people who want to learn and be involved in projects, this give me happiness” (Nicholas, 2015-11-11).

These two guides share the same notion that happiness do not always have to be related to money, even if money is an essential part for the daily life, family, friends and a healthy life is of greater importance.

7.5 People who think differently
During time in field, we also met people who were thinking differently. They acknowledged the problems with the safety and conditions of the horses, and found a way to do things differently. The first person was Nicholas, as described previously he calls himself a horse whisperer and have adapted the NH principles. He started a project, the Diana project, to help horses in Trinidad. During the time we spent with him, it became clear to us that he had a genuine care and love for horses. He explains the problem as a consequence from poverty.

*The way he talks about horses is of greater passion. A photo of two children on a horse leads the discussion into horses and their conditions.*
He told us that many guides and Cubans could not afford to properly take care of their horses. Still they use poor horses on the excursions. In the case of Nicholas, the equestrian business is a consequence of his genuine passion of horses. He is not interested in money. The problem he pointed at is that numerous guides use horses in poor condition that further leads to unsafe excursions for both tourists and horses. Countless horses live under ruthless circumstance due to poverty. The guides who arrange excursions are often farmers, those individuals live in the countryside and cannot afford to feed their animals in a proper way (Field note, 2015-11-09).

Nicholas and his friend started the project after one of his horses died from colic and he realized there were things that could have prevented the death of his horse. Today he holds lectures and workshop in Trinidad, together with running a Casa Particular. He learned a lot from his tourists, as he calls it ‘his second university’. By meeting horse lovers from other cultures, he learned that there was a different way of doing things, and starting to see that there were a lot of things in the equestrian sector in Trinidad that needed to be changed. He learned everything he could about the art of farming, putting the shoes in the horse, and basic veterinary practices for emergencies (Field note, 2015-11-07).

Nicholas expressed a concern that not everybody wants to learn or accept the help that he is offering. They buy horses that they find to be in bad condition very cheap from their owners, and treat them as well as they can. Previously they would just help the farmers to treat their horses, but if they were not able to they would get the blame for it. He tells us about a young horse with a broken leg, he was not able to save it, and the owner blamed him for his horse’s death. The medicines he is able to get is imported from the US, he says he have to choose the farmers he wants to work with carefully, some do not follow the directions and prescriptions for the medicine. That is a waste of very hard-earned supplies (Field note, 2015-11-09).

In much similar ways, Ronaldo also talks about the horses and the problems with the excursions. He talks about the waterfall and the problem with too many tourists. The
rapidly growth of guides has increased the number of tourists at the waterfall. This has resulted in that they do not live up to the clients expectations as an unspoiled attraction.

Before he went, he said that we should start the excursion at eight o’clock due to that “tourists do not like other tourists”. Moreover, he said he started the excursions earlier in order to escape all the tourists and that it was cooler for the horses. He continued and said that it is important to meet tourists' expectations. Already in this moment he was different from the previous guides we met (Field note, 2015-11-25).

He also described the problem with horses. There are no rules to say if a horse is working to hard or is too skinny and therefore no consequence if the rules are broken. However, he thinks the only way it will get better is to create a program for the farmers and their horses.

"... sometimes I suffer because I work with farmers. I rent the horses from them and sometimes when we are in the morning taking the horses, you see how they are violent with the horses. You remember I told you, farmers do not have too much education. They are farmers and leave school after primary school. They are very close-minded. It is very difficult to explain it is difficult to make them understand how important the horses are for their lives and our life. Explaining to them directly is not enough. It is necessary to create a program that makes them think of horses as something big” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

He also acknowledges the conflict between poverty and animal care. He rents his horse from a farmer and many of them are in good condition. However, sometimes there is a conflict between whit the quality that is possible to obtain. There is also a genuine care for the horses’ well-being that he expresses in the following way:

"We have to use them as a very important part of the animal kingdom. We are also animals. We think more, we are the same, and they are like us. We use them for very important things in our lives and we have to give back to them. We have to pay them with good attention. They don’t ask for
money, we can’t pay the horses with money, how we can pay them is through love” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

Since there are no intuitions, who works for animal welfare and the poverty at the countryside it is a conflict, which he discusses in further statement:

“Depend if the government create any program or help farmer with money or conditions or other things that give a good life to the horses. Because for the government. In theory, there are some rules but it does not work. It is necessary that some organization, any group of people create a program to help the horses. ... Some people like use the horses and love horses at the same time. Other people love to use the horses with no love. They think of horses as an animal, just an animal. It is an animal but it is also a friend. ... It is necessary that some organization, any group of people create a program to help the horses. ... It is necessary to create a program that makes them think of horses as something big. [Currently] there is not an institution that can say stop, give me your horse because you are not taking care of your horse” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29).

Nicholas and Ronaldo share the same view of how the horses should be treated, and it is easy to notice their frustration with the situation. Nicholas performs the excursions in the way so that they hold high quality in both equipment and horses.

I made some enemies along the way doing this, as I had good horses and good equipment when I started. You know everyone starts from the same point more or less. Tourists started to see that that there were better horses and some of them said to their guides that they did not want to come along on their tour anymore. They asked where to book my horses and took my tour the following day instead. The equipment I have is expensive, so not everyone can afford this. When the tourists chose my tour instead, this created problems. Horses have to be well treated, they are beautiful animals, and are the most important thing. Therefore, I do not care what the people say (Nicholas, 2015-11-11).
The keeping of good quality is as previously mentioned is very expensive, therefore, he does not have any profit from his equestrian excursions. All money he makes is directly invested back into the business. The money he earns comes from his other businesses. Ronaldo on the other hand, has no other business and lives solely on the income from the equestrian excursions. He has to rely on the farmer supplying him with horses to keep good quality, which is not always possible. The conflict of making enough money to support their families is always present, and for many farmers it has proven to be at the cost of quality and safety.

*I was surprised of Nicholas and his equestrian business. All the money he earns from his business, he reinvest in equipment. Both equipment for horses and tourists. It is because he cares about horses’ well-being and tourists’ safety. It costs a lot of money and there is no profit from this business. However, he looked a little more resolute when he talked about the difficulties to support a whole family, both his grandfather, grandmother, his wife, two daughters and animals (Field note, 2015-11-09).*

Both Nicholas and Ronaldo like to learn from people from other countries, nationalities and with different cultures and way of life. Since Cubans are strictly controlled, these two informants like to interact and learn from other people. Thereby they can get knowledge about other countries and improve their cultural knowledge.

7.6 Summary
To sum up, In Trinidad there has been a massive boom of the equestrian excursions. Equestrian excursions are one way to provide and create a more hopeful future as it gives financial stability. Without clear restrictions or rules, the equestrian excursions face some problems. The safety on the excursions is one of the most notable problems. There are several problems related to safety on the tours as lack of instruction, language barriers as well as the equipment and behaviour of tourists. The uncontrolled situations are the start of many potentially dangerous situations.

The conditions of the trails are problematic in some areas as the trails are in bad condition. Steep and slippery hill are also problematic in regards to safety. Many
tourists on the excursion have led to crowding in waterfall and along the trials. Moreover, many tourists are not informed about proper clothing such as what shoes to wear. Since equipment are expensive there are very few who offer helmets during their excursions. Good equipment hard to find and very expensive. The behaviour of some guides can be described as amateurish, the quality of the excursion is not a priority and is thereby compromised. The ones who have found a way to do the excursions without compromising safety and the horses well-being is often the subject of sabotage.

The conditions for some horses’ excursion are conducted without consideration for the well-being of the animal as they have compromised health. During the excursions, the horses suffer from beatings. The horses are handled without any consideration for their natural behaviour and the unpredictability of the animal. Apart from them, the attitude to the horse is similar among the guides, the treatment of the horse is a way of expressing that you are macho. The guides are well respected and looked up to in Trinidad, to work with tourism is the dream of many. The problematic aspects can be described in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Guides</th>
<th>Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trails</td>
<td>Riding Equipment</td>
<td>No education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>Language barriers</td>
<td>Macho Behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowded attractions</td>
<td>Lack of instructions</td>
<td>Lack of professionalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Critical factors identified in animals’ welfare and safety.
8 Future Development

The problems the excursions face can be a threat to the conduction of the tours. The equestrian excursions in Trinidad face uncertain future. The problems make the question of sustainable development central. In sustainable development, the primary aspect is change, moving from one condition to another. If the changes are positive or negative for the attraction or destination is depending on the criteria for measurement of impacts of tourism (Hall, 2008). One way of measuring these impacts are trough carrying capacity. Carrying capacity can be described as “the maximum number of people that can visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of physical, economic or sociocultural means and an unacceptable reduction in the quality of the satisfaction of visitors” (PAC/RAC, 2003:5). The carrying capacity determines how much visitors an attraction can handle before adverse effects (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

8.1 Physical Carrying Capacity

One important issues in sustainable development is the development in relation the environmental aspects and human-environment relationships (Hall, 2008). Rapid growth of tourists arrivals results in significant impacts on the nature, vegetation and topographic. There is also another aspect in the question of limitations regarding the physical carrying capacity of the area. The limitation to the area needs to be taken with consideration to preserve the natural surroundings of the Nature Reserve (Prato, 2001). Negative impacts follow when the attraction or destination exceeds the physical carrying capacity. Urry & Larsen (2011) discuss physical carrying capacity, where the carrying capacity is the number of how many visitors an attraction or a destination can have before destruction. When tourist attractions or the destinations are overcrowded, the physical capacity has reached its maximum numbers of visitors.

The physical capacity that Urry & Larsen (2011) discuss has reached its possible amount of tourists as all the guides take the same trails to the waterfall. The UNESCO parts of the Valley is highly protected and preserved by the Oficina del Conservador. The areas for the equestrian excursions are not included in Heritage site, they are not as well protected. The physical carrying capacity is reached as the trails are falling apart. The equestrian excursions brings about 300-400 horses each day. Some of the trails do not have the physical capacity to sustain this volume of tourists as it damage the soil of
the trails. The trails among the landscape in Valley de los Ingenios are made of soil and stones. Tourists have to ride up and down steep hills that consist of gravel and loose stones.

The space around the natural waterfall are not modified and adapted to the large number of tourist arrivals. As described Ronaldo (2015-11-29) the waterfall is often crowded and there is not enough space for the tourists to walk in, this is an indication that the physical carrying capacity is reached. The overstepping of the carrying capacity in this case is leads to an unsafe environment. Tourists have to navigate through slippery and sharp rocks in order to reach the water, as there is not enough space to walk in tourists have to take a difficult way through the rocks. They risk falling as they are trying to avoid others. Ronaldo describes (2015-11-29) how this is stressful for him in the excursions, there is not so much he can do to avoid the problem. He has solved this problem by taking his tourist there in another time of the day, when the site in not as crowded. Thus, the physical carrying capacity of the waterfall is only reached in some hours of the day.

8.2 Perceptual Carrying Capacity
Perceptual carrying capacity is the capacity of how many visitors an attraction or destination can receive before the genuine feeling abolishes by too many tourists. The attraction loses its value, as the experiences do not meet the tourists’ expectations (Navarro et al., 2012). According to Urry & Larsen (2011), there are several potential gazes among tourists and they are interpreted in a fraction of a second. Tourists interpret the gaze as result of their own personal preference, perceptions and previous experiences. This makes the gaze highly individual and subjective. Many tourists who travel to Trinidad are searching for the unspoiled and picturesque landscape and can therefore be described as what Urry & Larsen (2011) call ‘romantic’ tourists. The nature, countryside and architecture are essential aspects for the tourism product. It allow tourist to interact with the ‘real’ nature, culture and landscape which is essential for the romantic gaze. When tourists start to market the unspoiled and pristine destinations and more tourists arrive, the attraction or destination will lose its value due to more visitors (Urry & Larsen, 2011).
Even if the path is physically passable the pristine and wilderness might not be what the tourists had expected to gaze upon due to amount of tourists on the same area. In this case, the visual carry capacity is reached but not the physical capacity (Urry & Larsen, 2011). The perceptual carrying capacity has reached its limit of maximum tourists. Tourists want to capture the landscape alone, but the rapid growth of equestrian tours has led the waterfall and all the viewpoints on the excursions to a touristic activity and the excursion has lost its mere value. The tourists experience will not meet tourists expectation of the waterfall as the feeling of a genuine place are lost since all tourist visit the place at the same time. The space at the waterfall is small which had led to an overcrowded attraction. As Ronaldo explained (2015-11-25), the tourists he had on his excursions previously did not like to be with other tourists. He emphasises the importance to meet tourists’ expectations, to be able to appreciate the fantastic scenery of Valley de Los Ingenios. As the physical carrying capacity is reached on the trails and waterfall it is also likely that the tourists will perceive the attraction as exceeded also what regards the perceptual carrying capacity. It is difficult to perceive an area as genuine and ‘untouched’ when there is no space to walk due to overcrowding from tourists.

8.3 Psychological Capacity
Mowforth & Munt (2009) describes how the limits of a destination can be reached in regards to the psychical environment, the capacity of the attraction is perceived as safe by the tourists is referred to as Psychological Capacity. As described by Ollenburg (2005) equestrian tourism differs from other types of adventure tourism, the main element of the excursion is an animal. Therefore, the staff needs to be trained to handle the horse, the rider and manage the interaction between them. If failed to do so the excursion can be potentially dangerous. The aim for the equestrian excursion is also in the need of professional staff as it is necessary for the animal to obey the rider, rather than ignoring them (Ollenburg, 2005). As mentioned in the chapter ‘Equestrian tourism’ (4), equestrian tours are one of the most high risk and dangerous activities due to injury (Haigh and Thompson, 2015). Horses are large and unpredictable since they can kick, bite and quickly turn on their sharp flight response (Thompson and Matthews, 2015). The psychological capacity is linked to the perception of safety in the excursion, the safety in the equestrian excursions are highly dependent on the handling of the horse.
The guides in Trinidad need to apply for a license before entering the equestrian business. The license is an official permit that you have the permission to run excursions, but there is no education that follows with the license. Countless farmers have started to do the excursions illegally as there is no consequence for doing so. In Trinidad, a lot of the knowledge of handling the horse is passed down through generations and learned from the daily use of the horse at the countryside. There is no official training for the guides before they can start the tours. In the case of equestrian excursions, there are few rules. The problem is that the rules they do have do not work in practice (Ronaldo 2015-11-29).

The result of the lack of control over who is running the tours, many guides do not have the skill to handle their own horses not to communicate how the tourists should handle theirs. Some of the guides ride in the same way as the inexperience tourists and wear clothes that are unappropriated from a safety perspective (Field note, 2015-11-10). Another example of lack of professional skills is in the expression “semi-automatic”-horse (Field note 2015-12-07; Manuel, 2015-10-29). The expression tells the tourists that they do not have to steer the horse at all, instead they let go of the reins and let the horse walk as it please. This is far from the professional way of teach the tourist how to interact and take control over the horse.

The lack of professional routines of the tours is also shown, as guides do not have control of the group and tourists ride into each other. Tourists, without any signal from the guide, set off in gallop and lose control of the horse. Later, they steer into each other and disappear from the guide’s sight (Field note, 2015-12-07). The lack of control in the group of tourist is clear, the guide do not simply have the control or possibility to see what the tourists are doing as they are out of his sight far ahead on the trail. Without any instructions, it is difficult for inexperienced tourist to steer and control the horse into its right position. During the excursions tourists’ rides into each other, but without any instructions, it is difficult for inexperienced tourist to steer and control the horse into right position.

Another case that indicate the lack of profession is when guides do not speak up when tourists behave in improperly way. As mentioned previously, there are many inexperienced tourists who use their mobile phone when they are riding (Field note,
Such behaviour results in a high risk of injury. Without any helmet or protection for their body, the tourists risk their life. Instead of taking control and give instruction the guide quietly talk to the horse to slow down. The instructions are also missing in regards to instruct tourists on how to dress. The use of helmets in Trinidad is non-existent. The process to buy helmets is complex and due to that, people have to import helmets. The quality of the helmets is low and have to be replaced often (Nicholas, 2015-11-11).

There are those who perform the excursions in a professional manner. The chapter ‘People who think differently’ (7.3) describes how they face the problems with the excursions. However, even if they are working with the problems there are sabotage of their business. One example of this is when we were waiting in the morning for Ronaldo and a man comes and pretends to be him, in order to steal his business (Field note, 2015-11-27). The procedures for bookings are uncertain and give the opportunity to sabotage. Hustlers find an opportunity to steal other clients leading to an unsafe environment for the tourists. If problems should occur on this tour later, the tourists have no way to identify the guide, as there are no official records or receipts for the excursions.

As previously mentioned, one old man, was nearly kicked by the horses since he rode into other horses (Field note, 2015-12-07). In this situation, the other horses reacted upon his action and started to kick after him. Since there were about ten more horses in the line, it could have led to an immense accident. Although, even if it was not the horse's fault, the horse was punished by the guide. They hit the horse and horse run forward. The old man did not care, instead he laughed, and probably he did not realize the danger and outcome of his behaviour. He could fall off and hit the ground. Without any helmet, this could result in a head injury that is one of the most common accidents related to horses. Without any instructions from the guide, the old man rode into other horses and the horse had to suffer due to inexperienced skills, both from the tourist and the guide.

One important aspect in regards to safety is the traffic. As described by Ronaldo (2015-11-25) the tourists often steer into ongoing traffic, they do not know how to control their horse. The traffic on the roads are heavy since the excursion run along the only
road in and out of the city and tourists who sit on the horses that walk straight forward into a truck. The hill is very slippery, as a rider you can feel how the horses have a hard time getting down the hill (Field note, 2015-11-27; Field note, 2015-11-10). The feeling of not being able to control the situation, and not get any help from the guides in how to solve the situation can also be a threat to the tourists’ perceived feeling of safety. As the tourists’ safety is compromised, so is also the feeling of perceived safety and thereby the psychological capacity reached.

8.4 Applying Carrying Capacity to Equestrian Tourism
Sustainable tourism and responsible tourism is the focus in many scholars of today’s tourism research. Tourism should be performed in a sustainable manner, protecting the natural resources and ensuring future development. Missing from this debate is performing tourism in a sustainable manner to ensure sustainable treatment of animals. Fennell (2014) argue that nothing will change in the case of animals’ rights if tourism scholars and practitioners do not admit a different mode of thinking. An ethical code for animals rights need to be established due to annually use of animals in the tourism industry. Animals is essential for many tourism products such as zoos, tours, safaris but also in races and fighting (Fennell, 2014; Cohen, 2013). Animals pay a high price and are highly exposed due the unnatural and uncomfortable training methods that humans use in order to perform some tourism products (Cohen, 2013). The relationship between the rider and the horse are dependent on how the rider is expected to behave. In order to understand the expectations on the rider we have to put them in relation to the context of society (Birke & Brandt, 2009).

8.5 Understanding the Macho Cowboy and His Horse
The expectations on the Cuban man are to be strong, macho and be able to provide for his family. Even if the Cuban woman is more equal to the man than in other development countries, the traditional gender roles still persists (Gustafsson, 2011). In Trinidad, the guides are expected to be macho in the traditional sense of masculinity. If you fail to behave in this way, an insult is not far away. According to Gustafsson (2011) being called a homosexual one of the worst insult you can give a Cuban man as a result of the macho norm.
The horse becomes the possibility to earn money from tourists, and to live up to the expectations from the perception of a strong man. The expectation on the Cuban man is to behave in a way that is traditionally associated with masculinity. As described by Ronaldo (2015-11-29), the perception of being strong and macho equals being rough to the horse. The ones who are not following the rough and strong way with the horse are being called homosexuals as an insult. Therefore, the animal welfare in Trinidad is also connected to the construction of gender.

8.6 Determining animal welfare
Ryder (2005) argues that animals need respect, care and good treatment as they can feel pain and stress. Animals are frequently used for human entertainment, often without the consideration of animal welfare. Animal welfare is defined as ‘the state of an animal as regards its attempts to cope with its environment’ (Fennell, 2013:326), this definition is problematic as it has no simple way of measurement. The Farm Animal Welfare Council, FAWC (2009) has created an approach for animal welfare that is based upon ‘five freedoms’. All five freedoms have to be fulfilled in order to say the animal welfare is fulfilled, meaning that if one of these is not accomplished, the animal is living under conditions that could compromise its health (Fennell, 2013). For tourism products involving animals, the limit of tourists or labour cannot be to a limit that compromises animal welfare. The carrying capacity can in these activities be concluded as reached when the animal welfare is overlooked.

*Freedom from hunger and thirst* consists of free access to water, food and other basics that an animal need to sustain a good health (Fennell, 2013). Nicholas (2015-11-11) talks about a very important aspect in this matter- poverty. The poor farmers in the countryside do not have the possibility to feed their horses as they lack money to feed themselves. Some of the horses live with both hunger and thirst as a result of the unequal society. However, many horses more or less have free access to food since there are large fields with grass. There are also many rivers nearby which give access to water. The dry season makes it hard for the farmers to grow grass and feed the horses. The water in the rivers disappears, and dries out the waterfall that is the main attraction on the tours. During the dry season the warm weather and constant sun makes the amount of tourists’ arrivals higher, and the food for horses less. This equation does not match well with animal welfare. Some of the horses are not offered any water while
they wait at the entrance at the Nature Reserve, even though there is a river flowing just behind the area. Hunger is also visible when looking at the horses that are uses for the tours, they have visible ribs, small necks and small behinds where the bone structure is visible. The determination of ‘how skinny is too skinny?’ is complex.

The figure below (Fig. 1) is used to determine horses’ body scoring to answer the question of ‘what is too skinny’. Horse number 2-4 reach the acceptable limit of the body scoring. According to our estimation, most of the horses used on excursions in Trinidad are between number 1 and 2, thereby only some reach the conditions of a desirable body condition.

![Figure 1. Body Condition Scoring (adapted from Carroll C.L. and Huntington P.J., 1988, Body Condition Scoring and Weight Estimation of Horses)](image)

*Freedom from discomfort* clarifies the importance of appropriate and suitable environment, which consists of shelter and resting areas in the nearby area where horses stays (Fennell, 2013). The resting areas by the waterfall are in somewhat shade from the nearby trees. There is no shade in the other stops along the tour, the stops are various in length. Some stops are equal to the time it takes to order and eat a meal in a crowded restaurant. There is seldom shelter from the sun offered in the fields other than the natural shading from trees and other vegetation.

*Freedom from pain, injury or disease* refers to careful treatment and to prevent injuries (Fennell, 2013). The treatment from veterinarians should be carefully planned and
correctly executed. The empirical findings showed that the treatment of horses according to deworming and medicine are poor. When they are about to do treatments it is not unusual that veterinarians drink alcohol (Field note, 2015-10-25). The lack of medicine and knowledge makes the situation for the horses in Trinidad problematic. Many conditions are left untreated as a result, they leave horses suffering. As the Field note (2015-11-21) indicate, many of the animal owners treat their horses with techniques they learned themselves. The treatment of horses during the tours is causing pain for the horses. The beatings are unnecessary and causing pain for the animals. The equipment in some cases cause pain as it is in wrong size. Moreover, the access to buy equipment is such as saddles, hoof picks and medicine for animal are limited. Therefore are Cubans dependent on strong relations (Nicholas, 2015-10-11).

Pain can also be referred to how horses are treated during the excursion. As stated in the Field note (2015-11-27) horses sometimes have to carrying two persons each. This problematic since Cuban horses are generally very small. Horses are not able to carry two persons or even humans who weigh above average. In this case, horses suffer due to that some guides are very poor.

*Freedom to express normal behaviour* consists of proper facilities and space but also the possibility to move around with animals of the same kind (Fennell, 2013). The Cuban climate makes it possible for the animals to be outside overnight all year around. The spaces for the horses are big open field, this gives the possibility to move around and often among other horses. In this sense, the animal welfare is achieved in many of the observed cases.

*Freedom from fear and distress* refers to the mental well-being of the animal, this aspect is highly important for the overall well-being of the animal (Fennell, 2013). The lack of knowledge and consideration for the horse's natural behaviour has resulted in that guides are violent with the horses (Field note, 2015-11-29). This further result in stress and fear. The common option to be rough with the horses as punishment for disliked behaviours causes fearful horses that shy away from the handler. The perception is that if the horse is afraid of you, it respects you. This leads to already stressful situations handled with beatings causing more stress, as stated in the Field note (2015-11-10) the
horse is beaten if it behaves in a way that should be correct, the beating causes more stress and the outcome can be dangerous.

As a result, from applying the approach of five freedoms on the equestrian tours in Trinidad animal welfare is not achieved. There are remarks on four out of five criteria and thus the carrying capacity for the excursion has been reached, as they are not performed in a way that ensures animal welfare for the horses.

8.7 Safety reached through communication
Communication is essential for activities that involve a high level of participation such as rafting, climbing and equestrian tours. The safety and security aspects are highly important in activities with high involvement, since these activities concern a high risk of injury. Safety can only be reached through communication between the guide and clients (Buckley, 2010). Therefore, communication in relation to the tourism industry needs more attention. Buckley (2010) discusses the importance of language since there are many inexperienced tourists during excursions. Many clients do not have knowledge about the risk connected to the activities in which they participate. Tourists are often unfamiliar with the activities and do not know how to behave in unpredictable circumstances. Therefore, communication and language is essential to avoid injuries.

The problem in Trinidad regarding guides skills in language is described by Manuel (2015-10-29) and Ronaldo (2015-12-06), guides do not see advantages of practice language since the landscape overwhelm tourists. This mind-set and lack of education can results in problem, since the guides cannot communicate with their clients. Simply words like right and left could avoid that tourists’ rides into each other as well minimize the confusion when there is coming ongoing traffic. It is common that tourists do not understand the safety briefings due to communication problem and cultural differences in behaviour. There are some key issues that need to be fulfilled in order to deliver a safe excursion and good communication and thus avoid accident (Buckley, 2010).

Clarity and comprehension in the way instructions are given (Buckley, 2010). There are few guides in Trinidad who give their clients clear instructions of how to dress in a proper way during the excursions. As mentioned in the chapter ‘Safety’ (7.2) some tourists are riding in sandals without any protection of their feet. Without any
instructions to tourists about how to steer, move or stop the horse, the excursion start. During the excursions, tourists do not receive any instructions or commando about what to do if there is coming ongoing traffic. Moreover, there are no instructions about horses. As mentioned in chapter of ‘equestrian tourism’ (4) if horses get scared or feel threatened they quickly turn on their flight response and run. This can cause traumatic scene if tourist do not know what to do in situations like these.

*Value and appreciation* are how the guide communicates to tourists in a critical and dangerous situation (Buckley, 2010). As mentioned in Field note (2015-12-07) an old man miscalculated the danger by riding into plenty of other horses. The other horses started to kick against him. The guide did not say anything to the man, instead he started to hit the horse to move forward. Some of the guides laughed instead of communicate how to steer the horse. Value and appreciation was low due to the lack of communication.

*Language barriers* refer misunderstandings due to limited knowledge of languages (Buckley, 2010). Although none of the guides talk English due to lack of education and interest. They do not see the necessity to interact with tourists. This is problematic due to if an emergency arise. Language barriers can result in that initial safety briefings are misunderstood. This can further create tension between the client and the guide. Since the guides do not speak the language at all this can be considered to be as big as a language barrier possibly can get.

Guides need to make sure that clients have understood both the technical aspects such as how to steer and stop the horse, but also what to do if an emergency occur for example if the horse start to kick. Guides need to convince the tourists to be calm and relaxed in these situations. It can be problematic due to the differences in language and attitude to risk. The guides need to perform action in both non-verbal demonstration but also through modelling signals.
9 Looking Forward

In order to develop a sustainable tourism attraction or destination, the carrying capacity need to be considered into planning (Navarro et al., 2012). When the attraction carries more than it can handle the sustainability is compromised. World Tourism Organization, WTO, further emphasis that protected areas such as National Parks need to be carefully planned and monitored in order to ensure long-term sustainability (WTO, 2005). Tourism linked to protected areas can be a solution to contribute and improve destinations economic activities and development as it can increase destinations revenue. Rapid growth of tourism can have significant impacts on destinations resources and protected areas (Salerno, 2013). According to Hall (2008) tourism, planning is essential for destinations development. In order to ensure a sustainable development, planning, regulation and education is required (Lee et al., 2013). Impacts can be of various extents, dependent if there is a regional development or planning perspective it can change the way of life for those living in the countryside (Saarinen & Lenao, 2014). People involved in tourism industry need to be aware and attentive to changes in the environment in order to see what is an acceptable level of change in relation to natural conditions (Lindberg, McCool & Stankey, 1997; McCool & Lime, 2001; Prato, 2001).

In order to sustain the tours on the trails and by the waterfall there is a need for planning for sustainability. Limitations need to be made with the nature as the starting point for determining the regulations (Prato, 2001). People involved in the tourism sector need to adopt the carrying capacity into planning (Navarro et al., 2012; Salerno, 2013). Lee et al. (2013) state that tourism can have several impacts as the infrastructure and resource demand have to be modified and improved in these areas. If not managed properly the surrounding environment and local communities will suffer large impacts. Our empirical findings show that the government have not adapted and improved the infrastructure that can cause unnecessary accidents. Infrastructure, safe trails and surroundings are essential for equestrian excursions and further development, since hundreds of tourists daily participates in equestrian excursions and generates an important income. Due to the lack of planning with the area's carrying capacity in mind, the environmental aspects of the excursion have reached its carrying capacity. Rapid growth of tourism had led to negative environmental impacts on the in the Valley de los
Ingenios. The carrying capacity exceeds limit both in both physical as well perceptual carrying capacity. In order to take control and prevent negative impacts for the future the perspective needs to be switched into an environmental perspective.

9.1 Development of industry coordination mechanism
Development of an industry coordination mechanism is a way of getting stakeholders in tourism industry to cooperate and follow common goals. The stakeholders can present their interests and by coordination, common goals and codes of conduct can be established. Coordination of planning gets stakeholders to talk to each other and develop relationships. Government involvement in the development of such mechanisms is highly significant in creating structure and encourages coordination (Hall, 2008). The UNESCO world heritage site in Trinidad is well preserved through regulations from the government. The areas around the heritage site in the valley de los Ingenios however not as well preserved as a consequence from the rapid growth of equestrian excursions. The excursions need to be included in the plan for protection of the Valley de los Ingenios through development of cooperation mechanism including the equestrian excursions. Guidelines need to be established to protect the area, keeping the trails from falling apart by organising the excursions. Common and simple guidelines for the daily operation of the excursions with the environment in mind should be one of the aims of this mechanism. The development of such cooperation in Trinidad could open up to the opportunity of cooperation and common direction. When people work together the goals are more likely to be fulfilled. Awareness of others interests in the business can enlighten on the fact the environmental sustainability of the area is a necessary factor in the future of the equestrian tourism in Trinidad, they are highly dependent on the beautiful nature scenery of the Valley.

As described by Hall (2008) community-based planning can be one way to create structure and provide a long-term perspective for the future development. One essential criteria to reach a sustainable development is to incorporate the principles into planning and process. It should be clear that all actors need to be involved when the processes of integration tourism to the rural areas take place. A vital aspect in the cooperative and integrated control system is to ensure that the relationship provide an understanding between all the stakeholders and thus reduce uncertainties, in order to agree to planning
directions and goals. Although, the cooperative planning process is still needed due to ensure that the outputs are met.

The coordination of mechanism indicates that collaboration is of greater importance due to those stakeholders’ works towards the same goal. One possible way to reach a common goal is to conduct a code of conduct, which moreover can function as a guideline for those stakeholders who are involved in the process. This enables stakeholders to discuss and create effective partnerships (Hall, 2008).

Regard to the equestrian tourism in Trinidad, there is a need to improve the relationships and partnerships between the guides and the government.

**9.2 Producer Awareness**

People who provide tourism products in rural areas often have low entry barriers. The education level in these regions usually is low. This has resulted that hobby business is a common activity in rural areas since it generates a doable income. Without any pre-knowledge and education, the tourism products can be a risk activity due to low quality and safety (Grönroos, 2000). In order to improve tourism products and make it more sustainable, regulatory approaches are essential. Through producer awareness and education, the producer of the products can seek benefits within a certain market (Hall, 2008). Grönroos (2000) emphasis that skills and knowledge are two important aspects in order to provide a tourism product with quality. In order to make the products more environmentally friendly, producers need to be more aware of the development (Hall, 2008). To reach the goal, all stakeholders need to work toward the same goal that can be achieved through establishing a code of conduct. This results in that all stakeholders’ works into the same direction. The professionalism is essential in tourism products since knowledge and skills are a prerequisite to solve problems in a professional manner (Grönroos, 2000). The equestrian tourism is in some way a hobby business that lack professionalism and safety.

This can be related both to the horse’s welfare and to the guides’ lack of professionalism during the excursions. In order to improve the quality of both horses’ welfare and safety, the implementations of regulations are required. As Ronaldo (2015-11-29) mentioned, in order to improve the horse's welfare the guides need to be aware
of horses’ natural behaviour. Currently there is no organisation or institution that set the rules. He further mentioned the importance of implement a program where guides can learn to think of the horses as something big is essential since the treatment of the horses are below an acceptable level.

There are a few regulations related to the equestrian tourism. As mentioned previously, in theory there might be some regulations, the problem is that these regulations do not work in practice (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29). This relates to both horses’ conditions but also the license the guides’ permits when working legally with excursions. Since there are no controls the guides can continue with the business and problems remains. As Ronaldo (2015-11-29) previous claimed, the only solution to this problem lies in the hand of the government. The government or any other equestrian organisation need to provide the tools for farmers to create a sustainable development. Since some people who enter the equestrian tourism are often poor, they use the measurements they have, in this case the horses are the tool to get an income. Even if the horse conditions are not fulfilled, horses are used in the tourism industry. Without any knowledge about horses’ natural behaviour, the guides cannot see any limitation of acceptable levels of horses’ conditions.

In order to reach a sustainable development an integrative approach are determined. The guides and the government need to work close to each other and one solution might be to implement a code of conduct that includes horses’ welfare and safety aspects such as instructions on the excursions. If guides had the possibility to enter, any education it could decreased dangerous situations during the excursions. Currently the lack of language is of immense significance. In order to make the excursions safer the guides need to improve their language. This can easily be done by implementation of a program that consists of a weekend education where they get the possibilities to learn the basics such as, right, left forward and stop. By these words, they can reduce uncertainties and take control when there is coming ongoing traffic.

9.3 Animal welfare
It is argued that animal rights need to be considered since the rights of animals in the future may have a further impact on tourism products and development (Fennell, 2014). There is a need to improve the welfare for the working animals in developing countries,
as they are so important for their owners’ survival (Brooke, 2015). With this in mind, the investments in animal welfare are essential for the well-being of the community. This important learning needs to take in consideration from governments. Tourism is a vital aspect in eliminating poverty due to its proven abilities to be a tool for socio-economic development (Hall, 2008). Fennell clarify the problem when such a large part as animals is missing in the debate of sustainability in the Global Code of Ethics.

“We fail as a field when our “frame of reference”, our touchstone of who we are and how we are seen by those inside and outside the field, is not inclusive or protective of those beings who, by virtue of their involvement as workers (unwilling as they may be), are an important part of the fabric of the tourism industry whether we choose to acknowledge it or not” (Fennell, 2014: 991).

When the tourism product used for this purpose in including animals, the planning and regulations of tourism has to with the consideration to animal welfare. Horses suffer due to no controls about the horse's conditions and welfare. The lack of knowledge about animals’ welfare can sometimes result in dangerous excursions due the horses’ poor condition.

In tourism, animals play a huge role in the making of some of our most important tourism products. In regards to equestrian excursions the animal welfare are essential, the consequences of lacks in animal welfare is a potential threat to safety for both animals and humans. The need for animal welfare in tourism is needed both in a long-term and immediate perspective.

Long-term animal welfare will only be achieved when the community see the need for that change (Brooke, 2013). In order to achieve animal welfare the underlying problems needs to be solved. Therefore one of the vital solutions in reaching animal welfare is to work together with the communities. As stated by Elena (2015-10-23) the Cuban life is difficult and therefore they tend not to think about the future. One consequence of poverty is the lack of future perspective, as the focus is to survive the day; this is the primary focus instead of long-term planning. Education and integrating with the community is necessary to make them see the benefits for themselves, not just create
another set of rules to follow. As the guide see the improvements in how he can work with his horse, he will certainly tell others and the approaches will spread through the community. Numerous guides do not have any future perspective and do not see the consequences of their actions and misuse of their horses. While the ones who do, do not have the possibility to care for the horse and still make a profit. Farmers are very poor and do not have enough money care for both their family and horses. It is a conflict because the guides need money to support their family and in these situations the horses suffer. Therefore, there is a need to ensure that the care for horse do not come at the cost of quality by making equipment affordable and accessible.

The attitude to the horse is one vital part, the horse need to be treated with love and care for the important work it does. The guides attitudes and expectations to behave as macho also need to be separated from being cruel to the horse. As the awareness for animal welfare is integrated in the community, it will also have an effect in the underlying attitudes creating some of the problems. As well as solving the long-term goals, there is a need for solving the more direct problems in assisting with first aid. There needs improvements in regards to medicine and equipment for the horses, and the guides need to learn how to identify and treat signs of sickness.

The perception that if the horse respects you if it is afraid of you need to change. This perception is associated to the macho image of the cowboy (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29) that is connected to the traditional meaning of the word; the man as something aggressive and overly masculine (Dictionary, 2016). In some countries, such as Sweden, the perception on how the rider should behave has changed as the caring for the horse gets more integrated in the community (Hedenborg, 2015). The human-horse relationship is related to how the rider is supposed to behave (Birke & Brandt, 2009). By integrating animal welfare into the community and education on how to care for the horse, the appreciation for the animal will increase. By educating the guides in how to care for the horse and thereby integrating the animal welfare into the community the social perception on how the rider is supposed to behave might change over time.
10 Reaching the Goal

Implementation of regulations in the tourism industry in Trinidad has been few due to tourism is associated with economic benefits. Without any limitation the equestrian business grew fast and in current time this activity are faces some problems due to the lack of regulations. Cuba is a wonderful country; there is a reason why so many tourists dream about going there. Many Cubans dream of working with tourism as it is a way to a better life. Many farmers have entered the tourism industry through the new opportunity of equestrian excursions. They take something they already have and use it a new way, the horse used in agriculture is now a link to the important hard currency tourists bring. The rapid growth of excursions has led to reaching of the reaching of various carrying capacities and at the cost of animal welfare. The problems identified in during time in field have been presented and the following is the concluding need for future actions in order to sustain the activities that have been proven to be essential for the lives of many.

Environmental aspects have included carrying capacity being reached in the stops along the excursions. The physical carrying capacity is reached as the trails are falling apart from the impact of horses. It has also reached it limits at the waterfall where there is no space for tourists to sit or walk in. Carrying capacity for the attractions needs to be integrated in the planning process in order to sustain the activity in the future. The carrying capacity has also been reached in regards to psychological capacity, as there are many factors in the excursions influencing the perceived level of safety. The heavy traffic is something that influences the feeling of being safe, as tourists have no control over their horse walking straight into ongoing traffic. To reach the goals of a sustainable and safe environment there is a need for development of an industry coordinating mechanism. By coordination and a common direction, goals of not exceeding the carrying capacity are more likely to be fulfilled. The coordination mechanism would have to aim in improving the relationship between the guides and the government and establish a common direction.

In regards to communication with the tourists, the most crucial factors are the lack of instructions on how to control the horse, language barriers and how to instruct the tourist in what equipment they should use. The low entry barriers into entering the
business are low and there are professionals missing from the excursions. Equestrian excursions are a high-risk activity and therefore quality controls needs to be implemented in order to ensure that safety is fulfilled. There is a need for raising producer awareness in regards to the risks related to horses and organising excursions. Producer awareness can be reached in education for the guides in what the risks are and how to handle them. In order for them to be able to use the skills and make sure the tourist understand the safety briefings education in English is necessary to overcome the language barrier. The way the guides treat their horses and the conditions of the horses can also ruin the experience of the tourists. This due to the tourists’ expectation of idyllic gaze of the landscape, with its nature and picturesque landscape.

Problems relating to the horses are foremost health issues, beatings and lack of consideration of the horse's natural behaviour. By applying the ‘five freedoms’ to the equestrian excursions it was clear that the animal welfare has been compromised. The solution to this problem is also complex as it relates to the elimination of poverty in order to fully solve the underlying elements of the problem. Animal welfare needs to be integrated in the community, in both long-term and immediate actions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Critical factors identified in animals welfare and safety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowded attractions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestions of actions regard to animals welfare and safety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning for carrying capacity &amp; industry coordination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table, 2. Suggestions of actions.

Even if the problems and solutions are presented separately here, they are related. The excursions cannot function if one of these issues are overlooked. They are all smaller
parts from the bigger picture of a sustainable and beneficial future for both humans and animals. The horse is so important for the well-being of this community, it is our hope that there are actions taken in order to ensure welfare for the animals. To give them appreciation for the improvements they contribute to in the community. “They don’t ask for money, we can’t pay the horses with money, how we can pay them for the help for the use we get from them is through love” (Ronaldo, 2015-11-29). The horse is a wonderful animal with much to teach, we just have to be willing to learn.
References
Beeton, S 1999, 'Hoofing It – On Four or Two Feet? Managing Multi-use Trails and Sites', Current Issues In Tourism, 2, 2/3, p. 211.
Butcher, J 2014, 'Is there a case for revising the UNWTO's Global Code of Ethics to include a new article on the ethical treatment of animals by the tourism industry? A response to the opinion piece by David Fennell', Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 22, 7, pp. 997-1002.
Carroll C.L. and Huntington P.J., 1988, Body Condition Scoring and Weight Estimation of Horses.


Kiernan, K 2013, 'The Nature Conservation, Geotourism and Poverty Reduction Nexus in Developing Countries: A Case Study from the Lao PDR', Geoheritage, 5, 3, p. 207.


# Appendices

## Appendix A – List of participant observations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151015</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Woman in store</td>
<td>Havanna, Harolds</td>
<td>Begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151016</td>
<td>14.00-16.00</td>
<td>Driver in white</td>
<td>Havanna, City tour</td>
<td>Guided tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151017</td>
<td>09.00-11.00</td>
<td>Carlo</td>
<td>Havanna, busstation</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151017</td>
<td>16.45-17.15</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Trinidad, Busstation</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151017</td>
<td>17.15-19.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Tr. Casa H, Courtyard</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151018</td>
<td>11.00-13.00</td>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Sales of Tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full Day</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Mapping of area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151018</td>
<td>10.00-11.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Tr. Architectural museum</td>
<td>Guided Tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151021</td>
<td>09.00-10.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Tr. Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151021</td>
<td>10.00-16.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Valle de los Ingenios</td>
<td>Equestrian excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151021</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>Waterfall</td>
<td>Equestrian Excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151021</td>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>Tourists and guide, Manuel</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>Equestrian excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151021</td>
<td>19.00-20.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151022</td>
<td>09.00-13.00</td>
<td>Manuel &amp; Ismael</td>
<td>San Isidro de los Destiladeros</td>
<td>Guided tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151022</td>
<td>19.00-20.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151023</td>
<td>09.00-15.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>El Cubano</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151024</td>
<td>14.00-15.00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Way back to Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Equestrian excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151025</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Way back to Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Horse and carriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151025</td>
<td>16.00-18.00</td>
<td>Manuel, Veterinary, Workes</td>
<td>Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Vaccination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151026</td>
<td>09.00-10.00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151026</td>
<td>15.00-16.00</td>
<td>Manuel &amp; Tourists</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151026</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Way to Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Equestrian excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151027</td>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Manuel &amp; farrier</td>
<td>Sugar plantation</td>
<td>Zorros shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151027</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151027</td>
<td>20:00-20:30</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151028</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Manuel &amp; worker</td>
<td>Finca Paradiso</td>
<td>Way back to Tri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151029</td>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Cespedes Park</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151102</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Trinidad Busstation</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151102</td>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>Nicholas, Maria, Rosa</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Checking in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151102</td>
<td>19:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151103</td>
<td>19:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151104</td>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151105</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151106</td>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151107</td>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151107</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151107</td>
<td>21:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa de la musica</td>
<td>Out for a drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151109</td>
<td>08:00-10:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Lesson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151109</td>
<td>10:30-11:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas,</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151109</td>
<td>11:00-12:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Project site</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151110</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151110</td>
<td>09:00-13:00</td>
<td>Guides &amp; Cowboys</td>
<td>Valle de los Ingenios</td>
<td>Horsebackriding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151111</td>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151112</td>
<td>07:00-09:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Phototour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151112</td>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>Nicholas family</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151112</td>
<td>14:00-15:30</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151112</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151112</td>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151113</td>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Manuel &amp; Cousin</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151113</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151113</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Nicholas wife and child</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Meeting in town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151114</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151114</td>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151118</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151120</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151121</td>
<td>09:00-11:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Farm, La Pastora</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151121</td>
<td>13:00-15:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151123</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151123</td>
<td>09:00-10:30</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Equestrian excursion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151125</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151125</td>
<td>18:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151125</td>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Casa Victor</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151126</td>
<td>08:00-15:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Valley de los Ingenios</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151127</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>Casa Victor</td>
<td>Attempt to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151127</td>
<td>08:00-15:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Pillon</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151127</td>
<td>16:00-17:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Phototour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151128</td>
<td>08:00-15:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Topes de Collantes</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151129</td>
<td>20:30-21:30</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Casa Victor</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151202</td>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>Oscar and Angela</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151202</td>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151202</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151203</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151204</td>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151204</td>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151204</td>
<td>11:30-12:30</td>
<td>Oscar &amp; Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Kenia</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Kenia</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Mountain Paradiso</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Coffeeshop</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Waterfall</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>12:00-13:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Waterfall</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Resturante</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>14:15</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Resturante</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>14:15</td>
<td>Marco</td>
<td>Resturante</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>S&amp;K</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Kenia</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151205</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151206</td>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151206</td>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>Exit point</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Riding away</td>
<td>Horse back riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Woods</td>
<td>Horse back riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>12:30-14:30</td>
<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Resturante</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Leaving Restaurant</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>Old man &amp; Guides</td>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151207</td>
<td>15:30-17:00</td>
<td>Alfonso &amp; Guides</td>
<td>Way back</td>
<td>Equestrian excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151209</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>Viazul bus</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B – List of Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151023</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Sofia and Niva</td>
<td>El Cubano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151023</td>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Elena</td>
<td>Paradiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151024</td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Juan and Ricardo</td>
<td>Waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151024</td>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151029</td>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151111</td>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>Casa Nicholas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151129</td>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>Ronaldo</td>
<td>Casa Oscar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>