

ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN TOURISM  
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

# Tourism and Ethnodevelopment

Inclusion, Empowerment  
and Self-determination

Edited by  
Ismar Borges de Lima and Victor T. King



# Tourism and Ethnodevelopment

Ethnodevelopment is a well-established concept in the field of development studies. Despite its relevance to tourism initiatives and processes in the Global South, it continues to be an underutilised concept in the field.

This book bridges this gap, presenting an original conceptual framework to study the relationship between tourism and ethnodevelopment. It focuses on the processes of inclusion, empowerment, self-expression and self-determination to explore the effects of tourism initiatives on the identities, cultural resilience, livelihoods and economic opportunities of ethnic minority communities. Chapters explore a range of concepts and issues such as gender, authenticity, indigenous knowledge, tradition, the commodification of culture, community-based tourism, local entrepreneurship, cultural heritage, and tourism and the environment. Drawing on rich primary research conducted across South East Asia and South and Central America the book offers detailed evaluations of the successes and failures of various tourism policies and practices.

This book makes a valuable contribution for students, scholars, practitioners and policy-makers alike interested in tourism, development studies, geography and anthropology.

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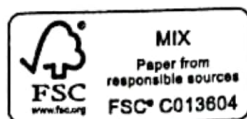
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# Abbreviations

ABIPA	Pataxó Indigenous Buggy Conductors Association of Barra Velha
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIEST	International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEC	Ecuadorian Ecotourism Association
BEST	Business Enterprises for Sustainable Travel
BEST EN	Building Excellence for Sustainable Tourism – an Education Network
BEV	Ecuadorian Housing Bank
CANARI	Caribbean Natural Resources Institute
CAUTHE	Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education
CBET	Community-based Ecotourism
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CBT-I	Community-Based Tourism Institute (former TVS-REST: Thailand Volunteer Service – Responsible Ecological Social Tours Project)
CDD	Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior
CDI	Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples – a Mexican Agency of the Federal Public Administration.
CEI	Centre for Environmental Interpretation
CFN	National Financial Corporation
CODENPE	Council for the Development of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador
CODESPA	Foundation for Cooperation in Development and Promotion of Assistance Activities
CONAIE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
CU	Conservation Unit (a Protected Area)
DADE	Department of Support to the Development of Tourism Resorts of the State of São Paulo
DCCED	Dirección de Capacitación de Cuadros y Estudios de Dirección

DED	German Development Service
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DICT	Department of Information, Culture and Tourism (Laos)
DNP	Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (Thailand)
DOT	Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Sports
EE	Environmental Education
ENCORE	Environmental and Coastal Resources Project
FIT	Free Independent Traveller; Free Independent Tour; Foreign Independent Tour; Foreign Individual Travel; Fully Independent Traveller
FOSIS	Social and Solidarity Investment Fund
FUNAI	Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Foundation for Indigenous People)
GMS-STDP	Greater Mekong Subregion – Sustainable Tourism Development Project
GPT	Gros Piton Tours
GPTGA	Gros Piton Tours Guide Association
GRDP	Gross Regional Domestic Product
IBAMA	Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Non-Renewable Resources
IBDF	Brazilian Institute for Forest Defense
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
I-CBT	Indigenous Community-Based Tourism
ICMBio	Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEPÉ	Instituto de Pesquisa e Formação Indígena (Brazilian Institute for Research and Indigenous Capacity Building)
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IL	Indigenous Land
ILO	International Labour Organization
IN	Normative Instruction
INI	National Indigenous Institute
IPHAN	Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Brazilian Institute for National Historic and Artistic Heritage)
IR	Indigenous Reserve
IWG	Interministerial Working Group
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KCC	Khiriwong Cooperative Center
KEC	Khiriwong Ecotourism Club

LBE	<i>La Barra Espaciadora</i>
LNTA	National Tourism Administration of Lao
MAE	Ministry of the Environment
MIES	Ministry of Social Welfare, now Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion
MINTUR	Ministerio de Turismo (Ministry of Tourism)
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MLC	Migrant Learning Centre
MMA	Ministério do Meio Ambiente (Ministry for the Environment)
MOP	Ministry of Public Works
MOTS	Ministry of Tourism and Sports
MPO-BID	Ministry of Public Works and Inter-American Band
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board
NESDP	National Economic and Social Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NPA	Natural Protected Areas
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIT	Organização Internacional do Trabalho (ILO)
OTOP	One Tambon One Product
OVC	OTOP Village Champion
OVOP	One Village One Product
PA	Preservation Area /Protected Area
PATA	Pacific Asia Travel Association
PCU	Project Coordination Unit
PKKNPA	Phou Khao Khouay National Protected Area
PMA	Pitons Management Area
PMDB	Brazilian Social Democratic Movement Party
PNGATI	National Policy for Environmental and Territorial Management of Indigenous Lands
PNHMP	Monte Pascoal National Heritage Park
PPD	GEF Small Grants Programme
PPG	Pro-Poor Growth
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PTAZI	Programme for Alternative Tourism in Indigenous Zones
PTT	PTT Public Company Limited
RESEX	Extractive Reserves (one of the Brazilian categories for Protected Area)
RFD	Royal Forest Department
RRCAP	Regional Resource Centre for Asia and the Pacific
SAO/TAO	Subdistrict ( <i>Tambon</i> ) Council and Subdistrict ( <i>Tambon</i> ) Administration Organisation
SD	Sustainable Development
SEP	Sufficiency Economy Philosophy

SI	Social Intervention
SRDF	Soufrière Regional Development Foundation
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty
STM	Short-Term Mission
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand - Ministry of Tourism and Sports
T-BSDI	Tourism-Based Sustainable Development Intervention
THB	Thai Baht (Thai currency)
TI	Terra Indígena (Indigenous Land – IL)
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
TVS-REST	Thai Volunteer Service – Responsible Ecological Social Tours Project
UC	Unidade de Conservação (Conservation Unit/ Protected Area Unit)
UN	United Nations
UNAM	National Autonomous University of Mexico
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund (World Wide Fund for Nature)

## 9 Understanding the host community's experiences of creating small autochthonous tourism enterprises in Lombok, Indonesia

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### **Introduction**

Tourism is seen as a panacea for many developing destinations. However, development within these destinations is fraught with challenges and external influence that may impede host communities' support for tourism. Scheyvens (2002a) argues that in developing countries host communities need to be encouraged to actively engage in tourism development. 'Ethnodevelopment builds on the positive qualities of Indigenous culture and societies to promote local employment and growth' (Van Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000: 1). One way to directly involve host communities in ethnodevelopment is through tourism entrepreneurship (Kamsma and Bras 2000; Timothy 1999), for example by providing opportunities for the host communities to start their own small tourist enterprises (Hampton 2005; Scheyvens 2002b). However, the emergence of local small tourism enterprises is reliant on the willingness of the host communities to proceed and transform the local resources into products and services to meet the tourist's needs.

This book chapter explores the issues of ethnodevelopment in Indigenous tourism entrepreneurship on Lombok, Indonesia. The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, to highlight the opportunities and barriers to ethnodevelopment of small-scale tourism entrepreneurship within five local communities of Lombok. And second, it seeks to understand the factors influencing entrepreneurial culture for small-scale Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs. These findings, while unique to the research setting, have broader lessons for ethnodevelopment in tourism entrepreneurship in other developing countries.

### **Entrepreneurship, ethnodevelopment and tourism**

To date, there is no single definition for entrepreneurship. The lack of consensus on defining entrepreneurship relates to the disparate discipline features and focus (Simeh 2011). However, key definitions of entrepreneurship are centred on creating or developing a business activity that aims to fulfil the needs of an

evolving market and is adaptive to future opportunities for advancement (Sharma *et al.* 1996). Regardless of the diverse definitions of entrepreneurship, Shane and Venkataraman (2000) assert that entrepreneurship requires the presence of two essential elements: entrepreneurial opportunity and a prospective entrepreneur whereas Koh argues that tourism entrepreneurship is different from general entrepreneurship. Specifically, Koh (2002) notes that tourism entrepreneurship differs in terms of product characteristic, the expertise needed and the market system.

Within the ethnodevelopment literature, entrepreneurship is 'thought to lead ethnically structured enterprises and production into 'steady income sources' and 'long-lasting financial autonomy', so those pertinent groups are financially enabled to govern their business initiatives' (de Lima *et al.* 2016: 17). The empowerment of Indigenous peoples for long-term community development and income generation is seen as central to ethnodevelopment.

Engaging Indigenous people in the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities to generate income is one way that fulfils ethnodevelopment objectives. Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs play important roles in the allocation of innate resources, the integration and transformation of those resources into the creation of a tourist attraction, and tourism promotion. In other words, entrepreneurs can establish a thriving local tourism destination that will contribute socio-economic benefit to the community (Koh 2002). At the same time, the tourism business can become an important ingredient in the tourism pull factor that is one of the factors attracting tourists to visit a tourist destination.

Locally established tourism enterprises also play a critical role in the distribution of the economic benefits to other local people (Kokkranikal and Morrison 2011; Page *et al.* 1999; Ryan *et al.* 2012; Thompson 2004). These local enterprises also limit the potential economic leakage from tourism activities (Kokkranikal and Morrison 2011; Scheyvens 2002b), as the money is redistributed within the local economy. Harrison and Schipani (2007) point out that most locally owned tourism enterprises, such as hotels and restaurants, meet their customers' needs with products (e.g. fruits, vegetables, and meat) purchased locally. Likewise, tour operators and tour agencies help to promote local products and services, such as local restaurants and the sale of locally produced art and souvenirs, to the tourists.

However, local tourism development and entrepreneurship is largely dependent on the host community. The importance of the host communities' participation has been widely discussed in the literature, for example: how host community members participate in tourism; what factors influence their participation; and what approaches facilitate positive involvement of community members in tourism development. Thus engaging the host community in tourism through ethnodevelopment and Indigenous entrepreneurship requires an understanding of the tourism entrepreneurial process, as well as the attitudes of the host community towards the entrepreneurial activities in tourism. Our research seeks to fulfil this gap by examining the entrepreneurial culture on Lombok, Indonesia facilitating or inhibiting Indigenous entrepreneurs within the tourism industry.



**Research setting: Lombok, Indonesia**

Lombok is an island within Indonesia that lies between three main tourist destinations (Bali in the West, Tana Toraja, Sulawesi in the North and Komodo in the East). The island is surrounded by beautiful beaches, crystal clear water and colourful marine life, making them ideal for tourist marine activities. Tourism development on Lombok has formally developed in the late 1980s when the first three-star hotel, Senggigi Beach Hotel, was built. Since then, tourism and agriculture have become the two most important sectors in Lombok's economy. The increasing contribution of the tourism sector to Lombok's gross regional domestic product (GRDP) indicates the growing importance of the tourism industry for Lombok's future economic growth.

Historically, the development of the tourism industry on Lombok is characterised by a lack of local people's involvement. The lack of involvement during the first decade of tourism development was evident by the low number of local people working in the industry, especially in hotels, restaurants and travel agents. Changes in Indonesian political policies since 1997 have brought a more supportive environment to the growth of micro-scale tourism businesses (Hampton 2005), particularly on Lombok (Fallon 2003). Nevertheless, several factors still challenge the engagement of the host community in small-scale tourism entrepreneurship.

Saufi's study of 2008 reported that, despite the host communities eagerness to participate in tourism development, they were still poorly engaged. This lack of participation was limited by the poor work performance of the government officials, as well as the lack of communication about entrepreneurial tourism opportunities. Moreover, many of the local resources, particularly land, have been speculatively acquired by outsiders who have little commitment to the well-being of the local economy. The outsider's speculation has caused a delay in tourism development on Lombok and distrust of tourism development from within the community (Fallon 2001). Additionally, social unrest and riots in the early 2000s reflected local people's uncertainty around fragmented plans for the island's tourism (Fallon 2003), as well as a lack of confidence among local tourism stakeholders. These events significantly impacted on the development of the tourism industry on Lombok.

Schellhorn (2010) added that, despite tourism growth in a village close to Rinjani National Park, Lombok, the local villagers responded passively to the obvious opportunities for tourism entrepreneurship. Schellhorn identified nine barriers to local tourism participation in the village including: culture, education, ethnicity, gender, political/historical background, location, socio-economic factors, mobility and tourism skill/knowledge. On the other hand, Saufi *et al.* (2014) discovered three factors hindering host community participation on Lombok, which ultimately influences the engagement process through small-scale entrepreneurship. These three factors were: poor work performance of tourism agencies, a lack of support from the private sector, and cultural limitation or host communities' lack of tourism knowledge. As a consequence, host

community members are unaware of the island's tourism development potential and fail to engage in the tourism industry sector (Saufi 2008; Schellhorn 2010). Understanding the barriers to local people's participation can help authorities to develop appropriate policy and strategy to encourage small-scale tourism entrepreneurship within the host community members.

### Methodology

The research adopted an Indigenous ethnographic qualitative research approach. Indigenous ethnography is an inquiry into the culture of a community, whereby the inquiry is conducted by a member of the community (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008). This is particularly pertinent to enable the ethnodevelopment perspective from those who are experiencing the phenomenon to be heard. In-depth interviews were conducted across five communities in Lombok. The five villages were chosen as they represented the main tourist destinations where the majority of tourism enterprises were located in Lombok. Figures 9.1. and 9.2 show some types of autochthonous business managed by locals in Lombok.

Purposive and snowball sampling to recruit research participants was undertaken. Firstly, purposive sampling identified individuals who were: (1) Indigenous entrepreneurs; (2) owned a tourism enterprise; (3) with a maximum of 50 employees (Storey and Greene 2010); and (4) had been established for at least 42 months (McGehee and Kline 2008). These sampling conditions enabled the

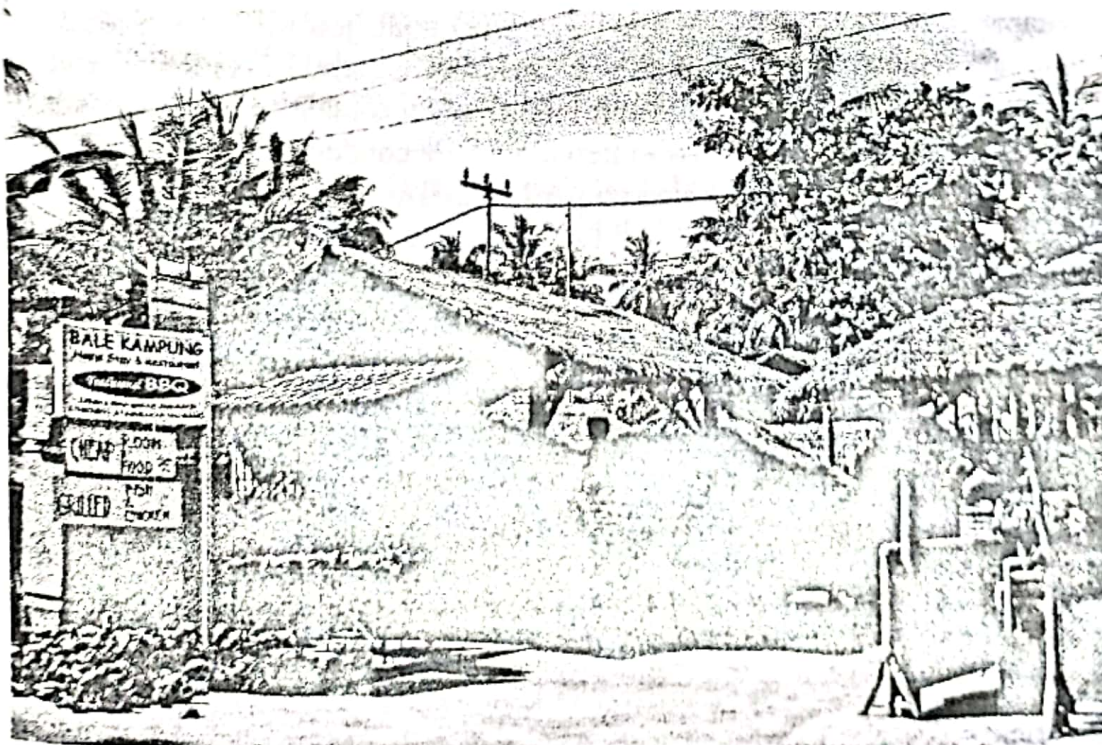


Figure 9.1 Local homestay and restaurant at Senggigi.

Source: Author.



*Figure 9.2* Selling activity at Sade Village.  
Source: Author.

participants to have experienced the entrepreneurial journey and process. Secondly, a snowball sampling approach enabled these initial participants to provide further contacts who fulfilled the criteria. In total 27 interviews with 21 participants were undertaken. Two interviews were conducted with six participants who had additional information on particular issues that emerged after the first interview.

The interviews were conducted in Sasak (the local language) and lasted between 30 minutes and two hours. This method encouraged the participants to express their beliefs, opinions and experiences and enabled the Indigenous stories to emerge. Interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim and pseudonyms assigned and then analysed and coded in NVivo. An open and axial coding process identified 53 emergent themes which were condensed into 15 primary concepts and three lower-order concepts. These themes, concepts and orders provide an overview of the entrepreneurial process that Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs journey through. This chapter presents the results for one of these themes, that of entrepreneurial culture.

### *Results*

Entrepreneurship is dependent upon the entrepreneurial culture, which enables or otherwise the support for ethnodevelopment and entrepreneurial activities within

a society. Entrepreneurial culture results from the interconnectivity between individuals, and between the tourism entrepreneurs and their environment, at the local, national and international levels, within a period of time. Entrepreneurial culture is also influenced by the micro and macro conditions of the tourism industry sector. Micro conditions are associated with the immediate conditions that the Indigenous entrepreneurs encounter in their daily tourism entrepreneurial activities. Macro conditions are related to specific conditions of the tourism industry sector in Lombok, namely the social and political conditions at the local, national and international level. When combined these factors shape the individual's perspective on ethnodevelopment and entrepreneurship, as well as the relationships between entrepreneurs and their environment.

Entrepreneurial culture is characterised by a set of problems that continuously threaten the success of the entrepreneurial process. The problems, incorporated into five major categories, of these three categories were influenced by micro conditions (*stereotypes of tourist and locality status, destructive competition and lack of encouragement*) and two categories were influenced by macro conditions (*decentralised government and security issues*). The results will report on the observations and discussions relating to each of these five major categories.

#### ***Micro conditions influencing entrepreneurial culture***

Many local Lombok people have a long established negative perception about tourists and those who work within the tourism sector (Fallon 2001, 2003; Saufi 2008; Saufi *et al.* 2014; Schellhorn 2010). It was perceived by many locals that tourism workers were polluted by Western attitudes and behaviours, and were being disrespectful of their society. An online tour operator in Senggigi stated:

After I had graduated from my college, I was banned from working in tourism by my parents. They perceived that if I was to work in tourism I would do negative things with female tourists. I finally stopped and have worked odd jobs ever since ... My parents just did not allow me to work in tourism regardless of my two years of tourism education ... If you live in a remote village, you get to listen to what others say about you. There is more to hear than to see in the village ... Our neighbours told my parents that people who work for tourists were inhospitable towards our culture. They perceived that people who worked for tourists had loose sexual morals. They slept with female tourists even though they were not married. My people believed in such a stereotype ... I could not do anything about my wish to work in the tourism industry until I got married in 1992. After that, my parents had no reason to forbid me from working in tourism anymore. (Basar)

As a result of such a stereotypical attitude, many local people, particularly the young and single, are discouraged from pursuing a career in tourism. This is because the Lombok people (the Sasaks) live communally, their way of

thinking influenced by the common values adopted by the community. If the community perceives tourism negatively, then the community members respect this trend and avoid working in the tourism industry. These community perspectives influenced the willingness of locals to engage in tourism entrepreneurial activities and to attract and retain high-quality staff to work in this industry sector.

There was an additional stereotypical attitude among locals that tourists were wealthy and generous Westerners, with strong buying power that created differential tourist pricing. As one respondent noted:

I mean local people still perceive that every tourist has much money ... there is still much annoying behaviour directed towards the tourists and towards us, the tourism providers. (Leo)

This led to a number of situations where tourists and entrepreneurs became the victims of crime. These perceptions have also facilitated a secondary category of entrepreneur with the emergence of street vendors. The street vendors' lack of knowledge about positive selling techniques may result in their becoming aggressive towards tourists. The street vendors' perceptions that tour operators and tour guides inhibit their efforts to make sales from the tourists can result in their inappropriate behaviour towards these gatekeepers.

Another key finding of the research was where the entrepreneur originated from. The villagers call non-local entrepreneurs *pengusaha luar*, meaning that the entrepreneurs were not born in the village or location where they established their business. As one participant commented:

I got very little support, except from pottery producers. Other art shop owners looked upon me as an outsider at that time. When I just started my art shop, my materials were stolen three times, and my fence was pushed over twice within a week. I was also gossiped about maliciously ... (Husein)

This was despite Husein being an Indigenous Sasak entrepreneur, the level of 'locality' being defined by the villagers at the village level. The non-local entrepreneur stereotype is similarly exploited by local entrepreneurs to control local resources in order to compete more effectively against non-local entrepreneurs. Therefore it is difficult for non-local entrepreneurs to establish and develop their tourism enterprises outside of their home village.

The research identified that the entrepreneurial culture of Lombok led to the potential for destructive competition among tourism entrepreneurs, with the pursuit of short-term business profits being prioritised by some. Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs establish business relationships with other entrepreneurs in order to sell their products and services. These relationships are managed on a commission basis rather than a formalised contract. For example, a hotelier in Senggigi describes the process as follows:

I always pay ten percent commission for the guide per room per night. If the room rate is a hundred fifty thousand rupiah per room per night, I will pay fifteen thousand rupiah commission per room per night. (Lukman)

In reality, there is no common standard for the commission among the entrepreneurs with some entrepreneurs enticing relationships through higher selling commissions. This practice often leads to destructive competition and poor entrepreneurial relations, and negatively affects business development. The commission trend presents entrepreneurs with a difficult choice: whether to satisfy their customers with a reasonable price, or satisfy their business partners with a high rate of commission. Making the first choice can help establish a beneficial relationship with particular customers; however, that choice can mean the termination of the support of business partners.

The trend towards commission-based collaboration stimulated the emergence of the silent enemy. The silent enemy refers to entrepreneurs who use unusual means, such as magic or supernatural power, to help attract buyers and, thus, impact negatively on other entrepreneurs' business performance. Magic is believed to help some entrepreneurs increase their business performance and to help outweigh the competitor's business performance. The silent enemy attracts business partners in mysterious ways, as suggested by an art shop owner in the weaving village:

As far as I am concerned anyone can be attacked by using magic named the 'quiet village'. When someone is struck by such magic, his or her art shop will always be quiet. No customers come because they cannot see the art shop. The customers don't realise that the art shop is there. If some customers can see the art shop, they don't have a willingness to enter. (Panji)

Magic was believed to help the silent enemy to assist an individual's business as well as affect other entrepreneur's business performance. The existence of the silent enemy may sound irrational and culturally related, yet participants believed that such competitors exist and intensify the destructive business competition in the Lombok tourism industry. Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs can be trapped by these ways of conducting business. Furthermore, the use of magic prevents the entrepreneurs from developing their rational entrepreneurial abilities, such as appropriate marketing strategies that can help establish and develop tourism enterprises.

A range of participants also acknowledged that entrepreneurial culture was impacted by unprofessional business partners. An unprofessional business partner used dishonest approaches to generate business, including breaking formal business contracts. A tour operator who also ran a restaurant in Senggigi expressed the dilemma in the following conversation:

It has been such an ecosystem that one eats or is eaten in the tariff competition ... the hotel gives me contract rate. It is very clear that both sides sign

the contract. When I accommodate my customers in the hotel, as a part of my package ... the hotel people stole my clients ... The hotel even said, 'Don't join the travel agent, I'll give you the cheaper rate than that of the agent. The next year, those customers didn't return to me because they had a direct contract with the hotel ... be careful with the hotel because our guests are not safe. We should keep them on eyes for 24 hours. Furthermore, if the one who stays there is a tour leader, the group will surely move to the other agent the next day. (Dewinta)

For many entrepreneurs such as Dewinta, unprofessional business partners have affected their short- and long-term business relations. In the short term, the partners dishonestly took over Dewinta's opportunity to generate business, such as selling optional trips to the customers. In the long term, the unprofessional partners intercepted Dewinta's contract with her overseas agents and took over future customers.

Unfortunately, many participants indicated that these unprofessional partners were often organisers of associations they were affiliated with or individuals in position of power. The participants called the organisers *referees who come into play*. The association organisers are supposed to be caretakers of their members and to act in the name of the association. However, they (the organisers) often acted for the benefit of their own enterprises. As Dewinta stated 'I said to them many times ... "Please manage us, don't only manage yourselves. The cake should be shared. It should be shared fairly."' Other examples were government officials who had also established tourism enterprises. They (the officials) often used their political power as a means to compete with other entrepreneurs and win business opportunities. In many cases, the *referees who come into play* developed monopolistic systems in that their businesses were the first to benefit from government tourism policies. An art shop owner in the weaving village revealed that:

If the local government has a free promotional programme in other regions, this official keeps that information to himself. He never informs us ... he is the head of the industry and trade department; that position means that he is actually a mediator. However, because he also has a business it seems he cannot be fair and objective. He takes everything for himself and leaves nothing for us. (Ramdan)

The government officials, who also run their own tourism enterprises, appear to have a significant conflict of interest in being able to undertake their government duty.

### ***Macro conditions impacting on entrepreneurial culture***

In 2000, Indonesia adopted a decentralised governmental system handing autonomy to each region (Rasyid 2002). The purpose of this system is to enable the democratic process, promote the individual's democratic awareness and stimulate

economic independence for each region. However, this has resulted in confusion about responsibilities. First, the provincial tourism department is responsible for developing the plans and programmes for tourism development, yet their implementation is reliant on regional tourism departments. Second, all the economic benefit in terms of the tourism sector taxes are retained by the regions and not equitably share with the provinces. While the central government had the right intention to promote the democratic process, in reality it is far from perfect. The operationalising of the scheme has been problematic, and each of the regions and provinces, driven by their own agendas, has developed conflicting tourism development priorities. Indeed, this confusion has resulted in a lack of tourism development around the island.

The political issues may also influence the ability of tourism departments to establish an effective coordination of tourism development with other institutions, NGOs and local people. The participants described how they were never involved in any discussions about tourism development by the tourism agencies. From the participant's perspective, most small tourism enterprises emerged and developed in spite of, or detached from, the government's encouragement. As one participant commented:

We expect that there is a rigorous network and link between the government and the private sector actors. This, however, has not occurred so far. The private actors go this way and the government goes that way ... In developing tourism, our government ... has no concept at all. (Derwinta)

The government's lack of communication about the priority of tourism development in Lombok affects the development of entrepreneurial tourism activities. Leo discussed this by stating, 'This creates a great deal of uncertainty for the tourism businesses. I also see that the local government does not take responsibility for this situation ...' Knowing the priorities of tourism development (e.g. tourist destinations and infrastructure that will be developed in the short term) can assist the Indigenous entrepreneurs to find appropriate business locations and resources for their products.

The quality of the public service also has an influence on the provision of entrepreneurial activities. Individual officials who hold an important government position have the responsibility to develop tourism strategies and policies but often lack knowledge and experience in tourism development and its related strategic issues and simply develop initiatives for their own self-interest. A surfing organiser in Kuta shared his experience:

I had to wait to get electric power for more than a year; I still have not got it. My application for 6500 watt electric power has not been realised. Another problem is water. Also, I have to buy tap water from Tanjung Aan. However, water from the tap doesn't work every day ... I cannot get water from the ground in this place because it's salty ... dealing with the bureaucracy is very difficult. If we want to arrange something, we have to pay ...



I told the electricity official yesterday that this project was not just mine. The project is in collaboration with my Japanese friend. If this project was my own, I would pay whatever you asked ... However, I am responsible for my friend and I have to keep his trust in me. (Andika)

In addition, a slow and ineffective bureaucratic process can delay the completion and operation of a new enterprise. Another respondent identified how inadequate government policy formation also resulted in delays and cost overruns. He stated:

I've got a problem with the customs department. There was no standard procedure about how to export things, what is or is not allowed to be exported. The regulation changes all the time and I have to find them out for myself. No one told me what I should do if I wanted to export wood, or other things ... I made a fatal mistake, and I had to pay a high amount of tax ... the tax was higher than what I usually paid. (Acelin)

The lack of guidelines, or any formal export procedure, can result in high operational costs, especially for the new entrepreneur. Further, Indigenous entrepreneurs, who are usually supported by only a small amount of capital, have to compete with entrepreneurs having inside information as well as stronger financial backing. Therefore a government policy that is transparent and encourages ethnodevelopment could assist small Indigenous entrepreneurs to develop and expand their businesses successfully.

Inadequate or unfair implementation of legal or business practices by authorities was also a significant factor influencing Indigenous entrepreneurs on Lombok. Weak law enforcement in the tourism industry has increased the number of local people who have established unlicensed enterprises. The unlicensed businesses intensify the competition among tourism entrepreneurs, as they do not bear the costs that legitimate enterprise must pay. While the number of non-licensed enterprises grows day-to-day, the entrepreneurs who operate legitimate businesses suffer financial losses and subsequent frustration, as expressed by a hotelier on Kuta Beach:

We have problems with government regulation; especially when we have to pay taxes and those who don't ... The illegal restaurants, shops and many other enterprises on the beach should pay taxes, but they don't. They sell the same products as we do for cheaper prices because they don't have to pay any tax. They open their business in illegal areas. They are not supposed to be there because that is the beach where the tourists sit and enjoy the environment. When I reported this situation to the government, I was told that those people will be there for a while. But, they've been there for more than four years already ... If this condition doesn't change, I may do the same way as those people. In the beginning, there were just a few of them opening business on the beach, but now their numbers have increased. The government

just lets them stay ... The business condition in this area really discourages me. I run my business with an uncertain future. (Leo)

The government's weak law enforcement can lead tourism entrepreneurs into unfair competition, as previously discussed, in which the entrepreneurs tend to focus on short-term business profits and beating the competition. Weak law enforcement encourages unethical business practices such as tax manipulation, bribery and collusion, ultimately creating an environment lacking trust for business in Lombok.

During the 30 years that tourism has been developed on Lombok a number of local, national and international disturbances have significantly affected tourism development. These disturbances include the social unrest on Lombok in 2000 (local level), terrorist attacks in Bali in 2002 and 2005 (national level), and the terrorist attack on New York in 2001 (international level). There have also been other incidences that have impacted the tourism industry, for example Middle East conflicts, natural disasters and epidemics in Southeast Asia, a number of air transportation accidents in Indonesia and increasing media attention on religious fanaticism. Overall, security is an important issue for tourists and the tourism industry. Though Lombok is a small tourist destination in Indonesia, the development of its tourism industry can be affected by the security issues of other regions and countries. Various horrific incidences at the local, national and international level can spark security issues for tourists and, ultimately, affect the entrepreneurial culture of the tourism industry. Table 9.1 shows the key findings that have influenced the entrepreneurship on Lombok region.

## **Discussion and conclusion**

Ethnodevelopment and entrepreneurship is reliant on having an effective entrepreneurial culture that will support and develop small businesses within a society. While the literature on tourism entrepreneurship is well developed, what is lacking is an understanding of the factors influencing and impacting upon the entrepreneurial autochthonous culture of many destinations. This chapter has sought to fill this gap by exploring the results of one research project in five host communities on Lombok, Indonesia. While the results of the study are unique to this research setting there are a number of lessons that other developing countries can observe.

Firstly, entrepreneurial culture, while unique to the context in which it is being experienced, is influenced and impacted upon by a range of micro and macro conditions. Micro conditions involve the immediate set of conditions that tourism entrepreneurs must deal with in their daily activities. These micro conditions are influenced by three main tourism stakeholders: the local communities, other tourism enterprises and tourism authorities. The tourism stakeholders pose a series of threats that challenge and menace the entrepreneur's abilities to cope with their tourism business. In contrast, the macro conditions are influenced by geographical, historical, social and political aspects, as well as the security

Table 9.1 Summary of key findings influencing entrepreneurship on Lombok

<i>Micro conditions</i>	<i>Macro conditions</i>
<b><i>Stereotypes of tourist and locality status</i></b>	<b><i>Decentralised government system</i></b>
Negative perceptions of tourists and those working in the sector	Confusion about roles and responsibilities in developing and implementing tourism
Discouraged locals from working in the sector in order to conform to community society values	Local tourism entrepreneurs emerged and developed in spite of government's encouragement
Tourists perceived as wealthy, creating differential tourist pricing	Lack of communication of tourism development priorities on Lombok
Tourists becoming victims of crime or harassment	Positions of power within public sector not linked with qualifications but other factors
Origin of entrepreneur influences their ability to establish and access resources	Self-interested government officials
<b><i>Destructive competition</i></b>	Slow and ineffective bureaucratic process
Pursuit of short-term business profits	Lack of transparency in government policy
Commission-based relationships	Inadequate or fair implementation of legal or business practices
'Silent enemy' – unusual means to impact on business performance, i.e. magic or supernatural powers	Weak law enforcement of the tourism industry, i.e. licensed businesses
Unprofessional business partners	<b><i>Security issues</i></b>
'Referees who come into play', created from unequal power relationships	Local social unrest on Lombok
Street vendors' aggressive selling techniques	National and international terrorist attacks
<b><i>Lack of encouragement</i></b>	Other incidents, i.e. natural disasters, conflicts, air transport accidents and media attention on religious fanaticism

issues at the local, national and international level. Despite the different products and services that Indigenous entrepreneurs produce, they all have to deal with the difficulties that the entrepreneurial culture of the tourism industry in Lombok generates. The culture threatens the entrepreneur's abilities to benefit from their tourism businesses, it prevents or stalls sustainable success and it leads to business vulnerability. Nevertheless, the entrepreneurial culture must be overcome if the entrepreneurs are to be successful in their entrepreneurial journey within the tourism industry.

Secondly, previous tourism studies (e.g. Andreck *et al.* 2005; Fredline and Faulkner 2000; Pérez and Nadal 2005) concluded that local people's attitudes towards tourism development varied along a continuum, from those that are highly favourable to development to those that are against development. The

findings of this current study extend our understanding of the influence of the local attitudes towards entrepreneurial tourism activities and the influence this has on entrepreneurial culture. For example, on Lombok, the negative stereotyping of tourists stimulated the local negative attitudes towards the 'outsider' (Elias and Scotson 1994). Those who believed in such negative stereotypes forbade their family and community members from learning anything that related to the tourism industry, such as learning to converse in English, and refused to allow them to work in the industry. These attitudes and behaviours stymied the locals' expertise in tourism entrepreneurship, or resulted in what Tosun (2000) defined as 'cultural limitation', and limited the availability of local employees for the tourism industry. The negative stereotyping also stimulated anti-tourist action, which impeded the development of local resources for tourist products and threatened the security of tourism entrepreneurial activities (Saufi *et al.* 2014). Additionally, the culturally bound identification of 'locality' appeared to significantly influence local support for tourism business; as Bennett and Gordon (2007) pointed out, the lack of local support increases business risk and the uncertainties faced by the tourism entrepreneur.

Thirdly, Indigenous entrepreneurs in this study were engaged in commission-based business to attract support. Many participants had to offer high commissions to attract a business partner who could bring them customers; if this rate was not paid the business partner would take the customers to another entrepreneur. In other words, the business partners tended to support those giving the highest commission. Such competition has created business monopolies by those entrepreneurs with strong financial support, while those lacking financial support tended to fail or go bankrupt. Unprofessional behaviours also increased business uncertainty.

An interesting finding of this research, linked with the society's culture, related to the emergence of the 'silent enemy'. The silent enemy refers to the threat of using unusual means, such as magic, to win business competition. The arrival of the silent enemy into the entrepreneurial culture field became a threat to the Indigenous entrepreneur's ability to create products and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities in tourism. Indeed, the silent enemy may sound irrational, but it is contextual and culturally specific to Lombok where the entrepreneurial journey (in the current research) takes place.

Fourthly, the government's role in supporting ethnodevelopment and entrepreneurship should not be underestimated. Normally, government creates the framework, through legislation, rules and regulations, that is needed to be enforced to enable a fair and equitable business environment. The duplicity of and confusion about tourism development within Indonesia impacted upon the entrepreneurial culture evident on Lombok. There was a lack of government protection for legitimate entrepreneurial activities, along with weak enforcement of the laws and regulations relating to the tourism industry. A consequence of this lack of support affected the entrepreneur's independence and ability to create new products and services, as well as a concern for security in the tourism business environment. Furthermore, the lack of law enforcement stimulated the emergence of

non-licensed tourism enterprises, and provoked disobedience against business regulation.

Finally, macro conditions beyond the control of the entrepreneur also influence the entrepreneurial culture of tourism business and destinations. However, as shown by the current research, the entrepreneurial culture presents limitations to the success of the entrepreneurial process in the tourism industry. These limitations confirm the earlier findings identified by Tosun (2000) in developing countries, namely that a host community faces limitations at the operational level and within the structural and cultural environment. As a consequence, the host communities on Lombok have been able to deal with a series of problems resulting from limitations at the operational level, such as the lack of protection and weak law enforcement. Such conditions were exacerbated by the structural limitations that have resulted in the lack of tourism infrastructure, the emergence of security issues, the fragmented planning of tourism development and the emergence of unsolved problems.

Entrepreneurial culture presents information about the settings and conditions that a prospective entrepreneur has to deal with when establishing and developing a tourism enterprise. Understanding the entrepreneurial culture enables an entrepreneur to identify an appropriate type of and a strategic location for the tourism enterprise. This understanding also assists the entrepreneur develop relationships with his/her entrepreneurial environment.

The study results can be a reference point for tourism agencies to develop policies that create entrepreneurial opportunities, especially for the Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs. Tourism authorities should promote the benefits of tourism development for the local people, and provide more opportunities for local small-scale tourism to grow rather than encourage larger tourism facilities owned by outside investors (Hampton 2005; Kamsma and Bras 1999). Policies that support small-scale tourism can include appropriate strategies that increase local involvement in tourism and provide more benefits to the local people from tourism. While small-scale tourism requires small capital, which fits the local people's business abilities, this type of business also prevents economic leakage, and helps to better distribute the income among host community members (Dahles 2000). Moreover, such a policy will stimulate the emergence of many Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs delivering authentic products and services that their region offers.

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