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Entrepreneurship and empowerment: Considering the barriers - a case study from Indonesia

Abstract

In our understanding of tourism as a tool for development, small-scale enterprises are considered critical. From either the "trickle down" or "bottom up" perspective, small-scale entrepreneurs are considered central to the multiplier effect and economic development of communities in less economically developed countries. Whilst the potential exists for empowerment through entrepreneurship to be felt at an individual or community level, in many cases tourism does not lead to burgeoning entrepreneurial opportunities and the associated empowerment. This paper, based on long-term ethnographic research in Eastern Indonesia, examines the factors affecting entrepreneurial development. It assesses why, in some communities, tourism offers the hopes and dreams of development and the initial steps towards empowerment, but why the dreams rarely become realities. While the literature identifies both a lack of human capital and financial capital as barriers to entrepreneurial activity and empowerment, this paper identifies both deeper cultural barriers and external factors that constrain successful entrepreneurship in tourism. Using Hofstede's cultural dimensions as a starting point, this paper examines the relationship between these cultural dimensions and entrepreneurship. The paper also identifies that a lack of understanding, confidence and education act as barriers to the entrepreneurial potential of the community. The nature of tourism presents additional constraints both because global forces, beyond the villagers' control, dictate the flow of tourists; and the observable nature of tourism work leads to capital accumulation problems. The paper also explores how the high value placed on connections with foreigners, social networks and the importance of education motivates certain forms of entrepreneurship in this emerging destination in Eastern Indonesia

Key words:
entrepreneurship; empowerment; cultural values; Indonesia

Introduction

Small entrepreneurship is an essential characteristic of tourism across the world (Go, 1997, p. 8) and as tourism develops, the informal sector increases and diversifies (Dahles, 1999). But the pattern is not even; rates of entrepreneurial development are irregular. Entrepreneurs are conditioned by the structure of the society in which they operate and therefore the culture of a society has an important bearing on entrepre-

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neurial development. However, to date, "very few studies of tourism entrepreneurship in developing countries have highlighted the nature of the socio-cultural barriers" (Shaw & Williams 1998, p. 245).

This paper follows Ateljević and Doorne's (2003) suggestion of moving beyond an economic theoretical premise. By using an insiders' perspective contextualised by the local values, social, economic and political relations, it is possible to enhance our conceptualisation of entrepreneurship. Rather than over-looking the socio-cultural barriers (as in so many previous studies), this paper explores the complexities to provide a deep understanding of the cultural values and external factors that both constrain, and contribute to, remote villagers becoming tourism entrepreneurs.

Following a brief introduction to tourism, empowerment and entrepreneurship in less economically developed countries, I will introduce Hofstede's cultural dimensions as a starting point for discussing the socio-cultural barriers to entrepreneurial development. After describing the setting and research methods I will discuss the cultural context of entrepreneurship in an emerging Eastern Indonesian destination. The paper then examines other factors that constrain tourism entrepreneurs before examining the cultural values that support tourism entrepreneurs and can lead to empowerment for local guides.

Entrepreneurship, empowerment and tourism in less economically developed countries

The *raison d'etre* of tourism development is the macro economic benefits it purports to bring a nation: bringing foreign exchange earnings, creating employment and leading to economic diversification (de Kadt, 1979; Pearce, 1989; Matheson & Wall, 1982; and Richter, 1993). With reference to less economically developed countries (LEDCs), there are a number of powerful arguments why tourism is believed to be able to alleviate poverty and contribute to local level development. As a labour intensive industry it is a particularly suitable development option for many LEDCs where there are severe unemployment problems (Tribe, 2005). Furthermore, many of the jobs in tourism are relatively unskilled providing opportunities for women and other marginalized groups (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2001). As tourism delivers consumers to the product, locals have a new market for their products and services. Thus tourism has the potential for linkages particularly to traditional livelihood occupations such as agriculture, fishing, and handicraft production. This means that tourism expenditure has the potential to generate a large multiplier effect, which can stimulate the local economy. The economic multiplier in tourism is greater than in many other industries especially in the informal sector, potentially offering entry for the poor who have a low skills base. Small entrepreneurship has become an essential characteristic of tourism across the world (Go, 1997) with the informal sector increasing as tourism develops (Dahles, 1999).

Tourism development can also be a powerful tool to empower marginal communities in LEDCs (Cole, 2006a). It can bring about pride (Adams, 1997; Boissevain, 1996; Cole, 1997; Crystal, 1978; Erb, 1998; Mansperger, 1992; Van den Berghe, 1992) and enhance community cohesion (Sanger, 1988; Ashley et al., 2001). Furthermore, tourism increases access to information and external contacts (Ashley et al., 2001; Forshee, 2001), as well as new language skills and globalised media (Williams, 1998). It can increase a community's confidence and can strengthen their political identity (Swai, 1990; Johnston, 1992; Cole, 2007a).

Opportunities for entrepreneurship can lead to financial independence for marginalized groups enabling social empowerment and release from traditional forms of social control. This is considered to be particularly important for women and other disadvan-

taged groups who do not have the skills to enter into other forms of employment. As tourism can stimulate entrepreneurial opportunities for young people, the drive to migrate to urban areas is reduced, leaving a more balanced population in remote rural areas.

However, entrepreneurial development across the world is not uniform. Why is it that tourism can bring the positive benefits discussed above to some places but not to others? Some have suggested that the opportunities for local entrepreneurial development are reduced in the case of enclave tourism development where the managers of resorts, "limit, or at best control the interaction between tourists and local communities" (Shaw & Shaw, 1999, p. 80). Further constraints to micro and small-scale enterprises have been identified as follows: potential entrepreneurs lack skills, credit, capital, a knowledge of tourism, and have poor quality products (Ashley, 2006). However, to suggest that the barriers to entrepreneurship lie in a lack of entrepreneurial skills is to take for granted that the social structure and cultural background within which the tourism development is taking place supports the development of entrepreneurs. Before examining constraints we need first to ask what role the local cultural system plays.

Ethnocentric and economic conceptions of entrepreneurs

Before examining the role of culture on the development of entrepreneurs it is worth considering how the worldview of entrepreneurship has been dominated by the United States culture of individualism and achievement (Peterson, 1988 in Thomas & Mueller, 2000). The difference between English and American dictionary definitions is indicative. While the Oxford English Dictionary simply defines an entrepreneur as "a person who sets up a business". American dictionaries use the notion of a "risk taker" (e.g. American Heritage Dictionary, 2007)[1]. Thomas and Mueller (2000) suggest that the defining characteristics of entrepreneurship are perceived through an ethnocentric lens. While it seems definitions of entrepreneurship expand and change (Sheffield, 1988 cited in Wall, 1999), innovation remains a basic tenet (Drucker, 1985; Wall, 1999). For the purposes of this paper, entrepreneurs are considered as individuals that identify and pursue business opportunities to create wealth. However, wealth is used in its broadest sense not limiting it to financial wealth.

Studies of entrepreneurship in tourism highlight the economic aspects. Entrepreneurship is confined within the box of economic development. Ateljević and Doorne (2003) suggest studies have perpetuated the economic theoretical premise around which issues of entrepreneurship are discussed. Not all entrepreneurs are motivated by a desire to maximise economic gain and decisions can be based on highly personalised criteria. Goals such as prestige also determine their actions (Dahles, 1999). Social relations, independence and freedom are as important as market forces and financial gains. Not only are the pathways to entrepreneurship in tourism controlled by a series of non-economic variables (Shaw & Williams, 1998). But the goals and aims are, as Ateljević and Doorne suggest, contingent on the local cultural perspective and values.

Whilst a body of literature exists that examines the relationship between culture and entrepreneurship (George & Zahral, 2002) very little work has examined the relationship between culture and specifically tourism entrepreneurship. Many of the studies that have examined the relationship between entrepreneurship and national cultural values have taken Hofstede's work as their starting point (Hayton,George & Zahra, 2002). In their review of the studies, Hayton *et al* (2002) concluded that three of Hofstede's cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and individualism/collectivism, have been associated with national rates of innovation.

The first dimension power-distance refers to the extent to which a society accepts the unequal power in institutions and organisations. Where the power-distance is high, as in this case, societies hold that people are not equal, and obedience, conformity and authority are valued (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The second cultural value, uncertainty avoidance, refers to the extent to which a society feels threatened by uncertain and ambiguous situations and tries to avoid them. Uncertainty avoidance means avoiding conflict, disapproving of competition and not tolerating deviant behaviours and ideas that are considered dangerous and a threat to stability (Reisinger & Turner 2003). The third dimension individualism/collectivism refers to the extent to which people emphasize their own needs. In collectivist cultures, such as in this case study, societies emphasize group goals, decisions and consensus (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Control over ones destiny is less likely in a collectivist culture especially where individuals are dominated by outside forces such as luck, fate or powerful others (Thomas & Mueller, 2000). After examining the relationship between these cultural dimensions and entrepreneurship, the paper explores other factors that both impede and motivate entrepreneurship in an emerging destination in Eastern Indonesia.

Setting

The research took place in Ngadha, an area that approximates to the southwest third of the Ngada regency of Flores, Nusa Tenggara Timor, Indonesia. The area is one of the poorest in Indonesia. Poverty on Flores is such that 100% of villages receive grants paid to villages "left behind by development". Tourism is considered the area's best option for economic development (Umbu Peku Djawang, 1991), partly due to its location, between two of East Indonesia's most renowned attractions. To the east is Keli Mutu, a volcano with three different coloured lakes at its peak. To the west lies Komodo National Park, famed for its monitor lizards (*Varamus komodoensis*). The villages lie in a rugged mountainous region with steep slopes and poor soils. The villagers are largely subsistence agriculturists growing maize and vegetables for their own consumption. A variety of cash crops are grown including beans, coffee, vanilla and pepper. Variable agricultural production is supplemented by craft production, which is subject to village and gender specialization. In some villages men are black smiths, in others, women weave.

The house is the central organizing principle of Ngadha society. All members of Ngadha society belong to a named house and 'clan'. Wooden houses with high thatched roofs are arranged in two parallel lines or around the sides of a rectangle to form a *nua*. The *nua* is the spiritual heart of Ngadha villages. In the centre are a number of *ngadhu* (a carved tree trunk with a conical thatched roof, associated with a clan's first male ancestor) and *bhaga* (miniature house representing a clan's first female ancestor) and a number of megaliths. The complex of attractions provides tourists with "a feeling of being enclosed in antiquity" (Cole, 1998, p. 41).

Ngadha social organization is shaped by three conflicting structures. These are the Indonesian state, the Catholic Church, and *adat* (customary law), all of which exert an influence at the same time. Administratively, the Indonesian Republic is divided into provinces (*provinsi*), which are further subdivided first into regencies (*kabupaten*), then into districts (*kecamatan*), and further into villages (*desa*). The Dutch brought the Catholic Church to Ngadha in the 1920s. Nearly all the villagers are now firm believers in God and are regular church-goers. Alongside Catholicism, the influence of the ancestors remains equally important. Considerable time and expense is dedicated to ceremonies, of which animal slaughter is an essential element.

Large numbers of pigs are slaughtered, cooked and shared at major rituals. Theses feasts are competitive. Boasts about rituals are made relating to the number of animals slaughtered and the number of guests who attend. As Daeng (1988) explains, the ancestors always favour the host whose feast lasted the longest and was attended by the most people. The distance that guests travel is also important.

The villages began to be visited by "drifters" in the 80s and have seen an increasing number and variety of tourists ever since (Cole, 2000). The most popular village received 9,000 tourists in 1997 (Regency Department of Education and Culture, 1998). In the 1990s many of the tourists were backpackers on long-term travels, often on their way to or from Australia. More recently, due to visa and political factors (see Cole, 2007a) many of the tourists are adventurous holidaymakers on three to four week holidays. As many are travelling as family groups, the already severe seasonality has become more acute with arrivals in August straining capacity limits.

Research

This study was based on long-term research over a period of fifteen years (1989-2005). I operated tours in the area between 1989 and 1994, which included a two-night stay in one of the villages in the study. The success of the tours influenced the research that followed. Bringing tourists, income and piped water (Cole, 1997) gave me credibility, trust and rapport with the villagers. In 1996 thirty questionnaire-based interviews were carried out to explore the villagers' views and attitudes to tourists and tourism for an academic paper.

Between July 1998 and February 1999 I spent eight months carrying out ethnographic fieldwork to investigate the values, attitudes, perceptions and priorities of the villagers, tourists and mediators: guides, government and tour operators, in tourism. Participant observation was carried out in a number of villages. I lived in two villages and undertook participant observation, interviews and focus groups with villagers. Tourists were observed, interviewed and surveyed at different points during the study, and government officials were interviewed. Short return visits were made in 2001, to collect missing data, and in 2003 to hold a seminar to share the results of my study. In 2005, with a grant from the British Academy, I returned for a month long follow-up study to specifically evaluate the use of a code of conduct as a tool to educate tourists about their behaviour in the villages. (cf. Cole, 2007b).

The cultural context of entrepreneurship in Ngadha

Indonesia is a high power distance culture with "emphasis on obedience, conformity, authority, supervision, social hierarchy, and inequality" (Reisinger & Turner, 1997, p. 141). Across the archipelago, Javanese concepts of power and authority (cf Anderson, 1972), whereby reverence towards people in power or otherwise high social standing, prevail. Villagers accept and expect political and social control to be in the hands of the government. They are taught blind obedience to central government (Erb, 2000), and there is a belief that the government knows best (Gede Raka, 2000).

The hierarchical structure of the Indonesian government is highly bureaucratic, with the state administration extending to very local levels. The pettiest officer (*ketua* RT) administers only 12 households. The government has been heavily committed to a centralised, bureaucratic process of decision-making. As Reisinger and Turner (1997) suggest, the authorities make decisions and they cannot be questioned. The villagers' fear of authority could easily be sensed when they were dealing with state officials. While many villagers were openly critical of decisions relating to tourism development

with me, they believed that decisions taken by higher authorities could not be challenged.

The villagers' experience of outside authority has also come from the Catholic Church. The teachings of the church have emphasised obedience and conformity. The church has been the source of authority and supervision in cases where guidance from the government has been lacking. "In Flores there are two governments. The official one and the richer, possibly more influential one is the Church" (Burt, 1971 quoted in Webb, 1986). The villagers of Ngadha are fearful of the authority of both. The villagers have become used to acting on instructions and do not feel empowered to act without being directed.

The villagers acted when they were told to, or felt they "needed to be asked". The sale of local woven cloth (ikats) began when tourists requested to purchase ikat cloths hanging on washing lines. The request came from the tourists. Although a few long knives (*parang*) are now hung on terraces, in a deliberate attempt to sell them, most are still sold following requests from tourists when they see them in use. The villagers make and use rice baskets *(wati)*, gourd bowls (*ngeme*), wooden and coconut spoons and ladles but these are not offered to tourists. As these are kept in the inner sacred rooms of houses which tourists rarely enter, tourists do not see them or ask to purchase them. When villagers were asked why they did not sell these items to tourists, I was told, "Tourists have not asked to buy them"[2]. The tourism department endorsed the view of waiting for requests to come from tourists by saying, "Villagers shouldn't force their wares on tourists but should provide them if requested". While the government may have been trying to prevent tourists being pressured into purchasing souvenirs and services, it was communicated as an instruction and obediently followed.

The high power distance aspect of Ngadha culture, with its focus on referral to higher authority, obedience, and power of supervision has clear constraints for entrepreneurship. When, in discussions I asked why the villagers had not tried a number of initiatives to raise money they always said, "No-one has told us to" (*tunggu disuruh*). The villagers have become so accustomed to only acting on instruction from higher authority that they are apprehensive about following internal initiatives. The villagers lack confidence and wait for tourists to make requests rather than proactively marketing their crafts. Their fear of authority acts as a barrier to take initiatives.

Indonesian culture generally, and Ngadha culture specifically, is collectivist and group orientated. "The focus is on group rights and needs. In all social relations the importance of group harmony and living together in harmony is emphasised" (Reisinger & Turner, 1997, p. 142). Community consensus has to be guarded, it is the "the mother of *adat*"(custom) (Zainal Kling, 1997, p. 48). It is necessary due to "the density and intimacy of social life" (Just, 2001, p. 110). Villagers find it hard to rise above the majority. This was borne out on numerous occasions in conversations and comments from the villagers. "There's no point in having a motor bike because everyone would use it", "There are differences in wealth but we should not allow them to be seen."

The importance of the collective over the individual has consequences for entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial spirit in individuals is frowned upon because it can result in an observable difference in the community, leading to envy and bad feeling, resentment and lack of community cohesion. The villagers acknowledged that projects needed community consensus; individuals were unlikely to go it alone. One villager brought groups of tourists to the village. His personal gains caused such rifts in the village that he has moved to Labuhan Bajo where he works successfully in tourism.

In Ngadha, as in many Indonesian cultures, uncertainty is avoided. Security and stability are valued above ambiguity and conflict. The roots of uncertainty avoidance lie in *adat* (custom). As Zainal Kling (1997) discusses, *adat* means consensus, a state of equilibrium, and it means order. It is the way of the ancestors and governs relationships. Any offence against *adat* disturbs the universal order and produces undesirable results, from minor sickness to major epidemics and crop failure (Caslake, 1993). Confrontation is avoided at all costs. In their closely-knit communities where consensus takes precedence over personal gains, entrepreneurial activity can unbalance the equilibrium and lead to conflict. According to Reisinger and Turner (1997) uncertainty avoidance means risk must be avoided. As Dahles (1997) notes petty entrepreneurs all over Indonesia have risk avoidance strategies: working long hours, seeking supplementary income, sharing profit with family and friends and most commonly imitating the product and services of others rather that innovating. The emerging entrepreneurs in Ngadha used all these strategies.

Further barriers to tourism entrepreneurial development

While Hofstede's cultural dimensions go some way to explain the socio-cultural constraints to tourism entrepreneurial development in Ngadha, there are number of further factors that require consideration. Firstly, accumulating capital is problematic; secondly, the roles the government has (and has not) played; and, lastly, the effect of fluctuating tourist arrivals.

Whilst the lack of start up capital has been identified as a barrier to micro enterprise development in other less economically developed countries (e.g. see Ashley, 2006) the problems of capital accumulation are particularly difficult within tourism in this cultural context. This is for two reasons: the observable nature of tourism work, and the propensity to invest in social and symbolic capital thereby restricting funds available to be reinvested in business development.

In this cultural context, guides take tourists to small villages where the tourists are free to wander around. If tourists purchase a souvenir this transaction takes place outside, in view of other villagers who then know there is some cash around. In such a closely-knit community, where wealth is known, there is great pressure to share it. The pressure to distribute wealth means that few villagers are able to accumulate capital. The local guides discussed the problems of working in such observable work. "My family or friends can see if I have tourists, they know when I have a big group, they know I will have cash. Someone in the family always has some kind of pressing need, it's impossible to refuse." In other areas of work, clients and sales are far less conspicuous, there are fewer requests for help and small amounts can be saved. As one weaver told me, "When I sell in town, I go to peoples houses who pay little by little, so I don't get much cash… but the others don't know what I receive… when I make a sale to tourists, people see, or they overhear, sometimes they ask the tourist what they paid… then they come and ask for help".

When small gains were made they were frequently invested in pigs, which are then donated at public rituals. This conspicuous display of wealth brings social prestige, strengthens networks, and is a long-term investment (as all pigs donated will be returned at a later date, however, this may take generations). From an economic analytical perspective this prominent capital consumption may seem wasteful. However, feasting in Ngadha serves an important variety of functions (Cole, 2007c). Pig donors are not only reciprocating for past donations and thereby reaffirming mutual obligations; they are also accumulating both social and symbolic capital. Social networks will

be created and maintained and frequently these networks will be essential in future entrepreneurial endeavours. The symbolic capital: status and prestige, to be recognised, believable and trusted, may also prove invaluable in times of need.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Cole, 2006b) a lack of knowledge of tourism is also a constraining factor. The villagers' knowledge about tourists and tourism has come from the local guides, a government-training programme and from the researcher. This piece-meal informal education has not furnished the villagers with the knowledge or confidence to understand tourists' tastes and needs. The government has compounded their lack of confidence. The New Order government proffered the view that village people are ignorant, and undeveloped. The villagers say, "We are only peasants"[3]. They do not feel "developed" (*maju*) and have a low opinion of themselves.

Whilst indigenous knowledge and the villager's ideas are belittled as "*kampungan*" (crude and unrefined) the only education program the government has provided did nothing to encourage entrepreneurship. It was designed to gain support for tourism development not to empower the villagers to act on their initiatives (Cole, 2005). The villagers have not received any entrepreneurial education or training. All the local guides have to attend a two-week training course to get a licence however, this programme also failed to provide these self-made entrepreneurs with skills development.

Dahles (1999) notes that one of the most surprising characteristics of small proprietors and self employed individuals in the tourism industry seems to be their reluctance to organise themselves and the lack of membership of associations. As Roeessingh and Duijnhoven (2004) suggest, networks set up by the government are often designed to meet government goals and objectives. In Ngadha there is a local guides association (HPI). While the guides are clear about the need for a network of cooperation they are not enthusiastic about this association. "It is merely a mechanism for the government to inform of us of rules" " We do not have any power as a group… they (the government) always want to control us…" "Everything needs permits, certificates and government endorsement..."

On the other hand where associations have been set up as micro-finance organisations their success has been notable. In one village a weaving group was established through a regional government initiative. One woman from the village was trained in group motivation and finance and a grant to buy equipment was provided. Each member who joined the group paid a small fee, so that the original capital was recouped and used for further purchases. When revenue from sales was shared out once a year, women were able to invest in their own equipment and could produce their own *ikats* for sale. The group remains to this day and is an important part of the weavers' social life. Once a week, each member takes a small donation of food to be cooked communally for the mid-day meal. More experienced weavers are able to teach those with less experience. The women work together to thread the looms, a task that requires two people, and at the same time plenty of gossip can be exchanged. All the women in the group admitted that they no longer needed the group in terms of the facilities that it provided, but that they continued in the group for social reasons and because it was a source of loans in time of need. Group funds were loaned out as credit to members.

Not only has the government encouragement of entrepreneurship through training, education and associations been limited, the government policy is anti-backpackers. Backpacker tourism creates a demand for cheap accommodation and a parallel structure of transport, restaurant and support services. Due to lower capital requirements,

facilities for backpackers are more likely to stimulate local entrepreneurial activity. However the Indonesian government does not support backpacker tourism. Indonesia's official tourism policy has either tacitly ignored or actively discouraged backpackers (Richter, 1993; Hampton, 1998; Erb, 2000). The recent changes in visa policy are the most significant anti–backpacker policy. Prior to the changes, tourists were entitled to a free 60-day visa issued on arrival. This Visa on Arrival is now limited to 30 days and costs $US 25. In 30 days it is unlikely that a visitor to Indonesia will reach outlying islands such as Flores. The impact on the number and types of tourists was clearly evident in tourist numbers in 2005. The season was shorter and far more concentrated than ever before. There were far fewer tourist arrivals in every month accept August.

The final barrier to entrepreneurial development in Ngadha was the very real roller coaster in tourism arrival figures. As I have discussed elsewhere (Cole, 2007a), the early days tourism brought great anticipation of new opportunities. Whilst many villagers remain enthusiastic, expectations have been reduced and optimism deflated. In many cases the villagers are unaware and do not understand why the numbers of tourists who visit fluctuate and why tourism dries up without explanation. Tourism numbers and the benefits they bring are not in the control of a local community. The villagers are not able to control their destination image, international media, or foreign governments' travel advisories. Some villagers who made investments in enterprises aimed at tourists in the late 1990s, when tourist number increased significantly for several years, had then witnessed loses. Friends, neighbours and observers would say, "Tourists might come, or not, the risks are too great" ("Turis mungkin ada, mungkin tidak, resiko terlalu besar"). "Production aimed at local people is less profitable but it's safer", one weaver told me.

Tourism, entrepreneurship and empowerment in Ngadha

Despite the significant barriers a few people in Ngadha have made a success from tourism enterprises. The clearest examples are local guides. The guides are freelance, self-employed, network specialists, working as much or as little as they please and often combining guiding with agricultural or other work. Most of them take tourists on a day 'package' from Bajawa, they mediate between the villagers and the tourists and organise services for the tourists. As Dahles and Bras (1999) suggest these brokers are a category of small entrepreneurs that manage sources and flows of information and put people in touch with each other for profit. They provide information about the livelihoods, rituals, social organisation and arts of the villages. Like anthropologists, they translated the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural idiom familiar to the audience.

Nearly all guides offer very similar standardised day tours i.e. they imitate the tours of other guides rather than innovating. They have both co-operative and competitive relations with each other. They compete for the tourists but, in a similar way to the guides of Lombok and Yogyakarta, "they use each other's resources, pass on jobs to each other, and share each other's income. In this way they establish ties of reciprocity" (Dahles & Bras, 1999, p. 276). Due to local needs and as a risk avoidance strategy, they share profits with family and friends instead of reinvesting them. As previously discussed the guides often spoke about the problems of working in such observable work. Few of the guides appeared to be amassing any wealth from their profession due to family obligations and pressures to redistribute wealth.

Work satisfaction was as important as financial reasons for their choice of occupation. The freedom their job brought them and the feelings of independence were key to their job satisfaction. Being able to practise their language skills was another important

reason for their choice of work. Making contacts and increased social networks, and developing friends in distance places was crucial to guides empowerment through tourism. Knowing foreigners brings social and potentially economic advantage. Guides have used their European 'friends' to help with education for themselves and for their relatives. With the help of guides, some tourists have provided for medical care or sent regular donations to assist families in the villages. Some villagers have become empowered and well interconnected with the wider world through the support and aid provided by tourists.

As guiding does not require any start-up capital there is a strong economic incentive for entrepreneurs in tourism to start with guiding. However, there are a number of cultural factors that facilitate this form of entrepreneurship in Ngadha. Firstly, there are cultural values that support connections with foreigners and with travel. Increased status due to contact with the outside world is common in Indonesia. It is expressed in the local idiom "many friends much luck, few friends little luck" (*Hoga woe woso n'oe, hoga woe dhoso n'oe*). Furthermore, as with many societies in the region, travel leads to knowledge and respect. This is summed up in another local expression: "wander away, seek knowledge; travel far, seek wisdom" (*la'a ezo, gae go be'o; la'a dada, gae go magha*). As Caslake (1993) discusses, the tradition that a much-journeyed man can command considerable social prestige provides a base for relations with travellers. Being able to connect with people who travel thus brings status and prestige to the guides.

The importance placed on education in Ngadha has also stimulated this form of entrepreneurship. As noted, this choice of profession was, for many, a way to practice or hone language skills. Unlike the pathfinder guides described by Cohen (1985), the guides had more than a smattering of a foreign language, several were accomplished linguists. One of them spoke fluent English, Dutch and German and some Japanese. Through frequently practising their English, several guides have gone on to work for international organisations. Their success was not only important in terms of remittances to their families, but also as an example of how connections with tourists can bring long-term benefits. The two members of the villages who have studied to postgraduate level outside Indonesia both worked as guides in the early days of tourism. Working in tourism gave them both the opportunity to hone their English skills and develop a desire to work with foreigners. After their guiding careers, both worked for aid agencies (AUSAID and UNHCR) before receiving scholarships to study abroad.

Conclusions

This paper has examined the socio-cultural barriers and drivers to tourism entrepreneurship in an emergent destination. Despite the low entry requirements and potential ease of linkages there has been limited entrepreneurial activity in Ngadha. There are a number of reasons for this. The paper examined the importance of cultural values as inhibitors to small enterprise development. Hofstede's cultural value dimensions proved a useful starting point to explore some of the effects of cultural values on entrepreneurial tendencies. The analysis reinforced previous work that has suggested that high power distance, uncertainty avoidance and collectivism all hinder entrepreneurship.

However, these cultural value constraints needed to be further contextualised. Firstly, the readily observable nature of tourism work means that other members of the community are aware when cash has been received. This is especially the case in a poor, tightly knit community, in a State without a social safety net where there is always a close relative with an immediate and real exigency. The conspicuous nature of tourism work made the accumulation of financial capital particularly difficult. The importance

of non-economic goals was also examined. By moving away from an economically deterministic view of entrepreneurship, it is clear that the accumulation of social and symbolic capital may be as important as the accumulation of financial capital in a poor society where monetary exchange is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Whilst the case study confirmed that a lack of tourism knowledge, and structural support could be constraining factors for entrepreneurs, the influence of the government to hinder entrepreneurship has been far greater. The anti- backpacker policy in Indonesia is perhaps the greatest obstacle to entrepreneurial development in a remote destination such as Ngadha. In particular the shorter visa time seemed to be significantly reducing tourist numbers to Flores. Furthermore, the New Order Government belittled village people and reduced their confidence. This has left an insecure community waiting for outside instructions.

Despite these constraints and obstacles, some members of Ngadha have been able to create opportunities from tourism. Bolstered by cultural values that place importance on social networks, education, travel, and many friends in distance places, local guides have developed global networks of 'friends'. While providing employment, the immediate financial rewards are out-weighed by the social and symbolic capital, this choice of entrepreneurship brings. For the Ngadha guides empowerment has come from language skills, pride, and external contacts.

As Ateljević and Doorne (2003) suggest, by providing an insiders perspective, informed by local values and contextualised by the social, economic and political realities we can develop a much richer understanding of entrepreneurship and its potential to empower individuals and communities in tourism destinations.

Notes:

[1] The American Heritage Dictionary is the freely accessible dictionary commonly accessed through dictionary.com.

[2] Belum ada turis yang minta. (Ind)

[3] They would use the expression "Kami hanya petani saja" which uses two words for only, before and after the noun for emphasis.

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