Conclusion

This study is inspired on previous work by Dahles (2001) focusing on the development of the tourism industry in Yogyakarta under the New Order Government when tourism was promoted as the engine of the national economy in Indonesia. Dahles’ research covered the heydays of tourism development in Yogyakarta. There is virtually no literature addressing the ways in which the crises that started in the late 1990s has affected the once thriving local enterprises in the tourism industry. This study aims at filling this gap by offering an analysis of how various small, local entrepreneurs in the tourism industry coped with this series of crises. In combination with Dahles’ work, this study provides a wide-ranging insight in the dynamics of small tourism entrepreneurship both under conducive and adversary conditions emanating from the societal embedding of the tourism industry.

I focus specifically on the responses of the entrepreneurs who depend on the tourism sector for their livelihood when the prolonged crisis threatened their industry’s sustainability. Overall, there is a lack of literature on the relationship between crisis and tourism-related entrepreneurship. Moreover, the few writings available primarily focus on aspects of crisis management. I address the coping strategies the entrepreneurs employed by taking their embeddedness in their social environment into consideration. For that purpose, I analyze three different sectors in the tourism industry in three different areas in Yogyakarta. The first sector concerned entrepreneurs in the accommodation businesses in Sosrowijayan and Prawirotaman. The second concerned becak drivers in Prawirotaman while the third and last concerned silver producers in Kotagede.

I focus these tourism sectors and areas as I intend to investigate the similarities and the differences in the ways entrepreneurs cope with the crises. As shown in Chapter 8, different attributes such as the social, cultural, and economic conditions of the entrepreneurs, have an impact on entrepreneurship and hence on the ways entrepreneurs cope with the crises. These sectors demonstrate a variety of business management styles and different degrees of dependency on tourism. The accommodation sector provides tourist lodgings, which are made available in houses owned
and often inhabited by the owner’s family. The entrepreneurs run their businesses with the help of employees and family members. They do not need employees with special skills but they do require a constant and stable number of workers to enable them to deliver services to their guests. Of the three sectors, this business is identified as the most dependent on the tourist market. Next, a becak driver runs a self-employed mobile business. In terms of dependency on tourists, his business is more flexible compared to the accommodation sector as he can cater to locals regardless of changing circumstances in the tourism business. Finally, the silver business requires not only space but also tools and workers with special artisan skills. However, the production process is flexible as silver producers quite often resort to a subcontracting production system. Of all three, the silver souvenir business assumably was least dependent on tourism as besides serving the tourist market, it also served local and export markets. However, this sector was most affected because it was most severely hit by the earthquake in 2006.

I also conducted research in these areas because they have different historical backgrounds and the local context also needs to be taken into account to help explain people’s different attitudes. In this research, only two areas i.e. Sosrowijayan and Prawirotaman are comparable as both are characterized by the same type of business and cater to a similar type of market. Sosrowijayan is an area which concentrates on budget accommodation, popular among young budget tourists. The area is located right in the middle of the city of Yogyakarta. It is a typical urban kampong with many small houses crammed in small alleys in the middle of the kampong. The people who live there originate from various social and economic backgrounds. Prawirotaman in its turn is a middle class residential area located to the south of Yogyakarta. The community living there is more homogenous. Those who own guesthouses are usually descendants from the same ancestors who used to be an abdi dalem of the Sultan’s palace. They are stronger orientated toward traditional Javanese culture compared to the community in the Sosrowijayan area. Guesthouse owners in Prawirotaman target middle class tourists who book their trips mostly through travel agencies. Finally, the third area, Kotagede is located far from the city centre and has a long tradition of craftsmanship especially
in silver products. As it used to be the capital city of the Mataram Kingdom, the products were originally meant to supply the palace. After the palace was moved to Yogyakarta, the society continued its tradition. They serve a wider range of consumers including not only locals but also tourists.

For about a decade between 1997 and 2006, different types of crises, environmental, monetary, social, and political, severely harmed the tourism business in Indonesia including in Yogyakarta. The accommodation sector, silver industries, and transportation sector suffered from business stagnancy if not from decline. However, the impact of the crises on the entrepreneurs differed. Of the three types of entrepreneurs, the becak drivers turned out to be most vulnerable compared to those in the other two sectors who were better off. Becak drivers generally appeared to have less access to financial, social, cultural, and human capital necessary to help cope with the crises than the others. Among the accommodation sector and silver businesses, I found that some could cope better than others. Although those who could cope better also suffered from the crises, they could manage the situation better as they offered better services or better product quality than other entrepreneurs belonging to the same sectors.

The businesses were affected in several different ways. The entrepreneurs lost quite a substantial number of customers since the outset of the crises. Demand tended to fluctuate depending on the overall social, political, and natural condition of the country as a whole. They also had problems maintaining the quality of their services and their products due to the rocketing prices of goods and raw materials. Businesses were becoming increasingly competitive. They all had to fight for their place in the same limited market while the number of investors for the same business also increased. In addition, the accommodation sector at Prawirotaman faced the problem of labor redundancy. There were too many workers for too little work. The accommodation sector in Sosrowijayan generally did not have problems with employees because they hired a very small number of people. Nevertheless, they had to compete with newly built hotels belonging to investors from big cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya. The investors generally took over bankrupt accommodation businesses,
especially those located on the main road. Similarly, the silver industries in Kotagede faced problems of mushrooming investment in silver shops on the main road on the one hand, apart from labor redundancy on the other. The shops preferred to sell much cheaper silver products that were produced in East Java. Furthermore, becak drivers faced competition from modern means of public transportation and the increasing number of people who owned motorcycles. Local people were disinclined to take a becak as their means of transportation. For the locals, taking a becak was more expensive than using their own motorcycle or if they took other forms of public transportation. As a result, the becak drivers' income and profit gain was much lower than prior to the crises. In fact, the decline of international tourist visits to Yogyakarta negatively affected the small entrepreneurs who depended on tourism for their livelihood.

Moreover, the problems the enterprises had to face directly affected the household economies of the entrepreneurs for two reasons. First, the financial crisis in 1997 led to high inflation, which caused prices, including the prices of daily needs, to sky-rocket. Meanwhile the significant decrease of international tourist visits, which was the main market for these enterprises, caused a considerable diminution in income. Second, inflation coupled with the decrease in income became unbearable since the households of the entrepreneurs generally depended on one single income. In the accommodation sector both in Sosrowijayan and in Prawirotaman and in the silver industry in Kotagede, women in the families were also involved in the management of the business. However, becak drivers were often the only breadwinners in their families and their spouses, with a few exceptions, were housewives who did not work outside their homes. Clearly, the impact of the prolonged crisis affected not only the sustainability of their enterprises but also the entrepreneurs' household economy.

Addressing the ongoing debate on sustainable tourism development, tourism scholars generally claim that the small-scale tourism sector is pivotal in order to reach sustainable tourism development. It is believed that through the development of small-scale tourism, community participation in tourism development is ensured. Increased community
Conclusion

involvement is expected to help to evade conflicts of interest that can inhibit the objective of reaching sustainable tourism development. Small-scale tourism is offered as an alternative to mass tourism. Mass tourism is associated with negative social, cultural, environmental, and economic effects on the tourist destination, as local community participation was limited. However, the concept of sustainable tourism development through alternative or small-scale tourism also poses a different problem. In this case, the demand aspect is absent while the focus is merely on supply. However, both are equally important for sustainable tourism development.

The prolonged crisis that affected the tourism industry calls for further exploration into the concept of sustainable tourism development. In the empirical chapters, I have shown that the prolonged crisis threatened the sustainability of the business of my informants. In all cases, the entrepreneurs who used to cater for the international tourist market lost many of their customers. Demand for their services and products declined dramatically due to the series of social and political problems within the country. However, despite these harsh conditions, what is striking about the cases in my study is that small-scale entrepreneurs proved to be resilient against the effects of the prolonged crisis. Of the four cases I studied, only some entrepreneurs discontinued their business. The majority persevered to continue with their business. The question is how can we explain this resilience? The study reveals that the key to the entrepreneurs’ resilience lies in their gradual adjustment to the changes in relation to their household position and their assets. This process is possible because the entrepreneurs are socially, culturally, and economically embedded in their environment.

First of all, there is a significant mobilization of household assets, both material and human. Whatever happens in the enterprises or in the households has mutual consequences. The entrepreneurs hardly differentiate between assets belonging to their households or those belonging to their enterprises. Therefore they use their assets interchangeably. Both tangible, such as property and savings, and intangible assets, such as family labor, play an important role for the livelihood of the entrepreneurs’ families as well as for the continuation of
their enterprises. Resorting to this kind of management, the entrepreneurs use their assets to fill gaps in critical moments of, say financial shortages or insufficient labor to ensure the continuation of the enterprise’s operations.

In the early stage of the crises, and when the financial needs are urgent after the earthquake, the entrepreneurs generally turn to their savings or their working capital and valuable goods to deal with the sudden drop in income and the rocketing prices. The use of savings and working capital is only done by entrepreneurs in the accommodation sector and in the silver business. Becak drivers do not have the possibility to do so as they always earned enough money for only a very short period of time. Then, their particular spending behavior also causes them to live without savings. Furthermore, in all four cases, selling valuable goods is found.

Labor is also a crucial issue among the entrepreneurs in the accommodation and silver business sectors. As the number of customers decline, the entrepreneurs also have problems maintaining the same number of employees as before. Different from formal large businesses who dismiss their workers due to the crisis (Breman & Wiradi, 2004:302), the entrepreneurs in my study do not lay off their workers immediately. Instead, they take less drastic action by leaving the decision to stay or to leave in the hands of the laborers themselves. For cultural reasons, the entrepreneurs in general are reluctant to fire their workers but let them go when they want to resign. The ideology and practice of rukun (harmony) in Javanese culture affect the way they deal with the problem of labor redundancy. In the relations between the entrepreneurs and the workers, the ideology and practice of rukun is manifest in mutual obligations and mutual respect (Rutten, 2005:7). Despite the financial problems they experience, the entrepreneurs generally feel obliged to protect and support their laborers while the laborers in their turn also decided to avoid conflict. Only when the impact of the crisis becomes unbearable, the laborers take the decision to resign and look for new jobs.

Flexibility is reflected in the way the entrepreneurs manage the tasks left by the workers who resign. Although the entrepreneurs lose quite a significant number of workers, they decide to run their business with the
employees who stay. As a result, the remaining workers have more responsibilities since they also have to take care of the jobs left by their colleagues. When necessary, entrepreneurs also have to go back to the old practice of mobilizing family members to help at the operational level.

In order to save their business, all entrepreneurs take the next step and resort to market switches. As discussed earlier, repeated social and political incidents have negative impacts on the international tourist arrivals to Indonesia and therefore the possibility for the entrepreneurs to gain income from international tourists diminished. They resort to switching their market focus from international to domestic tourists in order to keep their businesses going. This strategy is done in line with the Indonesian government policy to encourage domestic tourism due to the crises.

In order to compensate for their income drop, economic diversification is also a significant strategy among both the accommodation sector and with the becak drivers. The crises triggered this decision. Prior to the crises, the entrepreneurs generally focused on their tourism businesses and never expected that that the crises would hit their businesses so hard. They were quite content with their accomplishment in the business and did not think of diversifying to other businesses. This attitude, which tended to be risk-avoiding, may explain their business practices. Only after they could no longer earn even some meager income from the tourism industry, did they decide to engage in variety of side activities while continuing their main businesses. The entrepreneurs rarely switch to new businesses completely. Instead, they try to earn additional income to meet the household needs by working extra jobs or starting new businesses in other sectors than tourism. The entrepreneurs engage in the informal sector in order to gain supplementary income through either permanent or impermanent businesses or jobs.

Entrepreneurs who own financial capital or property, and have skills or educational background and networks have more room to be successful in alternative income generation. In general, accommodation owners benefit from the availability of one or a combination of different capitals. Contrarily, without enough capital, becak drivers are less capable than
accommodation owners to find alternative jobs that give them sufficient remuneration. Those who come from rural areas decide to keep their position in the city and accept any jobs offered. However, this strategy does not guarantee that they obtain jobs every day. In times of crises the number of businesses needing their laborers shrinks while the number of people looking for jobs increases.

Due to the crises, the scope of their networks decreases and types of support to benefit from their networks also shifts. Mostly the entrepreneurs have weak ties through their foreign customers. However, although their foreign customers still see Indonesia as a country of destination, the entrepreneurs' global market network has been cut off. This situation is not conducive to doing business. On the other hand, strong ties remain but their supportive role has weakened. At most, people can expect limited financial support in the form of loans or gifts from their immediate family or neighbors. Nevertheless, in all cases, both strong and weak ties play equally important roles in the provision of chances for income diversification. Entrepreneurs rely on both types of social networks to obtain the necessary information about the availability of jobs or business opportunities. As expressed by Lin et al. (2001:6-7), embedded resources in social networks play an important role in facilitating flows of information because the market situation is imperfect. The chance to obtain information about market needs and demands increases when entrepreneurs have social ties with people at certain strategic locations and or in hierarchical positions. Similarly, through their ties, the other party, like associations both in the production and in the consumption markets and their agents or a community may learn that somebody is out there who would otherwise have remained unrecognized (Lin et al., 2001:6-7). In the words of Portes (1998:12), social capital acts as a bridge to resources that an individual or an organization can gain from.

Strategies employed by the entrepreneurs as summarized above imply that in the informal sector two aspects dominate in small-scale business operations. First, we can conclude that the informal sector is important to ensure that entrepreneurs do not plunge into an even deeper crisis. Furthermore, flexibility, which characterizes the business operations of
small enterprises in the tourism industry assures the continued existence of the tourism business under crises. Entrepreneurs switch from the international tourist market to the lower level domestic market segment. As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the cases at the accommodation sector clearly reveal the different layers of market segments they serve starting from middle class domestic tourists to changing the function of their building from *losmen* to boarding house. Market diversification is one but business or job diversification by entering the informal sector is another. The economic crisis even affirms the importance of the informal sector for the continuation of the livelihood of many people. This study suggests that the involvement of the entrepreneurs in the informal sector as a source of alternative income prevents the further deterioration of their already low remuneration from the tourism business. This finding is in line with Manning’s study (2008:108) pointing out that people who lose jobs during the crisis turn to the informal sector to save their households’ economies. Opportunities for work in small enterprises and in the informal sector enabled workers to obtain alternative jobs, albeit at lower levels of remuneration (Manning, 2008:108). Despite its unfavorable position in the eyes of policy makers, in times of crises, the informal sector has a prominent role as a safety net.

My findings on the coping strategies among the small-scale tourism entrepreneurs illustrate the specific ways in which these entrepreneurs manage to ensure the survival of their businesses and their households because their economic activities are embedded in their social environment. Being embedded is clearly important as embedding enables entrepreneurs to recognize opportunities and to use them, and integrates them in significant networks. Entrepreneurial embedding creates a link between the economic and the social spheres so that entrepreneurs can more effectively exploit economic opportunities. In times of crisis, they try to survive by exploiting the available resources. Therefore, they make use of their background knowledge, their business experience, and the contacts they keep from their previous employment (Jack & Anderson, 2002:475). Hence, although the crises hit their businesses badly, hardly any of the entrepreneurs in my study moved away from the area, instead they tried to identify new opportunities in the local market. Entrepreneurs could remain
in their positions by strategically employing their social embeddedness. The “local” at some level was important to determine the entrepreneurs’ capability to survive in times of crisis. Entrepreneurs can access different kinds of benefits such as specific knowledge, contacts, sources of advice, resources, information, and support when they are embedded in the social structures of the area. Hence, entrepreneurs can maximize the potentials of their economic opportunities more effectively by using their social bonds (Jack & Anderson, 2002:481).

The illustration of how small-scale entrepreneurs in the tourism industry managed to cope with the prolonged crisis through their embeddedness in their social environment shows that in order to be sustainable, tourism development should take the demand aspect into account and not only focus on the supply side as demand has the potential to cause disruptions in the objective of sustainable development. The assumption that the development of the tourism sector can be isolated from development at large at national and even regional level is highly questionable. Concentrating exclusively on tourism development without integrating it into general community development may prove to be a trap since different sectors are in fact dependent on each other. The crises have confirmed the idea that tourism demand fluctuates and therefore using tourism as the only tool of development is not recommended. In my study I have shown that the small entrepreneurs in the tourism industry have the resources to develop their tourism businesses but simultaneously also have other resources enabling them to engage in other economic activities. When the crises struck their tourism businesses, they managed to survive through their engagement in a variety of economic sectors. Presumably, sustainable tourism development as a development objective is more likely to succeed when it is integrated in other economic activities.
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Samenvatting

De Toerisme Industrie In Tijden Van Crisis.
De Overlevingsstrijd Van Kleine Ondernemingen In Yogyakarta
(Indonesië)


Dit onderzoek is gebaseerd op anderhalf jaar veldwerk in 2005 en 2006 in drie verschillende buurten in de stad Yogyakarta, en maakt gebruik van etnografische gegevens. Er zijn diepte-interviews gevoerd met ondernemers om de aard en de structuur van de ondernemingen te onderzoeken, de geschiedenis van de bedrijvigheid, de problemen die men ondervond, de resultaten die bereikt werden, en de overlevingsstrategieën die ondernemers hanteerden op ondernemingsniveau onder veranderende omstandigheden. Observaties zijn gebruikt om de methode aan te vullen.
De centrale vraag van het onderzoek is: “Hoe hebben kleinschalige ondernemers in diverse onderdelen van de toeristische sector in Yogyakarta, Indonesië, gereageerd op veranderende eisen van het toerisme als gevolg van de aanhoudende crises die het gebied getroffen hebben tussen 1997 en 2006?”. Deze centrale onderzoeksvraag is uitgesplitst in drie deelvragen. Ten eerste, welke strategieën hebben de ondernemers in het toerisme in Yogyakarta gebruikt om hun bedrijf te redden en in hun levensonderhoud te voorzien onder de bedreiging van de voortdurende crises? Ten tweede, hoe zijn de verschillende overlevingsstrategieën ontwikkeld door verschillende ondernemers op verschillende locaties en hoe kunnen deze vergeleken worden? En ten derde, hoe dragen de uitkomsten van het onderzoek bij aan het debat over duurzame ontwikkeling van het toerisme?

Aangaande de centrale vraag blijkt uit mijn onderzoek dat kleine ondernemers in de toeristische sector erin geslaagd zijn om te gaan met de voortdurende crises omdat hun bedrijven en huishoudens sociaal, cultureel en economisch ingebed zijn in hun omgeving. Het ingebed zijn is duidelijk van belang omdat deze inbedding het voor ondernemers mogelijk maakt om kansen te herkennen en te gebruiken. Inbedding van ondernemers creëert een verband tussen de economische en de sociale ruimte waardoor ondernemers economische kansen beter kunnen benutten. Tijdens crises proberen ze te overleven door de benutting van de beschikbare middelen. Vandaar dat, hoewel de crisis hun bedrijven hard heeft geraakt, er nauwelijks ondernemers zijn vertrokken uit het gebied of geprobeerd hebben om nieuwe kansen in de lokale markt te identificeren. Voor een deel was het “lokale” belangrijk om de overlevingsmogelijkheden van de ondernemers in tijden van crises te bepalen. Kort gezegd, ondernemers kunnen toegang tot verschillende soorten voordelen zoals specifieke kennis, contacten, bronnen van advies, middelen, informatie en ondersteuning verkrijgen wanneer ze zijn ingebed in de sociale structuren van het gebied.

Er werden verschillende overlevingsstrategieën gehanteerd door ondernemers. Allereerst was er een grote inzet van huishoudelijke bezittingen, zowel materiële als menselijke. Alles wat er gebeurt in de
ondernemingen of in de huishoudens heeft wederzijdse consequenties. De ondernemers maakten nauwelijks onderscheid tussen bezittingen die behoren tot hun huishoudens of tot hun ondernemingen; ze gebruikten de bezittingen door elkaar. Zowel materiële activa, zoals onroerend goed en spaargeld, als immateriële activa, zoals arbeid door gezinsleden, speelden een belangrijke rol voor het levensonderhoud van de gezinnen van de ondernemers en ook voor de voortzetting van hun bedrijven. Toevlucht tot dit type beleid betekent dat de ondernemers hun bezit gebruikten om op moeilijke momenten, zoals bijvoorbeeld financiële tekorten of onvoldoende werk, gaten te vullen en de voortzetting van de ondernemingsactiviteiten te garanderen.

In de beginfase van de crises, en toen de financiële behoeften erg urgent waren na de aardbeving, wendden de ondernemers zich in het algemeen tot hun spaargeld of werkkapitaal en waardevolle goederen om de plotselinge daling van de inkomsten en de omhoogschietende prijzen te pareren. Het inzetten van spaargeld en werkkapitaal werd alleen gedaan door ondernemers in de accommodatie-sector en in het zilverbedrijf. *Becak*-bestuurders hadden niet de mogelijkheid om dit te doen omdat ze altijd slechts genoeg geld verdienden voor een zeer korte tijdsperiode. Bovendien had ook hun uitgavenpatroon tot gevolg dat ze leefden zonder spaargeld. De verkoop van waardevolle goederen werd in alle vier gevallen aangetroffen.

Arbeid was ook een cruciale factor bij ondernemers in de accommodatie-sector en zilverbedrijven. Aangezien het aantal klanten daalde, hadden de ondernemers ook problemen om hetzelfde aantal medewerkers als voorheen aan het werk te houden. Echter, de ondernemers in mijn onderzoek ontsloegen hun werknemers niet onmiddellijk. In plaats daarvan namen ze minder drastische maatregelen door het besluit om te blijven of te vertrekken aan de arbeiders zelf over te laten. Om culturele redenen waren de ondernemers in het algemeen huiverig om hun werknemers te ontslaan, maar lieten ze hen vertrekken wanneer ze ontslag wilden nemen. De ideologie en de praktijk van *rukun* (harmonie) in de Javaanse cultuur bepaalde de manier waarop omgegaan werd met het probleem van overtollige arbeidskrachten. Ondanks de financiële problemen die zij

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ervoeren, voelden de ondernemers zich in het algemeen verplicht te zorgen voor bescherming en ondersteuning van hun arbeiders. Ondertussen besloten op hun beurt ook de arbeiders om conflicten te vermijden. Alleen wanneer de gevolgen van de crisis ondraaglijk waren, namen ze de beslissing om ontslag te nemen en ander werk te zoeken. Flexibiliteit werd aangetroffen in de wijze waarop de ondernemers omgingen met de taken die werden achtergelaten door vertrekkende werknemers. Hoewel ondernemers een aanzienlijk aantal werknemers verloren, besloten ze om hun bedrijf te runnen met de werknemers die bleven. Als gevolg hiervan hadden de resterende werknemers meer verantwoordelijkheden, omdat ze ook de taken van hun voormalige collega’s moesten uitvoeren. Indien nodig moesten ondernemers ook terugkeren naar de oude gewoonte om gezinsleden te mobiliseren en bij te laten dragen op uitvoerend niveau.

Ten tweede, om hun bedrijf te redden, maakten alle ondernemers de verdergaande stap naar andere markten. Zoals eerder besproken hadden de herhaalde sociale en politieke incidenten negatieve gevolgen voor de komst van buitenlandse toeristen naar Indonésië. Daardoor verminderden de mogelijkheden voor ondernemers om inkomsten te verkrijgen uit het internationale toerisme. Om hun bedrijf draaiende te houden verlegden ze hun focus van de internationale markt naar binnenlandse toeristen. Deze strategie was in overeenstemming met het beleid van de Indonésische regering om het binnenlandse toerisme te stimuleren na de eerste bomaanslag in Bali.

Ten derde, om hun inkomensdaling te compenseren was ook economische diversificatie een belangrijke strategie voor zowel de accommodatie-sector als voor de becak-bestuurders. De crises zijn aanleiding geweest voor deze beslissing. Voorafgaand aan de crises waren de ondernemers in het algemeen gericht op hun toeristische bedrijvigheid en ze hadden nooit verwacht dat de crises hun bedrijven zo hard zou raken. Ze waren heel tevreden met de prestaties van hun bedrijven en dachten niet aan diversificatie naar andere markten. Deze houding, gericht op het vermijden van risico’s, zou hun ondernemersgedrag kunnen verklaren. Pas nadat ze niet langer zelfs maar een mager inkomen uit het toerisme konden
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genereren, besloten ze allerlei nevenactiviteiten te ontwikkelen onder de gelijktijdige voortzetting van hun belangrijkste activiteiten. De ondernemers schakelden zelden volledig over naar nieuwe bedrijven. In plaats daarvan probeerden ze aanvullende inkomsten te vergaren om aan de behoeften van het huishouden te voldoen door extra baantjes te accepteren of door nieuwe bedrijven in andere sectoren dan het toerisme te starten. De ondernemers kozen ervoor om deel te nemen in de informele sector om aanvullende inkomsten te verwerven door middel van permanente of tijdelijke bedrijven of banen.

Ondernemers die financieel kapitaal of onroerend goed bezaten en beschikten over vaardigheden of een opleiding en netwerken hadden meer kans op succes bij het genereren van alternatieve inkomsten. In het algemeen profiteerden de eigenaren van accommodaties van de beschikbaarheid van een of meer typen kapitaal. Dit in tegenstelling tot de becak-bestuurders die, zonder voldoende kapitaal, minder dan eigenaren van accommodaties in staat waren om alternatieve werkgelegenheid te vinden die voldoende opbracht. Degenen die van het platteland naar de stad waren gekomen besloten om daar te blijven en aanvaarden elke aangeboden baan. Echter, deze strategie garandeerde niet dat ze elke dag werk hadden. In tijden van crises daalde het aantal bedrijven dat arbeiders nodig had, terwijl het aantal mensen op zoek naar banen toe was genomen.

Door de crises nam de reikwijdte van de samenstelling van hun netwerken af en ook verschoven de vormen van ondersteuning die de netwerken konden bieden. Hoewel buitenlanders Indonesië nog steeds zagen als een bestemmingsland, was de toegang tot het wereldwijde marktnetwerk voor de ondernemers geblokkeerd. Dit was niet bevorderlijk voor het zakendoen. Aan de andere kant bleven de sterkste banden wel behouden maar verzwakte hun ondersteunende rol. Mensen konden op zijn best beperkte financiële steun in de vorm van leningen of giften van hun naaste familie of buren verwachten. Toch speelden in alle gevallen zowel de sterke als de zwakke banden een even grote rol bij het bieden van kansen voor inkomensdiversificatie. Ik stelde vast dat ondernemers op beide soorten sociale netwerken terughuilen om de noodzakelijke informatie te verkrijgen over de beschikbaarheid van banen of mogelijkheden om zaken
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te doen. De kans om informatie over de behoeften en de vraag in de markt
teverkrijgen was groter wanneer ondernemers beschikten over sociale
banden met mensen op bepaalde strategische locaties en / of in
hiërarchische posities.

De hierboven samengevatte strategieën zoals die door ondernemers zijn
glehante, impliceren dat in de informele sector twee aspecten domineren
bij kleinschalige ondernemingen. Ten eerste kunnen we concluderen dat de
informele sector van belang is om ervoor te zorgen dat ondernemers niet
vervallen in een nog diepere crisis. Bovendien, de flexibiliteit die de
bedrijfsvoering van kleine ondernemingen in de toeristische sector
kenmerkt, verzekert het voortbestaan van de toeristische bedrijven tijdens
een crisis. Ondernemers schakelden over van de internationale toeristische
markt naar een lager niveau, het binnenlandse marktsegment. De cases in
de accommodatie-sector maken duidelijk welke verschillende
marktsegmenten ze bedienden; aanvankelijk richtten ze zich op de
middenklasse binnenlandse toeristen, later veranderde de functie van hun
pand naar een (goedkoper) losmen of pension. Marktdiversificatie is één,
maar bedrijfs- of baandiversificatie door het toetreden tot de informele
sector gaat een stap verder. De economische crisis bevestigde het belang
van de informele sector voor veel mensen om in hun levensonderhoud te
konvieren. Dit onderzoek suggereert dat de toetreding van
ondernemers tot de informele sector als een alternatieve bron van
inkomsten voorkwam dat er een verdere verslechtering van hun toch al
lage inkomsten uit de toeristische activiteiten optrad. Ondanks de
ongunstige positie in de ogen van beleidsmakers blijkt in tijden van crisis
dat de informele sector een prominente rol als vangnet speelt.

Uit de discussie leren we dat er voor een duurzame ontwikkeling van het
toerisme rekening gehouden moet worden met het vraag-aspect en dat men
zich niet alleen op de aanbodzijde moet richten, omdat de vraag het
potentieel bezit om grote verstoringen te veroorzaken in de doelstelling
van duurzame ontwikkeling. De veronderstelling dat de ontwikkeling van
de toeristische sector geïsoleerd kan worden van de algemene
ontwikkelingscontext van de staat of de regio is hoogst twijfelachtig.
Aandacht die uitsluitend gericht is op de ontwikkeling van het toerisme
Samenvatting

zonder deze te verankeren in de algemene maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen kan een valkuil blijken te zijn omdat de verschillende sectoren in werkelijkheid geïntegreerd zijn en elkaar beïnvloeden. De crises hebben het idee bevestigd dat de toeristische vraag fluctueert en daarom is het gebruik van toerisme als enige instrument voor de ontwikkeling niet aanbevelswaardig. In mijn onderzoek heb ik getoond dat de kleine ondernemers in de toeristische sector over de middelen beschikken om hun toeristische ondernemingen te ontwikkelen, maar tegelijkertijd ook andere middelen hebben die het mogelijk maken dat ze zich bezighouden met andere economische activiteiten. Toen de crises hun toeristische bedrijven troffen, slaagden zij er in te overleven door hun contacten met diverse andere economische sectoren. Vermoedelijk maakt de ontwikkeling van duurzaam toerisme als ontwikkelingsdoelstelling meer kans van slagen wanneer deze wordt geïntegreerd in andere economische activiteiten.