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Image-Building and Guiding on Lombok. The Social Construction of a Tourist Destination

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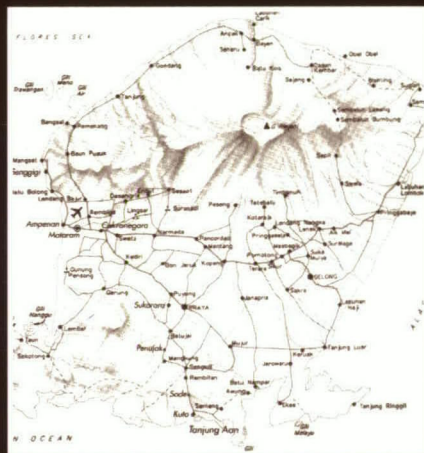
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Image-Building and Guiding on Lombok

The Social Construction
of a Tourist Destination



Karin Bras

Image-Building and Guiding on Lombok

The Social Construction of a Tourist Destination

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Katholieke Universiteit Brabant,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof. dr. F.A. van der Duyn Schouten,
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van
een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie
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door

Catharina Hillegonda Bras

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Promotor: prof. dr. T.A.M. Beckers

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To my mother, Jos Bras-Kenter

CONTENTS

Preface	7
Chapter One – Introduction	9
1.1 Travelling East	9
1.2 Methodology	14
1.3 Organisation of this Thesis	19
Chapter Two - Theoretical Framework and Central Questions	21
2.1 Towards a Homogenisation of Culture	22
2.2 Tourist Attraction System	26
2.3 Authenticity and the Authentic Experience	29
2.4 The Social Construction of Authenticity	31
2.5 Local Manifestations of the Globalisation Process	33
2.6 Guiding in the Tourism Attraction System	37
2.7 Local Tourist Guides	40
2.8 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Guiding	43
2.9 Central Questions	47
Chapter Three – Destination Lombok	50
3.1 A General Introduction	51
3.2 Urban Lombok	53
3.3 Ruled for Centuries	54
3.4 Religion on Lombok	58
3.5 Rural Sasak Life	60
3.6 Handicraft Villages	62
3.7 Kuta and Bau Nyale	65
3.8 Returning Home	68
3.9 Tourism Development on the Island of Lombok	69
3.9.1 "Quality Tourism"	71
3.9.2 <i>Resort Development and Local Participation</i>	73
Chapter Four – Local Tourist Guides: Resources, (mutual) Relationships, Abilities, Choices and Prospects	77
4.1 Introduction	77
4.2 Categories of Local Tourist Guides	78
4.2.1 <i>The Pathfinder or Original Guide</i>	79
4.2.2 <i>The Mentor or Professional Guide</i>	80
4.2.3 <i>A Transition and the Emergence of New Roles</i>	81
4.2.4 <i>Dimensions of Guiding</i>	81
4.3 Categories of Local Tourist Guides on Lombok	85

4.3.1 <i>Professional Guides</i>	86
4.3.2 <i>Site-related Guides</i>	94
4.3.3 <i>Odd-Jobbers</i>	99
4.3.4 <i>Network Specialists</i>	108
4.4 Conclusions	115

Chapter Five – Government Education and Control in the Guiding Sector of Lombok

	119
5.1 Introduction	119
5.2 Education	121
5.2.1 <i>Government Guide Courses</i>	122
5.2.2 <i>Performance, Attitude and Guiding Techniques</i>	126
5.2.3 <i>Standardised Narratives</i>	128
5.2.4 <i>New Issues: Eco-Tourism Education</i>	133
5.3 Rules and Regulations	136
5.3.1 <i>The Image of Unlicensed Guides</i>	137
5.3.2 <i>Sweepings</i>	140
5.4 Conclusions	142

Chapter Six – Local Tourist Guides and Processes of Authentication of Tourist Attractions – The Case of *Taman Narmada*

	145
6.1 Introduction	145
6.2 Lombok under the Mataram Dynasty	149
6.3 The History of Narmada	151
6.3.1 <i>The Legend of the Miniature of Gunung Rinjani</i>	151
6.3.2 <i>The Layout of Taman Narmada</i>	154
6.3.3 <i>Dutch Accounts of Narmada</i>	155
6.4 Day trips to Taman Narmada	158
6.4.1 <i>Tourist Space</i>	159
6.4.2 <i>Local Space</i>	160
6.5 Standardised Narratives and the Negotiation of Meaning	161
6.5.1 <i>Narmada a Place "From the Past"</i>	163
6.5.2 <i>Access to the Backstage</i>	165
6.5.3 <i>Protecting Boundaries</i>	168
6.6 Conclusions	170

Chapter Seven – The “Real” Story about Dusun Sade:

The (Re)presentation of a Traditional Village in Central Lombok

	173
7.1 Introduction	173
7.2 Traditional Culture and Cultural Identity	174
7.2.1 <i>Images of Traditional Sasak Villages</i>	176
7.2.2 <i>Dusun Sade</i>	177

7.2.3 <i>From a Natural to a Contrived Tourist Attraction</i>	179
7.3 The Loss of Dusun Sade?	183
7.3.1 <i>Playing the Native?</i>	184
7.3.2 <i>A Boycott</i>	184
7.3.3 <i>Rehabilitation Efforts</i>	186
7.4 Managers of Public and Private Space	189
7.4.1 <i>A Walk through the Village</i>	189
7.5 Local Narratives	191
7.5.1 <i>On-sight Markers: The Primitive and the Authentic</i>	192
7.5.2 <i>A Frozen Image</i>	194
7.5.3 <i>Off-sight Markers: Interpretations of Daily Sasak Life</i>	196
7.6 Conclusions	202

Chapter Eight – General Conclusions: the Guiding Scene Revisited	205
8.1 Introduction	205
8.2 The Tourist Guides of Lombok	206
8.3 The <i>Lumbungisation</i> of Sasak Culture: Provincial and National Tourism Policy	210
8.4 Tourism and the Process of <i>Reformasi</i> : A Temporary Set Back?	214
8.5 Final Remarks	217

Bibliography	220
Glossary	235
Samenvatting	237

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 The Island of Lombok	52
Figure 3.2 Eight Resort Areas of Lombok	70
Figure 4.1 Schematic Representation of the Principal Elements of the Tourist Guide's Role	78
Figure 4.2 Dimensions of Guiding	84
Figure 4.3 Principal Components of Guiding Styles on Lombok	116
Figure 5.1 General Rules of Conduct for Local Tourist Guides	128
Figure 6.1 Fountain of Eternal Yout in Narmada	156
Figure 7.1 Development Proposal <i>dusun</i> Sade	179
Figure 7.2 Proposal Organisation <i>dusun</i> Sade tourism village	181
Figure 7.3 Overview of <i>dusun</i> Sade	183
Figure 7.4 Local Guide at Work	187

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Number of Visitors, Hotel Rooms... in West Nusa Tenggara, 1984-1997	72
Table 3.2 Expectation Number of Visitors... in West Nusa Tenggara, 1998	73
Table 5.1 Number of Licensed Tourist Guides in NTB 1988, 1991-1996	120
Table 5.2 Content of the Guide Course	123
Table 5.3 Number of Participants Guide Government Courses 1989-1996	124

PREFACE

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Karin Bras
Amsterdam, April 2000

CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

1.1 Travelling East

The first time I set off for Lombok was in February 1994. My intention was to find out whether Lombok, which together with Sumbawa forms the province of West Nusa Tenggara in the eastern part of Indonesia, would be an appropriate location for my research on cultural brokers in the construction of tourists attractions. I had spent the preceding month at the Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta, studying the Indonesian language. Near the end of the course, some of my fellow students (mostly Australians) began to feel sorry for me having to go all the way to one of the outer islands. The ideas my fellow students entertained about Lombok being “in the middle of nowhere” were inspired by the comments of some of our teachers at the course. “If you want to study tourism, you have to go to Bali, or even better to Kuta, Bali. Lombok is only countryside, not so much is happening there”. These were the general reactions to my plans for an initial exploratory “expedition”. Although my first visit was short (it lasted only a week), it was long enough to convince me that Lombok would do very well as a research site.

What struck me immediately during my first visit was Lombok's special relation with Bali. This derived not just from the historical domination of the Balinese or the actual presence of many Balinese in the western part of Lombok, but also referred to Lombok's current (re)presentation to tourists. It was regarded as essential to include the internationally well-known and established tourist destination Bali in all the promotional campaigns to enable both visitors and those working in the tourism trade to identify the location of Lombok. The proximity to Bali was considered an advantage in view of the minor effort of crossing the Lombok strait spending a few extra days on Lombok. But, being constantly overshadowed by Bali's popular image also made it difficult for Lombok to present itself to the outside world. Lombok was either promoted as a good replacement for crowded Bali – “a second Bali” - or the emphasis was placed on the combination of Balinese and Sasak¹ attractions which gave the island its special character. Aiming at this last line of approach, the provincial tourism department used to promote the island on the pretext of: *You can see Bali on Lombok, but you can not see Lombok on Bali*. Although this motto was officially abolished by the time I arrived on the island; a substantial amount of the promotional material still shows the link with Bali. A hotel in one of the tourist areas

¹ The Sasak are the indigenous inhabitants of Lombok

still uses a banner to promote its happy hour: *Lombok as Bali. In Sixties watching the Eastern Bali with cold draught beer Bintang. Buy one and get two.* The Garuda In-flight Magazine featured an article on Lombok commencing with the observation: "Lombok? Sure, I've heard of it. The Bali of 20 years ago, isn't it? Without all that commercialisation. Sounds great!" This sort of publicity created a popular image of Lombok as being (in contrast to Bali) a quiet paradisaical destination replete with empty white-sand beaches without jet skis, traditional villages without tourist buses, and simple bungalow-style guest houses without pizza bars, which was also a way to address potential visitors. A local guide who originates from Lombok gets tired of the continuous comparison with Bali:

That is our big problem (...) Everyone says Bali is bigger, Bali is better, Bali is more beautiful. But they forget the special things on Lombok. Our Sasak villages with the rice barns are very special. Our Pura Lingsar for Hindus and Muslims together is also very special. And, in Lombok, our beaches are empty. It is sincerely peaceful (Davis 1995).

During the last four years more images of Lombok's own peaks have been incorporated into the (re)presentations for tourists. Nowadays travel brochures and leaflets offer visitors "an island of unlimited wonder" or "untouched beauty" when they write:

A beautiful and serene volcano crowns the cool central highlands where little villages offer perfect retreats. Pearly white beaches hug the coasts and coral islands in crystal waters beckon. This is Lombok Island, a hop away from Bali (Changi 1995).

Lombok is a quiet island of pristine beaches and rolling countryside. The plurality of its population - a mix of Chinese, Arabs, Balinese and indigenous Sasaks - is matched by an equally dramatic contrast in landscapes (Indonesia Tourism Promotion Board 1996).

The process of image-making is connected with the Indonesian government's policy of developing tourist destinations other than the already well-known tourist places like Bali and Yogyakarta. In the sixth Five Year National Development plan (1994\95-1998\99) (*Rencana Pengembangan Lima Tahun, Repelita*), tourism was regarded as one of the "prime movers" of regional economic development (Sofield 1995), especially in the economically weaker provinces. The promotion of other destinations, through such schemes as the *Beyond Bali* campaign, was a means by which to realise higher growth rates in tourism arrivals by diversifying the country's

tourist product and simultaneously to enhance economic activity. Lombok is one of these new destinations which, according to Butler's tourism destination life-cycle model (1980), can be positioned in the development stage. This model is concerned mostly with more general issues of the evolution of tourist areas, like ownership and marketing issues. The development stage is characterised by a focus on resorts (built mainly with foreign investments) and the attraction of what is generally called the "quality tourist". In a short period - tourists have been visiting the island since the mid-1980s - tourism became booming business.

This dissertation is broadly concerned with the relationship between the recent entry of the island in the tourism market, its proximity to Bali and the way the host culture is translated and presented to tourists. The arrival of tourists forced the issue of deciding which elements of local and regional culture would contribute best to the attraction system. Lombok, being a relatively new destination on the tourism market, provides the opportunity to analyse the process of attraction formation from the outset. Although the main sites and excursions are already defined, Lombok's attraction system still has to take shape. New attractions are constantly created, while the already existing ones are being subjected to (re)interpretation and reformulation. As I shall illustrate, a tourist attraction is the result of a dialogue between tourists and cultural brokers, the latter mediating between the tourist gaze and its object. Realising that I had to narrow down the concept of cultural brokers, I decided to focus entirely on local tourist guides. Local tourist guides are probably the only members of the local community with whom tourists will spend time; shared time that implies more than the average host-guest service relation. During my first orientation week, I had several encounters with local tourist guides which made me aware of the variety within this group. Their differences in descent, education, skills, strategies and approaches, combined with the task they had assumed of providing information and composing a narrative, unfolded a fascinating target group for the research. Their representations of the culture visited are based on their own indigenous system of references, on their knowledge of the local setting, but also on their (mis)understanding of the tourists' own culture. They are expected to explain the "local" to a "global" audience and therefore have to be able to move around in both worlds at the same time. It is my goal to understand how local tourist guide's (re)presentations of Lombok evolve and how these narratives are influenced by an increasing international involvement.

The choice of Lombok as a research site also brought some disadvantages. Not having established any contacts at the university level or in the tourism industry meant that I had to start from scratch. Therefore, a second visit was planned to do preliminary research and prepare for a longer period of fieldwork in 1995. These two months in the summer of 1994 were used for exploratory meetings with university and government officials. I established initial contacts with tour operators, travel agencies, local non-governmental organisations (NGO) and Lombok's guide association. I used the opportunity to make various trips on the island in order to make an initial inventory of the tourist attractions and to identify Lombok's highlights. Lombok has a wide variety of tourist attractions to offer; the most popular being sun, sea, sand locations like Senggigi and Gili Trawangan, Gili Meno and Gili Air along the west coast. This part of the island is also famous for its Balinese temples and palaces, all situated close to Mataram (the capital and administrative centre of West Nusa Tenggara). In Central Lombok one finds the traditional Sasak villages like Sade and Rembitan, and several handicraft villages where weaving and pottery-making is demonstrated to tourists. Travelling to the northwest has the label of being alternative and is specified as an outstanding opportunity for tourists who want to see more of Lombok than hotels, beaches and other tourists. The main attraction of this area is formed by the natural beauty in combination with villages located "off-the-beaten-track". The north is also visited by climbers of Mount Rinjani; the highest volcano on Lombok. Taking on the tourist role was an ideal way to visit the most important sites on the island, and to become acquainted with the alternative routes across Lombok.

After selecting Lombok, my intention was to single out two or three sites from where I could focus on local tourist guides; expecting these places would generate the information about Lombok's cultural assets. During my second, long fieldwork period, however, I realised that this was not the right approach. The beach resorts and Mount Rinjani are the only sites that are offered as separate excursions, while most of the other sites are combined in day trips². Local tourist guides compose their narratives about the island and its cultural assets in one day i.e. from departure of the hotel in the morning until the arrival back there, eight hours later. The only time

² Examples are the city tour, which focuses on the Balinese sites and gives a first glimpse of Mataram. The North Lombok tour is about natural beauty in combination with Sasak villages and the South Lombok, as we will see in Chapter Three, is a combination of everything the island has to offer.

they have the unconditional attention of their guests is in between sites, in the hotel lobby, in the bus or during lunch. This is the time they use to introduce or evaluate sites; to explain broader contexts and to place their accounts in a broader interpretative framework. To limit myself to sites only would lead me astray into giving an incomplete picture of guiding and narratives, and it would not provide an insight into their dynamics. The focus on tours would also allow room to opt for a case study of a specific site at a later stage of the research.

Consequent upon this choice was the question of where to live. What would be an appropriate place to conduct my research from? An obvious choice seemed to be to look for accommodation in Senggigi, the major beach resort at the northwest coast. The majority of the tourists are accommodated here and it is the starting point of many of the excursions. The tour operators and travel agencies, however, are located mostly in Mataram or in its adjacent towns. And because of the high cost of living in Senggigi, local guides live in or close to Mataram. Choosing Mataram (only half an hour from Senggigi by public transport) helped me to keep a professional distance from Senggigi which, because of its specific character, would have allowed me to get acquainted with only some categories of cultural brokers. This distance also allowed me room to move around freely in the tourist areas; as a tourist who participates in tours and excursion and mingles in the nightlife. Quite apart from this Mataram was the best location to meet local tourist guides in their own environment. After work, with their families or in their boarding houses, they had time and were more at ease and prepared to talk in length.

The decision to conduct my research from Mataram (where I already had stayed in guesthouses during my first week) was easily made when a contact at the University of Mataram introduced me to a family living in Gomong Baru, a very centrally located neighbourhood in Mataram. I became their *anak angkat* (adopted child) for the whole period of the research. In retrospect it was the best possible choice I could have made. This family, including their relatives living all over Lombok and their close neighbours, provided me with an insight into the average life of a Sasak family in a provincial town. Assuring me that they did not live “in the middle of the forest on an island inhabited by thieves”, they tried to counter the prejudices formulated by Indonesians from other areas. Conveying accurate information about the meaning of being a Sasak and living on Lombok was regarded as highly important. Perhaps it is needless to say that their perceptions and ideas certainly coloured my own

understanding of the local Sasak culture during this intense period of cultural exchange. Their perspectives on tourists and Western lifestyles were by no means representative of the whole population of Lombok, but they offered me at least the glimmerings of an understanding of how tourists were looked at and also of their general opinions of local people working in the tourism sector. Living with a family, none of whom could speak any English, forced me to learn the Indonesian language quite fluently. In the course of the research my proficiency in the language helped me to establish better relations with my informants. They quite often visited my house, individually or with groups of friends for long, informal and interesting talks.

In a third period of fieldwork I did indeed decide to highlight two of Lombok's important sites. Being able to place those case studies in a broader context removed the danger of giving guiding a static image. The choice of the Balinese summer palace, Narmada, and the traditional village of Sade was motivated by the fact that both are part of the island's most popular South Lombok tour and therefore well visited. Balinese court culture and the Sasak ethnic culture are combined in one tour. Narmada reflects the Balinese elements in the image-making process. It is an example of court culture; the domicile of a former Balinese king, a coloniser who ruled on Lombok. Whereas Sade is closely related to the daily life of ordinary Sasak villagers and to the establishment of an independent image for Lombok.

Another reasons to go into the field for a third period of time was the lack of data available from government agencies regarding Lombok's general tourism development. Although the request for a research permit was submitted long before my first period of extended fieldwork in 1995, it only became available in 1996, just when I was about to leave for home. At that time there were no financial means to prolong my stay. Realising all along that this could happen, I had tried to obtain the necessary information through informal contacts which I had developed at government level. Needless to say is that this approach took much more time and has certainly complicated the research.

1.2 Methodology

The fieldwork for this study was spread out over three years (1994 to 1996), of which I have spent a total of sixteen months in the field. A combination of strategies was used. Field data were obtained through participant observation, low-keyed

conversations and structured interviews with different categories of local guides. I have tried to map all the different aspects of guiding and I have talked with representatives of all categories of local guides. More specifically, I have conducted (more or less formal) interviews with sixty-three local guides and I had several encounters with almost half of this group. Of a selected number of local guides I recorded (parts of) their life histories, placing a special emphasis on their working career. At a practical level I participated in about thirty day excursions and fifteen guided tours to specific attractions, accompanied by local guides. Besides observing the interactions between the guides and the tourists, I also focused on their narratives; which in most cases were directly recorded. In the beginning especially I recorded their narratives without asking permission. Mostly because my role as a tourist did not allow such an activity. I was also afraid that local tourist guides would not feel at ease to say what they thought, had they known their narratives were recorded. Testing this with a control group whom I had asked for permission made it very clear that some of the guides felt awkward at the start and made comments like: "I shall have to tell a good story today, otherwise Karin will tell my boss". But after a short while they completely forgot about my recording and me, being too busy with their regular guests. From that time onwards, whether I asked for permission or not depended on the situation. Because their narratives during the excursions are not personal and open to every tourist around, I do not think there was any harm in recording them. I have never, however, recorded interviews or informal conversations without permission.

Part of these recorded narratives are used throughout the whole text. I am aware that the choice of a certain fragment has made me part of the construction of Lombok's narrative. I have integrated the verbatim fragments - including all the mistakes and awkward sentences - not to make the local tourist guides look ridiculous, but to give as factual a reproduction as possible. When reading these fragments, it should be borne in mind that in daily practice a tourist is never confronted with text only, but with a combination of images, text and the guide's presentation.

The information obtained through participant observation and interviews with local guides was supplemented by interviews with government representatives, representatives of local NGOs and respondents working in the tourism industry and in tourism education. In order to gain an insight into guide education, I attended (parts of) five different guide courses organised by government institutions, travel

agencies and local NGOs. I also attended several meetings, workshops and study days organised by the guide association, a local NGO and the university, all concerning tourist development in the region. All of this data, complemented by secondary data, statistics and case studies obtained from government agencies, educational institutions and consultancies, was embedded in a literature study concerning tourism development and tourism policy at a local, regional and national level.

Fieldwork is defined as “a form of inquiry in which one is immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individuals or group for the purpose of research” (Wolcott 1995:66). A long-term acquaintance and personal contact with the informants, essential to achieving some level of understanding, is a well-known characteristic of anthropological fieldwork. But carrying out fieldwork is, of course, more than “being in the field for a long period of time”. Anthropological fieldwork, participant observation and informal interviewing aims at developing an insider's (emic) view of what is happening in a certain culture or area. It is an approach that gives us access to the meanings, e.g. intentions, motives, attitudes and beliefs, which guide behaviour with our goal being to interpret the world in the same way as our informants do (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983). As a researcher I tried to share in the local guides' world, “to participate directly in their symbolic world, and to take a role in their interaction” (Henderson 1991:53). By observing and participating, as well as through informal interviews I was able to acquire data which would never have been obtained using a survey. Interacting with guides during their tours, for instance, proved to be an excellent opportunity “to integrate words and deeds” (Henderson 1991:61); a way to observe them “on the job”, giving information about the attractions, telling stories and interacting with their guests. Some categories, in particular the so-called “wild” guides, required an even more informal approach. Among this group, I was not only the “interested tourist” or the researcher, but also a source of information about Western values and lifestyle. Talking about their guiding activities was, however, difficult. Even informal interviews were hard to conduct. Their unwillingness to share their strategies and motives demanded the expenditure of more time and the adoption of a cautious approach.

As Henderson puts it “it is important to become a regular but the research should not be invalidated because of biases that may develop in becoming too close” (1991:66). During the fieldwork I felt myself to be under constant strain, torn between gaining entrée and getting and maintaining rapport and not getting too involved and keeping

the necessary distance towards the informants. There was always a risk of becoming too close with one category of guides, thereby creating alienation from the others. The guides working in the formal tourism industry, for instance, could not understand my interest in, or the attempts I made to gain insight into the “wild”, independent type of guides. Both categories compete and I had to be careful not to be sucked into their competition. Spending a great deal of time with collaborative informants, who may become friends, can affect the researcher's interpretations and lead to the loss of some sense of objectivity in data collection and analysis. Conducting fieldwork has to be a search for a balance between involvement and detachment, which is not always that easy. By taking on different roles, as I shall describe below, and by making my assumptions, purposes and dilemmas explicit, I was able to guide my biases; biases which, according to Wolcott “should stimulate inquiry without interfering in the investigation” (1995:165). But, of course, my personal involvement and long-time acquaintance with the informants determined the course of the fieldwork and influenced the data which I collected in those sixteen months. As a result the data reflect my choices and perspective and represent only one possible way of looking at the world of guiding in this particular area.

Beset by fear for competition, the tourism industry tends to protect its products, which makes it extremely difficult for a researcher to gain access and launch some sort of collaboration. It was especially difficult to gain access to the tourist guides or day trips for that matter when local tour operators work directly and on a regular basis with foreign travel agencies. A great deal of the time I was dependent on sheer luck or the willingness of individuals to take me along on a day trip along with other tourists. To enlarge my chances of obtaining access, I was forced to use different strategies and play a role other than that of the researcher. One of these other roles was the “interested tourist” or “student” who was hoping to see and learn more of the island's culture by participating in guided tours. This strategy gave me easy access to tours for which individual tourists can sign up. At other times I was “the teacher” willing to help the local guides with their language problems by offering a Dutch language course organised by the guide association. This “teaching position” enabled me to get in touch with guides working for a large variety of tour operators on a regular basis. Some of them, as soon as rapport was established and a trustful relationship was developed, invited me on their tours. Being a teacher for the guide association also provided me with valuable insights into its organisation.

This shifting of roles caused confusion about my exact identity on some occasions and made me subject to the process of authentication. It was not unusual to witness lengthy discussions between guides and other actors in tourism (e.g. hotel personnel, drivers or souvenir sellers) with respect to my occupation and the reason for me being there. "Was I looking for an Indonesian husband maybe or was I just an ordinary tourist?" "No", someone else interrupted, "she is a teacher, she is *guru temanku*" (my friend's teacher). My ability to speak the Indonesian language and even some phrases of the local language made some of them define me as a tour leader, a foreign guide, or sometimes even as an expert on Sasak culture. As Crick stated "the anthropological self is significantly shaped by the interests, attitudes and understandings of others" (1995:216), something he himself experienced, when after seven months of fieldwork, he was still addressed as "hello hippie" by one of his informants who probably regarded him as "a kind of tourist, to be manipulated like any other relatively ignorant foreigner in the tourist arena" (Crick 1995:216). I experienced more or less the same. One of my key informants could not understand my indifference towards a group of "wild" guides and beach sellers who not only called me a *turis* (tourist), but also treated me like one by charging high prices and bullying me in Indonesian when I was not willing to pay. He argued that I had to make them aware of my occupation and my reasons for being on the island. I was grateful for his concern, but it took a lot of explaining to convince him that I did not feel offended. This "tourist" role made it possible for me to move around freely in the tourist areas. By becoming my own research instrument, I could gain clarity about the applied strategies of the guides, their "tactic talks" (Crick 1992) and their unrestrained narratives.

Precisely the identity of being a long-term tourist, which allowed me to come into contact with the local guides while at work, bothered me on other occasions in which invitations for office meetings or seminars did not reach me because those meetings were considered to hold no interest for me. During the course of the fieldwork, many of the actors in the field were eventually informed about my exact research interest. The passing of time and a prolonged stay, for that reason, dissolved many of the above-mentioned problems. Sooner or later things will always return to normal and this also happened during my fieldwork. After a while I was no longer a topic. The novelty of my presence had worn off, creating the possibility of moving around freely without having to explain my being there. The greater insight into my presence, however, created another dilemma. Being an anthropologist interested in

the guide's narratives and participating in the company of tourists on day trips, I was often confronted with tourists, asking me questions about the local culture and the tourist attractions. Tourists, in other words, forced me into the role of tour leader or guide who can structure their experiences, while my own goal was to study the guides' performances (Bruner 1995). My presence created a changed situation which I tried to neutralise by not giving more than an occasional translation, passing on the questions to the guide and slipping back in my "learning" role.

After some time in the field, I established valuable relationships with four local guides; representatives of the different categories of local guides on the island of Lombok. Generally speaking key-informants are members of the group being focused upon, who provide the researcher with a large part of his or her data. They are well informed and able to reflect upon the group and the social processes. In, mainly, informal meetings these key-informants provided me with more in-depth information about the guiding scene. They initiated me into "the emic language of the participants" (Henderson 1991:67) and helped me "to see if people say what they mean and mean what they say" (Henderson 1991:67). They also provided me with general information about the early years of guiding and shared their perception of the present with me. They were willing to introduce me into their own network which gave me the possibility of meeting many of their colleagues. By using pseudonyms, I hope to protect the identity of my informants. The original names of travel agencies, however, are used throughout the whole text.

1.3 Organisation of this thesis

Chapter Two provides the theoretical framework of this dissertation and ends with the central research question. Through the presentation of fragments of the narratives of local guides supplemented from other sources, I want to introduce the island of Lombok and its cultural assets in *Chapter Three*. In *Chapter Four* the different categories of tourist guides will be introduced. I shall concentrate on their position in the local society and link the image of their profession to questions related to identity. An insight into "how they handle the tourist" will tell us more than obtaining data about general guiding techniques only. The classification of their clients – "how they see us" (the ways of addressing and "interviewing" tourists) - proves to be important to their strategies. In combination with information about their salesmanship and their relations in the field these data provide valuable insights

into the ways tourist guides try to obtain a central position within the tourism sector. In *Chapter Five* the focus will move to guiding and education. Guide courses organised by the provincial government and government-related organisations are linked up to the government's licence policy and efforts to standardise tourist attractions and narratives. The tourist site Taman Narmada, in *Chapter Six*, is a fruitful starting point to give an insight into the discourse on local culture and to show the struggle for the “real” story about (parts of) Lombok. The aim is to discuss the role of the guides as mediators in local culture by focusing on their “bodies of knowledge”: their factual knowledge of the tourist attraction, their additional stories, but also their language abilities and their talent for conveying this knowledge in a, for the tourists, understandable narrative. The notion that authenticity is negotiable will be especially elaborated on and illustrated by several examples. In *Chapter Seven* I want to describe several cases - all situated in the traditional village Sade - in which guides operate as managers in the organisation of public and private places. Their efforts and strategies in obtaining access to sites, or, conversely, avoiding sites will be discussed. The negotiations between the tourist and the guide or between the local people and the guide will give an insight into the ways certain sites are made into a tourist attraction, or, conversely, how already existing tourist attractions are avoided or how possible tourist attractions are ignored. These developments will be related to the ongoing competition between internal and external guides and between several of the sites in that specific area. The strategies of the local tourist guides will be situated within the policy of the provincial government concerning these tourist sites and its efforts to develop an independent identity for the island Lombok. In the concluding chapter, *Chapter Eight*, a summary of the relationship between the local guiding system and the way a new tourist destination is developing will be presented. Pertinently, the phase of tourism development will be related to other destinations in Indonesia and to the tourism policy of the Indonesian government in general and the provincial policy in particular.

CHAPTER TWO - Theoretical Framework and Central Questions

(...) Certainly, tourism is developing rapidly on Lombok, but, anyhow, a lot has changed on the island the last few years. Take for example this neighbourhood. Ten years ago I lived in the middle of the rice fields and at night we heard only the sound of crickets. Nowadays Airlangga Street is a very busy street with shops, restaurants, schools and travel agencies. Not only tourism changes our world here, it is the globalisation. The newspapers and programmes on radio and television make everything transparent. Things are changing around us and that is only normal I think (...) (field notes 24-8-94).

The local tourist guide who made this remark lives in Mataram, the small provincial town which was my home for more than a year during my fieldwork. Mataram is the main town of the island Lombok and capital of the province of West Nusa Tenggara. The local *warung* (food stalls) selling *ayam taliwang* (fried chicken) or *soto ayam* (chicken soup) still dominate the streets which gives Mataram a provincial appearance. But, for a few years now, Mataram has also had a Kentucky Fried Chicken; the only take-a-way located on the island that is advertising heavily in the tourism areas. The place is famous because of the novelty of having the first and only escalator on the island, which, at the time I was there, never functioned. Recently one of the national airlines offers the possibility of ordering Dunkin' Donuts straight from Denpasar. They are flown in half a day after making the reservation at the nearest Merpati office and even delivered all the way to the front door. This local tourist guide is confronted with what you could call the world of Dunkin' Donuts and Kentucky Fried Chicken or, in other words, with the wider cultural interconnectedness of the world (Hannerz 1996:7). This transnational orientation, also described as globalisation, can be regarded as a process in which people from all over the world are drawn into world-wide networks by the deployment of communication and transport techniques and by the development of increasing flows and exchanges of commodities, information, knowledge and images (Mommaas 1991). Of course, the transnational orientation of the local tourist guide is not limited to fast food chains only. The guide had already mentioned the effects of television and newspapers, which seems to make his own world bigger and give the idea that the world as a whole is shrinking. Important though it is his work in tourism that makes him aware of the characteristics of other places and cultures that earlier were beyond his reach.

Appadurai distinguishes five dimensions in which this transnational orientation takes place:

...the increasing flows of people (immigrants, workers, refugees, tourists, exiles), technology (machinery, plant, electronics), financial information (money, shares), media images and formation (from television, film, radio, newspapers, magazines) and ideologies and world-views) (quoted in Featherstone 1991:47).

This first dimension refers to the mobility of people. Their increasing mobility contributes to the sense that where we belong, where our home is, is no longer restricted to one locality, but becomes part of a wider spatial context (Mommaas 1991). People and things are increasingly out of place (Clifford 1988:6), which means that cultural differences are no longer distinct because more and more people of different backgrounds have the possibility of meeting each other or at least of receiving information about each other through world wide media. One flow that brings this world-wide mobility into practice in a way that appeals to the imagination of a growing number of people is tourism. For a long time going on a holiday was restricted to nearby destinations, nowadays visits to far-away and “exotic” destinations in non-Western countries is no longer an option open only to a small, privileged group. The information about destinations comes easily within the reach of the tourist through all kinds of mass media. They can choose out of an abundance of services offered by the tourism industry and without any difficulty take part in the “comfortable” adventure called holiday. For many people travelling to, for instance, Southeast Asia is no longer a once-in-a-lifetime experience. Tourism has become an industry in which the physical presence of the tourist and the contact between host and guest assumes a central place. The result of this global orientation is that sites all over the world try to capture a place in the tourist market, for instance through the promotion of the cultural heritage and by improving the accommodation and service sectors. In cities old buildings are renovated and new five-star hotels are built, in rural areas unspoilt scenery is marketed and the “quaintness” or ethnicity of the local communities is incorporated into the attraction formation process.

2.1 Towards a Homogenisation of Culture?

A topic that has long dominated the field of tourism research is the question of whether tourism will destroy the local or regional culture of the host communities, in other words, if the local or regional culture will be replaced by something that can

be called a homogeneous “world culture”. Ideas like these are based on the assumption that globalisation engenders processes of cultural decay, as depicted by Lévi-Strauss in his view that “authentic human differences are disintegrating, disappearing in an expansive commodity culture to become at best, collectible ‘art’ or ‘folklore’” (in: Clifford 1988:14). This commodity culture causes concern in those who are afraid that the world will turn into a “single” place (Featherstone 1995: 102) in which places and experiences are exchangeable.

In tourism literature, especially literature about the influence of tourism on the so-called traditional communities in Third World countries, the assumption (MacCannell 1976, 1992, Turner & Ash 1975, Boorstin 1964, Greenwood 1977) that the arrival of tourists lays a heavy burden on the culture of local communities in the sense that their local life becomes part of the attraction system and therefore will become a commodity that can be bought and sold is still widely shared. The concern is expressed that the integration of local communities into larger regional, national or even transnational networks will lead to a loss of cultural heritage or at least to the commodification of cultural traditions. Tourists are more likely to be considered a threat to these communities rather than as welcome visitors. The concern about a commodification of culture is based on several assumptions. The first assumption is the existence of a unique static local culture and the need to protect this culture from the risk of becoming unstable and inauthentic. This is bolstered by the assumption that the protection of the local culture is in the interest of the local people (Vickers 1989:176). The island of Bali in Indonesia is a good example of an area where the concern about a commodification of culture is a constantly recurring topic. Largely because of the active stimulation and development of cultural tourism in this area, the question if Bali *will survive* has been asked as long as Bali has been a tourist destination, i.e. since the 1920s. At that time Bali was already being described as a paradise, as a living museum. Bali’s unique blend of religion, custom and art forms the heart of its culture. With the arrival of the tourists, their culture is no longer the exclusive property of the Balinese alone since it has become the main attraction of the island in the eyes of its visitors (see Picard 1990b). This is a salient example of the dilemma: *tourism relies on culture, but tourism is (also) a threat to culture*. Another illustrative example of this dilemma is an analysis by Picard (1990b) of a discussion in the Bali Post (a local newspaper). The Balinese are divided in their judgement of tourism. Some say that as a result of tourism, the Balineseness of the Balinese is increasing and that changes only affect the surface of Balinese culture. In the pre-colonial as well as

in the colonial period, Bali adapted successfully to domestic (Javanese) and foreign (Dutch) influences. Balinese culture changed constantly and showed remarkable resilience (Vickers 1989).¹ Although positive voices are heard more often, the negative opinions still persistently state that, as a result of tourism, the Balinese are losing more and more of their Balineseness:

(...) temples are losing their sacred and awe-inspiring character; the Balinese are using modern materials to build their house shrines; they are switching from agriculture to industrial occupations; they are learning foreign languages and forgetting their mother tongue; the kinship system is falling apart; the rules governing relations between the sexes are blurred; behaviours which depart from Balinese rules are everywhere in evidence, such as sexual promiscuity, criminality, begging, drug abuse, etc. (quoted in Picard 1990b:2)

Culture is considered to be a static, isolated sphere lacking the dynamics of change, which is constantly under pressure from outside forces like tourism. Consequently change in host communities is often judged through the extensively debated concept of authenticity. In both the production and consumption of tourist places, almost overwhelming is given to the authenticity - literally defined as "the quality of being authentic; the state of being true or in accordance with fact; genuineness" (The Chambers Dictionary 1993) - or in contrast the loss of "genuineness" of places tourists visit.² Central to this debate is whether or not authenticity can be defined and, as a result of this, destinations and attractions can be labelled authentic or inauthentic. Boorstin (1964) claims that tourists are satisfied with superficial experiences, while MacCannell (1976), plays devil's advocate and emphasises their continuous search for authentic experiences. Although approaching from different perspectives, both

¹ Wood states that "the Balinese have come to objectify their culture in terms of the arts and evaluate tourism's impact in terms of whether arts are flourishing or not" (1997:10). The Balinese, in other words, do not use the broad anthropological definition of culture - total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions - but concentrate solely on some of its artistic expressions.

² A striking example of an effort to offer tourists a "genuine" experience is a tourist attraction in Dallas: 'The experience of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy'. For the price of 25 US\$ it is possible to make the historic route in the backseat of an open limousine. Along the route tourists hear a tape with a cheering crowd, gunshots, radio reports about the assault and sirens of police cars and ambulances. Tourists dress themselves up as JFK and his wife. For some of the participants this experience seemed to be too genuine: "it was as if I experienced that terrible day all over again" (my translation) (Parool 1996 "Kennedy-rit met geluid van schoten slijt Dallas").

authors conclude that tourist attitudes will lead to events, attractions and experiences which are devoid of ties with reality; called pseudo-events, contrived attractions or artificial experiences. Boorstin and MacCannell concentrate predominantly on the experiences of the tourists, whereas Cohen (1988) urges for a further investigation into the process of authentication. Authentication refers to the process in which the “genuine” is constructed and negotiated, not only by the tourist, but by a whole range of actors who all have their own criteria and interests concerning the “genuine”.

MacCannell (1984) observes the tendency in the tourist industry is to maintain authentic cultures for the amusement and entertainment of Western tourists. Tourists are offered easily consumable tourist attractions, which are not always reliable representations but are more in the nature of frozen images of the culture of the host communities in which cultural traditions are turned into commodities. In “The Locke Case” (1992), MacCannell discusses the small town of Locke in California, the home of Chinese agricultural workers. The town is promoted as an authentic Chinese tourist attraction with the intention of preserving a neglected piece of ethnic history and as an educational centre where the Americans can learn something about the contribution of the Chinese to the economic development of California. But, MacCannell claims, the town became museumized, “a place where people live and tourists visit, a place that has been decorated to look like an ideal town of some sort, but no one is related to anyone else” (1992:173-176). MacCannell argues that entertaining tourists with the performance of traditions for money or by selling so-called airport-art will eventually lead to a stagnation of the development of the host culture. His conclusion appears pretty negative when he states that the result will be the creation of pseudo-communities which are detached from their social, economic, cultural and historical context.

The group members begin to think of themselves not merely as people but as a living representative of an authentic way of life (...) the group is an image of itself or museumized. The group becomes a thing (MacCannell: 1984:388).

Assumptions like these are characterised as the “billiard ball model” (quoted in Hitchcock 1993:8), focusing mainly on processes of commercialisation and addressing the locals as victims rather than as active participants in tourism developments. Their actions, motivations and involvement are ignored, shoved aside just like their own ideas about tradition and authenticity. Picard elaborated these issues by using the term “touristic culture”: “cultural tourism (*pariwisata budaya*) is turning Balinese

culture into what could be termed a 'touristic culture' (*budaya pariwisata*) that is, a culture characterised, according to the Balinese themselves, by 'a confusion between the values of culture and those of tourism'" (1990A:74) Tourism is considered to be an integrated part of the host culture; so-called "authentic" communities adopt tourism in their daily practice. In this approach the role of the local community in the construction of tourist attraction is recognised.

2.2 Tourist Attraction System

In the described example above, Balinese culture is regarded as an important part of Indonesia's attraction system. But, what is a tourist attraction system and how are sights and destinations transformed into a tourist attraction? In early definitions, tourist attractions were endowed with "magnetic power" (Gunn in Leiper 1990: 369), capable of drawing people to enjoy its values. Does Bali have such a "magnetic power" which makes it impossible for visitors to Indonesia not to visit the island? Maybe some sights are so spectacular in themselves that no support is needed to transform them into a tourist attraction, like the pyramids in Egypt, or one of the other "Seven Wonders of the World" (MacCannell 1976). Leiper, however, argues that, just by being there, objects, places, landscapes and cultures do not unintentionally attract tourists or influence visitor's behaviour (1990:368-370), but that the actual process is much more complicated. By elaborating on MacCannell's definition of a tourist attraction (1976), Leiper provides a perspective in which more than one component determines how a tourist attraction actually evolves. Instead of focusing only on the sight itself, he points out the importance of the interrelationship of the following elements:

a tourist attraction is defined as a system comprising three elements: a tourist or human element, a nucleus or central element, and a marker or informative element. A tourist attraction comes into existence when the three elements are connected (1990:371).

By adopting the term "nucleus" (the central component of the attraction), instead of MacCannell's "sight", he has made it possible to include any attribute of a place. As Leiper states, "a nucleus might be a sight (for sightseeing attractions), an object, a person, or an event" (1990:371). This broader concept makes it possible to include elements like the "atmosphere" of a certain destination, or the presence of a certain type of tourist, like the youth tourists in Amsterdam during the 1970s, who were tourists themselves but also elements of the attraction that other tourists came to see

(Kamsma 1991). Another example is the village Kuta on the island of Bali in the seventies. Being part of the hippie-trail, the place was primarily famous for the presence of other, like-minded tourists.

Tourists can be involved with a range of attractions, called a nuclear mix and within this mix, different nuclei have different significance for each individual tourist. Some attractions in the mix will be more interesting and important than others. Therefore, the nuclei can be classified in a hierarchy with primary, secondary and tertiary categories.³ Alongside the tourists and the characteristics of a certain place, the information about the nucleus is fundamental in the above definition. Leiper claims that at least “one meaningful marker is necessary *before* the three components become connected to form an empirical entity, an attraction system” (Leiper 1990:381). Markers exist in various capacities and are not only found at the place visited. MacCannell (1976:111) distinguishes on-sight markers - parallel to Leiper’s contiguous markers (1990:378) - for information found at the sight. Postcards, experiences and pictures of family or friends, lectures and general stories also have to be considered markers. They are called off-sight markers (MacCannell 1976:111) or detached markers, which Leiper divided into generating (information received before setting of) and transit markers (information found along an itinerary path (Leiper 1990:379). The place itself can be rather disappointing, but it is the relation between the place and the information about it that calls the attraction into being and will attract the visitors. The specific place where John F. Kennedy was shot was, until recently (see the in Note 2 mentioned JFK attraction in Dallas), nothing more than an ordinary street. But the stories known about the assassination of the former president of the United States authenticate the sight and induce people want to visit the scene of the crime.

Leiper’s model is predominantly focused on explaining tourist behaviour. The nuclei of one attraction system are organised and clustered on the basis of tourist needs and interests. The explanation of the function of markers is also closely linked to touristic needs and contemplated or actual visits to tourist destinations. He links markers to

³ A primary nucleus is an attribute of a place which is influential in a traveller's decision about where to go. Information about this place is available before departure and highly motivates the tourist's choice. A secondary nucleus is an attribute known to a tourist before departure, but it is not significant in the decisions about the itinerary. A tertiary nucleus is discovered by the tourists after arriving in a destination area (Leiper 1990).

“trip motivation, destination selection, itinerary planning, activity selection, nucleus identification, finding the nucleus, name connotation and souvenirs” (1990:379). Less attention is paid to the ideas behind the actual construction of tourist attractions within the destinations. What is the role of the local or regional producers, the hosts or the cultural intermediaries, within this construction? How do they communicate their own social and cultural world to the visitors and with what purpose? With the introduction of the concept “inviolable belt” - the area designated immediately around a nucleus - and the way in which this area can be used and managed by producers in the tourism sector, Leiper touches upon this topic only slightly. This “inviolable belt” can be seen along the lines of MacCannell's concept of sight sacralization in which he distinguishes five phases transforming an object (or place, event, atmosphere, person) into an attraction:

1. naming phase (when an object is marked as being worthy of preservation);
2. the framing phase (when an official boundary is placed around an object or when objects are put on a display or are opened up to visitors);
3. enshrinement (when the framing material itself has entered the first stage of sacralization);
4. mechanical reproduction (when the creation of prints, photographs, and the like of the object are themselves valued and displayed);
5. social reproduction (when groups, cities and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions (1976:44-45).

MacCannell's approach is also a fairly abstract way of showing us how the process of identification, construction and representation of tourist attractions actually works.

More insight into how, through the activities and interventions by various actors, the original tourist resources are transformed into sights and attractions valuable to recreation and tourism is provided by the transformation model (Dietvorst 1992, Ashworth & Dietvorst 1995). It not only focuses on material transformation, for instance the planning of an airport or the upgrading of a historical site, but also concentrates on the symbolic transformation by producers as well as consumers. This symbolic transformation by producers - “coding” - is closely linked to the use of markers. Although various categories of producers active in this symbolic transformation, are mentioned (for instance tour operators, travel agencies) (Ashworth & Dietvorst 1995:7), no efforts have been made to analyse how these actors - at a local, regional or national level - go about in their daily practice; how they influence the character of the destination and how they construct and negotiate meaning.

2.3 Authenticity and the Authentic Experience

The tourism industry appeals to the desire for an authentic experience. Domestic tourists are eager to discover their own history and culture⁴ and international tourists travelling to non-Western countries search for traditions that have already vanished in Western societies. They feel the desire to see the real life as experienced by people of different cultures and want to participate in some aspects of daily life. Alienated tourists go abroad in search for other lives. This search is illustrated in Dennis O'Rourke's film *the Cannibal Tours* (1987), in which a group of tourists visit Papua New Guinea. One of the members of the group, a German tourist who had already travelled to a number of exotic places on earth, wants to go to the exact spot in a village near the Sepik River where cannibalism was still practised. He asked his Iatmul guide, "Where have you killed the people? Right here. People were killed here? (...) Now I need a photograph of the two of us here before the stone for the memory" (quoted in MacCannell 1992:27). This quest for authenticity is considered by some to be a prominent motive of modern tourism welling up from a feeling of alienation (see MacCannell 1976).

At first sight the tourist's quest for authenticity seems to be in sharp contrast with the way most of them move around in remote parts of the world. The tourists in *Cannibal Tours* "want to see firsthand the ultimate savage Other, with penis sheath, painted face, and spear, but only from the secure and safe vantage point of luxury tourism, and only after the disappearance of the original object" (Bruner 1989:438). The tourists rely heavily on the infrastructure that is shaped predominantly for them, the air-conditioned buses, the luxury hotels, the imported food, the travel books, and the services of local tourist guides. Within this "environmental bubble" (Boorstin 1964) the search for the authentic other can start, without having to cope with all the annoying aspects of travelling, without having to endure the smell, the heat, or the delays which characterise their holiday destination and give the place its "authentic" appearance. Boorstin argues that tourists are satisfied with the superficial experiences these kind of arrangements offer. They thrive on pseudo-events and are doomed to face unauthenticity, but they do not seem to care (Boorstin 1964). What Boorstin's

⁴ In Indonesia domestic tourism is often encouraged as a way to learn about national culture. Interesting in this respect is Adams's article (1998) in which she states that, although such visits are often a national pilgrimage, "for some Indonesians, the touristic encounter only reinforces an underlying history of tense ethnic relations" (91).

tourists are actually looking for is what Featherstone calls a “home plus”, which they can find inside the walls of the resort.⁵ Of course, tourists often leave the protected area of the resort.⁶ Part of their daily practice is making trips to tourist sites. At this destination, local producers and intermediaries (re)construct sites, regulate visits, and negotiate experiences. Offering the tourists a good time, but also creating tourist zones and setting boundaries is part of their job. The next chapters of this thesis will demonstrate quite plainly that, in a regulated way, tourists get in touch with local culture and its representatives. That they can be regarded as “locals whose contact with another set of locals in the tourist location is highly regulated and ritualised” (Featherstone 1995:120). MacCannell argues that the tourist industry creates settings in which staged authenticity is presented. This area is designated to protect the backstage - the kind of social space, which MacCannell (1976:101-102) thinks, motivates touristic consciousness - from obtrusive tourists. He considers these settings examples of the process of commoditisation; as areas designated as an unreal reality - staged authenticity - exploited by the tourism industry. MacCannell argues that tourists hardly ever experience authenticity because as soon as they enter a setting the place will definitely change and the process of commoditisation will make its entry. In the end the process of commoditization will in the end destroy the meaning of cultural traditions for the locals and for the tourists alike. Through their presence they will destroy the objects they actually came for. The question is whether MacCannell's expectation of the presence of an objective authentic reality - the backstage - really exists. His arguments derive from the idea that the host community thinks unambiguously about the design and formation of tourist attractions systems and their authentic meaning.

⁵ Boorstin (1964) claims that this loss and lack of authenticity in the phenomenon of tourism results from the transition from “traveller” to “tourist”. He claims that the traveller has a more intellectual attitude and he makes a strong distinction between travelling (“work”) and sightseeing (“pleasure seeking”).

⁶ Tourists are too often portrayed as a homogeneous group with common interests and unambiguous patterns of behaviour and experiences. A typology of tourists, as made by Cohen (1972, 1979a) and by Valene Smith (1977), was an initial attempt to categorise tourists. The importance of this work lies in the fact that the broad diversity of tourists (their demands and consumption) and tourist experiences is highlighted and that an insight is provided into the motivations of tourists and their behaviour.

2.4 The Social Construction of Authenticity

Following the commoditisation point of view, tourism experiences and settings or one of the other, are considered to be awarded a place on a "real-unreal" scale. The scale concept is used by tourists to evaluate experiences and settings, but hardly any attention is paid to the fact if locals for instance are influenced also to think in a similar way (Cohen 1988) and if they do so, which criteria they use to consider something to be authentic or less authentic. Cohen offers an alternative theory and insists that authenticity is a socially constructed concept, of which the criteria vary greatly depending on the tourist or the observer. Authenticity is constructed by a whole variety of actors: the tourists, the local population, the tour-leader, the tour operators, the local tourist guide, and local and national policy makers. With reference to the tourist an important question is "what endows his experience with authenticity in his own view" (1988:378). The same can be said of the host community. Authenticity for them must be judged through their eyes instead of making etic judgements about their perspectives on tradition and authenticity. Cohen's central issue is that different people may conceive of authenticity in different terms and therefore its social connotation is not given, but "negotiable" (1988:374). He connects his analysis of the concept authenticity to the different modes of tourist experiences and states that tourists seek authentic experiences with different degrees of intensity and therefore will also conceive authenticity in different degrees of strictness. "(...) individuals who are less concerned with the authenticity of their tourist experiences, will be more prepared to accept as 'authentic' a cultural product or attraction which more concerned tourists, applying stricter criteria, will reject as 'contrived'" (1988:376). In other words, it is not important to decide if experiences or attractions are authentic or unauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity (Wood 1993:59-60).

Authenticity is, in other words, about conservation, renovation or (re)construction of the past or the exotic. The "social construction" approach opens up new channels for viewing "invented" cultural traditions or traditions that are reformulated and acquire authenticity in a short period of time. Cohen calls this "emergent authenticity" or "gradual authentication" and refers to the process in which a cultural product once criticised as unauthentic may as time passes be recognised as authentic.⁷Turning

⁷ Cohen gives the example of how Disneyland in the United States gradually became a vital part of the American Culture (1988: 380).

to cultural traditions, it is certainly recognised that there is a possibility that cultural products have been recently developed or reformulated, and not only to satisfy the interests of tourists (see Hobsbawn & Rangers 1983). Cohen even argues that:

the new external public provided by the tourists, may offer an opportunity to the producers of cultural products to incorporate in them novel but “authentic” messages, differing from those incorporated in cultural products intended solely for the “internal” local or ethnic public (1988:380).

Nevertheless as said earlier, there is always the fear that the local meanings, for instance religious significance, will disappear as soon as a certain cultural tradition is adapted for tourism. As illustration the *barong* dance - again an example from Bali - shows us that this is not always the case. The local community does not consider the adaptation of the *barong* dance, (Sanger quoted in Hitchcock 1993:10-11), in terms of cultural denigration because the *barong* is still performed with the correct prayers and offerings and they never compromise on quality. For a variety of reasons they welcome the tourists' interest in their dance. They actually like to dance the *barong* whatever the situation and in the low season they even miss the opportunity these performances give them to come together. The different layers of authenticity, observed by Ex and Lengkeek (1996), can be detected in the example above. Material, conceptual, contextual and functional authenticity all can perpetuate or break down the sense of genuineness of an object or place. The *barong* is taken out of its original context (contextual authenticity) and performed for a totally different audience. Nevertheless, the performance stays close to its original design (material authenticity) and the original concept (conceptual authenticity) is not abandoned; only slightly adapted. The performances are reduced in length and certain sections are modified. A repeated performance has a community function (functional authenticity) and pleases the community members. The community described clearly profits from the presence and extra revenues of tourists. Sanger's account is valuable because it shows us how the actors themselves participate in the (re)invention or (re)presentations of their own culture. The dance has a history of change - (a historical authenticity (Ex and Lengkeek 1996)) and the community members make this visible. It shows the dynamics of a local culture in which tourism has become part of everyday life. Instead of being victims, these locals have a voice in the matter⁸.

⁸ See for another interesting Indonesian example Adam's (1997b) account about a Toraja funeral ritual which is reinterpreted and reframed to fit in with the large variety of guests: family members, community members, government officials, and domestic and foreign tourists.

This process of social construction is noticeable in tourism everywhere and especially in the formation of tourist attractions. It requires attention to be paid to the distinguishing characteristics applied in the presentation of tourist attractions and to the value system that underlie these presentations. The central issue is not whether a tourist attraction is authentic or unauthentic, but how it acquires authenticity. Therefore we have to focus on the process of authentication which tells us more about the way attractions, experiences, representations become authoritative (see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988). The dominance of certain (re)presentations, of what is considered as “real” or “unreal” in these (re)presentations refers to the dominance of specific groups or people in the process of authentication. In tourism we can observe a whole range of actors who play a role within this authentication process. In this thesis, a more demarcated choice is made for the role of the local tourist guides in this process. However, before turning to their position in the tourist attraction system we have to take a closer look at possible local answers to the globalisation process.

2.5 Local Manifestations of the Globalisation Process

Considering authenticity as a social construction implies the adoption of a more balanced view towards the process of globalisation. Many authors have stressed that globalisation does not necessarily lead to greater cultural homogeneity (Clifford 1988, Featherstone 1990, 1991, Geschiere 1992, Mommaas 1991, Hannerz 1996), but that globalisation and localisation are interrelated processes that reinforce each other. Processes of cultural homogenisation tend to be the driving force behind the awareness people develop or the emphasis people put on their characteristic cultural or ethnic features. The strong interplay between the two processes is what Featherstone tends to call the “paradox of culture” (1991). Increasing mobility - as a characteristic of the globalisation process - does not necessarily mean a fading of cultural differences resulting in a world full of the same theme parks, with people watching the same soaps over a glass of the most famous soft drink. Clifford develops a perception of culture that does not depart from a world inhabited by “endangered authenticities” but points out “that there are specific paths through modernity” (1988: 5). He considers culture to be a creative process of continuous renewal through the mixture of different influences stating that “twentieth-century identities no longer presuppose cultures or traditions. Everywhere individuals and groups improvise local performances from (re)collected pasts, drawing on foreign media, symbols, and languages” (Clifford 1988:14). The adoption of elements of other cultures in fashion, art, leisure

activities or lifestyle is a demonstration of this global orientation, which takes shape in local performances. The “exotic” is just around the corner, especially in the big cities, and incorporated in our daily life, but not necessarily leading to homogenisation. Featherstone (1991) also observes more than one answer to the process of globalisation like a strong revival of regional and local sentiments. Local cultures feel a strong need to assert themselves, to show their cultural or ethnic identity; by stimulating or reformulating local traditions and ceremonies or by inventing new ones. Culture, in this approach, is regarded as dynamic. In fact, for different reasons all cultures are constantly in “the process of making themselves up” (Greenwood quoted in Linnekin 1997:218).

This assertion finds conformation in South Sulawesi where the most typical product of local architecture - the platform house - has become a symbol of Bugis, Makassarese and Mandarenese identities (Robinson 1993). The character of the house is a response to the great pressure exerted towards adopting cultural conformity in contemporary Indonesia. Instead of abandoning their traditional forms of construction, the Islamic people living in this area have found a way to assert their identity through their traditional house which is regarded as “the most striking material manifestation of their cultural distinctiveness” (Robinson 1993:229). The author’s point is to emphasise that this response contributes to the survival of a living cultural element and consequently that the platform house lives on in the modern world as an important symbol of regional identity. However, this regional identity is not applicable to every ethnic group living in this area. The Toraja of the highlands of South Sulawesi have succeeded in capturing the imagination of foreign as well as domestic tourists. Skilfully employing slogans like “We Torajans have more culture here” (Adams 1997b:312; Adams 1988:18), they successfully compete with the Buginese and Makassarese people mentioned earlier who disparage them as primitive and backward. Adams describes how the process of becoming a tourist attraction has led to an emerging “ethnic consciousness” (Adams 1997b:312) among the Toraja people. As a subordinated group, they have succeeded in using the tourist attractions as a resource through which they can indicate their cultural boundary within a wider national, and even international, context. Indubitably the “tourist gaze” (Urry 1990) creates possibilities to generate extra economic revenues and gives the Toraja a better bargaining position towards other ethnic groups in the area, but the downside is that it makes their image to the outside world vulnerable. In the tourism representations their local culture is described as static. Local guides in and guidebooks to Sulawesi do

stress that the rituals and other cultural forms are not created especially for the tourists, but they do not explain that they are also liable to change. In their stories the rituals, like other cultural forms, have not only been around for centuries, but have not changed one jot in those centuries either. The dynamic of contemporary architecture is ignored in favour of the perfect model of the "traditional house" or "traditional village" (Volkman 1990: 101-102). Brandishing appealing captions like "Land of the Heavenly Kings" (Adams 1984), travel brochures "create an image of Toraja people as archaic and unchanging" (Adams 1984:467). It is interesting to see how, not only the Toraja in this example, but many cultural or ethnic groups in tourism destinations in general, are exploiting such an image. But more important is how, even as they proclaim this archaism, they are carefully reframing and reinterpreting their traditions and customs which, amongst other strategies, allow them the possibility to erase negative stereotyped images.

What the response to international tourism will be depends a great deal on the policy of the national government, the present state of ethnic relations and also on the size and shape of the tourism development (Wood 1997). Although Indonesia's "policy of state-sanctioned identity is most apparent in issues of religion and region, rather than in ethnicity" (Wood 1997:13; see also Picard 1996, 1997, Kipp 1993), ethnic rivalry within a region can revive as result of obtaining an unequal share of attention from outsiders, especially tourists. This is the case with the Toraja earlier described and the Buginese people in Sulawesi, as they rival each other's rival in attracting tourists (Adams 1988, 1997a, 1997b). Longstanding, deep-seated differences are reinforced by the arrival of tourism. Or, by contrast, tourism is used as a strategy to propagate a regional identity and to indicate a cultural boundary, as in the Basse-Casamance in Senegal, West Africa. Under the influence of regional developments - an organised social movement with the independence of the Casamance as its goal - a revival of regional sentiments can be observed. The need to obtain independence and to keep the "Casamance for the Casamançais" does not mean that the local population excludes tourism from this region. By some ranks of the local community, an integrated rural tourism project is regarded precisely as a way to assert their cultural and ethnic identity (see Van der Klei 1989, Geschiere & Van der Klei 1988, Bras 1991, 1994). Conscient of the growing pressure from outside, in this case from the biggest ethnic group the Wolof, the local people from the Casamance area have grown more aware of their cultural character and a revival of a sense of belonging, a sense of place

(see Van Ginkel 1992, Cohen 1985) could be registered.⁹

Looking at the tourism industry, we can observe a tendency that supports the processes of localisation. In reaction to the standardising effects of mass tourism, many tailor-made programmes with a strong emphasis on the culture of specific (regional local, ethnic) groups are developed. These programmes are characterised by cultural differentiation and tend to promote the cultural or ethnic quaintness. They are inextricably linked with local or regional efforts to revitalise a region's heritage and attractions. In Indonesia's sixth Five year Plan (1993-1998), the government defined new target areas for tourism development (Sammeng 1995). Cultural and ethnic groups of the outer islands (e.a. Northern Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Nias in Sumatra, Lombok) have been incorporated into the national promotion campaign in which Indonesia is advertised as "a destination of endless diversity" (Picard 1997:196). Many scholars (Hooker 1993, Kipp 1993, Picard 1997) interpret this focus on cultural and ethnic diversity as part of the process of nation building. The way different cultures are displayed for a domestic and foreign audience is defined by the state, whose main interest is to create an indigenous national culture. This national culture is defined as "a combination of high points (*puncak-puncak*) of all the regional cultures of Indonesia, a hybrid mix of the best of existing cultures in the nation" (Hooker 1993:4). Picard stresses that "within this process of national integration 'ethnic cultures' are not important, but rather a policy in which provincial differentiation is emphasised" (1997:198); meaning that the level of identification of ethnic groups is brought back to the administrative provincial level. "Not the ethnic group, but the province has become the source of culture" (Hitchcock 1998:132). This policy becomes clear when looking at Indonesia's most famous theme park. Indonesia's "peak cultures" (Wood 1997, Picard 1996) are brought together in *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Beautiful Indonesia-in-Miniature), an outdoor museum in Jakarta where all the twenty-seven provinces of Indonesia are depicted by one single house (Acciaioli 1985, Kipp 1993, Wood 1997). The theme park "was created to celebrate the national motto of *bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity) and draw the attention to Indonesia's exemplary traditional culture" (Hitchcock 1998:126). It is not culture in its broadest meaning which is cultivated for tourists, but those aspects of regional

⁹ Over the last few years, this struggle for independence has led to some violent outbursts which, of course, have had an influence on the number of foreign tourists travelling to this area. Nowadays, only the more "adventurous" tourists choose a week's Senegal-Gambia roundtrip (Viceversa 1998:16-19).

culture that can serve as tourist objects, like rituals, dances and architecture. Several scholars (Acciaioli 1985; Kipp 1993; Picard 1996, 1997) have called these the “showcase” elements of culture; those elements which are harmless in the sense that they do not conflict with the government's ideas of a national identity and have gained acceptance as an original form of Indonesian culture. A homogeneous provincial identity is displayed for every province, “at the expense of the diverse ethnic cultures enclosed within their boundaries” (Picard 1997:198). Pertinently, these “showcase” elements are suitable to be transformed and translated into tourist attractions.

Looking at Lombok, we shall discover that the island contains Balinese tourist attractions which are defined as part of a “peak culture” (Chapter Six), but incontrovertibly local Sasak culture is slowly becoming part of Lombok's attraction system. The problem is that Sasak culture is, in part because of its “traditional”, ethnic image, not regarded as “peak” at all. In Chapter Seven, I shall elaborate on the Sasak non-peak “showcase” elements of the island in more detail.

Besides analysing Indonesia's national tourism policy, it is important to find evidence of the interrelated manifestation of the processes of globalisation and localisation at a regional and local level. What kind of representations of culture are produced by the communities and individuals involved? The actors central to this thesis are local tourist guides. Why them? What makes them so important to the whole attraction system? And more specifically, what makes them so important to the process of authentication?

2.6 Guiding in the Tourism Attraction System

Passing on information to tourists about a certain culture demands knowledge and the ability to convey this knowledge to others. In essence the tourist guides determine which ingredients of a local or regional culture are divulged and which are withheld. Guides are entrusted with a multitude of tasks. They have “to encapsulate the essence of place” (Pond 1993:vii) and, therefore, decide where to go, what to see, how and for how long to look. They have “to be a window onto a site, city, region or country” and are expected to be able “to create a mirror for visitors, enabling them to better understand their link to the history and culture of their hosts” (Pond 1993:vii). Tourist guides are said to have the ability to make or break the tour.

Whatever local tourist guides offer has a strong relationship with the local context and with his or her own personal background. They may open up the so-called backstages of daily life or decide to protect these areas because tourist visitors are seen as too intrusive. They may give details of their own family life pretending these are representative of the whole community. They may incorporate their prejudices in the narratives or adjust the information in order to satisfy the tourists. In any case, they anticipate the expectations or assumed expectations (whether or not coloured by a search for authenticity) of their guests. Volkman gives a number of examples of the process of creating representations in Sulawesi and states that:

the selection, compression and revision of ritual elements parallels the process by which tourism constructs its object and itinerary (...). Tour guides (...) faced with the "whole" of Toraja culture must select, compress, interpret, and arrange their guests' experiences into some kind of narrative frame, often in just a day or two (1990: 106).

Tourist guides provide their guests with information about a specific nucleus on several occasions during a trip. Their narratives *en route* are transit markers and at the actual site the information consists of contiguous markers; information about the direct surroundings. They conduct tourists around a site, name an object or place, interpret events and they, parallel to MacCannell's process of sight sacralization, (figuratively) put a frame around objects and places or open them up for visitation and label and reproduce them. Guides construct for tourists "an interpretative framework (...) enabling them to share his sense of the place's significance" (Bowman 1992:123). So far, in the analysis and description of tourist attraction systems, the role of intermediaries or cultural brokers has been neglected. As said earlier, most of the attention expanded on tourist behaviour and less insight is provided into the strategic place of intermediaries within this whole process. More detailed information on tourist guides' positions between the three components - sight, marker and tourist will serve to explain how markers are used, manipulated, adjusted or (re)invented.

A parallel exists between Leiper's hierarchy of tourist attractions and Cohen's analysis of an attraction system, with the exception that Cohen is making an effort to lay more emphasis on the hosts rather than the guests. Cohen argues that tourist attractions placed in the in-between section of the attraction system are most of all characterised by a need for interpretation (1985:26-27). The in-between section refers to the attractions between the centre and the periphery. The attractions that are less easily accessible are located in the periphery. The tourists visiting these sites need a

tourist guide to accompany them to an area that seems impenetrable to them, an area in which they do not know their way around, e.g. a volcanic mountain area. The guiding activities here are characterised by making an apparent unsafe environment, safe by leading the way.¹⁰ The better known and institutionalised attractions, which are part of the centre of the attraction system, tend to be standardised and formalised through all kinds of government regulations. At these sites entrance fees are charged and fairly standardised narratives are told. The activities of tourist guides are characterised by the reproduction of already existing narratives in a more or less elaborated form and by trying to preserve the attractive value of these sites. Attractions only recently added to the attraction system and not yet well defined are situated in the in-between section to which Cohen was referring. These attractions have no standardised narrative yet; they are still open to a great deal of discussion and interpretation from the side of the guides as well as the tourists. Cohen argues that the interpretative character of guiding tends to be of crucial importance here. Although valuable, I would like to argue that Cohen's division of attractions is less appropriate to Indonesia. To support this claim, I draw on the emphasis already described which the national government of Indonesia places on "peak" cultures. In the scope of the government's creation of a national culture and because of the political dominance of Java, Javanese culture has received more prominence than, for instance, the culture of the eastern islands (Hooker 1993). As far as regional cultures are integrated into the tourism attraction system - like for instance the Balinese culture - they are portrayed and interpreted in a standardised way, totally in accordance with national policy. It is important to study the kinds of effects this has on the construction of attractions, and more specifically on the tourist guide's role within this process, in a destination like the island of Lombok which is, in part at least, not considered to be a "peak" culture. What are the major tourist attractions on the island? Can we expect well-defined and formalised tourist sites? Are the guide's narratives examples of standardised (re)presentations? Or does a certain neglect of "non-peak" cultures allow ample room

¹⁰ This, however, depends on the importance of the area within the whole attraction system. Binkhorst and Van der Duim (1995) state that the most important functions of the local guides involved in the hill-tribe trekking in Northern Thailand are the instrumental ones, such as guiding trekkers in the jungle and mediating between them and the hill people at the tourist spot. But they add that the local guides also perform an important communicative function in that they provide the trekkers with some information about the tribal people. Hill-tribe trekking has probably already assumed a quite central role in the tourism attraction system of this area and can therefore not be placed in the area Cohen defined as the periphery.

for debate about the correct (re)presentation; a (re)presentation in which much emphasis is laid on cultural or ethnic identity? In Chapter Six and Seven, I shall discuss two tourist attractions and analyse issues related to the tourist guides' interpretations of several elements of Lombok's attraction system in more detail. The summer palace in Narmada (Chapter Six), a heritage of Balinese court culture, can be considered as a "peak" culture, while the traditional Sasak village (Chapter Seven) is an effort to attribute a more central role to the daily life of the indigenous population of Lombok.

2.7 Local Tourist Guides

An encounter with a local tourist guide is an experience well known to tourists travelling to non-Western tourist destinations. Whenever tourists walk around in a main tourist area they will certainly meet young men offering their services as a guide. Or they approach the guests with questions: "Hello Miss" (or "Hello Mister"), "Transport, Transport? Wanna see Sunset?" or they will give them a leaflet with a description of the most important highlights on the island and unfold a map to show the tourists where all the places are located. They can be very persuasive in their attempts to convince their clients-to-be of the attractiveness of the island. They talk about their previous guests, how happy they were and how highly those guests appreciated their company. They will show the tourists some pictures taken during recent trips and they will talk at length about the unique experiences that will make their guest's stay more than special. Some of them even have their own business cards printed and approach the guests as a professional salesman. A salesman who is not purveying goods but is selling experiences. With the images a local guide displays and the experiences he holds out in prospect, he tries to persuade the customer that a visit to various attractions is worthwhile. But his main goal is to sell his services in order, of course to earn money. These services can range from arranging for a car and driver for a trip to a well-known tourist attraction, or a promise to take the guests to places where "no other tourist has ever been".

An encounter like that described above is almost certainly an encounter with what is generally called a "wild" guide. The expression "wild" is, however, vague and does not tell us much about these guides' position in the tourism industry. It refers mainly to the way they are classified by the formal tourist authorities, who consider them as

“informal”, “not qualified”, “unofficial” and “unregistered” (Dahles 1996a)¹¹. Broadly speaking, they can be described as a group of young uneducated and unskilled people, especially men, who do not have access to formal jobs in tourism but who make a living *bustling* the tourists and “channel whatever ‘free floating’ resources are found” (Crick 1992:139). Their working areas are the beaches, the streets or the local discos. Cohen calls them “‘marginal natives’ (1985:18), “locals who are thoroughly familiar with the environment, but who have at least a smattering of a foreign language and a basic notion of the tourists’ culture and needs” (1985:18). Sometimes an encounter with such a guide can be an annoyance as described in a newspaper article in which the local street guides are called a plague: “they have eyes which promise eternal loyalty and absolute honesty. Mouths that talk with the speed of the best rapper. Hands that flatter, pull, cling to”.¹² In the end they are only after a free meal, a small commission or a tip, the author concludes. These types of guides do not always necessarily are a nuisance. They can also be of great help to tourists who feel lost and insecure about where to go and what to visit. They present themselves as a *friend* and lead the tourists through town, to the souvenir shops and the market and to the most important attractions (Crick 1992, 1994, Dahles 1996a). Because of their use of the term friend, tourists are frequently ignorant of the commercial elements implied in such a relationship (Crick 1992:139). Although the guide’s goal is commercial, not every tourist seems to consider him a nuisance. This despite of the widely given travel advice of friends and relatives not to associate with local street guides because as soon as the tour is finished the temporary *friendship* will be over and the discussion about payment will start. This may be sound advice but it does happen that tourist and guide become *friends* for the length of the visit. This is especially the case for the *beach boys* who focus on female tourists who can support them for the period of their stay. In Gambia, West Africa, they are called *bumsters* or *bumsas*, unemployed Gambian male youngsters who try to earn money by showing European tourists

¹¹ Tourism offers many job opportunities in the informal sector, especially with the growth of special interest tourism, which demands more differentiated and fragmented services. The tourism industry illustrates that there are all kinds of interlinkages between the formal and informal sectors. Changing tourist preferences and the seasonal character of tourism demand a flexible working force, for people who are able to switch between activities in the formal as well as informal economy. In the case of many of the self-employed individuals - like the “wild” guides - it is often their lack of an official licence that classifies them as “informal”, not the way they operate (Dahles 1997b).

¹² “Gidsenplaag funest voor blanke danslust” (De Vries 1996) (my translation).

around and by selling almost anything you can imagine, like postcards, bracelets, African gin, *ganja* (marihuana) and sex.¹³ Sometimes the relationship with a tourist is continued after the holiday is over. When the possibility does arise for the *beach boy* or *bumster* to go abroad tourism seems to have provided a ticket to a better life.¹⁴

In the formal tourism scene, besides the street, beach or local disco, another type of local guide dominates. When tourists book an organised or semi-organised trip, a guide from the local tour operator will be at the airport to pick them up and escort them to the hotel. Although their activities are imbedded in the policy of their employer, their approach is characterised to a certain degree by the same sort of sales activities that “wild” guides display. During the short trip from the airport or the harbour to the hotel, the local guide will try to sell his services, usually by persuading their guests to book an optional tour or by offering all kinds of assistance in for example changing money, renting a car or making a phone call. Those guides can play an important role in the way tourists experience their holiday. They are the connecting link to the local world and often the only local person with whom the tourists have any intensive contact. They do more than showing the tourists the popular attractions, or composing narratives about those sites, they also *entertain* their guests by telling jokes and singing songs. Or they become *teachers*, when they try to adjust the images tourists foster of a certain place. Another task they seem to be quite serious about is making their guests feel at home, being a *friend*, so they take care of them in the sense that they help them with all their practical problems like buying stamps, finding a toilet, searching for suitable souvenirs, teaching them to snorkel, preventing them from getting carsick or carrying their suitcase. The distinction between guides working in the formal and informal tourism sector is, of course, not always a strict one. In a new tourism destinations especially overlap seems to be the rule rather than the exception. In Chapter Four and Five, I shall elaborate on the different categories of tourist guides and the way their activities are embedded in the tourism industry.

¹³ “In seksparadijs van West-Afrika draait het uitsluitend om geld” (Donker 1996); “Vrouwenkust” (Van der Heide 1998).

¹⁴ More information about local males taking sexual interest in female tourists can be found in: Bowman 1996; Crick 1992; Dahles 1997a; Dahles & Bras 1999; Hellingwerf 1996; Mabbett 1987; Meisch 1995; Momsen 1994; Pruitt 1993; Pruitt & LaFont 1995; Wagner 1977; Wagner & Yamba 1986.

2.8 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Guiding

Although guiding seems to be a well-defined concept, in practice a tourist guide can have a variety of roles and perform a whole range of activities. These depend on his personal background, his licensed or unlicensed status, his guests, the opportunities which happen to come his way and the possibilities available in the area. Holloway, who analysed guiding in the context of role-theory, mentions various roles or sub-roles applied to guiding such as “information-giver and fount of knowledge”, “teacher or instructor”, “motivator and initiator into the rites of touristic experiences”, “missionary or ambassador for one's country”, “entertainer or catalyst for the group”, “confidant, shepherd and ministering angel”, and “group leader and disciplinarian” (1981:385-386). In Lombok, young men and women come to the tourism areas from all over the island (and also from the neighbouring islands) to find a job. Very often they end up as drivers, construction workers, beach sellers, temporary hotel employees, craftsmen, handicraft producers or tourist guides. Because of the fairly recent introduction of tourism there are still possibilities of finding a job in this sector. Every few months, a new hotel, travel agency or art centre is opened. A new tourist area especially provides anyone with a golden opportunity to show tourists around. In his study of street guides in Sri Lanka, Crick, states that “on the spur of the moment, anyone can become a guide” (1992:140) referring to guiding as a highly individual activity – “everyone for himself” - open to anyone, even foreigners, to enter. In other words, the boundaries of the profession are not well defined. For people who aspire to a job in tourism, the ability to speak at least one foreign language, preferably English, is one of the most important requirements, especially among guides. But the ability to speak a foreign language is not enough to operate as a tourist guide. Skills are needed to accompany tourist through a city or a rural area and point out the interesting objects. Local or regional governments normally consider formal training and the possession of a licence as the criteria for defining who is a tourist guide and who is not.

In his research on English coach guides, Holloway focuses on the strong emphasis that the guides themselves lay on their role as information-suppliers. “An extensive body of knowledge is a prerequisite to the establishment of professional status for their occupation” (1981:386). All the organisational, practical and entertaining activities, which Holloway calls “shepherding and marshalling tourists and seeing to their needs during the tour” (1981:380), are of minor importance and seen as downgrading.

Therefore, Holloway, makes a difference between the activities of the “courier”, also known as the “tour escort”, “tour leader” or “tour manager”, and the tourist guide. The difference being that the tourist guide, in contrast to the “courier”, is only responsible for the provision of information and not for the general well-being of the tourists. Definitions and descriptions for “guides” are not at all clear. For the greater part, the definition depends on the area (or country) and the actors involved. Pond states that a “tour guide”¹⁵ is “one who conducts a tour” or “one with a broad-based knowledge of a particular area who primary duty is to inform” (1993:17). Often, tour managers resent being called guides. They prefer to hold on to their own label and see their role as totally different. The same is true for tourist guides, who look down on the organisational aspects of the tour manager’s job; blaming them for a lack of specific knowledge of the geography, history or culture of an area (Pond 1993). This emphasis on providing information makes the tourist guide a mentor (Cohen 1985); someone who is teaching foreign as well as domestic tourists about the history and culture of a certain region.

In Cohen’s analyses of the general trends in guiding, we recognise this information element in the mediatory sphere in which he distinguishes two components: social and cultural mediation. The *mediator* is the guide who “points out the objects of interest” (1985:10), but the *mediator’s* activities are no longer strictly limited to pointing out the well-known highlights of an area. The *mediator* does more than selecting the objects of interest or producing new tourist attractions - which is done by guides whom Cohen calls *pathbreakers* (1985:25) - he or she also provides information and tries to translate the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural idiom familiar to the visitors. Therefore a guide not only mediates between tourists and locals on the sites that are visited, but he also mediates information by composing an interpretation with the intention of steering the tourists’ impressions and experiences. Cohen does not define mediation of information as the only characteristic of guiding. He also introduces a sphere - the leadership sphere - that, among other things, refers to access. The leadership sphere is an elaboration of the *pathfinder* role of earlier times, i.e., it refers to someone who leads the way, no longer in a strictly geographical sense (Cohen 1982; Stam & Ter Steege 1997, Ter Steege, Stam & Bras 1999), but as Cohen

¹⁵ As Pond states, the term “tourist guide” rather than “tour guide” is used in Europe and most other parts of the world, fielding the argument that the “guide is interpreting for the tourist rather than for the tour” (1993:17).

puts it: "in providing access to an otherwise non-public territory" (1985:10). These activities can range from the ability to compose an itinerary, to gaining access to areas or to social groups. He also mentions the social leadership in guiding as it is linked to their communicative skills.

(The guide) (...) has to prevent the emergence of tensions between members of his party (...) and is responsible for the social cohesion in his group. He has to keep his party in good humour (...) and try to animate the members of his party and induce them to undertake various activities offered by the touristic facilities encountered on the itinerary (1985:12-13).

Elaborating on Cohen's idea that the role of the tourist guide is evolving and seems to be shifting from the logistical aspect to the facilitation of qualitative elements of the travel experience, Gurung et al. (1996) make a distinction between tour management and experience management. In experience management, the focus is on the individual tourist and the tourist guide is described as a cultural broker whose tasks include interpretation, selection, interaction and organisation. The link to cultural brokers is made especially in the interpretation function which is seen as a way "to influence the visitors impressions and attitudes, as well as enhance their appreciation and understanding of their surroundings" (1996:111). Another aspect on which these cultural brokers have to focus is resource management: "firstly through thoughtful use of the recreation resource on the part of the visitors, and secondly through minimising human impact on the resource by guiding visitors away from fragile or overused areas" (1996:111). Tourist guides are ascribed a prominent role as intermediary: "they serve as a buffer, insulating many travellers from the difficulties (...) and delights of the visited culture (...) indigenous guides play an important role in building better host-guest relationships" (quoted in Gurung et al. 1996:112).

What these different approaches have in common is a heavy emphasis on the mediation activities of local tourist guides: mediation between hosts and guests, between the guests, between the tour operator/travel agency and the tourists, between the tour leader and the local tourist scene and mediation between the hotel sector and the tourists. The mediating role is mentioned by many authors as being an essential part of guiding (see also De Kadt 1979, Pearce 1984). The local tourist guide is portrayed as someone who builds bridges between different groups of people through the mediation of money, services, access and information. His attitude and abilities seem to be of vital interest in safeguarding a certain balance in the destination area. Gurung (et al.) even states that

the main duty of the tourist guide is to create a social climate and environmental understanding under which both the visitor and the visited will benefit in the long term. There is evidence that the tourist guide plays an important role in tourism by enhancing the quality of the experience for visitors and by minimising undesirable outcomes of tourism for the host-community (1996:113-114).

All these authors paint an idealised picture of guiding. It cannot be denied that local tourist guides are intermediaries, but the question is whether excessive emphasis should be laid on their mediatory function and, as a consequence, on keeping all the parties involved satisfied and keeping the development of tourism in a specific area in balance. Is it not more likely that an important part of their activities is centred upon the question how they themselves derive the greatest benefit from their work? Although local tourist guides usually do not sell products, they can be regarded as small entrepreneurs trading in services and information. As I shall demonstrate, local guides fit neatly into the picture Boissevain paints of brokers as entrepreneurs. Boissevain analysed social relationships in terms of entrepreneurship, i.e. “interdependencies between choice-making persons competing for scarce and valued resources” (1974:9). He defined an entrepreneur as “a person who builds and manages an enterprise for the pursuit of profit in the course of which he innovates and takes risks” (1974:9) and distinguished two types of resources an entrepreneur manipulates. The first type of resources are land, jobs, scholarships, funds, and specialised knowledge, which he controls directly. The second are strategic contacts with other people who control such resources directly or who have access to such persons. Those who control second order resources are known as brokers. A broker is, therefore, a special kind of entrepreneur: “one who controls second order resources and manipulates these for his own profit” (1974:147-148). Brokers are network artists; their networks – of which the basis varies (friendship, family relations, marriage, caste, clan, ethnic or religious bonds) - as well as the temporal and spatial flexibility to maintain and expand these contacts are essential conditions if brokers are to operate successfully (Dahles 1997b). Their social capital (Bourdieu 1977) - the resources brokers are able to mobilise through their networks of social relations - functions as symbolic capital, because an extensively developed network will raise a brokers’ social standing and prestige and improve his future business chances. The same is true of the guide’s cultural capital - his local as well as his touristic knowledge and experience - which will help him to obtain more status. As I shall illustrate, establishing and maintaining such a network and exploring the “tourist” culture is

exactly what local tourist guides do and what is considered a prerequisite for success and a better position in the tourism industry.

The tourist guide as a special kind of entrepreneur - a broker - forms a sharp contrast to the cultural broker described by Gurung et al. who is considered to be someone with “qualities as interpretation, knowledge, communication skills, and cross-cultural understandings; essential skills needed to bridge the gap between diverse communities” (1996:113). The qualities mentioned above are not necessarily deployed to achieve a balance, to create a better host-guest relationship, but to improve the guide’s personal situation. Rather than putting too much emphasis on the mediatory function of local guides, their activities can be regarded as mostly entrepreneurial in the sense that local tourist guides sell images, knowledge, contacts, souvenirs, access, authenticity, ideology and sometimes even their body and their feelings (Bras 1998). The ability to carry out these activities requires an extensive “body of knowledge” about the local culture. Their knowledge of the local culture is not limited to facts, figures and *couleur locale*, but also includes the art of building up a network¹⁶, of monopolising contacts, of exploiting the commission and tipping system and of sensing trends within tourism. Moreover, insight into the culture of their guests is a prerequisite for success. Local tourist guides have to search for convincing ways to address tourists and discover their interest and wishes. To make the encounters as profitable as possible, efforts are made to develop longer-lasting relationships with their guests. An important factor in becoming successful guides is the ability to turn their social relations and their narratives into a profitable business asset. In other words, local tourist guides need to develop their social, cultural and economic skills in order to maximise their profits and improve their personal situation. This makes their role in the tourist attraction system an important one. Not only do they provide information and by doing so become a representative of their area, a mentor or a teacher, they also manipulate their networks and narratives for their own use.

2.9 Central Questions

A fundamental aim of this dissertation is to fill the gap in studies about the strategies

¹⁶ In an article about the street guides of Yogyakarta, Dahles (1996a) refers to this specific group as network artist and small entrepreneurs. Adams calls “wild” guides entrepreneurs “who have taught themselves one or two European languages and enjoy associating with foreigners” (1997b:316).

of tourist guides. The role of local tourist guides consists of a range of components, from “leading the way”, acting as middleman between tourists, local populations, sites and institutions and, as I shall demonstrate, mostly of “selling” services and experiences. The entrepreneurial skills of tourist guides in relation to their local discourse will be analysed against the background of the discussion of the juxtaposition of the process of globalisation and the strong assertion of regional cultural or ethnic identities. These two processes are considered to be interwoven, and are strongly visible in the area of guiding and in the influence of local tourist guides on the construction of tourist attractions. Tourist guides have a full-time job explaining local sites to foreign and domestic tourists, but their (re)presentations are not identical. The assertion of an ethnic or cultural identity is considered to take an important place within these (re)presentations. But, as I shall illustrate, the local guides’ knowledge of tourists’ needs in combination with their personal ambitions also determines the (re)presentations of Lombok as a tourist destination. Therefore, I want to investigate how local guides define, formulate, manipulate and (re)produce tourist attractions. Their local narratives and their personal or network strategies will explain how some (re)presentations become authoritative and why others fail to do so.

Furthermore this dissertation aims to provide insight into the organisation of the local (formal and informal) guiding scene, an important part of a tourist practice in developing countries. The analysis of the local guiding scene will be related to national and regional tourism planning and development and will provide an insight into the politics of representation of the regional/national culture.

My major research question: *What are the effects of the global transnational process called tourism on the strategies and (re)presentations of local tourist guides on the island of Lombok in Indonesia? Which position do local tourist guides occupy in the attraction system of the island and in which way do they contribute to the authentication of local and regional culture?*

This central research problem combines the following (sub)questions:

- Which categories of local guides can be distinguished in the local tourism sector of Lombok and how are they related to each other?
- Which entrepreneurial and mediatory strategies do they apply in order to become a successful guide?

- What are the ingredients of their narratives about the island's tourist attractions and on which "bodies of knowledge" are these based?
- How do local tourist guides negotiate meaning and how do they legitimise their narratives?
- Do they use local and global images or one over the other in the (re)presentations offered to tourists?
- Within these (re)presentations how important is local (cultural or ethnic) identity in general and the assertion of the local guides' own personal identity in particular?
- To what extent are their narratives structured along the lines of regional/national tourism policy?

Before discussing guiding in more detail, it is important to review the broader processes (historical, social, and political) that have conditioned local place identity. To establish this, I shall depart from the "South Lombok" tour - the most booked excursion on the island - and use fragments of the guides' narratives to give a general overview of the destination. Supplemented by other sources, the next chapter serves as an introduction to the region where the research took place.

CHAPTER THREE - Destination Lombok

A tour around the island of Lombok usually starts in the village of Senggigi, located ten kilometres north of the main town on Lombok and capital of the NTB, Mataram. Senggigi used to be a fishing village. When tourism forced its way into village life, most of the fishermen disappeared. Only at sunset, when a few small boats sail out to sea, can some evidence of the earlier fishing activities be observed. In 1984 the first mid-range accommodation¹ was built, *Pondok Senggigi*², still a popular hangout for young travellers. In 1989 the first star-rated hotel, *Senggigi Beach Hotel*, was opened and gradually more star-rated hotels determined the up-market appearance of Senggigi. At present hotels, restaurants, travel agencies and souvenir shops engulf the whole beach site and tourism is no longer integrated into village life, which takes place further inland. During the daytime, when the tourists are on the beach, in the hotel gardens or on a tour, Senggigi looks quite deserted. Nightlife, however, can be lively. At several locations local rock bands perform to an audience of tourists and locals. The cafes are the domain of youths operating as tourist guides. On a lookout for potential customers, they try to sell tours around the island. This way of “hustling” the tourists is typical of the so-called “wild” guides. Other guides find their clients through the hotel or one of the local travel agencies. They have fixed schedules and they make a quick visit to Senggigi several times a week to pick up their clients in the hotel lobby. An eight-hour drive along Lombok’s main tourist attractions begins after an early breakfast. The tour will start in town and take the tourists to a Balinese site close to Mataram. At the end of the morning they will go inland to a weaving village and a pottery community. Lunch is arranged at Kuta Beach in the south. And after a visit to Tanjung Aan and a traditional Sasak village, the party will return again to the village of Senggigi on the west coast. This tour - the South Lombok tour³ - will serve as an introduction of Lombok and its touristic

¹ To create more transparency and define quality standards, the Indonesian government established a classification system for the accommodation sector. Basically, the classification system differentiates between star-rated (*bintang*) and non-star-rated (*melati*) accommodations. The *melati* system (*melati* means jasmine flower) consists of three categories, ranging from one *melati* (lowest category) to three *melati* (highest category). The *bintang* classification refers to large hotels and resorts meeting international quality standards regarding food (a choice of Eastern or Western dishes) and hygiene, and the availability of certain facilities.

² *Sasakah Beach* was the first hotel in the area. It was built in 1970 in Montong, a few kilometres before turning off to Senggigi village.

³ The South Lombok tour has different names like *Traditional Sasak Tour*, *Sasak Countryside Tour*, *Native Countryside Tour*, *Fullday South Countryside Tour* or the *Lombok Exotic Tour*, but

highlights. By adding parts of the narratives of local tourist guides,⁴ I want to provide some insight into how Lombok is introduced to the tourists. Because the narratives are sometimes too fragmented, information from other sources is added in order to present a thorough (re)presentation of the historical and social context in which Lombok as a tourist attraction assumes shape.

3.1 A General Introduction

The first part of the tour, from Senggigi to Mataram (usually a fifteen-minute drive) is used to explain the programme for the day and give some general information about the island. In their introduction, the local guides normally describe the South Lombok tour as being a informative mixture of everything Lombok has to offer: urban life, Balinese heritage, handicraft, agriculture, traditional Sasak villages and the beach.

A little bit of information about Lombok. Our first destination is Narmada. Narmada is a park (...) What we are going to see there is (...) about (...) the special house that is used by the king a long-time ago. The right place for them, for the wives and the daughters, when they have a leisure time. (...) After that, before I give you information about that place (...) I should give you some destinations that we are going to visit. After that we are going to visit Sukarara, the weaving place (...), you will see that all the villagers make the weaving and the process from the beginning to the end (...). The next one is to Penujak. Okay so that is our trip today Narmada, Sukarara and Penujak. Penujak is the place for the people making the pottery. (...) Pottery made of clay. (...) Next to desa Sade, the village Sade (...). After that we go to Kuta, we have Kuta in Lombok, Bali too (...). Kuta in Lombok very different with Bali. In Lombok is very quiet, natural and the way is nice. (...) And Tanjung Aan, a beach too, it's the end of our destination. (...) About 65 kilometres, we are going to spend seven hours (...). We call it Sasak tour for today. We are going to the houses were the Sasak people live.

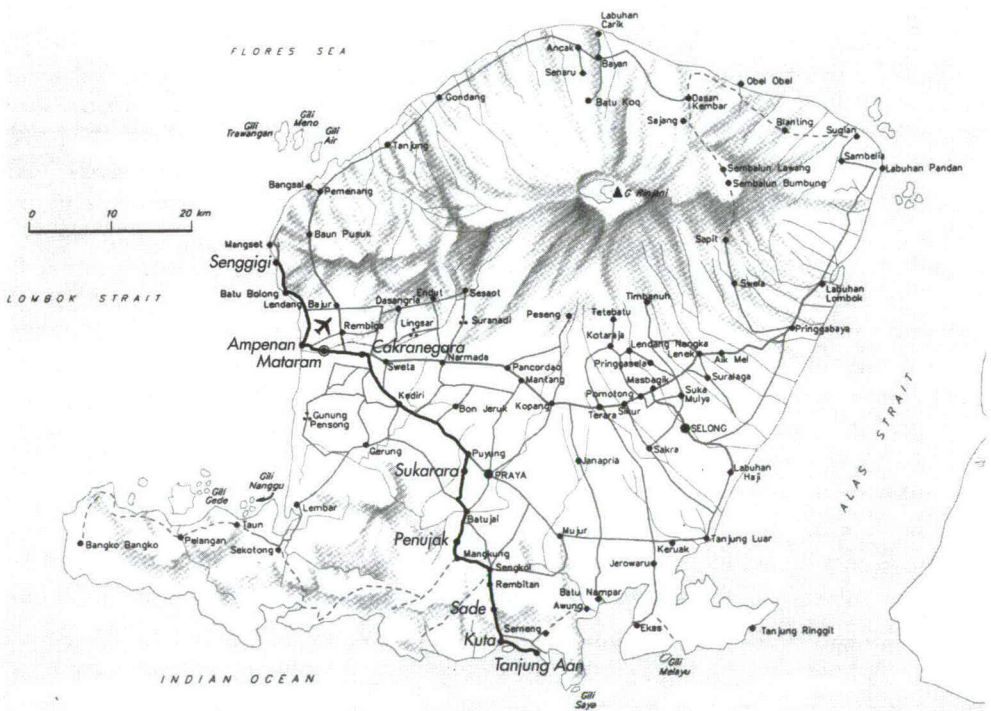
Lombok is situated in the southeastern part of Indonesia and with the island of Sumbawa is part of the province West Nusa Tenggara. The island has an area of approximately 4800 km², dominated by the volcano Rinjani which is 3,775 metres above sea level. Lombok has a population of 2.5 million (Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a). With a population density of 507 inhabitants per km² Lombok is, after Java and Bali,

the itinerary is more or less the same.

⁴ This chapter does not reflect one specific tour to South Lombok, but is a compilation of narratives given by several local guides on various trips to this part of the island.

the third most densely populated island in Indonesia (Meindertsma 1997). Almost 96% of the people are Sasak, the indigenous population. The major ethnic minority is the Balinese, almost all of them living in West Lombok. Besides these two groups, there are minority populations of Chinese, Javanese and Arabs, most of them living in Lombok's urban centre, Mataram, and its adjoining towns Ampenan and Cakranegara.

Figure 3.1: The island of Lombok



3.2 Urban Lombok

Lombok is divided into three *kabupaten*⁵ (districts): West Lombok with the capital Mataram, Central Lombok with the capital Praya and East Lombok with the capital Selong. Mataram is also the administrative capital of the West Nusa Tenggara Province. Although officially three separate towns, Ampenan, Mataram and Cakranegara actually merge into one another and collectively they make up the main city of Lombok. To reach Central Lombok it is necessary to cross town along a spacious one-way street of about nine kilometres long that starts as Jalan Langko in Ampenan, changes to Jalan Pejanggik in Mataram and ends up as Jalan Selaparang in Cakranegara, or actually in Sweta, the central bus terminus of Lombok. Each of the three cities has its own character. Ampenan is very lively with its narrow streets, old buildings and Chinese and Arabic quarters. Ampenan is no longer Lombok's main harbour. The place looks rather desolate with its old and neglected buildings. Only the local fishermen cause some activity. Mataram is the administrative centre of the island and therefore dominated by big government buildings. In Cakranegara, or Cakra, supermarkets, department stores, cinema's, *warung* and luxury shops can be found. Cakra also has several remains of the time the Balinese ruled over the island.

Ladies and gentlemen, we now arrive in Ampenan. Ampenan is the oldest town. Approximately 125,000 people live there. I also live in Ampenan, in the western part. Ampenan was the residence of the Dutch when they first arrived on Lombok in 1894. They built a small harbour, half a kilometre from here, when you turn right here (...) but close to that harbour live a lot of fishermen. That is why there are still a lot of old buildings in Ampenan, like houses, the old hospital, the old law court, the post office, etc. (...). Now we are in Mataram, at our right side we see the court of justice of Lombok and along the road we see big trees. They are planted by the Dutch government somewhere between 1925 and 1927 and that is why this street used to be called Kenari Street, because the trees are called kenari trees. Nowadays it is called Langko Street. Ladies and gentlemen, at our left side the bank, here we also stop for a minute (...). Mataram is town for students (...). Indonesian banks at our left side, first secondary school at our right side and here is the second secondary school. The cinema at our left hand. The cinema on Lombok is usually "bankrut" because the people rather stay at home to watch television.

⁵ A governor heads the provincial government. Regional offices (*Kantor Wilayah*) administer central government programmes and report directly to their central department and to the governor as the representative in the province. Provinces are divided up into districts (*kabupaten*), municipalities (*kotamadya*), sub-districts (*kecamatan*) and villages (*kelurahan* or *desa*). In 1995, Lombok had thirty-one sub-districts and 269 villages (Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a).

Television has good programmes. On the right side we see the opening parade from students of the secondary school. I think for the coming birthday of West Nusa Tenggara. At our right side the city hall, still under construction. (...) On our left hand is the government office of West Nusa Tenggara. On our right side is the wisma of the governor. When the governor has guests, they stay over there in the wisma. On the wall of the office we see *Bumi Gora*⁶. *Bumi* means soil or land and *gora* is a sort of rice, rice that can grow without water, that is in South Lombok. On the left side is the general hospital of our government. On Lombok we have five hospitals, first general hospital of our government and Islam hospital, Catholic hospital, military hospital, Hindu hospital, sorry six, and mental hospital, for people who have a mental problem, psychiatrist (...) Ladies and gentlemen, on our right side the grave of General Van Ham. (...) He is a Dutch general who died on the 27th of December in 1984, sorry 1894, when the military forces of the Dutch were fighting against the Balinese and the Sasak forces in Cakranegara at that time. He was one of the million victims of the history.

This is Cakranegara, ladies and gentlemen, trading centre of Lombok. Shopping centre. On our right side we see a big supermarket. Here are many banks and shops, a lot of rich people, a lot of beggars also. Cakranegara has for a long time been kingdom, centre of the Balinese. *Cakra* means weapon and *negara* is city. Symbol of Balinese strength, Balinese power. Cakranegara. At our left side we see KFC, Kentucky Fried Chicken. Fried chicken, but Lombok fried chicken is much tastier, *ayam taliwang*. At our right side is *toko mas*, a goldshop. *Toko* is shop. Goldshop is the busiest place, has always a lot of customers, because Indonesian people, people from Lombok, are used to invest in gold. Especially the women, when they have money, they buy gold, a lot of gold. And in the future, when they don't have any money, for instance in the rainy season, don't have money to buy fertilisers, then they sell their gold back (...) is used by a Chinese to get a lot of profit. Thus, they know in harvest time many people, or women from the villages, villagers, come to buy gold. But later in the dry season or at the beginning of the rice cultivation they sell the gold back again. The price of one gram of gold is nowadays approximately 25,000 rupiah, one gram 25,000 rupiah. Gold from Lombok, from Indonesia is 22 carat; you have 18 don't you?⁷

3.3 Ruled for Centuries

Lombok has been dominated by a large number of external forces and consequently has acquired the label of being ruled "for centuries" (Ecklund 1976:249, Harnish

⁶ The Sasak call their island *Bumi Gora* which means agricultural dryland, or *Selaparang* after an old kingdom from East Lombok.

⁷ Originally, this was a Dutch spoken tour. In my translation I tried to stay as close as possible to the original text.

1991). As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century the Balinese of the eastern kingdom of Karangasem took control of West Lombok. At the same time East Lombok had been subjected by the Makassarese, who controlled the neighbouring island of Sumbawa (Van der Kraan 1980). Conquering West Lombok was not such a problem to the Balinese. East Lombok, however, was another story. This region consisted of larger and smaller kingdoms, ruled by a Sasak aristocracy that “strove to exercise power at a local level of district or group of villages” (Van der Kraan 1980:6). In 1678, the Balinese assisted the Sasak court of Selaparang to defeat the Makassarese. This was a beginning but it took them about 150 years before they themselves gained control in East Lombok (Van der Kraan 1980). In 1839, after several wars and internal fights, the Karangasem kingdom finally gained power in this part of the island⁸. The Balinese became fairly influential on the island. Van der Kraan says the Balinese Raja developed Lombok into

a state which was open to international trade and sought to promote the export of agricultural products, especially rice and tobacco; a state, also, which experienced considerable economic expansion expressed primarily in population growth (...), extension of irrigation and the arable land area (1997:389).

As said before, keeping control in the eastern part of Lombok was no bed of roses for the Balinese. A class of Sasak aristocrats – “eastern chiefs acting in name of the Islam” (McVey 1995:317) – remained implacably hostile to Balinese rule. The peasants remained loyal to their former rulers and fealty enabled the aristocracy to raise rebellions in 1855, 1871 and 1891. The first two revolts were suppressed, but the last in 1891 led to the intervention of the Dutch on Lombok (Van der Kraan 1980). Dutch interest in Lombok was spurred on by the expectation that the island was rich in mineral resources (iron, tin and maybe even gold). Van der Kraan (1980) describes how, in 1886/1887, colonial official, Controleur F.A. Lieftrinck, was sent to Lombok to make a survey on the island’s presumably rich resources. Lieftrinck advised a policy of gradual increasing control over the island, but because the Balinese raja on Lombok refused to relinquish his sovereignty, finally a military expedition had to be mounted (Van der Kraan 1980). Another reason for Dutch interest in Lombok was the opium trade. In the nineteenth century, Lombok was an important transit port between Singapore and Australia, mainly for opium. By monopolising the opium

⁸ See Van der Kraan (1980) for a detailed account of the Balinese-Sasak struggle, which he divides in four distinct phases.

trade, the Dutch would lay their hands on a means to finance the different colonial wars in the archipelago. To obtain this monopoly, the control of the Balinese over Lombok had to be ended (VanVught 1994). In 1891 a possibility presented itself when the Sasak asked the Dutch government for assistance in raising a new revolt against the Balinese. This led to the battle waged by General Van Ham and his forces in Cakranegara the night of the 25th and the 26th of August 1894. General Van Ham was killed as were a great number of his soldiers. That battle was a Dutch defeat but on the 19th November in the same year the Dutch returned and conquered the Balinese palace at Cakranegara. The Balinese raja surrendered to the Dutch. Many other Balinese marched straight into the firing-line of the Dutch soldiers and were killed. This *puputan* (Balinese suicide-attack) marked the end of Balinese rule and the beginning of a period under Dutch regime (Cool 1896, Van der Kraan 1980, VanVugt 1994). The grave of General Van Ham, which can be found in Cakranegara, is a reminder of the Dutch time.

(...) Well Van Ham is buried in Karang Jangkong, Karang Jangkong. In 1896⁹ (...) at that time the colonial of Dutch arrive in Indonesia. There are many kings on Lombok at that time. For example, the superpower of Anak Agung Gde Ngurah from Karangasem. Actually at that time the General Van Ham with his men want to improve their (...) Co-operate with the Balinese king. But it was (...) at that time Anak Agung Gde Ngurah supposes opposite of a good co-operation (...). When the General Van Ham with his men on one night sleep in one area in Cakranegara and Anak Agung Gde Ngurah soldiers with his men came. (...) General van Ham went out from the tent; they tried to fight with the men from Anak Agung Gde Ngurah. (...) They got shot all of them. (...) But at that time when General Van Ham, you know, got shot from the men of Anak Agung Gde Ngurah he was not dying, he was not dying on this place. He was still alive at that time. The men of General Van Ham really (...) tried to help him to go to the emergency hospital at Mataram. But before arriving in Mataram General Van Ham was dead in Cakranegara. So right now we see the General Van Ham still in Cakranegara in Karang Jangkong. (...) the grave is in Karang Jangkong, nearby, two kilometres from here. It was in 1896. That was the story of General Van Ham.

Although the Sasak leaders welcomed the arrival of the Dutch, the fifty-year stay of the latter on Lombok did not improve the situation of the local Sasak population. Like the Balinese had done, the Dutch focused on the export of rice. They derived an income by extracting heavy taxes from the Sasak farmers (Krulfeld 1974, Van der

⁹ Note that the date used here is incorrect. General Van Ham's battle was fought in 1894 and not in 1896.

Kraan 1980, McVey 1995). The verdict on Dutch rule is that it led to “the impoverishment of the peasantry, an increased concentration of landownership in the hands of the Balinese and Sasak landlords, and the worsening of the food situation for Lombok society as a whole” (Van der Kraan 1980:166). In their half-century of rule the Dutch had succeeded in transforming an island described by F.A Lieftrinck¹⁰ in 1887 “as ‘a rich land, blessed by nature’, into a region of endemic famine” (Van der Kraan 1980:173). In 1942 the Japanese replaced the Dutch. Their rule marked a decline in the import-export trade and a return to self-subsistence activities (Krulfeld 1974).

After the arrival of the Dutch, the Balinese were relegated to being a political minority. They still regard the island as their home, because they have lived there for generations. Most of their communities can be found in the west part of the island. This is also the area where almost all of the Balinese sites can be found, like the summer palace Narmada, the temple of Lingsar, the water palace Mayura and the Pura Meru temple in Cakranegara. Their temples and rituals bind them together as a religious and ethnic minority community¹¹. These Balinese sites are well visited by foreign as well as domestic tourists. The former residence of the Balinese king, Anak Agung Gde Ngurah from Karangasem, Narmada, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. The greatest gulf between the Balinese and the Sasak is their religion. People from other Indonesian islands as well as the Sasak themselves call Lombok the island of a thousand mosques¹². The majority of the Sasak are Muslim. Abundant though they may be, mosques are not part of Lombok’s attraction system. Paradoxically, visits to Balinese places of worship give local guides an opportunity to elaborate on the topic of religion and to provide more insight into Lombok’s Muslim religion.

¹⁰ F.A. Lieftrinck was a colonial official controleur (district officer) who was sent to Lombok in 1886/1887 to make a survey on the island’s presumably rich resources (Van der Kraan 1980).

¹¹ See Harnisch (1991) for an interesting account of the Lingsar Pujawali festival in which Balinese as well as Sasak participate.

¹² In 1995, Lombok had 3,019 mosques (Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a).

3.4 Religion on Lombok

Islam was introduced to Lombok “through missionary campaigns initiated from Java and Sulawesi” (Leemann 1989:23) in the sixteenth century. Under the rule of Sunan Prapen, who originally came from Java, the first Sasak converted to Islam (Monografi Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat 1977). They practised a syncretic version of the Islam, mixed with elements from Hinduism and Animism. This produced a unique religion called Islam *wetu telu* which was and still is practised on Lombok. It is said to be the remains of these first efforts to islamise Lombok¹³. The term *wetu telu* is in contrast to the *waktu lima* (or five times) referring to orthodox Muslims. The *wetu telu* originated in northern Lombok, in the village Bayan, where the oldest mosque of the island is located. Although members of the *wetu telu* regard themselves as Muslim, the orthodox Muslims do not officially accept them as such. The most common interpretation of Islam *wetu telu* is that its followers accept only the first of the five tenets of the Islam; namely the belief in Allah with Mohammed as its prophet. *Wetu telu* members do not observe Ramadan; they only fast during a three-day period. They do not follow a pattern of praying five times a day. *Wetu telu* followers have integrated Bali-Hinduism and Islam into their indigenous religion. For *wetu telu* followers, the influence of the role of ancestors on the living is considered to be important (Cederroth 1991). They also revere nature and have maintained a belief system which honours the forest as sacred. Their cultural life resembles that of the Balinese, with numerous ceremonies and public festivals.

Muslim right now is another word waktu lima. Waktu means time and lima is five. And waktu means time and telu means three. So according of the old Muslims long long time years ago, there is Muslim waktu telu, is much different than Muslim right now. According of the Muslim waktu telu they are only doing: first is believe there is depending on one God (...) second Mohammed is the prophet and the third they have to go to Mecca. It is the three condition of the waktu telu. But now we have five, you have to pray, you have to believe in one God, you have to fast, Ramadan, every fast month, you have to give to the poor 10% of your income and you have to go to Mecca. This is our condition of Muslim right now, of the Muslim waktu lima.

Although there are still *wetu telu* followers on Lombok, their exact number is not known. Cederroth claims that “*wetu telu* continues to flourish mainly in the

¹³ This form of Islam is alternately called *wetu telu* or *waktu telu* depending on the source. In the Sasak language *wetu* means time and *telu* three, resulting in “Muslim Three Times”.

comparatively isolated northern parts of the island” (1992:6). For various reasons, the *wetu telu* have lost ground to the *waktu lima*. After a long period of outside domination, many Sasak accepted the *waktu lima* as a “marker of identity” (Cederroth 1992:6). Longing for something that would distinguish them from their former rulers, religion provided them with an answer (Cederroth 1992, Ecklund 1976). A more orthodox perspective of the Islam no longer allowed room for the *wetu telu*. The *wetu telu* belief was regarded as “incomplete Islam” (Ecklund 1976:255) or as “a kind of perverted Hinduism” (Cederroth 1992:6), and was therefore no longer tolerated.

Yes, it is fanatic people, we are fanatic in Muslim, but we are very keep the holy religion, everybody must keep the holy religion you know (...) like the Muslims we are very fanatic but we understand with the other religion. They do not touch each other; they do not trouble each other. So in Lombok we have Christen, Hindu, Buddhist, Protestant and Catholic, they live together. Also do we have the waktu telu. (...) But not so serious. We try to learn, to teach the people here how to become the real Muslims, we want to put away from the waktu telu, and it is not really Muslim.

Since World War II the Sasak have been experiencing a spread and growth of a more orthodox form of Islam than any they have previously known. This growth has been connected to the emergence of centres of religious teachings on the island. In 1953 the *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW) was founded. This is an Islamic educational and social organisation of which the leaders, *tuan guru* (big or great teachers), have acquired a great number of followers. Lombok has a dozen well-known *tuan guru*, men who have usually spent several years in Mecca studying the Islamic religion (Ecklund 1976). Through their religious schools (*pesantren* and *madrasah*), the *tuan guru* have “raised the general level of knowledge of the ‘proper’ Islam and its practice and brought the orthodox teaching to the doorstep of villagers throughout even the most remote parts of Lombok” (Ecklund 1976:254). Because their stated aim was the “purification of Sasak Islam” (McVey 1995:320), the people in these centres of Islamic movement gained the reputation of being “fanatic Moslems” (Ecklund 1976:254).¹⁴

¹⁴ The growth of a more orthodox form of Islam can also be observed by looking at the number of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1970, 368 people from Lombok went to Mecca, 985 in 1982, 2,265 in 1991 (Lübben 1995:51) and 2,997 in 1995 (Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a). Although quite often an improving economic situation will allow these people to make the pilgrimage, many locals on Lombok are still willing to plunge themselves into debt in order to obtain the religious prestige inherent in a pilgrimage to Mecca.

(...) the leader of the religion, we call it tuan guru; maybe you have been in Kediri? (...). In Kediri is the religion boarding school. Now we have the big organisation in Lombok of the Muslim foundation, we call it "Nahdlatul Wathan" NW, also in the Dutch, in Nederland, lots about that. That is under Mr. Haji Abdul Majin, a very old man. He is very charismatic; he looks like (...) Paus Johannes Paulus. (...). He is very charismatic. On Lombok this is the biggest organisation of the Muslim foundation in education or science. (...) we have nursery school, we have always, all the time teach religion, but (...) they learn also sciences, also sciences. They learn English too. But seventy-five percent of their lesson is religion (...). And especially for the people here, all the Sasaknese, very obey the leader of the religion. For example if the government wants to make the programme like KB, the family planning programme (...) Two children is enough. (...) Yes, that is Keluarga Berencana. For example you are the government of a certain regency, of a certain district and you say the people now you have to, especially the uneducated people. (...) It means you want to say please you do family planning programme. If the government says like this maybe yes, maybe no. But if the leader of the religion or tuan guru says with the (...) how to say (...) with the religious voice, directly from like, for the Muslim people we have Koran, (...) and then the prophet is Mohammed and tuan guru will say, first according to our religion Muslim, the Koran says like this, like this, and then our prophet is Mohammed says like this, like this. So that way I advise you to do a family planning programme because the family planning programme it will be like this, like this, like this (...). If the government says like that no one will say okay. But if tuan guru will say, yes because our leader of the religion (...) Of course they will obey. So there is the special people in Lombok in religion science and we have many, a lot of tuan guru's.

Driving out of West Lombok, the trip continues into the countryside. The focus of the tourist guide shifts to what can be observed along the way, which are mostly *sawah* and other aspects of rural Sasak life.

3.5 Rural Sasak Life

The whole of the two provinces of East and West Nusa Tenggara is characterised by physical isolation, inadequate infrastructure and limited natural resources (Corner 1980). These areas are considered to be less developed with extremely high poverty levels. Although the provincial government succeeded in achieving an average annual rise of GRDP of 8.54%, West Nusa Tenggara still remains the province with the lowest income (Dinas Pariwisata DATI I Prop. NTB, 1995b, Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a). West Nusa Tenggara, however, has a more mature regional economy than East Nusa Tenggara. Lombok's higher population density and its proximity to Bali and Java support a more urbanised pattern of development and a broader range of economic activities (Corner 1980). West Nusa Tenggara includes two extremes: the

densely populated, fertile, wet-rice cultivating area of Central Lombok and the dry, sparsely settled Sumbawa (Corner 1980). Also within Lombok itself big differences can be observed. In contrast to the fertile area in Central Lombok, the south is gazetted a critical area (*daerah kritis*). As a result of the minimal rainfall the area is only suitable for dryland farming. Over the past years the erratic rainfall has caused numerous droughts, harvest failures and, as a consequence, food crises¹⁵. Agriculture still provides the major source of income on Lombok. Forty-five per cent of the annual Gross Regional Domestic Product is derived from agriculture (Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a). The agricultural sector consists mainly of growing rice. Other important agricultural products are soybeans, maize corn, cassava, groundnuts, onions, tobacco and several fruits.

(...) the rainy season in Lombok will start at October. October, November, December, January, February, March, that is about six months. But about two or three years ago the weather is a little bit changed, (...) the rain probably now starts at November instead of October. November, December, January, February, March, April, until April. (...) Most of the rain on Lombok is on November, January and February about three months and that is about the first time the farmers also plant rice. The first season (...) with the plantation of rice in November or December. (...) the farmers of Lombok they are growing rice and they need about four months for one crop and then all over it is very common on Lombok until now, they have until three crops, three season. First of the harvest is crop of rice just twice a year and then in the third season they plant mixed like soy bean, chilli, peanuts and also tobacco. We have a lot of tobacco here for export to Java (...). But not every place is three seasons, because (...) southern part of Lombok, we will pass that area also, southern part of Lombok, is much drier than in this area. In this area, like I said you before, three crops, some people until three crops. In the southern part of Lombok just two crops, rice and then the second one soy beans. Because until now in Southern Lombok they have no irrigation canals yet. So they have to wait the rainy season, if no rain no rice plants, also no crop. This is our problem in South Lombok. Because until now the government, they still try to get (...) the water. Enough water in the northern part from Lombok because the central of the water of Lombok, the irrigation, is from northern part of Lombok. And the destination between north and south is too long and our government tries to make the canal. (...) The government until now has no success yet (...). Ladies and gentleman, that was a little bit about agriculture. I think you have heard a lot about agriculture also on Bali. Agriculture in Bali, agriculture in Lombok and in Java is not so much a difference. The situation seems to be a little bit, or very similar.

¹⁵ Regular periods of food scarcity are known as periods of *lapar biasa* (normal hunger) (Corner 1980). The last famine was not very long ago. In 1965/66 a serious food crisis claimed more than 10,000 victims (Meindertma 1997).

The plantation about three times for one year. One crop, we took about three months, three times a year, we have here, for everyone the condition is three months, we mix is with the corn, or the soybeans, or other. (...) Three times a year (...) we have four different kind of rice, the first one is normal rice, small one, the biggest one is ketan, white one, for the rice wine, or cake, dinner or something like that, another one black rice (...) and another is red rice, but not so red. The red rice is special to make the medicine (...) We eat normal rice, the white one. Black, brown and red.

(...) we have big difference from central, south and north of Lombok. South is so dry, really dry. I was watching it on television yesterday. The government look after the people live there in the south of Lombok (...) the government always look after the people, how to get irrigation for the planting the crop. (...) Nothing grows there; life is like a stone, like a rock, very hard life. But today, yesterday I've seen from a tour to the South many farmers work with each other, help each other (...) they are working together getting the clay, hard work, prepare for the rain is coming. (...) They have a few weeks to get ready because to be prepared for the beginning of the (...).

Another problem on Lombok is the shortage of land and the concentration of landownership in the hands of a small group of landowners. The upshot is that the majority of the local population are landless farmers and sharecroppers. In the last ten years the commercial interests of a new elite have dominated landownership. Wealthy enterprises and private entrepreneurs from the region itself, but also from Bali and Java, have bought large parcels of land. The development of tourism has especially reinforced this process (Kamsma 1996, Kamsma & Bras 1999, Lübben 1995, Mucipto 1994, McCarthy 1994).

3.6 Handicraft Villages

Related to the tourism sector to some extent is the handicraft home industry, which shows a growth in outlet within the country, as well as internationally (Lübben 1995). The production of handicrafts is an important source of additional income in Central and East Lombok, especially for the landless farmers (Lübben 1995). During the dry season, when there are fewer agricultural activities, an income is derived from the handmade production of woven cloths, clay pots and bamboo and palm leaf boxes. The production used to be predominantly for local use and for the local market. West Nusa Tenggara's master plan (1987) attributed an important place to handicrafts - souvenir sales - within the development of tourism; especially at the level of village tourism. About ten years later the rapid growth of tourism coupled with

the opening up of new national and international markets has made handicrafts a thriving commercial activity in several villages in this area.

Sukarara is situated twenty-nine kilometres south from Mataram, in Central Lombok. It is the centre of Lombok's *kain songket* and *ikat*, where women work in weaving centres and at home to produce beautiful cloths in bright colours woven into special designs. This village has a long tradition of weaving. The women have passed down the skills from generation to generation. Only women and young girls are engaged in the production. They sit behind their traditional handlooms and work for two to three weeks on one piece of cloth. The research of Lübben (1995) shows that in 1993 Sukarara had 1100 weavers. The number has not changed significantly over the last few years but the income of the people involved has increased. Since 1987 Sukarara has had a co-operation with an adjoining art shop where the products are sold. Until 1990 the village was visited mostly by individual tourists. At first they came to view the weaving process and occasionally they bought some *kain*. There was a gradual shift towards more affluent tourists who travelled in small groups and were brought there by the local tour operators. They come to the village primarily to buy souvenirs. Their demand produced a growing number of art shops. The living conditions of the villagers were considerably improved by the growth of tourism. Lübben (1995) states that the locals primarily regard the assurance of a regular income as a big improvement.¹⁶

The village Sukarara, which we are going to visit, has corporations of traditional weavers. Where they can sell the clothes and the corporation is selling all the products of the people to other customers. But there are also, what is it, private or individual shops. They are organised by the people themselves (...). The Industry Department supports the traditional weavers in Sukarara. They get advice from the Industry Department; they also have lessons in how to make good colours for their product. Later on we will stop at one of the corporations, there we can see how they make the traditional clothes. First the colouring, then the weaving process, oh sorry the process how to make the thread, colour

¹⁶ See Lübben (1995) for more detailed information about the handicrafts home industry in this village. She also emphasises that recently a decline in sales can be observed, mainly because of the competition of cheaper batik cloths from Bali. This decline has been reinforced by the take over of an important part of the sales by middlemen. Because the smaller art shops in the village are not able to pay the large commissions asked for by the tour leaders and the local tourist guides, bigger art shops in the area Pujung (on the road from Mataram to Kuta) are becoming important competitors. It seems that the local population has not been able to control totally the integration of the handicrafts in tourism and to develop an appealing image of their products in the outside world.

process and weaving process. And there we can also see the traditional clothes of Lombok. Maybe that we also can try the traditional clothes of Lombok. You can try the traditional clothes or dress on (...) that is nice for a picture.

Another village in Central Lombok, Penujak, is famous for its pottery. Penujak, close to Praya the capital of Central Lombok, is situated in the *daerah kritis* mentioned earlier. In the dry season the women and young girls make earthenware pots and other articles using very simple tools and materials. The men supply the clay and sell the product at the market. Since the late 1980s the trade in pottery has been flourishing which made "Sasak Pottery" famous in many parts of the world. The start of the Lombok Craft Project - a project in which women potters in the three villages Banyumulek, Masbagik and Penujak are assisted - has mainly contributed to this success. The goal of this bilateral development project between the Governments of Indonesia and New Zealand is to improve the standard of living of the local people through technical and marketing assistance¹⁷. Sasak Pottery is now exported to Java, Bali, Europe, New Zealand and Australia. Lübben (1995) emphasises that not all the villagers participate in the programme, in 1993 about a hundred locals were involved in it. The growing demand has, however, enabled the potters working outside the project to open their own art shops. Between 1988 and 1994 the income of the 1800 potters in Penujak has tripled.

The children at the pottery can be difficult to handle. That is why we go to the project. There we can look at the products and the process. If we are outside of the project, a lot of children and also women come and afterwards we are what is it, forced to buy something. And well, they are difficult the children and it is hard to communicate with them. That is why, if you want you can take something from them or give them something. I mean buy from them, because the pots, which they sell outside, what is it, are cheaper than in the project. From the project we get automatically a better quality than outside and the project is also, what is it, a co-operation from the people. The people make all the things at home and sell it to the project. And afterwards they sell it again in the project (...). And the meaning of the project is to raise people's life.

A next stop in the programme is the traditional village, Sade. As described in the master plan, Sade is part of a village tourism development plan for the whole

¹⁷ The Lombok Crafts Project is an initiative of the Indonesian and New Zealand government. According to their brochure, the objective of the Lombok Crafts Project is "to develop a potter-controlled co-operative commercial venture that will create adequate income opportunities for potters in the three villages, and provide funding to improve social conditions in the villages for both project and non-project potters".

province¹⁸, of which the aims are to bring the economic benefits of tourism more directly to village residents, while at the same time, satisfying the tourism experience desires of a certain market segment (WTO 1987). The touristic value of this village (discussed in detail in Chapter Seven) lies in its attempt to show aspects of daily Sasak life.

3.7 Kuta and Bau Nyale

After Sade the trip continues to the south, in the direction of the village Kuta around which the Putri Nyale Resort will be developed. Local tourist guides seize the opportunity to explain the current and future tourism development in this area. This part of South Lombok is sparsely populated, extremely dry supporting only some coconut groves and dry rice fields. The inhabitants can only grow one crop a year, which makes it necessary to search for other jobs as, for example, fisherman or seaweed cultivator. Apart from an occasional public *bemo* (mini-bus) and, during high season, numerous small and large tourist buses, it is a deserted area.

(...) We have problems in this area with erosion, during the rainy season. The people have chopped off all the trees. That is why, in the dry season, everything here is brown, yellow and bare (...) ten years ago there was forest everywhere, ten or seven years ago. I still remember that in 1990 or 1991 the road from the traditional village to Kuta was actually a jungle. With a lot of monkeys along the road (...)

(...) The traffic in Lombok comparing with Bali I think is so different. In Bali now already so crowded motorbikes and also cars (...) the situation every year changed. (...) The situation of Lombok now, it is much natural in Lombok. Ten years ago Bali was already different (...).

So ladies and gentleman later on we are having lunch in Kuta restaurant (...) in this area. I think it is the best (...). I choose this restaurant for our restaurant today are very small, not the same like the restaurants in Bali (...) we need about ten years more to build (...) Now it is still natural, not changed yet, maybe if you come here in four, five years more, it will be very different

After lunch in Kuta it is time to go to the beach. The South Lombok tour stops at Tanjung Aan, a beautiful white-sand beach surrounded by high rocks from which the

¹⁸ Besides *dusun* Sade, the villages Wolotopo and Koanara, both in Flores, were selected for the Village Tourism Development Plan (WTO 1987).

tourists can enjoy a nice view over the bay.

Ok ladies and gentleman we have about fifteen minutes from here to the next beach Tanjung Aan. Maybe we have time to go out on the beach (...) I think that is better than Kuta. It is more beautiful there and also we have no accommodation yet on this beach. (...) because Radjawali corporation, one of very big corporation in Jakarta they have already bought the land in Tanjung Aan area. And just two or three years ago they start a hotel. Very specially now (...). That corporation now they just have the office on Tanjung Aan Beach, just office and then they have an office also in Mataram and they invite so many investor from so many countries to develop of the tourism in Lombok. (...) they want to start with to build international airport in southern part of Lombok (...) just from here, just about thirty minutes to the area of the international airport. Why? Because in South of Lombok (...) Kuta and Tanjung Aan Beach (...) fifteen till twenty-five kilometres from here to the westside (...) a very very good beach, (...) is not like the north part of Lombok. (...).

At Tanjung Aan all buses from the different tour operators converge. The drivers look for a place in the shade and some of the local guides and tourists buy a *kelapa muda* (young coconut milk) to quench their thirst. A small group of locals sit together and when tourist buses appear they immediately snatch up their merchandise, mostly T-shirts and *sarong* (wrapped around cloth). Tanjung Aan is the place where local tourist guides tell about the *Bau Nyale*¹⁹ festival. Because the *Bau Nyale* is only celebrated once a year not many tourists attend the ritual, but the legend and the festival are described in the travel guides and during round trips on the island tourist guides always tell about the event in detail.

At a pre-determined time, always in the rainy season, all customary leaders gather on the beach to look for the swarms of *Nyale* (seaworms). The celebration has several meanings related to fertility and the cultivation of rice. Through the coming of the *Nyale* local people believe that they can predict whether or not they will have a successful harvest and whether or not they will find their mate in life (matchmaking ceremony). In the matchmaking ceremony boys and girls gather at the beach making each other's acquaintance in a strictly ritual ceremony. The boys approach the girls chanting traditional poetry and giving out gifts like fabric. The ritual comes from the legend that Princess Putri Mandalika committed suicide by jumping into the sea at Seger Beach to stop the battle that was being fought over her by her potential suitors.

¹⁹ *Bau* means catch in the Sasak language and *Nyale* is a special sea animal that lives among the ocean corals.

Before jumping into the sea, the Princess promised to return as something which would not be fought over, that is *Nyale*, which is united for life and can be shared by all (Ecklund 1977, Mucipto 1994, McCarthy 1994, Wacana 1981).

Putri Mandalika comes from South Lombok. There are three princes who all want to marry her. One comes from West Lombok, one from East Lombok and one from North Lombok. Because it is impossible for her to choose, she throws herself off the rocks into the sea. Later on the three princes dream that they have to go back to the place where it happened, between Kuta and Tanjung Aan. When they arrive there, the sea is full of Nyale, worms that give light. (...) Only the prince from East Lombok takes the worms with him. Again the princes dream. In the dream of the princes of North and West Lombok the Princess Mandalika says that they never loved her. The dream of the prince from East Lombok is different; he is the only one who loved her. Every year the family of this prince goes to the same place to celebrate. The celebration is called Bau Nyale. (...) It is also a possibility for young people to meet each other. Boys and girls meet each other and flirt at the beach. The story is that the Nyale only come when the people on the beach speak bahasa kotor (dirty language) with each other. The Nyale only come at one location at one specific time. A lot of Western people do not believe the Nyale really come, but it is true. (...) I have never seen them because I was always with my friends at the beach. If you are a man, you have to go there with a woman; otherwise they do not come.²⁰

The last few years there has been some discussion about the influence of tourism on the *Bau Nyale*. Cultural observers are worried about the cultural values of this Sasak traditional event. The modification is considered to have gone too far, especially in the south of Lombok at Seger Beach where parts of the ritual are performed by professional actors and the event is turned into a theatrical performance. This gives the impression that the religious and customary aspects of the *Bau Nyale* are not respected or that the meaning of the event nowadays is primarily secular. Indubitably there is a desire to preserve the *Bau Nyale* in its original form, but there is a desire to develop aspects of the traditional culture as an asset for tourism (Ecklund 1977, Bali Post 1992a, 1992b).

²⁰ There are more versions of the legend. The promotion leaflet of the provincial tourism office speaks for instance of Putri Mandalika as being a member of the Tonjang Eberu royal family and about six princes instead of three.

3.8 Returning Home

Tanjung Aan is normally the last stop before going home. During the long drive all the way to Senggigi the local guides put on music, relax or try to animate their guests with a story about marriage on Lombok, sometimes supplemented by their own experiences. In their stories they always focus on the Sasak marriage ritual called *merari* (elopement). Despite the fact that nowadays all parties have already come to an agreement, elopement is still widespread on the island. The whole process of elopement is dictated by strict rules. Especially during harvest time, the period when people usually get married, it is not an exception to run into a marriage procession. These processions, the marriage rituals and the *gamelan* music are explained to the tourists in detail as being typical Sasak.

And about the marriage in Lombok, maybe J. has told you the way people marry on Lombok. Not yet, do you want to know? First of all, we have to know three steps yes, first of all we have to know each other, of course. Second one we have to visit the girl's house and we call that midang, visiting must happen at night from seven to ten. It cannot happen at day because it is the time to take a rest. You cannot visit them at the day, so we have to visit them at night around seven to ten. And then when we visit our girlfriend (...) I always do it in my village, I have to take something, as present as I told you and make an agreement with the girl and the last one we call merari; three steps, merari marriage. Merari means elope the girl from the house, the run-away-marriage yes. But do not say that it is a kind of kidnap, it is not a kidnap because (...) if we love someone from the heart I think you cannot call it kidnap, it is not kidnap. And from this the girl will know if the family's husband is gentle or not. If the man has a brave to elope her from her house, it means that the man is really brave, really gentle. So how can a man protect a girl from any dangers if her (...) husband is a coward man. Yes that is the reason why the girl in Lombok often eloped. But the first thing you have to know, the parents of the girl does not know exactly about the elopement day. (...) They make an agreement about that for example tonight I visit my girlfriend. She has to jump from the window and I wait for you at the back of your house and I will accompanied by two or three men and we will bring you from the house to another house. (...) The girl waits out there. She agrees with our agreement. After we elope the girl, the parents will know about the daughter-in-law from the house because as the custom her for Muslim we have to wake up around five in the morning.

Arriving back in Senggigi the local guides drop their guests off at the hotel. Fees and tips are paid, addresses are exchanged and sometimes arrangements for later that evening or the next day are made.

3.9 Tourism Development on the Island of Lombok

Although the most popular, the South Lombok tour is only one of the options offered by tour operators and individual guides. In order to provide a complete picture, in this section I want to describe the broader context of tourism development on Lombok in which this specific tour took shape.

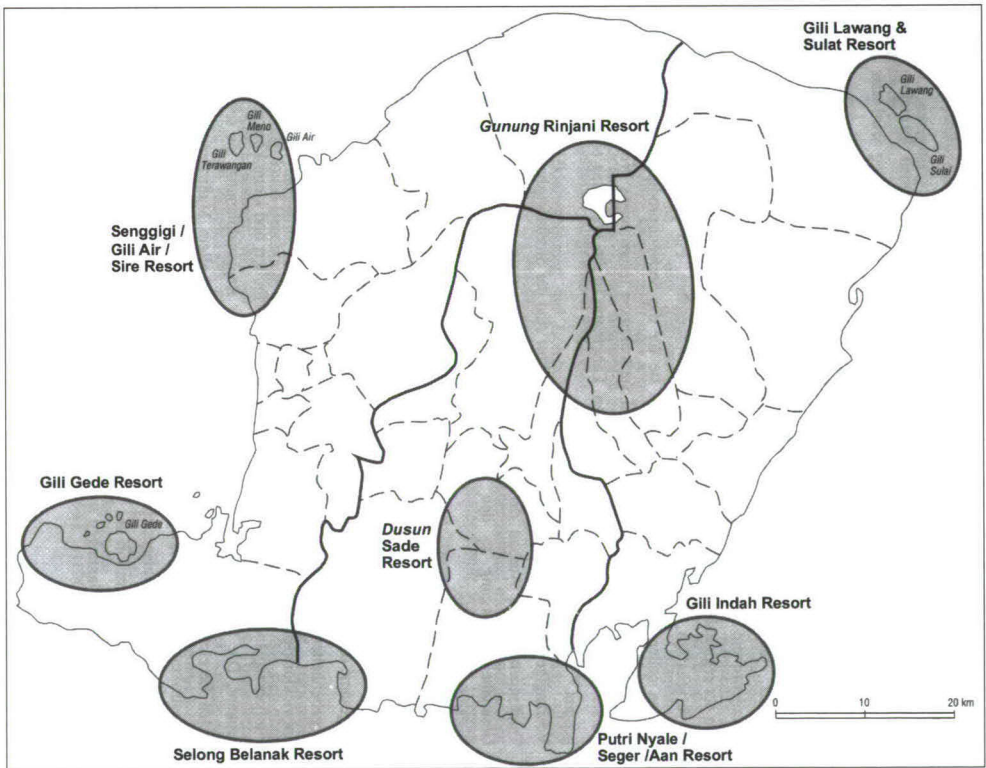
In the beginning - in the early eighties - in the main it was young travellers, who were satisfied with a good beach, good company and modest accommodation, who visited Lombok. Not bothered by the island's bad infrastructure and inaccessibility, they "discovered" Lombok as a new paradise. The local population responded to tourism by offering accommodation and additional services. At several locations on the island - Senggigi, the Gilis, Mataram and Kuta - they slowly developed the infrastructure and the facilities necessary for a low-budget tourism sector. In the absence of a concerted effort by the government or foreign funds to "implant" tourism in the area, the tourist businesses developed spontaneously and on a small scale through local initiative.

In the sixth Five-Year Plan (1994/95-1998/99) the national government identified new tourist destinations. Promotional campaigns like *Bali and Beyond, There is More to Indonesia Than Bali*, and *Indonesia - A World of its Own* (Picard 1993, Sammeng 1995) marked the emergence of regionalisation processes in Indonesian tourism. Government support was no longer directed towards long-term established destinations (i.e. Bali and Yogyakarta), but towards the so-called more "isolated" or "backward" areas, like the province of West Nusa Tenggara. In the mid-eighties when West Nusa Tenggara was appointed one of these new regions for tourism development, a quantitative and qualitative expansion of facilities and services followed as a matter of course. Since this time, the provincial government in co-operation with foreign corporations have seized West Nusa Tenggara as the site for large-scale tourism development.

Lombok was divided into eight resort areas, which are to be developed for tourism:

1. Senggigi/Gili Air/Sire Resort
2. Gili Gede Resort
3. Selong Belanak Resort
4. Putri Nyale/Seger/Aan Resort
5. Gili Indah Resort
6. Dusun Sade Resort
7. Gunung Rinjani Resort
8. Gili Lawang & Gili Sulat Resort

Figure 3.2: Eight Resort Areas of Lombok



3.9.1 "Quality tourism"

The West Nusa Tenggara master plan²¹ of 1987, which studied the province tourism potential, is focused primarily on large-scale projects and resort development. In the vicinity of Senggigi in particular, part of the first development phase²², several star-rated hotels, for example a Sheraton Hotel, have been built. With the development of star-rated hotels, golf courses, an international airport and the co-operation with the Lombok Tourism Development Corporation (LTDC), which is developing Putri Nyale beach resort in the south of Lombok, the provincial government seems to be focusing entirely on what they call "quality tourism"; the "up-market tourism customer". During a period of ten years (1984-1993; *Repelita* VI and V) there was an average annual increase in tourists visiting West Nusa Tenggara of 16.74 % (Pemerintah Propinsi DATI I NTB 1995). The official number of workers in the tourism sector²³ increased from 3,250 in 1992 to 6,176 in 1995 and is expected to exceed the 10,000 at the end of *Repelita* VI (Pemerintah Prop.DATI I NTB 1995, Dinas Pariwisata Prop.DATI I NTB 1995d). For a long time the development goals for West Nusa Tenggara, as written in the Regional Five-Year Development Plans (*Repelita*), were predominantly focused on agriculture. The large number of unemployed, estimated on approximately 35 per cent,²⁴ was a strong motive for the creation of work outside the agricultural sector. The development of larger industries on Lombok can be set aside. In 1995 former governor Warsito stated that a decrease in agricultural contribution could be observed which indicated the necessity to stimulate other economic activities, especially small industries such as souvenir industries and service sectors (Warsito 1995). The steady growth of the number of

²¹ The Bali Tourism Provincial Master Plan dating from the early 1970s has been used as basic model for the provincial tourism planning in West Nusa Tenggara (and the other provinces of Indonesia). It emphasised the construction of integrated resorts and designated limited zones for tourism development, controlled through the state-owned Bali Tourist Development Corporation (BTDC) (Picard 1993).

²² The development plan was divided into three periods:

1. Phase 1: 1986-1995 (10 years)
2. Phase 2: 1996-2000 (5 years)
3. Phase 3: 2001-2005 (5 years)(WTO 1987).

²³ This number only refers to formal jobs in hotels, restaurants, travel agencies and transportation.

²⁴ In 1992 the official number of unemployed was 15.6%, but only a limited number of the unemployed will be reported officially (Lübben 1995:82).

Chapter Three

tourists, hotel rooms and travel agencies, as is also shown in Table 3.1, ensured that in Repelita VI (1994/95-1998/99) tourism was assigned a central role in the regional development of the province and is regarded as the most promising sector.

Repelita VI mentions various future goals in tourism development:

- improvement and increase of the reliability of the tourism sector in order to generate more foreign exchange;
- improvement of the competitive position of the area;
- development of domestic tourism;
- increase in employment opportunities;
- growing participation of private companies and community members.

(Pemerintah Propinsi DATI I NTB 1995)

Table 3.1: Number of visitors, hotel rooms and travel agencies in West Nusa Tenggara, 1984-1997

Year	Foreign tourists	Domestic tourists	Star-rated hotel rooms	Non-star rated hotel rooms	Travel agencies
1984	7,084	45,542			
1985	8,820	49,602			
1986	13,641	51,571			
1987	25,714	53,402			
1988	44,846	55,475	340	382	9
1989	56,148	67,146	340	1,037	18
1990	107,210	76,817	386	1,216	24
1991	117,988	99,011	549	2,167	29
1992	129,997	102,040	819	2,278	39
1993	140,630	106,907	859	2,463	50
1994	157,801	120,279	1,025	2,682	58
1995	167,267	140,940	1,183	2,949	73
1996	227,453	--	1,382	3,016	74
1997	245,049	158,894	1,636	3,028	

Source: Dinas Pariwisata DATI I Prop. NTB 1993b, 1995b, Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a, 1997, 1998.

The expectations for the end of *Repelita VI*, as shown in Table 3.2, look very promising, but, as will be discussed in the concluding chapter, have not been reached because of the economic and political crisis that hit Indonesia in 1997 and of which the repercussions are still being felt.

Table 3.2: Expectations number of visitors, income and hotel rooms in West Nusa Tenggara, 1998

Year	Foreign tourists	Income million US\$	Domestic tourists	Income billion <i>Rupiah</i>	Star-rated hotel rooms	Non-star rated hotel rooms
1998	309,000	115,9	195,000	46,8	2,575	2,909

Source: Pemerintah Propinsi DATII NTB 1995

3.9.2 Resort development and local participation

In the WTO report of 1987, the three beaches in South Lombok (Putri Nyale, Seger and Aan) were designated areas suitable for the development of an integrated tourism resort, a resort resembling Nusa Dua in Bali. Altogether 1,031 luxury rooms and 953 middle-class rooms were planned. The project area is about six km long; it stretches from Kuta village in the west to the end of Aan Beach in the east (WTO 1987). The Lombok Tourism Development Cooperation (LTDC) has bought this 1,250 ha area and is going to transform it into a sun-sea-sand destination that will include a marina, golf courses, dozens of hotels and other attractions. The LTDC is a joint venture between the private organisation PT Rajawali Wira Bhakti Utama which holds 65% in the LTDC, and the provincial government of West Nusa Tenggara which has 35%. The prediction is that LTDC will create approximately 15,000 jobs during a 10-20-year period. In addition to the 15,000 jobs directly involved in tourism, an estimated 6,000 to 10,000 additional jobs will be generated by the new activities (administration, health, education, commercial, handicrafts, and the like) (McCarthy 1994).

Slowly construction has got underway in the Kuta area. In 1997 the 100-room Novotel opened its doors. Other international hotels, like Club Mediteranee, have already shown an interest. The Putri Nyale resort has to be finished in the year 2003, but for the moment, besides road construction, there is not much activity in the area. Supporters of the resort call it a driving force behind economic development. It is

said to be going to create a whole range of job opportunities for the local people in this area. They can become suppliers, work in the hotels or develop the transport network. According to LTDC 200 people from the area are already working at the construction site of the Novotel.²⁵

It remains to be seen whether the local population will profit from this new resort. McCarthy states that “luxury hotels require sophisticated staff and that even the majority of hotel workers in Bali are not local” (1994: 80-81). Lübben (1995) concludes that in the present situation the locals from Kuta already have a very limited share in the tourism development. Mainly operational in Kuta at the moment are the *melati* hotels, bungalow-style accommodation and small restaurants. The initiatives come from people who live in Praya, Mataram or Bali; hardly from people out of the Kuta area. The question to be asked is whether the local people are prepared to welcome tourism that is dominated by the international tourism industry. So far, the planning of the Putri Nyale Resort has already had an influence in this area. Through the years big areas of land have been compulsorily purchased by the LTDC. The local owners received only low compensation, often not enough to buy a new plot of land in another area.²⁶ The eviction of a group of seaweed farmers and fishermen from the shoreline around the beaches of Kuta in 1991 became national news. The LTDC insisted that the cultivation of seaweed was not a suitable activity for a tourism area. Construction had not yet even begun in Kuta early in 1991, but local authorities had already cleared some beaches of fishermen and seaweed cultivators. In February 1991 five hundred of the Kuta farmers demonstrated outside the provincial government building in Mataram. The farmers had been ordered to vacate the Kuta shoreline. They were angry because tourist development was taking away their livelihood (McCarthy 1994: 81; see also Mucipto 1994).

The latest developments in land evictions are taking place around Batujai, in order to build the newly planned international airport to make the Putri Nyale Resort more accessible in the near future. The airport is planned to be operational in the year

²⁵ Much of the data used here comes from interviews with a representative of Lombok Tourism Development Cooperation, July 1996.

²⁶ The LTDC bought the land in this area from the local farmers for a price of 200,000 *rupiah* per are. The same land is now sold to Indonesian and foreign investors for the amount of ten to fifteen million *rupiah* per are, almost fifty times the amount of money the locals received (Kamsma 1996).

2004. These land speculations are, of course, not restricted to tourism development. But the development of tourism on Lombok is characterised by large disputes about land.

The Gili Trawangan case is a good example with which to illustrate how these land disputes interfere with the participation of the local population in tourism. As described earlier in this chapter, tourist businesses, amongst others on Gili Trawangan, developed spontaneously and on a small scale by local initiative. At the moment Gili Trawangan, with the other two Gilis, is the best-visited site on Lombok. The success of Gili Trawangan attracted outside investors who find the island an attractive prospect for tourism development. They have put considerable effort into penetrating the area and dislocating the locals. While this was happening, the Gilis were incorporated into provincial development plans. These plans do not provide for support to small-scale entrepreneurs. Priority is given to building resorts with star-rated hotels, swimming pools and golf courses. This emphasis on “quality” tourism has led to rising land prices and to landowner disputes. In the case of Gili Trawangan disputes about land-user rights have led to several “clearance actions” of the provincial government. In 1992, 1993 and 1995 the police and army came to the island to demolish bungalows built by the local population.²⁷ A new spatial planning concept for the island allows the locals to own and operate lodgings in a designated area of the island that is in fact the least desirable, as it is not near the coral reef. The provincial government and the provincial tourist department claim that local businessmen do not meet spatial management requirements and cannot provide adequate services and accommodation (Kamsma 1996, Kamsma & Bras 1999, McCarthy 1994, Mucipto 1994).

The government agencies and offices²⁸ in the provinces have been established to

²⁷ See Kamsma & Bras (1999) for a detailed account of local initiatives in tourism development in one of Lombok's best-visited locations Gili Trawangan.

²⁸ In 1995/1996 (the period of the research), the most important institution responsible for tourism development at the national level was the Directorate General of Tourism under the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication. Nusa Tenggara Barat has, just as any other province in Indonesia, two tourist offices; a provincial office (*Kanwil Depparpostel - kantor wilaya pariwisata post dan telecommunicatie*) and a regional office (*Diparda - dinas pariwisata daerah*). *Kanwil Depparpostel* is financed and controlled by the Directorate General of Tourism and is responsible for the national tourism policy at a provincial level. Besides tourism they manage all issues concerning post and telecommunications. Furthermore, they focus on the four- and five star hotels. *Diparda* is, in general, an executive organ of the

service the tourism industry and increase the number of tourist arrivals, particularly in the “quality” category. The star-rated sector, managed by the provincial government under direct control of Jakarta, generates large financial benefits, which are channelled directly back to Jakarta. On Lombok, the provincial government adheres very closely to these national guidelines. Their efforts to upgrade the area, the rising costs, and the growing number of regulations makes it very difficult for the small-scale entrepreneurs to continue their business as they used to. The local level opportunities are in the so-called low budget sector; a part of the industry which is regarded as “inferior” by the national government. The upshot is that the local people in the provinces profit only marginally from tourism. This resort policy created, on Lombok as well, a tendency towards the development of : “high” standard facilities, accommodations and services dominated by vertically integrated networks, with only a little room for small-scale initiatives by the inhabitants of the island.

provincial government for matters concerning tourism. *Diparda* is financed by the provincial government and falls directly under the responsibility of the governor. They are in charge of the *melati* accommodation and the restaurants and entertainment.

CHAPTER FOUR – Local Tourist Guides: Resources, (Mutual) Relationships, Abilities, Choices and Prospects

4.1 Introduction

Up to fifteen years ago, anyone who was able to speak a little English could become a tourist guide. At that time Lombok did not have any tourist infrastructure and there were not yet any fixed tourist attractions. Tourist guides usually began their career by practising the English language with foreigners. The beaches of Senggigi and the three Gilis were the best places to meet tourists. Students and other youngsters approached tourists politely asking their names and testing some of the English sentences they had learned at school. When their ability to speak English improved, some of them started to accompany tourists to places they thought would be interesting to visit. At first they did it for fun, but after a while they expected more than only a compliment for their fluency in English. Living in the neighbourhood of a tourist area, they discovered that accompanying tourists could be profitable. The four or five people who used to handle the guiding jobs in the early eighties have paved the way for a large heterogeneous, variegated group of mostly young men trying to make a living by being a tourist guide. But can we always define their activities as guiding? The one thing that tourist guides all seem to have in common is that guiding tourists is a way to make money. Besides this, each guide tells a story some more elaborated than others, but their goals, motives and the way they operate are not necessarily the same. Some of the local guides are after the easy money, others are attracted by the “glamour” of the Western lifestyle displayed by the tourist and others again hope to obtain access to other sources of income by building up long-lasting relationships with tourists. Few would deny that guiding is considered a transitory and instrumental activity by which to accumulate money or to obtain other forms of capital for “higher” or different purposes. However the art of guiding is also considered a real profession characterised by providing the right information and mediating professionally between all the actors involved. Central to this chapter are the most important dimensions of guiding and how these are put into practice by the various categories of guides on Lombok. As I shall illustrate it proves difficult to talk about “local guides” in general because they have complex, heterogeneous roles, depending a great deal on the category to which they belong. A closer look at their activities provides some insight into the resources local guides use, and into the positions they hold in society. Moreover, it allows us a better view of how guides experience the opportunities and restrictions which they face in their daily activities.

4.2 Categories of Local Tourist Guides

In his analyses of tourist guides (1985) Cohen distinguishes the pathfinder and the mentor. The roles of these two original categories of tourist guides have elaborated through the years and developed into the so-called original and the professional guide. The original guide’s activities are primary instrumental and oriented towards the physical environment or the inhabitants of the region. The professional guide’s main abilities are communicative. They are inner-directed towards the tourists in their own direct environment. The activities of local guides are supposed to be situated within the original and professional sphere of Cohen’s schematic representation (see Figure 4.1). Although in practice nowadays there are many similarities between the roles of tour leaders or managers and local tourist guides, there is still a strong hierarchy noticeable in guiding. Cohen’s representation reflects this hierarchy by stating that tour leaders or tour managers are responsible for the fluent operation of a whole tour, by focusing mostly on their social qualities. The local tourist guides, by contrast, are engaged in negotiating access to tourist areas in one specific area and in providing specialised information.

Figure 4.1: Schematic representation of the principal elements of the tourist guide’s role.

	Outer-Directed	Inner-Directed
Leadership Sphere	Original Guide (pathfinder) (instrumental primacy) a. direction b. access c. control	Animator (social primacy) a. tension management b. integration c. morale d. animation
Mediatory Sphere	Tour-Leader (interactionary primacy) a. representation b. organisation	Professional Guide (mentor) (communicative primacy) a. selection b. information c. interpretation d. fabrication

Source: Cohen 1985

4.2.1 *The Pathfinder or Original Guide*

The pathfinder is a “geographical guide who leads the way through an environment in which his followers lack orientation or through a socially defined territory to which they have no access” (Cohen 1985:7). For many years pathfinders have been found in mountain and other off-the-beaten-track areas where trails are numerous and detailed maps are not available. To find their way around, tourists need help from someone who knows the area and who will simultaneously assist as a porter, a cook and a water collector. The interest of tourists in trekking and mountaineering has led to a growth in these rudimentary guiding services. Indonesia has several volcanoes which are popular destinations for two- or three-day treks, for instance, Merapi on Central Java and *Gunung Rinjani* on Lombok (Stam and Tersteeg 1997). The Himalayas in Nepal (Gurung et.al. 1996) and the northern part of Thailand (Cohen 1996) are also well-known trekking destinations where locals are hired to guide tourists. Besides finding the way in an unmarked, rugged terrain, local guides - like the jungle guides in North Thailand - “are faced with ensuring the goodwill and hospitality of the natives of the area” (Cohen 1996:95). Gaining access in a remote social environment and making himself and his party acceptable proves to be a difficult task for the local guide who has to take into account his own “go-between” position, a role which makes him the only link in the encounter between complete strangers (Cohen 1985). He has to assure himself of the hospitality of the natives by building up a long-term relationship with representatives in the area, but then he also has to find ways to transfer this hospitality to his guests (Cohen 1996). The pathfinder, in other words, eases access to local culture and no longer only in remote areas. Street guides in crowded cities also geographically guide tourists through an area where they lack orientation. More importantly, they point the way in a practical sense. Providing access to local culture requires access to non-public territories and to informal services like souvenir shops, art exhibitions, performances, restaurants and accommodation. Local street guides are small entrepreneurs who mediate between tourists and the local shopkeepers and the local service industry (Dahles 1996a). The pathfinders or original guides are “marginal natives”, self-employed local people with little formal education who work without regular licences. They are not permanently occupied with guiding, but make a living doing various activities. Normally they focus their attention on the non-institutionalised tourist; the young backpacker (Cohen’s drifter or explorer) who travels alone and is in search of direct experiences. They operate mainly in the periphery of the tourist system or in the early stages of tourism development and therefore their role is considered to be productive in the

sense that they contribute to the growth and expansion of the tourist attractions which gives them the name “pathbreakers” (Cohen 1985:25). As soon as a destination is well established the original guides are being replaced by, what Cohen calls, the less qualified imitators. “Young guys riding the tide of growing demand (who) frequently approach their clients with an attitude of predatory exploitation, seeking to squeeze the maximum out of them as long as they are around, with little thought of the impact of their conduct on the long range” (1985:19).

4.2.2 *The Mentor or Professional Guide*

The role of the mentor resembles that of a teacher, an instructor or an advisor. The mentor points out the objects of interest and explains to the tourists how to behave. In day to day practice the mentor decides where to go, what to see, and how long to look at it. The mentor may select the objects of interest “in accordance with his personal preferences and taste, his professional training, the directions received from his employer or from the tourist authorities, or the assumed interest of his party” (Cohen 1985:14). His narrative may be interspersed with historical facts, architectural comments or pieces of cultural information. The information part is considered as being the vital element of the mentor’s task. Being a didactic intermediary (Dahles 1996a) or a fount of knowledge (Holloway 1981), the mentor is eager to demonstrate his expertise. The focus on the informative part of the job emerges most conspicuously in matured tourist destinations where the transfer of information takes on almost an academic character. The mentor also functions as a “go-between” in the sense that he has to mediate and translate “the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural idiom familiar to the visitors” (Cohen 1985:15). Being able to give an interpretation of the local culture implies not only an extensive knowledge of that culture, but also an understanding of the culture from which the tourists originate. The point of departure being the “whole” culture, the local guide must select, interpret and compress elements and transform these into a kind of narrative frame. In contrast to the pathfinders, the mentor or professional guide focuses mainly on the organised mass tourists. Having had a formal education and being employed by a tour operator¹ means that they work in the centre of the tourism system. Unlike the

¹ “Tour operators purchase separate elements of transport, accommodation and other services, and combine them into a package which they then sell directly or indirectly to consumers” (Holloway 1994:150). “The main role of the travel agent is to provide a convenient location for the purchase of travel. At these locations they act as booking agents for holidays and travel, as well as source of information and advice on travel services” (Holloway 1994:181). Tour & travel offices on Lombok undertake both functions. They sell packages to foreign

pathfinders they work with ready-made attractions and do not produce new tourist sites. Their main task is “to maintain and strengthen the attractiveness of the existing ones” (Cohen 1985:26).

4.2.3 A Transition and the Emergence of New Roles

Cohen (1985) observes a transition from the role of pathfinder to that of mentor. Especially in areas where tourism is already an institutionalised industry, local tourist guides anticipate mass tourists. In other words present-day tourists are no longer in need of the traditional pathfinder because of the availability of maps and guidebooks, not to mention changes in the visitor’s experiences and tastes. Contemporary tourists seem to search qualitative (Urry 1990) rather than quantitative experiences and are therefore in more need of a local guide who communicates and interprets meaning. Merely transferring information about history, culture or everyday life is no longer sufficient to meet the more sophisticated wishes of the tourists. The educationally oriented narratives of the mentor make way for more interpretative approaches: interpretations given by storytellers who combine different cultural themes and present these in an integrated narrative (Dahles 1996a). In order to develop an interpretative narrative the local guide has to be a jack-of-all-trades. Prerequisites for the role are local knowledge, language abilities, an insight into the tourism industry, the availability of a network and, very importantly, an idea of the preconceptions and expectations of his guests. Through his interpretation he has to connect the site visited to the wishes and demands of the tourists. Not every tourist necessarily wants the same, so these wishes and demands demand a great deal of flexibility of the guide. He has to develop a cultural style (Dahles 1996a); a guiding style characterised by the local guide’s capacity to match his interpretation with his clients’ needs. This results in a client-oriented approach which confirms the transition towards the inner-directed sphere where the ability to communicate is most important.

4.2.4 Dimensions of Guiding

The literature previously discussed reveals a heavy emphasis on the role of tourist guides in combination with the services they offer to their clients (Cohen 1985, Holloway 1981, Gurung et.al 1996). Besides these two dimensions of guiding, Crick (1992) and Dahles (1996a) highlight the importance of their networks. What is

travel agencies, but also act as providers for travel purchases on which customers decided at the location. Therefore (but also with an eye to readability) “tour operator” and “travel agency” will be used alternately throughout the text.

missing in most of the analysis is greater attention paid to the acquisition strategies of guides, a dimension of guiding which emerged quite clearly in the introduction of Chapter Three and which deserves to be looked at in considerably more detail. All together, four important dimensions of guiding can be distinguished:

1. acquisition strategies
2. the relationships between local guides and tourists
3. networks
4. the services offered

After discussing these dimensions briefly, to distil their essence they will be applied to Lombok's local guides and their guiding styles.

1. Acquisition strategies

The tasks local guides perform and the roles they occupy have been extensively discussed (Cohen 1985, 1996, Holloway 1981, Gurung et.al 1996, Dahles 1996a, Crick 1992, Bowman 1992). Less attention, however, has been paid to the interpretations of guides themselves about their own activities. Clarifying the position of local guides is necessary because of the blurring boundaries of the profession and the complex terminology that is used in discussions about guiding (Dahles 1996a). One way of going about this task is by looking at their acquisition strategies. How do young men who approach tourists define their own activities in tourism? Not everyone automatically takes on the guiding role and in some cases people go to extraordinary length to avoid the role. Sometimes they introduce themselves as a guide, but in other circumstances they prefer to opt for the introduction as a friend or even *pacar* (boyfriend). Some local guides change their identity just as easily as their outfit, but others will never confuse their guests always electing to adopt a formal outfit and appearance. Local guides use different acquisition strategies, which lead to different guiding styles and to different positions within the tourism sector.

2. Relationships with tourists

Cohen already makes a connection between a talent for social leadership in guiding and the communicative skills of guides.

(The guide) (...) has to prevent the emergence of tensions between members of his party (...) and is responsible for the social cohesion (...). He has to keep his party in good humour (...) and try to animate the members of his party and induce them to undertake various activities offered by the touristic facilities encountered on the itinerary (1985:12-13).

These social activities refer to the time spent touring. For a better understanding of the motives and positions of local guides, it is important to look at the nature of the relationship and at the way in which the local guide tries to develop the relationship beyond the strict bounds of the itinerary. Not every local guide necessarily aims for a long-term relationship in which addresses are exchanged and promises are made. In training, a formal attitude towards the guest is recommended. Every initiative which goes beyond leading the way and disregarding the timetable of the tour is considered to be inappropriate. But other guides do get personally involved with their guests and long-term relationships of a different nature emerge. It remains to be seen whether these relationships meet the expectations of the local guide. Will these relationships help him to improve his own situation? What effect will it have on his guiding style and on his in his own social environment?

3. Networks

Local guides are responsible for the provision of services pure and simple like transport, meals and overnight stays. In order to arrange tours smoothly they need to develop contacts with various tourist facilities such as rental services, restaurants and hotels. Whenever local guides work for tour operators in a well-developed tourist system these arrangements are usually formally institutionalised. The tour operators always work with the same hotels and restaurants and arrangements about prices and occupancy are clearly formulated. In that case the local guide only has to know the rules and regulations formulated by his office. But in peripheral areas without such arrangements, the local guide has to deal directly with the local population which "demands considerable skills to ensure supplies and hospitality" (Cohen 1985:14). Local guides who operate outside the formal tourist areas usually do not have access to the same network. They have to develop their own personal network which, depending on the local guide, can have a formal or informal character. Sometimes their network consists primarily of sympathetic family members and friends. Occasionally local guides succeed in establishing contacts at all the strategic places in the tourist system. By focusing on their network an insight is provided into the resources local guides exploit and their position within the tourist system is revealed.

4. Services

Multiple services are offered to the tourists. Local guides perform as well the logistical as the more narrative related aspects of guiding. They offer transport, an introduction into the backstage of a traditional village, a visit to their family, a trip to off-the-

beaten-track attractions, information on the agricultural calendar, a boat trip, and an interpretation of an annual ritual and the frisson of a taste of the magic mushrooms.

Figure 4.2: Dimensions of guiding

- | |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. ACQUISITION STRATEGIES<ul style="list-style-type: none">* roaming streets, beaches and other public areas* at the sites* through nightlife* indirectly (through networks)* through formal contacts (optionals)2. RELATIONSHIPS WITH TOURISTS<ul style="list-style-type: none">* control/mediation* animation/morale* economic exchange/business* emotional/friendship/romance* sexual* "family"3. NETWORK<ul style="list-style-type: none">* formal tourism industry* informal tourism industry* government departments* guide association* other guides* peergroup* home/local environment4. SERVICES<ul style="list-style-type: none">* formal services* informal services* selection of objects/sites* information* interpretation of visited objects/sites* access to objects/sites/social territory |
|--|

Although tourism on Lombok only began to develop in the early eighties, the programmes of the major tourist organisations are already standardised. Most of the tour operators, and also the individually working guides, concentrate on tours to south Lombok, to the Gilis and occasionally to the north. The stops along these trails

are always at the same sites. The selection of sites as well as the information provided about these places or events are of course not always purely neutral, but can be highly personal or related to the policy of the tour operators. It can also reflect “the information policy of the tourist establishment or the official tourist authorities” (Cohen 1985:15). Their services and programme provide inestimable information about how guides try to meet the demands of their guests. Some local guides point out the well-known sites; others introduce their guests to their own daily life or compose a narrative about religion and daily practice. Do, in other words, local guides choose to emphasise the logistical, the information or the interpretation aspects of their work and why do they make these choices?

4.3 Categories of Local Tourist Guides on Lombok

The provincial government on Lombok, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, distinguishes two categories of local tourist guides: the licensed guides working at the formal end of the tourism industry and their unlicensed counterparts active at the informal end. It seems cut and dried but this strong formal-informal dichotomy is not a true reflection of Lombok’s guiding practice, which reveals a much more complicated reality. In contrast to other long-standing tourist destinations, the tourism industry of Lombok still offers many opportunities to unlicensed guides. As a consequence of Lombok’s recent entry into the tourism market, the island has a serious shortage of skilled labour for tourism-related jobs. Local guides on Lombok are still in great demand.² As a result informal tourist activities are very well integrated into the daily routines of the tour operators and travel agencies. Positions, networks and work relations are not fixed, but flexible and open to negotiation. The formal and informal parts of the tourist industry complement each other well. This has prompted me to design four categories of local tourist guides for the island of Lombok. Each category has a place on the formal-informal continuum:

1. the professional guides
2. the site-related guides
3. the odd-jobbers
4. the network specialists

² In other long-standing destinations like Yogyakarta the tourism sector (formal as well as informal) is clearly delimited with as a result that the guiding sector has also reached saturation point (see Dahles 1998, Dahles & Bras 1999).

The network specialist and to a certain extent the site-related guides can, as will be described later on in this chapter, be found all along the continuum. The local guides in these four categories are occupied not only with the logistical aspects of guiding, but also with the facilitation of the more qualitative elements like the selection and interpretation of sites and objects. The major difference between the four categories is their idiosyncratic focus. They differ in the sense that the categories are characterised by the use of different resources and that different forms of capital are exploited, and these choices all exert an influence on the style of guiding. The odd-jobber can be strong on arranging additional services through a highly personal network, while the professional guide knows exactly the etiquette required when dealing with a 'v.i.p.' guest. In my discussion the emphasis will fall both on the differences and the similarities between the four categories of local guides. It is important to find out whether the transition from original guide to professional guide is also taking place on Lombok and what this transition means in practice. Who, in other words, are Lombok's pathfinders and mentors? What is their position within the guiding and tourism sector and how do they experience their position themselves?

4.3.1 Professional Guides

Free-lancers and Staff Members Selling Optionals

The larger tour operators usually work with language departments. The incoming German tourists are accompanied by guides who have mastered that language, and the English and the French tourists are similarly catered to. Destinations or tours are also linked to particular guides. Some guides are experts in mountain trekking (Stam & Ter Steege 1997); others in snorkelling and others again prefer the overland tours on which they accompany tourists all the way to Maumere on Flores. Not every guide will be assigned the same amount of work. Newly employed guides especially spend most of their time at the office waiting for the crumbs left by other guides. Older, more experienced guides know well in advance how many and what kinds of tours are scheduled. If they do not feel like guiding a large party of thirty persons they will leave the job to the new or younger guides. Through the years fixed corporations have emerged between tour groups and local guides. Some travel agencies which regularly send groups prefer to work with the same one or two guides all the time. Whenever there are no tours and the guides are not scheduled for the day, they hang around at the office waiting for small jobs like check-ins or check-outs. But mostly they kill time at the *warung* (foodstall) close to the office drinking coffee or playing chess.

The number of local guides who succeed in becoming a staff member at one of the local tour operators is very small. Some of them hope that the loyalty to one tour operator will one day be rewarded, but more often than not these guides become free-lancers; a person who works for himself or herself, employed and paid by others only for particular, short-term assignments. In general, free-lancers work wherever they are needed. One of their fortes is that they tend to specialise in mastering a language. Any language other than English (at the moment Dutch and Japanese), is highly valued because of the extra payments per tour. In order to succeed, free-lancers have to make sure that they are known for their specialisation among the tour operators. This specialisation combined with a flexible attitude and easy availability at short notice (a phone!) are prerequisites for becoming a successful free-lancer in this highly competitive area. The majority of the free-lancers are quite young and combine guiding with a study, teaching or other temporary jobs. Older guides usually seek security and benefit from the privileges they have obtained through the years at the office, like having their standard clientele, organising educationals (a scouting expedition for a foreign travel agency in which hotels, restaurants, itineraries and tourist sites are checked) and accompanying v.i.p guests.

Per tour, staff members as well as free-lancers are paid a sum varying from 5,000 *rupiah* to 10,000 *rupiah* (including lunch money), depending on the travel agency, the duration of the tour (half-day or a day tour) and the size of the group. The average price for a full day tour is between forty and fifty US\$ per person³. Their basic income is not very high, but can be rounded up with commission⁴ and tips. Commissions and tips are the rewards for more time spent with the tourists. Guides themselves are responsible - through selling optionals - for the sale of daytrips. When the guides sell an optional to the tourists, they get 10 per cent of the total sum. An optional is a daytour that has not been booked beforehand. In most cases the only definite services tourists have arranged are transport on arrival and departure. Selling optionals is, therefore, a way to obtain more income, but also a means to come into closer contact with the tourists and, hopefully, to hold on to them for a period longer

³ As soon as the group becomes bigger, prices fall. Example: when for one person 40 US\$ is charged, two to three people pay 25 US\$ per person. Four to six people pay 16 US\$ per person and nine to fifteen people pay 13 US\$ per person (source: price lists 1994/1995 from local travel agencies).

⁴ The commission is a percentage of the price of the products and services purchased by tourists.

than a daytrip. A guide who is creative in selling optionals is sometimes rewarded by an extra bonus or is granted other privileges. Local guides have adopted several strategies by which they endeavour to sell optionals. At the office they discuss the best way to proceed. Questions come up like: isn't it better to give English tourists the prices in pounds instead of dollars and how can we get the tourists' unconditional attention on the short trip from the airport to the hotel? Normally the optionals are sold the moment tourists arrive at the harbour or the airport. During the short drive to their hotel, the tourists are welcomed and the first efforts to discuss itineraries are ventured. Having arrived at the hotel, there is a big chance that the guide will lose the attention of his flock caught up in the flurry of the check-in activities, the hassle about luggage and problems concerning the division of the rooms. The best way to proceed according to several informants is to help the tourists with their practical problems and to reassure them that their stay will be a pleasant one. Once they are checked in and more relaxed, they will probably be interested in a tour programme. An agreement on a programme and a down-payment as confirmation will do the rest. Waiting too long will, however, diminish the guides' chances. Every star-rated hotel has counters at which local tour operators sell their tours and outside the hotels there are numerous places where tours are much cheaper. The guide runs, in other words, a high risk of losing his clients to someone from the same office who happens to work at the hotel counter or to any other guide that hangs around the hotel. And losing his potential clients means losing his income.

Mutual Relationships, Itineraries and Services

Guides employed by a local tour operator usually have a government guide licence and are expected to work with the standardised programmes most of these tour operators offer. Besides the check-in and check-outs, the day trips and special requests like educationals and v.i.p clients, the guides have to arrange practical things. The confirmation of tickets, the arrangement of additional transportation or special menus pertain to their tasks. During the daytrips they have a leading role in making sure that the whole programme is completed smoothly and that time limits are not exceeded. This strict time management determines the pace of the tour. At every site the local guide determines how long the visit will take. To keep his boss, the driver and his clients satisfied, he has to make sure that his party arrives back in Senggigi well before dinnertime. Therefore, changes in the programme are seldom made. Guides from one tour operator always lead the tourists to the same places, as in the handicraft villages Penujak and Sukarara where the same artshops are visited in order

to provide the guide with commission. Guides are not eager to change the programme, for locals at new tourist sites have not yet agreed about commissions whereas, the present co-operation usually provides the guide with commissions up to fifty percent.

The standardised structure - work schedules, fixed programmes, strict time management - in which these guides have to work influences their narratives. The things they learn at the government course are supplemented by internal training and subsequently converted into a narrative. In the training emphasis is placed on accepted historical and cultural narratives dominated by facts and figures. The local guides' own interpretations and personal stories are discouraged. Because of their appearance - guides are obliged to wear an office outfit that makes the tour operator recognisable - and the rather standardised stories they tell, these local guides are interchangeable. In general, all the information they give is pretty much the same, sometimes even at exactly the same spots within in the tour. But certainly not every local guide is reluctant to gain more in-depth knowledge about the sites he or she visits, as the example of Djali will show.

Djali is a young Sasak who only just recently began to work as a guide. He takes it very seriously, and spends a lot of time reading about the history and culture of the Sasak. He is very eager to tell a good story about daily life on Lombok. Whenever he has a spare moment he goes to the library to borrow books and to study. He also uses his parents and grandparents, who live in a village in East Lombok, as walking encyclopaedias. Once in a while he goes home and confronts his family with questions about marriage, the local architecture and the *pacaran* (courting) rules, which they discuss over a cup of tea sitting in front of the house. Cultural information that deals with daily life in a village is reviewed. Djali explains how difficult it is for a guide to obtain the "true" information about Sasak daily life. His older colleagues' stories are sometimes different from the information he encounters at the library. It depends on the person and where the person comes from what kind of story is told. During the government course some of the information that Djali feels is important - for instance about religion in daily life - was not discussed.

Maybe Djali's eagerness can be explained by the fact that he is just starting out on his guiding career and that he still has to establish a solid position at his office. Despite his diligence his efforts to use other sources are, however, not always evident in the narratives he tells, narratives in which he imitates his older colleagues.

The emphasis these guides put on the informative part of their activities is proved by the conflicts they have with foreign tour leaders. Foreign tour leaders, who accompany groups of tourists during the whole length of their stay, use the local guide only as a pathfinder. His job is downgraded to pointing out the tourist

attractions, leading the way to a small *kampung*, ordering the menu in the restaurants and helping the tourists in and out of the bus. Possibilities to spout his knowledge are scarce. Professional guides do not accept this role for several reasons.

Every month Mahsun has difficulties with the same tour leader. It annoys him that he does not get the chance to tell about his island. The tour leader insists on giving the information himself. "I already told him that I know a lot about Lombok. I am a local guide and a Sasak and not a servant. He is an outsider. How can he claim to know so much about this place? He mentioned the percentage of Sasak that goes to school. That figure was totally wrong, much too low; he gives a wrong impression of the Sasak. All his knowledge comes from books and is not by definition correct". Mahsun can hardly restrain himself whenever the facts are inaccurate. "I would like to complain but I am afraid that the tour leader will feel reprimanded and that he consequently does not want to work with me any longer."

Another reason for not allowing the local guide to perform in front of the group is, according to professional guides, that tour leaders fear that local guides will get too close to their clients. Whenever a local guide is able to build up a personal relationship with clients, although it is only for a period of one day, they will claim a greater share in the tips and commissions. Keeping tourists for themselves, therefore, will be to the benefit of the tour leader.

Alongside disseminating their information and pursuing their leadership activities professional guides learn how to be ambassadors for Lombok. In other words, they are motivated and feel obliged to propagate a positive image of the island and the whole of Indonesia. Their task of ambassador is also defined as keeping an eye open for the needs of the local community and representing their own home culture and environment which explains why only the positive side of Lombok is portrayed in the narratives. Professional guides admit that it is better to avoid certain topics, like politics, unemployment or environmental problems. Sometimes these topics are points of discussion with tourists, but this always takes place after the tour and is never part of the official narratives. Concern for their home culture and environment is expressed mainly through personal initiatives and their demands for further education. In 1996 an eco-guide course was organised by the guide association in cooperation with provincial government⁵. Approximately twenty-two senior guides

⁵ The course was organised by the Centre for Indonesian Studies on Eco-development (CISED), an organisation that since 1991 collaborates with *Forum Sumberdaya Rakyat* (FSDR), a local NGO on Lombok active in the field of alternative tourism. More about this course in Chapter Five.

employed by several of the largest tour operators attended this course. The central question these local guides came up with was how to participate in finding a solution to the problems they observe around various of the natural and cultural sites on the islands: problems ranging from environmental pollution to the negative effects of tourism on the life of the locals. Aspects like waste disposal, local culture shock and the overt orientation towards money ("*mintu uang*") were discussed. The local guides who attended this course expressed their feelings about how difficult it is for people in their position to come up with solutions. They claim to know best what is going on in practice because of their daily presence at the sites, but their dilemma is that there is no one to listen to their observations and complaints. The fact that the primary task of these local guides is to satisfy their customers whose wishes and desires are not always in harmony with local *adat* (custom, tradition) or religious rules or with a long-term protection of the natural environment complicates their work even more. Most of these professional guides realise that a tourist development in which sensitivity towards local culture and the environment is not given priority will eventually cause the tourists to turn their backs on the island, which will of course have tremendous effects on their activities and on the possibilities of jobs for their children. Expressing concern does not, however, mean that local guides will always take action. The majority of the participants considered the eco-tourism course an easy and cheap way to obtain another certificate. Only a small number of guides, the ones with a long-term perception on tourism, will try to mediate their knowledge and strive for changes.

Guiding: a Nine to Five Job?

Within the governmental guide training, priority is given to guiding techniques. The formal relationships with the tourists and the attitude of the guides are discussed at length. Detailed explanations are given about how guides are supposed to participate in conversations and what are the proper ways to address tourists. The result of these cross-cultural lessons is, in general, a formal and therefore distant attitude towards their guests. Guests should be addressed politely and not bluntly asked a whole range of intimate questions. From the welcome word until departure the guide's attitude represents the tour operators policy. A policy in which servility and modesty have a central role. Professional guides will not quickly force themselves upon their guests, but prefer to keep a distance. They integrate but, at the same time, try to give all their guests the same amount of attention. At lunch the guides prefer to eat together with their colleagues who all stop at the same restaurants. At a special table, sometimes

even at the back of the restaurant, they chat, eat, drink and relax, temporarily released from their guests. Their educational background and the formal structure in which they operate contribute enormously to this attitude, but it also negatively affect their interest in elaborating the relationship beyond their daily guiding activities. For them, exceptions left aside, every tourist is just a client. Or as one informant very straightforwardly said: "I do not care who they are. It is better not to make a distinction between guests, they are all the same and they will all get the same service". Several of the guides mention the difference between accompanying individual tourists or small groups and larger groups up to thirty persons. Accompanying large groups is regarded as a routine job in which it is not even possible to make a more personal contact with clients. Small groups or individuals sometimes make a big claim on the guides' time and attention. Maybe the guests will even invite the guide for dinner. Professional guides tend to consider this as overtime instead of an opportunity to build a meaningful long-term relationship with a foreigner.

A small percentage of professional guides combine work with a study at the university. They are only temporarily engaged in guiding and regard this job as a means to finance their study and, in addition, gain the necessary working experience. Among the professional guides' future English teachers, lawyers and journalists can be found. Past experiences can also play an important role in the choice of becoming a guide. Two of my informants had spent a few years in Japan. After their return in the early nineties, their ability to speak Japanese put them in demand with several tour operators. Instead of having to look for a job themselves, they were asked to work as Japanese guides. So far they have worked in tourism on a free-lance base which enables them to combine guiding with other lucrative jobs like private teaching. Others ended up in guiding by sheer coincidence and stayed on because they had no alternative, needed the money or hoped on a better position in the framework of tourism. Through the years their job has developed into a professional occupation in which providing information and guiding skills are the central issues. Although the majority will never be able to obtain another position, nor are they particularly eager to invest time after touring hours, some of the professional guides are very ambitious and some of them succeed.

Arifin came to Lombok in 1983 when he was fifteen years old. At that age he already desperately wanted to learn English. Every now and then he went to the beach in Senggigi to look for tourists, with whom he would be able to practise his English. But Senggigi was still deserted at that time,

therefore Arifin was seldom in luck. When he was in his early twenties he got a job as a guide at a travel agency. He followed the governmental guide training and several internal training courses. He has now made it to tour manager with one of the biggest tour operators on Lombok. His motto has always been "learning by doing" and whenever people ask him where he learned everything he knows about tourism, Arifin answers: "Senggigi was my university and my teachers come from all over the world". Despite these fine words, in reality Arifin is very keen on tourist education. Although Arifin has now made it to tour manager, he has never stopped guiding. "Guiding is in my blood. I am a professional guide which means that I am a nurse, a psychologist and an ambassador at the same time and that I have to satisfy our clients". Arranging daytrips on the island is, according to Arifin, not particularly difficult. Showing his real talents is only possible during the Nusa Tenggara excursions, in which guides accompany tourists from Lombok all the way to Maumere (Flores). Not many local guides are able to assume this responsibility, not many guides work professionally, Arifin claims. Arifin, therefore, thinks it is important that he, with all his experience, can select and educate the guides for his office. Through his relations with the tourism department and the guide association he also hopes to contribute to the professionalisation of guiding on the island.

Although Arifin is still young, twenty-seven years of age, he has established a good position in the tourist sector. Like other guides who have pinned their hopes on a future in this sector, Arifin has made sure that he established contacts within the higher ranks in the tourist business. Attending meetings of the guide association, organising internal trainings, participating in discussions about the tourist development on the island and lending a helping hand at the tourist department office are ways of assuring his position and of climbing the tourist hierarchy. Although a regular tour ends around six o'clock in the evening, these other activities keep him busy in his free time. Guiding has become more than a job by which he earns money. It has become a way of life, a real profession.

Resources and Capital

The professional guides' working practice - the regular tour operators - and their clients - organised mass tourists - leave hardly any room for flexibility. It is not possible to offer alternative programmes for lower prices. Standardised programmes are offered for fixed prices and special requests will only be granted after consulting the office. Their guiding activities are restricted by rules and regulations formulated by the office and the official tourist authorities. Besides the formal tour operator's network, professional guides rely mostly on contacts, also formalised, at the hotels, restaurants and handicraft villages. The office arranges all commissions, free meals and extra payments. Because the competition between the professional guides can be quite fierce, there are not many opportunities to obtain extra income.

During the tours professional guides concentrate on the service and the information

aspects. During trainings these two aspects - guiding techniques and local knowledge - are highlighted and in their daily practice professional guides are judged on the basis of their narratives and attitudes towards the tourists.

It is especially in the information part - telling the “true” story about Lombok - professional guides try to distinguish themselves from other local guides and tour leaders with whom they compete. The results are highly standardised tours, characterised by the communication of accepted and controlled narratives. These narratives do not necessarily tell us anything about the professional guides’ local knowledge, which can be quite in-depth.

Working in tourism can be a temporary activity, but more often than not future prospects are sought in the higher ranks of tourism. Studying is one way to accomplish this goal. But also investing time and energy in elaborating and strengthening an already existing network has its advantages. Contacts with the tour operators and government tourism departments will hopefully open the way to other jobs in tourism.

4.3.2 *The Site-Related Guides*

Insiders and Outsiders

You can find them waiting for guests in front of Lombok’s tourist sites like Mayura, Lingsar, Narmada, and Sade. They live in close proximity to the site, have some rudimentary language knowledge and time on their hands to hang out at the site from early morning to late afternoon. Every time tourists arrive, these young men try to capture their attention and to talk them into a short excursion at the site. Because time is limited, they have to determine quickly into which category of tourists the newly arrived guests fall. Is a guide from a local tour operator already accompanying the tourists? Are they travelling alone? What is their nationality? Is it their first time in on Lombok? Answers to these questions have to be obtained in the short period that the tourists walk from the parking place to the entrance of the park or village.

“Hello mister. *Selamat datang di Sade. Dari mana?* Where you from? Are you alone? I work in the village. Sade is a traditional Sasak village. I can tell you the story of Sade”. These are Taufiq’s usual opening lines when he meets new tourists at the entrance. With several other guides, of whom some have an official government licence valid for Sade only, he makes a living accompanying guests.

To control the competition and the continuous quarrelling between the guides at one specific site, quite often a rotation system⁶ has been installed, giving them all, in turn, the opportunity to accompany guests. In practice, however, some of them manage to establish personal contacts with guides from travel agencies and tour operators. Automatically, jobs are channelled through to the same person, who, therefore, succeeds in frequently guiding outside the rotation system.

Taufiq, one of the long-term guides at the villages, states: "they (the guides from the agencies) have known me for years and they know they can trust me. Sometimes the other village guides are angry, but never with me, always with the guide from the agencies who deny them an opportunity".

Whether or not a site-related guide can obtain his own clients depends to a large extent on the policy of the travel agencies. To give them a chance and to involve more locals in tourism, several of the smaller agencies instruct their guides to hand over the English and Indonesian-speaking clients after arriving at the site. That the guides from the agencies tend to decide for themselves when to ask for assistance, which can be illustrated by Nyoman's account.

Nyoman, who has already worked at Narmada for five years, complains about the decreasing numbers of clients he and his colleagues are able to handle. Individual tourists cannot be persuaded into a guided tour. Nyoman blames the guidebooks. "They claim that their book will tell them all there is to know, which is of course not true". Large agencies like Bidy Tours and Satriavi, prefer to use their own guides. Especially the guests with money, the so-called v.i.p.'s, are kept for themselves. "We have to *makan bersama* (eat together)", Nyoman emphasises. "Why not share the money that can be earned at the sites". Beginners, and also guides from the agencies who are tired or hungry - *malas* (lazy) as Nyoman calls it - ask the help from their colleagues at the site. The last few years, however, they are more frequently fobbed off with the tourists who have no money to spend. "We get the leftovers, good for a handful of coins". Nyoman expects more from his relations with the guides from the agencies. "We also have a permit and work *resmi* (officially). We are no guide *liar* (wild guides) chasing the women, but professionals".

The income of site-related guides fluctuates strongly and, again, depends on the relations with the guides from the agencies. Several years ago they could count on ten guided tours a day. At that time a site-related guide could earn more than all the others. But these prosperous days are over because the competition has become too harsh. Nowadays three or four tours can be expected, sometimes more, often less. Not every tourist will automatically pay them, thinking that they earn a fixed salary. Or they are paid the absolute minimum of 200 *rupiah*. What they earn on a day

⁶ In dusun Sade it is called a "rollin" system.

hardly ever exceeds 10,000 *rupiah*, just enough money for the daily shopping.

Taufiq argues: “too often tourists do not know that they have to pay us, they have already paid for the tour and think our services are included. I remember one day with an American tourist from Los Angeles. After accompanying him through the village, he told me it had been very interesting. We shook hands and he left without leaving me any money. I felt depressed. I did a good job and he gave me nothing in return. But I did not say a word, thinking that American tourists also can be *pelit* (stingy). Later that day the same tourist came back from Kuta. Passing by, he saw me sitting beside the road. He stopped and said: ‘I’m sorry, I forgot I have to pay you and he gave me 5,000 *rupiah*. He was not *pelit*, but had not realised guiding in the village is my job”.

Guides working at the sites argue that their position would certainly improve if the guides from the agencies prepare their guests before arrival.

Taufiq adds: “just tell the tourists that as soon as they arrive at the site another guide will take over. Tell them that it is our job and that they are allowed to give us money, because they do not receive a salary. But tell them also they are not obliged to give money”.

Site Experts

In general, excursions at the site are relatively short, fifteen minutes at the most. The guides follow standard routes and tell almost identical stories. Most site-related guides imitate the more experienced guides from the agencies. On some occasions, the narratives have even been learned off by heart. The narratives rarely go beyond the site visited and have a strong focus on the built environment. Only seldom are efforts made to position the site in a broader historical or socio-cultural context. Although the narratives are of minor importance, there are guides who make a clear distinction between different categories of guests and try to sell themselves as professionals knowing exactly which information is suitable.

Nyoman states that there are two stories of Narmada. One for the foreign visitors. “They are on a holiday, therefore it is better not to bother them with all the details of the place. It will only confuse them. I tell them about the park and the beautiful gardens”. The other story is for people who already have some background knowledge - many of the domestic tourists according to Nyoman - and who have a specific interest in some of the places inside the park like the temple.

Adding to their image of being site experts are the efforts to take in certain areas that are normally inaccessible. Being at the site day-in-day-out, results in a great familiarity with the place. As a member of the village community or by establishing a close relation with the caretaker of the place, they have captured enough space to move around freely. Granting access - to houses where people live, to temples where ceremonies are held or to locked up parts of palaces - is therefore not particularly

difficult, but the guides who exploit their position as site expert are rare. The majority sticks to a standard tour and narrative and adopts a dependent attitude towards the guides from outside.

A more important way to stand out is learning a language other than English. Mastering, for instance, Dutch or Italian impresses tourists and can, as long as the relationship with the agency guide allows it, be beneficial. This is certainly the case when tourists find out that these local boys never went to school, but have learned the language by listening to tourists and other guides.

Nyoman, who has already worked in tourism for seven years, has learned several languages. For English and Japanese he followed a course, but all the other languages - Dutch, German, Italian and Spanish - he has learned by reading books and listening to the people around him. Nyoman still profits from the short period he was a free-lancer with one of the local tour operators. He used to handle the Italian guests and even now is still widely known as an Italian-speaking guide, the only one who works inside of the park.

With the exception of Italian, Nyoman only has a very rudimentary knowledge of the other languages he claims to master; just enough to tell the standard narrative of Narmada. With a few exceptions, this is often the case with the site-related guides.

Entering the Real World of Guiding

Earning only a small income and with barely any other alternative, many of the site-related guides dream of a better position in tourism. They all have their examples of people who have made it in the real world of guiding.

Taufiq says his brother is a role model for many boys working in Sade. He was one of Sade's first guides and now works at the biggest travel agency of Lombok. His career reflects the desires of many of these young boys to escape village life. They strive for a job as a waiter or a permanent guide instead of the hard life as a *kepala sapi* (cowherd) or farmer. Taufiq realises that only a few will succeed, hampered most because of the low level of education, but also because not everyone understands what tourism is about. At the moment approximately fifteen village guides are working in Sade, a large group that competes fanatically for clients. It has not always been like this. In the beginning, around 1987, there were only two village guides for a small, but constantly growing group of tourists. Since 1994, the number of village guides has steadily increased. All the young boys in the village wanted to become guides, and sometimes they did not even finish *sekolah dasar* (primary school). Taufiq complains: "I know that our English is not good enough, sometimes boys think that being able to say 'how are you' and 'welcome to Sade' is enough to become a guide. If too many want to do the same job, we have a problem: *Tamu yang datang semakin kurang, guide semakin banyak* (fewer guests will come, while the number of guides will keep growing)". At the village level, no guiding preparation or training facilities are available. Measures to monitor the guides' skills and performance are lacking. The young guides join in whenever they feel like it and a rudimentary knowledge of English is considered the only prerequisite.

Guides who do rise above the average often profit from the combination of a certain skill (a language) and self-established contacts. A good example is Ton, a guide working in Narmada.

Ton lives in a small village four kilometres from Narmada with his mother, five sisters and two brothers. His father is dead, so he and his brothers have to earn money for the family. One of his brothers is *pedagang kaki lima* (food seller) and sells ice cream and soup. Four years ago Ton started by selling drinks to the tourists in Narmada and he occasionally did a small tour. Ton emphasises that seeing so many Dutch tourists made him decide to learn the language. With a small dictionary and a lot of practice he mastered the language within six months. Since that time business has been prospering, helped by the fact he became acquainted with a Dutch tour leader in Narmada. They became friends and now this tour leader calls in Ton every time he arrives on Lombok with a group of tourists. Ton accompanies them all over the island, something he really enjoys doing. Besides his work in the park, Ton has become a free-lancer, a position, which is highly rated because of the freedom it brings him. Temporary jobs can be easily combined with the work at the site. If Ton can obtain a phone and a motor-cycle, he may become a “real guide” one day, because then he will be able to leave Narmada and switch to free-lance activities.

Resources and Capital

In the early years of tourism development on Lombok, the position of the site-related guides was much better. The small number of guides and lack of information and expertise gave them a monopoly position at the sites. Some of them were “pathbreakers”, the first to offer the occasional tourist a guided tour. These early years of pioneering are over. From being “pathbreakers”, site-related guides have now become part of a large, variegated group of guides; a group in which its growing more and more difficult to attract attention. The mounting competition among guides is undermining their position. Other, better educated guides who have larger networks at their disposal take over their clients. Site-related guides have become extremely dependent on their colleagues; dependent for tourists, for information and for finding openings in the formal tourism sector. Being situated in the lower ranks of the guiding hierarchy, they have to settle for the tourists who other guides consider less profitable.

Distinguishing themselves on the basis of a broader local knowledge becomes more difficult. Instead of exploiting their position as site expert, site-related guides more often imitate each other and thereby the standardised narratives produced at the sites are born. In general, they are not able to add more to the site than what tourists already know from their guidebook or from the narratives told them by the agency guides. The narratives are of minor importance. Presenting themselves as language

experts is a way to rise above the average level; but the majority of the guides are only capable of presenting the information memorised beforehand.

Working together with licensed guides and, on some occasions, having a license themselves means that site-related guides see themselves as professionals. Their working area is the formal tourism industry in which they are only marginally involved. Still, their future expectations are directed towards work with Lombok's tour operators and travel agencies.

4.3.3 *The Odd-Jobbers*

Beach boys and Gigolos Hustling Tourists

They are called beach boys, the guides who roam the streets, the beaches, bars and discotheques of Senggigi and other beach areas and who are not connected to any organisation, or only do so on a temporary basis. In search for income they seek their livelihood directly from tourists. They are certainly no full-time guides but have a whole range of activities which can be related to tourism. Guiding is combined with being a waiter, a driver, and a musician or with being jobless. Usually beach boys only roam the beach areas during high season when the chances of meeting tourists are highest and considerable windfalls can be made. During off-season they are occupied in other jobs or just rely on the support of family members. In an article about Jamaica Pruitt & LaFonte analyse the activities of the group of young uneducated and unskilled people, especially men, who do not have access to formal jobs in tourism, as making a living "hustling the tourists" (1995:428) and that is exactly what beach boys do. Because of their limited education and superficial knowledge of the English language possibilities of obtaining a job in a hotel or at a travel agency are scarce. Occasionally they do small jobs for a travel agency, but only when their attitude and appearance fits in with the policy of the travel agency. For the real "free spirits", who do not have any intention of adapting to the rules and regulations of the office, it will be hard to find such an opportunity. Working in a tourist environment where there is no direct supervision or working independently corresponds with an often mentioned desire to feel *bebas* (free); a state that is greatly valued by the guides working in this area. It is questionable whether they all automatically aspire to a job in the formal tourism sector. Much more often than not, they seem rather reluctant to give up their independent position and join an organisation in which they have to sit and wait with the risk of no work coming their way. They call themselves *orang jalan* - people from the street - who prefer to

work for themselves. This gives them the freedom to decide when and where to operate. After making a good deal of money out of their guests, they can withdraw for a while, relax or change to another activity. The only organisation with which they tend to associate is Kotasi (*Koperasi Taksi Senggigi*) in Senggigi. This is an influential organisation among the transport business mediating between transport and services for the star-rated hotels and travel agencies in the area⁷. Kotasi has a guiding system. Guides have to pay a once-only membership of between 200,000 and 250,000 *rupiah*, which will give them access to the Kotasi network. Whenever they want to recruit tourists directly, the guides are restricted to the beach, *jalan Raya* (the main street of Senggigi), the Kotasi counter near the Gossip Bar and the popular hangouts like bars, discotheques and in front of the supermarket. In 1996 Kotasi had seventy-one guides registered (often combination guide-driver), of whom only thirty to forty were active, depending on the season. The guides described in this section have actual access to Kotasi, through friends or a membership, or they only use its name because they think that being part of an organisation will make a more reliable impression on the tourists. In practice however, almost everybody who works in the Senggigi area claims to be part of Kotasi, whether this is true or not.

Budi differs from most of the guides for he is already in his mid-forties and has been married for eighteen years. Keeping a family is hard. His children, all in their teens, are at an expensive age. Sometimes Budi is two or three months behind with payment of the school fees or he cannot pay for the school uniforms. Budi immediately hands over the money he earns to his wife for he is afraid that he will spend it all in one evening with his friends drinking rice wine. Budi knows a plethora of people for he has had all kinds of jobs through the years. Sometimes his home looks like an open house, crowded with friends and acquaintances whom Budi will support whenever he can. The jobs he had in the past are countless. A steady job does not seem to be Budi's style. From an early age, he has changed jobs regularly, never staying long in the same place. His jobs for a contractor and at a garage were temporary. Several of his efforts to begin either a *warung* or a *toko* failed. When he was a truck driver he drove between Jakarta and Mataram with all kinds of cargo. The one-and-a-half years he spent in Kalimantan, where he worked as a driver, were profitable, but he was too far away from his family. Or the jobs he had were too poorly paid or Budi could not stand the lack of freedom. Six or seven years ago Budi made his debut in tourism. At that time one of his good friends owned a few bungalows on one of the Gilis. Budi used to help out whenever he could. Slowly he developed a network at all the tourist destinations. Senggigi also became one of his working areas when another friend introduced him there five years ago. He started as a driver

⁷ Locals who have transport (cars, boats) or services (driver, guide) to offer can become a member of the co-operation. The long waiting list for new members proves that participation in *Kotasi* is popular. A transport membership nowadays costs between three and three-and-a-half million *rupiah* and only is available when a present member decides to withdraw. Whenever a car is rented to one of the hotels, the owner of the car gets a high percentage of the rent and a small contribution is paid to the co-operation for its mediation.

and now prefers a job as a guide, which brings him into closer contact with the tourists. At the moment he is still scraping money together by doing a variety of jobs. Budi once in a while acts as an intermediary - a *makelar* - in land transactions, but he also sells *sate kambing* (goat satay) at the market and arranges cockfights in his neighbourhood. He likes to work as a guide, but also points out that it is a job in which you can have "a good catch once in a while, but no guaranteed income". The seasonal influences leave him with hardly any income in the low season and his restricted language abilities only give him access to certain tourists. Not that Budi would prefer to have a steady job at a travel agency. "I cannot sit in the office the whole day waiting for something to do, besides if I was to do that, there would be no time left to develop other activities. I have to work on the street and keep in touch with all the people through whom I can earn money". Working independently in tourism allows him enough leeway to develop all his other activities. And also enough time to do the necessary networking. It is true that Budi knows everyone and many people know Budi.

In the high season it is almost impossible to walk along the *Jalan Raya* or the beach in Senggigi without being approached by people asking things like: "Want transport Miss?" "Maybe tomorrow?" "Wanna see sunset?" Because the beach boys are not allowed to hustle tourists in the surroundings of the star-rated hotels, they have moved their activities to the beaches and the streets. Guides from this area have very explicit ideas about approaching tourists, like Andy, a twenty-three-year-old guide who has had a few years of experience in Senggigi. "Looking for tourists on the beach is not a good strategy. Generally they do not like to be disturbed during their sunbathing. I always operate from the supermarket where the tourists do their shopping. In order for them to trust me, I start talking about anything. I do not believe in imposing my services". Another popular place to hustle tourists is local nightlife. Cheap restaurants and bars with live music are popular gathering places for local guides. But not every guide is able to go out at night. Money is the problem, as was emphasised more than once by several informants. When a client invites them and transport back home is arranged, they take advantage of the situation.

After a few days in Senggigi the comments on the tourist's appearance, a beautiful smile or a sentence like: "Hello Catharine, where have you been? Do you remember me?" sound familiar. Beach boys imitate each other in their ways of addressing and convincing tourists. The result depends a great deal on the tourist. When it is his or her first visit to a destination like Senggigi, the reaction will not automatically be one of rejection. But the more beach boys enter a certain scene, the more creative their approaches will have to be. Some of the guides can be called genuine artists in selling the tourist attractions, the destination, their services or themselves. Because they spend most of their time in tourism areas they assume that they know exactly why tourists visit the area and how they want to spend their holiday. Accustomed to and

attracted by the Western lifestyle, they feel at ease in the company of tourists. Ron, a twenty-six-year-old guide who also works as a driver and musician expressed it in the following words: “I like to hang around with tourists, they are very honest and straightforward and most importantly they do not gossip. When I am in town with my family, I cannot be myself, in Senggigi I can”.

The beach boys usually focus on one type of tourist only. The type that is closely linked with their own lifestyle and can be described as the low-budget, individual, young traveller. Tourists who stay in star-rated hotels only become their clients when these tourists are after a good buy. Some of the beach boys predominantly focus on women who travel alone. Their first interest is to strike up an intimate relationship with a female tourist. Pruitt and LaFont describe the interest of young Jamaicans in “experiencing a white woman” as “as meaningful opportunity for them to capture the love and money they desire” (1995:428). They call themselves guides because this has proved to be a fruitful way of getting into contact with tourists. Gathering places are preferably the local bars, because the evening hours are better for a “good catch”. When one of the guides has earned money, his friends will help him spend it drinking beer in one of the bars. Whenever there is no money to spend they will sit strategically at places alongside the main street where they can keep an eye on everyone who arrives. Henry, who is working on the beach of Senggigi, is a case in point. He argued that a promise for a ride on his motorbike or a trip to one of the Gilis is merely a way to get in to contact. He is definitely not looking for a job as a guide. He wants to be entertained, he is looking for company, sex, and maybe even for money. One of my informants called these types of guides “multi-functional” guides. Their specific interest in female tourists, however, does not keep them from doing more general guiding work, but guiding is not their primary goal. A sexual relationship with a female tourist will give the local boy access to money and raises his status within his own social group. The local community members consider the beach boys prostitutes and stigmatise them as “gigolo”, because they live in a tourist area and because of their activities. The “gigolos” are usually not difficult to recognise. The group Pruitt and LaFont describe distinguish themselves by having dreadlocks. On Lombok their “trademark” is their *gondrong*, i.e. “cool and dreadly” appearance: they usually wear tight black jeans, loose shirts that are unbuttoned to the belly, long black hair and dark sunglasses. The “gigolo” phenomenon began in Kuta, the infamous beach resort in the south of Bali. Young males, the so-called “bad boys”, “Kuta cowboys”, “gigolos” (by others), or “guides” (their own term), hang

around the tourist places - the beach, bars, restaurants and accommodation - and “live, eat and breathe tourists” (McCarthy 1994:61).

Friends of Friends and their Services

The success of the beach boy depends a great deal on the size and shape of his network. On Lombok, where the tourist attractions lie scattered around the island, the mobility of the local guides plays an important role. Most of the attractions are visited on day trips during which reasonable distances are covered. A prerequisite for working in the guiding scene is having access to motorised means of transportation in order to make a tour along the most popular attractions. In other, more surveyable tourist destinations, for instance cities, street guides on foot (Crick 1992, Dahles 1996a) can do an important part of the guiding. This does not apply to Lombok, which is an island without a real geographical attraction centre, but a few centres that are combined in a several tours instead. Having access to transport implies building up contacts with an organisation like Kotasi, or with individuals who are willing to co-operate. Ariman's sister, for instance, has persuaded her husband, a German, to buy a car for her younger brother. Whenever his sister is in Germany, which is most of the time, Ariman can use the car. The car gives Ariman, and also his friends from Ampanan, the possibility to chase tourists whenever they feel like it. Because Ariman himself does not have much guiding experience yet, he depends heavily on some friends who speak better English and know how to approach tourists. The car, however, gives Ariman a strong bargaining position. The beach boys prefer to work alone or together with small groups of friends. They use each other's resources and contacts, pass on jobs to each other and share each other's income. Sharing each other's income is not always welcomed, as illustrated by the Kuta story of Budi and Ariman.

Having just arrived in Kuta with a couple from England, Budi and Ariman met a few friends from Senggigi. Arriving at the restaurant with clients gave their Senggigi friends reason to claim a drink, for having clients means money and that needs to be celebrated. Budi and Ariman had just enough money to pay for the petrol for the next day and did not feel like spending their last *rupiah* on drinks. Their clients, with whom they had not yet agreed a price, would pay them afterwards. In order not to disappoint their friends and hoping that they would be bored waiting so long, Ariman and Budi lingered as long as possible before going back to the restaurant. Budi took an extremely long shower and Ariman pretended to repair his car.

Other loose contacts in the tourism sector are necessary to get access to tourists in ways other than chasing them in public areas. Making friends or having relatives working dispersed over these places will be beneficial to the local guide. With their

first aim being a “good catch”, beach boys are, however, not reluctant to do whatever small jobs there are available. These jobs vary from arranging a ride to the airport or to town, going to the repair shop with a broken camera, looking for that one particular souvenir or assisting in making collect calls. All these jobs will, directly or indirectly, yield profit.

Beach boys can offer day trips which are comparable to the programmes of local tour operators, if they have a driving licence and a car or a network that is extensive enough to provide these services. The famous tour to the south of Lombok (see Chapter Three) is the first thing offered to freshly arrived tourists. But, depending on the creativity of the guide, this programme can be adapted. They claim to be flexible; flexible in time management and interpretation of the programme or in one or the other. As one group of beach boys colleagues stated: “We never tell the tourists that they only have twenty minutes at Narmada or Tanjung Aan, like the guides of the travel agencies. We stay as long as they want to stay. The result is that our tours take a lot longer than the average eight hours. But we do not mind, the tip will also be higher when our guests are satisfied”. Another result of loose time management is that guides cut corners in the sense that they drop their guests off at the site while they take a nap or visit some old friends in the village in the meantime. This is a risky approach as it will not always lead to a longer co-operation between the guests and the guide. Although the starting point in their offers is the South Lombok Tour, famous for its large commissions, beach boys regularly bring their own personal environment into the tours they offer. A visit to a relative’s house where Chinese cemetery decorations are made, a stop at their own house for a cup of tea, an afternoon at the cockfights organised by a neighbour or drinking rice wine with some old friends can be part of the programme. Some attempts are made to avoid the major tourist attractions by stopping at a quiet beach one kilometre before Tanjung Aan or visiting a unknown *kampung* with only one traditional *lumbung* (rice-barn) instead of going to the village Sade. Whenever guests react enthusiastically to such a proposal, local guides will grant them access to these non-public areas. Not narratives are central in their tour offer, but the ability to provide access to areas where tourists normally do not penetrate and to services unknown to the tourists. They entertain, encourage the tourists to get in touch with their relatives and neighbours, and ease the way through an area unknown to their guests.

From June until September you can find Budi in Senggigi in front of the supermarket, on the beach or hanging around in one of the *rumah makan* (small restaurant). In modest English he

addresses tourists and tries to sell his services as a guide or a driver. Budi introduces himself as a free-lance guide who has cheap but interesting tours to offer. When people ask him for which travel agency he works, he mentions Kotasi and adds that it will be cheaper to book a programme directly with him. Just like all the other guides who wander around Senggigi, he uses a small map to explain the route and describe the tourist objects. In principal his programmes are identical to the programmes of the regular travel agencies. But Budi is flexible and willing to change whenever one of his guests has a special demand. A small job, like a pick-up at the airport, captures his interest, as long as there is a possibility of earning money. Preferably he works together with a friend who owns a car; otherwise he will hire one himself or look for one of his mates at Kotasi. Budi does not have a government licence. He is not afraid to be stopped during the licence control because he has a green pin, the ones junior guides wear. "I bought it several years ago, but I do not like to wear it". His capital consists of relations. Relations with Kotasi, with some of the restaurants and hotels, with the boatmen and with other guides. When Budi is guaranteed of a job for the following day, he takes the public transport back to town where he lives with his wife and three children. He has no money to enjoy the nightlife in Senggigi, only when his guests invite him he will stay for a meal or a dance at Pondok Senggigi or the Marina Bar.

The guiding provided by the "gigolo" type of guide has a very personal character. They can be regarded as the woman's personal cultural broker, someone who will provide her with increased access to the local culture. Calling them companions or friends is maybe more suitable than calling them guides, but some of their activities are, however, closely linked to guiding. They show their new girlfriends around the island and while the female tourists pay all the expenses, they provide the information. They have the local knowledge and a network that will make it easy to introduce the female tourists in local life. Most of the time they introduce their girlfriends into their own limited network consisting mainly of friends who, alienated from local life, hang out together in the beach areas.

The services beach boys offer are relatively cheap and it is always possible to bargain for an even better price. Sometimes they do not ask for money but offer to accompany the tourist to the market or invite him/her for a ride on the back of their motorbike. Of course they speculate on a tip and on a longer co-operation. It is not an exception to be treated to an eight-hour trip with driver and guide for half of the price tourists normally pay, charged in *rupiah* instead of dollars. When a tour is booked through the office of Kotasi 5,000 *rupiah* has to be handed over to the co-operation and 30,000 to 35,000 *rupiah* to the owner of the car. After paying for petrol, the remainder is for the driver and guide. Kotasi already charges well below the prices of the travel agencies for their day tours. The price of a one-day tour is negotiable and will cost 100,000 *rupiah* maximum. Whenever beach boys work independently they will try to equal the Kotasi prices.

Ticket to a Better Life?

As described earlier, beach boys try to establish long lasting relationships with their guests. Guiding tourists for the period of only one day will, of course, bring them some money, but it is more interesting and profitable to accompany them through all the stages of their stay. Dining together after the tour, visiting bars, buying souvenirs and mailing letters at the post office are ways to get to know the tourists more intimately. Beach boys prefer an amicable relationship instead of a more distanced working relation. Introducing and behaving themselves as friends and actually being a "friend" will bring them closer to their guests. Spending time with clients is regarded as a way of gaining access to other sources of income and as a possible investment in the future. Becoming a business associate or a friend of a foreign tourist might be a possibility for a brighter future. Whenever a local guide succeeds in getting close to these guests, he will try to carry on a correspondence after their departure. Like Andy who made friends with a German family. He assisted them in finding their way through the official bureaucratic channels after their money had been stolen. Although he had to spend most of his free time helping them and there was no reward in return, Andy still considers this contact a valuable one. Through writing letters and an occasional phone-call he keeps the contact alive. Andy hopes that the family will come back and spend time with him and maybe they will pay for the German-language course that he is planning to follow. But promises are not always kept. Building up a meaningful relationship with a tourist is considered to be difficult. There is not much time to get close to them and when they leave it is never sure if and when they will come back. Most of the relationships are therefore of a transitory and instrumental nature.

Sometimes, though, Budi is tired of having to provide an income afresh every day without knowing if he will succeed. Getting closer to some of his clients is maybe a way to improve his situation. Budi once tried to set up a silver business with someone from Holland, but it did not last very long and he has not heard from the man since. Around him he sees other guides getting possibilities to go abroad, to Europe or to Australia, because their tourist girlfriends pay for the ticket. Budi would like that; he would like to have a relationship with a female tourist. A few times he was close to this, but so far never successful. Budi regards going abroad with a woman who will pay for his trip as a possibility to change his situation. "It does not have to be love, but maybe there are women who are 'hopeless', not able to get a husband, I can help them". No romance tourism for Budi, but a job and a temporary escape from his home situation that sometimes drives him mad. Working for a few years, as a driver, a cook or a cleaner, sending money home to his family and on top of that a foreign girlfriend sounds almost too good to be true. He even discussed it with his wife. "She does not mind", Budi says, "as long as I do not shirk the responsibilities for my children".

Only a few of the beach boys succeed in establishing a long-term relationship mainly at the level of having intimate relationships with female tourists. Although picking up an endless stream of white girlfriends seems to be the favourite pastime, many have a great desire to find a steady girlfriend who will spirit them away to her country for a better life in the West (or Japan). Others have “long lists of ‘true loves’ who return each year” (McCarthy 1994:61, see also Vickers 1989). Some former guides who are married to a foreign woman and are now engaged in a successful business set an attractive example. But not all the beach boys associate with female tourists to make a living. What looms most importantly is a possibility to earn money. Although welcomed by some of them, having a relationship with a female tourist is a matter of secondary importance.

Resources and Capital

The beach boys represent a combination between of a pathfinder who points the way through the predominantly informal tourism sector and an entertainer who keeps the tourists occupied in return for money. They know their way around the island, have loose contacts everywhere and are able to arrange just about everything at the level of informal services. Through building a dispersed network of contacts they are able to operate as a guide. Their friends and relatives are, in other words, used as resources in several ways. First of all they have to support them in the exercise of their jobs and secondly the private lives of the beach boy's friends and relatives are made part of the tourist experience. Most of their contacts are, however, within their own peer group. Access to such resources as transport and accommodation is generally restricted. They rarely know their way around in the formal ranks of the tourism sector. Their networks are, therefore, not far-reaching enough to establish a better position in this sector.

Because guiding is a temporary activity they do not develop a long-term perception on how to operate in tourism. They argue that tourism, characterised by its seasonal influences, does not offer them enough chances to work all the year around. The real reason is that beach boys are extremely reluctant to accept obligations which will keep them from carrying out other incidental jobs or businesses. Whenever it is no longer possible to shift their attention to other activities or leave the guide scene for a short “holiday” with a female tourist, the beach boys will feel tied down. Investing money in their future, for instance in education, is usually far from their minds. It is never sure if they will earn a reasonable income and whenever they do, they

immediately have obligations towards their fellow guides.

In contrast to the tour operators they do not offer standardised packages with strong historical and cultural orientations based on facts and figures in a frame of local narratives. With hardly any education, limited knowledge of the tourist attractions and average language skills they have to make shift with what they have got. The results are tours in which narratives are of minor importance. Their focus lies instead on exploring the “off-the-beaten-track” sites and on establishing access in areas where tourist normally seldom come.

Their knowledge of the tourists is restricted to the group to which they feel most attracted: the individually travelling young backpackers and the female tourists who travel alone or in small groups. Their own Westernised lifestyle makes it easy for them to get in touch with these tourists. The knowledge they have of Western culture and their ideas about the tourist’s wishes and desires are based on what they learn in practice from associating with these tourists. They do not attempt to build up a solid group of clients, but think only of the tips and commission in dollars or *rupiah* which they will receive at the end of the day.

4.3.4 *The Network Specialists*

Monopolising Contacts: Tourists as Assets

It is hard to figure out how network specialists work exactly for they are not over-eager to share their contacts and information with others in the field. Mostly they make use of several networks, but operate from one permanent base. This can be a travel agency, a tourist site or a restaurant or bar in Senggigi. They get the bulk of their guests through long-established contacts, for example direct contacts with foreign tour operators or with former clients. Local guides who work directly with foreign tour operators without the mediation of a local travel agency have long-term experience in tourism. In the early stages of tourist development the chances for a local boy to get in touch with foreign travel agencies were still abundant. Not knowing how to proceed, the tour leaders searched for local intermediaries who could help to explore the tourist attractions of the island. Rizal was a “pathbreaker” in his early days, someone who selects objects of interest or produces new tourist destinations.

Rizal started his guiding career in the *sawah* in Central Lombok close to his home village. He was a young boy who could hardly speak any English at the time, but nevertheless guided tourists to the

waterfall and the village. His connection with a tour leader from a foreign travel agency brought him to town and put him in touch with the tourist sector. The agency wanted to start a programme on Lombok and the tour leader, whom Rizal had met in his village, asked him for help. Although it was hard to communicate with the tourists and being inexperienced, he decided to develop a programme and guided the first group. The tour leader paid him 100,000 *rupiah* for a one-day trip. "It was clear that he did not know the accepted rates because he never again paid me that much money". After this first trip many others followed, always for the same agency. Rizal is now twenty-six and still works in tourism as a free-lance guide at one of the travel agencies. After working years without a licence, his tour leader friends talked him into doing the government course. "A piece of cake", says Rizal, "only around ten days at school". Although he is working for a travel agency, his deal with the foreign agency still stands. Although several local travel agencies arrange the transport on arrival and departure, the tours are still organised directly by Rizal. "It is better that the travel agencies do not know that much about my activities because they will certainly not agree with how the tour leaders and I work together. We have our own little Mafia": . Rizal wants to hold onto the exclusive rights to accompany these groups; therefore he is using his own network and avoids talking too openly about it. It would be impossible to work this way if he were a staff member at his agency. But he is not and he prefers to keep it that way. "Of course it is convenient to have a monthly salary of 50,000 *rupiah*⁸, especially in the low season. But as a staff member you are not allowed to do jobs for other agencies. As a free-lancer you can work wherever you want, and maybe even earn more money than a staff member".

Of course Rizal is no longer the pathbreaker he used to be. Through his work at the travel agency he has been introduced in the regular tourism sector. So far he was able to keep his earliest contacts to himself. Also within the agencies local guides monopolise contacts. Because of their ability to speak a language fluently, they are made head of the German or Dutch department which allows them the possibility to deal directly with the tour leaders involved. This can lead to significant benefits because of additional jobs like accompanying the v.i.p. guests, organising educationals, selling tours for higher prices and personally (without mediation of the office) guiding friends of earlier guests. Similar constructions can be found in the Senggigi area where guides have their own channels through which they handle groups directly. In combination with independently recruiting tourists at the popular bars in Senggigi this proves to be quite a successful approach as the example of Jim will show.

"It is hard work to be a successful guide", says Jim. Every day again a great deal of effort has to be made to bring in new clients. Therefore he tries to be at tourist hangouts as often as possible. The best chance to meet him is in one of the bars at night. Not that Jim always enjoys these evenings. "Sometimes I do not feel like going out, the same bar every night can be quite boring. But I have to do it, I have to find new clients". For Jim every tourist is a potential client, visiting a bar and talking to tourists is work. You will hardly ever see him dance or drink much. It is more

⁸ 50,000 rupiah is the regular month salary at his office. But, of course, every travel agency has its own rates. Sometimes the salaries even differ per person.

important to make a deal for the next day, otherwise spending that much time with tourists is useless. To enlarge his chances Jim also operates from a small restaurant. He helps the owner and in return is allowed to approach tourists. "I have two jobs. In the daytime when I do not have any activities I stay here and explain the Western people that they can make a trip with me". When tourists hesitate Jim offers them his name card with the telephone number of the restaurant on it so they can always call him or leave a message. That he is actually quite successful in what he is doing is proved by the fact Jim is always on the road during the high season. Besides all the tourists travelling individually, he accompanies tourists from several foreign travel agencies. Instead of working together with a local agency, these agencies prefer to work directly with a local guide. Jim has long-term contacts with some of the tour leaders and this has led to at least one group of tourists a month.

Some of the network specialists can be found in Senggigi nightlife. Their presence can be considered to be an investment in future-guests. But, as is generally the case with these guides, they will only invest their precious time if these contacts yield the expected profit. Contacts, with as well tourists as representatives from the local tourism sector, are regarded as assets. Whenever a contact can contribute to the improvement of their personal situation it is worthwhile investing time. Hanging out with tourists is regarded as work most of the time.

The time it takes to arrange a tour sometimes frustrates Jim. "I will not immediately say that I am a guide, tourists do not like it if you come straight to the point". If he wants to be successful Jim has to proceed cautiously. Watching him operate is like watching a play. He wanders from table to table, never sits still, never loses sight of the door out and always keeps aloof from the people he meets. "Spending time with tourists is okay, but getting close is something else, they will leave again, so why bother" Jim says. The fleetingness of the contacts and the arrangements seem to please him. For Jim tourism is selling a product and himself by offering his services.

Even when Jim is 'en route' with guests he is constantly looking for new opportunities. Tourists who travel around individually and have lunch at the same restaurant are approached and their future plans are probed. Whenever their interests match, a date is set for later that evening in the Marina Bar or Pondok Senggigi. Jim, and many other local guides with him, has learned not to put all their eggs in one basket. Guests who are likely to go on more than only one day trip may expect a great deal of attention. The local guides will be loyal to them, dedicated and will always arrive on time. Chances for large tips or large commissions are exploited.

An example of this is Kadir who spent three whole days and nights with a couple from England. The purpose of their trip was not sheer pleasure. Hoping to start a new programme in West Nusa Tenggara they were on the look out for interesting sites. After the official programme Kadir took the couple to a typically Sasak restaurant in Mataram. The next evening they went to his brother's house in Penujak, a pottery village, to celebrate a religious ceremony. The last day he even went walking with them through Ampenan, the old harbour city, although Kadir himself hates walking.

After their departure there was regular fax contact directly with Kadir to discuss the possibilities for further co-operation. Instead of leaving these negotiations to the tour operator he worked for, he decided to arrange everything personally.

Multiple Businesses and Multiple Networks

Thus, the network specialists set their own course, not only within guiding and not only there but in their sideline activities which are innumerable, they also reveal themselves as small entrepreneurs. This phenomenon has been referred to as the deskilling of tourism-related employment (Crang 1997), meaning that people who work in tourism quite often take on different tasks and activities as their jobs are not performed at a professional level. Launching a homestay with bed-and-breakfast facilities, being an intermediary in large souvenir purchases, giving private English lessons and being involved in import-export of handicraft products are examples of the sideline activities that are carried out. When windfalls are made, they like to show off. The guides who always seem to have money are envied, but this does not diminish their popularity with their peer group. As long as they are not reluctant to share or lend money, their colleagues will think highly of them. Ever on the look-out for niches in the market, it is not always possible to play safe, risks are taken and therefore not every piece of business is therefore brought to a good end. Depending on their background and personal situation they are to a greater or lesser degree involved in sideline activities. Practical experience in tourism is more important to all local guides in this category than formal education. Although some of them are fairly well educated, they admit that without knowing the ins-and-outs of everyday tourist life on the island, they would never have been as successful as they are today. Owners of travel agencies are constantly on the look out for new talent among the guides still working independently.

A travel agency has showed its interest in Jim more than once. His acquisition activities have not passed unnoticed. But Jim is too fond of his freedom and absolutely not interested in working for one of the regular agencies. "I do not think a job like that will be suitable for me. I do not want to cut my hair and I hate the outfit those guides have to wear". Jim is aware of the fact that his long hair gives him the guide *liar* (wild) image, but he does not seem to mind. "I do not care what people think of me because I know that I am good at my job, better than most of the guides from the agencies". This self-confidence springs from the fact that blokes like him spend almost twenty-four hours a day in a tourist area, constantly surrounded by tourists. Even when they do not have a job, they have ample opportunity to socialise with tourists. "Therefore we know what the tourists like and how to approach them". Jim has never needed a language or a tourism course; he learned everything he knows in Senggigi. That does not mean that he wants to be associated with the "wild" guys who dominate Senggigi nightlife. "They sell marihuana, they are looking for company and sell themselves for a couple of days. We must respect them, but their reasons to be there are different from ours. We are making a living". As far as Jim is concerned going to a bar or

disco is work, when he wants to enjoy himself he will go somewhere else.

Their acquisition strategies supplemented by a thorough local knowledge and good language abilities make them highly suitable for the most various jobs in guiding. Through the variety of tourist jobs they performed in this area and their close relationships with tourists, they have become skilled experts in tourists' "wishes and desires". They entertain, behave like a friend, are dedicated and serious, approach their guests as professional guides or tend to behave like teachers. These local guides adapt their attitude all the time to meet the interests of the tourists. Adopting different identities does not seem to be very difficult for them. A single person can be an entertainer, a pathfinder, a teacher, an ambassador or a friend.

Local guides compose their itineraries depending on their network. When guests are recruited in Senggigi's nightlife the local guides can associate freely with tourists without taking into account the rules and regulations of the local travel agencies and tour operators. These agencies provide a more formalised working environment. Broadly speaking the same programmes are offered, but the realisation is geared to the desires of their guests. The famous South Lombok tour is not always their first choice. But, never on any account will they hesitate to include sites where sufficient commission can be obtained. At several locations the commission is well up to fifty percent of the purchase price, for instance in the weaving village Sukarara which is quite centrally located on the island. Whenever possible, efforts to include this village in the tour will be made, even though it means making a detour. Their programmes are characterised by great variety and flexibility; sometimes highly standardised, then another time with a central theme and by times constructed around their own personal experiences. Whenever the tourists are interested in places located off the beaten track, the local guides consider the possibility of introducing them in their own villages or at the *pondok* (house) of friends or families. But they actually seldom include their personal environment in the tour.

With the back-up of their extensive networks it is easy for these local guides to plan and arrange their tours at short notice. Transport is always available, either through Kotasi or through the regular travel agencies and in the unlikely event of their being too late, there are always friends or relatives who will help them out. The same applies to the arrangement of drivers, boats, lunches and accommodation. The basic income at the travel agencies is not extremely high, but can be rounded up with

commission and tips. Especially whenever they arrange all the aspects of the tour themselves, their income can be quite acceptable. At the restaurants they get their meals free, at the accommodation they are paid large commissions, at the handicraft centres they prove to be clever negotiators and at the end of the trip their charming manners deliver them a sufficient tip. As discussed already, in some case their sideline activities will also yield a reasonable amount of money.

"Orang Tua Angkat" (adopted parents) and Future Expectations

Staying a guide for life is not their ambition. In general they consider their present work as a way to acquire the necessary skills to gain access to other employment or beginning their own tourist business. Investing time in building up a network will, therefore, eventually lead to other activities. Being a tour leader, a entrepreneur in handicraft, an owner of a low-budget accommodation or a small travel agency are the possibilities at which these guides aim, sometimes very impatiently.

Jim is not planning to stay a guide for the rest of his life. The number of guides is growing extremely fast. "Six years ago the tourists were still looking for a guide, but nowadays guides are looking for tourists". His dream is a small restaurant or a homestay for budget travellers in Senggigi or Kuta, but as always the money is a problem. Maybe one of his clients wants to become a partner in a business.

But not every guide has such a clear idea of how to change his present situation.

Rizal thinks a lot about what the future will bring. According to Rizal it is impossible to stay a guide for life. For him thirty-five is an acceptable maximum age for guides. "Guides always stand in the limelight. You can only be successful in such a job when you are young, still fresh and still enthusiastic". Rizal does not know if he will enjoy being a guide for another ten years, but he also would not know what else to do. A good life for his son and wife is most important to him.

Or will Jim and Rizal also try to find a future through romance tourism?

In spite of his serious attitude, Jim is quite a popular target for a holiday romance. He has a long list of true loves and will invest most of his time in the love that will improve his present situation. In spite of his marriage, Rizal was and still is interested in having an affair with a female tourist. But he does not seem to be in great demand. So far he has never succeeded in making a romantic overture. "Maybe I look too decent and too serious. I wear my shirt in my trousers, my hair is neatly cut and I am clean. Maybe the women think I am not interested in having a relationship, that I am too serious, with my religion for instance?" Deep down in his heart Rizal is sometimes jealous of his colleagues who practise romance tourism. Like Tony who is never without a foreign girlfriend. Whenever it is serious, Tony takes a few days holiday in order to travel around Java and Bali with a new lover.

Instead of hoping for a better future through an always fragile and uncertain relationship with a female tourist, these guides prefer to focus on developing long-standing relationships with tourists in general. Among them can be observed the so-called *orang tua angkat* phenomenon. After a pleasant stay to which the local guide has contributed significantly, tourists express the urge to stay in touch with their new friend. Older tourist couples without children of their own decide to “adopt” a local guide. They send him letters and presents, support his family, pay for his study and sometimes even invite him to their home country. Contacts like these can be quite beneficial to the local guide. It enables Kadir, for instance, to continue his study to become an English teacher. But Rudi’s “rich” uncle and aunt from England are maybe the best examples.

Rudi met them six years ago when he was guiding an English group. The tour, which lasted a full week, was a tremendous success. Since then Rudi has been to England two times at their expense. He stayed in their house for several months and became part of their family. They support Rudi in his efforts to get a better position in the tourism sector on Lombok. They also deliver him regular assignments. Rudi already accompanied several of their friends on trips through Java, Bali and Lombok. Rudi’s small house occasionally serves as homestay for guests who are sent by his *orang tua angkat*. These guests pay only a small amount of money, but when they are in need of a car, a driver or a guide Rudi is able to earn some more. Whenever possible Rudi sends his adopted parents presents, usually through other English tourists who live in the same area. He already sent them beautiful *sarong* and *ikat*, but also *krupuk* and fresh chilli peppers. Rudi is not sure yet, but maybe he will go to England for a few years to follow a course in tourism. Without his *orang tua angkat* this would be impossible to realise.

Resources and Capital

Being able to mobilise others is one of the strengths of the network specialists. They operate like small entrepreneurs who manage second order resources. Although they themselves are not in the position to arrange transport, to get access to hotels or to communicate directly with foreign tour operators, they have access to people through whom these resources can be obtained. These local guides know the right persons and they know how to manipulate or “use” them. Their network is of vital importance to their future plans and therefore requires the investment of a wealth of time and energy. These contacts are not restricted to their direct environment, but dispersed all over the tourist system, and family and friends as well as tourist officials are included. Whenever a contact offers multiple possibilities of work, more efforts will be made to establish a good relationship.

Network specialists do not refrain from doing other jobs. Through their extensive network they enlarge their chances of sideline activities which they regard as being at

least as important as guiding. Being a guide for life is not their ambition. Guiding is rather a means to an end to achieving other goals like a better position in tourism. Instead of focusing on education, these guides rely on their contacts and their elaborated practical knowledge. These guides usually have a longstanding experience of working in tourism. Their daily activities have made them experts in finding out the wishes and desires of the tourists. Therefore, network specialists are able to work with all the different sorts of tourists who visit the island. Groups are approached in different ways and the services on offer are also adapted to the expectations of the group members. Seemingly effortlessly they adapt their programme to the interests of their guests. Their narratives also show a great deal of flexibility. Standardised programmes are alternated by off-the-beaten-track tours and detailed historical accounts are followed by highly personal biographies.

Whenever the guest is worth the effort, local guides will take great pains to develop a special programme. By matching cultural themes to the interests of their guests - religion in daily life, the Balinese on Lombok, work and leisure in the village - they try to offer more than standardised information. When they detect a genuine interest in their local culture, they may even invite the tourists into their home environment. But only when the guest is worth the effort! Also in their contacts with tourists, network specialists are opportunistic. As long as the tourist will yield the expected amount of money or provide access to other sources of income, these guides will do everything in their power to come up with something special. The time and energy they invest will be rewarded in the long run. Developing longer lasting relationships with tourists can be a way to improve their personal situation; maybe through a ticket out of Lombok, but preferably through some financial support in order to reach their future goals.

4.4 Conclusion

With the growth of tourism the number of guides also increased considerably. This has led to more cut-throat competition and a greater diversity in the guiding practice. On Lombok I distinguished four categories of local guides. The guides belonging to these categories all anticipate the broad diversity of tourist demand, consumption and experiences and have developed their own guiding style to meet the demands. The principal components of the four guiding styles, which are discussed in this chapter, can be represented as in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Principal Components of Guiding Styles on Lombok

	Acquisition strategies	Relationships with tourists	Network	Services Offered
Professional Guides	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through formal channels (optionals) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - control/mediation - animation/morale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal tourism industry - guide association - government departments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal services - information - access to objects/sites
Site-related Guides	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - directly at the sites - indirectly (through informal networks) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - control/mediation - animation - economic exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - other guides - tour leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal services - information - access to objects/sites
Odd-jobbers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - directly roaming streets/beaches - public areas - occasionally through nightlife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - emotional - friendship - romance - sexual - "family" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - other guides - peergroup - home/local environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - informal services - access to social territory
Network Specialists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - directly through nightlife - indirectly (through networks) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - economic exchange - business - friendship - "family" - romance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal tourism industry - informal tourism industry - peergroup - home/local environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal/informal services - selection objects/sites - information interpretation objects/sites - access to objects/sites - access to social territory

Cohen (1985) describes the transition from the original guide (the pathfinder) to the professional guide (the mentor). The emphasis in exercising the art will shift gradually to the more communicative aspects of guiding. The data presented in this chapter reveal that guiding practice is much more complicated. Guiding styles have to be redefined and connected to the present development in tourist trends and tastes. The odd-jobber activities are not restricted to the periphery of the tourism system, as was the case with Cohen's pathfinders. Contrary to what Cohen (1985) states, this category does not disappear as soon as tourism develops into an industry. Along with the development of tourism into an institutionalised industry their activities have also emerged in the centres of the tourism system. Instead of making way for professional guides, as Cohen described, the odd-jobbers gradually developed an informal guiding style characterised by friend-like relationships with tourists and the provision of access to a social territory, mostly their own territory. They find "new" off-the-beaten-tracks. In that sense they are still Cohen's "pathbreakers" who exploit their family and friends homes as new tourism attractions. Although in the centre, the odd-jobbers work "outside" the tourism system. Their networks are of limited importance, their position marginal and their services only suitable to the traveller-type of tourist. Getting promoted to the status of professional guide is not their aim. Usually their work in tourism is not temporary; tourism is their life. A life close to tourists and their Western consumption patterns captures their primary interest.

The rapid growth of tourism on Lombok also shows a tendency towards standardisation (see Chapter Five for the government policy on guiding). This is revealed ineluctably in the work of professional guides who walk the beaten-tracks routes and, consequently operate only in the centre of the tourist system. In their orientation on providing information, the link with Cohen's mentor can be made. Whereas Cohen's mentors were supposed to give an interpretation of the local culture, the professional guides on Lombok restrict themselves to the provision of information only. Their standardised programmes perfectly match the average interests of the mass tourists. They accompany the large groups of tourists who, ensconced within their own environmental "bubble", travel the island. For these tourists the service and safety is perhaps even more important than information.

A large part of the professional guides' work is therefore-service oriented, which leads the tour operators focus predominantly on guiding techniques. Standardised tours, similar narratives and services make it extremely difficult for the professional guide to

distinguish himself from his colleagues. With the arrival of more and more professional guides in the region, these local guides are, therefore, more and more easily interchangeable. The same is true of the site-related guides, who fail to become site experts but offer the same standardised type of services as their colleagues from the agencies. Less educated and further removed from their potential clients, they are facing a growing gap between their expertise (knowledge, language abilities, and guiding techniques) and the expertise of the other categories of guides on Lombok.

Some of the network specialists started as odd-jobbers and slowly developed a highly sophisticated network; others are still considered professional guides, but cherish their networks outside the formal circuit. The guiding style they have developed through the years has made them to what they are small entrepreneurs in tourism. Being a local guide is a risky business. Their market-oriented approach matches the growing diversification of the tourist market and the emerging interest of tourists in qualitative experiences. Because they connect the tourists' experiences and interests to the objects and sites on the island, they are able to cater to almost every tourist. Depending on the tourist, they tell the accepted, controlled narratives, or they combine familiar sites with unfamiliar ones within an integrated narrative. They will propagate an interpretative approach as long as it brings them the expected benefits. Flexibility is their motto and guiding only one aspect of the activities through which they try to improve their situation. Guiding alone will never yield the profit for which they are hoping, therefore their sideline activities are just as important as guiding.

The odd-jobbers, as far as they introduce tourists to their own social network, but above all the network specialists represent a new type of local guide with a guiding style that shows a host of similarities to the activities of small entrepreneurs who are selling tours, services, images, experiences and objects. Sometimes they function as Dahles' storyteller (1996a) and then again as Cohen's mentor. Their presence in the daily guiding practice on Lombok points towards a shift from mere communication to the interpretation of sites, objects and local culture.

In the next chapter the guiding policy of the provincial government and other guiding-related organisations will be analysed. This analysis will shed light on the position and future outlook of the four categories that were discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE - Government Education and Control in Lombok's Guiding Sector

5.1 Introduction

The provincial government of NTB defines a local tourist guide as someone who takes control, clarifies and explains the tourist objects and helps the tourists with everything they possibly need. Going into more detail the government tourist offices describe local guides' tasks as follows:

1. Organising safe transport for groups or individual tourists;
2. Explaining the itinerary and everything there is to know about the travel documents, the accommodation, transport and other tourism facilities;
3. Giving information about the tourism objects;
4. Arranging the luggage of the tourists;
5. Helping tourists who are sick, who have had an accident or who have things missing (Dinas Pariwisata Prop. DATI I NTB, 1995a).

The rapid growth of tourism in NTB, and especially on Lombok, has led to an enormous increase in the number of tourist guides. Table 5.1 shows the most recent figures.¹

The growth of tourist arrivals has markedly stepped up the pressure on the local guide's tasks and on the quality of services they are expected to offer, but it has also underlined the importance of their role in the process of image making. The governor of NTB point out that tourist guides are considered a vital link in the development of the image of the province. Therefore the provincial government, following the national policy, has decided to pay more attention to the work of tourist guides (Bali Post 1995).

¹ It is difficult to get a clear picture of the exact number of registered and licensed guides in NTB. Besides the official statistics (shown in Table 5.1) there are some other sources. For 1995 the provincial tourism office have statistics which state that NTB has 392 licensed guides (360 junior guides and 32 senior guides). This number was confirmed in an interview with the head of *subdinas Tenaga Kerja Diparda*, 7-8-1996. The guide association *HPI (Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia)* of NTB also comes with a much higher number of licensed guides than the official statistics. In an interview with the head of *HPI* in October 1995, he claimed that *HPI* has 327 members of whom 70 per cent is active as a tourist guide.

Table 5.1: Number of licensed tourist guides in NTB 1988, 1991-1996

Year	Number Of Guides NTB
1988	32
1991	63
1992	112
1993	175
1994	176
1995	280
1996	220

Source: Dinas Pariwisata Prop. DATI NTB, 1995b, Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a, 1997

At a national level a change in tourism patterns and consumer expectations is thought to be just around the corner. As the former Director General of Tourism stated: "tourism trends in the nineties indicate that many travellers are seeking alternatives to large-scale, beach-oriented resort development and are searching for smaller-scale development favouring eco-tourism and cultural tourism" (Sammeng 1995:6). He argued that the guiding sector has to anticipate this trend which will entail a decrease in group travel and a diversification of traveller's tastes. The tourist guides working at national, provincial and local level are held responsible for the transfer of information. The great stumbling block is that their skills and knowledge are not sufficiently developed to compete with well-informed guides from other countries. Shortcomings in the national tourism products of Indonesia stem from poor management of many of the country's tourist sites and objects, especially those of historical and cultural interest. Many of the objects are not covered by detailed explanations and lack the facilities which would enable the visitors to find out about their history. Standardisation of information is regarded as necessary to replace the different versions being presented by many local tourist guides (Bali Post 1996e)

The organisation responsible for the co-ordination of guides is the *HPI (Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia)*. At their fourth National Working Meeting in Medan in 1996, at which guide associations from all provinces came together, internal quality control featured large, but there was also great concern expressed about the overall

professionalisation of the whole occupational group. It was decided that at the provincial level an inventory has to be drawn up of all tourist objects, and, in co-operation with the provincial tourism office, standard information has to be made available. This striving for professionalisation inevitably has effects on the licence requirements. The government issues licences for national guides and for senior and junior guides working at a provincial level. At the provincial level all work to do with the issuing and controlling of licences has a high priority in order to get an insight into the illegal guide activities. The tourism office (*Diparda*) estimates that 125 unlicensed guides work on Lombok. Although not officially allowed, a large numbers of foreign guides and tour leaders also work in Indonesia (Bali Post 1996f) and this number will certainly rise after the implementation of the planned ASEAN Free Trade Area in 2003 which will imply a free exchange of labour between the Asian countries linked in the treaty (Indonesian Time 1996). The fierce internal competition as well as the challenge from outside the country, is good reason to urge for a standardisation of government regulations. The guide association is not yet well established in every province and the national legislation on guiding has not been made operational in every part of the country.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss in more detail the efforts made by the provincial government and government-related organisations to control the guiding sector and to relate these findings to the four categories of local guides, which I distinguished in Chapter Four. Through the medium of education, language and other courses, workshops and field practice, guides are trained and transformed into “ambassadors” for their province and their country. In the next section a detailed analysis of courses, course material and quality control will shed light on the tourism-related information policy of the provincial government of NTB. Subsequently the government's interest in getting an overview of what they call the “illegal guiding activities” will be discussed. Unlicensed guides are regarded as an obstacle to the development of tourism on the island and their activities are discouraged by wielding rules and regulations.

5.2 Education

The tourism training facilities in NTB are still at an early stage of development. Lombok has private tourism schools that arrange one-year vocational trainings in

hotel management and the tourism business². The most popular course is hotel management, which includes the provision of services in hotels and restaurants and also tour and travel. Guiding is slotted in under tour and travel together with ticketing and tourism objects management tasks. Only a few of the guides working in Lombok have followed the tour and travel specialisation, mainly because it is a recent addition to the curriculum. The students who usually attend these courses do not have a language background, which will jeopardise their chances of becoming a professional guide. Therefore most of them will get an office job at a travel agency for which the ability to speak English is less important³. The larger travel agencies arrange their own internal training courses. Learning-by-doing is their motto, which implies that new guides have a training period of approximately three months in which they copy the guiding techniques and narratives of their more experienced colleagues. On some occasions the internal training is much broader. A recently launched travel agency with a non-governmental background offers its employees a programme with sessions on cross-cultural understanding, guiding techniques, tourism objects, economy, national and regional culture, politics and environment.

5.2.1 Government Guide courses

To become a licensed tourist guide it is obligatory to follow government training organised by the tourism office in co-operation with the *HPI*. The tourism office has an “Education & Training” division (*DIKLAT - Dinas Pendidikan dan Latihan*) which organises courses at three levels.

1. Junior guides (*pramuwisata muda*) who are qualified to work at district (*kabupaten*) level (*Wilayah Daerah Tingkat II NTB*).
2. Senior guides (*pramuwisata madya*) who are qualified to work throughout the whole province (*Wilayah Daerah Tingkat I NTB*).
3. Special guides (*pramuwisata khusus*) who are qualified to work at one specific tourist object, like for instance Narmada, Lingsar or the traditional village Sade (see Table 5.2 for the whole programme).

² On Lombok there are several tourism institutes like *Pusat Pendidikan Latihan Pariwisata dan Sekretaris (PPLPS)*, *Pusat Pendidikan Latihan Pariwisata (PPLP)*, *Bina Latihan Kerja Pariwisata Tour & Travel (BLKPTT)*, *Akademi Pariwisata (Akpar)* and a tourism school *P4B Cabang*, originally coming from Bali.

³ Interview Director *Pusat Pendidikan Latihan pariwisata dan Sekretaris (PPLPS)*, July 1996.

Table 5.2: Content of the guide courses

Level guide	Basic subjects	Primary subjects	Additional subjects
Junior guide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - state ideology - Indonesian language - national safety - history Indonesia - culture & art district 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - basic knowledge - tourist objects district - guiding techniques - culture ethnic groups Indonesia - knowledge tourist product - knowledge flora & fauna 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hygiene - first aid - general education
Senior guide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - state ideology - Indonesian language - national safety - history Indonesia - culture & art province 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - terminology tourism - tourist objects province - guiding techniques - culture ethnic groups Indonesia - leadership & salesmanship - knowledge flora & fauna - knowledge tourist product 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - national and provincial tourism - immigration & quarantine - organisation harbour - first aid - planning tourism - general education
Special guide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - state ideology - Indonesian language - national safety - history Indonesia - culture & art place of residence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - one (or more) foreign language (language of number one visitor group) - specialisation in one tourist object - guiding techniques - culture ethnic groups Indonesia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - national & local tourism - first aid - general education

Source: Dinas Pariwisata DATII NTB, 1993b

For both junior and senior guides the minimum education requirements are senior high school (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*) or secondary tourism education (*Sekolah Menengah Industri Pariwisata*). For all levels a preparatory selection is standard, consisting of an intake interview at which the ability to speak proper English is tested and a written test about the *pancasila* (state ideology) has to be taken. To enable

guides - although not licensed yet, the majority of the junior guides already works as guide - to participate fully, the courses are organised in low-season. Courses can accommodate around thirty participants. Every year the provincial government decides which courses are to be held and financed (see Table 5.3). The shortage of licensed guides in the province requires a guaranteed annual junior guide course.⁴

Table 5.3: Number of participants Guide Government Courses 1989-1996

Year	Number of Participants	Level
1989	40	junior guide
1990	30	junior guide
1991	50	junior guide
1992	25	junior guide special guide
1993	25	junior guide
1994	30	junior guide
1995	30	junior guide
1996	30	senior guide

Source: Dinas Pariwisata DATI I NTB, 1993a; Dinas Pariwisata DATI I NTB, 1995b; personal registration 1994, 1995, 1996.

These courses never last longer than twelve days⁵; a short period in which all the above-mentioned topics have to be discussed and in which, in most cases, a fieldtrip is also included. As said before, some of the basic subjects are examined during an intake interview with potential participants in the course. This intake interview is also a tool to examine the future guide's attitude and appearance. Some of the young men are turned away immediately because of their informal approach and guide *liar*

⁴ Interview with the head of the "Education & Training" division of *Diparda*, april 1996.

⁵ Similar government guide courses in Yogyakarta, Java, last approximately two months. The difference can be explained by the phase of the tourism development of the destination. The shortage of skilled labour for tourism jobs on Lombok makes it difficult to exclude them from employment for a period of two months.

appearance which means having the *gondrong* look, wearing earrings, sandals and untidy clothes (see the odd-jobbers category of local tourist guides in Chapter Four).⁶ The actual course consists of lectures alternated with role-plays. During the lectures local guides are taught what kind of information to convey about their local culture and how to communicate the more specific facts and figures about the attractions visited. Most of the time is spent on lectures about performance, attitude and guiding techniques. Until 1995 the guiding technique sessions were led by experienced Balinese teachers, nowadays representatives of the *HPI* teach this part of the course and they still use the written material from the *Sekolah Tinggi Pariwisata* in Bali (see the next section). The senior guide course, which was first held in March 1996, aimed to inculcate a more profound knowledge of the destination and the preferences of the visitors. Again, there was a heavy emphasis on how to satisfy the guests. Senior guides more frequently accompany their guests on the Nusa Tenggara trips going all the way to Flores. Bearing this in mind attention was paid to elements of leadership and group dynamics. In addition, the tourism office regards this course as a possibility of cultivating a greater awareness and interest in guiding and to improve the image of the profession. Programmes like these were part of the national Tourism Consciousness Campaign (*Kampayne Nasional Sadar Wisata*), which were organised in preparation of the Visit Indonesia Year (1991) and the Visit ASEAN Year (1992). Communities in Indonesia were made aware of tourism and were motivated to look at the attraction value of their own area. Among the methods devised to establish this was by proclaiming the *sapta pesona* (the seven charms): security, orderliness, friendliness, beauty, comfort, cleanliness, and memories (Direktorat Jenderal Pariwisata 1990). As quoted in Adams the objectives of the *sapta pesona* as far as the government was concerned “to form a strong and sturdy identity and to maintain national discipline” (1997a:157). The fieldtrip included in the earlier mentioned course was, therefore, linked up with a short tourism awareness campaign in the rural area of Lombok (see Chapter Seven). Of the fifty-seven people who signed up for the course, thirty passed the selection⁷ and were permitted to follow the twelve-day course.

⁶ Interview with the head of *Parpostal* 16-4-1996.

⁷ One of the requirements to be admitted is three years experience in guiding. In practice, however, being admitted has more to do with having good contacts at the government and *HPI* level.

5.2.2 Performance, Attitude and Guiding Techniques

Within these courses the hospitality business is defined as a business “to make your guests happy with your personal service and attitude” (BPLPB undated:19). To reach this goal, rules of conduct have been designed. When analysing these rules of conduct described in the course material (see Figure 5.1), we see that local guides are expected to blossom into “impression managers”. People who are able to employ “artifice and ritual to project favourable images” (Leong 1997:76) for, in this case, an audience of domestic and foreign tourists. The local guides' allotted task is, therefore, to be a *dutawisata* (ambassador): someone who chooses the profession and represents his company and his country. Their assignment is to present a positive, respectable image of the region by showing the tourists only the cleaned-up “frontstages” (MacCannell 1976) and to refrain from discussing controversial issues. In their intercourse with their clients, the guides have to develop a formal relationship; formal in the sense of maintaining a professional distance and adopting a servile attitude. But at the same time local guides are expected to behave as friends, tutors and counsellors, as people who represent more than persons “who just inform, introduce, guide and give advice during visits” (BPLPB undated:1). It is assumed that local guides will navigate between being an ambassador and a friend, and that they will do so with the necessary diplomacy, charisma, sense of humour and good manners.⁸ In order to know how to treat their clients best, a strong awareness of their guests' needs and desires has to be cultivated. Their guests' background and culture have to be studied. Guides, in other words, have to know that the Dutch like tulips and that the French eat *escargots*. And they have to be able to connect this knowledge to their own local culture and habits. More has to be known about the clients' needs like:

intellectual curiosity (needs to know about culture, history), needs to see (hear or taste) something new and beautiful (sightseeing, music, gastronomy), needs to be recognised and respected (greetings, needs for personal attention), needs to record achievements (taking a picture), needs to relax and enjoy oneself, needs to acquire (shopping), physical needs (needs to feel clean and safe) (BPLPB undated:19).

These rules of conduct are especially noticeable in the attitude and approach of the professional guides. They are advised to adapt as much as possible to the guest's

⁸ The textbooks contain a whole set of rules telling the future guides how to address their clients in the right way. Good manners with reference to appearance (hair, dress, hands, complexion, body odour, voice and speech), shaking hands, eating and, most important, conversation is given much emphasis (BPLPB, undated).

wishes and to look creatively for solutions to the problems which sometimes crop up. What to do when these tourists' needs are difficult to fulfil and any guidelines with reference to the attitude of the guide towards the local population, are minor parts of the guiding technique session. First and foremost the local guide is trained to satisfy his clients and not to build a bridge between local population and tourists.

Broadly speaking the use of stereotypes directs many of the local guides' actions towards their clients. In the government courses and in daily guiding practice tourists are classified by nationality. Ideas concerning general characteristics of nationalities and which nationalities are the most difficult to handle are part of a lively debate in the tourism industry. These classifications lead to rather stereotyped images of tourists. The use of stereotypes is known in contacts between tourists and the local population and is often based on poor information about each other. MacCannell suggested that "the relationship between tourists and the local people is temporary and unequal. Any social relationship which is transitory, superficial and unequal is a primary breeding ground for deceit, exploitation, mistrust, dishonesty and stereotype formation" (1984:387-388).⁹ Stereotypes generally highlight certain attributes. The extreme experiences and abnormal behaviour of an occasional tourist are connected to cultural differences and generalised to the whole group. An instance in point is the scanty leisure wear favoured by some of the Italian guests, who leave the beach resorts and travel inland on excursion dressed in bathing suits. Or the Japanese demand for luxury and the "home-plus" experience which makes them known as being "loaded with cash, and ready to spend" (Scures 1994:16). Also well-known is the fascination of Australian tourists for partying and beach life based on the assumption, as one former guide explained, that it is not without reason that Kuta on Bali is also called "**Kota Untuk Turis Australia**" (city for Australian tourists). These stereotype images are not restricted to foreign tourists only. Domestic tourists are regarded as a difficult group to handle because of their unwilling attitude towards time schedules and their critical comments on meals.

The use of these stereotypes serves two goals. First of all it contributes to the

⁹ The same is true of course for the stereotype images tourists have of the local population. Evans-Pritchard states with reference to the American Indians: "Indian stereotypes of tourists are probably not as potentially dangerous as tourist stereotypes of Indians. After all, tourists are only tourists for a few weeks at a times, on average, and then they can go back home, while Indians are Indians for life" (1989:102).

surveyability of Lombok and its visitors. Guests are easily put into categories and connected to presumed suitable attractions, excursions, restaurants and accommodation. Secondly, stereotypes are known to create and maintain boundaries (Evans-Pritchard 1989, Scures 1994). Assigning certain attributes to tourists enables local guides to keep the tourist in the category of outsiders. By doing so they are in control, while there is still room to develop a closer relationship.

Figure 5.1: General rules of conduct for local tourist guides

- Rules Of Conduct To Achieve A Smooth And Pleasant Relationship Between The Tour Guide And The Tour Participants**
1. Remember that you represent your country. Your behaviour contributes to forming your country's image.
 2. Always be tidy and well dressed.
 3. Behave properly and avoid nervousness, no matter what unexpected events occur. Keep calm, cool and collected.
 4. Maintain a sense of humour in all situations.
 5. Never let your contacts with your clients degenerate into familiarities which may not be appreciated.
 6. Obey the laws, regulations, customs and traditions of your country and encourage your clients to do likewise.
 7. Avoid making negative judgements about other countries, their beliefs, customs or politics and refrain from discussing controversial subjects.
 8. Ensure equal attention is given to each client and not only young, wealthy or attractive persons.
 9. Always answer questions with care, honesty and politeness.
 10. Admit your ignorance rather than giving misleading (false) information.
 11. Avoid charging more or less than the fixed tariff and do not expect gratuities or presents from clients while on duty.
 12. Refrain from criticising other operator's services.
 13. Avoid recommending people or places of doubtful reputation.
 14. Never discuss your personal problems with your clients.
 15. Avoid accompanying tourists to restricted areas, places of which respectable people disapprove.

Source: Balai Pendidikan dan Latihan Pariwisata Bali, undated.

5.2.3 Standardised Narratives

Local guides have to learn in practice how to translate the government information into narratives suitable to their guests. The body of knowledge consisting of

information about the tourist objects, the local community and the area visited is elaborated and translated into accessible narratives. A government course of only twelve days is generally not considered sufficient to obtain the knowledge required. Guides are motivated to tap other sources of information and to learn from their more experienced colleagues. Despite the efforts made, many of the narratives are not evaluated positively by government officials and representatives of the *HPI*, mainly because they do not reflect the information policy of the official tourism authorities. A tendency towards standardisation of the information provided has led to a content quality control of the narratives. Every deviating narrative is expected to damage the image of NTB as a tourist destination and the image of Indonesia in general.¹⁰ At NTB the percentage of guides who provide what tourism representatives call, "wrong" information is estimated on 10 to 15 per cent. Beginners in the field and guides without a government licence are held responsible.¹¹ The construction of controlled narratives begins in the government courses and assumes more further shape in the examination activities from the education department of the *HPI* in co-operation with *Diparda*. Every year local guides have to extend their membership of the *HPI*. In 1995 the *HPI* added an examination to this application for extension. Already licensed guides were tested on their knowledge of the tourist attractions on the island. Unlicensed guides were also allowed to do the test which gave them the possibility of obtaining a letter of recommendation, useful for obtaining a place in the next government course or for finding temporary work in the formal tourism industry.

As a result of the early concentration on the Balinese attractions on Lombok, the written and oral examination is almost entirely focused on those attractions in West Lombok. This seems to conflict with the government's emphasis on developing Lombok's own tourism identity and with the popularity of those sites among tourists. The city tour, in which a whole package of Balinese attractions is offered¹², is

¹⁰ A representative of the *HPI* (interview 26-07-1995) gave an example of a German travel guide writing that the people of Lombok were still eating mice instead of maize in 1965. There was a very bad famine at that time. So this information might well be true. The provision of wrong information by the local guide was given as the reason for this inaccurate information and not, what of course is also very well possible, problems in the communication or carelessness on the part of the travel writer.

¹¹ Interview Head of *HPI*, October 1995 and Bali Post 1996e, 1996f.

¹² In the city tour only a few attractions located in the cluster of the three cities Ampenan,

one of the least chosen excursions. Representatives of the travel agencies explain this as Lombok being the last stop in an overall programme (a whole holiday) in which Balinese culture dominates. These Balinese sites - temples, shrines and former summer or water palaces - lend themselves to detailed historical accounts full of dates and names. An accurate reproduction of all these facts and figures is what is striven for in the course and during the examination. For example, at Lingsar, where a combination of three religions - Hinduism, Buddhism and Waktu Telu - can be found within one compound, local guides are expected to explain the meaning of the name Lingsar, the name of the person who introduced Hinduism to Lombok, the builder and building date of the complex, the exact names of the two most important shrines, the meaning of several of the symbols and a detailed explanation of the entrance gate. Facts and figures are given without paying attention to the context, which in this case could entail an explanation of the existence of different religious shrines in one compound, the similarities and differences between Hinduism, Buddhism and Waktu Telu, and the present-day function of the shrines. Linking the tourist objects with present-day life seems to be of minor importance, like in the beach area Senggigi where no information about the villagers, their occupations or changes in their life caused by tourism development is given. Local guides are encouraged to highlight the hotel facilities and number of rooms, to give information about the building dates, the owners and the newly planned businesses. In the case of the traditional village Sade, the narrative is not supposed to relate to the everyday life of its inhabitants. A detailed account of the traditional rice-barns and houses - "real native houses" - is encouraged and not an insight into the daily activities of the inhabitants or the changes in their village which are sometimes related to the arrival of tourists.¹³

As said before, local guides have to refrain from any kind of comments on the national and provincial government policy. Questioning the *keluarga berencana* (family planning) implementation efforts of the government or its lack of success in raising the standard of living in every area of the province are considered inappropriate pieces of information for tourists and maybe harmful for the island's

Mataram and Cakranegara are included, namely the former Balinese summer palace, Mayura, and opposite of it the Balinese temple Pura Meru. Sometimes a quick visit to the market in Sweta makes part of the trip. Additional Balinese attractions in the direct vicinity of the city are included like Narmada, Lingsar and Batu Bolong.

¹³ See Chapter Seven for a more detailed analysis of the narratives about *dusun* Sade.

image in the outside world. Again their role as “impression managers” is stressed. Only the positive markers are supposed to be used which also implies that local guides are not allowed to include their own personal biographies. Especially not when these biographies are characterised by the hardship of living in a Sasak village, the poor chances of getting a job or sufficient formal education or the exciting accounts of black magic. By refusing to answer questions on poverty or social problems (Pearce 1984) and by promoting “neutral” narratives, the local guides provide a cleaned-up, harmless view of the host culture to their visitors, exactly as the government intends.

These controlled narratives are formulated at a national level and lack any form of interpretation from a local perspective. Interpretation can be defined as “one of the storytelling arts whose aim it is to tell people about the significance of a place in an interesting an enjoyable way” (Chamberlain 1995:8). A more detailed definition of interpretation is the following:

An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information (Tilden 1957:8).

Interpretation brings the facts to life and makes clear, for the local guide as well as the tourist, what a visit to a tourist object actually is about. Urry described this shift away from the didactic legislator who “instructed visitors where to look, what to look for, and when to look” towards “an encouragement to look with interest on an enormous diversity of artefacts, cultures and systems of meaning with the help of an ‘expert’ who’s role it is to interpret the different elements for the visitor” (1995:146). Interpretation should, in other words, “revelate a large truth that lies behind any statement or fact” (Tilden 1957:8). Instead of a series of accurate facts and figures, Urry’s expert - in this case a local tourist guide - should be capable of creating an interpretative narrative which will sink more deeply into the mind of the visitor and create understanding and more interest among its listeners.¹⁴ According to Tilden, central to interpretation is that “it should be described to something within the

¹⁴ During several of the excursions I attended, tourists complained about the overload of details that they had to absorb. Details were immediately forgotten because of the lack of a frame of reference. As Tilden claimed, understanding is not reached by “mere recitation of facts. Not with the names of things, but by exposing the soul of things-those truths that lie behind what you are showing your visitor. Not yet by sermonising; nor yet by lecturing, not by instruction but by provocation” (1957:38).

personality or experience of the visitor, otherwise interpretation will be sterile” (1957:9). Furthermore, he emphasises that “the chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation” and “that it should aim to present a whole rather than a part” (1957:9).¹⁵ The need for interpretation is what a former guide was referring to when he mentioned the difference between facts and a story. A dry enumeration of facts will not be sufficient, he explained. Instead of mentioning Lombok’s seasons, in his opinion it would be better to link the different season to the several stages of rice cultivation. In this way the facts can be transformed into a *cerita hidup* (a lively story).¹⁶ And the lack of interpretation is what the Director General of Tourism meant when he said, “tourists are too often confronted with an abstract story about the tourism objects. In the future they will more and more look for reality” (Bali Post 1996e). What this policy maker implies is that in many cases narratives are not connected to the personal experiences of the visitors; that no parallels are drawn with their own day-to-day existence. Drawing these parallels is, according to Tilden (1957), an important element of skilful interpretation because it causes the strangeness and unexpectedness of a visit to a different culture disappear. At the same time this last remark of the Director General of Tourism is in sharp contrast with the present-day information policy in tourism which is directed solely towards the provision of standardised “controlled” narratives. The majority of the composed narratives are disconnected from its wider context. No deviant markers are used; a “personalised” interpretation and personal touch are discouraged. The upshot is that these narratives lack a wider understanding of the local culture. Visitors are, in other words, not provoked to “search out meaning for themselves” (Tilden 1957:36); not stimulated “to widen his or her horizon of interests and knowledge, and to gain an understanding of

¹⁵ In total Tilden distinguished six principles of interpretation:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
2. Information, as such, is not Interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural.
4. The chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.
5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
6. Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach (1957:9).

¹⁶ Interview former guide/present owner local travel agency, 5-4-1996.

the greater truths that lie behind any statements or facts” (Tilden 1957:33). On the contrary tourists are “submerged in a high tide of facts, perfectly accurate, perfectly ineffectual” (Tilden 1957:36). By encouraging this conduct the provincial government denies the demand for more interpretative, personalised narratives which match new developments in tourism.¹⁷

5.2.4 New Issues: Eco-Tourism Education

The initiative taken by the Centre for Indonesian Studies on Eco-development (CISED),¹⁸ - an organisation that has collaborated since 1991 with the *Forum Sumberdaya Rakyat* (FSDR), a local NGO on Lombok active in the field of alternative tourism - for a guiding course was much more market-oriented and connected to new trends in tourism. Acting as spokesmen for the local community, it emphasises the effects of development on local communities and the environment. Its initiatives are strongly related with the fact that the attraction system of Lombok consists of many natural sites. CISED’s main focus lies on the Rinjani area where it aims to empower and enable the local community to take tourism into their own hands rather than be overtaken by the transnational tourism industry. The Rinjani Eco-Development Project (RED-project) includes three inter-related components: eco-cultural tourism, sustainable park management and eco-village development. Each component includes trainings for community groups: mountain guides, women, farmers and water management groups (CISED 1995). Their experience with an eco-guide-training programme in 1995 plus their general efforts to promote sustainable tourism development drew the attention of the *HPI*. The mutual interest of both the *HPI* and CISED in the conservation of Lombok’s natural attractions resulted in a five-day eco-tourism course for senior guides organised in April 1996.¹⁹

¹⁷ In Chapter Six and Seven more about how local tourist guides deal with the principles of interpretation in their daily guiding routine.

¹⁸ Four Indonesian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) initiated the Rinjani Eco-Development Project (RED); *Wabana Lingkungan Hidup* (WALHI), a national Indonesian environmental network advocating environmentally sustainable development in Indonesia; *Forum Sumberdaya Rakyat* (FSDR) a network of thirty-eight NGOs in Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa focusing on alternative development; The Center for Indonesian Studies on Eco-development (CISED) which offer cross-cultural study programmes in Bali and Lombok oriented towards eco-development; and *Yayasan Mitra Nusa* (YMN) a small NGO in Lombok responsible for environmental sanitation (see Beterams 1996, CISED 1995).

¹⁹ The head of the *HPI* took the actual initiative in organising this eco-tourism course. Twenty-two of their members participated and were obliged to pay a small fee. *Diparda* only joined in

Instead of focusing entirely on the natural environment, a holistic view of eco-tourism was propagated during the course. Respect for and an understanding of the relationship between the local community and its immediate natural surroundings were considered vital to the development of eco-tourism. The local guides were defined as one of the stakeholders – alongside the government, businesses and the local community - who not only have to sell the natural environment, but also have to manage it. Being in the field most of the time and being a member of the local community and therefore well informed about local rules and regulations regarding the natural environment, local guides were assigned a large task in environmental conservation, education of tourists and locals. Denoting guides as actual stakeholders and as “bridge actors” who have a mediating role between the local community and tourists is an approach we shall not find back in the government guide courses. From the perspective of the provincial government, a visit to the local community is part of the tourist experience and an important ingredient in the image-making process of the island. But in the composed narratives and also in other elements of the course - performance, attitude and guiding techniques - this same local community is practically ignored or portrayed in a standardised fashion. The local guide’s role as a stakeholder is even more limited because he is only allowed to propagate the information policy of his office or of the provincial government.

The content of this eco-guide training is aimed mainly at the creation of more eco-cultural awareness among its participants. The pros and cons of tourism development were discussed at great length²⁰, paying specific notice to the absence of environmental policy at many of the star-rated hotels. The questions raised by the participants were directed principally towards the inability to combine a consciousness for environment and its inhabitants with the wishes and demands of their clients. The aim of attracting more concerned (eco)tourists was hailed as positive, but what should be done with the mass tourist - the major part of their clients - who comes to enjoy Lombok’s natural beauties but at the same time chooses

by offering facilities.

²⁰ Literature that was distributed during the course:

- J. McCarthy (1994) *Are Sweet Dreams Made of This? Tourism in Bali and Eastern Indonesia. Indonesia Resources and Information Program (IRIP)*, Australia;
- The Ecotourism Society (1993) *Ecotourism Guidelines. For Nature Tour Operators*.
- CISED (1996) *Ekologi Umum untuk Eco-guides. Langkah-langkah dasar untuk mendorong partisipasi Lokal dalam proyek-proyek wisata alam*.
-

to use the facilities of a five-star hotel with all its possible detrimental effects on the environment. CISED's message to the participants was that they should do their utmost to become active and concerned stakeholders. As suppliers of information, local guides were considered to be in control of important elements of the host-guest relationship. The provision of adequate information was regarded as one of the ways to diminish the cultural shock both tourists and locals experience when they are confronted with each other. Pertinently, the money-minded mentality which obsesses some locals - called the "money shock" by one of the local guides - which is characterised by a short term urge for direct profit and an inability to make plans for the future, could, according to the lecturers, be prevented by education. Local guides had to convey the message that "economically poor doesn't mean culturally poor" and be able to explain to the locals what happens to a tourist destination when it loses its popularity.

Many of the participants really had to wrestle with this difficult task and regarded their own roles in the tourism industry as too marginal to be able to achieve much. Examples were submitted to illustrate their inability to become an active participant in the tourism development, simply because they had no voice. Where to go with problems and irregularities and who to turn to in the villages where the arrival of tourists caused tension were questions that recurred in every session. The problems, already observable in 1991, in the traditional village Sade were mentioned and the remark was made that only recently had the provincial government taken notice of their continuous warnings. Instead of being a bridge actor and an example to both parties - locals and tourists - the local guides who participated in this course more often than not have had the unenviable experience of being regarded as the cause of many of the problems related to tourism by the locals as well as their employers.

The eco-tourism course raised a plethora of questions and stimulated the participants to discuss their own role in tourism development. For many of them it was the first time they had been motivated to take on a broader perspective which included not only their clients wishes and demands but also the interests of their fellow community members. The course materials and lectures were not limited to the eco-aspects of tourism in the Rinjani area. Instead a whole range of problems was raised and efforts were made to define the modest role a local guide could play in this process. Too pre-occupied in the composition of a positive image of the area and the satisfaction of the tourists, the government courses fail to raise any of the issues

discussed in this course. As one guide concluded: “the knowledge of the *HPI* members is inadequate. Indirectly we destroy nature and culture. Guidance in upgrading our knowledge and changing our attitude has to be a continuous process”.

5.3 Rules and Regulations

On the one hand governmental efforts to professionalize the guiding sector are related to more emphasis being placed on the guiding techniques, appearance and behaviour of the guides and the development of standardised narratives, as described in the education section. On the other hand a policy has been set out to prevent the activities of unlicensed guides who are considered to be one of the major obstacles in raising the quality of the profession. A government document about guiding in NTB (Dinas Pariwisata DATI I NTB 1993b) summarises the most urgent problems concerning guiding as follows:

1. There are still too many guides who operate without wearing a badge and without the required proper outfit;
2. There are still travel agencies, tour operators and other tourist organisations that use the services of unlicensed guides;
3. The assumption is that some of the guides of Nusa Tenggara Barat are too money-minded;
4. At the tourist objects several incidents of swindles, violence and drunkenness have occurred because of guide *liar* (“wild” guide)/unlicensed guides;
5. The guide association still does not operate optimally as co-ordinator of the licences and as representatives of local guides in general;
6. There is no optimal evaluation of the organisational and educational needs of the licensed and unlicensed guides while working in the field yet.

These problems are reduced to a fairly strict distinction between licensed and unlicensed guides. Unlicensed guides, referring to those who have not successfully completed the government course or did not follow the course at all, and therefore have failed to obtain a government license (*Kartu Tanda Pengenal Pramuwisata (KTPP)*) and are, therefore, not entitled to wear a badge.²¹

²¹ This badge is in the shape of a *cenderawasih* (a bird of paradise). The green (junior guide) and yellow (senior guide) badges are for provincial use and the red one for guides who are licensed to operate at a national level (national guides).

Getting a grip on these guides has first priority because their activities are supposed to be connected to a series of problems that are influencing the positive image of the island detrimentally. *Diparda*, being the governmental organisation entitled to set out a policy on guiding, mentions the most pressing actions in its 1995/1996 report. By taking precautionary measures they hope to detect the unlicensed guides who are denoted as the ones that violate the rules at an early stage. Some of these measures are:

- Licensed guides who work for an official tourist organisation are obliged to wear an identifying mark (the badge) so they can be distinguished from unlicensed guides;
- Actions have to be taken against travel agencies and tour operators who employ people who do not fulfil the necessary conditions (who in other words employ unlicensed guides).
- In trying to overcome the commission problems *Diparda* insists on a co-operation between the guide association (*HPI*) and the owners of the artshops. Through the mediation of *HPI* attempts have to be made to arrange a standard commissions system (Dinas Pariwisata DATI INTB, 1995a).

The provincial government automatically transfers many of the negative incidents in the tourism sector to guides whom they refer to alternately as informal guides, unlicensed guides, guides *liar* (wild guide), guides *nakal* (naughty guide or a guide who behaves licentious), beach boys or gigolos. They are held responsible for many of the negative incidents and feature as primary scapegoats in all the tourism debates. After reading Chapter Four, we know that the possession of a license is not an important dimension in characterising local guides. The provincial governments' allegations are directed towards a well-defined group, while this strict distinction between licensed and unlicensed is highly questionable in Lombok's daily routine in guiding. Its strong focus on unlicensed guides reveals that guides who ignore or disrespect the formal tourism rules and regulations are being considered important competitors; are being considered as "significant" Others whose activities are, besides being a nuisance, certainly forming a threat.

5.3.1 *The Image of Unlicensed Guides*

Unlicensed guides are blamed for providing unreliable information, deceiving their clients and having an overexaggerated interest in commissions and in sexual relationships with female tourists. The unreliability of the information unlicensed guides provide is a special thorn in the flesh of many of the tourism representatives.

The head of the tourism department of Central Lombok comments that guides *liar* have to be called to account (Bali Post 1996c) because too often they lie to the tourists about the attractions visited. Tourists are taken to sites other than the ones mentioned in the programmes, sites at which no commission can be obtained are described as “not interesting” and skipped from the programme, or guides give the most outrageous explanations in answer to questions from their clients. A hilarious example is the explanation of the motto “*Patut, Patuh, Patju*” as being the name of a famous hardrock band on Lombok²², while it actually is a slogan widely used in the western part of Lombok which means friendship, respect, and tolerance and refers to solidarity and a sense of community. The majority of the complaints from tourists that reach the office of *Diparda* have little to do with the activities of guides but address more general issues like accommodation, excursions and accidents. Some of the harassment cases are said to be related to guiding. They are spelled out in great detail in the local newspapers and seem irrevocably to determine the image of unlicensed guides. Take for instance the case of the Japanese tourist who, after returning from a trip, was threatened with a knife by the guide who accompanied him because he was not willing to pay more than the agreed price. In a state of extreme shock, the tourist was convinced that his escape from the car saved him from being taken to the mountains and being killed²³. It was reiterated in no uncertain terms that the guide in question was not connected to a travel agency, but roamed the streets of Senggigi in search of clients.

Unlicensed guides are also considered a nuisance by the hospitality sector and local artshop owners, who object to the extremely high commission they tend to ask which leads to unsound competition between the entrepreneurs in this area. The local guides’ income consists substantially of the commission they receive for taking customers to small hotels, souvenir shops and restaurants. As described in Chapter Four, the different categories of local guides all depend heavily on commissions. For some of them, the larger part of their income comes from commissions, for others commissions are the only other source of income by which to increase their meagre salary. The amount of commission depends on the type of article or the services and on the arrangements between accommodation/shop owners and travel agencies or

²² Interview with head of local tour operator, May 1996.

²³ This was a well-documented case in a small series of letters of complaint *Diparda* collected and which were submitted to me for analysis.

individual guides. All the popular sites on the island work with fixed percentages. A maximum of fifty per cent of the purchase price, as for example is paid in the weaving village Sukarara, is no exception. The complaints of artshop owners are in first instance directed towards the unlicensed guides who are, they claim, allowed too much room to manoeuvre to do whatever they want. They plead strongly for the setting up of an organisation that can intervene and point out their responsibilities to them (Suara Nusa 1996). In general this commission system is, of course, more complicated. The art shop owners, and the owners of small budget hotels and restaurants, find themselves in the same boat and are tied down to the commission system, a construction in which not only guides without licenses operate. Not acceding to the already existing agreements or paying less will mean a loss of clientele. Local guides will go to the competitor without as much as a by-your-leave if there are better possibilities in the offing to increase their income. In the weaving village Sukarara the amount of the commission has forced the locals and the corporations to use middlemen to sell their products. Only the larger artshops in Pujung, Mataram and Senggigi are able to pay the high commission asked by guides (Lübben 1995). Only a small fraction of the purchase price flows back into the community.

The negative image of the unlicensed guides is also determined by their assumed orientation towards seeking sexual relationships²⁴ with female tourists. Their "wild" behaviour and disturbing presence in several of the tourist resorts is discussed in the local newspapers (Suara Nusa 1996; Bali Post 1996h). Their behaviour is associated with that of many youngsters in Kuta, Bali, who live a life chasing foreign girls to look after them for a week or two. Like Izul who was interviewed by a local newspaper about his experiences with an older female tourist during a three-day trek up Mount Rinjani. He looks for female tourist companionship for the money and the sex. It is not that he prefers older women, but they usually have more money than young ones who are still at school or college. Despite this way of life he does not like to be called a gigolo because he has never received any money after having sex. His female clients have given him some pocket money or paid him for the services as guide (Bali Post 1996h).

²⁴ The lifestyle of the Kuta Cowboys - youngsters who hang around the tourist spaces in Kuta, the infamous beach resort in the south of Bali - serves as an example for youngsters in other parts of Indonesia. Beaches and streets of other tourism destinations are swarmed with boys who imitate the Kuta Cowboys looks and lifestyle, act like romantic entrepreneurs. See in more detail Dahles & Bras (1999).

The unlicensed guide identified as gigolos or beach boys determines the image of the profession to a large extent and confirms many of the prejudices about guides, tourists and their lifestyles that do the rounds in the local community. Coming from small villages young tourist guides have to compete with the prejudices expressed by their families and neighbours. Accompanying tourists, wearing a neat outfit instead of a sarong and having more money than before is directly associated with a change of lifestyle. "A female tourist will probably support him" is normally the conclusion made at the home village. What is insinuated but simultaneously feared is that their fellow-villager has become a *gigolo*. One unsurprising outcome of this risqué image is that guiding is especially a man's job. The majority of the locals still cannot accept the thought of women spending hours in the company of foreign tourists. Many parents are apprehensive about their daughters and refuse to allow them to travel long distances for days on end with complete strangers. Females offering their services as guides are immediately associated with prostitutes. In East Java ninety of the hundred tourist guides registered with the guide association are men (Jakarta Post 1996). On Lombok only four or five women work as a tourist guide. If they are older, married and work for a respectable tour operator, their guiding activities generally are accepted.

Incidents with unlicensed guides are often exaggerated, taken out of their larger context and regarded as valid for everyone working without a licence. As a consequence the whole guiding sector is not held in high regard and many individual guides take great pains to have their job accepted. The provincial government seems to need a conspicuous scapegoat in their efforts to upgrade and professionalize the quality of the guiding sector. Ways thought up to establish this higher quality level are discouraging local tour operators and travel agencies from working with unlicensed guides, warning tourists of the poor record of services of these guides and criticising their body of knowledge. Another way is by licence control, organised through what is locally called "sweepings".

5.3.2 Sweepings

At the national working meeting of the *HPI* in Medan in 1996 the Director General of Tourism alerted the various provinces to organise and professionalize their own guiding sector, instead of waiting for a national set of instructions which is still being compiled. In the spring of 1995, *Diparda* had already started a series of information activities for local guides, popularly called sweepings. A team of representatives from

Diparda, *Parpostel*, *HPI* and *Kepolisian Wilayah NTB* (police department) went on survey trips to tourist attractions all over the province and to major entrance points like Selaparang airport and Lembar harbour. At all these sites local guides were asked for their licence. Whenever they could not submit a licence, they were removed from their task and replaced by a guide from the team who would escort the tourists back to their hotels. During the high season of 1996, the team repeated these sweepings and 127 unlicensed guides were apprehended. The provincial government's first goal was to list the unlicensed guides by obliging them to register at the *HPI* office. After registration they received a temporary license and were encouraged to participate in one of the future government guide courses. In future, however, a fine system with fines around 50.000 *rupiah* - already introduced in Bali and parts of Java - will be imposed. These sweepings provided an overview of the active unlicensed guides who could be eligible for a temporary licence. The provision of this license is another effort to get more grip on the unlicensed guides. This licence²⁵, which is issued by *Diparda*, is mentioned in Government Regulation Number 6, 1995 (Dinas Pariwisata DATI I NTB, 1995c: 9). Every unlicensed guide (free-lancer or guides already employed by a tour operator) who registers at the *HPI* office will be given a recommendation by which this temporary licence, valid for one year, can be obtained at *Diparda*. In 1996 there were seventy-nine guides with such a temporary licence.²⁶ These guides are stimulated to participate in one of the courses and will not be bothered next time there is another sweeping. Because of the limited possibilities to take part in a government course which is offered only once a year and offers a place to a maximum of thirty participants, efforts are being made to organise two junior guide courses a year, but have so far not come to fruition. Only one junior course was organised in 1996, which was not enough to accept all the registered unlicensed guides. It is expected that only 70 per cent of the registered guides will be seriously interested in following a guide course and that not all of them will pass the entrance examination.²⁷

²⁵ The temporary licence is called *Kartu Tanda Pengenal Pramuwisata Sementara (KTPPS)*.

²⁶ Interview with the head of *subdinas tenaga kerja Diparda*, 7-8-1996.

²⁷ Interview head of *HPI*, October 1995.

5.4 Conclusions

First of all local tourist guides are trained to be the perfect host. The core curriculum consists of lessons in appearance, attitude, guiding techniques and knowledge of the tourists' own culture. The government training does not provide guidelines about communication with the local community or about the interpretation of their task as cultural broker or bridge actor. Although the majority of the locals on Lombok, even in the most remote rural areas of the island, are informed about the arrival of tourists on their island, there are still enough examples of a hostile attitude being adopted towards tourists. Comments on their appearance and behaviour have led to a somewhat distant attitude towards visitors. Especially in the areas inhabited by fanatical Muslims, tourists in general are associated with having loose morals and displaying indecent behaviour. The general image locals have of tourists is a concoction of sweeping statements and stereotypes and is based most often on superficial, half-digested information. The lack of information on both sides is the main cause of the bulk of the misunderstandings. Local guides should have a more central role in mediating the proper information to both parties. The mediating role is mentioned by many authors as being an essential part of guiding (De Kadt 1979, Pearce 1984, Gurung et al. 1996). On Lombok this message has not yet got through.

At the government courses the major tourist attractions are discussed and some literature about the local culture is handed out. Local guides are expected to gain more in-depth knowledge during practice. Even if they do the encouraged standardised version through which many narratives take shape does not leave much room for an interpretative account on local culture. The narratives composed are in line with the government's information policy, which does not allow interpretation. This need for interpretation is certainly in demand among certain segments of the visitors group but is not recognised as being important.²⁸ The result is standardised narratives, which reflect a static, framed representation of local culture. The guide association plays a crucial role in the presentation of the information. Most of its

²⁸ That the wishes and demands of the tourists go further than the safety aspects and the organisational and performance skills of the guide, is shown amongst other sources in an article on guiding in Nepal (Gurung e.a. 1996). An evaluation of guides' performances by visitors pointed out that 50 per cent of the visitor sample indicated improvements could be made in communication and interpretation skills, general knowledge of Nepal and cultural and environmental knowledge.

board members are directly related to travel agencies²⁹ and first and foremost interested in the smooth completion of their tours and in a minimum of complaints from their customers. The *HPI*, therefore, can be considered to be an extension of the government rather than an organisation that represents the interests of the professional group. Initiatives to provide more elaborated forms of education - as was the case with the eco-tourism course - are incidental and not part of an overall education policy. Falling victim to this ambivalent role of the guide organisation, local guides complain of not having an organisation that serves their rights or functions as a sounding-board in seeking advice about the obstacles they face during their guiding work.³⁰

By setting the described rules and regulations, the provincial government indiscriminately follows national instructions on guiding without paying attention to the diversification of tourists' tastes and demands. As can be expected, every category of guides will react differently to the government's policy. But, whether the government's policy - to train local guides as perfect "licensed" hosts telling standardised narratives - is effective remains highly debatable.

By controlling - the so-called - untrained, unprofessional, unlicensed wild guides - the provincial government hopes to undermine activities that are not in line with its general policy on guiding. As Adams (1997a) stated with reference to South Sulawesi "wild guides are perceived as a threat to the state's carefully manufactured imagery of tamed cultural diversity, professionalism promised uniformity and central control" (163). Lombok's odd-jobbers, the independent type of local guide who strolls the beaches and streets in search of his clients and is not after a permanent liaison with a travel agency, is the prime target of this policy. Their appearances and approaches do not match the general ideas about how professional guides are supposed to operate. Their narratives which have a strong relation with their own lives and experiences

²⁹ Some of the members own their own travel agency or are employed in jobs other than guiding. Local guides who are on the board have to juggle between the interests of the whole professional group and the consequences their actions will have on their own position at the travel agency at which they are employed.

³⁰ What local guides for instance consider as important is a higher guiding fee and more uniformity on the payment. The amount per tour is regarded too low for the services delivered and also the ease with which payment is cut down causes a great deal of dissatisfaction.

also undermine the government's "frontstage" information policy. Because of the recurrent sweepings their activities are being subjected to a growing number of restrictions. They have to look creatively for opportunities to avoid the regulations, while at the same time they still serve certain market niches. The professional and site-related guides are being pushed more and more into a formal framework of operation. Within this framework personal initiatives and narratives other than the accepted and controlled are not appreciated. Because of their standardised approach, they suffer a great deal from the growing competition in guiding; they are after all easily interchangeable. Having a license will not directly contribute to an improvement of their chances. Network relations, customer knowledge and the ability to sell one's strong qualities count more. For that matter, the network specialists, with their highly flexible attitude and demand-oriented approach, are more successful. They certainly know how to play with the educational requirements and rules and regulations set by the provincial government. They work wherever there is a demand. Knowing the right people, they bend the rules to their advantage and make themselves needed. Being included in the government's *Beyond Bali* campaign, Lombok is experiencing a rapid growth. As a consequence, there is a serious shortage of skilled labour force for tourism jobs, especially in the high season. There is still a demand for low-skilled jobs; guiding especially is open to anyone to enter. Unlicensed guides still have opportunities to undertake temporary activities in the formal tourism sector or to move on to permanent jobs. When all their regular staff is busy, local tour operators recruit unlicensed guides so their guest will not have to travel unescorted around the island. The government's regulating and standardising efforts have not yet led to the disappearance of unlicensed guides. On the contrary, the boundaries between unlicensed and licensed guides are becoming blurred, which is demonstrated particularly by the activities of the network specialists.

CHAPTER SIX - Local Tourist Guides and Processes of Authentication of Tourist Attractions - The Case of Taman Narmada

6.1 Introduction

Many remains of the splendour and richness of the Balinese kingdom of Raja Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem are located in the western part of Lombok. Besides the regular temples and smaller shrines, Balinese built heritage gives evidence of what once must have been a luxurious court culture. Centre-pieces are the water palace of Mayura, the temple of Lingsar and the summer palace of Narmada. The Sasak ruling dynasties, which had their courts and centres of power in the eastern and northern parts of the island, did not have such a refined court culture. The early Islamisation of Lombok encouraged the construction of many mosques. With the rise of the average standard of living in recent years, these mosques have become increasingly objects of prestige, but only in their own community. They are not yet part of the attraction system of Lombok in the prominent way the Balinese religious sites are.

In this chapter I want to focus on one of the Balinese heritage objects - the summer palace Narmada - which since the early beginnings of tourism has lain, at the heart of Lombok's tourist attraction system. In the travel and study accounts as early as 1883, the place already rates a mention. Its strategic location, only about ten kilometres from the capital Mataram, and the combination of different buildings and a lush garden has made Narmada a popular site in West Lombok. It is no coincidence that Narmada has already been part of Lombok's attraction system for a long time. In contrast to Lombok's "primitive" Sasak culture, this remnant of Balinese court culture fits in very well with the government's policy of emphasising Indonesia's high points. Although located on Lombok, Narmada is a peak tourist attraction with a strong reference to Balinese culture, which holds an important place in Indonesian national culture. In its emphasis on Narmada, the provincial government is obediently following the national guidelines and providing domestic as well as international tourists with an accepted and controlled narrative of the attraction. This chapter aims to give an insight into the realisation of "peak" attraction within a non-peak environment. In keeping with the theme of guides in this thesis, the way the different categories of local guides approach this site, use the standardised narrative of the place or provide their guests with more in-depth accounts will be analysed.

The park is fenced off and only accessible for a small entrance fee at regular hours. Parts of the complex have been renovated and one can roam around them freely, while other parts are restricted to ceremonial use. The provincial government takes care of the overall maintenance and local guides manage the complex by leading the way for foreign as well as domestic tourists. Just as at other formal tourist attractions in Indonesia, Narmada is a complex of buildings the use of which has changed through the years. The complex has lost its original purpose, it is no longer the pleasure garden of the descendants of Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem. A large part of the spacious garden complex still retains the recreational function it had in the former days. Besides a recreational purpose, Narmada is a place of worship. Parts of the complex are in use for Hindu gatherings and ceremonies right up to the present. Narmada shows components of cultural (historical and architectural remains) as well as natural-built heritage (gardens, landscapes) (Nuryanti 1996) and serves as an excellent example of a site that “offers the opportunity to portray the past in the present” (Nuryanti 1996:250) and “to create visitors who not only appreciate the specific site, but who have some understanding of the region or nation that the site is a part of” (Moscardo 1996:392-393).

Narmada is not, as other heritage sites in Indonesia¹, an international attraction, but, as Jenkins puts it, a “secondary attraction” (1993:175) which in itself is not the major determinant in the tourist choice of destination, but of sufficient interest to tourists for a visit once they have arrived in the area. Narmada can, therefore, be classified as a secondary category in the whole range of attractions which Leiper (1990) calls a nuclear mix; a mix in which different attractions have different significance for each individual tourists. Nowadays the complex attracts a great variety of visitors who all use the space in a different way and for whom the meaning of Narmada is not necessarily the same. Heritage sites usually attract a mixture of domestic and international visitors, but “the majority are commonly domestic tourists due to their identification with their history and culture” (Nuryanti 1996:254). For some of its visitors, Narmada is associated with leisure activities; others refer to the spirituality of the place, while others again are reminded of the time Lombok was under the control of outsiders. The most recent audience for Narmada - the foreign and domestic tourists - becomes acquainted with Narmada through the travel guides and

¹ Nuryanti (1996) mentions the Borubudur stupa, an UNESCO-designated World Heritage Site Yogyakarta, which receives a daily average of more than 5,000 visitors (domestic 85 per cent, international 15 per cent).

the narratives of local guides.

The promotion of heritage as component of the tourist gaze is closely linked to discussions about authenticity. One aspect that is brought forward concerns selectivity. Whenever sites are presented to the visitors, selections are made (Herbert 1995). These selections are, of course, not neutral. On the contrary, they reflect the interest of the actors involved. Guides also, as Mitchell (1996) claims, do not present the past as past. "Facts about the past are never directly available; they can only be implied, emphasised, or even invented" (211). Focusing on the narratives of local guides, we shall see that excursions in Narmada are characterised by a dominant, standardised narrative. Whenever local guides like to bring forward additional information, they refer to it as being "off-the-record" information which is not part of the tour programme, but part of the context - the "story" as they tend to call it - or part of their own experiences. During one of the many city trips I attended, a professional guide gave quite a bit of additional information. Every time he did, he began with the statement: "we are not talking about the tour programme, we are talking about the story! I think it is interesting for you to know". Then he felt free to elaborate on a topic and to share his personal experiences.

The use of this dominant, standardised narrative does not mean that every local guide approaches the complex in the same way. To a certain degree, all of them will strive for an authorised representation of the place; a representation in which great interest is attached to authenticity. To compose such a representation, the context - the social and historical values ascribed to the place, the use of space, and the activities - has to be made known. The tourists themselves also play a role in this process. "Regardless of whether the context is known, tourists may provide their own meanings based upon the experiences they bring with them" (Nuryanti 1996:252). The visitors, in other words, also contribute to the authentication process of the site; "definitions, interpretations and the attribution of meanings are varied, different and changeable for the tourist because of their subjective 'ways of seeing'" (Shenhav-Keller 1995:152). In an article on mindful visitors, Moscardo (1996) states that in traditional heritage management not enough emphasis is placed on the human element and especially on the visitor's experience. He formulates four key principles that should underlie interpretation at built heritage sites:

1. Visitors should be given variety in their experiences;
2. Visitors should be given control over their experiences

3. Interpretation needs to make connections to the personal experiences of visitors;
4. Interpretation needs to challenge visitors, to question and encourage them to question (1996:392).

The meaning of a tourist attraction is shaped in a subtle dialogue between several actors involved; the tourists being one of these actors (see also Bowman 1992)². At the site this process of negotiating primarily takes place between the tourists and the local guides. Here MacCannell's on-sight markers (1976) are produced. Local guides and their visitors negotiate whether enshrined stories and objects will be revealed (Fine & Speer 1985). In this process of negotiation, meaning is concretised by granting, confirming or denying authenticity to the place (or aspects of the place) (Shenhav-Keller 1995) and by ascribing new dimensions to history. In a narrative discourse (Shenhav-Keller 1995), interpretations of the site are formulated in which the local guides anticipate the subjective needs of the tourist for authenticity. The guides, in other words, select those representations which are related to their own background, and which are meaningful to their clients, and therefore also to themselves. Local guides try to reconstruct the past in the present through an interpretation, which proves to be more complex than merely giving information about the built heritage. They have to be able to match the different visitor segments with a distinctive approach and subsequently convey the significance of heritage to the visitors and enrich their understanding of the site and its context in the present-day context (Nuryanti 1996). That this will lead to variations on the standardised narrative of Narmada will emerge ineluctably.

This chapter contains narratives at a few different levels. To start with, I shall give a brief overview of Lombok under the Mataram dynasty and describe why and how Narmada was built and how and by whom the complex is used now. With this overview I want to provide a complete insight into the attraction Narmada and its history. My narrative deals with the same elements local guides use during their excursions at the site, like fragments of the legend of Narmada, the layout of the park and the Balinese on Lombok. Their more condensed accounts can be found in the part about standardised narratives.

² Bowman states that "the 'place' tourists see is not simply a reified image of their expectations, or a real terrain, but the result of a dialogue between tourists and those persons or institutions which mediate between the tourist gaze and its objects" (1992: 134).

In the last section, I shall describe how different categories of local guides negotiate meaning within the complex and how - some of them - compose a more in-depth narrative by adding bits and pieces to the standardised narratives and by creating an “atmosphere of the past”.

6.2 Lombok under the Mataram Dynasty

At the beginning of the nineteenth century four Balinese kingdoms existed in West Lombok: the main kingdom of Karangasem-Lombok (also called: Cakranegara), Mataram, Pagesangan and Pagutan. Each of these kingdoms was headed by a *raja* (king), usually the oldest member of a descent group. In the early 1830s the kingdom of Karangasem-Lombok was by far the most powerful of the four. In these years the rivalry between Karangasem-Lombok and the kingdom of Mataram became steadily noticeable, especially when the kingdom of Mataram, led by Gusti K'tut Karangasem, took control over Ampenan, the port of West Lombok³. This enhanced the strategic position of the Mataram kingdom in Bali where possible allies could be found. It also improved Mataram kingdom's possibilities of participating in the international trade networks centred on Singapore (Van der Kraan 1997). In 1838 Gusti K'tut Karangasem died in battle and the power within the Mataram dynasty was passed to his youngest and most capable son, Anak Agung G'de, who decided the war in his favour. In 1839, he eliminated the last remaining power centre in Lombok and the whole island came under the Mataram Dynasty. From that time onwards the rulers of Mataram called themselves the rulers of Selaparang, referring to the original name of the island of Lombok (Van der Kraan 1997, Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung 1990).

Anak Agung G'de became one of the greatest Balinese kings ever. He transformed Lombok from a highly fragmented society into one of the richest and most powerful kingdoms of the eastern region. The first years (from 1839 to 1870) he ruled indirectly through his elder brother, Gusti Ngurah K'tut, and from 1870 to 1894 he

³ In the 1830s Ampenan was already an important stop on the international trade networks. The town's deep-sea harbour provided much more facilities and possibilities than any of the harbours in Bali. Therefore, the Dutch eagerly tried to establish a permanent trade office in Ampenan, but the Dutch were unable to cultivate friendly relations with the rulers of Selaparang, who, influenced by an English trader called King, adopted a rather hostile attitude towards the Dutch (Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung 1990).

ruled by himself as Ratu Agung Agung Ngurah Karangasem (Van der Kraan 1997)⁴. Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem resided at the temple Ukir Kawi in Cakranegara from where he ruled the Balinese in the western part of the island and the indigenous Muslim Sasak. In several publications, this king is described as an intelligent and shrewd man (Lukman 1993, Jacobs 1883, Van der Kraan 1980, VanVugt 1994), who reigned as an absolute monarch (Van der Kraan 1997). He ruled very successfully over the island of Lombok. His allies as well as his opponents showed him enormous respect.

Van der Kraan (1997) challenges the impression created by many Dutch sources that Mataram Lombok was as an isolated area in which Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem ruled oppressively, exploiting the people. He argues that Mataram Lombok was not a particularly oppressive state because of the system of patronage and the relatively low level of land rent (compared to colonial times) that had to be paid. In the early years of his reign, the king forced his way into the international trading networks by welcoming Chinese, Arab and European traders to the island. Control over trade delivered him a substantial income, and importantly possibilities of exporting rice (Van der Kraan 1997). He was a wealthy man. Within a few days, he was able to organise 60,000 men for unpaid *corvée* labour. His estimated annual income came to 65,000 two-and-a-half-guilder coins, partly from taxes on the rice harvest, but mostly from import and export duties (Van der Kraan 1980, VanVugt 1994). The additional income he derived was used for such projects as the expansion of his military forces, an extension of the irrigation system, road construction and town planning. He also used his income to buy opium and other luxuries. The king spent a fortune on rebuilding his palace in Cakranegara and numerous pleasure gardens like Gunung Sari, Lingsar, Suranadi and, of course, Narmada were also created at that time. In 1894, the king's rule came to an end. Three years earlier the Sasak population in East Lombok claimed to be dissatisfied with their subordination to the Balinese. This was the beginning of a period of instability in which the Balinese continued to be the most influential party. This ended when the Dutch decided to send a military expedition to Lombok in 1894. Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem tried to avoid a conflict with the Dutch and gave in to a number of their demands. He could, however, not avoid a group of princes and chiefs out of

⁴ In much of the literature he is known as Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem which is actually a combination of the two names he had: Anak Agung Gde and Agung Agung Ngurah Karangasem.

his own inner circles deciding to start a military action against the Dutch. This led to the famous battle in which General Van Ham and hundreds of other Dutch soldiers died. Eager for revenge, in November of that same year the Dutch returned and put an end to Balinese rule. Many family members and followers of the king refused to surrender and were killed. Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem gave himself up along with one son and a grandson. The Balinese were defeated and in November 1894 the indigenous Sasak were brought under Dutch rule (Van der Kraan 1980, 1997, Van Vught 1994).

6.3 The History of Narmada

In this section I want to focus on the origins of the complex and describe the story preceding the construction of Narmada at the end of the nineteenth century. The design of the complex will be discussed as will its latest renovations. As the Dutch frequently visited Narmada, their travel accounts will also give us an impression of the use and function of Narmada during their colonial presence at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

6.3.1 *The Legend of the Miniature of Gunung Rinjani*⁵

The wealthy Balinese kingdom on Lombok was confronted with serious losses after the eruption of the volcano Tambora on Sumbawa in 1815.⁶ The disaster claimed many casualties and the destruction of property.⁷ The story goes that at some locations on Lombok, volcano ash was up to knee-height. In the wake of this natural disaster many farmers could not cultivate their ricefields for years and the king's tax income dropped dramatically.

⁵ This story can be found in *The Malay Archipelago* of Wallace (1894) and in Cool's work *De Lombok Expeditie* (1896). The story refers to the way the Balinese raja on Lombok tried to find out the exact number of the population. Lalu Lukman, in his work *Buku Sejarah Pembangunan Taman Narmada* (1993) connects this story to the Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem and to the construction of Taman Narmada. The story here is derived mainly from the work of Lalu Lukman.

⁶ Lukman (1993) states that Lombok was already under the rule of Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem at that time, which is actually not possible, because he was still very young.

⁷ Cool (1896) states that 200,000 Sasak died and that the population was reduced to approximately 20,000-25,000 inhabitants. In 1839 the population already increased considerably with 8000 Balinese and 170,000 Sasak.

Another reason for the declining income of the Balinese kingdom in the thereafter years was the inherent corruption. Lukman (1993) describes how Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem noticed that at every meeting, high-ranking representatives of his kingdom sported ever more conspicuous ornaments, like ivory instead of wooden *kris* (dagger) hilts. In order to find out how much tax was being withheld by this group and to ensure his treasury revenues, he called for a meeting with his ministers. This Advisory Council consisted of the most influential Sasak princes and chiefs. He explained to his ministers that a ghost had appeared in a dream, which summoned him to climb Mount Rinjani.⁸ On the summit of Mount Rinjani he would receive a guideline telling him how to resolve the kingdom's problems. Because the way up Mount Rinjani was inaccessible, the local population had to prepare a path. One of the king's sons, Anak Agung Made Karangasem, arranged this unpaid labour and every day large numbers of his followers showed up to work on the path. When the road was completed, the king, accompanied by a small retinue, started his way up the mountain. After a trek of several days, the king, together with two of his followers who carried provisions and betel nuts, reached the top. For one day and one night they remained at the top to pray and make sacrifices to the gods. Returning home, the king called another meeting with his ministers and with various Sasak leaders. He explained that after his prayers, he received a message which stated that he had to make sure twelve *kris* with supernatural powers were made. The iron necessary to make the blades had to come from the inhabitants of the island. Every inhabitant had to contribute one needle, no more and no less. Village heads had to hand in these needles, accompanied by a registration list. The king's followers took the message very seriously, mainly because the daggers would combat possible future disaster. After one week, the king had already received large numbers of needles. With the help of the lists, he drew up his own inventory of the number of inhabitants in his kingdom. This inventory enabled him to calculate the accurate amount of taxes and to deal much more easily with inaccurate payments in the future. In order not to arouse suspicion, every time a village experienced a disaster or sickness, one of the daggers was sent. Whenever the dagger failed to banish the disaster, the king simply blamed the inhabitants. He stated that most likely not every villager of the place in question had contributed a needle. Therefore, the supernatural powers of the dagger did not work. To keep a firm grip on his followers, the king

⁸ Wallace claims "that the spirit of 'Gunung Agung', the large fire mountain" (1894:147) appeared to the Raja. Lukman (1993), however, refers to Lombok's own volcano *Gunung Rinjani*.

decided to climb Mount Rinjani every year. Having done so for several years, old age caught up with him, and, therefore, an alternative location had to be found, close to Ukir Kawi. His son came with the idea of finding a location that bore a resemblance to Rinjani. He contacted several experts and together they picked a location where a miniature complex could be built. Anak Agung Made Karangasem again organised unpaid labourers to build the complex. This is how Narmada, of which the name is derived from a tributary of the River Ganges in India, came into being. When the complex was finished, the king escaped the heat of the dry season to carry out his religious obligations in the pleasant gardens of Narmada instead of making the tiring pilgrimage up Mount Rinjani. In the nineties when he was really old and he had left the administration to his son, Narmada became his principal home.

A chronogram incorporated in several of the statues around the large artificial lake gives the combination 1805 according to the Hindu calendar, which refers to the year of 1883 in the Christian era. Lukman (1993) states that this date corresponds to the stories of several older people who helped in the building of Narmada. They explained that eleven years after finishing Narmada, the war between the Balinese and the Dutch started which was in 1894. According to another source (Department Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1989), Narmada was built between 1838 and 1894. Cool (1896) mentions that in 1884, when *Controleur* Heyligers visited Narmada, the place was still under construction. Or the building date is set at the end of the nineteenth century (Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat 1988) without giving the exact year.⁹

Nowadays, Narmada is considered an archaeological object, which has had many caretakers and renovators through the years like Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem, the Dutch government, the administrator, Gusti Bagus Jelantik of Blambangan, and the provincial government of NTB. The function of several of the buildings inside the complex has changed and with the passing of the years and the renovations some of them have been disconnected from the history of Narmada. Almost 60 per cent of the original buildings of Narmada have already been destroyed. The complex is now divided into two zones. Within the first zone it is forbidden to build new buildings and in the second zone only with the appropriate permits. The last renovation period was from 1980/81 to 1987/88.

⁹ The building date of Narmada is, in other words, not exactly clear. The chronogram is interpreted in several ways and also the conversion to the Christian era gives rise to various explanations. As we shall find out later in this chapter, the guidebooks generally refer to 1805, and most of the local guides mention 1727 as building date.

6.3.2 *The Layout of Taman Narmada*

One of the major features of the complex is the various buildings which adorn the site. The temple *Pura Kelasa* is located at the highest point in Narmada. It is still used by the local Balinese, especially during the annual *Pujawali* ceremony, as well as during several agricultural fertility rites. *Pura Kelasa* is one of the eight oldest temples on the island and it has the status of *pura jagat*, which means that all the important Hinduism ceremonies are celebrated here. Sitting in front of *Pura Kelasa* one can overlook the whole complex. To the west of *Pura Kelasa* - close to the main entrance of the complex - lies the *Balai Loji* (guesthouse), also known as *rumah besar* (big house). In earlier days, the bedroom of the king was located in this building. Now the walls have been torn down and the place is used as a meeting hall. Immediately next to *Balai Loji* lies a platform building called *Balai Terang*. The lower part was used as storage depot and the rooms at the north and south sides were the bedrooms of the former king for whom the building had a recreational function. Nowadays *Balai Terang* is the office of the caretaker of the complex and one of the rooms is occasionally in use for the reception of important guests. As so many people tend to explain, the king preferred this building because of the excellent view on the small lake where the chambermaids took their daily bath. It is said that the bathing place - *Telaga Wangi* or *Telaga Padmawangi*, which means sweet-smelling lotus flower - derived its name from those girls. The water that fills the small lake is very clear and pure and can be consumed directly. This fountain - *Air Awet Muda* - is one of the special attractions of the complex. The locals claim that the water has curative powers and people from outside of Lombok refer to it as the source for eternal youth. Many visitors, therefore, only leave after having had a small drink or after washing their face with the water from the fountain. At the entrance of Narmada small jerrycans can be bought, very suitable for taking the *air awet muda* home, as indeed many Balinese, and also domestic tourists from Java, do just this. In the small building where the well pours out, special ceremonies - also for foreign tourists - are held under the guidance of a *pemangku* (spiritual leader, Balinese priest). This building has only recently been added to the attractions of Narmada. The original well - called *Pancor Emas* - which filled *Telaga Wangi*, is no longer visible. The government built the public swimming pool at this exact spot in 1968.

The largest lake in the complex is called *Telaga Ageng* or *Kolam Besar*. This is the lake that resembles *Segara Anak* situated on the slopes of *Gunung Rinjani* and part of the king's annual pilgrimage. Around this miniature of *Segara Anak* several statues are to

be found - not all of them in an excellent state of repair - which bear the building date of *Taman Narmada*. Among them the elephant through whose mouth water used to pour out into the lake and Arjuna, an important figure from the shadow play, carrying bow and arrow. On the north side, close to the former entrance of the complex, two identical lakes (*Kolam Kembar*) surrounded by mango trees are located. In former days these twin lakes were used as a place for feeding the fish and maybe also as bathing place for children. At the edge of the complex, behind *Segara Anak*, large durian trees flourish and one comes across an aqueduct built by the Dutch in 1937. The aqueduct is used for the irrigation of the ricefields in the direct vicinity of *Narmada*. Although it is located outside the complex and not really part of *Narmada's* history, the aqueduct is sometimes included in the guided tours.

6.3.3 Dutch Accounts of Narmada

The travel and study accounts of Lombok date back to the end of the nineteenth century. In the wake of study trips to Bali the crossing to Lombok was sometimes undertaken which led to accounts about the island and its inhabitants. Like the accounts of Julius Jacobs (1883) about his encounter with Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem in 1883. He described how he paid his respects to the king in his palace close to their guesthouse in Ampenan. This palace, which must have been *Istana Ukir Kawa*, is described as an ugly, old building surrounded by clay walls. Although the new palace, a few kilometres inland was his actual residence, the king invited them in *Ukir Kawa* because he did not want them to make a longer and therefore more tiring journey. Jacobs (1883) described Raja Agung Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem as an intelligent man, who, in spite of the fact that he was a Balinese, was fairly tolerant towards his Muslim subjects. Jacobs emphasised that the king financed hotels in Mecca for the pilgrims and that he had put a lot of money into the construction of mosques.

Contemporary sources also reveal the surprised reactions of European visitors. They were surprised to find such well-organised towns as Mataram and Cakranegara with the wide, straight, paved main road of about twenty-five kilometres all the way to *Narmada*. "(...) a road which led across a number of stone bridges and along which, at certain intervals, 'neat little fountains' were positioned, closed with small stops which one only had to put out to obtain a thin jet of cool, fresh drinking water" (Jacobs quoted in Van der Kraan 1997:402) Or, as Van der Kraan puts it "they were surprised to find a road like this in a 'native' kingdom (...). Without exception,

Europeans were impressed; notwithstanding their ideological blinkers they felt that Mataram Lombok was a state that should be taken seriously” (1997:402).

Figure 6.1: Fountain of Eternal Youth in Narmada



After the arrival of the Dutch in 1894, accounts about their military actions of course assumed a prominent place. Cool (1896) refers to the military marches of Dutch described by publicist P.A. Alting van Geusau. One of the marches leads to Narmada to visit the crown prince Agung Ketut. In the detailed account of the

palace that follows, the writer mentions the “dirty huts on the inner court” and “the only three buildings of any significance with beautiful doors”. The writer praises the garden and the bathing place, which he clearly enjoyed most (Alting van Geusau quoted in Cool 1896:280-282).

After the take-over by the Dutch an insight was also given into the way the Dutch lived on the island. Cool (1896) described how they took up residence in the pleasantest areas of the island. The *assistant-resident* lived in a beautiful house along the wide avenue that leads from Ampenan to Cakranegara. Others looked for a cooler place to reside in the area of Tetebatu at the slopes of Mount Rinjani. Narmada also became a popular place of recreation and a temporary residence for Dutch visitors as is described in “Reis-Bestemmingen uit Bali en Lombok” (1913). In the first travel guides Narmada is mentioned as the most intriguing place on Lombok. The two guesthouses, each with two bedrooms, are praised, as the Dutch-speaking Chinese caretaker and the several bathing places (Pareau 1913). Others compare the place with Bali and come to the conclusion that it is mainly the outstanding beauty of the garden that makes a visit worthwhile and not so much the buildings which lacked the refinement of the Balinese carving techniques (Nieuwenkamp 1906). In 1914, a travel guide from the Official Tourist Bureau Weltevreden in Batavia described Narmada as follows:

(...) the best way to visit this island is, to take from Sourabaya the steamer to Benoa which calls at Ampenan, and to make an excursion in the island, while the steamer waits, which is mostly about four or five hours. The Traveller will then have ample time to go to Narmada and see a fair part of the island. (...) in about 1½ hours time Narmada is reached. At the present time there is a rest house of the Government, containing six rooms, it once was the summerhouse of the Princes of Lombok. It is very nicely situated amidst a large garden, mostly containing fruit-bearing trees and several ponds, while it has a nice swimming bath. The houses are beautifully carved and with their quaint doors and windows make a curious impression. Two of the rooms of this rest house are always retained for Officials or Officers. Charges for the day in the rest house f 3,50 (Weltevreden 1914:153-157)

Nowadays it is no longer possible to spend the night at Narmada. The complex is open from early in the morning until five or six in the afternoon and the visitors usually spend at the most an afternoon in the park. A guide-book nowadays:

Worth a couple of hours walking around and swimming (rp100). The lakeside is surrounded by somewhat unkempt gardens, which abruptly slope in tiers down to a river valley below. Several *warung* are inside the complex (and plenty more in town). Crowded on weekends (Dalton 1991)

In the next section I want to describe who the present-day visitors of Narmada are and how they use the complex.

6.4 Day trips to Taman Narmada

(...) Sitting in front of the *warung* opposite the entrance of Narmada, I have a beautiful view of who is coming and going. On weekdays it is relatively quiet with only a few cars and motorcycles in the small parking lot. It is around ten o'clock in the morning when Nyoman, one of the Narmada guides, comes over. We have a cup of coffee together and chat about today's business. Although the high season has already started, business is slow. (...) First of all, a young beach boy arrives, probably from Senggigi, with his tourist girlfriend on the back of his motorcycle. After a short while, two young tourists arrive by public bemo. They turn down Nyoman's guiding offers and claim they have a guidebook in which they can read about Narmada. (...) Complaining about the fact that he has to compete with guidebooks, Nyoman points to a small group of Balinese people who buy small jerrycans at the *warung*. He explains that they come to Narmada for religious reasons and want to take "*air awet muda*" home. (...) A guide from Kuta arrives with a German couple. He asks Nyoman to accompany his clients so that he can have his breakfast. (...) Immediately after Nyoman leaves, a man from Solo takes his seat at the *warung*. His family is buying souvenirs and he takes a rest after a guided tour through the park. Talking a little Dutch, he tells about his holiday on Lombok (...). After twenty minutes, Nyoman comes back from what he calls a "standard tour". At around 11.30 we decide to make a tour together and afterwards have lunch in the complex. Walking to the entrance, we bump into a guide from Bidy Tour whom we both know. (...) He will accompany his own clients, a large group from Germany. (...) (field notes July 4th, 1996)

A few observations on a quiet Thursday morning already show what a motley crowd of people visit Narmada. All the different categories of local guides, as described in Chapter Four, are present escorting visitors whose reasons for coming to Narmada

vary considerably. Actually, these are several types of consumers, each of whom making use of different facilities and following different trails through the complex.

6.4.1 Tourist Space

As it is part of the city-tour, foreign tourists usually visit Narmada before lunch. Entering the complex without guidance is perfectly possible, it is not often undertaken by foreign tourists. They are mostly accompanied by guides from tour operators or by the guides working inside the complex; the site-related guides. Before entering a ticket has to be bought at the ticket office. The entrance fee is only 150 *rupiah* and is usually included in the tour price and therefore paid by the guide. When foreign tourists enter the park, their routes will always be more or less the same and generally take twenty to thirty minutes at the most. Their first stop is the *Balai Terang* from where they can see the swimming pools and have a view of the whole park. Then, the walk passes alongside the Cambodia trees to the fountain of eternal youth. Around this little building, local souvenir sellers sell T-shirts, sarongs and other clothes. Fruit-sellers offer slices of pineapple, apples and bananas and sell bottles of water. With Dutch tourists quite often a small detour is made to the aqueduct on the other side of the large lake, but usually the tourists walk all the way up to *Kelasa* temple for their next stop. Most of the time the temple is closed. Whenever a ceremony does take place, groups of tourists watch the activities from the threshold for a few minutes. The platform in front of the temple is used for a short rest before the tourists descend the steps again on their way to the parking lot. Here, the tourists do not immediately get on the bus. First, the site-related guide has to be paid and second small purchases have to be made. Besides simple meals - only seldom ordered by foreign tourists - the small food stalls at the entrance sell fruit, sweets, biscuits, bottles of lemonade and water, suitable to slake the tourists' immediate thirst and hunger. The small souvenirs also attract the tourists' interest; souvenirs, like wooden masks and small figures made of cow's horn, which have no direct relationship to Narmada. In contrast to foreign tourists, domestic tourists tend to make more use of the *warung* facilities inside and outside of the complex. In general, they regard it as the opportunity to taste the local or regional culinary specialities, while foreign tourists only feel comfortable in restaurants which offer Westernised versions of Indonesian dishes¹⁰.

¹⁰ Shopping is a popular activity for many Indonesian tourists. On Lombok the domestic tourists tend to buy large amounts of the regional specialities - *plecing kangkung* (water spinach), *ayam kampung* (chicken), *rambutan* (fruit, when it is the season), *krupuk* (prawn/shrimp crackers), and other foodstuffs - to take home. Their tendency to buy large

6.4.2 Local Space

On Sundays and holidays the complex is crowded. Cars and public *bemos* packed with locals (Balinese as well as Sasak) arrive in Narmada. Whole families, carrying picnic baskets and swimming outfits, arrive for a few hours of recreation. It is interesting to see how they use the place in a very different way to the foreign visitors. As far as they are concerned, Narmada is a recreation park complete with food and drink vendors, a public swimming pool, and paddleboats in the shape of a duck for short rides on the lake. The families occupy the small platforms or the lawns between the pools to eat their meal. Usually they bring their own food with them and only buy some additional fruits or small snacks. Or they come to enjoy Narmada's speciality. Seated under an awning made of canvas, which protects against the sun, women from the village Narmada sell their famous mixed satays inside of the complex. A plate of meat with *lontong* (rice) can be bought for 2,500 *rupiah* and for a few *rupiah* extra young coconuts are served as drinks. The public swimming pool is popular with young people. Children and teenagers pay a small donation and swim, often with many of their clothes still on, or play with the large life belts. Narmada is also well known as *tempat pacaran* (hangout for young lovers). In many of the hidden and quiet corners of the garden complex, young couples who want to spend time together are to be found. Besides being a recreation site, Narmada is a place for religious gatherings as well. All the major Hindu celebrations take place in *Pura Kelasa*. But Balinese people also come here for small ceremonies and to sacrifice to the gods. The Wetu Telu followers are said to visit Narmada once a year on what is called Rabu Potong¹¹; a day of purification on which they take a bath in one of the pools in the complex.

Narmada is regarded as an economic asset by many of the people who live in the direct vicinity of the complex. Already mentioned are the *warung* and other food stall owners, the T-shirt, souvenir and fruit sellers and the parking lot attendants. The place is maintained by the provincial government which means that the

amounts causes numerous problems - like exceeding time-schedules and having overweight luggage on domestic flights. This is one of the reasons that local guides argue that it takes special techniques to guide domestic tourists.

¹¹ Two Narmada guides told me about this special Wetu Telu celebration on which the complex is crowded with people mainly from the south of Lombok. In the publications about the park and in the accounts of the Wetu Telu followers, however, I could not find any proof of this ceremony.

entrance fees are collected by a care-taker, that a *pemangku* looks after the religious shrines, that the garden is maintained by gardeners, and that the complex is cleaned up after closing hours. Catering directly to the needs of domestic and foreign tourists are the site-related guides; the Narmada guides. In total there are four guides who, with or without a government licence, accompany tourists through Narmada.

6.5 Standardised Narratives and the Negotiation of Meaning

A large role is allowed to guides in the creation of what are called mindful visitors because “guides can provide physical orientation, and through their ability to answer questions, they can make the material presented personally relevant for visitors” (Moscardo 1996:384). Guides, in other words, have to arouse the interest of the visitors by composing a meaningful interpretation of the site and by involving the visitors in the process of interpretation. But what is a meaningful interpretation and of which elements does such an interpretation consist?

Although Narmada is regarded as an important part of Lombok’s Balinese attraction system, most local guides emphasise that by the time foreign tourists arrive at Narmada, they are already glutted with information about Bali and Balinese sights which makes it hard to tell a compelling story. Preferably a choice of a tour other than the city-tour is made, or Narmada is considered as an obligatory stop in the itinerary. Obligatory in the sense that in some cases local guides chase the visitors through the park, pointing out the most important objects without telling a story and summoning their guests to take pictures. In these cases the tourists as well as the sites are approached with great indifference¹². The obligatory character of many of the visits is also reflected in the narratives of the local guides. Although a visit to the park can contribute to the understanding of Lombok’s history and offers enough opportunities to connect the past to the present, professional and site-related guides in particular often limit themselves to an explanation of the built environment without explaining the context in which these elements took shape. Interesting

¹² On one occasion a professional guide did not leave any stone unturned to make sneering comments in *babasa* Indonesia about his guests. He called them names and used the Indonesian word *ekor* (numerator for animal) or *kerbau* (buffalo) when referring to members of the group. Through comments like *berapa ekor missing* (how many animals missing) or *terlalu banyak kerbau di sini* (there are too many buffaloes here) - comments his guest could not understand - he showed his dissatisfaction with the job and his lack of interest in the tourists and in the sites visited.

accounts on the many years of Balinese rule and the influence of other outsiders (the Dutch for example) are only occasionally integrated into the narratives. Although Narmada is much more than an account of the past, only limited explanations of the present-day meaning of the complex are brought forward. The standardised narratives of Narmada consist of several elements directly related to the built environment inside the compound. The upshot is that local guides predominantly draw the tourists' attention to the on-sight markers being the buildings, bathing places, statues and the ongoing ceremonies. Only occasionally - for instance at certain other stops added to the South Lombok tour like the grave of General Van Ham - is reference made to off-sight markers like the legends, beliefs and other to Narmada-related sights. What now follows is such a standardised account.

Excuse me ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon, welcome in Narmada. My name is Herry, I am the special local guide for the story of Narmada garden. A long time ago you have the three memories; memories of king of Bali and king of Lombok, memory of Mount Rinjani and memory of Holland. You can take the picture here. Narmada, the summer palace king garden. (...) Narmada, the name, comes from a special river in India. (...) Narmada, the summer palace, king garden, specially for the summer and in the winter in Mayura in Cakranegara (...). It is a beautiful complex, 10 hectare. (...) Down there is a small house, in the small house is the holy water. If you want to drink the water, you stay young. (...) when the people want to try that holy water they have to call the holy man and they have to buy offering for to get holy water. Many tourists and many people come to that place; it's a special place in Narmada Park. And this house is the summer palace house, for long-time we call "Balai Terang" (...) for the king Anak Agung Gde Ngurah, the king from Bali and the other one special for the meeting; meeting house for the king and over there the big house specially for the army, for the soldiers king (...). And this one in the middle (...) this one especially for the young ladies (...). Many ladies swim here and the king sitting here and just look the young ladies. "Oh you beautiful come up please, number one, number two come up (...)". This is very old, 270 years old, and this room is original, no renovation, very old. (...). This room is given a name by "Balai Terang". Balai means house like this and terang means bright. (...) whatever he, the king, wants, he can see from here. (...). The colour of the door is original. This one renovated in 1771 (...) this is original, the door is original, the colour is original. (...). Narmada built in 1727 by king Anak Agung Gde Ngurah, the king from Bali. A long time in Lombok you have the big king, king from Lombok name the Selaparang king and the king from Bali name Anak Agung Gde Ngurah (...). Then Narmada also miniature of Mount Rinjani (...). And over there (...) top of Mount Rinjani and over there specially for the pray the Hindu (...) and so one. When we have a special party or it's in bahasa we call it Pujawali ceremony. It's just for dedicate to the gods if you want to have good luck after harvesting from the paddy rice then you have a ceremony. Narmada is the replica of the mountain Rinjani, the big mountain. Long time ago because the young king once a year climbs up the Mount

Rinjani and the old king was not strong for the trekking; then they built Narmada. That is Segara Anak Lake on the top of Mount Rinjani and this one public swimming pool built 1968 (...) and the big swimmingpool is the replica of the crater, of Segara Anak. Also on the complex here is the aqueduct, is built by the Dutch, 1937. Is used for the irrigation of the sawah, still is. That is a water system, the water goes up and down without a pump (...).

6.5.1 Narmada: a Place “From the Past”¹³

Narmada is alternately called the residence, summer palace, royal garden or holiday resort of the former Balinese king on Lombok. The name Narmada is, without exception, related to a river in India and translated as “*air mata*” translated as spring water or tears. During the walk the name of the Balinese king - Anak Agung Gde Ngurah of Karangasem - is mentioned several times without giving an explanation of his role within the history of Lombok. He is considered to be the instigator of the building Narmada and for an explanation all local guides refer to the end of the legend in which it was told that this Balinese king, who used to climb Mount Rinjani every year to make his offerings to the gods, was too old and therefore no longer able to make the climb. That was when he decided to have a “miniature”, a “replica” or “imitation” of Rinjani built ten kilometres from Mataram. A few more elaborated versions describe the importance of Rinjani for the Balinese and relate their story to the legend stating that the Balinese king needed to go up the mountain every year to seek good fortune and to support the inhabitants of his kingdom in obtaining a good life.

The park is considered to be a place “of the past”, where “a long time ago” - as in a fairy tale - “lived a powerful king”. The context in which Narmada came into being and how it was connected to a powerful kingdom is not crystallised and remains extremely vague. The narratives of the professional and site-related guides are focused entirely on the built environment which they connect to its former use and for which they produce building dates like: the building date of Narmada, 1727, the renovation dates 1926 (by the Dutch) and 1968 (by the government), the building date - 1968 - of the public swimming pool and the building date - 1937 - of the Dutch aqueduct. Or comments about the genuineness of other artefacts are made, for example the lake inside of the compound, which is a replica of *Segara Anak* and is said to have “exactly the same form as the crater lake in the Rinjani area”. The strong

¹³ The quotes used in the following sections come directly from recorded narratives at the spot.

focus on dates and names is an effort to draw the visitors' attention to the authenticity of the place. Narmada is a place "of the past"; it is "very old" and "still the same as in former days". A marked distinction is made between the old buildings and artefacts and the ones that have been recently added to the complex, like the fountain of eternal youth and the public swimming pool. There is obviously a strong relationship between "old" and "authentic". The age, or in other cases the uniqueness (Mamimine 1997), of artefacts is associated with their authenticity. Age serves as proof of the authenticity of the place and its artefacts; "it is age per se and the aura conveyed by having been part of a now-past way of life that legitimates these sites and their contents" (MacDonald 1997:169)

These dates, observations and the connections made to the buildings, persons and events are, however, often incorrect (Dahles 1993) and do not reveal much about the meaning of the place. Efforts to situate Narmada in the history of Balinese rule on Lombok, which ended with the intervention of the Dutch are few and far between. Especially the site-related guides do not stray beyond the walls of the compound in their narratives. Many others do not know what happened precisely during Balinese rule and how this kingdom came to a fall. Stories which claim that the Dutch came to Lombok to liberate the Balinese from the Sasak are no exception. Only occasionally - at other times in the tour - are connections made to the other Balinese sights on the western part of the island, like Mayura, Pura Meru and Lingsar or with the remains of Dutch rule like the grave of General Van Ham. The remark of a site-related guide: "do you know Van Ham, he lies at Karang Jangkong" will, however, only give a superficial understanding of this particular period in Lombok's history.

Broadly speaking, all local guides concentrate on the visible artefacts inside the compound and they prefer to mediate the romantic side of Narmada's history presented in a light-hearted way to their visitors. Their accounts are highly fragmented and full of dates and names, which they very casually transfer to their clients. The tourists often lose track of the narrative in a jumble of names and dates, but there is no perception of this. More detailed questions asked by tourists about the kingdom of Karangasem are not answered at all. Or guides tend to answer that they do not know because "it is too long ago", "before my time", "it all happened centuries ago and now we only have the memory, the memory of the king of Bali and the king of Lombok, the memory of Mount Rinjani and the memory of the Dutch". Questions about this once so powerful Balinese king will also lead to several

repetitions of his name - King Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem - hoping that repetition of the information will satisfy their visitors curiosity and lead as if by formulaic magic to understanding. This is a forlorn hope as studies have shown that repetition decreases visitor's attention (Moscardo 1996).

The majority of local guides on Lombok - in particular the professional and site-related guides - produce a narrative that is very similar to the version above. The odd-jobbers have no intention at all to tell a narrative about the park. They either hand over their clients to the site-related guides or they come to the park for other reasons, like taking a romantic walk with their present tourist girlfriend. Although these narratives are standardised, they are relatively open to interpretation. Local guides who predominantly concentrate on their guests' desires - like the network specialists - will, depending on the situation, add bits and pieces to the standardised framework. In this subtle dialogue between tourists and local guide, the place (or aspects of the place) is assigned its meaning and is granted or denied authenticity.

6.5.2 Access to the Backstage

The name of the platform building - *Balai Terang* - is translated as "bright" or "open" house referring to the fact that the king, standing on the veranda, was able to see everything that was going on in the park. Guides claim that the tourists can see the same beautiful panorama which the king witnessed many, many years ago. But here their story demands a little more of the tourists' imagination when recounting the king's interest in women, "beautiful, young women". The small pool in front of the platform building - which is a replica of *Segara Muncur*, a lake on Mount Rinjani - served as a bathing place for young women. It was the king's wont to observe them from his platform and occasionally he summoned them to come to come up to him. All local guides call the king - as if they knew him personally - *nakal* (naughty) and make jokes about his habit - "looking, looking" - to peer at the girls¹⁴. Their story assumes even more overt sexual overtones when - pointing at the two rooms opposite each other on the platform - they refer to the two women of the king. "The king had two women, one from Bali and one from Lombok, every night he changed

¹⁴ The guidebooks have also incorporated these stories. "Having set his conscience at rest by placing offerings in the temple, he (the king) spent at least some of his time in his pavilion on the hill, lusting after the young girls bathing in the artificial lake" (Wheeler & Lyon 1992:256). "From a hidden place above a restful three-tiered swimming pool, the old raja used to make his selection of the village lovelies" (Dalton 1991:652).

rooms. Now the bedroom of the king is empty, there is nothing, but long time ago, one room for waiting and one room for flying”, is their explanation. The authentic experience is heightened even more when visitors express their interest in the “authentic parts of the complex, the parts before the renovation” and are offered a look inside the bedroom of the former Balinese king. The network specialists are local guides who make an effort to open up these backstages. The bedroom doors, which are always firmly locked, are opened. The dusty room is empty apart from an old bed and a broken chair. The guides orders their guests to come and have a look out of the small window, because this will give them an impression of how the former Balinese king used to gaze at the local girls taking a bath. Inside the room, the guides explain at length which parts of the room are “real”. The well-preserved door especially has their close attention. “The room is original and this door is already 270 years old, very old. The colour of the door is original too, only made of wood, mahogany wood. No renovation”. Again references are made to the “old things” in this particular building and renovation is regarded as making the building or artefact less authentic. MacDonald quotes Benjamin who calls objects “auratic”. Meaning, “its unique existence is based on its ‘historical testimony’. It is imbued with the magic of ‘having been there’” (1997:169). The same can be concluded for aspects of Narmada, like the room described here.

Occasionally, another backstage view is granted at the royal stables where the kings’ guards used to stall their horses. Normally these buildings are locked, but it does happen that guides make a detour and open them. In this empty building tourists wander around without knowing what to look at. Lacking information of peak events and wanting to be more than a “pathfinder to the backstage” (Nuryanti 1996:253), network specialists try to bring the place alive by recalling the past. They make references to the former function of the place, but more importantly, they try to let their guests feel that it is still possible to experience the atmosphere of the past. They “create mental pictures in the tourist’s minds so that through a process of imagination they can see the past of this site in the present” (Mitchell 1996:214). During a tour with some Dutch tourists the question was raised about where the smell in the building came from. The local guide answered: “From the horses of course. This place used to be a stable, like I told you, a stable where they kept horses, you can still smell them”. Although it must have been a long time ago when there were any horses around, the tourists nodded their heads in approval. After a few confusing first minutes, the tourists were able to make sense of the place; gradually

the authenticity of the place emerged.

An important device in authenticating the experience of their guests is, as we saw above, enabling them to get access to what are considered to be backstages (MacCannell 1976) of the compound. Because not every local guide will feel the need to offer his guests more than the standardised tour and narrative, the ones who do - in particular the network specialists - will emphasise the special nature of their actions. Getting hold of the keys to unlock certain rooms and arousing their guests' expectations of what can be expected becomes part of the authentication process. Because these backstages, as such, are empty rooms, the guides have to communicate the meaning of these places to their guests. These places, isolated from the whole compound, have a limited historical meaning and have to be made significant by the guides' narrative. There are no objects on the basis of which a story can be composed; therefore guides fall back on efforts to create an "atmosphere of the past". Here the guide's capacity for, what Cohen (1985) called, "keying", the use of appropriate language and dramatic effects in their representations is very important.¹⁵ In this situation Narmada's authenticity lies in its artefacts, the guide's performance as well as in the story which is told. Verbal devices are used to protect, enhance or elevate the sight (Fine & Speer 1985) and "presumably interesting 'things' which cannot be seen, must be spoken" (Fine & Speer 1985:83).

On some occasions Dutch tourists are treated to fragments of Dutch history on the island. A proof that the Dutch have been on Lombok is the already mentioned aqueduct. "Look, the aqueduct, still in use for the *sawah*. Built by the Dutch, by engineer van Gieren!" is an effort to create a direct connection with the origin of the visitors. Whenever possible, site-related guides especially use Dutch words and sentences as verbal devices in their explanations. Like the use of *communicerende vaten* to explain how the aqueduct functions. But at other places in the park Dutch words are also frequently used, like *gluren* (to peer at) at the *Balai Terang*, *pingelen* (to bargain) and *kijken, kijken, niet kopen* (only looking, no buying) at the souvenir stand, *bruidschat* (dowry) in a personal story about marriage and *stinken als de hel, maar zoet als de hemel* (stink like hell, but sweet like heaven) referring to the durian

¹⁵ Cohen derived the concept of "keying" from Goffman (1983) and states that "keying" is often a legitimate device in the professional ethics of guides, and is often one of the most important informally acquired skills, however, brought to an extreme it may turn into outright 'fabrication'" (1985:16).

trees on the compound. As described in Chapter Four, mastering a language other than English is one of the only ways by which site-related guides can distinguish themselves from the other categories of local guides. Yet it goes beyond this and is also an effort to create an atmosphere of intimacy which hopefully will enhance their visitors' perception and, herewith, their authentic experiences.

By asking questions, the tourists are encouraged to participate more actively in the interpretation (Moscardo 1996) and the authentication of the sight (Mamimine 1997). The network specialists in particular try to meet their guest's interests. By adding bits and pieces to the standardised narrative and by answering their visitors' questions, they have the possibility to manipulate the tourists' expectations. They are able to use their stories as authenticating devices. "Inviting and responding to questions from tourists sharpened the guides' repertoire of the 'communicative staging' of authenticity", (Mamimine 1997:36) which means persuading the tourists that they are having an "authentic" experience (see also Cohen 1989).

6.5.3 Protecting Boundaries

Part of every narrative is an amusing story about the fountain of eternal youth. "Do not drink too much, otherwise you will go home as a baby", local guides warn their visitors or they let the guests guess their age and state "I am already 250 years old and still in good shape". Sometimes guides encourage their guests to have a look inside the building and give a brief set of rules: "when the people want to try that holy water, they have to call the holy man and then they have to buy an offering, holy flowers, to get the holy water". Providing the possibility to take part in a ceremony is a standard offer of most of the guides. They make a playful fuss of the right proceedings. The *pemangku*, who will lead the ceremony, has to be called, the participants have to wear a *sarong* and, of course, money has to be paid. Despite the offer not many tourists feel the urge to participate. Whenever local guides sense their guests' reticence, they immediately diminish the meaning of the whole act by stating: "You are right not to believe in the promise of eternal youth. These ceremonies are Balinese, I am a Sasak, a Muslim, so I do not believe it anyway". Non-Balinese guides have, anyhow, difficulties explaining the Hindu religion.

(...) well Hindu's is really complicated. Every month they have to go for offering, every day they have to go for offering, every time something like Galugan ceremony, they have like Pujawali ceremony, they have like Nyepi ceremony. Every month you know, every day, really complicated. Moslem is

not so (...) Muslim is hard, but if you do it daily it is ok (...)

Many differences between Indonesians are explained by way of differences in religion and the negative stereotypes that surround, for instance, relations between Bali-Hindu and Sasak-Islamic relations occur mostly at the level of ritual (Scures 1994).¹⁶ Not especially connected to a certain category of tourist guide are the religious or ethnic differences between individual local guides. These differences only become clear within in the narratives whenever certain boundaries are crossed; by other guides or by visitors.

Some guides are very strict when stating that tourists (domestic and foreign) need to observe the regulations more carefully. They claim is that tourists may only enter the building under the guidance of the *pemangku* and that women who are having their period are not allowed to participate. Furthermore, a careful preparation is considered important; a preparation which, according to some of the guides, many visitors do not seem to understand and other local guides neglect to explain. "The tourists have to wash their hands and feet before entering and they have to take something with them to offer - the same as when we climb *Gunung Rinjani* - sugar for instance. If they only sit there without concentration, it is no good". The inaccurate way in which the ceremony is performed is criticised and thereby its authenticity is denied. While Sasak guides will ridicule the meaning of *awet muda*, Balinese guides will certainly elaborate on the topic explaining the meaning of the source. They state that Balinese Hindus consider the water in area of Mount Rinjani holy, and that the water that pours out of this well comes from Rinjani. This small house has been built in order to enable them to have access to holy water inside of the compound. They take the trouble to stress that the Balinese do not use the expression *awet muda* and do not believe that they will stay young forever, "maybe only young at heart". They claimed that the people from Jakarta are focused on the promise of eternal youth, which is their most important goal in visiting Narmada.

Here the expertise of the local guide, directly related to its religious background, plays a role of importance in granting or denying authenticity to the place and the rituals that are performed. Local guides do not necessarily agree about how to

¹⁶ The Balinese make the same kind of comments about the Islam of the Sasak. Scures, studying the relations between the Balinese and other Indonesians in the village Kuta, states that "there is also an edge of intolerance, often masked by a sentiment of 'what they do is unimportant, as long as what we do is proper'" (1994:163).

proceed and do not obey the regulations equally strictly. By means of their narratives local guides define their religious and ethnic boundaries, the boundaries between them and guides with another background and the boundaries between them and their clients. Far from being hard and fast, these boundaries seem to be relatively elastic. For commercial reasons - satisfying the clients - or financial reasons - anticipating large tips - boundaries are crossed. Networks specialists, and also some of the site-related guides, are willing to participate in performances or to compose a narrative which they do not support in their daily lives.

6.6 Conclusions

As seen in Chapter Five, the transfer of mainly names and dates is encouraged in the government's guide training where the emphasis is placed entirely on the production of a standardised narrative consisting of "true" information. The professional and site-related guides compose their narrative by means of the given facts and figures. They reproduce, in a more or less elaborated way, already existing stories and try to maintain the attractiveness of the site. By doing so they support the creation of an accepted representation of the destination. Telling Lombok's history by focusing on the long period of Balinese rule and the struggles between the Balinese and the Sasak does not fit the government's efforts to propagate a national identity according to the "Unity in Diversity" ideology. Concentrating on the Balinese court culture - one of Indonesia's peak cultures - and on the heritage aspects of the site is right up the government's street as far as policy of regionalisation is concerned. The result is that Narmada is taken out of its larger context and that its history is not related to the history of the island of Lombok. A romantic representation of Narmada - being the pleasure garden of a Balinese king whose name is mentioned over and over again without going into his role in the regional history - is the result. Connections with the present time - for instance with the present relationship between the Balinese and the Sasak - are seldom made. The park is treated as "a place from the past". The site is, in other words, authentic because it is old. This approach gives no reason whatsoever to provide an insight into its present day use by and importance to the local people who work there or visit the place. Without providing this "interpretative framework" (Bowman 1992:123) tourists will have difficulties in sharing the significance of the place and regard Narmada as another easily interchangeable Balinese site on their tour.

There is one category of local guides which tries to safeguard Narmada's

attractiveness by connecting the past to the present and offering their guests a representation that meets their expectations. Within the negotiation of the meaning of Narmada, the role of the network specialists is one of “communicative staging”. By anticipating their guests’ requests and answering their questions, they are provided with the possibility of using their narratives as an authentication device. They, in other words, create an atmosphere of authenticity, which differs in accordance with the desires of their clients. Tourists who are fed up with another interpretation of a Balinese sight, are treated to a relaxed walk through the pleasure garden of Narmada. So-called “intellectual” tourists are surprised with an elaborated version of the standardised narrative. Tourists who want to enter backstages are treated to an inside view of some of the buildings. For the tourists who want to perform a ritual at the source of eternal youth, the *pemangku* is called. Dutch tourists who are interested in Dutch influences are given a detour to the aqueduct. And tourists, who mainly come to the place to capture its image on film, are summoned to do so at, by the guide, determined spots. In all these cases, the network specialists react to requests or expected wishes of their guests and they use both their communicative talents as well as their performance skills.

Network specialists also try to create an atmosphere of authenticity by allowing or denying access to certain areas in the compound. The backstages as such are not extremely important. It is more the way these local guides present these areas to their guests; how they express their importance and how they frame the backstage with a sense of authenticity.

Differences between individual Balinese and Sasak guides become important when boundaries related to the performance of rituals or to the proper mode of conduct are crossed. Then, local guides, not matter to what category they belong, clearly define their ethnic or religious boundaries and by doing so they grant or deny authenticity to the event or site.

As we have been able to observe, the odd-jobbers do not really participate in the composition of Narmada’s “true” story. They use the park in the same way as the locals do or they leave the guiding job to their colleagues working on the spot. The professional and site-related guides are mostly guided by the standardised information provided by the provincial government. They do a very good job in supplying the visitors with a controlled and accepted “true” version of a peak

attraction - Narmada - in a non-peak environment - Lombok. Whether they also perform that well in the eyes of the tourists is the question. The network specialists give a more in-depth and detailed account of Narmada. Their stories depart from the standardised government information, but are also created partly on the spot generated by a subtle dialogue between guide and visitor. Not only the narrative is part of this “please the tourist” approach, but also the creation of an “authentic experience”; an intimate atmosphere that will enhance the tourists’ appreciation of the place.

CHAPTER SEVEN - The “Real” Story about *Dusun Sade*: The (Re)presentation of a Traditional Village in Central Lombok

7.1 Introduction

Central to this chapter are the markers used to bring forward the cultural identity of the Sasak, the indigenous inhabitants of the island. As in many other parts of Indonesia, architecture, traditional religion, costumes and dances are important markers of cultural or ethnic distinctiveness (Adams 1984). Markers that are elaborated and modified into “pamphlets produced by tourist bureaux and travel agencies (to) provide a framework or mental grid through which the traveller will filter his perceptions while abroad” (Adams 1984:472). Markers of Sasak’s local cultural identity are architecture, handicrafts and daily village life. This is the way that the “traditional” village of Sade in Central Lombok became one of the centrepoints in the promotion of Lombok’s cultural identity. The provincial government designated the village a heritage site suitable for the presentation of traditional elements of the local culture. The image of the traditional *lumbung* has become Lombok’s primary identity marker. Promotion leaflets and travel guides always use pictures of a *lumbung* in their documentation and usually vividly describe the local architecture. The majority of the tourists visit the village on a guided tour. Local tourist guides accompany them and, in a more or less elaborated way, give information about the architecture and the daily life in the village. *Dusun Sade* itself has a number of site-related guides, youngsters who, in search of additional income, accompany the tourists during their walks through the village. The content of the local guides’ narratives depends to a large extent on their position within the local community and the tourism industry.

This chapter is about the (re)presentation of the tourist attraction *dusun Sade*. I shall discuss the role of the local tourist guides and the provincial government in the (re)presentation of the local Sasak identity. By visiting *dusun Sade* we shall learn that regional initiatives to regulate tourism development have to be understood against the background of the promotion of tourism by the national government in Jakarta as a strategy to unify and modernise the country. In the construction of cultural tourist attractions a tension is visible between the national and the local level, or more precisely, between national and local identity. Although the whole range of different cultural identities is important in the attraction of foreign tourists, their presentation is not supposed to conflict with the government’s

emphasis on cultural conformity (Guinness 1994).

7.2 Traditional Culture and Cultural Identity

During the visits to the traditional Sasak villages, a part of Lombok's cultural heritage is displayed to an audience of domestic and foreign tourists. This form of cultural tourism,¹ in which whole villages and their inhabitants are described in flowery terms and are transformed in touristic images and destinations, is the subject of a lively debate between all the actors involved (local population, tour operators, regional government, tourists) about the tensions between preservation and commoditization of local cultural identity. Lanfant states that:

(...) the problematics of identity cannot be dissociated from the process of commoditization. Identity is a product to be offered to the consumer, a product manufactured and packaged according to marketing procedures. The past - history and memory - are seen as 'tourist resources'. Cultural heritage becomes capital to make a profit, ethnicity a resource to exploit (1995:8)

Local identity is constructed with reference to significant others (Cohen, A.P. 1985, Dahles 1993, 1996b, Lanfant 1995, Adams 1988), the "outsiders", who, in this case, can be identified as Balinese neighbours and the tourists. Through the interest of tourists and because of the efforts made by tour operators and the provincial government to put these sites on the tourist map, Sasak communities have discovered themselves. The tourist gaze has encouraged reflection about their own culture; a culture of their own that is looked at from the supposed vantage point from which they imagine others to view it (Cohen 1985, Linnekin 1997). The regular presence of outsiders has created categories of "we" and "they", insiders and outsiders, hosts and guests, (Boissevain 1996) and under the gaze of the foreigner a point of reference was found which guaranteed that identity (Lanfant 1995). "By being looked at, examined and questioned by strangers, locals became aware of how they differ from the visitors" (Boissevain 1996:6-7), which has led to a renewed awareness of their belonging to a distinctive cultural or ethnic group. As was said earlier, Lombok's tourist attraction system has to compete with the well-known, paradisiacal image of Bali, but the different sites also have to fulfil the tourists' need for something

¹ Cultural tourism is defined as "the diffuse absorption of 'local colour', the 'taking in' of a whole exotic scene with emphasis on material objects such as buildings, clothing, and the like" (Van den Berghe & Keyes 1984:348).

completely different, something out of the ordinary. A need in which the place does not really count, but what is important is the experience of "otherness" (Hitchcock 1993). In the case of Lombok, this "otherness" is sought in exotic sites - in "traditional" villages and among ethnic groups - which are totally different from the tourists' home surroundings. Because of the arrival of tourists in this remote village, cultural elements and aspects of daily life - the surroundings and customs that they had always taken for granted - became objects of interest. The interest of outsiders has taught the locals to look at their own local culture differently. Tourism made it possible to explain their own culture, to promote, to show and even to sell "objects" connected to their daily life (Zarkia 1996). Anticipating the tourists' search for authentic, traditional lifestyles, a village like *dusun* Sade has become a tourism centre. Cultural identities become, in other words, part of the "battle" for the tourist.

In contrast to Narmada because of its traditional, ethnic image *dusun* Sade can be considered a prime example of a non-peak attraction. Showing such a non-peak culture - the "traditional" way of life of the Sasak - to foreign tourists, does not correspond to Indonesia's urge to develop and modernise. At a national level traditional cultures are regarded as "signs of underdevelopment" (Dove 1988: 1). Because of their alleged backwardness and resistance to change, traditional cultures are considered to be an obstacle to development (Dove 1988). The need to anticipate the tourists' desire for authentic experiences and Lombok's consequential attempts to come up with its own identity marker, have made *dusun* Sade, willy-nilly, an important part of Lombok's attraction system. The questions that present themselves are, of course, how the village is portrayed and what kind of meaning is attributed to its "traditional" image. Provincial policy makers, local tour operators and the majority of the local guides approach the village as a static place where the inhabitants are supposed to live their lives just as this was in days gone by. In other words, non-peak cultures are allowed as long as their design matches the ideas of presenting a national identity. Placing a heavy emphasis on the village's "showcase" elements like architecture, the provincial government uncritically follows national guidelines. But Sade is, in contrast to Narmada, also the home of local people. A visit to *dusun* Sade will soon disembarass tourists of the idea that this "showcase" image corresponds to the way the inhabitants look at their own lives. Over the years the local desire for modernisation - the organisation of their back regions - has begun to conflict more and more with this perpetuation of a traditional lifestyle.

Having to be “traditional” and to “play the native” uneasily combined with an equally strong urge to modernise has led to tensions between the locals and outsiders working in tourism. The upshot of these tensions is that efforts are being made to exclude *dusun* Sade from the tour programmes. Its authenticity and uniqueness seem relative and very closely connected to the government’s politics of (re)presentation. The boycott of *dusun* Sade is a fine example of the dilemmas which emerge in the presentation of non-peak cultures to an audience of foreign tourists.

7.2.1 Images of Traditional Sasak Villages

A guidebook describes the area from Sengkol down to Kuta Beach as “a centre of traditional Sasak culture” with “many relatively unchanged Sasak villages where people still live in customary houses and engage in indigenous craft work” (Wheeler & Lyon 1992:264).

Central to the promotion is the architecture:

Villages of the coloured thatched roof houses are surrounded by open rice fields of green (Bali Tourist Guide) or (...) a Sasak community along the way, where thatched rice barns and clay-skirted homesteads presented a fascinating tableau of traditional life (Bali Now).

Most brochures and leaflets emphasise the unspoiled character of the area by sending their guests to:

villages where people live their lives unaware of the outside world (Garuda).²

The inhabitants who are expected to retain their customs and local traditions are called

traditionalists, speaking little Indonesian in favour of their native Sasak (Bali Now).

Their homes are seen as museums:

(...) The imagery is stunningly memorable; the natural surrounding and vibrantly manifest culture traditions have made this area famous as The Living Museum. (Bali Tourist Guide)

And, in spite of their assumed isolation from the outside world, the hospitality of the

² My translation of a Dutch Garuda brochure. Original text: “Lombok is meer onbedorven, daar zijn nog steeds plekjes waar geen toerist ooit een voet heeft gezet. Dorpen die onaangetast zijn gebleven, waar de mensen hun leven leiden zonder besef van de buitenwereld (...) Het zal u waarschijnlijk moeilijk vallen u er weer van los te maken. Het traditionele Sasak-huis is onvergelijkbaar met welk ander huis. Dat geldt ook voor de traditionele Sasak-gastvrijheid. Een uitnodiging om een oom te bezoeken daar draait gemakkelijk uit op een kennismaking met het hele dorp.”

villagers is praised:

The traditional Sasak house cannot be compared with any other house. The same is true for the traditional Sasak hospitality. An invitation to visit an uncle will easily lead to making the acquaintance of the whole village. (Garuda)

Following the division in the initial masterplan into natural and cultural tour themes, the provincial tourist office designed several tours of the island. Traditional villages are visited in the South Lombok or North Lombok full-day Tour. The local tour operators in Mataram and Senggigi also have standard Sasak villages in their itinerary.³ The mixture of markers used for promotion contributes to the formulation of the most exotic portrait possible. This first glance at local Sasak culture promises the traveller that he will make the acquaintance of a local population whose unique culture has not changed since time immemorial. People who are supposed to have hardly any contacts with the outside world, but who, come what may, are part of tour programmes, which enable foreign tourists to gaze at their "unspoilt" lives. This process runs parallel to the tendency in tourism, noted by Cohen (1979a), to project a fixed and attractive image on a locality while simultaneously moving the community away from the reality of that image (see also Adams 1988).

7.2.2 Dusun Sade

The most famous sight is *dusun* Sade⁴, located close to Kuta in the driest area of Lombok. Approximately 130 families live in *dusun* Sade, which has around 500 inhabitants in total, the majority of whom are farmers. On Lombok, *dusun* Sade was designated a cultural object because it neatly served the traditional village attraction functions of emphasising cultural features such as traditional architectural styles, music and dance performances and handicraft demonstrations:

³ Some examples of original texts from brochures of local tour-operators (they are quoted literally):

Sasak Countryside tour: traditional village style. A typical Sasak village, where the houses (Bale Balak) and the rice storage buildings (*alang/lumbung*) are still constructed with wood, bamboo and roofed with thatch.

Traditional Sasak Tour: this tour provides you with a chance mingling with the local Sasak and the opportunity to appreciate their daily activities and their way of life.

Native countryside tour: this tour provides insight daily life of the native sasaknese people in Rembitan/Sade typical of traditional sasak architectural houses & village.

⁴ A *dusun* is a smaller part of a *desa* (village) and can be translated as "sub-village" or "hamlet". *Dusun* Sade is part of the *desa* Rembitan. The whole village Rembitan has a population of approximately 4,335 people.

Sade has the “ikat weaving” attraction and dance performance as sightseeing events unique to the village as well as the traditional architecture. Traditional houses and rice storage barns, a minimum of environmental degradation and the location of these tightly clustered settlements on the sides of a hill contribute to the visitors sense of immersion in the past (WTO 1987:81)

At the time when the masterplan was designed, *dusun* Sade was part of what was called the “South Bound Excursion Package”, and about 40 per cent of the excursion tourists had already visited the place on their way to the beaches of South Lombok.⁵ Because of the limitations of the accommodation available, it was decided that the village’s main function would be to entertain tourists passing through. Therefore, *dusun* Sade fell into the category of “cultural entertainment and souvenir trading” (WTO 1987:88), the main sources of income being: admissions, parking fees, cultural shows, handicraft sales and food & drink sales. Set out in more detail the major goals were:

1. developing small-scale tourist facilities and services in or near villages;
2. the owning and operating of these facilities and services by villagers either in co-operatives or on an individual basis;
3. developing the village as a service centre for tourists visiting the nearby attractions, as a result of which the village tourism development is based either on the inherent traditional culture features of the villages or on the nearby natural attraction features (WTO 1987).

This village tourism plan had to be elaborated in three phases. The first phase (until the end of 1995) was regarded as a period of familiarising the local people with how to operate various tourist aspects, with providing language training and instruction in how to deal with tourists, and with identifying the assets and negative points of the village. In the second ((1996-2000) and third phase (2001-2005), the pace of development had to be related to the resorts planned in the south. A large increase in the number of visitors was expected during the first period, which would inevitably bring growing pressure on the day-to-day life of the villagers. On top of this a population increase was expected which could cause a housing shortage in the village. To remedy this, it was recommended that the national land near the present village boundary would be leased to construct a “Tourist Village”, including facilities for

⁵ At that time, only small numbers of tourists came to the village. After 1980, the village became more widely known. In a newspaper article it is claimed that from 1987, 85 per cent of the tourists who have come to Lombok have paid a visit to *dusun* Sade (Bali Post 1996d).

tourists, housing for employees, and service facilities. In Phase 2, facilities and houses are to be expanded yet more and in Phase 3 all residents are to be moved to the new area, while the original village is to be preserved. When completed, the whole village is to be opened up to tourists and to be maintained with the admission fees (WTO 1987).

7.2.3 From a Natural to a Contrived Tourist Attraction

The masterplan, in other words, formulated the intention to preserve Sade and to transform the village into a museum. To put the plan into action, the most valuable houses in the village were to be conserved and to be converted into a village museum. But that was not all. As indicated above, a longer-term goal was to conserve the whole village and to obtain new land, which the villagers could use for the expansion of their modernised homes. On the basis of an analysis of the area and plans for the establishment of a new tourism village, the following recommendations were made:

Figure 7.1: Development proposal *dusun* Sade

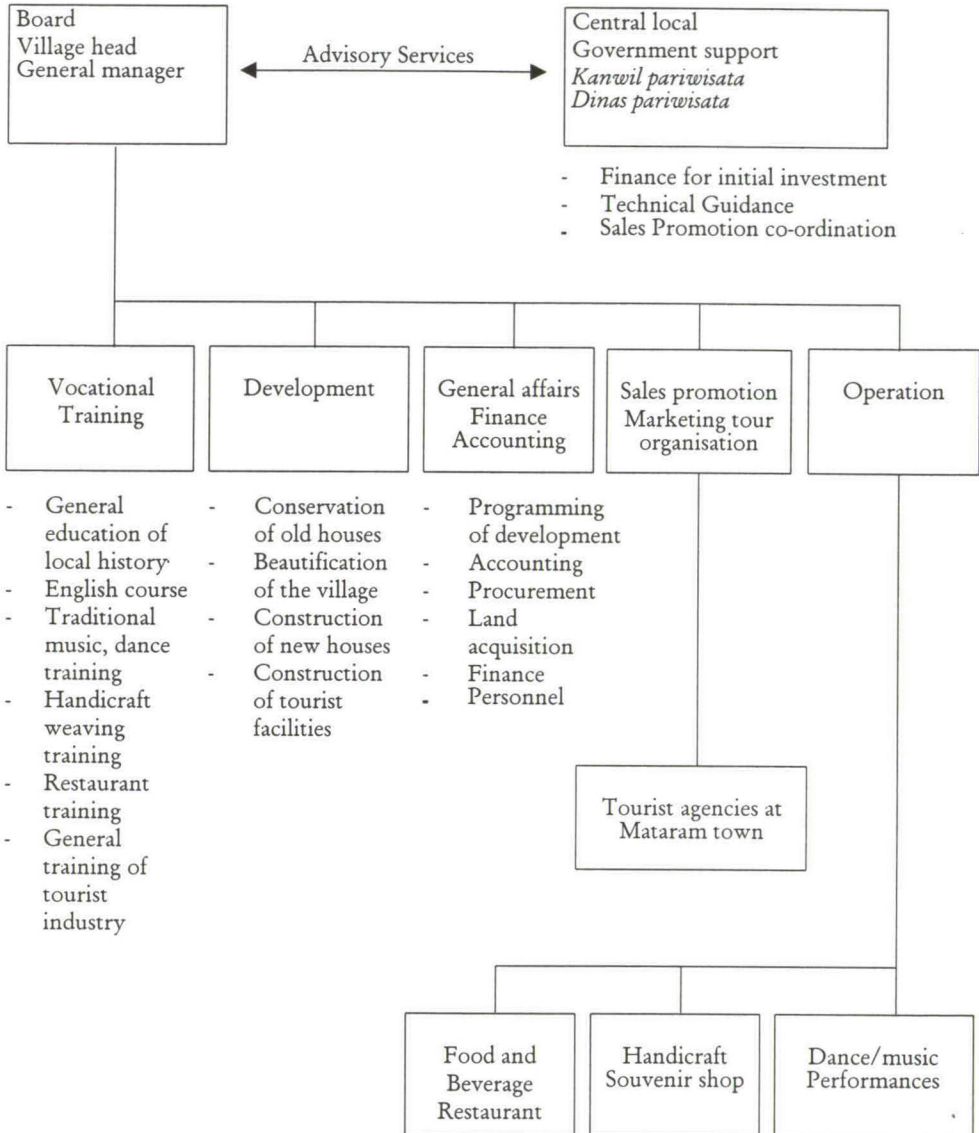
1. Tourist Facilities Area	* near the village
2. Area required	* 1 ha. hill (already acquired) for the new settlement * 0.01 ha of area for performance plaza within the existing village
3. Development Components	* new tourist village for visiting and resting * conservation village
4. Proposed Facilities	* <i>ikat</i> house * stage/performances * restaurant/coffee shop * new site for village
5. Conservation Measures	* whole houses/buildings and landscape (surroundings) * life goods and style (if possible) * no expansion of village * need sanitary improvement
6. Other Necessary Actions	* preparation of new village plan * training of young people/guides and service * dance/performance skill * promotion at Mataram and south resort area

Source: Masterplan (WTO 1978)

The design of tourist villages is, of course, not totally new in village tourism. In 1979 Cohen wrote about the village Meo Doi Pui in the northern part of Thailand, where the lower situated area was designated a “front” region in which traditional Meo life was demonstrated to tourists. The more highly situated area, on the other hand, was strictly the domain of the villagers, the private “backstage” where the Meos were free to introduce any innovation they liked.⁶ A division like this contributes to the trend towards more radical preservation of sensitive sites. As Cohen puts it: “the creation of contrived and staged representations (...) is (...) an alternative policy to unbridled penetration” (1995:17-18). The result can, however, be that “their defence from tourism impact makes them more ‘contrived’. Preservation often involves the need to create contrivances which at least change the outward appearance of authentic physical, historical or cultural attractions” (Cohen 1995:26). In the case of *dusun* Sade, the planners decided to focus on the preservation of the entire village, by relocating the inhabitants and transforming the place into a museum in which traditional Sasak life can be displayed without the risk of penetration and change. Village tourism development was regarded as economically promising to a village where virtually no other impetus towards development existed. The big question was who would invest in the village and who would be responsible for the management of the tourist facilities? As the following figure (see Figure 7.2) shows, the provincial government would only be responsible for the initial investments and the executive and management tasks would be left almost entirely in the hands of the inhabitants of the village.

⁶ The village is located near Chiangmai and the flow of tourists grew so large that the tourists began to complain about the “authenticity” of the place. Because of the many innovations Meo Doi Pui threatened to lose its prominent place as the most popular tribal attraction of North Thailand. The Tourist Organisation of Thailand decided to intervene and to rehabilitate Meo Doi Pui by singling out two areas. Cohen calls the lower situated area “overt tourist-space”, since the planners intend to present the touristic village as a demonstration of traditional Meo life as found in more remote villages and do not wish to mislead the tourists into believing that they are witnessing authentic village life (1979b).

Figure 7.2: Proposal organization *dusun* Sade tourism village



Source: Masterplan WTO 1987

Planners warned about the lack of management expertise for tourist facilities, which are entirely different skills in comparison to the agricultural work in which the locals are normally engaged. Therefore a high priority was given to management training. A more pressing problem was the provision of capital. It was recommended that the government should both make the initial investments to develop tourist facilities such as a plaza, restaurant, and the like, and bear the cost of relocation.

Especially if the government wishes to conserve the whole village as quickly as possible, the villagers should be compensated for evacuation by the provision of new homes and land. In this way the set-up can avoid either situation where the village is overwhelmed by the huge financial burden or the village neglects the responsibility of managing tourist facilities properly (WTO 1987:92)

Therefore, in the new tourism village villagers can rent shops and restaurants from the government. This arrangement is described as standing a good chance. Although Phase 1 came to an end five years ago, the fruits of the village tourism plan have been disappointingly meagre. The provincial government has expended a great deal of effort on preventing the inhabitants from carrying out any changes. Building regulations were issued, which said in effect that the villagers were not allowed to modernise their houses; improvements, such as the use of cement and tiled roofs, were strictly forbidden. With the help of government support, the villagers were able to finance small projects like the renovation of a mosque, the construction of the wall surrounding the village, the creation of a small market place for the sale of woven products and the construction of the platform at the entrance. The most recent development is two toilets for visitors, at the entrance of the village. Only few of the development goals – those focused on the restoration of the outward appearance of the village and on the creation of facilities for the tourists - have been achieved. This all seems to indicate that the development of *dusun* Sade as a tourist attraction does not have high priority. Current plans for building a new village are only being discussed informally and not elaborated on in detail, one of the reasons being the general lack of attention being paid to tourist attractions. The main focus of the government is on the development of accommodation and additional services. Furthermore, the Putri Nyale resort in the south of Lombok is still in its initial phase of development. The first hotel (Novotel) was only recently (July 1997) opened. The area cleared for the international airport is still is not yet under construction either, which has a knock-on effect on the search for investors for the whole area. While disruptive in the long run, all these developments, however, did not stop tourists from coming to *dusun* Sade. The South Lombok tour, as it is nowadays commonly

called, is still the most popular excursion on the island. Even one-day trips from Bali include the village in their programmes. The high influx of tourists into the village and the one-sided interest of the government in the restoration aspects has turned *dusun* Sade into a *museum hidup* (a living museum).

Figure 7.3: Overview of *dusun* Sade



7.3 The loss of *dusun* Sade?

From being the home of a Sasak community which was occasionally visited by neighbouring villagers, *dusun* Sade was put on the international tourist map in almost less time than it takes to tell. Foreign as well as domestic tourists make the acquaintance of the village. In some places in Europe, as potential site Sade is said to be better introduced than, for instance, Mataram or Kuta (Lombok).

This may seem pleasing but the living museum image has also caused plenty of tension. Tourists feel free to wander about the village peering into private houses, photographing locals and giving the children sweets. Locals are supposed to act according to their expectations and “play the native”.

7.3.1 *Playing the Natives?*

From 1992 negative reports about *dusun* Sade began to accumulate rapidly. Anxious newspaper articles with headings like “If *dusun* Sade is destabilised by modernisation, the tourists will ebb away” (*Kalau dusun Sade digoyang modernisasi kehadiran wisman pun makin surut*) or “Sade and its cultural challenge” (*Sade dan tantangan budaya*) (Bali Post 1996a; Bali Post 1996d) discussed the condition of Lombok's famous traditional village. At a local level, the modernisation of the village is said to have caused a drop in the number of visitors. The tourism earnings made it possible for the locals to renovate and improve their houses. In 1989, the government built a concrete house with windows for the hamlet head. This house has served as an example to other villagers and at the moment there are approximately ten houses with windows in the village. Although 80 per cent of the houses is still built in the traditional way, tourists - according to the villagers, the local guides and representatives of the province - quite often complain about the loss of authenticity. The houses are unlike those in the travel brochures, the villagers do not wear their traditional black costumes and the village guides even wear jeans and printed T-shirts. The villagers of *dusun* Sade are faced with a dilemma. They are told that tourists are attracted by their simple, rural way of life and their unspoilt, tranquil environment, but over the years, the locals began to see their village through the tourists' eyes, i.e., as underdeveloped. They now wish to pave the road and build a kitchen outside their houses and at the same time retain the idea of the traditional villages shown and marketed in tourist brochures. The real question is whether the modernisation of the village is the main reason of the decline in the number of visitors. By looking at the way in which the boycott of *dusun* Sade is explained, we shall find out that the village's image has been damaged mostly by the commercialised attitude of its inhabitants.

7.3.2 *A Boycott*

Van de Berghe & Keyes (1984) state that “tourism is a special kind of ethnic relationship particularly open to deceit, exploitation, and mistrust, since tourists and natives can easily escape the consequences of hostility and dishonesty” (347). The relationship between hosts and guests is temporary, superficial, essentially unequal

and asymmetrical. In *dusun* Sade both villagers and locals look upon each other as objects, as anonymous "others" (see also Laxson 1991) and their encounters are often a trigger for the arousal of various tensions.

In *dusun* Sade, these mounting tensions, which eventually led to the serious step of a "boycott"⁷, have led to a declining number of visitors. Growing complaints about the constant harassment of visitors by children, about young village guides and the obtrusive business-like attitude of many souvenir sellers, have made a large number of professional guides and network specialists decide to bypass the village. The souvenir sellers purvey their merchandise at a special market place at the entrance of the village. Disappointing profits forced them back into the village, where they now follow the tourists around whenever they get the chance. The site-related village guides, who sometimes outnumber the tourists, are also a nuisance. They hassle the visitors, demanding a personal as well as a village donation. Unwillingness to pay a donation or to buy a souvenir often leads to hostile reactions from the villagers, who are fed up with being just an object, without getting anything in return. As in other touristic destinations, the villagers have a fairly stereotypical image of the tourists. They think that all tourists lead a luxurious Western life, are rich and therefore under an obligation to buy souvenirs in the village. This stereotype is reinforced by the habits of tourists, who generally spend more money while on holiday than they do in their normal life (Zarkia 1996). The attitude towards the tourists has changed: they are no longer regarded as guests but merely as tourists, as people who have an obligation to spend their money in the village and have to pay for services (Doxey 1976, Zarkia 1996). The villagers, in other words, appreciate the tourists' money, but not the dehumanising aspects of being a tourist attraction (Smith 1989). The tourists, in their term, are relatively ignorant of local conditions, which causes them to behave clumsily, offensively, rudely, sometimes even adopting a disparaging attitude towards the villagers. Demanding services without paying an appropriate fee or donation⁸,

⁷ This "boycott" began to be clearly noticeable at the beginning of 1996 and was discussed in detail in the local newspapers and at the tourism government offices at the start of the high season.

⁸ One of the village guides of *dusun* Sade explained that larger groups of tourists often do not donate themselves, but leave it to the guide, who contributes 500 *rupiah* for a group of ten people or more. In some cases, their tour operator has supplied them with this sum of money. The reason for the difference between this small donation and the large amounts of money tourists generally spend to come to Lombok is beyond the comprehension of the village guides.

wearing indecent clothing, entering private areas, and taking pictures without asking permission, leads to overt annoyance and even hostility among the villagers.

The professional guides and network specialists were the first to be confronted professionally with the negative atmosphere in the village. Unable or unwilling to change this situation, many of them shifted their attention to the neighbouring *dusun* Tangsang-Angsang. This village, although less well preserved, loomed as an attractive alternative in the South Lombok tour. Local guides still use the name of the famous *dusun* Sade⁹, while visiting this village instead. Not many tourists, especially the ones who visit Lombok for the first time, will notice the difference. *Dusun* Tangsang-Angsang obtained the status of Sade and, herewith, also inherited the mantle of its fame of being the most primitive, traditional and authentic village in the area. A, hitherto, not particularly special village has acquired authenticity in a short period of time. This is what Cohen (1988) has called “emergent” authenticity, in this case established by local tourist guides who are fed up with having to deal with complaining guests and pushy villagers.

7.3.3 Rehabilitation Efforts

When *dusun* Sade was singled out as a tourist attraction, the provincial government organised a few information visits to the village to broaden the villagers’ understanding of tourism. Information visits like these were part of the national Tourism Consciousness Campaign (*Kampanye Nasional Sadar Wisata*) (see Chapter Five). These *sadar wisata* meetings were part of Phase 1 in which the local people had to be made familiar with tourism. In *dusun* Sade’s early years, as one of the informants in the village explained, some of the villagers were opposed to tourism because they thought that the tourists would buy their land and stay forever. The meetings were used to explain that the tourists would not come and stay in the same way as (Dutch and Japanese) foreigners had done in former times. An emphasis was placed on the opportunities the villagers would be offered to earn an extra income and the importance of the maintenance of the village.

After some years, it ineluctably emerged that this local consciousness campaign had paid not a skerrick of attention to the effects the arrival of tourism would have on

⁹ In the brochures, but also among the local tourist guides, the name Sade is often used for every village that is visited in that specific area. Also *dusun* Tangsang-Angsang, part of *desa* Sengkol, is given the name Sade.

village life. The attention was predominantly focused on outward appearance. Adams stated that “the Tourism Consciousness Campaign has laid the foundations for a new kind of ‘imagined community’, one based on shared visions of a group’s own ethnic locale as a potential tourist destination, that is, an imagined Indonesia comprised of a mosaic of equally charming yet unique tourist sites” (1997a:158). Relating this to *dusun* Sade, we can conclude that also in this case the images that were planned to be presented to tourists had to be unique and attractive. The problem is that the formulation of these images does not necessarily correspond to the perception of the locals concerning their own communities. The inevitable outcome of this blindness was that problems related to the host-guest relationship (e.g. the unfamiliarity of both parties with each other’s culture) and the relations within the village (harsh competition) were not foreseen. In combination with the almost complete absence of guidance from outside, this has led to a situation in which *dusun* Sade is in serious danger of losing its position as one of the most famous tourist sites on the island.

Figure 7.4: Local guide at work



Recently new efforts have been made in the field of cultivating tourism consciousness. The guide association (*HPI*) has been an initiator in restoring the quality of the tourist attraction *dusun* Sade. In March 1996, twenty-six members of the senior guide course spent some time in the village making an inventory of the situation and planting trees. During a meeting in April of the same year, attended by government officials of the tourism department, the *HPI*, village members and professional and village guides, the image of *dusun* Sade was discussed at length. It was suggested a team should be formed consisting of representatives of *Diparda*, *Parpostel* and the *HPI*, which could give guidance in the planning of the development of several of the tourist objects. The commercialised attitude of many of the locals and the complaints about the loss of authenticity had made the tourism representatives aware of the need for guidance, the need to broaden the villagers' understanding of tourism and to develop a long-term vision on the development of the village. The education of the village guides was also assigned high priority. Their superficial narratives and business-like attitude were considered to be the cause of most of the complaints. Most of the discussion was devoted to the improvement of the attitude of these village guides. Representatives of travel agencies made a comparison with Bali in discussing the outfits of all the local guides. The guides from Lombok should take the Balinese guides who usually wear the regional dress as an example. Receiving guests dressed in old jeans and torn T-shirts was not considered a good way to represent the region. Obviously, the provision of correct information - the real story of *dusun* Sade - was emphasised. With the words: "although we only eat cassava, we have to behave as if we eat chicken", the village guides were motivated to contribute to a positive image of village life and thereby of Lombok. As part of the meeting, a professional (senior) guide - a Sasak - explained to the village guides in *bahasa* Sasak what tourism is about and how the travel agencies and the *HPI* expect them to work. He emphasised the importance of correct information about what is really going on in the village. At the same time, he stated that it was important not to mention the negative things, but to highlight the positive aspects of village life in order to make the tourist happy and willing to come back. Two of the eleven village guides were selected for a government guide training where they would be able to learn the correct attitude and to become skilful ambassadors of their own culture. The spring meeting did not have an immediate follow-up and during the high season many of the tourists were taken to other villages in the neighbourhood.

7.4 Managers of Public and Private Space

As shown in the previous section much has been written about the social stress caused when communities are invaded by busloads of tourists (Smith 1989, Laxson 1991, Boissevain 1996, Doxey 1976). This obtrusive behaviour can lead to tourists being denied access to certain parts of the village, to photographic levy charges being imposed (Laxson 1991) or to guided tours being made obligatory. This last measure is intended to ensure that guides will perform a damage-limiting exercise by preparing the visits properly and making the tourists aware of the dos and don'ts to be observed during a visit to a village. Imposing dress codes, indicating unclear private areas, asking permission to take pictures, and mediating access to places which are only occasionally accessible, are tools a local guide can use. In *dusun Sade*, the visits are always guided. Either the visit is part of a guided tour, which means that tourists are already accompanied by a guide or a driver, or youngsters from the village - self-appointed village guides - act as gatekeepers and take visitors through the village. But, as will be shown, the activities of these site-related guides will not always lead to a reduction of social stress. Sometimes it is their very behaviour which causes much of the tension, because their main goal is more likely to be chasing tourist dollars than broadening the cultural understanding of their clients. These site-related guides do the majority of the guiding work inside the village. Guides being part of one of the other categories - the professional guides, the odd-jobbers and the network specialists - decide individually¹⁰ whether or not they will hand over their guests to the village guides. On a visit, we can take a closer look at the way guided tours are organised in this particular village. Subsequently, I shall analyse the narratives of the different categories of local guides in order to provide an insight into their contribution to the construction of *dusun Sade*'s image to the outside world.

7.4.1 A Walk through the Village

Tourists who arrive at the village are immediately separated from their drivers and guides by the young self-appointed guides who take up a position near the large sign saying "Welcome to the traditional village Sade". These boys try to catch the tourists' attention by greeting them in several languages and shouting "Welcome in Sade".

¹⁰ Some of the tour operators claim to have a policy of working closely together with the village guides in order to give them a chance to earn money. In practice, however, professional guides and network specialists decide for themselves whether or not they step back and hire village guides to do the job.

Through the medium of an informal chat with the guide from the travel agency, they try to gauge the situation. Handing out cigarettes, this guide from outside the village will ask for their help or make it explicitly clear to them that their company is not desired. After some squabbling, one, or several young boys - depending on the number of tourists - will subsequently take control of the group. Sometimes the guide introduces himself and by asking questions - "where do you come from", "what's your name", "where you stay", and "how long in Lombok" - he hopes to obtain more knowledge about his clients. Setting out at a brisk pace, he stimulates his clients to enter Sade. The tourists are led up the hill along the sandy main road, followed by a number of the other village guides and by a group of children. The tour includes a few standard stops: the mosque, a rice barn, a souvenir stall and one of the traditional houses. Stumbling over his words, the guide gives information. He dishes out sentences which he has learned by heart, and carefully avoids answering questions about other topics which would betray his superficial knowledge of English. The guide's attention is totally fixed on keeping "his tourists" to himself and on leading them along the sites as quickly as possible. He even does not seem to be willing to share them with the female souvenir sellers. Other village guides eagerly try to interrupt his performance and to isolate tourists from the group. The tourists are summoned to take pictures at certain spots, to give them cigarettes or money and to enter one of the houses. Without asking for permission, tourists jostle to enter. Inside, something is told about the layout, but it is really too dark to see anything. It sometimes happens that several guides enter the same house at the same time, all of them with their own clients, which results in a cacophony of voices producing the same stories.

Tourists ask if it they are allowed to take pictures inside the house. The village guide does not seem to feel obliged to ask the inhabitants for permission. Resignedly, the locals allow it to happen, but in some cases they demand money in return. Outside again, women selling sarongs and other woven fabrics surround the tourists. They display their products in front of their houses - some are actually busy weaving - and with two or three specimens on their arm, they follow the tourists around. The guide emphasises "if you buy okay, not buy is no problem", the women, however, approach the tourists aggressively and do not take no for an answer. After a visit to the house, the young guide runs out of things to show. Therefore, he focuses on small items, like the rice and tamarind pulp which is lying out to dry, or the cows fenced off behind the houses.

Although the village is much bigger, the guide sticks to the main road. If tourists want to take another road back to the entrance, it is "up to them". But since the guide does not take the lead and the narrow roads are steep and unpaved, hardly anyone takes a detour back to the entrance. The tourists end up at the large platform where they can sit down for a minute, chat with the children, hand out sweets or pencils or visit the souvenir shops. This is also the place where the guest-book has to be signed and a donation is expected. The village guide explains that the donation is not for him, but for the whole village. Often insecure about how much to give, tourists hesitate and ask for advice. The young guide is not willing to make suggestions; again it's "up to you". This false modesty does not prevent him from trying to obtain extra money for himself. Dropping hints like "you're my first tourist today, no money yet, quiet today, I want to buy cigarettes", he escorts the tourists back to their cars. There, money changes hands, and sometimes addresses are exchanged. In the case of a refusal to pay, the young guide sulkily turns his back on his guests. The tourists' guide and driver are already ready to leave. More time at the village will limit their activities at other sites. The tourists shake hands with the children, put their cameras away and get back into the car. Altogether the visit has lasted fifteen minutes. The tours never last longer than twenty minutes (usually shorter), depending on the guide and on the interest of the tourists.

In addition to all this hustling and quarrelling, all guides are expected to give information about the place. In the next section, the narratives of the different categories of local guides are analysed.

7.5 Local Narratives

Known as *lumbung*, these bonnetshaped barns are mounted on stilts with round supports (to keep off rats) and they are used to store harvested rice stalks until they are needed (...). Every family has its own rice barn which is usually located next door the living quarters which is also a hut made with a normal thatched roof. The quarters are simple with a living room and kitchen rolled into one (there is no furniture and the bare ground is of mud) behind which is a raised platform with two bedrooms (Outbound travel)

A visitor who enters the open front room of a Sade house is forced to lower his head beneath the low, sloping roof, an act which doubles as a convenient sign of

respect to the inhabitants. Complying to a tradition of sexual segregation, the first room is the domain of the men. Women are relegated to the dark, window-less back room, ostensible for reasons of protection. Here too are kept all foodstuffs and kitchen implements (Bali Now)

The above excerpts come from tourist brochures and inside stories about the region in airline magazines. Quite often, they are written after educational tours, organised by the local tour operators, of the island. These tours are attended by foreign travel agencies and travel writers whose goal it is to find out if the tours match the desires of their clients, and to collect promotional material. The voices of local guides can be heard in many of these efforts. In their turn, these local guides use promotional material and travel writings to update and improve their stories.

7.5.1 On-sight markers: the Primitive and the Authentic

In their on-sight narratives, most of the local tourist guides highlight the same elements of local culture. Before entering *dusun* Sade they introduce the village as being primitive and having remained unchanged for years. A professional guide even stated that we do not need time travel as portrayed in the film *StarTrek*, to see how people lived a thousand years ago. In order to make the confrontation with everyday village life not too startling, local guides prepare their guests by comparing the village with earlier days in Western societies.¹¹

Now, ladies and gentlemen after we arrived in the traditional of the Sasak village, we have a look around inside of the village maybe (...) about 100 years old, during which life did not change, culture did not change (...) of what do we have until now (...) a Sasak village. Maybe it was like this in Western country before, a 100 years ago (...) a very primitive, very primitive village. (...) And then in Lombok, the Sasak villages not only in that village. But all of this area, the villages in all of this area is also Sasak.

Occasionally some remarks about the social organisation in villages like Sade are made:

(...) their life system, to help each other when the people have a ceremony, when the people have a problem, when the people need to work in the rice-fields, they still use (...) gotong royong life, gotong royong life, (...) always together. The whole village, for example, will

¹¹ The fragments used are part of larger tour records made during fieldtrips in a three-year period from 1994 to 1996.

help each other. (...) That is *hidup gotong royong*, which is natural life in this village (...).

During the walk, they emphasise the architectural style of the houses and rice-barns as being the main characteristics of a traditional lifestyle.

*You will see at that place, it is very different from other. I mean the form of the house. They make it with the husk (...) Grass, just say grass. There are three reason that they make a house like that using special grass, first of all it is easy to get it, the second one it is cheap if you want to buy, cheap and the third one is it can make our house fresh although it is dry season, but it is not hot inside. Yes and the soil as I told you today, (...) the soil is made with the husk grain (...). And then why are they make it like that? The soil with the husk and the faeces of the cow, you know faeces? (...) A long time ago people here did not know about cement. They make it like that to change, to replace the cement. And the result is very strong; it is not dusty (...). But now many people know cement, but the people still use the traditional way because he knows that it is very useful and it is the same with the cement (...). As the local guide told you in that place, it's not the elephant grass. No, because elephant grass can be given to the buffalo, to the cow, it can be eaten by the buffalo, it contains much vitamin. But for making the roof (...) it's wild grass that they can get in the mountains (...) if you use the elephant grass, the cows will come to your house to eat it (...) We call it in Indonesian *alang alang* (...)*

To have a look inside one of the traditional houses situated along the sandy main road is a standard procedure. The local guides enable the tourists to see the interior of a house, which they regard as important to the understanding of the social organisation of the village.

*See the house please, the house, this village yeah, *balai tani*, *balai* is house, *tani* is farming. Because the people in the village all go to work in the farming. House have two rooms inside one, for the sleep, mother with girl and one for the cooking. (...) and outside for the men, this is for the boy like me. Inside for the mother, the girl, no men. Outside for the men, no women. They sleep together when the women get married, sleep together. The boy and the girl not sleep together. In the house is cool, no windows and not so high, the door is separate, is very small.*

The design and the use of the *lumbung*, which to the outside world symbolises Lombok, are explained in detail. They are considered to contribute significantly to the singularity of the Sasak culture.

(...) I would like to tell you why the girl must put the rice in the barn. According to the village, according to the people who live there, the girl must manage all the farming results, not the men. The men only work yes on the ricefields and the women can manage

all. And in this case they are keeping the rice in the place, stocking rice place. It is for girl not for men. It is according to the people who live here unlucky for men and lucky for girl. It is why and besides that if a man goes inside, so it means that men invite the mice to come, it is according to the people (...) Yes and it has happened in East Lombok. One husband didn't believe his wife to put the rice in the barn and he put it by himself. And then at night a big rat came and eat all the rice, yes eat all the rice. (...) it is a story, but it still lives in the people. Because the people here always believe in forefather. The forefather have told them they always do it like that. That is why the girl has to put in (...) the men until the door and the girl put it inside.

Local guides produce on-sight markers when visiting the village. These on-sight markers contain information found at the site. In *dusun* Sade they are directly connected to the visual elements; to the outward appearance of a “traditional” village. The traditional architecture is considered to be an expression of a distinctive, primitive way of life. The social organisation of the village is also connected to the built environment and is illustrated by an explanation of the layout of the houses and the use of the rice barns. All narratives are, therefore, dominated by statements about Sade’s primitivism which, as a consequence, give the place its standardised, authentic, “typically Sasak” image.

As said earlier, the village guides do most of the guiding work inside the village. They are, however, inspired by the narratives of their fellow-guides and produce less elaborated, less sophisticated standard versions which are strictly limited to the village and its direct vicinity.

7.5.2 A Frozen Image

As the above quotations show, local guides emphasise that *dusun* Sade is representative of local Sasak life on the island. In these tourism representations, local culture is described as static. Local guides confront the tourists with a strongly simplified image of local village life - a frozen image (MacCannell 1984), an image separated from its wider time-spatial context in which aspects of local culture are objectified and the local people are portrayed as exotic tradition-bearers (Linnekin 1997). The standardised image - an image that is suitable to more villages in the area - which is produced by local guides serves as a way to provide what MacCannell (1976) has called a front region. This front region does not so much protect the villagers’ “authentic” private lives, but is, instead, related to the government’s emphasis on the “showcase” elements of local culture. As a representative of the tourism department commented: “What the inhabitants do inside their houses is their business. Our

concern is the architectural style. The appearance of the village has to remain traditional; otherwise the tourists will stay away".

As was revealed in Chapter Four, not every local guide has the same knowledge and understanding of daily life in a Sasak village and there is no standard narrative about daily life that can be reproduced over and over again. The majority, therefore, confines itself to the standard on-sight narratives about the built environment; narratives which reflect the ideas of the provincial government about the mediation of knowledge of local culture; the prevailing notions about the mediation of "traditional" culture. Like travel brochures, local narratives generally leave out information such as the economic hardships, internal conflicts, land tenure problems and also problems caused by tourism. As MacCannell (1976) states, both the front stage of the touristic spectacle and the back stage of the harsh facts of daily life are instances of impression management (see also Leong 1997). Within the images and local narratives, the visual and decorative aspects of Indonesian ethnic cultures - such as dance, music, costumes, handicrafts and architecture - are emphasised, as mentioned earlier in Chapter Two.

(...) this showcase vision does not acknowledge that which forms the core of culture - language, religion, legal systems, economic practices, social organisation, and so on - and that which sustains the sense of identity of the participants in this culture (Picard 1997:197).

These "showcase" aspects of culture are key on-sight markers in the promotion of *dusun* Sade. On Lombok, primitive village life and local architecture in general and the design of the *lumbung* form the primary identity marker.

On the one hand, Sade's on-sight narratives are inexorably influenced by the government's cultural politics, as has been described above. In tourism (re)presentations it is, in other words, allowed to promote a non-peak culture and its ethnic group, but only as long as "traditional" culture is displayed as folklore. To fit neatly into its policy of displaying peak cultures, a non-peak site like *dusun* Sade is, therefore, brought back to one image: the image of a static, traditional village; a "frozen" image. Only then are the images produced in line with the government's ideas of displaying a mix of harmless highlights and only then does a non-peak culture fit into Indonesia's national culture.

This is still not the whole picture. The images which local guides create are also adapted to the assumed expectations of the visitors. As a result, most of the guests approach the village as if they were entering a museum where payment of a donation will allow them to walk around freely. Intruding into a house where people actually live does not seem to bother the average tourist. They are more interested in seeing the “authentic” local person in their “authentic” setting and registering this “primitive” way of life, as they call it, on film or video. Their ideas about “real” Sasak life are closely connected to primitive village life. Their questions reveal an interest in visiting the “oldest”, the most “traditional” and therefore the most “authentic” place in the area. They comment on the absence of traditional Sasak clothes. Although local guides answer that these clothes are no longer worn, except on special occasions, they reassure their guests at the same time with the remark that life in *dusun* Sade has not changed for years. Although many of the local guides come from villages themselves, they have difficulty in understanding what a visit to the village is really about¹². How is it possible to make something into a tourist attraction with which they are so extremely familiar? As a professional guide commented on *dusun* Sade: “There is not much else to see here other than a few old houses. People are born, people die and this has been going on for ages”. The daily life of the inhabitants - their work, family life and religious activities, their rituals and ceremonies - has to be made visible. This is not done by the production of on-sight markers. But, as we will see in the next section, some categories of local guides do integrate the narrative about *dusun* Sade into a broader context. Variations on the “real” standard story of *dusun* Sade are produced outside of the village; during the course of the whole tour.

7.5.3 Off-sight Markers: Interpretations of Daily Sasak Life

By providing interpretations of daily Sasak life, which are needed to take away the strangeness and unexpectedness of a different culture, runs the risks of providing harmful “backstage” information about present-day Sade. This could imply, for

¹² Because of the lack of beautiful temples and palaces, the villages of the Sasak people, in contrast to the Balinese villages, are not considered attractive to foreigners. Cederroth quotes Voogesang’s (1922) negative description dating from the early twenties: “Nowhere in the environment one encounters beautiful building. The Waktu Lima Moslem constructs most awkward mosques, high stone constructions, resembling our factories. The Waktu Telu Sasak usually does not worship his God (or gods) in man-made temples, notwithstanding this fact, they may worship them in mosques. Nothing appeals to the strangers in these extended, huge, grey villages” (quoted in Cederroth 1981:42). See also Wood (1984) about the marketability of the Islam.

instance, that local guides, more specifically for *dusun* Sade, provide information about the move to modern houses, about the agricultural difficulties caused by the drought in this area, about the growing need for the education of youngsters, about the competition for jobs with immigrants from Java and Bali or about the role of the Islam in daily practice.

As described in the previous section, within the village most local guides construct standardised narratives dominated by accepted historical and cultural facts and figures. It does happen that local guides do come up with a more integrated narrative about the "normal" aspects of everyday life, which are not that clearly visible but which contribute strongly to the identity of the present-day Sasak living in these villages.¹³

The different categories of local tourist guides on Lombok are not all equally capable of or willing to provide this "backstage" view. Site-related guides have only a limited amount of time at their disposal in the village. Their meagre language abilities and their limited knowledge of the tourism industry and the background of their clients also conspire to restrict them. The odd-jobbers lean heavily on the village guides when they decide to integrate Sade into their trip. Outside the village, they introduce their guests into their own personal peer group. The context which they offer is not directed at "traditional" Sasak life but at Westernised youth culture in tourism areas. The professional guides are tied to the guidelines of their offices. They are not allowed to drift away from the essentials, which are the correct facts and figures about local life on the island. The narrative about *dusun* Sade is embedded in a very general, cleaned-up discourse about Sasak life. Numbers and facts remain most

¹³ This is done in what are called "interpretation centres". Some interesting examples of providing interpretative portrayals of cultural groups can be found in the work of Wall & Oswald (1990) about the Amish of Lancaster County in the United States. Information centres are set up to answer the questions tourists may have concerning the Amish and Mennonites. Literature, maps and in-house films are available to illustrate their lifestyles. The primary goal is to offer an honest account and to point out that many have lifestyles similar to those of mainstream society in North America. According to the authors, "this kind of information permits the tourists to appreciate, and become more intimate with, the culture of the groups visited without physically penetrating the back region" (Wall & Oswald 1990:28-29). Although the centres are promoted as 'people-to-people' interpretation centres specialised in the story of the Amish, Mennonite, and Hitturite peoples (Wall & Oswald 1990), there is no actual interaction with the locals involved. These centres bear a close resemblance to an interactive museum.

important, for instance: the number of Sasak inhabitants; their main occupation; general remarks about their religion; names of present and former rulers and dates of important events. When professional guides have to associate for a longer period with the same tourists and when, as a consequence, personal questions are asked by their guests, they sometimes integrate their personal experiences into their narratives. But that is an exception to the rule. The network specialists are the only local guides keen to incorporate the visit to Sade into a broader narrative in which they elaborate on certain cultural themes. With these narratives - composed during a whole day trip - they offer interpretations of the sites visited and try to go beyond the standard image. Their reasons for this approach are twofold. Firstly, they make great efforts to bring the cultural themes into line with the interests of their guests, which makes their approach extremely market-oriented. Secondly, they encourage the tourists to take a closer look at the aspects of Sasak life which they think are important and which enhance the tourist's appreciation and understanding of their surroundings. In the next two sections I want to discuss in more detail two of the cultural themes - marriage (and related topics) and religion - that bring the tourists a little closer to several elements that constitute the cultural identity of the Sasak.

Marriage, Divorce and the Caste System

A frequently recurring cultural theme that is brought forward by network specialist is marriage. In Chapter Three a fragment of a narrative about this topic has already been included. The high number of marriages on the island is often related to the, likewise, high number of divorces. One guide said that it would be better to call Lombok the *KACE* Island, from the words *KAwin* and *CErai*, which mean "marriage" and "divorce". Frequent divorces are a source of laughter - almost every guide has a story about someone who has been divorced more than a dozen times. But the high number of marriages and divorces is also ridiculed and condemned. Besides making remarks about Sasak who marry within their own families, outsiders, like an older Javanese guide, state that the Sasak cling to "backward" customs. Sometimes, however, efforts are made to explain the multiple divorces:

Here on Lombok it is easy to divorce. (...) I was reading the newspaper, the Lombok Suara Nusa newspaper, first thing why the local people get divorce is low education and the second one is too young, the responsibility is too big. (...) For Moslem yes, it is possible to get divorce, it is possible. You have to have a reason. I mean (...) woman and the man should have a reason to divorce (...) Like, for example, I like to divorce, you can go to the government because my husband does not take responsibility, does not give me money or

never give our children (...).

As mentioned in the explanation above, many divorces are the result of financial neglect. Network specialists relate this neglect to the frequent migration of Sasak to Malaysia (and other parts of Southeast Asia) in search of work as plantation or construction labourers.¹⁴

Whenever Sasak guides come from noble families, the caste and title system¹⁵ is explained:

In Bali we have caste, but here [Lombok] it is not so clear (...) First ningrat, second perwangsa and the last is jajarkarang, the farmer, the labourer. (...) If the ningrat classification or the perwangsa (...) before his name they have a title. Like for ningrat in Java we will use raden. For example, if I am ningrat, my name will become raden Rizal. If I am perwangsa, the second class, my name will be lalu Rizal. But the last class will become only l', l'Rizal for the boy and for the girl we will call it la'. For the second class the boy will be called lalu and the girl we will call baiq. And then the first one we will call raden for the boy and for the girl denda (...).

and connections are made between marriage and the ranking system:

But what happens now if we marry (...) if the man from ningrat get married with the girl from perwangsa. If they are together, it won't be a problem with the family. But if the girl from ningrat and the man from perwangsa (...) they will never say, you are my daughter again. They will take her out of the family (...) The worst thing, if the man is from the simple family and gets married with the girl from ningrat. Her close family will never turn their face to her again. The family will forget her, although she has a problem, they will never care about that" (...) If the girl from ningrat and the man from perwangsa, the girl will not get the heritage, the warisan, you know, nothing, she will get nothing (...).

¹⁴ From East Lombok alone as many as 25,000 men work in Malaysia (Volkskrant 10-10-1996). This kind of labour is not always legally organised (McVey 1995) and draws attention to the poor economic situation on the island.

¹⁵ Cederroth described the title system and distinguishes two major types of titles: *perwangsa* for the nobility and *jajarkarang* for the common people. He also adds that there are numerous minor differences in this title system depending on the area, indeed, sometimes a title is only valid for a single village (1981).

Although the caste system is no longer of great importance on the island¹⁶, network specialists stress that, even today, it may be very dangerous to break the rules of *adat* by trying to marry someone of another rank. Noble families still stick to their marriage and inheritance rules.¹⁷

Islam in Daily Life

Especially guides who originally come from Lombok focus on religion. The South Lombok tour in Chapter Three already revealed the importance of Islam on the island, showing that at least some general remarks about the Wetu Telu are part of the standard narrative. Cederroth (1981) states that centuries of colonisation have led many Sasak to a search for a common ethnic identity. This is a search for something which sets them off as a group in relation to former oppressors - the (Hindu) Balinese and the (Christian) Dutchmen - and to current outsiders - the (syncretist) Javanese who occupy most of the higher administrative posts on the island. Orthodox Islam offers the Sasak a set of beliefs which constitutes the framework for a common Sasak identity. Although the stricter Muslims will certainly show less tolerance towards the Sasak who refuse to adapt to the orthodox rules of Islam¹⁸, the Wetu Telu, with its mixture of Muslim, Hindu and animistic characteristics, could still become a tourist attraction.¹⁹

¹⁶ McVey (1995) states that, although villages and neighbourhoods are still run by noble families, people go to the religious leaders for support. Furthermore, there are not many opportunities for the younger members of the Sasak elite to gain good positions in the administrative and service sector on the island, as these are mostly occupied by Javanese.

¹⁷ See Cederroth (1981) for a detailed description of the ranking system and Sasak marriages.

¹⁸ If we look more closely at how the Wetu Telu system is explained to the tourists, it seems that these narratives communicate the voices of those strict Muslims who are inclined to claim that Wetu Telu followers are not regarded as real Muslims. Cederroth (1981) argues, however, that "on the surface Sasak society seems extremely orthodox, but that a large part of the Sasak community preserves many habits and ways of thinking which are embedded in the traditional syncretist society from which they emerged" (89-91). Like Cederroth, McVey (1995) states that the Wetu Telu and the Wetu Lima share more than they are willing to admit. She explains that the Wetu Lima-Wetu Telu tension is replaced by "two new poles of religious orientation: a national-modernist and local-conservative orientation" (1995:323). Preserving old values in the wake of a Westernised modernity seems very important to many religious conservatives. This has made it possible for the Wetu Telu to become part of the history of Islam on the island, part of what McVey calls "the wetu lima genealogy" (1995:324) and thereby also part of the tourist attraction system.

¹⁹ The Lingsar temple is part of the city tour. Here Hindus and Wetu Telu followers both have a place of worship and the temple is also famous for its annual *perang ketupat* ceremony. The

With obligatory remarks about Lombok as the island of a thousand mosques - often in comparison with Bali as the island of a thousand temples - or general comments about the Wetu Telu as being Muslims-three-times, the majority of the local guides only scratch the surface of what religion means in the lives of many of the Sasak. By incorporating their personal biography²⁰ into the narratives, however, some network specialists succeed in offering a dynamic image of local culture from within. They address the importance of Islam in their own and their family's life and explain the context in which this religion became so important. Or, in the case of Balinese guides, they compare Islam with their own Hindu religion. They elaborate on topics such as the importance and influence of the *tuan guru*, the system of Islamic schools and the preparations which have to be made before praying and how they arrange their prayers when they have foreign guests. Besides providing purely factual information, they feel like setting right some of the prejudices about Muslims, which mainly come from outsiders:

(...) Sometimes we [local guides] can speak very well English yes and we know a lot of things, but sometimes it is not true. Like if it is true only in the older days. Now the men, Muslim people, can have five wives or seven wives. Someone can have five or seven wives. A lot of people say like that. The Muslim do not like it because we have to know why in older days and not now. And even now who has two or three wives? Not everyone. If they say Muslim people have five wives, I do not like it, I am angry. Because sometimes the Balinese people are guides and they say like that. They do not know when, who, why. You have to know before you talk about someone has five wives (...)

They also do not hesitate to bring forward their own problems arising from their religious life, such as the difficulties Muslims face when they want to work in the tourism industry. These difficulties have to do with the acceptance of their work or with the search for a combination of work with the fulfilment of religious obligations²¹.

North Lombok tour includes the oldest known Wetu Telu mosque on the island and the traditional village of Bayan, still home of many Wetu Telu followers.

²⁰ Whenever local guides are not able to supply, or simply do not know, the historical facts, architectural comments and cultural pieces of information which are part of the standard narratives, incorporating a personal biography can also be a strategy to camouflage their lack of knowledge.

²¹ This problem is even more noticeable on Bali (Picard 1996), where the large number of religious obligations puts a heavy burden on, those women especially who have a full-time job outside of their homes (Dahles & Bras 1999).

The more negative sides of following the rules of Islam too seriously are also mentioned. One of the five pillars of the Islamic religion is the pilgrimage to Mecca. Lombok has an extraordinarily large number of pilgrims every year.²² Of course, the fact that more people are able to make the expensive trip to Mecca is directly related to the island's increasing prosperity. However, there are also examples of locals who are willing to ruin themselves economically in order to gain the respect related to becoming a *haji* (McVey 1995). Network specialists tend to stress that the obligation to go on the Mecca pilgrimage is, among other matters, linked to economic ability:

(...) Even if you don't have time to go to Mecca, you can do it every day, every night if you want to do that. But it is not the very complete one. (...) Going to Mecca is important. But you have to have enough time, enough budget and enough power to go there. (...) Actually the Koran says you have to do it on the following conditions: enough budget, enough time, enough power. (...) If Pak S., for example, has enough time, but not enough money, he does not have to go (...).

It appears that some categories of local guides compose an integrated narrative as described above. They make use of what are called off-sight markers or transit markers (Leiper 1990); information found on the route of an itinerary path. This information complements the on-sight markers produced in *dusun Sade* or other villages along the way. The context which is offered in the course of the whole trip leads to a more dynamic view on life in Sasak villages in general, and the life of the inhabitants of *dusun Sade* in particular.

7.6 Conclusions

“National and regional authorities usually ‘commoditise’ and market local culture without consulting the inhabitants” (Boissevain 1996:7). That this may lead to tensions between the tourists and the inhabitants is shown by the case of *dusun Sade*. The boycott, which has just been described, is a logical consequence of how such a non-peak daily life attraction is portrayed. The tourist attractions are themselves “cultural productions of our time” (Cohen 1995:20), which sometimes reflect a gap

²² Over the last few years there has been a large increase in the number of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1970, 368 people from Lombok participated, in 1982, 985, in 1991, 2,265, in 1995, 2,582 and in 1996, as many as 2,701 (Lübben 1995, Biro Pusat Statistik 1996a, Biro Pusat Statistik 1997).

between the image of native people in the destinations advertised and promoted and the reality in which they actually live (Cohen 1995)²³. It is assumed that the majority of the tourists is still looking for authentic, primitive lifestyles. The provincial government anticipated these assumed tourist expectations by designating *dusun* Sade a heritage site and as the primary marker in the promotion of the local Sasak culture. The arrival of tourists has encouraged the locals to rethink their own lives and to adjust their activities, their livelihood to the curiosity and demands of tourists. The outward appearance of the village and the prevailing narratives point to efforts to maintain a static, simplified image of local culture. The provincial government in cooperation with the *HPI* exerts a strong influence on the contents of the narratives, which leads to standardisation and the supply of a controlled and accepted image of local culture. Narratives about contemporary, everyday life interspersed with personal biographies and differences between several of the regions on Lombok are left out of the image making. A personal or interpretative approach is strongly discouraged and judged incorrect, incomplete and biased. Whenever the static image of "backward" and primitive does not correspond to the way local people consider their own lives, as some of the responses of the villagers to the arrival of tourism show, a tourist site can lose its attractiveness. The provincial government of NTB does not really seem to care. Some initial attempts to develop a long-term vision of how to organise tourism in this particular village did not have any follow-up. Also, because it does not seem matter where the tourists go. *Dusun* Sade has become an "imagined village"; its villagers "imagined inhabitants" and its "real" story can be told in every village in the area. If the local guides persevere in their boycott, Sade's fame can easily be transferred to other villages that will serve as its synonym.

Instead of going ahead with the boycott, there are other ways by which local guides could regulate the portrayal of local life. One of them is by producing a narrative that has strong connections with the locals' perception of their own environment. As we have seen, only one category of local guides - the network specialists - attempts to produce such an interpretative narrative. By distinguishing on-sight and off-sight markers, they contribute to what they think constitutes the Sasak identity. Their

²³ Adams (1988) states for the Toraja: "Torajan touristic celebrity, then, brings with it a variety of costs and benefits. On the one hand, it represents a new source of income, not to mention the opportunity to gain favorable attention and grants from the government. On the other hand, it has a tendency to enhance their stereotype image as a primitive and backwards people" (17).

efforts to reveal a larger truth behind the facts and figures supplies us with a more dynamic view of local culture. Despite their efforts, interpretative narratives about the village itself are seldom told. Here, the traditional architecture still forms the front stage of the touristic spectacle.

Regional tourism policy leans heavily on the national state ideology “Unity in Diversity” which implies an emphasis on national culture. At the same time, the great variety of local cultures in Indonesia is precisely what attracts most of the tourists. By presenting a local culture as one static icon - as is the case with Lombok’s *lumbung* and thereby the Sasak villages - without focusing on the underlying processes of change and diversity, the local culture is reduced to one image. A process of social and cultural codification limits the diversity (Guinness 1994). The result of this is that culture becomes a “measurable, quantifiable entity” (Adams 1988:18); what Adams calls the “objectification of culture” (1988:18). Rather than being neutral reproductions, the tourist attractions and their narratives reflect the commercial interests of the tourism industry but, in this case, even more betray the cultural politics of the national government. Provincial and national government officials decided how to shape this attraction *dusun* Sade without consulting the local population. Its standardised “showcase” design and narrative strongly supports Indonesia’s efforts to create a national culture. Rather than being a creative effort to countervail against the dominance of peak-cultures and to underline Indonesia’s ethnic diversity, Sade has become a symbol of integration into Indonesia’s national culture.

CHAPTER EIGHT- General Conclusions: The Guiding Scene Revisited

8.1 Introduction

Analysing Lombok as an island competing to gain a place on the world tourist map illustrates interrelated processes of globalisation and localisation. The growing interest of mainly foreign tourists - a new audience - has stimulated the awareness of and debate about local and regional identity issues. In a globalising world, ethnic and cultural differentiation are bound to increase rather than decrease. A diversified group of actors - foreign tour companies, travel writers, the local population, informal local leaders, policy makers (local, provincial and national), tour operators, tourists, local tourist guides - play their role in the determination of Lombok's attraction system and as a consequence in the construction of its cultural or ethnic identity; an identity which is dynamic and constantly in the process of (re)inventing itself. How this identity is (re)formulated, (re)invented, (re)defined or (re)shaped depends on the actors involved, their position in the tourism industry and the means and resources which they exert to manifest themselves within this domain.

In this last chapter I shall reflect on the central question of this thesis, which was:

What are the effects of the global transnational process called tourism on the strategies and (re)presentations of local tourist guides on the island of Lombok in Indonesia? Which position do local tourist guides occupy in the attraction system of the island and in which way do they contribute to the authentication of local and regional culture?

One way to do this is by looking again at the different levels - local, provincial, national - at which Lombok is formed into a tourist attraction. At the local level, we have to turn to the position of the different categories of tourist guides and to their role in the process of authentication. Their activities are inseparable from the broader processes - provincial, national - that have conditioned local place identity. Lombok's comparison with Bali is omnipresent in the provincial government's policy of (re)presenting the island. An ever increasing national and international audience has required a (re)definition of Lombok's identity.

I would like to take this opportunity to make some concluding remarks about the effects of Indonesia's recent process of *reformasi* - the political changes leading towards a genuine process of democracy in combination with *krismon* (monetary crisis) - on the tourism development of Lombok. What are the consequences for tourism in general and for the four categories of local guides who formed the centre of this study? Finally, I shall introduce some future research themes.

8.2 The Tourist Guides of Lombok

By providing an insight into the guiding scene of Lombok it became patently obvious that an analysis of the guides as one homogeneous group would not add to but even detract from a greater understanding of their role in the attraction system of the island. A clear stratification along ethnic lines does not determine local guides' working relations¹. What is generally agreed on is that the Sasak (and other people from the eastern islands) have less experience in working in tourism than their Balinese or Javanese neighbours. At the time of the research there was still plenty of work for local tourist guides. Of course, this situation will change with the arrival of migrants from other provinces, who pin their hopes on obtaining an income in tourism. To a certain extent the situation has already changed because of the political and economic crisis that has hit the country since the mid-1997. A decreasing number of tourists means less work, more job seekers and, as a consequence, more competition. One possible result could be that the Sasak become less tolerant towards "outsiders" - members of other ethnic groups - working in tourism. A positive outcome could be that the Sasak, in order to appropriate the sector, unfold more initiatives. Consequently the reluctance of many Muslim people towards tourism development could fuel a more negative attitude with regard to the whole sector. Certainly when mainly "outsiders" (Balinese, Javanese, and Chinese) occupy the better positions in the industry.

The entrance of Lombok into the tourism arena certainly stirred up discussions about the islands' ethnic identity. In what local guides tell and the kind of attitude they adopt towards their clients' ethnicity does play a role. Being confronted with foreigners with totally different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, it becomes important to emphasise their own identity and frames of reference. They are forced

¹ Which is, for instance, the case for Yogyakarta's street guides (Dahles 1996a).

to explain to which group they belong and what it means to be a Sasak, a Balinese or a Javanese immigrant. Mostly at the individual level, local guides watch over their religious or ethnic boundaries. Especially when others - tourists or colleagues - try to cross these boundaries. Whenever there is an opportunity, local guides certainly use their ethnic background strategically. Boundaries then become elastic and efforts are made to connect their "presentation of self" to the expected earnings.

Grasping ethnic stratification as point of departure in the analysis of Lombok's guiding scene is not the right approach. Nor does the provincial government's dichotomy between licensed and unlicensed guides provide much insight into this social practice. The focus on licences is merely a policy through which the provincial government hopes to get a grip on one specific group of actors in tourism. This is a vain hope as this approach has proved to be ineffectual, because there is no specific attention paid to the underlying strategies and sources of capital which local tourist guides tend to exert. The result is that unlicensed guides are branded as unprofessional and that some local guides are even stigmatised as the major source of annoyance upsetting host-guest relations. In order to get a good insight into the way local tourist guides operate it is important to focus on local guides' own perception of their activities. The availability or absence of a license has no bearing which aspects of the job are emphasised and which elements of local culture are brought forward. It depends instead on the effectiveness of local guides' networks, their positions within the tourism industry and their ties with the local community. Extensive fieldwork among the local tourist guides of Lombok revealed a formal-informal continuum, which includes four categories of local guides: professional guides, site-related guides, odd-jobbers and network specialists.

Mediation is an essential element in what they all do, but the majority does not act as mediator out of a sense of the responsibility to satisfy all parties involved. Although emphasised in much of literature about guiding, their goal is not necessarily becoming a bridge actor defined as someone who flattens cultural differences and gets rid of other obstacles which occur wherever tourism enters new domains. In order to understand their strategies, it proved useful to look at local tourist guides as being small entrepreneurs who, not always equally successfully, sell their services to a varied group of visitors. Carrying off the palm in attracting clients are the network specialists. By being flexible, with the product they offer as well as towards their clients, they succeed in establishing fruitful working relations in the tourism sector

on the island. Restrained by the rules and regulations of their offices and therefore less flexible, professional guides have limited opportunities to undertake other guiding-related jobs. Taking risks and undertaking side-activities do not correspond to the professional status which they are supposed to have within the industry. Site-related guides work in the shadow of their office colleagues and are restricted to work at one specific site only. They hardly have any opportunity to develop their entrepreneurial skills, but rather have to be satisfied with the work that others are not willing to perform. Having a really independent position and not being bothered by office policies does not always guarantee a good position. This was shown by the activities of the odd-jobbers, who also work in the margins of the industry and are not able to establish a large and diversified enough network to stand them in really good stead. Although some of them are quite entrepreneurial, they do not succeed spectacularly in tourism, mostly because they lack the necessary ties with the local community and are first and foremost directed towards tourists and imitating Western lifestyles.

None of the local guides considers the transfer of information and meaning easy. Quite often they betray their doubts about how to catch their visitors' interest. Success lies in finding a balance between local knowledge and knowledge about Western consumption patterns. The odd-jobbers, as said earlier, are too wrapped up in Western life-styles to be able to find this balance. The professional and site-related guides lean heavily on formalised local knowledge and formalised "working" relations with their clients. The process of composing narrative takes shape throughout the whole of the day trips, and not solely at the site. As well as the site-related guides, all local guides have plenty of opportunities to contextualize tour locations. Professional guides are, however, too preoccupied with the smooth operation of the tour to worry about the contents of the narratives. Providing a broader context and an interpretation of the sites visited is of secondary importance. Only the network specialists are able to empathise with both ends of the scale. Their strategic position and entrepreneurial attitude are not the only reasons for success. They represent the transition from the pathfinder to the mentor as described by Cohen (1985), and moreover, they also seem to be capable of acquiring the art of interpretation. They are, in a more or less elaborate way, able to make the shift from mere communication of facts and figures towards interpretation of sites and objects and offer standardised tours flavoured with a personal touch and interpretations of local culture. By managing to carry out some of the principles of interpretation, network specialists

succeed in highlighting those aspects that constitute local culture. Instead of focusing solely on the facts and figures, or, in the case of *dusun* Sade, on the showcase elements of local culture, they supply their clients with a broader context; with the story behind these fact and figures. A combination of off-sight (or detached) and on-sight markers are used to grab the visitors' attention, to fulfil their expectations and to give the place its meaning.

The cases of Narmada and *dusun* Sade make us aware how difficult it is to display intangible elements of local culture like daily life, kinship structures, religious practices and local traditions. The easiest solution - for governments, tour operators and guides - is to display local culture as static, traditional, as "memories" of the past, like the romantic, "place of the past" (re)presentation of Narmada's summer palace and the "original" and "authentic" houses and "past" lifestyles in *dusun* Sade. Because of this tendency towards the development of past-related markers, the actors involved ignore their obligation to portray the flexibility and adaptability of culture. When only the sites are concentrated on, it inexorably emerges that tourists are confronted with the frontstage of the spectacle and not the view behind the scene. Only in the margin, do local guides make efforts to authenticate sites, objects and events. With the analysis of Narmada I showed how it is not only through the narrative that sites and events are authenticated, but also through the way information is transferred. Using several authentication devices, like keying, communicative staging and granting or denying access to backstages, tourist guides create a sense of authenticity. To a certain extent all guides use these techniques, but the network specialists are the most capable of combining all ingredients. They demonstrate most clearly the careful process of negotiation by which tourist attractions are constructed. Their interpretative approach catches the tourists' attention. On the one hand, these guides integrate their own personal experiences into the narratives and on the other hand they emphasise recognisable aspects of local culture, open up backstages and connect what they show and tell to the personal experiences of their clients. Tourists are motivated to ask questions, to compare what they see (hear, smell, feel and taste) with their own daily lives and to search for meaning by themselves. Apart from these contributions, most tourists have to put up with the interchangeable, "facts and figures" narratives composed at the site.

The negotiation of authenticity at *dusun* Sade is a different matter. This non-peak, "authentic" Sasak site is primarily portrayed as a frozen image of primitive life. Its

outward appearance - houses and ricebarns - has to teach the average tourist something about Sasak culture. The life of real people is reduced to a museum kind of display with locals acting a life of the past. Although this village is presented as being unique, local guides disconnect their narratives from the site whenever they feel like passing by the “tourist trap” of Sade. The same narrative can be composed at every village in the neighbourhood. It is not that local guides replace *dusun* Sade by a, maybe, less authentic substitute. Other villages are said to be *dusun* Sade. Sade has become an imaginary village. Although a real *dusun* Sade exists, its story can be told everywhere. Office policies, protecting clients, and avoiding the harassment of the villagers all contribute to the process of authentication in Sade's neighbouring villages. Seldom, and only outside, these villages are efforts made - predominantly by the network specialists - to explain what present-day Sasak life is all about.

8.3 The *Lumbungisation* of Sasak Culture: Provincial and National Tourism Policy

At a provincial level ethnicity has played and is still playing a dominant role in the (re)presentation of the island. Although there is no overt ethnic rivalry in this area, the constant dominance of Bali in the past and the poorer economic position of the Sasak at present has led to a growing need for the indigenous population to propagate its own regional or ethnic identity. Tourism is considered an effective tool by which to accomplish this. The unremitting comparison with Bali was the point of departure for Lombok in promoting the island when Lombok entered the tourism market around fifteen years ago. Competing with a so-called “peak” culture - the Balinese - proved to be the wrong strategy. Bali was already very well established on the tourism map and has the inestimable advantage of being regarded as a good representation of the national Indonesian culture. The comparison did not do justice to the individual character of the Sasak. A bigger emphasis on local Sasak culture guided by a regional marker - the *lumbung* - was adopted as the new strategy. The result was that aspects of the Sasak “non-peak” culture - *dusun* Sade's daily life - assumed a central position in the promotion of the island, taking a place alongside the already existing Balinese “peak” culture attractions like Narmada's court culture.

In the (re)presentation of Sasak “non-peak” culture, provincial policy makers and tourism officials have followed Indonesia's national tourism policy by constructing a “cleaned-up” and neutral image. Showing the “traditional” way of life of the Sasak to

foreign tourists is not consonant with the country's efforts to modernise. "Traditional" culture is put on the same footing as underdevelopment, backwardness and resistance to change. Promoting traditional elements does not fit in with this pursuit of modernisation. How and what to portray is, therefore, subjected to a clear government policy. The rub is that traditional culture and the daily life of ethnic groups have to be included in Indonesia's tourism products because they are known to attract foreign tourists. The conflict arises from the fact that life in a Sasak village as an equivalent to life in previous times and is seen as an asset as well as a threat to general ideas about Indonesia's national culture. Focusing on the showcase elements of daily Sasak life (mainly on its architecture) instead of revealing (what anthropologists define as) the whole culture solves this dilemma². This folklorisation of culture can be called the "*lumbungisation*" of Sasak culture.

Through this manifest form of "impression management", the aim of the government is to include harmless, static images of ethnicity in its tourism promotion. What we are supposed to see as tourists is a quick, frontstage-look at unchanged, harmonious village life in beautiful surroundings. What we do not get any hint of is the background of economic hardship, let alone of the dissatisfaction among the villagers about their participation in tourism. As soon as the latter becomes too manifest and tourists are harassed, a new location which will serve the same purpose is sought. Part of this frontstage approach is embedded in the national government's Tourism Consciousness Campaigns. The proclamation of its *sapta pesona* (security, orderliness, friendliness, beauty, comfort, cleanliness, and memories) certainly contributes to the creation of a harmonious, cleaned-up identity. The role assigned to tourist guides by the government is well-defined. They are supposed to act, first and foremost as ambassadors of their country or region by providing their visitors with a positive, static and frontstage (re)presentation of local/regional culture. In Chapter Five discussing education for guides I elaborated on the fact that government courses do not aim at a deepening of understanding of local or regional culture. Whenever future local guides learn the facts and figures by heart and succeed in communicating this knowledge in a compelling way, they can complete these courses successfully and

² A preference for showcase elements of court, or peak-cultures becomes as plain as daylight after visiting *Taman Mini*. As Hitchcock (1998) describes, the portrayal of West Nusa Tenggara in this leisure park is biased towards Sumbawa with the replica of the palace of Sumbawa Besar as centrepiece. The modest houses of Lombok - as a tourist destination much more developed than Sumbawa - are included in the exhibition, but are only paid limited attention.

begin a career as a licensed tourist guide.

The solution to the dilemma described earlier supports the government policy of impression management. Sasak culture is designed as a carefully manufactured image of cultural diversity. No efforts are made to develop the singularity of the place. Instead the image-making is an example of integration in Indonesia's policy of national unity; a bowdlerisation of a genuine culture.

In spite of all efforts, Lombok did not succeed in shaking off the yoke of Bali's popularity. Lombok's opportunities to distinguish itself from Bali especially are not used optimally. Its uniqueness is not regarded as the proper way to promote Lombok. This uniqueness is turned into an interchangeable, static, ready-made attraction. The invidious comparison with Bali is that Lombok is less expensive, less crowded, less commercialised, and less spoiled and this is what has to be writ large on the tourist map. Another way of highlighting the island's uniqueness could very well have a positive effect on obtaining its own desperately needed individual identity.

The effects of this policy permeate the guiding sector and the governmental tourism curricula. As described in Chapter Five, the provincial tourism education policy very clearly reflects national ideas of promoting "non-peak" cultures. The motto is standardisation, control and the formulation of the "true" story of Lombok. Content matters only to a certain extent. As stated, univocal images rule.

Local culture and the local population are only important as ingredients in the narratives. In the government courses much more attention is paid to the form in which these narratives are communicated to tourists. Customer relations constitute the core of every government course on guiding. My analysis of several of these courses showed that customer satisfaction reached by developing the right attitude towards clients is very highly valued; not only in the government courses, but also in the internal education trainings of the larger travel agencies. Customer satisfaction is translated into maintaining a formal, professional distance and a servile attitude, juxtaposed with certain awareness of the guests' wishes and desires. In the courses this awareness is, however, mainly connected to the development of stereotypes. A visitor's nationality combined with their choice of accommodation determines how he or she will be treated. In other words, tourists are put in categories. The main purpose of using these stereotypes is that they create and maintain boundaries. They

enable actors in tourism to keep the tourists fairly and squarely in the category of outsiders. The result is a host-guest relationship characterised by two groups who - based on poor, stereotyped information - fantasise about each other.

Besides minor differences in treatment stemming from a visitor's national background, the government courses are geared to teach standardised ways of dealing with clients. Clearly defined rules of conduct have to produce a "model" host. Looking at the four categories of local tourist guides shows quite plainly that they do not all fit into this role. The odd-jobbers do not have the required appearance and attitude. Their lifestyle is too unconventional and they are not motivated to follow the rules and regulations of travel agencies. Odd-jobbers are associated with improper lifestyles. Whether or not they have local knowledge is not important. Odd-jobbers are, before the fact, excluded from any government training, and, preferably, also kept out of the tourism sector as much as possible. Government officials and travel agents claim their guiding style causes many of the problems which mark tourism development. Issuing licenses is the provincial government's most important tool in channelling guiding work. Only a shortage in manpower can create opportunities for guides other than the "model" hosts. In these situations network specialists, more flexible in adapting to government rules and regulations, get the opportunities.

The government education policy is predominantly directed towards obtaining control by standardising all information and by excluding all actors who do not fit into its scheme of work. Under this policy no attention is paid to diversity in hosts (guides) or guests. We recognise in this educational approach the governmental preference for "quality" tourism. The higher-spending resort visitors are catered to, all the other segments of the market - individual travelling Western tourists and backpackers, special interest tourists, and the growing leisure-seekers of Asia - are more or less neglected. Local guides who focus on these market segments are excluded from education, or the educational programmes do not fit their needs. Both the eco-tourism course and the boycott in *dusun* Sade illustrated that training only in customer services does not prepare local guides for host-related issues.

The government policy is also a short-term one. "Quality" tourism implies standardisation and an easily interchangeable product. At the time of the research Lombok was on the way up as a tourist destination. Besides political stability and safety (discussed in the next section), the attractiveness of the destination also depends

on the way it can distinguish itself from others in the area. Earlier the conclusion that attempts to distinguish Lombok from other destinations were not successful has already been drawn. With some slight adaptations, Lombok's narrative can be disconnected from the location and be told at any other comparable island in the archipelago. This leads inexorably to the question whether this interchangeability of images was intended in government policy? Rather than creating images that refer only to existing and accepted other images, "the battle for the tourist" demands new tourists destinations which are allowed to find their own path through modernity by focusing on their singularity.

8.4 Tourism and the Process of *Reformasi*: A Temporary Set Back?

The end of the *Orde Baru* period, triggered off by the monetary crisis which started in 1997, and the subsequent fall of President Suharto in May 1998, marked the beginning of a deep crisis in tourism. The present Director General of Tourism, I Gde Ardika, stated that foreign tourist arrivals in 1998 dropped by 20 per cent from their 1997 level to around 3.8 million visitors, well below the government's target of 4.8 million (Jakarta Post 1999)³. The decline is, of course, attributed to the political and security uncertainty in the country. Ardika expects foreign arrivals in 1999 and the year 2000 to reach the same level as in 1998 (Jakarta Post 1999). This number is considerably lower than the estimated 6.5 million foreign tourists who were expected in an earlier stage for the year 2000 (Dahles & Bras 1999). The medium-range and long-term prospects of tourism in the archipelago are, however, fairly positive. In an interview on national television in July 1999, the former minister of Tourism, Art & Culture, Marzuki Usman, said he could foresee a growth of tourism of 400 per cent in 2009. He forecasts that 24 million visitors will visit Indonesia at that time; a highly unlikely prognosis.

West Nusa Tenggara did not escape unscathed from this turbulent period in Indonesia's history. Here the consequences have led to a sharp decline in tourist arrivals. Official figures indicate that in 1998 West Nusa Tenggara still received 174,769 foreign visitors⁴, much less than the expected 309,000 (see Chapter Three)

³ In 1994 and 1995 Indonesia received respectively 3,731,000 and 4,030,000 visitors (Biro Pusat Statistik 1995, 1996b).

⁴ These figures are based on preliminary data received from Diparda in January 1999. The months November and December were not yet incorporated into the final count of foreign

and 145,916 domestic visitors. The clashes, which erupted in several areas in Lombok in January of this year certainly dragged down the recovery process of the island's tourism. The clashes began after 5,000 people gathered to protest about the ongoing violence in the Moluccan Islands. The demonstration developed into a religiously charged riot. Besides a dozen houses, at least ten churches were either torched or damaged. The violence spread to Lombok's major tourism resort. In Senggigi participants in the demonstration damaged two restaurants, two discotheques and an art gallery. Of the 300 tourists present at that time, the majority was evacuated immediately (www.thejakartapost.com January 20, 2000). Some sources stated that the clashes also fuelled the growing irritation about the development of tourism (Volkskrant, 24-12-2000). Senggigi's nightlife especially has been a thorn in the flesh of the orthodox Muslim community. Several foreign governments (including the Dutch government) issued travel warnings about or bans on visiting Lombok to their citizens. The unrest has driven over 3,000 residents of Chinese and Balinese descent and foreign tourists from the island, most of them to the neighbouring island of Bali. At least five people were killed during the four days of violence (www.thejakartapost.com January 20, 2000).

It is difficult to forecast the consequences of this set-back in tourist arrivals. One major reason is because it is unclear whether or not the clashes on Lombok were isolated incidents or the beginning of a longer period of unrest. It is hard to search for a positive implication in these recent riots, but it might be possible to claim that at least Lombok's position, as a tourist destination, on the tourist map has been indelibly marked. The island has received its fair share of attention. In the Dutch media, Lombok was constantly called the "Holiday Island". Lombok is recognised as a mature, independent tourism destination. The island was treated as a destination in its own right, important enough for many foreign governments to issue travel advice about Lombok alone. This is cold comfort at the moment as the short-term negative consequences are more directly noticeable. Although the decline in value of the *rupiah* has led to extremely cheap holidays for foreign tourists, uncertainty and fear of violence will prompt potential tourists to make alternative plans. Lombok's hard-won position on the tourism market is staggering to keep its balance. The sight of empty or near empty newly built hotels tempers the euphoric mood about the

as well as domestic tourists (Dinas Pariwisata Prop. DATI I NTB 1999). A representative of Diparda stated, however, that these last months would not make such a big difference when looking at how slow business was in the industry.

province's early years of growth. This decline affects the island's overall economic prospect. Fewer tourists implies less work. What does this mean for local tourist guides? Is this whole occupational group equally disadvantaged? When local tour operators see their income run dry because of the low occupancy rates, they will not be able to employ as many local guides as before. Short-term consequences are then, of course, that the battle for the remaining tourists thickens. The high inflation also has a strong effect on the salaries in the tourism industry. With similar salaries to those before the crisis (paid in *rupiah*) local guides' purchasing power, as of any other worker in tourism, has strongly declined. Selling tours and other services in dollars instead of the local currency is more than ever necessary to obtain an adequate income. Professional guides are mostly dependent on low, fixed salaries (in *rupiah*) supplemented by a tip or commission. They are not in a position to bargain directly with tourists for better, higher prices paid in dollars. The site-related guides also run the risks of losing the majority of their clients. The shortage of tourists will cause their colleagues, even more as usual, to miss them out. In view of the applied strategies in their work, probably the most entrepreneurial oriented guides - the network specialists - will survive best. They are able to apply their entrepreneurial skills to a wider range of activities. They are, in other words, used not putting all their eggs in one basket.

The *reformasi* seems to have influenced the national tourism policy as well. As the Director General of Tourism, I Gde Ardika, stated at a conference in Bandung⁵ this year, the national policy "Unity in Diversity" will no longer forbid the promotion and marketing the ethnic individual character of an island or region being exposed overtly in tourism. By decentralising its policy, the national government is intent on generating more initiatives from the different regions, according to Ardika. From this year onwards each region will receive its own budget for promotion and marketing. This will certainly create new opportunities for "non-peak" cultures to (re)present themselves to foreign and domestic tourists. Although we shall have to wait and see whether and how this change of policy is implemented, the question of what this will mean for Lombok's future as a tourist destination can already be raised?

⁵ The Director General of Tourism, I Gde Ardika, was one of the keynote speakers at the ATLAS Asia inauguration conference *Entrepreneurship and Education in Tourism*, July 1999 in Bandung, Indonesia.

It is very much on the cards that Lombok will choose its own path, independently of its enduring but suffocating example Bali. This new route will raise a positive ethnic awareness, and encourage the Sasak to bring forward their own identity, to (re)invent their history, to (re)formulate their culture and to (re)define their position within the Indonesian State. As a result, tourists will no longer be patronised by governmental ruled and regulated narratives inextricably linked to its “Unity in Diversity” policy. Instead of one “true” story, more “true” stories about Lombok and its Sasak inhabitants will be narrated; the contents of each version depending on the aim and interest of its narrator. The “network specialists”, intentionally or unintentional, have already anticipated this Indonesian “*reformasi*” of attraction formation with their interpretative narratives and flexible attitude towards new trends in tourism. This group with its entrepreneurial approach deserves more attention in new, still to be formulated tourism policies. A prerequisite to finding its own path in tourism is first of all a much bigger emphasis on education. Secondly, and even more importantly, the approach towards education, in this case for the local tourist guides, has to change. The “art of interpretation” has to become part of the tourism curricula, which will lead to contributions characterised by a “sense” of place.

Another not unlikely scenario is that, although decentralisation will take place, the general lack of expertise in tourism and in Sasak culture at a provincial level will keep the present standardisation policy alive. A short-term policy concentrated on developing accommodation and further infrastructure has to make room for a longer-term policy in which the content of the tourist product is reconsidered and/or (re)invented. With reference to attraction management - for *dusun* Sade for instance - this requires a focus on not just maintaining a certain site, but also on its representation to a varied audience of visitors.

8.5 Final Remarks

Tourism is about creating places and identities for foreign and domestic consumers. It is a global phenomenon, which can have an enormous impact on local communities. By providing insight into local manifestations of and reactions to tourism development on Lombok - a destination, which only recently entered the tourism market - I have aimed to show that globalisation and localisation are interrelated processes, which reinforce each other. In contrast to the homogenisation thesis, this framework leaves room for the fact that local actors involved do not respond

passively to tourism. Instead they are active players in shaping this new destination; players who contest the use of sites, images and capital. By concentrating on local tourist guides my intention was to reveal how these actors - who are rather neglected in tourism studies - operate and how they communicate local knowledge to a global audience. Of course, they do not operate in a vacuum. On the one hand, local guides serve their own goals. These goals are not necessarily the same for the whole occupational group. As this research shows this group cannot be seen as homogeneous. On the other hand, local guides are restricted by the guidelines created by their employers, the guiding-related organisations and the different levels of the government. Tourism has caused a greater awareness of the Sasak's own cultural or ethnic features; a greater sense of place. The construction of a typical identity, in the case of Lombok mostly in comparison with Bali, is essential in a highly competitive tourism industry. The use of local identity is a crucial asset in attracting tourists. This rethinking of culture results in carefully created images by which the island and its inhabitants are portrayed to the outside world. The images adduced are the outcome of a dialogue but also competition between the different actors involved. By closely following the activities of local tourist guides, my goal was to reveal their role in this process. They are creative agents in portraying their own culture, but clearly within the limits of a general tourism policy. What is revealed in this thesis is a "battle" for the tourist, fought over by a varied of actors all with their own interests. Local identity is an essential weapon in this "battle".

The cleaned-up, dominant image created by the provincial government tells us more about how traditional culture is generally looked upon in the Indonesian context. Although the promotion of traditional culture does not match the government's urge to pursue modernisation, it has a role in serving the alleged tourists' "quest" for authenticity. The outcome is that culture is defined as being static, unchangeable, as belonging to a "past" world. Guides do not necessarily compete with this approach - they are formally not allowed to do so- but they give their own interpretation, which can lead to a much more dynamic view of local culture. Some categories of local guides are much more sensitive and capable of responding to the wishes and demands of their clients and hereby to new trends in the market.

By presenting an emic view of their activities, strategies and narratives, this research has striven towards filling the gap in studies on tourist guides. Doing anthropological fieldwork in which different strategies were combined proved to be a valuable

method by which to obtain this inside understanding. To make proper sense of their actions, it was necessary to place them in a broader perspective. What was uncovered here was the interaction between individual motives and strategies, group characteristics and the governmental and local context in which local guides operate. The main contribution of this thesis lies in unravelling the different layers of this tourism practice.

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GLOSSARY

Adat	custom; local customary law, institutions, and ritual
Anak angkat	adopted child
ASITA	Association of Indonesian Tour and Travel Agencies
Ayam taliwang	fried chicken
Bahasa	language
Bahasa Indonesia	Indonesian language
Bebas	free
Bemo (<i>becak bermotor</i>)	small motorized vehicle used for transportation-bus
Bhinneka tunggal ika	unity in diversity
Bintang	star
Cenderawasih	bird of paradise
Cerita hidup	lively story
Desa	village
DIKLAT (<i>Dinas Pendidikan dan Latihan</i>)	Governmental Education and Training Division
Diparda (<i>dinas pariwisata</i>)	regional tourism office
Dusun	sub-village or hamlet
Dutawisata	ambassador
Gondrong	long-haired man
Gotong royong	community mutual help
Gunung	mountain
HPI (<i>Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia</i>)	Indonesian guide association
Ibu	mother, married woman
Ikat	woven cloth
Kabupaten	district, administrative unit below the province
Kanwil Depparpostel (Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pariwisata, Pos dan Telekomunikasi)	Provincial Office of the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication
Kecamatan	sub-district
Kelapa muda	young coconut milk
Keluarga Berencana (KB)	family planning
Kerbau	buffalo
Kotamadya	municipality
KOTASI (<i>Koperasi Taksi Senggigi</i>)	Transport Organisation Senggigi
Kris	dagger
Krismon (<i>krisis moneter</i>)	monetary crisis
Krupuk	prawn cracker
Liar	wild, unlicensed
Lontong	rice
Makelar	intermediary
Malas	lazy
Melati	jasmin flower
Museum hidup	living museum
Nakal	naughty
Nyale	seaworms
Orang jalan	lit.: people of the streets
Orang tua angkat	adopted parents
Pancasila	State Ideology
Pedagang kaki lima	food seller
Pelit	stingy
Raja	king, lord
Repelita (<i>rencana pembangunan lima tahun</i>)	Five-Year Development Plan
Rumah makan	small restaurant

Glossary

Rupiah	Indonesian currency
Sadar Wisata	Tourism Awareness
Sapta Pesona	the Seven Charms of Tourism (security, orderliness, friendliness, beauty, comfort, cleanliness, and memories)
Sarong	cloth worn as skirt or trousers by women and men
Sate kambing	goat satay
Sekolah dasar (SD)	primary school
Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA)	Senior High School
Sekolah Menengah Industri Pariwisata	Secondary Tourism Education
Soto ayam	chicken soup
Taman Mini Indonesia Indah	Beautiful Indonesia-in-Miniature Park located in Jakarta
Tempat pacaran	hangout for young lovers
Tuan guru	big or great teacher
Turis	tourist
Warung	food stall
Wetu Telu	indigenous variant of Islam among the Sasak in Lombok

SAMENVATTING - Beeldvorming en Gidswerk op Lombok De Sociale Constructie van een Toeristische Bestemming

Het onderzoek naar toerisme in niet-westerse landen werd lange tijd gedomineerd door studies naar de invloed van toerisme op lokale samenlevingen. Deze zogenaamde *impactstudies* waren in de jaren zeventig met name gericht op de economische betekenis van toerisme voor de bestemmingslanden. In de jaren daarop kwam er, met name vanuit de antropologie, geleidelijk meer aandacht voor de sociaal-culturele effecten van toerisme op de gastcultuur. Toerisme werd geportretteerd als al het slechte dat modernisering kon brengen. Men sprak de vrees uit dat toeristen, met hun Westerse dominante cultuur als bagage, de gastculturen volledig onder de voet zouden lopen. Veel publicaties veronderstelden dat de toeristenindustrie authentieke culturen, in met name ontwikkelingslanden, speciaal voor de toerist conserveert of (re)construeert en dat dit tot een verregaande vercommercialisering van de gastculturen zou leiden (zie hoofdstuk 2). In het debat over toeristische ontwikkeling heeft om die reden lange tijd een semi-wetenschappelijke verontwaardiging de bovenhand gevoerd. Wat door die verontwaardiging onderbelicht bleef was hoe op lokaal niveau aan de introductie van toerisme vorm werd gegeven.

De verschijningsvorm van toerisme heeft zich door de jaren heen veranderd. Als een reactie op het massatoerisme wordt de markt overspoeld met een sterk gesegmenteerd "special-interest" aanbod. In het toeristisch aanbod aan reizen naar ver-weg-bestemmingen wordt in deze op maat gemaakte programma's vaak de nadruk gelegd op de cultuur van specifieke (regionale, lokale, etnische) groepen. De toeristenindustrie genereert dus een vraag naar culturele voorstellingen met als gevolg dat lokale cultuur opgevoerd wordt voor een buitenlands publiek. Het resultaat is een complex toeristisch systeem waarin verschillende actoren een bijdrage leveren aan de totstandkoming van toeristisch attracties.

In deze studie wordt de rol van de gastcultuur bij het tot stand komen van toeristische attracties als uitgangspunt genomen. Door toeristische ontwikkeling te plaatsen in het mondialiserings/lokaliseringsdebat wordt enerzijds de nadruk gelegd op een groeiende standaardisering/homogenisering van het toeristisch aanbod. Anderzijds wordt juist de tendens in het toerisme om specifieke culturele of etnische eigenheid te benadrukken naar voren gehaald. Het zwaartepunt van de studie ligt bij de toeristische producenten (culturele "brokers") in de gastcultuur. Zij spelen een belangrijke rol in de constructie van toeristische attracties en attractiesystemen. Sleutelposities hierin worden ingenomen door reisbureaus, touroperators en gidsen. Met name deze laatste groep - de

lokale gidsen - heeft tot op heden weinig aandacht gekregen in toeristisch onderzoek. In de weinige studies die er zijn over dit onderwerp wordt de nadruk gelegd op de sociale en culturele bemiddelingsrol van lokale gidsen. Voorbijgegaan wordt aan hun sterk ondernemersgerichte houding. In het product dat zij verkopen en in hun vertogen speelt authenticiteit een belangrijke rol. Authenticiteit is een sociaal geconstrueerd concept. Het is daarom van belang te kijken naar de wijze waarop lokale gidsen toeristische attracties definiëren, formuleren, manipuleren en reproduceren; hoe onderhandelen lokale gidsen over betekenis en op welke wijze gebruiken zij lokale en/of mondiale beelden in de (re)presentaties die zij aanbieden aan de toerist.

Op grond van het bovenstaande is de volgende vraagstelling geformuleerd:

Wat zijn de effecten van het mondiale toerisme op de strategieën en (re)presentaties van de lokale gidsen werkzaam op het eiland Lombok in Indonesië? Welke positie wordt door lokale gidsen ingenomen in het attractiesysteem van Lombok en op welke wijze dragen zij bij aan de "authentisering" van lokale en regionale cultuur?

Lombok is een relatief nieuwe bestemming in het internationale reisverkeer. Tot vijf jaar geleden heeft het eiland voornamelijk in de schaduw moeten staan van Bali, de populairste bestemming in Indonesië. In het Indonesische toerismebeleid werd onderkend dat de ontwikkeling van het toerisme niet afhankelijk mocht zijn van slechts enkele bestemmingen. Daarnaast werd toerisme naar voren geschoven als een belangrijke motor voor regionale ontwikkeling. Verscheidene andere bestemmingen werden onder de aandacht gebracht, waaronder Lombok. Het belangrijkste waar Lombok zich van moest ontdoen was het kleine-broertje imago van Bali. Ook werd de promotie van Lombok beperkt door de gestandaardiseerde manier waarop de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen in Indonesië zich in het toerisme mogen profileren. In het *Orde Baru* tijdperk van president Soeharto gold dat - om de vooruitgang te dienen - voor alles de verscheidenheid binnen de perken gehouden diende te worden. Wat in de toeristische (re)presentaties werd (en nog steeds wordt) getoond is een niet-conflictueuze weergave van wat door moet gaan als "de" nationale cultuur; een hybride mix van het beste en het mooiste dat het land te bieden heeft.

Op Lombok is er sprake van een proces van "lumbungifisering". Dit kan het beste omschreven worden als een proces waarbij in de toeristische ontwikkeling van Lombok gepoogd wordt te komen tot een onafhankelijke identiteit. Besloten werd om

de lokale rijstschuur - de *lumbung* - naar voren te schuiven als identiteitsmarker. Eigenlijk past de nadruk op een element van de traditionele lokale dorpscultuur niet in het overheidsbeleid. Traditionele, lokale cultuur wordt nog altijd geassocieerd met onderontwikkeling. Dat de *lumbung* toch gebruikt wordt komt omdat aan het "echte" leven van de Sasak, de oorspronkelijke bewoners van Lombok, voorbij gegaan wordt. Door de selectie van de *lumbung*, een zogenaamd "showcase"- element, wordt de lokale, traditionele cultuur gefolkloriseerd; het dagelijks leven van de Sasak wordt teruggebracht tot één in het overheidsbeleid passend en daardoor geaccepteerd beeld.

Dit restrictieve beleid heeft zijn uitwerking op de lokale praktijk. De speelruimte die de lokale gidsen hebben om hun vertoog over Lombok te presenteren is daardoor beperkt. Ook de overheidsopleidingen voor gidsen (zie hoofdstuk 5) reflecteren dit beleid. Een opgeschoond, neutraal vertoog over Lombok staat centraal in de aangeboden cursussen. Het doel is het gidswerk te standaardiseren en te formaliseren. Daartoe creëert de overheid een tweedeling in formele, licentie-dragende gidsen en "wilde" niet licentie-dragende gidsen. Deze tweedeling veronderstelt een verschil in formele en informele vertogen. Dit is echter niet het geval op Lombok. Een nadere beschouwing van de wijze waarop lokale gidsen opereren en kennis vergaren (hoofdstuk 4) leert dat het maken van het onderscheid formeel-informeel geen recht doen aan het begrijpen van de gecompliceerde dagelijkse gidsenpraktijk. In deze studie worden vier categorieën lokale gidsen onderscheiden, namelijk:

1. professionele gidsen
2. attractie-gebonden gidsen
3. scharrelaars
4. netwerk specialisten

De vier categorieën zijn te plaatsen op een formeel-informeel continuüm. Hierbij wordt een brede omschrijving van formeel-informeel gehanteerd, niet slechts het in het bezit hebben van de door de overheid vereiste licentie. Als onderscheidende factor wordt de mate van ondernemerschap gehanteerd. Hierin besloten ligt onder andere de kennis over en verbinding met de klanten (toeristen), de grootte en effectiviteit van het netwerk, de positie in de toerisme industrie en de banden met de lokale gemeenschap. De mate waarin een ondernemer aanspraak kan maken op bovenstaande elementen van het ondernemerschap bepalen zijn positie op het continuüm en daarmee ook de vorm van zijn vertoog. Met name de netwerk specialisten manifesteren zich als de meest succesvolle ondernemers. Een bedrevenheid in het opbouwen van een netwerk tezamen met een flexibele werkhouding leidt tot een vertoog dat meer is dan slechts

Samenvatting

een opsomming van cijfers en feiten. Deze buitengewoon klantgerichte categorie gidsen verstaat de kunst van het interpreteren. Zij bieden de toeristen een vertoog dat contextueel is opgebouwd aan de hand van een breed scala aan "markers" - betekenisgevers. Deze vertogen sluiten bovendien goed aan bij nieuwe ontwikkelingen in toeristische consumptiepatronen; tailor-made programma's met een nadruk op kwaliteit en diepgang.

De beide casestudies over het zomerpaleis Narmada (hoofdstuk 6) en het traditionele Sasak dorp Sade (hoofdstuk 7) laten in de praktijk zien hoe aan de bestemming Lombok betekenis wordt gegeven en welke authentifieringsinstrumenten gidsen gebruiken om vorm te geven aan hun vertogen. Gekozen is voor deze twee verschillende attracties omdat zij duidelijke representanten zijn van het meervoudige beeld van de bestemming Lombok. Narmada reflecteert de Balinese elementen in het beeldvormingsproces, terwijl Sade gericht is op het dagelijks leven van de Sasak.



You can see Bali

you cannot see Lombok on Bali.

This slogan has been used to promote a new tourist destination, the island of Lombok, one of the islands of the province West Nusa Tenggara in Indonesia.

Being constantly overshadowed by its popular neighbour Bali, it was difficult for Lombok to present itself to the outside world. Lombok was either promoted as a good substitute for crowded Bali - "a second Bali" - or the emphasis was placed on the combination of Balinese and

The focus of this anthropological study is on the development of tourist attractions and the role of local tourist guides - a rather neglected group in tourism studies - in the representation of tourist sites on Lombok. How local guides define, formulate, manipulate and reproduce tourist attractions is investigated, as well as how they negotiate meaning and in which way they use local and /or global images in the representations offered to tourists.

