

Conference Paper

The Role of Tour Guides as Brokers in Tourism Industry (The Importance of Communication Capital in Shaping Structural Holes in Communication Network)

Agustinus Rusdianto Berto

Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia

Abstract

Tour guides as intermediaries or brokers in tourism industry, play important role in controlling the flow of information, forming structural holes in communication network. Thus a guide has to maximize his capital potentials, either those he possesses or those that he does not, especially communication capital. This paper is aimed at understanding the effect of utilizing the communication capital in order to form structural holes in communication network. This causal relationship will be developed into a new model of analysis of various concepts of capitals as elements forming communication capital, as well as its influence to structural hole theory. The data are obtained by conducting literature review of communication network analysis frameworks. It is concluded in a path analysis model which put financial capital, human capital, social capital, and communication capital as exogenous variables affecting the structural hole as endogenous variable. This model will help tour guides to manage information of tourism products in structural holes. However, this model should be examined deeper in the next researches.

Keywords: intermediaries, tourism industry, structural hole, communication network, communication capital

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1. Introduction

Amidst the preparation to compete in ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the government of Indonesia is certain that both quality and quantity of worker in tourism sector in the archipelago are already on the same level with other ASEAN nations [19]. Nonetheless, compared to *Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index 2015* reported by *World Economic Forum* (WEF), Indonesia is only ranked as the fourth in ASEAN, after Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. Indonesia is still inadequate on many indicators such as

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information and communication technology, environmental sustainability, infrastructures of tourism services, cultural resources, and business trip (World Economic Forum, 2015, pp. 16-17). Unequal attention of tourism sector among regions in Indonesia make the shortcomings more obvious. As stated on the Act number 32 year 2004 concerning Local Governments which is revised by Act number 23 year 2014, today the right to manage tourism sector is fully authorized to local governments—regency, city, or province. Those things above become awry for tourism regions whose human and financial resources are not yet prepared.

Our society views the will to compete from two different perspectives—economic and cultural. From the economic point of view, competition is *mutually exclusive* (or a condition whether one wins or loses) where there are common objectives among the stakeholders, so that when a party wins and succeeds in reaching its goal, the losing party will not get anything (Littlejohn & Domenici, 2007, pp. 7-8). Competition itself has these following dimensions: competitors, scarce-competed objects, competitive capability, and competed results (Hong, 2008, p. 33). Meanwhile, culturally speaking, competition is less appreciated by our society than practices of collaboration. In collective society, competition is viewed as self-serving and, thus, a negative trait (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2010, p. 190). This perspective could potentially weaken the competitiveness of our society in facing AEC, especially in local-tourism sector. It is not surprising then when our local economic potential is managed by immigrants—or even foreigners—instead of the locals. Subsequently, rather than enjoyed by local people, the income from tourism industry can possibly leaked and flow out.

A research conducted by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UNESCAP) in 2003 reported that international tourism sector suffers from leakage because most of the revenue return to the countries of origins of the tourists. In 2001, United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) found that the leakage in the tourism sector of Thailand reached 70 percent and that of the Caribbean hit 80 percent, which means that only USD30 out of USD100 spent by the tourist flowing to Thailand, and much lower, USD20, to the Caribbean. Concurrently, World Bank stated that the lowest rate of leakage among developing countries is 40 percent, which is that of India (Antariksa, 2011, p. 4). The leakage is mainly characterized by the migration pattern of a currency from a tourism attraction (local) to other regions (abroad). In other words, money spent by the tourists can be redistributed to their countries of origins. Because beside being tourists, they are also businessmen/traders/suppliers that provide commodities which are not locally produced or available (Reid, 2003, p.160).

Leakage is one of *multiplier effects*, in that the income from tourism flows not only to local region but also other regions (national) or even abroad (international), which can occur through: (1) cost of imported goods especially foods and beverages; (2) foreign exchange costs of imports for the developments of tourist facilities; (3) remittance of profits abroad; (4) remittance of pay to expatriates; (5) management fees or royalties for franchises; (6) payments to overseas carriers and travel companies; (7) cost of overseas promotion; (8) additional expenditures on imports resulting from the earnings of those benefiting from tourism (Holloway, Humphreys, & Davidson, 2009, p.97). This leakage could allegedly occur in Indonesia, such as in Komodo National Park (TNK), a leading Indonesian tourism-destination situated in West Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT).

Since appointed as 'World Heritage Site' and 'Man and Biosphere Reserve' by UNESCO in 1986 and one of the 'New7Wonders of Nature' in 2012 [25], the influx of tourists to TNK has increased 80.48 percent from 2010 to 2014. As a result, the occupancy rate also raises significantly, reaching 340.39 percent. Among them, foreign tourists are still more predominating than domestics (West Manggarai Regency Central Bureau of Statistic, 2015, pp. 313-318). Nonetheless the number has not yet positively correlated with the local revenue of West Manggarai Regency. Calculated roughly by comparing the average spending of foreign tourists in Indonesia (USD1, 845.43 per visit) and Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) of tourism sector of West Manggarai Regency in 2014, the number far exceeds the total number of total GRDP of the same year. It is obvious that the leakage of tourism sector is really happening in West Manggarai Regency.

The loopholes of tourism industry could be mapped using network analysis. As a network, tourism industry requires collaboration and mutual trust to exchange information. Tourism is an industry which utilizes information intensively, where activities such as seeking for information concerning bookings—transportation, accommodation, and tourism destination— inquire traditional role of producers or suppliers, intermediaries, and customers each of whom uses their own specific information-system in accordance with their needs (Stiakakis & Georgiadis, 2011, p. 150). Consequently, skills are needed to overcome the overload or the lack of tourism information flow to transform into economic investments, assisted by social capital. The latter can help an individual turning human and financial capital—without even owning them—into personal benefits by harnessing the holes in tourism information network. In other words, the individual acts as *tertius gaudens*, an actor acting as an information broker by creating network holes by way of disconnecting the flow of information among

people communicating with him in a communication network (Monge & Contractor, 2003, p. 143). Concisely, the individual controls the circulation of information in tourism communication network.

Generally, the network of tourism industry consists of parties whose main concern is distributing tourism products—private sector, public sector, carriers, constructed attractions, accommodations, tour operators and brokers, travel agents, and tourist itself (Holloway, Humphreys, & Davidson, 2009, pp. 165-166). The distribution chain of tourism products from producer to customer is always interceded by intermediaries, e.g. wholesalers and retailers. Though producers can directly sell their products to customers—the tourists—they can also offer their products indirectly through tour operators or travel agents. Tour operators and brokers are categorized as wholesalers because they buy various products from producers in large quantities, before the products are packaged to be sold directly, or indirectly through travel agents, to tourists. Because of the bulk purchase, they are usually bound by long-term contracts with producers, so they can bargain in order to get the most reasonable price. Airline operators often use their service to offer seats which are not sold in low seasons (Beech & Chadwick, 2006, p. 400).

Today, because of the advancement of technology, everyone can be an intermediary in the network of tourism industry, either as tour operator or travel agent. The role of social capital is no longer significant in that everyone can build relations easily through technologies like cellular phones. Since connectivity has been something natural and compulsory for the stakeholders of the network of tourism industry, the intermediaries have to acquire a brand new capital in order to win the fast and congested competition of tourism industry. This paper proposes a model of communication capital as a new predominant capital used in forming and maintaining structural-hole position of tourism communication network in West Manggarai Regency.

2. Theoretical Review

Alvin Toffler (1980) emphasizes the importance of information as the most economic resource or raw-material because it will never run out, unlike other resources which are mostly limited or scarce. He has identified present condition and termed it as 'the third wave' (Toffler, 1980, p. 352). In addition, McLuhan (1964) has predicted the raise of information flow and proposed the concept of 'global village'. Long before that, Fritz Machlup (1962) the economist has estimated the trend of economic structural shifting in the United States (US) from industrial to information society (Dahlan, 1997, p.7).

Departing from the conception of Shannon and Weaver (1949), information can be defined as an uncertainty where there is an option out of a group of alternative options in decision making. The situation can be reduced by redundancy, that is by repeating or duplicating information to every party taking part in communication to reduce the uncertainty and noise in the channel (Rogers, 1997, pp. 413 & 431). This redundancy of information is utilized by information intermediaries to control the information flow in order to create an uncertainty among the member of communication network.

2.1. Structural holes

This theory studies the advantage of non-redundant relationship in communication network. Structural holes act as a buffer formed by the disengagement of no redundant contacts. Ronald S. Burt (1992) introduced this theory by explaining that an actor (A) is able to condition so that people on his network (B and C) are unable to get any information anywhere except from the actor himself as the main source of information. This triadic—or more—relationship of information makes people demanding information become dependent to the actor, so that he could benefit from the ignorance of those people and make it his social capital to dominate people. Eventually he will be the one who rules as an intermediary that bridges. In sum, the actor acts as *tertius gaudens*, a third party who gets benefit out of the relationship of people whom he exploits. Burt (1992) calls it 'between two fighters, the third benefits,' or 'between two fighters, the third laughs'; whereas Simmel (1995) abbreviates it as 'the third who benefits' (Monge & Contractor, 2003, p. 143).

Tertius gaudens applies information management strategy when facing two situations. *First*, when there is a competition among several parties in obtaining the same information. It is a very beneficial situation, though, in that one is able to give the information to any party who bids the highest price, so that in the end there will be parties who get information (win) and there will be those who do not get information (lose). *Second*, when a conflict occurs among parties demanding different information. Here *tertius* acts as a mediator trying to compromise in order to find resolution for all the warring sides. Though the information demanded might be different, *tertius* will be able to get these following information benefits: (1) access, by getting information that no one else understands and selecting them to avoid information overload (Dutton, 1999); (2) timing, by building relations with the right individuals to be given information earlier; and (3) referrals, by exchanging information with other parties outside the communication network (Monge & Contractor, 2003, p. 144). Basically, the explanation

above illustrates control benefits in structural holes. By being the first to know, one is able to decide when and to whom the information will be given next. The contact selection is mostly determined by trust invested to others, either to whom one knows directly, or whom one knows through other people (Burt, 1995, pp. 13 & 16).

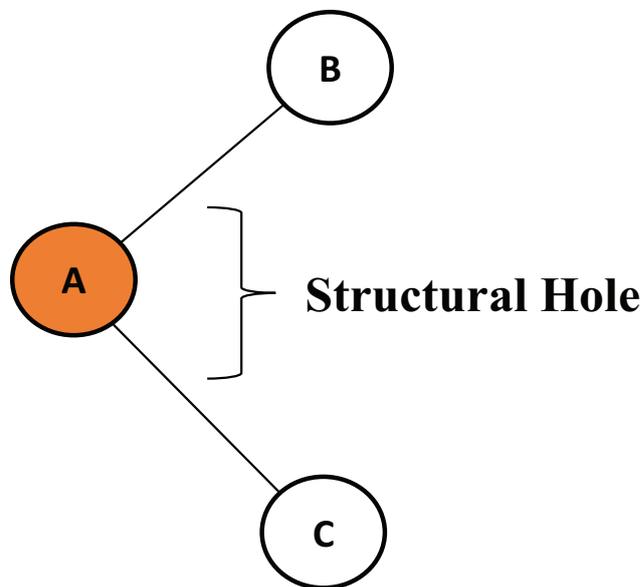


Figure 1: Simple Illustration of Structural Hole Theory.

To increase the benefit, structural holes need to expand network in accordance with the principles of optimization: *First*, efficiency, by adding new non-redundant contacts. New contacts directly connected with the source of information are called primary contact, whereas new contacts indirectly connected with the source—mediated by the primary contact—are secondary contacts. The adding of new contacts will consume time and money, thus it is important to choose the right and trustful primary contacts because they are those who will spend much time and money to maintain connection with secondary contacts. *Second*, effectivity, by severing the primary contacts from their secondary, in order to be more focused in managing resources on the primary contacts. Instead of managing all of the contacts alone, the structural holes delegate the maintaining of the secondary contacts to the primaries connected directly with the source of information, so that individuals around the source are able to focus solely on their primary contacts and widen their networks by adding new clusters. If the principle of efficiency emphasizes on the average of people connected to 1 (one) primary contact, the principle of effectivity is more focused on the number of people connected with all primary contacts (Burt, 1995, p. 20).

In general, this theory suggests that redundancy indicates the absence of structural holes. Redundancy can occur either by cohesion or by the presence of structural

equivalence. When both of them are absent in a network, structural holes are formed (Burt, 1995, pp. 19-20). By cohesion, contacts are strongly connected, indicating the absence of structural holes, e.g. The relationship between father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife, close friends, people who have been partners for a long time, people who frequently get together for social occasions, and so on. Those who establish mutual contacts will be easily accessed. Structural equivalence occurs when one has the same source of information with others, which will so likely to be redundant because they establish contacts with the same people. People who spend more time together tend to know each other better. This structural equivalency relationship is the cornerstone to direct contact (cohesion). When one has connected with whom he has something in common in a network (redundancy), he is also able to connect with different people outside his network (non-redundancy) because of the structural equivalence. But if they often meet and feel close to one another, they tend to communicate more frequently and probably have mutual contacts. The structural holes give non-redundant benefits to many parties involved. If these two conditions occur simultaneously, then it is most likely that redundancy will happen through cohesion.

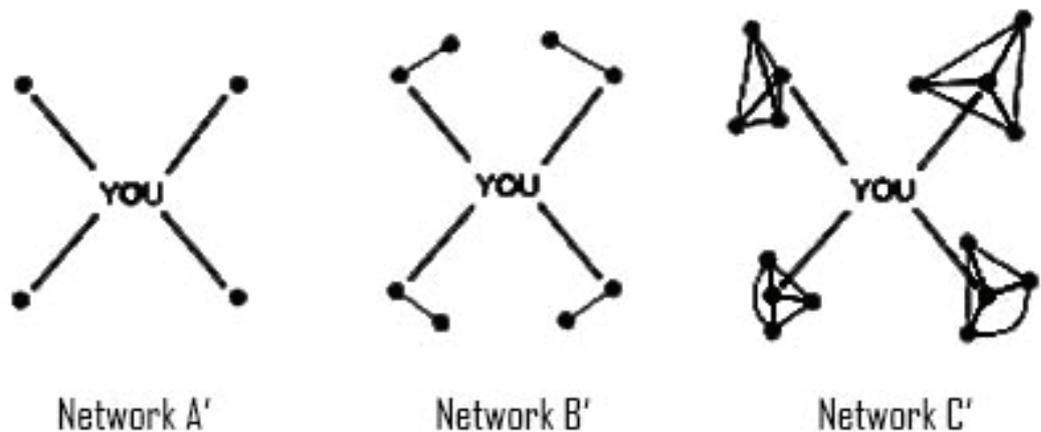


Figure 2: Strategic Network Expansion of Structural Hole Theory.

2.2. Structural holes, network closure, and the strength of weak ties

Information intermediaries occupy several unique positions when communicating with other parties in a communication network. Beside in structural holes, actors performing as information intermediary can also be positioned in network closure when they are

on the same group (in-group), or in the position of 'the strength of weak ties' when they are in different clusters (outgroup). The difference of position also collides their pattern of control when they are acting as information intermediaries intervening other parties. Fernandez & Gould (1994) define information intermediary or brokers as a relation where one actor mediates the source and the flow of information between two or more disconnected actors. They propose five kinds of brokers in a communication network: (1) coordinator, intermediaries from the same group with other mediated actors; (2) consultant, intermediaries belonging to different group from actors whom he mediates; (3) representative, intermediaries representing one side and communicate with other parties or actors, when one or more members of the groups ask an actor to represent the group to communicate with outsiders; (4) gatekeeper, intermediaries who actively act as the filter of information from outside that flow to their groups; (5) liaison, intermediaries coming from different groups, who mediate with actors also coming from different groups (Eriyanto, 2014, pp. 242-245).

The argument of structural hole theory is criticized by Coleman (1998) who proposed network closure theory. Closed network is signed by the cohesiveness among contacts. He firmly states that an actor is more advantageous if he is on a closed network because, in his conception, Coleman argues that network is a social capital which can be benefited by actors (people, institution, company) to maximize profits in a social structure. The more the member, the more dense, and the more closed the network, the better it will be. In contrast, an open network is signed by the lack of cohesiveness, connection among contacts is very inconsiderable and minimal. Since structural hole is in an open network, it shows the lack of social capital possessed by an actor. Basically, the good social capital is signed by the presence of trust and acceptance for other people or actors. The more intense the relation and interaction, the more trust harvested. These following arguments will illustrate the advantage of the closed-network: (1) to foster responsibilities and trustworthiness; (2) it is more likely to obtain information from numerous sources, so that the information could be more trusted because the validity could be verified by other sources; and (3) the member of the network obey norms, so actors acting not in accordance with it could be punished by the member of the network. A study conducted by Coleman & Hoffer (1987) to 4,000 middle-school drop-outs in the United States found that the lower rate of drop-out belongs to those who have strong social capital, indicated by the presence of both parents (father-mother). Time allocated by the parents to build relationship with their children is proven to lessen the number of drop-out. The most intense relations are found in Catholic schools because they often hold parents meeting. The

cordial relation (or social capital) shows the network closure of the family. Furthermore, having financial and human capital cannot assure one to stay at school. Rather, the drop-out rate among those who own the two capitals tend to be higher (Eriyanto, 2014, pp. 215-219).

Meanwhile, Mark Granovetter (1973) proposes 'the strength of weak ties' theory when analyzing the network structure of job-seeking information. The research found that, rather, most of the job information is obtained from personal contacts who live apart and meet accidentally at particular events, such as school friends. They practically have never got job information from their closest contacts. It shows that the relation could tie strongly due to the intensive communication among contacts, or could tie weakly due to the lack of communication among contacts. The strength of the tie could be measured by four indicators. *First*, time, how much time spent to interact with contacts. The longer the interaction, the stronger the relationship. Oppositely, the briefer the interaction, the weaker the relationship. *Second*, emotional intensity among contacts. A strong tie is not only indicated by physical interaction but also emotional interaction. *Third*, intimacy, which is measured by the frequency of conversation of personal or secret information among contacts. If an actor talks or discusses personal matters with other, they have strong tie. Those who have weak ties usually do not talk about personal matters. *Fourth*, personal service. Strong tie is indicated by personal relationship, whereas the weak tie is the opposite (Eriyanto, 2014, p. 233).

Granovetter (1975 & 1983) has made several propositions concerning strong tie in triadic relationship. The *first* proposition is that the actors tend to account homogeneity when building relation (*homophile*). If the two actors have already had a strong tie because they have something in common, then other actors are likely to like it as well. The *second* proposition is the principle of system balance. When two actors have already had strong tie, other actors who have not yet had the relation will experience dissonance in the form of inconvenience. So the actor will try to build relationship with one of or both actors. But when an actor does not admit that he has relation with other actors, according to Granovetter (1973), their relations are on a *forbidden triad*, like that of love-affair. The *third* proposition is that weak ties always bridge (or local bridge) several strong ties in the network. Relationship between actors in different clusters is always weak ties. The *fourth* propositions are suggested by Easley & Kleinberg (2010). If there are two actors with strong ties, weak ties will be formed in the relation with other actors. Thus, this bridge or local bridge is doubtless a weak tie. Granovetter (1973 & 1983) calls it 'The Strength of Weak Ties.' Though it is only a weak tie, it has a significant role in the social network. *First*, it acts as the diffusion of information, i.e.

information can be spread widely to other groups through relationship between 2 (two) different people coming from different clusters (*weak tie*). Therefore, the information tend to be fresh because they come from different individuals or groups. The second is network crawling. Through the relation of weak ties, network will be spread more widely (Eriyanto, 2014, pp. 234-241).

3. Methods

Data are obtained from literature review of previous studies of the role of information intermediaries (*tertius gaudens*) in structural holes, especially in tourism communication network. Generally, this paper analyzes four previous studies of *tertius gaudens* role in structural holes, either on individual or organizational level. Moreover, this paper will also analyze four previous studies which particularly study the role of tour guides as one of *tertius gaudens* in tourism communication network. The results of those previous studies are then elaborated using several concepts of capital influencing the forming of communication capital, which could be utilized by *tertius gaudens* in creating or maintaining their positions in structural holes. Eventually, this paper will propose path analysis model explaining causal relation of capital to the forming of structural holes in tourism communication network.

4. The Results of Analysis

4.1. Previous studies

In 'Structural Holes and Good Idea,' Burt (2004) conducted an examination of structural hole theory extensively to 637 managers in a network of the biggest electronic company in the United States. The study shows that the managers group based on division. From 514 links (*edge*) or connection between managers, most of it (62 percent) are done within the same business units or divisions, 178 connections (35 percent) are done with head manager, and a only small fraction (3 percent) of the managers build contact with other units or divisions. Burt suggests that the managers who build contacts with other manager from another division put themselves in structural holes because they act as intermediaries or brokers among managers. The main finding of this study is that new ideas for the improvement of the company (*good ideas*) are likely to come from the typical of broker managers, compared to those who only make contacts with managers from the same division. Manager who positions himself as

broker understands the condition and the information of other units, and produces the best ideas for advancement of the company. Generally, managers who only maintain contact with colleagues from the same unit only discuss internal problems. They are incapable of thinking out of the box because they are only busy dealing with daily technical problems of their own business units, so that they do not understand the condition of other units or divisions (Eriyanto, 2014, pp. 224-225). Therefore, a person who is in structural holes tend to be more skillful in managing information compared to those who is not.

In another situation, structural holes are not always advantageous. The research of Melisa Arisanty (2014) about the reconciliation process of Balunuraga conflict in South Lampung, found that, rather, one who acts as mediator or intermediary (*ego*) tries to reduce (or even eliminate) the structural holes (structural non-holes) to increase the possibility of the conflicting people to get to know each other, so it will raise the probability of reaching the same goal, namely peace. It means that structural holes are considered as hindrances for conflict resolution, in that it requires cohesiveness (*network closure*). But one must not forget that the position of intermediary in structural holes still can be beneficial because it functions as a bridge connecting information between two conflicting parties, as well as being a broker-representative serving the interest of the two irresolute parties and the government. Thus, *ego* sends persuasive messages, such as the philosophy of life of each ethnicity, the using of modest sentences or language so it will give freedom for people to choose, and appreciate parties that help to create peace. Thus, even though structural holes are considered disadvantageous for conflict resolution, one in structural holes will keep trying to maintain one's position in order to acquire positive image, self-existence, and the strengthening of one's group or ethnicity in the future (Arisanty, 2014, pp. 200-203). It is still in line with the assumption of structural hole theory that *ego* will keep trying to maintain its position as structural holes in order to gain profits as much as possible.

In the study of communication technology, Irwansyah (2010) conducted a research about the network structure of family communication based on cellular phone (cellphone) to 104 people of Boro, originated from Desa Pule, Wonogiri Regency, who live in the vicinity of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. The finding of this research rejects the supposition of structural hole theory saying that structural holes in communication network can stimulate economic competition. Instead, the position and relation between cellphone users are coordinative and integrative, and able to accommodate and coordinate various interests in the network. Cellphone is able to strengthen personal, social, and kinship communication network. When away

from home, one needs social support from family, either those related biologically or psychologically. Network capital is an ability to use the network of communication technology to build contact (kinship and frequency) in social network and make it useful for social life. This network capital is owned by agents or brokers who find solution for long-lasting social interests, not only solution for ephemeral economic interest or conflict resolution. Brokers utilize cellphone to affiliate, coordinate, mobilize, and confirm fastly, without limited by time, space, and distance (Irwansyah, 2010, pp. 406-410). Nevertheless, cellular phone help broker to get profits from a structural hole.

In organizational level, the position of structural holes is not always deterministic in shaping the performance of a company. The study of Liao & Phan (2015) to 191 technology company in the United States found that: (1) the higher the firm's ability to acquire well-developed knowledge (patent), the lesser the rate of knowledge creation in structural holes; (2) the capability of the firm to integrate a knowledge affects the creation of knowledge and its structural holes; and (3) the more diverse technology possessed by the company, the higher the activity of knowledge creating and its structural holes. Firms in structural holes can indeed potentially increase its level of knowledge creation, although they will not keep producing excellent innovations. Firms that do not have compatible capability (to acquire knowledge and diverse technology), are unable to gain profits. The firm's capability to mobilize and exploit resources will determine the position of structural holes in external network or alliance with other companies (Liao & Phan, 2015, pp. 15-18). This research concludes the importance of the domination over knowledge or information (e.g. patent) in determining the firm's position in structural holes in competition to gain profits.

Meanwhile, concerning the network of tourism industry, Ying et al. (2014) conducted a study to 745 websites of tourism organization and company in Charleston (US) and found that a small fraction of local Destination Marketing Organization (DMO) websites position themselves in structural holes (central), so they act as brokers or hubs controlling the flow of tourism information. These brokers decrease the density and connectivity rate of the network. The control over the flow of information is practiced by providing hyperlinks to the core and peripheral websites of tourism. It is interesting that the core-tourism websites having the same characteristic (*homophile*) are rather low in connectivity (e.g. those which offers information such accommodation, food and beverage, recreational operator, entertainment or attraction, and tourism intermediaries) than the peripheral-tourism websites (e.g. educational institution, transportation, and government institution). The high level of competition among the core sectors of tourism that have the same business line makes them reluctant to make

contact with their own peers because they regard them as competitors. They tend to make hyperlinks to the websites of organization or institution that are not on the same business line in order to complement their products or services (complementary). On the other hand, peripheral tourism websites build cordial connections with their communities (whether with their supporting peers or the core) to exchange information (Ying, Norman, & Zhou, 2014, pp. 15-16).

Cao & Tian (2015) also found the same tendency in the network of economic tourism industry in Xinjiang province, China. Though the structural density of the whole network is not so low (somewhat enough), there are still economic inequality between the Northern and Southern region. The Northern region tend to be denser economically because they have the higher level of tourism, high-quality tourism resources, infrastructures, and favorable geographical location (Cao & Tian, 2015, p. 133). The research of communication network done by Aini Kurniati (1998) to the member of Banjar in the tourism region of Bali also found the similar thing. The network of communication formed between the member of Banjar tend to be weak. Many of the network member only mingle with their own Banjar friend, instead of newcomers or immigrants. The weakness of the communication network is influenced by the amount of time spent to build connections, emotional intensity, mutual trust among dyadic partners, or reciprocity (feedbacks) from dyadic options. The research proves that factors such closeness and likeness (culture, age, education, amount of salary, organization/community, and kinship) are not always able to make the network dense/close/strong (Kurniati, 1998, pp. 136-142).

4.2. Social capital

Several earlier researchers found that the role of an intermediary is different in structural holes. Consequently, the difference of role they play as intermediaries determines their profits or benefits. The intermediaries have not only different information—to be able to manage the flow of information in the network—but also different social capital. Burt (1995) suggests that when an information intermediary enters the competition, he is likely to bring at least three (3) capitals. *First*, financial capital—fresh cash in the pocket or bank, investment, or credits. *Second*, human capital—their natural quality (appeal, health, intelligence, and face or looks) combined with skills they get from formal education and working experience, which make them more agile in fulfilling certain duties. *Third*, social capital—connection with other actors (friends, colleagues, and other contacts) who can give them opportunity to use their human and financial

capital (Burt, 1995, pp. 8-9). In tourism-service industry, individuals who have human and financial capital are usually those who are able to improve the quality of tourism products. Whereas people possessing social capital are those who are able to communicate the quality of the product to tourist, or other stakeholders of tourism industry. People like this are usually called 'the rainmaker' because they are good at negotiating with clients and creating business deals that bring in profits, income, or funding's for an organization.

Long before, Bourdieu (1979) has differentiated capitals in society into few categories. *First*, economic capital, as resources which can be functioned as production and financial factor. Similar to financial capital, economic capital is also easy to be converted to other capitals. *Second*, cultural capital, e.g. school diploma, knowledge, cultural code, the way to talk, writing skill, conducts, how to get along with people, all of which are significant in determining one's social position. *Third*, social capital, in the form of network of relations. *Fourth*, symbolic capital—all kinds of recognitions from groups, either institutionally or not—producing symbolic power which often needs symbols of power, e.g. prestigious office, position at work, luxurious cars, title, or renowned family name. These four capitals are what make it possible to form the structure of the social sphere, especially economic and social capital which are significant in giving the most relevant criteria of differentiation in advanced society (Haryatmoko, 2012, pp. 6-7).

Nonetheless, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital will not work optimally if it is not accompanied by social capital. Basically, all of the capitals are bridged by social capital. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define social capital as the accumulation of resources, either actual or virtual, to give added value to individuals or groups through control or tenure of the network in long duration by building connection or relation in order to be recognized and known, either institutionally or not, either formal or informal (Monge & Contractor, 2003, p. 143). Burt (2005) says that social capital is benefits or advantages extracted by an individual in a relationship structure. Individual's position in a structure of exchange can be an asset to one's self. Coleman (1988 & 1990) also defines social capital as a function of social structure in producing profits or benefits (Burt, 2005, pp. 4-5).

According to the thinking of Coleman, Putnam (1993) defines social capital as features of a social organization (e.g. norms, believes, and networks) which are able to improve the efficiency of a society by facilitating coordinated conducts. Furthermore, Putnam (2000) adds this definition by proposing two basic forms of social capital: (1) bridging social capital (inclusive), which tend to unite people from various social

spheres, such as faraway friends and colleagues; and (2) bonding social capital (exclusive), which tend to promote exclusive identity and maintain homogeneity, such as the relation of immediate family, close friends, neighbor. Michael Woolcock (2001) adds that the bridging social capital is the capital which is able to reach people in different situations, such as those who are outside the community, so it could encourage its members to use other resources which are unavailable in their community. Referring to the term proposed by Mark Granovetter (1973), Nan Lin (2001) divides social capital based on: (1) strong tie following the principles of *homophile*, which bonds people that is similar to them for normative or expressive objective; and (2) weak tie which unites people from different social and cultural backgrounds for instrumental objective (Field, 2008, p. 36; 45; 73).

Social capital is significantly different from human capitals (cultural and symbolic) and financial capital (economic). *First*, human and financial capital are the kind of properties or wealth possessed individually, either wholly or partly. Whereas social capital is something that is owned together by parties in a relation—no one can have it exclusively. *Second*, linked to the equation of market production, human and financial capital emphasize on investment related to the forming of production capability of a product before it is launched to the market. Financial capital is required to get raw materials and production facilities, whereas human capital is needed to craft the raw materials into competitive products. Meanwhile, social capital concerns rate of return which is gained from the relation with colleagues, friends, and clients, so it is able to convert human and financial capital into profits for the company. Thus, social capital becomes the last referee in deciding who is successful in the competition (Burt, 1995:9).

4.3. Tourism communication capital

Those previous studies show that in order to maximize the position of structural holes, one should have another capital. As a result of the growth of technology, one need to not only build social relation, but also have to do more. Thus other stronger capital is needed, which is able to reach one's desired relations. According to Irwansyah (2010) network capital is needed in utilizing cellphone in order to create social communication network in the form of kinship. He proposed a network capital as an ability that owned by a brokers to use communication-technology network to build contacts (kinship and frequency) in social network and make it beneficial in kinship life (Irwansyah, 2010, p. 407). Based on that definition, network capital is actually one form of cultural capital that is used to obtain social capital. However, it is not enough for intermediaries

today to merely have information (social capital) and ability to utilize communication technology (cultural capital), they also have to possess skills to manage both of them. Intermediaries need more significant capital in order to manage (or even overarch) other capitals and convert them to something more valuable to the social communication network. Matos and Nobre (2010) in a paper titled 'Tourism Communication Capital' have identified communication as a new capital of tourism sector.

They define communication capital more comprehensively based on the approach of five disciplines. *First*, accounting approach. Communication is seen as an asset which either tangible (e.g. radio, tower) or intangible (e.g. process and relation), which have to be kept in the balance sheet. Methodologically, it means that every phenomenon and act of communication have to be able to be quantified so that they could be valued or evaluated by investors or shareholders. *Second*, marketing approach. Communication is viewed as a tool (or a set of tool) to think strategically, as a mechanism of market logic, such as imaging, advertising, public relations and media or press connections. This approach is related to the procedure and practice of communication as instrumentalism, which is finding the best way so that communication could be materialized to activities whose affects could be measured. Generally linked to the perspective of management, marketing is communicating the result of production engineering. *Third*, managerial approach. Communication is seen as manageable organizational resource, and ready to be functioned to improve workers, products, services, and process, always based on business value and consideration of the interest of the shareholders. This approach sees communication from wider perspective than marketing which only see it from one component of organization. This approach sees from the level of production, financial, sales, marketing and so on, where every area and sector contribute in bringing out values and increase the profit of organization. *Fourth*, symbolic approach, which sees communication as the flow of action that always changes (flux) over symbol and negotiation of meaning, and communication becomes the key issue to position individuals in relation with others (in politics, economic, social, and so on). This approach emphasizes on social aspects as the consequence of language using, symbolic practices both economically and politically, speaking manner. So communication is comprehended as the locus and media itself, as a field where everything will be defined or determined. *Fifth*, relational approach. Communication is comprehended as a channel which is passed by an individual to build and develop relation among themselves, as a way to create harmony between various interests, to coordinate actions, and to get respect as well as to become a reliable intermediary. This approach is focused on the problem of socialization and interaction, where

communication becomes locus and media to interact. It is not emphasized on linguistic and symbolic system, rather it is more focused on personal contact network (Matos & Nobre, 2010, pp. 1056-1060).

TABLE 1: The Approaches of Communication Capital.

Approach	Communication Comprehended as:	Capital Comprehended in:	The Expression of Value:
Accounting	Asset valued by price	Fund/funding	Price, quantity, and profit
Marketing	Tool or set of strategic tool	Market	Selling and market share
Managerial	Source of fund which can be managed	Organization	Efficiency and productivity
Symbolic	Symbol and meaning	Language	Convergency and comprehension
Relational	Social bonding and bridge	People	Involvement and cooperation

Source: Matos& Nobre (2010)

Methodologically, in order to formulate communication capital in the future, other related disciplines must be included to reach the desired depth of definition, for example, in the context of this paper, tourism communication, which can be view from two perspectives. *First*, tourism view of communication (TV). Communication as one of the resources or capital that must be owned by tourism managers, thus communication science is treated as equally as economics in tourism, sociology in tourism, administration in tourism, and so on. TV sees the practical benefits of theory, technique, and technology of communication science in order to reach the ultimate, pragmatic goal of tourism. *Second*, communication view of tourism (CV). Communication is viewed as one of the specialization of communication professional or researcher, thus tourism communication is regarded as the field of study such as business communication, governmental communication, political communication, and etc. CV sees the professional benefit in the practice, technique, and theory of tourism in order to increase the number of research of communication science. Therefore, tourism is utilized to reach particular goal of communication. Both of them regard tourism as a system, phenomenon, process, or means of communication. Tourism communication can be comprehended as an intentional and systematic effort to using communication techniques and tourism business theories, and to re-evaluate the concepts of tourism practices and processes on research and communication activities. Ideally, a tourist communicator must see the convergence of these two traditions (TV and CV). Tourism communication has to fulfill criteria accentuating both aspects: price and value, as well as highlighting customers and residents; market and environment; product and image; sign and symbol; quantity

and quality; tangible and intangible material; company and society; business and social contract; consumption and sustainability; persuasion and consensus; individualism and collectivism; and technology and science (Matos & Nobre, 2010, pp. 1055-1058).

Thus, in order to mix all of communication capitals of tourism, it has to be seen from both TV and CV perspective. *First*, if capital communication is understood as the creation of stock flow from mere value to either tangible or intangible assets as the result of communication, then the same thing could be applied to the final results of tourism management and communication science, which is to create value to tourism stakeholders through the process of interactive and participative communication. Tourism management involves the comprehension of communication, not only as a tool to gain business profit, but also as relational matrix and symbolic assurance of business for the sake of social sustainability. Communication science invites people to rethink the boundary between science and management and approach communication science from disciplines more related to tourism business. *Second*, on the other hand, communication science and tourism management can get benefit from material and symbolic base to produce value through participative and interactive social process. In tourism management, one has to spare time to identify the incompleteness of TV perspective, which sometimes regards investment as extravagance, and solely focuses on material aspects and short-termed instead. The idea of communication science is to reposition the management of scientific knowledge by producing and distributing intellectual's in a business, or at least respecting managerial techniques (Matos & Nobre:1063-1064).

5. Discussion

Referring to literature study above, several capitals assumed to create structural holes in communication network could be inventoried. *First*, economic or financial capital, which can be articulated by the amount of guide's income per month and expenditures per month. *Second*, cultural capital as human capital, which can be operationalized to the guide's level of education, experience, skill shown by training certificates including the ability to use information communication technology (especially cellphone). *Third*, symbolic capital which is also a part of human capital. Operationalized, symbolic capital includes guide's family background, and recognition from communities (e.g. *adat* community and government). *Fourth*, social capital, including the trust invested by tourist or other stakeholders (travel agents, guides, hotel, and etc.) to an intermediary. Besides, the social capital also includes the involvement of the guides in organizations, based on

profession, politic, industry, *adat*, social, and so on. *Sixth*, communication capital, which is operationalized as: (1) how much the information of tourism product owned by the guides which can be evaluated by price, quantity, or revenue; (2) how many tourism products (goods and services) which have been sold or marketed by the guides; (3) how many positions held by the guides in organization or community which can be beneficial for their personal objectives; (4) the skill of foreign language, appearance, speaking manner, life style, and conducts or behavior of the guides favored by the tourists; and (5) the number of friends made by the guides (either formally or informally) which can be seen from the number of contact in their cellphones or social media account.

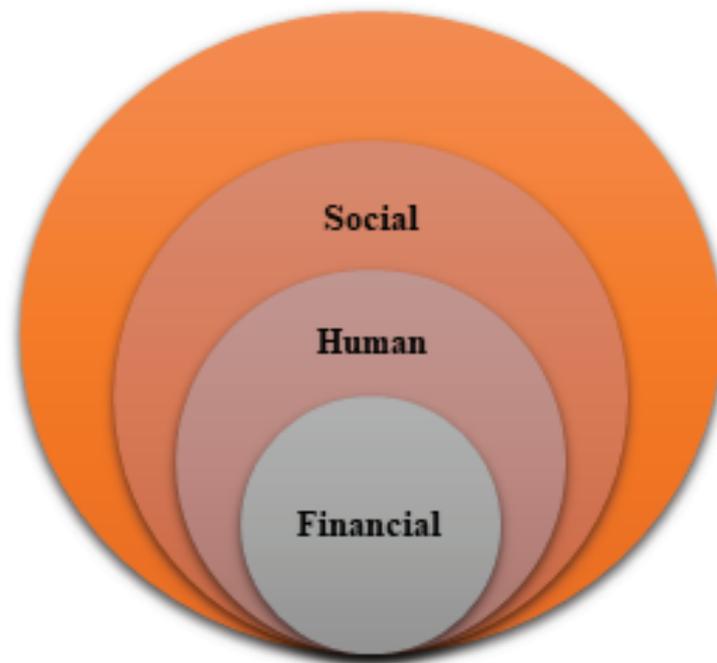


Figure 3: The Future Prediction of Capital Structure.

Furthermore, structural holes in a tourism communication network can be operationalized to: (1) information access of tourism product owned by the guides, from the information of ticket price and flight schedule, ticket price and ship schedule, ticket price and tour bus schedule, the rate of hotel room, the rental cost of boat, the ticket price of tourist attractions, the price of tour packages, to the location of beautiful tourism attractions, and so on; (2) how much the guide can determine when they can access various information of the tourism products; (3) how frequent the guide is referred as the information source of tourism product by various parties (tourist, hotel, other guides, travel agents, transportation, and so on); and (4) how great is

guide’s ability to keep the information of tourism products and distribute them without intervention from outside. Those capitals and structural holes must be examined separately—on the high season of tourist visit (around early May to January) and low season (around February to April). Because in these season, it is believed that the using of several capital and structural holes’ experiences changes in tourism communication network. Factor such as the origins of the tourists also influence the difference of capital using and the forming of structural holes of the workers, thus they can be grouped as domestic tourist possessing Indonesian Identity Card (KTP) and foreign tourist which come from outside Indonesia using passport. The same thing applies for the guides, the factor of originality is also influenced the using of capital and the forming of structural holes. Thus guides can be classified as local guide coming from West Manggarai Regency and non-local guides coming from outside West Manggarai Regency.

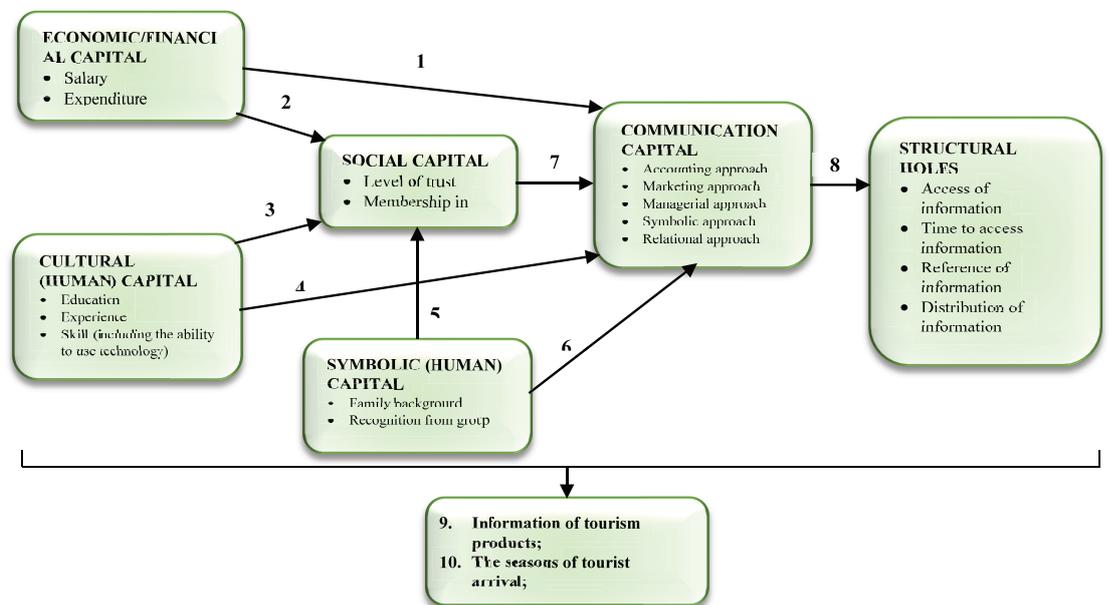


Figure 4: Path Analysis Model of Tourism Communication Capital.

6. Conclusion and Suggestion

This paper concludes that all of those five capitals—economic/financial, cultural, symbolic, social, and network—are assumed to be able to form communication capital as a capital having significant influence in forming or maintaining structural holes of tourism communication network in West Manggarai Regency. The influence can be explained by these assumptions: (1) economic capital that owned by the guide can influence the forming of communication capital; (2) economic capital that owned by

the guides is able to influence the forming of social capital; (3) cultural capital that owned by the guide can influence the forming of social capital; (4) cultural capital that owned by the guides is able to influence the forming of communication capital; (5) symbolic capital that owned by the guide can influence the forming of social capital; (6) symbolic capital that owned by the guides is able to influence the forming of communication capital; (7) social capital that owned by the guides can influence the forming of communication capital; (8) communication capital that owned by the guides is able to influence the forming of structural holes; (9) there is a difference in the causal relationship of using capital owned by the guides to manage the various information of tourism products in order to influence the position in structural holes; (10) there is a difference on causal relationship in using capitals owned by the guides in influencing the forming of structural holes in high or low seasons; (11) there is a difference on causal relationship in utilizing the capitals owned by the group of local guides and the group of nonlocal guides in influencing the forming of the position of structural holes; and (12) there is a difference on causal relationship on using capitals owned by the guides' service to foreign and domestic tourists in influencing the position of structural holes. Synthesized, all of the assumption can be poured into the path analysis model (see Figure 4).

Based on the path analysis model, it is suggested that a quantitative examination should be done in order to understand how significant the influence of communication to form structural holes in tourism communication network is. Communication capital itself is still unfamiliar to communication scientists or tourism scientists, because it actually comes from the discipline of management.

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