

Entrepreneurial Disposition in Fiji's Tourism Sector. An Investigation using the Self-Directed Search Method

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Abstract : Although Fiji's economy has grown substantially since the achievement of independence in 1970, the improved level of prosperity has not guaranteed peace or stability. The periodic bouts of political instability, which have characterised the subsequent period have frequently been attributed to the uneven distribution of wealth amongst the three major ethnic groupings: Fijians, Indo-Fijians and Others. The latter two groups are predominantly descendants made up of migrants who have settled in Fiji over the past 150 years and control most of the national economy. In marked contrast the incidence of entrepreneurial activity within the indigenous Fijian community is low, including in the tourism sector. Some researchers have attributed the low incidence of Fijian entrepreneurship to weak entrepreneurial disposition (ED) amongst the Fijian population. In the present study, Holland's Self-Directed Search (1985) is used to investigate whether Fijians exhibit lower ED than other ethnic groupings. The results confirm the contention that Fijians have weak ED. It is suggested that this characteristic has had the effect of constraining the incidence of Fijian entrepreneurial activity within the tourism sector.

Keywords: Fijians, Indo-Fijians, Others, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial disposition, Self-Directed Search.

Introduction

Fiji is a small and multi-ethnic island nation located in the South Pacific, closely connected with nearby New Zealand and Australia. It is the most economically advanced of the South Pacific island nations and has a population of approximately 820,000, with Fijians accounting for about 52% of the total, Indo-Fijians 45% and Others 7%. The 'Others' category consists predominantly of Europeans, Part-Europeans and Chinese. The levels of participation in business and commerce amongst the Indo-Fijians and Others have consistently outstripped the rates prevalent amongst the indigenous Fijians. The low incidence of Fijian entrepreneurship has fuelled resentment, particularly towards the Indo-Fijian community. Many Fijians have viewed Indo-Fijian economic dominance as challenging their primacy as the indigenous population with

long established connections to the land. There is some expectation within the Fijian community and amongst Fijian political representatives that such pre-eminence should extend into business, including tourism.

Approximately 90% of Fiji's landmass is under Fijian communal ownership. Such control places Indo- Fijians in a vulnerable position because of their dependence on leasehold arrangements over the land. Major ethnic conflict during the post-independence period first arose in 1987 when the military overthrew the newly-elected Indo-Fijian dominated government, ostensibly to prevent the transfer of political power into Indo-Fijian hands. A subsequent coup was staged in 2000. Led by George Speight, a group of Fijians stormed the national Parliament and proceeded to hold the Indo-Fijian Prime Minister and his ministerial colleagues hostage for 45 days. Subsequently no resolution was found to the underlying tensions and relations between the leaders of the Indo-Fijian and Fijian communities remained tense. A further coup was staged in 2006, this time reflective of divisions within the Fijian community rather than rivalry with the Indo- Fijians. At the time of writing, Fiji remains under military control with an interim appointed government.

Successive post independence governments have introduced a range of Fijian-centric affirmative action programmes and incentives with a view to stimulating entrepreneurial activity. However two issues appear to have militated against genuine progress. Firstly there has been an absence of political and financial stability. This has been a difficult environment for the incubation of entrepreneurship talent. Secondly Fijian attitudes appear to have remained antithetical to entrepreneurship. In practice most of the various government programmes have failed to achieve initial expectations and it remains unclear why Fijians have been unable to achieve the levels of entrepreneurial achievement prevalent amongst the other ethnic groupings. The present investigation aims to explore this paradox.

Previous research has identified a lack of entrepreneurial disposition as the major factor hindering Fijian entrepreneurship (eg. Tora, 1988; Hailey, 1985 and Davies, 2000). If a causal relationship is to be established, it is important for research to make a clear distinction between the terms "entrepreneurial disposition" (ED) and "entrepreneurship". The Dictionary of the English Language (Random House 1968) defines disposition as 'a state of mind regarding something; inclination' (p. 383); and an entrepreneur as 'a person who organizes, manages, and assumes responsibility for a business or other enterprise' (p. 443). The former term connotes a psychological state or mental readiness to venture into business activity. The latter implies success in practical business activities with a focus on management.

Literature Review

Hailey undertook a comprehensive generic study of entrepreneurship in Fiji (1985), but no single study has focussed explicitly on tourism entrepreneurship in Fiji. In contrast there are numerous studies and reports, which provide insights into the dynamics of the tourism phenomenon and the tourism industry in particular. These include Fiji's various tourism master plans (UNDP/IBRD, 1973; Coopers and Lybrand, 1989; Deloitte and Touche et. al, 1997); studies of the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism (Varley, 1978; King, Pizam and Milman, 1993; TCSP, 1992); studies of resort planning (King, 1997) and studies of the implications of political instability for tourism (Berno and King, 2001).

Despite the substantial interest shown by researchers in the concept of entrepreneurship and the commonplace use of the term, a concise and universally acceptable definition has proved elusive and highly contested (Hill and McGowan, 1999; Nodoushani and Nodoushani, 1999; Cunningham and Lischeron, 1991; Gartner, 1990, Perry, 1990, Drucker, 1985). The lack of any commonly agreed understanding of the term entrepreneur has prompted Morrison, Rimmington and Williams (1999) to conclude that it is a 'futile pastime to seek a clear-cut and universal definition' (p.29). Similarly, Fairbairn and Pearson (1987:9) have noted that economists have struggled to arrive at a meaningful conceptualisation of entrepreneurship, including the role and significance of entrepreneurs in wealth creation and economic growth. The absence of a generally agreed definition has given rise to diverging theories of entrepreneurship and of the roles undertaken by entrepreneurs.

Brazeal and Herbert (1999: 29) have attributed the lack of definitional clarity to the uneven development of entrepreneurial research, including the use of inconsistent terminology and methods, and isolation from developments in related fields. In noting the various disagreements amongst researchers, Hill and McGowan (1999) have proposed a conceptualisation of entrepreneurship as a process involving the entrepreneur, the search for market opportunities, and the marshalling of resources.

Wilken (1979) has compared entrepreneurship to a process of spontaneous combustion where the entrepreneurial spark is ignited by the disposition catalyst. Attempting to provide greater definitional precision, Long (1983) has stated that entrepreneurship includes all "entrepreneurial" activities and excludes all non-entrepreneurial activities. This approach however fails to arrive at consistent criteria capable of distinguishing between entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial activities. A further limitation of definitions, which use this

approach is their failure to account for the important contributions by individual wealth creators such as Henry Ford Jr, who inherited their wealth, acquired existing businesses and subsequently enhanced or transformed their profitability; or those who have resurrected dormant businesses. Brodsky (1996: 34) defines an entrepreneur as someone who starts with nothing except what they themselves 'bring to the party'. Using this stringent criterion, the various entrepreneurs such as Henry Ford Jr would be eliminated from consideration, despite their pioneering wealth creation. Ford would also struggle to qualify on the basis of some of the other definitions that have been mentioned.

There are various philosophical approaches evident within the entrepreneurial literature. Cunningham and Lisceron (1991: 47) identified six models or schools of entrepreneurial thought, namely (1) the 'Great Person' School, (2) the 'Psychological Characteristics' School, (3) the 'Classical' School, (4) the 'Management' School, (5) the 'Leadership' School, and (6) the 'Intrapreneurship' School. The first three approaches have tended to focus on behaviours and skills such as intuition, vigour, energy, persistence, self-esteem, personal values, risk-taking, need for achievement, innovation, creativity, and discovery which are widely viewed as elements of an ED. The other three approaches place greater emphasis on planning, organising, budgeting, motivating, directing, leading, alertness to opportunities and decision-making. These functions are widely acknowledged as being critical for successful entrepreneurship, but are emphasised in these particular cases.

Researchers have been attempting to identify the critical dimensions of entrepreneurship for over a century. Examples have included Schumpeter (1942); McClelland (1961); Drucker (1985); and Timmons (1994). The earlier thinking suggested that entrepreneurial success is based on heredity - the so-called 'gene theory'. This theory asserts that there is gene-based entrepreneurial personality or 'imprinted in early youth' (Andrew 1998:24). Early proponents of this approach argued that appropriate tests could distinguish entrepreneurial types from the rest of the population based on genetic distinctions. In practice the findings arising from such approaches have been inconclusive. Gartner's critique (1988) has described this approach as a "dead-end task" with little prospect of producing meaningful outcomes.

Notwithstanding such criticisms, some individuals and communities and at least a small section of the general population clearly possess greater enterprising skills and interests and exhibit stronger entrepreneurial disposition than others. This parallels the dispositions evident amongst those who are gifted in fields such as music, mathematics, or sport. When the distribution of entrepreneurial talent is examined on the basis of ethnicity, researchers have

identified that certain minority groups such as the Lebanese in West Africa or Jews in many parts of the world, exhibit above-average entrepreneurial achievement. Hagen (1962) attributed the strong entrepreneurial inclinations of such minorities to 'a sense of separateness from the rest of society in which they live combined with a feeling of being discriminated against by members of the larger society' and compensate for this sense of diminished status in entrepreneurial achievement' (quoted in Greenfield and Strickon et. al., 1979:10). This suggests the emergence of a particular mindset amongst those self-conscious minorities. In Fiji the Indo-Fijians are an example of a minority community, albeit a very substantial one. Ravuvu (1988:57) has characterised the Indo-Fijians as follows.

They (Indo-Fijians) ... were indentured and became migrants from a generally harsh and severe physical and social environment in which they were highly differentiated, stratified into castes and oppressed by overpopulation and starvation. Fiji was an opportune place to make the best out of it. Although the period of indenture contract (gimit) was rather dismal, exploitative and tortuous to many, the process of serving or suffering under the indenture system was in fact a baptism of fire which further developed in the Indian personality a great sense of endurance, risk taking and determination They also had to develop other traits or characteristics, which would enable them to survive and become free in a new environment Cut off from their extended village and family ties in India, they increasingly become individualistic and egoistic in order to survive and forge ahead economically, politically and socially.

The relevant literature is replete with references to entrepreneurial traits and to the various skills associated with entrepreneurship. Timmons, Smollen and Dingee (1985) have listed the various traits as 'total commitment', 'determination', and 'perseverance'. 'drive to achieve and grow', 'opportunity', 'goal orientation', 'initiative', 'personal responsibility', 'persistent problem-solving', 'realism', 'sense of humour', 'feedback', 'risk seeking', low need for status and power', and 'integrity and reliability.' Possession of these traits is however no guarantee that a successful entrepreneur will emerge as is demonstrated by the following examples. The noted entrepreneur David Bussau for example, achieved his success with no formal education. John De Lorean exemplifies the opposite circumstances, having acquired the art and skills of entrepreneurship at General Motors where he had a successful career. However despite possessing degrees in music, industrial engineering and business, De Lorean failed when he attempted to create a new car-manufacturing venture (Bolton and Thompson, 2000).

Despite the research challenges associated with entrepreneurship, the use of psychometric tests offers an established method of assessing the entrepreneurial disposition of individuals or communities. The literature has considered a variety of alternative instruments within the broad category of psychometrics. These include Holland's Self-Directed Search (Holland 1985a, 1985b, 1990), the BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventor (BarOn, 1997), and the Managerial and Professional Job Function Inventory (MPJFI) (Baehr, Lonergan, and Hunt, 1992). Such approaches have much in common with the various psychological tests used by employment agencies to ascertain whether job applicants possess the appropriate skills that are demanded by employers. The various tests are particularly useful for identifying the incidence of traits prevalent across distinct and measurable groups. Because of the sensitive nature of the ethnic dimension of the present investigation, achieving perceived and actual objectivity was considered to be an important objective. The adoption of a quantitative approach appeared to offer respondents an appropriate level of anonymity and to counteract the subjectivity often associated with qualitatively oriented surveys.

In the present exploratory study, the researchers set out to assess levels of entrepreneurial disposition amongst Fiji's entrepreneurs with a particular focus on any differences evident between Indo-Fijians, Fijians and Others. They note the widely observed dominance of that Indo-Fijians and Others at managerial level within the tourism sector, with Fijians more commonly occupying customer service and front-line roles. On this basis it was noted that the causes of the widening achievement gap between Fijians and non-Fijians within the tourism sector merits closer examination. It should be easier to recommend future options once the causes of the disparity have been identified. The present paper focuses exclusively on respondents who are already in the workforce, and is part of a larger study, which included an examination of the entrepreneurial dispositions of young Fiji nationals, enrolled in higher education programs. For the purposes of the present paper, the sample consisted of a list of 397 tourist managers held by the Fiji Visitors Bureau, Fiji's destination marketing organisation. The main island of Fiji Viti Levu was chosen as the survey region because of its accessibility. Of the total list of 233 individuals within this region who fitted the relevant criteria, 52 were Indo-Fijians, 61 Fijians and 120 Others. A sample of 156 was drawn up using simple random sampling.

For the purposes of the proposed survey, the researchers decided to use a pre-existing psychological scale known as 'Self Directed Search' (SDS) (Holland, 1985a, 1985b, 1990). This instrument appeared to offer a high degree of practicality and convenience for the conduct of an investigation into

entrepreneurial disposition. The SDS is simple for respondents and provides researches, with outputs, which can be readily analysed. Brown Brooks and Associates (1996) identified over 450 references generated during the period 1959 to 1988, that were supportive of Holland's theoretical constructs concerning career preference (Gillet, 1996). Holland's theory has enjoyed international recognition and has been described as 'tough, practical, compact and useful' (Norman, 1994, quoted in Frew, 2000:79). The widespread use of replications of Holland's taxonomy in the career development field is testimony 'to the practicality of Holland's theory' (Miller, 1991 quoted in Frew, 2000:78). The SDS coding method has been described as a concise means of matching interests and patterns and careers and particularly useful for assessing whether a prospective entrepreneur exhibits the necessary 'interest pattern' (entrepreneurial disposition) (Holland 1990). The SDS was considered to be suitable because of its capacity to measure levels of entrepreneurial disposition exhibited by both individuals and societies. The comprehensiveness of the questionnaire does have a consequential limitation - respondents must insert 204 ticks, mainly in columns headed either 'Like' or 'Dislike'. Though some may find this requirement excessively time-consuming. Typical respondents should however be able to tick all of the columns in less than 30 minutes.

Research Methods

As the first step in the survey administration, the SDS was posted to prospective respondents. Two months later the response rate had only reached 6%, despite email and telephone reminders. It was evident to the researchers that the climate of suspicion in Fiji after the 2000 coup may have discouraged prospective respondents. It became clear that a new research impetus and direction was required. Confronted by these difficulties and relying upon purposive sampling, the researchers extended the target population beyond the tourism sector to include owners and managers from across the wider services sector including statutory and commercial organisations. Though less tourism specific, this approach had the benefit of providing potential insights into the broader services sector.

In extending the sample beyond the tourism sector, directors and other senior personnel for the following organisations were consulted: Fiji Chamber of Commerce; Ministry of Finance; Fiji Trade and Investment Board; Government Handicraft Centre; Fiji Museum; Fiji National Training Council and Department of Planning, Government of Fiji. Lecturers at the University of the South Pacific and a former Government Minister were also consulted. Because of the seniority of these respondents within their organizations, the

views were considered to be significant. However their inclusion raises the issue of whether to treat managers and entrepreneurs as equivalents, in some respondents occupied managerial roles in enterprises owned by entrepreneurs in cases where these entrepreneurs are not actively involved in the business operations. A determination about whether to treat these respondents as managers or as entrepreneurs was critical to the success of this research and the researchers deliberated over whether or not to accord equal prominence to the responses of managers and 'absent' entrepreneurs. Given the logistical constraints confronting the researchers in the present study, a decision was made to place managers on a par with entrepreneurs. This was done on the basis that managers need entrepreneurial skills to manage business enterprises effectively, even in cases where they do not possess any equity in the business. It is however worth noting that Steward, Watson, Carland and Carland (1998) identified higher scores for entrepreneurs than managers on the 'need for achievement', 'risk-taking' and 'innovation' traits which is a reminder of difference between the two cohorts.

Based on the revised survey plan, the fieldwork was undertaken on the western side of Viti Levu between the capital city (Suva) and the country's second largest city (Lautoka) over the period January to June 2001. This region contains most of Fiji's major hotels and tourist-related businesses. Consistent with the revised research approach, the SDS was posted, emailed or delivered personally to 33 Indo-Fijians, 33 Fijians and 33 Others. The equal numbers attributed to each of the three groups deserves comment. Though the Fiji Visitors Bureau list identified 56 Indo-Fijian enterprises only 33 were available for surveying a consequence of the accessibility issue. the sample for Fijians and Others was deliberately capped at the same figure. Because of the smallish sample size and perhaps because of the length of the SDS instrument, the number of respondents was fairly low, even in this second stage. Only 61 respondents - 22 Indo-Fijians, 18 Fijians and 21 Others, amounting to a 62% success rate, completed the SDS questionnaires in full. Partially completed questionnaires were not analysed. Whilst less than optimal, the modest sample size should not be viewed as a serious shortcoming, in view of the exploratory nature of the present study.

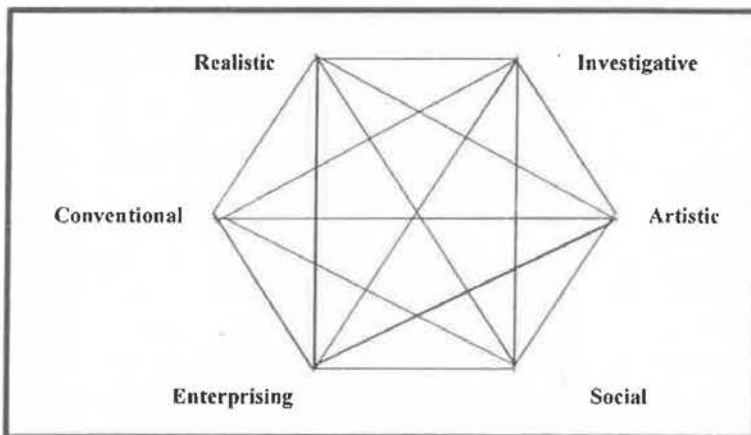
In Figure 1, the SDS is presented as an octagonal paradigm. Individuals are characterised as displaying one of six basic types, namely 'realistic', 'investigative', 'artistic', 'social', 'enterprising', or 'conventional'. Of the six types, realistic personalities are viewed as being mechanically and athletically-inclined; investigative types are associated with mathematical and scientific prowess; artistic types display artistry, originality and imagination; enterprising types

exhibit leadership and speaking abilities, conventional types show greater clerical and arithmetic strengths, and social types possess social skills, are interested in human relationship and like to help others to solve problems. Individuals of this type generally prefer working with people rather with things.

Some individuals may be classified as 'R' types whilst others are classified as 'S' types, though some respondents may display more than two personality traits. The traits are listed in order of salience. In the case of 'RSC,' for example R is the dominant trait, followed by the 'social and the conventional' trait. Where a code does not appear in the profile, it is indicative of lesser congruence between an individual and a type of occupation. According to Reardon (<http://www.self-directed-search.com/sdsreprt.html>),

The hexagon can be used to estimate the degree of fit between a person and an occupation or field of study. For example, a Social person in a social occupation fits the job well; a social person in an enterprising or Artistic occupation is not as close a fit but is not far off; a Social person in an Investigative or Conventional occupation is in a less compatible situation; and a Social person in a realistic occupation is in the most incompatible situation possible on the hexagon.

Figure 1 : The six SDS Types.



Source : Reardon : <http://www.self-directed-search.com/sdreprt.htm>

In the present study, the 'E' personality was identified as the main focus of analysis and discussion because of its association with entrepreneurship. The leadership characteristic of the 'E' type is associated with entrepreneurship including the need for 'achievement', 'risk-taking' and 'innovation'. These characteristics are widely accepted as engendering entrepreneurial disposition.

Data Analysis and Results

The quantitative data obtained from the SDS were subjected to the Multiple Response Analysis test (MRA) in the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and the findings are outlined in Table 1. The various scores obtained using the MRA calculation, were grouped together under the seven personality types. For the reasons indicated previously, the researchers focused on the scores in the 'enterprising' category. As is shown in Table 1, Indo-Fijians accounted for a score of 630 on this attribute, Fijians for 546 and Others for 423. The scores attributable to the Indo-Fijians and Others were then amalgamated with a view providing more meaningful comparison with the Fijians. The comparative results are outlined in Table 2. In order to calculate the z value the cumulative scores for the two groups under the 'enterprising' attribute were then subjected to the Test of Proportions.

Table 1. Entrepreneur MRA Scores: Holland's SDS

	Realistic	Investigative	Artistic	Social	Enterprising	Conventional
Indo-Fijians						
Responses	383	384	429	572	630	669
% of responses	12%	13%	14%	19%	21%	21%
Fijians						
Responses	322	273	364	451	546	481
% of responses	13%	11%	15%	19%	22%	20%
Others.						
Responses	313	327	331	428	423	383
% of responses	15%	15%	15%	19%	19%	17%
Total responses	1,018	984	1,124	1,451	1,599	1,533
% of responses	13%	12%	15%	19%	21%	20%

*Indo Fijians (n=22); Fijians (n=18); Others (n=21)

Table 2. Respondent SDS Profiles: Indo-Fijians/Others and Fijians

	Realistic	Investigative	Artistic	Social	Enterprising	Conventional
Indo-Fijians /Others						
Responses	696	711	760	1,000	1,053	1,052
% of responses	13%	13%	15%	19%	20%	20%
Fijians						
Responses	322	273	364	451	546	481
% of responses	13%	11%	15%	19%	22%	20%
Total	1,018	984	1,124	1,451	1,599	1,533
	13%	12%	15%	19%	21%	20%

*Indo - Fijians (n=22); Fijians (n=18); Others (n=21)

Table 3. Z test on the SDS scores to assess respondent entrepreneurial disposition

	Indo-Fijians/Others	Fijians	Z value	Critical value
Realistic	0.132	0.13	0.24 Not significant	Plus or minus 1.96
Investigative	0.135	0.11	3.06 Significant	Plus or minus 1.96
Artistic	0.144	0.15	-0.69 Not significant	Plus or minus 1.96
Social	0.19	0.19	0 Not significant	Plus or minus 1.96
Enterprising	0.2	0.22	-2.01 Significant	Plus or minus 1.96
Conventional	0.2	0.2	0 Not significant	Plus or minus 1.96

Source: Derived from the MRA analysis

The researchers then assessed whether the sample mean confirmed that the hypothesized population mean was accurate (Kinnear and Taylor, 1996, p. 578). The results of the z value calculation are outlined in Table 3. The finding was statistically significant when the Test of Proportions was applied

to the cumulative scores obtained by Fijians and Indo-Fijians/Others on the 'enterprising' factor. The calculated value exceeded the critical value at the 0.05 level of significance, which was $-2.01 < -1.96$. This finding suggests that differing proportions of Indo-Fijians/Others and Fijians exhibit an entrepreneurial disposition. Whilst it is not possible to identify with any certainty which group is responsible for these statistical differences, it seems more likely to be the Fijian respondents. This conclusion is based on the well-accepted observation that Indo-Fijians and Others predominate at the core of Fiji's tourist industry, while Fijians are generally to be found on the periphery. Within the wider Fiji economy, there were only 200 Fijian entrepreneurs out of approximately 5000 registered private sector enterprises (Baselala, Fiji Times, 2005, p.20), a mere 2% representation. This is a startling observation, and provides evidence that Fijians are grossly underrepresented in entrepreneurial activities.

It is difficult to be sure whether these findings are attributable to entrepreneurial disposition (ED) or to the incidence of entrepreneurial activity. There is a distinct possibility that the results are reflective of low ED. Various commentators have observed that weak ED is the greatest obstacle to Fijian entrepreneurship, with difficulties in qualities such as hard work, commitment, perseverance, opportunity-seeking, and ambition. Against thus a minority of Fijians clearly do possess the appropriate skills at the ED phase, and have recorded achievements at the subsequent entrepreneurship phase. This must suggest that cultural factors have been partially responsible for the high rate of Fijian in entrepreneurial failure.

Though the 'enterprising' trait is the most directly applicable in the context of the present study, other components of the SDS scale should not be neglected. The analysis undertaken here has shown that Indo-Fijians exhibit a 'CES' (Conventional, Enterprising and Social) personality profile, Fijians exhibit an ECS' (Enterprising, Conventional and Social) profile, and others a 'SEC' (Social, Enterprising and Conventional) profile. The Indo-Fijian profile indicates that while the community excels in entrepreneurship, its strongest skills 'conventional' and 'enterprising and social'. Previous research has found that Indo-Fijians are strong in clerical and numerical skills (conventional), which are particularly relevant for entrepreneurship. Indo-Fijians appear to be weaker on the 'social' dimension. Given that Fijian levels of entrepreneurial participation are comparatively low, it was surprising to find that 'enterprising' was the major strength within the Fijian profile. Perhaps Fijians are more successful at the entrepreneurship phase rather than at the ED phase. In terms of workforce participation, Fijians are most commonly found in roles demanding social skills. No fixed pattern was observed in the case of Others, perhaps because

of the heterogeneity of the group. Despite the passage of over 40 years since independence, the Part-European component of this group remains prominent. The social dimension appears to be its most prominent characteristic of this group. Although the 'investigative' type did not register in any of the three ethnic profiles, this skill is an important entrepreneurial requirement, particularly in scientifically oriented enterprises. It is debatable whether this is the case with many tourism organisations. Apart from staff involved in specialist activities such as research, relatively few tourism industry roles require substantial investigative competence.

As was mentioned previously, the SDS creates a profile out of the three highest scores under each of the six factors with the Other factors excluded from the personality profile. In practice, all of the SDS factors may contribute to the achievement of entrepreneurial success. The SDS has generally been used to provide a broad assessment of respondent's interest patterns within particular ethnic groupings. The present analysis provides an original contribution to the literature by comparing across as well as within ethnic groupings.

Limitations

Two major limitations of the research should be noted. Firstly the sample consisted of only 61 respondents out of a sampling frame of 233 entrepreneurs. The representativeness of these respondents is unclear and a larger sample may have provided greater insights and have strengthened the reliability of the results. As a result of the difficulties encountered during the earlier survey administration, including time pressures the researchers proceeded to use purposive sampling and to target respondents from outside the tourism industry. Although this should not distort the results, consistent approach would normally require respondents to be as homogeneous as possible. Secondly, the results may have been influenced by the use of an 'imported' questionnaire (ie the SDS) within the cultural context of Fiji. It is widely acknowledged that Western-oriented questionnaires are more accurate when applied to the types of western societies where the initial testing has occurred. It has been argued previously that Cronbach's alpha should be used to revalidate such instruments when they are being applied in a Third-World context. The Cronbach alpha shows the extent of any interrelationships between a set of items or factors within a scale. In summarising the views of Netemeyer, Durvasula and Lichtenstein (1991), Knight (1997:216-7) has commented that if the scale "is truly applicable abroad, its factor structure and pattern of factor loadings should be equivalent across all cultures. If the pattern of factor loadings is

inconsistent across various settings, it is likely that different concepts are being assessed and conclusions drawn from cross-cultural research may not be valid". The researchers in the conduct of the present study have noted this concern.

Analysis and Implications

In view of the low incidence of Fijian entrepreneurial activity in the tourism and services sectors, the researchers had anticipated that the study might confirm the widely held view that Fijian tourism entrepreneurs show weak ED as well as weak entrepreneurship. This expectation was confirmed. It is however important to acknowledge that individuals may exhibit strong ED and weak entrepreneurship or vice versa. Using the earlier analogy of the internal combustion engine, a catalyst may be required to "ignite a spark" and an ED may be a precursor for any successful new venture. In the case of Fijian entrepreneurs the catalyst appears to be lacking creation and entrepreneurship. Other things being equal, a population exhibiting stronger ED should produce more entrepreneurs than a population exhibiting weaker ED. Research has shown that societies, which actively foster and encourage individualism, such as the USA and European countries including the United Kingdom exhibit higher ED and greater entrepreneurial engagement. This is not generally the case for more collectively oriented societies such as in Africa. Indo-Fijians and Others appear to have a predominant influence in Fiji because they have a higher incidence of the values and traits that trigger entrepreneurship (i.e. entrepreneurial disposition). Fijian society is also predominantly collectivist. As has been found in the present study, collectivism does appear to have hindered Fijian participation in tourism entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship may be understood at two levels. Individual entrepreneurs possess certain inherent traits including innovation, risk-taking, strategic vision, interpersonal skills, emotional intelligence, perseverance, dedication, and emotional stability in times of adversity. It is widely accepted that a minority within any society possesses innate enterprising traits which may act as catalysts triggering entrepreneurship. The traits cannot be acquired solely through training and education. These catalytic values do not guarantee entrepreneurial success and need to be supplemented with managerial and technical skills and with an environment supportive of enterprising activity.

It is the researchers' view that a stable political and financial environment is needed if entrepreneurship is to flourish. Affirmative action policies may assist the formation of new Fijian ventures, but may be ineffective if Fijian culture and attitudes remain antithetical to entrepreneurship. Fijians who persist

with established cultural predispositions may have difficulty making inroads into entrepreneurship. The paucity of successful Fijian tourism entrepreneurs may have arisen because Fijian cultural values do not provide a conducive environment for entrepreneurial disposition, which is the precursor to entrepreneurial activity. Many of those who have succeeded in tourism appear to have moved away from collectivist values and sought a compromise between their collective inheritance and the demands of contemporary business. Others who have experimented with cultural adjustment have failed. Entrepreneurs from the Indo-Fijian and Others categories appear to encounter fewer constraints than their Fijian counterparts and are quicker to espouse individualism, materialism and a culture of acquisition. These are notable ingredients of ED and entrepreneurship.

Conclusions and Opportunities for the Research

ED and entrepreneurship are complex and interrelated, with the former appearing to trigger the latter. Of the three broad ethnic groupings active within Fiji's tourist industry, only the Fijians were found to be weak in both of ED and entrepreneurship. The other groups were stronger on both measures, commensurate with their dominance of Fiji's tourist sector. The use of the Self-Directed Search instrument has helped the researchers to distinguish between populations and/or individuals with greater or lesser ED. The findings suggest that there is an opportunity to earmark those who exhibit an entrepreneurial disposition for affirmative action and to offer them training and education programmes. In this context the relevant instruments could assist training institutions to identify those prospective students who exhibit greatest entrepreneurial potential for admission to relevant courses. However it should be acknowledged that entrepreneurial success depends upon a diverse range of factors and not solely on ED.

To provide further endorsement for the present findings it is suggested that future researchers consider the use of alternative research methods and techniques such as the Entrepreneurial Attitude Orientation (Shenson and Anderson, 1989), Entrepreneurial Attitude Orientation (Robinson and Simpson, et al.) and Proactive Personality Scale (Bateman and Crant, 1993). The credibility of future research findings will also be enhanced if qualitative approaches are used to supplement the current quantitative approach. This would enhance the prospects of capturing the feelings and meanings behind the words and phrases used by respondents.

The need to bridge the entrepreneurial gap between the major ethnic groupings remains a major and urgent challenge for Fiji. National development

is likely to be shaped by the speed with which Fijians are able to participate in entrepreneurial activities, along with non-Fijians. This process may be accelerated if measures are introduced to identify those Fijians who do possess an entrepreneurial disposition and to provide them with financial support and management guidance. The SDS is a potential tool for identifying the suitability of future Fijian entrepreneurs for incubation purposes. It is worth noting that in previous studies, the SDS is usually been used to carry out a broad assessment of the interest pattern of the respondents within particular ethnic groupings. By providing a comparison across as well as within ethnic groupings it is hoped that the present analysis makes an original contribution to the literature.

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