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Globalisation and cultural change in Pacific Island countries: the role of tourism

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\section*{ABSTRACT}
Globalisation is often perceived as a threat to the preservation of traditional cultures. There are various approaches to understanding the impact of globalisation on culture. Pieterse's three paradigms of globalisation and culture, clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation, provide a useful theoretical foundation for understanding how tourism impacts culture. The three paradigms of globalisation assess cultural change holistically. Cultural change in Pacific Island countries (PIC) due to globalisation, especially tourism's role, in this change, is the focus. Data are sourced via interviews with various tourism stakeholders from Fiji, Tonga and Cook Islands. Tourism is only one driver of cultural change. Other forces include mobilities, migration, diaspora, geopolitical change, technology and popular culture. Examples of the clash of civilisations paradigm include geopolitical changes resulting in different tourism markets and the imitation effect from diaspora and tourists. Commodification of cultural performance for both tourist and local consumption and use of popular culture, for example the animated film \textit{Moana}, are viewed as McDonaldisation of culture. Participants' reflections on ongoing evolution of culture including the integration of PIC into the world economy, through increased mobilities and technologies, exemplify hybridisation. In general, the three PIC are found to be culturally resilient. Culture of these PIC is resilient with Pacific Islanders maintaining agency over change, however the impact of various globalisation factors demand effort in preserving culture in the long term.

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\section*{摘 要}
全球化经常被认为是对传统文化保护的威胁。有多种方法可以理解全球化对文化的影响。皮特尔斯（Pieterse）1996年提出了三种全球化影响文化的范式：文明的冲突、文化的麦当劳化和混杂。为理解旅游如何影响文化提供了一个有用的理论基础。本文运用全球化的三种范式从整体上评估文化变迁。全球化对太平洋岛国的文化变迁的影响，尤其旅游业对文化变迁的影响，是本文关注的焦点。本文数据来源于对斐济、汤加和库克群岛旅游利益相关者的采访。旅游业只是文化变迁的一种动力。其他力量包括人口流动、移民、散居、地缘政治变迁、科技和流行文化。文明冲突范式的例子包括影响不同旅游市场的地缘政治变化，以及散居和游客的模仿效应。为游客和当地消费者提供的商业化的文化表演和流行文化，例如动画片《海洋奇缘》，被视为文化的麦当劳化。参与者反思...
Introduction

Culture plays a major role in and for tourism. Culture serves as a major attraction and thus has the ability to preserve or revive cultural practices (McKercher, 2002). However, the adverse effects of tourism on culture, through cultural appropriation and commodification, have been extensively discussed in tourism literature (Root, 2018; Shepherd, 2002). Culture is important for Pacific Island countries (PIC). The unique PIC cultures attract tourists, while tourism impacts their culture. Tourism is also one of the few economic options for many PIC, thus, although there are possible negative cultural impacts of tourism, PIC in many cases need to sustain visitation (Cave, Ryan, & Panakera, 2003). While there are some aspects of culture that are common across national boundaries, many customs and traditions are unique to a particular island state, geographical area or even tribe due to a variety of geographical, historical and social factors. These unique cultures are under external pressure due to a variety of globalisation forces that include, but are not limited to, migration, popular culture, technological advancement and tourism (Crocombe, 2001). As visitor arrival numbers grow across many PIC, tourism becomes more geographically widespread and mature, with new destinations now existing in the region (Cheer et al., 2018). Therefore, it is timely to reassess the socio-cultural impacts of tourism along with other forces of globalisation on PIC.

Culture is defined as ‘behaviour and beliefs that are learned and shared: learned so that it is not “instinctual,” shared so that it is not individual’ (Pieterse, 1995, p. 1390). This definition emphasises the social sharing aspect, but it is not limited by any geographic borders; just a shared common experience. Culture refers as much to behaviour and beliefs held in common as those which are different. The definition of globalisation is much more contested. There is general agreement that globalisation is shaped by technological change, involves the reconfiguration of nation states, accompanies regionalisation and is uneven. There is less consensus about whether globalisation is purely an economic occurrence or multidimensional, whether it is a modern phenomenon or a long-term historical process, whether it is a result of neoliberal capitalism or a much broader social phenomenon, whether it exists or is merely rhetoric? (Pieterse, 2015, p. 8). As this study concerns culture, globalisation is defined from a cultural perspective as ‘a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people are increasingly aware that they are receding’ (Waters, 1995, p. 3).

A lot has been written on tourism and globalisation (e.g. Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Wahab & Cooper, 2005) as well as tourism’s impact on culture and the host culture’s impact on tourism and tourists (Canavan, 2016; Macleod & Carrier, 2009). The main objective of this paper is to examine cultural change in PIC due to globalisation, with
a focus on tourism’s role as one of the contributors to this change. The context of PIC is appropriate for exploration into tourism’s impact on cultural change as the South Pacific is home to diverse cultures, while tourism forms one of the major economic activities for many PIC (Harrison & Pratt, 2013). Different from previous research, various impacts of globalisation on culture and tourism’s role in it are discussed using Pieterse’s (1996) three paradigms of globalisation, namely clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. The application of the three paradigms contributes to a more holistic understanding of the complexity of relationships between culture and tourism. The paradigms are based on two contrasting worldviews: modern and postmodern, which allow the discussion of structural issues as well as dynamic cultural changes in the PICs.

The next section briefly outlines Pieterse’s (1996) three paradigms of globalisation, clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation, and describes how these paradigms apply to tourism in general. The subsequent methodology section explains the research approach and data collection methods after which the findings section ‘Globalisation, tourism and culture of PIC’ demonstrates specific examples from PIC of how globalisation through tourism has impacted local culture. The penultimate section, the discussion section, locates the findings from this research back into the wider body of literature and a conclusion section follows.

**Globalisation: three paradigms**

Increasing global interconnectedness has been associated with cultural change. Cultural change and differences in cultures have been explained by Pieterse (1995, 1996, 2015) with three contrasting paradigms: clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. The first two paradigms are modernist in that they are static and address an issue of imposition of Western culture in non-Western countries. Hybridisation is thought of in postmodern terms, where cultures affect each other and evolve dynamically.

**Clash of civilisations**

Huntington (1993) posits that differences in cultures are likely to result in a clash of these cultures. Viewing globalisation from a mainly political viewpoint, Huntington (1993) sees cultural differences as dividing the world into opposing forces, notably the West versus the Rest. The ‘Rest’ has been the Islamic world, Asian ‘yellow peril’ and the Iron Curtain and Communist threat (Kavolis, 1988), depending on the era and the issue being discussed. These geopolitics politicise culture and emphasise a national security doctrine. In the modern world system, culture is an ideological tool (Wallerstein, 1990). This paradigm views cultural differentialism as a kind of ‘billiard ball’ model where cultures are separate entities bumping into one another but not interacting (Pieterse, 1996).

The clash of cultures has been identified in the tourism context. In Deery, Jago, Fredline, (2012), the authors note that social interaction between tourists and local communities, both their positive and negative impacts, has generated a large body of
research. In this paradigm, the clash of cultures is often predicated on the overriding Western tourist culture dominating or displacing the host culture (Canavan, 2016). International tourists are often viewed as a threat to local culture, to the local communities’ recreation activities and cultural identity, as found by Wray, Espiner, and Perkins (2010) discussing one case in New Zealand. Scholars have documented how tourists threaten deeply held values and beliefs about the local resources, both physical and cultural. For example, Weaver (2010) states that across Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, indigenous peoples have been coerced off their land and relegated to surviving on the periphery, leading to economic and social deprivation of the indigenous community. Lew and Kennedy (2002) note that in the case of Native Americans, tourism is a means of forced assimilation. Native American culture was perceived as second class to the dominant Euro-American culture. Elsewhere, tourists transplant their own culture physically to the host destination, occupying the physical space but enjoying many of imported elements of their own culture, as noted by Hottola (2004) in the case of Finnish package tourists to Spain. Enclave tourism is sometimes representative of this type of globalisation via tourism (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2016).

Others have suggested that tourism is a new form of colonialism (Britton, 1982; Fisher, 2004a; Jaakson, 2004), whereby the historically dominant imperial cultures continue to subjugate these peripheral, usually developing, countries. One way for this to occur is the demonstration effect, which is seen when the hosts of a tourist destination adopt behavioural patterns of tourists. Typically, the examples of demonstration effect include residents in non-Western destinations adopting behaviours of tourists from developed Western countries. Such examples include dress preferences in favour of more open and casual dress, increased consumption of imported goods and alcohol consumption (Fisher, 2004b). Globalisation facilitates this through mass tourism via inexpensive and increasingly accessible transportation. Cultural hegemony is then imposed on the host destination, alluding to the Fukuyama thesis of the ‘end of history’ (Giampiccoli, 2003). This form of cultural globalisation assumes all cultures are converging into the same, notably Western, global culture.

**McDonaldisation**

The McDonaldisation paradigm posits the worldwide homogenisation of cultures through the impact of multi-national corporations (Pieterse, 1996). This type of modernisation is essentially Americanisation and alludes to the spread of global capitalism. This phenomenon was foreshadowed in Marx’s thesis with the world-system theory being the latest version of this perspective (Peet & Hawick, 2015). The McDonalds formula is built on efficiency (rapid service), is calculable (fast and inexpensive), is predictable (no surprises), and controls labour and customers (Ritzer, 2004). However, Pieterse (2015, p. 52) highlights several examples where multi-national global expansion has not resulted in a homogenisation of cultures but global localisation (glocalisation). McDonalds in Moscow adjusted its services to cater for local tastes, that is, the procedures and some products and services are standardised globally throughout a corporation with adjustments for the preferences of the local market. Yet the idea of McDonaldisation has
been applied in many areas: McJobs, McInformation, McCitizens, McUniversity, McTourism, McCulture, McPrisons, McCourts. The idea describes the rationalisation and optimisation of various institutions and aspects of life (Gotttdiener, 2000).

McDonaldisation has been highlighted in the tourism literature. Highly predictable, highly efficient and highly controlled package tours of mass tourism help to create McTourists, who want predictable, minimal cost, efficient entertainment with low levels of risk (Ritzer & Liska, 1997). They explain how Disney World is a prime example of McTourism, providing a fully rationalized, highly commoditised, inauthentic experience. Weaver (2005) illustrates the McDonaldisation of cruise tourism. In Alaska, Zegre, Needham, Kruger, and Rosenberger (2012) associate the commercial outdoor recreation and tourism industry with McDonaldisation because of characteristics such as efficiency, calculability, predictability and control.

Associated with global homogenisation is the commodification of culture. Cultural commodification, as it is presented and ‘consumed’ by tourists has been a fertile area for tourism research. The commodification of culture is essentially perceived as negative, where traditional ceremonies, handicrafts and language are changed to suit tourists (Kirtsoglou & Theoeddopoulo, 2004; Macleod, 2006; Shepherd, 2002). Some see cultural commodification as disempowering traditional cultures and cultural practices to respond to the demands of global tourism (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003).

Hybridisation

Differing from the previous two paradigms, hybridisation blurs boundaries and involves cross-over of cultures, recognising that culture is fluid (Pieterse, 1996). Hybridisation sits between the previous two paradigms. It is an answer to cultural differentialism, which may lead to nationalist doctrines of culture (Pieterse, 1995). Hybridisation goes by various terms, such as global localisation, local globalisation, and glocalisation (Swyngedouw, 2004). As a concept, hybridisation does not reveal the contribution of the mix of cultures. Any asymmetries in the mix of cultures are concealed (Pieterse, 2015). There are different types and styles of mixing, emphasising that intercultural mingling is an open and creative process (Pieterse, 2015). The forces of globalisation, such as technology, communication, mobility, migration, trade, investment, tourism, heighten the awareness of cultural differences (Pieterse, 2015).

In tourism literature, scholars have noted examples of hybridisation, describing a number of events and festivals that showcase aspects of the culture of diasporic populations, for example The Notting Hill Carnival in London and The Mela Festival in Edinburgh (Burr, 2006; Carnegie & Smith, 2006). While celebrating the traditional culture of the diasporic communities, there are elements of the host community that are imported into these festivals to provide new hybridised cultural forms. Conversely, the dominant culture also may evolve to include the elements of diasporic cultures. For example, South Asian cuisine in the UK is now popular beyond the diaspora and is arguably part of British culture (Buettner, 2008). Jacobsen (2003) notes, in the age of modernity, international travel around Europe involves glocalisation as there are elements of tourists’ home culture as they travel in a ‘tourist bubble’. Trau (2012) argues that Vanuatu’s World Heritage Site, Chief Roi Mata’s Domain, is an example of
glocalisation because, at the local community level, the customary landowners negotiate international tourism development while attempting to maintain their traditional culture. Salazar (2005) highlights the case of glocalisation among Indonesian tour guides where the guides tailor ‘local (and localized) products (representations of heritage and culture) to changing global audiences (international tourists coming from various parts of the world and with different preferences)’ (Salazar, 2005, p. 631). Chang & Pang (2017) suggest that even theme parks such as Universal Studios in Singapore can be analysed in terms of interaction of global and local forces that result in glocalisation.

This brief literature review expounds the three paradigms of globalisation: clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. Examples of how these paradigms have been applied in a tourism context are provided. While there have been individual applications of each of these paradigms, this paper explores comparisons and contrast examples of each of these paradigms across the common context of the Pacific to provide a contribution to knowledge.

**Method**

This study is constructivist in its nature (Crotty, 1998; Patton, 2001). It aims to explore and provide an in-depth understanding of a complex social phenomenon, that is, cultural change in the South Pacific. This qualitative study is informed by semi-structured in-depth interviews to allow flexibility for the researchers to react and explore themes emerging from participants in further detail (Jennings, 2011). Such research design is found most suitable to address research objectives, albeit qualitative exploratory studies may lack generalisability and objectivity (Bryman & Bell, 2011). The questions asked participants to provide their background. Participants were then asked to describe tourism impacts on their country as well as how tourism itself has evolved. Research participants were asked to reflect specifically on socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Consequently, participants reflected on the topics of modernisation, international relations, migration, education and employment. These topics allowed freedom for participants to express their opinions in relationship to different aspects of culture, not limited to heritage or representations of culture, but also related to worldviews, beliefs and values.

Fifty interviews with stakeholders representing government agencies, businesses, non-government organisations, community leaders and educators from Fiji (19 participants), Tonga (14 participants) and Cook Islands (17 participants) were conducted. Sixteen participants were female, fourteen were expatriates. See Appendix 1 for full profiles of research participants.

All interviews were conducted in English during July and August 2017. English is one of the official languages in all three countries, therefore there was no language barrier as all participants speak English. The researchers are not native to any of the three countries that are part of this research, which may be a hindrance as the researchers may not be aware of certain cultural practices. The participants’ answers may have been different if the researchers were locals rather than outsiders. However, the researchers do not have bias towards any of the researched destinations and participants did not have to be wary of researchers being offended by participants’ views
regarding their culture. This research study has been approved by the ethics committee of the university the corresponding author is affiliated with (reference number HSEARS20170531001-01).

Consent was sought of research participants to be interviewed and interviews to be audio-recorded. The audio-recorded interviews were then transcribed. The average length of an interview was around 1 h, however the interviews varied in length between 25 min and 2 h 6 min. NVivo qualitative data analysis computer software package was used to manage and analyse data. Thematic analysis was undertaken. Coding was conducted through open and axial coding. Besides the categories emerging from the data, three themes related to paradigms of globalisation’s impact on cultures were used, namely clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. A total of 39 categories incorporating 497 codes have been identified. Cluster analysis using Jaccard’s co-efficient has been undertaken to identify relationships between codes with particular focus on themes related to the three above mentioned paradigms. Jaccard’s co-efficient is commonly applied to analyse the co-occurrence of codes in text and has been used for analysis of cultural concepts in the past (Levandowsky & Winter, 1971; Rogers, Feldman & Ehrlich, 2009).

Globalisation, tourism and culture of Pacific Island countries (PIC)

The following sections discuss impacts of globalisation on culture in the PIC from the three aforementioned paradigms of clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. The findings and discussion are presented as a narrative, based on the identified categories related to each paradigm. In some cases one quote could be attributed to two paradigms, for example interviewees would reflect on past experience of an issue as a clash of civilisations, and the subsequent solution to that issue is hybridisation. The following narrative avoids overlap and therefore issues that emerged in the analysis are allocated into only one of the sections. Images are provided to illustrate the discussed issues.

Clash of civilisations

Of the three paradigms, clash of civilisations reflects more participant comments than the other two. A total of 232 quotes from 48 participants relate to this paradigm. Clash of civilisations paradigm envisions clashes between Western and non-Western civilisations (Pieterse, 1996). Generally, the clash of civilisations paradigm focuses on geopolitics. However, the clash of beliefs, worldviews and behaviours indicates the paradigm also includes a cultural aspect.

Tourism interacts with PIC culture in multiple ways. Five participants specifically mentioned the so-called demonstration or imitation effect, where local residents imitate behaviours of tourists. The demonstration effect is a prominent concept in tourism, although it has attracted various critiques (Fisher, 2004b). As a result of the demonstration effect, new behaviours adopted by local residents from tourists (typically by local people involved in the tourism industry) clash with the local lifestyle and culture. Participants from Tonga, suggest that the demonstration effect from diaspora Tongans who come to visit relatives is much stronger than from tourists. Tongans
living in Tonga are more likely to adopt behaviours and attitudes of their relatives who live in New Zealand, Australia or elsewhere, rather than those of tourists who come to Tonga. Many Pacific Islanders work or have worked overseas. The importance of PIC diaspora in New Zealand is exemplified by inclusion of Pacific artefacts into exhibitions of one of the major national museums in New Zealand, the Auckland War Memorial Museum (see Figure 1). While the complexity of relationships between diaspora and Pacific Islanders living in home nations has been explored elsewhere (e.g. Connell, 2010), the demonstration effect studies appear to be limited to tourism and merit further investigation in migration and diaspora studies. Temporary and permanent mobilities of Pacific Islanders represent another important factor for cultural change, with possible clashes with traditional cultures. However, comparisons of the demonstration effect between the three groups, that is, conventional tourists; diaspora and migrant workers, are seldom made.

The tourism sector requires Pacific Islanders to adjust their lifestyle and social practices. In this study, 47 participants commented on work issues as related to the clash of civilisations. Most of these comments related to tourism jobs requiring work according to a schedule, that is, for a certain number of hours every week, making it difficult to fulfil certain traditional obligations, for example, attending a funeral of a distant relative. Work ethic issues (e.g. not showing up at work, being late) were raised by 17 participants representative of all three countries; 14 of them are private sector managers, nine are expatriates and eight are native citizens of these countries. Economic relations are not dominant in PIC. Rather, social relationships are more important in PIC. However, tourism work necessitates this attitude to be changed so staff are available at all times to ensure products and services can be consistently provided. The work ethic issues are not limited

![Figure 1. PICs exhibits at Auckland War Memorial Museum. Source: Authors.](image-url)
to tourism and can be applied across various industries. However, they are especially evident in tourism as expectations of managers and tourists for punctuality at work clash with local attitudes to hospitality. Hospitality is a social phenomenon in PIC rather than a business model. Life priorities are more social rather than career oriented for Pacific Islanders. An expatriate academic in Cook Islands explains this as follows:

There is a phenomenon here: people will produce enough to meet some specific need, they don’t mind doing a little bit every day, or a month or particular part of the year, but they will not engage in a workshop production, because they get enough money to satisfy their need. And then they stop. The market is not dominant. They engage in the market to meet a particular need… They are not wage slaves. They’re not lazy. They have a very sensible attitude towards life and money isn’t everything, work isn’t everything. It’s a balance of those things.

Another clash between the culture of PIC studied here and demands of the tourism sector is religion, especially observing the Sabbath. For example, residents of Aitutaki, Cook Islands, protest flights arriving on Sundays, because no work should be done on the Sabbath (see Figure 2). Similar issues are prominent in Tonga. While the tourism sector demands full operation every day, cultural practice demands restraining from work on Sundays. An expatriate private sector representative in Cook Islands expressed the following:

*Figure 2.* A protest sign in Aitutaki, Cook Islands.
Source: Authors.
Sunday in the last few years is so different from the Sundays before. Nothing used to happen on Sundays. People were relaxing because they worked six days a week. They believed the seventh day was for rest and now Air New Zealand brings in the planes on Sundays. And it’s one of our busiest days and it is playing havoc on a cultural fabric of the Cook Islands.

In all three countries, additional factors disincentivise participation in regular tourism-related work. Land tenure system is one of the important issues of tourism development in the Pacific (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). The communal landownership system requires foreign investors to lease land from local residents. In Fiji, the resorts contribute to infrastructure, education and employment of communities on whose land the resorts are built. According to participants from Tonga, seasonal farm work in New Zealand attracts many Tongans, who may not wish to work in the part of the year they spend in Tonga. The Cook Islands provide more attractive salaries than most other Pacific Islands, therefore there is a growth of skilled Fijian workers in the Cook Islands, contributing to a shortage of human resources in Fiji’s hospitality sector. The Cook Islands also attract workers from other countries to work in tourism and hospitality, notably the Philippines. Together with the existing expatriate communities from New Zealand, Australia and other countries, the multicultural makeup of Cook Islands society is considered a negative. The issue of ethnicity is also relevant for Fiji, as there are two large ethnic groups living in Fiji, native iTaukei and Indo-Fijians. There has been political tension between the two groups that previously contributed to military coups. The tourism marketing of Fiji largely portrays the native Fijians, while Indo-Fijian culture is less visible. According to participants from private sector, Indo-Fijians are more likely to occupy back-of-house positions, while iTaukei are more likely to work in the front-of-house. Migration of people to and from the PIC studied in this paper, appears to contribute to difficulties regarding human resources and marketing of tourism, albeit this is only a part of broader issue of adapting to a globalised multicultural environment that many societies struggle with (Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2015).

Participants suggest that despite an extensive history of international assistance, training programmes and consultancies, overseas agencies aiming to help develop tourism in PIC lack understanding of the aforementioned cultural issues. An expatriate private sector participant suggests the following:

Consultants have been brought in many, many times, but the consultants also unfortunately lack the knowledge of local traditions, cultures, the way they do things, and very often doesn’t take those efficiently into account. Of course they come and ask the Tongans that they speak to how should I do this, how should I do that, and very often it’s the Tongans themselves that don’t fully understand the whole picture.

Clashes of cultures that affect PIC now include not only Western tourists and Pacific Islanders, but also non-Western tourists (often, but not only, Chinese tourists). Participants from different stakeholder groups in Fiji suggest PIC became accustomed to tourists from major Western markets, for example, Australia, New Zealand and the US, however the entry of new lucrative non-traditional non-western markets, for example China and Russia, is posing a new challenge. An educator from Fiji mentioned the following:

I hear that [Name of a Resort] is building a whole new other side of their hotel that will just cater for Chinese. But it will be an enclave that would be cut-off from the rest, because yet again when they try to mix markets, it didn’t work and their main Australian market just boycotted them … Other luxury resorts that have entered these markets compare the Chinese to the Russians. You know, they find them very difficult to deal with
and so what they have done is that they book off certain weeks and it’s all Chinese or all Russian.

A similar situation is reflected in trade and international relations. PIC are experiencing geopolitical challenges between Western countries, China, Japan and other major powers (Cheer et al., 2018). Various participants in this research, across the three countries, are suspicious of their own governments’ deals with various foreign countries (see Figure 3). This is especially evident when discussing foreign aid. When questioned about motives of foreign powers in providing assistance to the Cook Islands, a participant from a tourism business said the following: ‘They want our fishing rights. We are very suspicious of Spanish, Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese people coming here’. Therefore, a revision of political economy (e.g. Britton, 1982; Milne, 1992) and research on geopolitics of tourism in PIC (Cheer et al., 2018) is timely.

All of the above examples demonstrate the power dynamic whereby the outside culture attempts to subjugate the local culture. While the tourism sector may appear rather powerful, the above examples demonstrate the resilience of local residents in protecting their lifestyle even though this may diminish economic opportunities.

**McDonaldisation**

McDonaldisation, Disneyfication or Hollywoodisation of culture refers to homogenisation, standardisation, rationalisation and commodification of culture usually driven by multinational corporations (Liu, 2003; Pieterse, 1996; Weaver, 2005). A total of 93 quotes from 39 participants are attributed to this paradigm. They cover fewer issues than Clashes of Civilisations and predominantly relate to issues of cultural preservation and commodification. Generally, this paradigm is concerned with the loss of genuine cultural practices in tradition in favour of commercially successful demonstrations of culture.
PICs are currently experiencing a wave of literal Disneyfication after the release of an animated film Moana. Critics of the film have pointed out that Polynesian cultures have been reduced to a single monoculture, which degrades the diversity of Pacific Island peoples (NBC News, 2016). For example, the movie trailer includes Fijian music, Tahitian drumming, and Samoan tattoos. But the movie portrays a single Polynesia. Ka’ili (2016) notes that the Disneyfication of Polynesian tales results in inaccurate and incomplete simplified accounts of indigenous myths that are profoundly multifaceted. Moana is nevertheless used by local entrepreneurs to promote their products (see Figure 4).

Research participants express concern over the homogenisation of culture. An expatriate participant from private sector in Fiji, where the majority of the native population is Melanesian, states the following:

It’s more and more of this fire dance, Polynesian singing, and swinging fire dancing, and hula dances, which is South Pacific. It’s the Disneyfication, Moana view of the South Pacific… The iTaukei [native Fijian] culture is at risk of being sidelined for other Polynesian cultures just because they’re sexy, and we’re going to get less and less meke [traditional dance] in the villages, less and less meke in the resorts, and overall less and less cultural meke across the country.

In the Cook Islands, concerns are raised regarding the preservation of dances and performances. A community leader and a private sector operator both observed that the dances have changed not only in performances displayed to tourists, but also in festivals for Cook Islanders. Performance groups are increasingly creative in striving to impress, rather than to preserve traditional culture (see Figure 5). A native Cook Islander from the private sector expressed it as follows:
A classic example is last week: Te Maeva Nui [lit. The Big Celebration, a festival celebrating Cook Islands Constitution]. It’s supposed to be our traditional… a celebration for the Cook Islanders, but now they’ve made it as a big tourist attraction… Back in the day, we used to use just the grass skirt, that would do. But now we’ve taken the grass skirt, made it look pretty, because some of the audience said ‘you need to put some bling on that, some paint, then we’ll come and watch you’. Sure enough, everybody has upped their game and made all this pretty stuff. Put on the feathers. We don’t have feathers here.

Not only tourism and popular culture contribute to the homogenisation of the culture in the Pacific. For example, one participant mentioned cultural exchange through the Festival of Pacific Arts, which showcases culture from various PIC. Some participating groups borrow elements or techniques they observe during the festival and include them into their repertoire when they return home. Performance groups strive to impress, however it may well be that similar types of dance, moves, dresses or accessories are most ‘impressive’, thus contributing to the homogenisation of culture. A native Tongan NGO representative commented the following:

I noticed in the Pacific Arts Festival [a.k.a. Festival of the Pacific Arts]… You could see that some of the actions from that island has been picked up from another island. You can see that there has been some parts picked up by other countries. But at the same time, there is a similarity between us, remember that we are Polynesian (see Figure 5).

Handicrafts is another aspect of culture that can be discussed within the McDonaldisation paradigm. In Tonga, replicas of Maui’s [a demi-God from Polynesian mythology and one of the main characters in Moana] fishhook, have become prominent souvenirs. It is not clear to what extent handicrafts are affected by such Disneyfication and whether there should be a concern, as Disneyfied handicrafts are often made using traditional skills by local people. Eighteen participants discussed handicrafts and souvenirs, but rarely reflected on whether the designs were traditional. Most of the concerns of participants related to preservation of skills and use of traditional materials when making traditional clothing or woodcarving. In essence, the
importance is placed on the preservation of skills as intangible cultural heritage, rather than on the appearance of the tangible artefacts. One native Fijian community leader explained that even at a village level instead of producing artefacts, local residents may opt to purchase imported souvenirs and resell them:

One thing I must mention that unfortunately, most of the things that are sold here, they buy from Nadi. You know, cheaply made in the Philippines. I know the ladies organisation, they try to bring in people that are experts in the traditional artefacts, some come in and learn, but some prefer just to go to Nadi and buy and sell, which is unfortunate.

The theme of migration to some extent fits the McDonaldisation paradigm for the Cook Islands in particular. As previously described, there has been an influx of foreign labour to fill the labour gap in tourism sector. Many workers are from Fiji. Participants see native Cook Islands Maori people, and their culture, as one of the major tourist attractions. Therefore, the fact that Melanesian Fijian workers service tourists and not the Polynesian Cook Islanders may be interpreted as an inauthentic tourist experience. One expatriate private sector representative said that Fijian staff have to say Kia Orana [a local Maori greeting] instead of Bula [a Fijian] greeting. Moreover, that participant expressed the following concern:

We are at a tipping point now, with the Filipino staff and the Fijians… Especially, the Filipino staff, they are most amazing workers. And of course they are here and they don’t have to go to funerals and that. They tick all the boxes, except the fact people come here to see Cook Islanders not Filipinos…

The use of local greetings in Fiji and Cook Islands is also seen as McDonaldisation by some participants. One native Cook Islands private sector participant expressed this as part of a lack of understanding of use of culture in tourism, while discussing preservation of local culture:

What are central elements of the social-cultural milieu that is attractive to tourists? What are those? Because those are the things you lose, if you are not careful. I don’t see enough work being done there. For example, you go to Hawaii, and I hated when I listened to the tour guide say ‘Aloha, Aloha!’, and then ‘Bula!’ in Fiji. Here they’re ‘Kia Orana! Kia Orana!’ I guess it’s okay to do it because it’s a greeting, but behind there… What are the central elements?

Nevertheless, while there were 18 categorically negative references to McDonaldisation, eight were positive. Despite changes in dances to make them more appealing to tourists or other cultural manifestations which lack authenticity, seven participants from various backgrounds suggested tourism motivates young generations to learn cultural practices and thus preserves traditional skills and knowledge. Tourism adds an economic value to culture and provides jobs that young people of the PIC need (see Figure 6). A native Tongan academic suggested the following:

Some of those cultural activities are being performed and maintained mainly because of the tourist dollar. I mean, if we didn’t have that demand, the tourists coming in, we’d probably still do it, but let’s say once or twice a year. But because there’s a demand, there’s a financial reward out of it.

Overall, the research participants raise concerns about how culture is represented in tourism and how that affects what cultural practices are preserved and thrive. There are
signs of homogenisation of culture with respect to the performances in PIC that are consumed by tourists, but also locals. The concern that participants raise is that the culture presented to tourists eventually replaces the genuine traditional culture. The concerns are also mostly related to intangible heritage, that is, knowledge and skills. Not only tourism is at fault in homogenisation of culture in PIC. As research participants explain, some cultural practices are borrowed from other islands simply because they are generally more attractive to both locals and tourists. However, tourism not only brings negative impacts in this regard, commodification of culture places a value on that culture, thus stimulating its preservation through the creation of economic opportunities.

Hybridisation

Pieterse’s (2015) perspective is that in a globalised world cultures are not static, they travel and evolve, interact and create hybrids. Comments from participants that relate to such interactions and hybrids of cultures are grouped under the hybridisation paradigm. A total of 123 comments from 43 participants are considered as such. Many of these comments are related to the evolution of Pacific Island culture, changes that are experienced in both culture and tourism domains and in representation of PIC as modern countries integrated into global community.

Participants of this study often expressed several contrasting opinions at the same time. On the one hand, they do not want to lose the traditions and to some extent are nostalgic about the past. On the other hand, they embrace modernisation and connectedness to the world. Pacific Islanders from Fiji, Tonga and the Cook Islands are generally well-travelled and have personal connections overseas either through their education, work, family ties or personal networks. An expatriate private sector participant from Tonga had concerns about cultural impacts as follows:

This idea of retaining primitive, is what people are really talking about here as a manifestation of cultural things… Is it really trying to say that people should be
encapsulated in a time warp and just be kept there? I call that a zoological approach… I mean, people go to these countries to look at the animals in the zoo. Except that these animals are two-legged.

Pieterse (1996) suggests that often changes that take place in a culture are superficial. The essence of the culture, that is worldviews and beliefs, is less affected. A government representative from Fiji provides the following comment reflecting this:

I don’t want the whole thing to be moved from traditional straight to modern, because I think that there are some traditional aspects that needs to be kept, because that defines uniqueness. I am different from the next boy to me in the village, because of how I speak, how I see the world… But in terms of marketing of that, in terms of saving the environment through modern technology, I am all for that.

Technological advancements, especially the Internet, have brought the world closer together. They provide many new opportunities, but contribute to modernisation of traditional societies, and thus their cultures. Tourists in this case, are seen as seeking an experience of traditional lifestyles that are perceived as authentic and may be disappointed that Pacific Islanders do not walk around in traditional dress every day and do not live in a bure/fale [traditional house]. Instead, they are compelled to do so for tourists, for example during the village tours (see Figure 6).

Tourism as a medium of cultural exchange between people is acknowledged by ten participants. A native Tongan participant from an NGO sees the role of tourism as follows:

I believe that the impact of tourism is good for some of our [Pacific Island] countries. It makes our attitude more positive in accepting people, improves our customer service level, it improves our understanding of different cultures and acceptance of other cultures. So, it makes you a better person.

How Pacific culture will evolve in the future is dependent on the younger generations. Participants from all three countries raise concerns regarding young people’s interest in their culture and passing the knowledge on to them. As the previous section suggests, tourism may stimulate the younger generation’s interest in traditional culture as tourism adds an economic value to traditional skills and knowledge. However, the migration of young people from PIC overseas is seen as a threat and participants generally do not believe tourism jobs are attractive enough to persuade young people to stay in their communities. The prices tourists are prepared to pay and the wages offered by employers do not satisfy many Pacific Island youth, who find it more economically viable and prestigious to migrate and work in other industries. At the same time, participants suggest that communal structures and extended families ensure most of population is protected from severe material poverty.

In the Cook Islands in particular, and to a lesser extent in Fiji and Tonga, concerns are raised regarding young people’s knowledge of native languages. Because the education system operates in English, communication with tourists is in English and many young people want to migrate to English speaking countries, participants are worried that native languages may be threatened. A native Cook Islands public sector representative expressed the fast change in the society and the concern regarding the local language as follows:

The lifestyle is moving so fast. And basically because of New Zealand, we’re exposed to New Zealand, to Australia, to the States. And we have high-tech… We see what’s
happening overseas and they bring it over here, easy. Easy. And it is changing our mentality and the way we react to what is around us. You see, a lot of people have very little understand of our local language.

Such dramatic changes that take existing cultures in a new direction can be thought of as revolutionary rather than evolutionary. As identified by the research participants in Cook Islands the pace of socio-cultural change is too fast, due to rapid growth of tourism as well as intensity of globalisation through other means including technology.

The continuous evolution of culture and the global melange Pieterse (2015) discusses, can be exemplified in the PIC by their adoption of rugby as a national sport, or Western-style cooking of traditional foods (see Figure 7). Moreover, Christianity is another relevant example of the evolution and change in culture. Prior to the arrival of Christianity and colonisation of much of the Pacific, Pacific Islanders did not cover up their bodies. As Christian beliefs took hold in the Pacific, it became indecent to wear little or no clothes. Now tourists, often from the same countries where Christian missionaries came from, arrive in the Pacific and wear revealing dresses and swimsuits. The following quote from a native community leader in the Cook Islands expresses this as follows:

We didn’t wear skimpy clothes on the road 20 years ago, that was not seen. But now the tourists come in with their swim tops, because maybe it’s hot, or how they feel. And it’s accepted now. I know there have been notices in the accommodation areas, and in the tourism pamphlets asking tourists not to wear anything too revealing as well. Once upon
a time, we were not wearing clothes, and, the Christian missionaries came and told us ‘you’ve got to cover yourself’, and then later on they come with no clothes on!

It is important to note that Pacific Islanders are not victims of globalisation and modernisation processes. They do have a choice on which aspects of globalisation to adopt and how to adapt to the constantly changing world. An expatriate academic in the Cook Islands expresses this as follows:

It’s a constant process of evolution depending on the context that you find yourself in, and Cook Islanders do it very well. In terms of this agency determination thing they’re very strong on the side of being active agents in what they’re doing, you know what I mean? They are not victims of processes.

Generally, research participants acknowledge that cultures evolve and the processes of cultural change are seen positively. The research participants believe integration in the globalised world benefits Pacific Islanders as long as the change is controlled, occurs with Pacific Islanders agency over it, and the pace is not too rapid. However, this should not undermine issues related to preservation of culture that have been discussed in clash of civilisations and McDonaldisation sections. Preservation of unique aspects of local culture and transmitting that culture to younger generations remains of great concern.

Discussion

Participants of this study have raised various themes regarding cultural changes in Fiji, Tonga and the Cook Islands. The three countries have different population sizes, historic backgrounds and level of tourism development, however most comments appear similar. One distinctive difference is that the Cook Islands, a country in Free Association with New Zealand and with the smallest population of the three selected PIC, has higher concerns regarding the native Maori culture. Free movement for both tourism and migration between New Zealand and the Cook Islands contributes to younger generations having less interest in either their culture or in staying in the Cook Islands.

With reference to Pieterse’s (1996) three paradigms of globalisation and in the context of the selected PIC, clash of civilisations paradigm seems to fit early encounters with a different culture, while hybridisation is what eventually occurs as PIC adapt to new circumstances. The process of clash and adaptation is ongoing in a same way as the evolution of culture that results from intermingling of cultures (Pieterse, 2015). Changing tourism markets and international relations require adaptation as exemplified by the strengthening relations between China and the PIC (Cheer et al., 2018).

Modernist views about the effects of globalisation on culture, typically view people living in developing countries as passive recipients of change (Pieterse, 1996). This applies for both classical modernisation theory and neo-Marxist dependency theory of development. The first theory suggests that societies move from traditional to modern in a linear progression. The latter theory suggests that developing countries (i.e. the periphery) are culturally dependent on the developed countries (i.e. the core), often former colonial powers, and the culture of the developing countries loses its authenticity and is replaced by that of the core (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Tourism in such context is seen as a driving force of modernisation and loss of authentic culture (Canavan, 388 D. TOLKACH AND S. PRATT
This is however not the perception of most participants of this study irrespective of their place of origin or occupation. Participants of this study are aware of the external pressures on their societies, however they want to be part of the global community, and see many benefits in modern technology and being connected with the rest of the world. Residents of the selected PIC are highly mobile, are educated, do not experience severe material poverty and have relatives living overseas. Lee & Francis (2009) demonstrate various aspects of transnationalism of the PIC, including migration, diaspora, business and governance. In such a setting, access to information and migration are at least as important influences on cultural change as tourism.

Pacific Islanders have an agency over the cultural changes in their communities. The preference is generally towards modernisation of infrastructure and communications. However, participants prefer to preserve traditional social structures and knowledge. Participants note that younger generations are less interested in learning traditional skills, and thus tourism is seen as beneficial in preserving the culture. Tourism as a means of revaluation of traditional culture among youth has been previously identified elsewhere (e.g. Medina, 2003). Nevertheless, the anthropology of youth and study of culture provides many avenues for continued research (Bucholtz, 2002). In the Pacific context, youth culture research is often focused on youth-at-risk (Schoone, 2010), thus a more holistic research into young Pacific Islanders’ attitudes towards traditional culture would be beneficial.

Participants are rather pragmatic regarding the issues of cultural authenticity, as they suggest that even though cultural expressions may be less authentic as a response to tourist demands, it is nevertheless better than losing the skills and knowledge of cultural expressions entirely. Participants feel they have less control over the homogenisation of Pacific culture through its representation in the popular media and through the constructed tourist image of the Pacific (Pratt, 2013). However, Pacific Islanders also contribute to this as evidenced by evolution of dances across the Pacific with more ‘impressive’ dance moves and costumes being borrowed and adopted not only for tourist consumption, but also for the consumption of Pacific Islanders themselves.

Undoubtedly, Pacific Island cultures constantly change and evolve. This process is not necessarily negative, as participants expressed positive opinions about many of the changes occurring. Tourism plays a role in this process on par with other influences, such as other types of mobilities, migration, diaspora, geopolitical change, technology and popular culture (Figure 8).

One dimension that explains the imitation effect is the intensity of contact between the cultures. As research participants suggest, the migration of Pacific Islanders and the communication between the diaspora and the family in PIC is more likely to affect cultural practices than interactions with tourists, as interactions with relatives who live overseas or spend a certain period of time living overseas provide a more intensive interaction with another culture. While the Pacific Island diaspora relations have been extensively studied, such cultural influences of diaspora on the Islands appear less studied than remittances and gift exchanges (Connell, 2010). Jeuring & Diaz-Soria’s (2017) conceptualisation of visiting friends and relatives as simultaneously hosts and guests may be useful in further research. Interactions with tourists are also less frequent than, for example, interaction with the world through technology. Popular media and adoption of more
expressive cultural practices lead to homogenisation of PIC cultures both for tourist and internal consumption. The influence of popular culture, in particular popular music, has been studied by Alexeyeff (2004), who suggests Pacific Islanders are anxious about the loss of authentic local music due to globalisation.

The pace of cultural change is also important. PIC have adapted to Australian and New Zealand tourists, the two major tourist markets, which have generally grown steadily over time in Fiji. However, the rapid recent growth of the Chinese tourist market and investment from China diminishes the sense of control and requires a rather more rapid adjustment. As suggested by Cheer et al. (2018), the impact of such geopolitical changes on tourism development requires further investigation. At the same time, the rapid growth of the New Zealand tourist market in the Cook Islands still places a lot of strain on the Cook Islands, largely due to the small land and population size. The agency of local people over any change is vitally important. In recognising that change is inevitable, what changes do take place need to be decided by the local population. Therefore, it is important for local residents collectively to have the capacity to withstand the negative changes while embracing the positive influences of globalisation, for example, knowledge and understanding of other cultures and people of different backgrounds.

**Conclusion**

This study discusses the relationship between the culture of the Pacific Islands and tourism from three different paradigms of globalisation, namely, clash of civilisations, McDonaldisation and hybridisation. This allows identification of the issues of concern among the Pacific Islanders with regards to preservation of their cultural uniqueness, as well as demonstrating the positive impacts of tourism and globalisation on local culture.
This study contributes theoretically to the body of knowledge through applying Pieterse’s (1996) three paradigms of globalization and culture to tourism, in general and more specifically to Pacific Island Countries. While previous research has highlighted some of the effects of tourism’s socio-cultural impacts, especially on host communities, such as the demonstration effect and the commodification of culture, this research systematically highlights these effects and others, through these three paradigms. Further, the findings of this research discuss the complex and multifaceted impact that globalisation has on host communities. Participants recognise that, while tourism has an influence on their (host) culture (sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse), it is only one influence. Given that culture is dynamic, it is not possible to say one impact is because of tourism and another impact is due to other factors. The influences occur simultaneously and in varying degrees at different times. It is too reductionist to attribute various changes to one single factor. Therefore from a practical point of view, it is not appropriate for outsiders (e.g. researchers) to argue that culture needs to be preserved; rather there should advocacy for local communities to have the agency to decide for themselves which parts of their culture they want to maintain and pass down to further generations, which parts of their culture they want to adapt or hybridise and which parts of their culture they want to change. In terms of tourism, local ownership and local senior management of tourism businesses help maintain such agency. There is a strong sense of community in the three countries analysed in this paper, which helps protect the culture, although additional efforts may be required to ensure there is enough capacity in communities to maintain traditions and educate youth. Further efforts are required in terms of youth education, both at national level and community level. As the results have shown, Pacific Islanders are aware of the changes their nations are undergoing, and generally PIC have resilient cultures, despite various global influences.

Tourism is only one element affecting the cultures of PIC, others being types of mobilities, migration, diaspora, geopolitical change, technology and popular culture. However, to date comparative studies that discuss impacts of all these factors on culture are rare. Tourism and human geography studies would benefit from further investigations of combined impacts of these forces on cultures. Further research should focus on the intersection between geopolitics, tourism and cultural clashes not only between Western and non-Western civilisations, but also using other geopolitical divisions. While general ideas of McDonaldisation of culture are clearly presented, the process of adoption and internalisation of a homogenised culture by Pacific Islanders merits further investigation. Hybridisation of culture also requires further research to understand how to manage tourism in a culturally responsible manner.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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References


### Appendix 1. Interviewee profiles

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<th>Sector</th>
<th>Position</th>
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