A Study on Evolution of the Definition of Tourism
– A Discussion Over the Formation of Tourist Enclaves –

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Abstract: The definition of tourism is quite diverse, and so far has been variously discussed regarding the relevance of each definition. However, social role of the definition, its epistemological character and meta-scientific structure are rarely discussed. In this paper, focusing on the official definition of tourism, we reconfirm the social role and the scientific structure of the definition of tourism. Based on this consideration, the definition is regarded as a dialectical cycle of reality and conceptualization, and the character as a process of production of knowledge is also clarified. The concept that is the basis of the currently accepted definition has already been twenty years or more, and the discrepancy between reality and conceptualization has been obvious. The definition of tourism is expected a fundamental modifications, that is, paradigm shift.

Various factors that have a significant influence on the modification of recognition will be conceived. In this paper, we focused on the tourist enclaves where these trends are concentrating, and organized the situation. In particular attention was paid to the new type tourist areas that were prescribed as the ethno-tourist-enclaves in this article. Taking these results, we examined what sort of aspects with relation to the recognition and the conceptualization of tourism will be focused on, in the future.

Key words: definition of tourism, production of knowledge, tourist enclaves, tourist bubbles, backpackers

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I  Introduction

As Williams and Shaw mentioned, it seems that the most of tourism academics consider arguments on the definition of tourism are barren. [Williams and Shaw, 1988] Like the pursuit for the etymology of tourism, it does not produce any productive results.\(^1\) Studies on the etymology of tourism existed while those are a small number. [Leiper, 1983] However, from the number of citations, it is difficult to say that such research area is academia’s main concern. [Hall and Page, 2010] Many of the considerations concerning the ety-
mology only reconfirm what are regarded as features of the current tourism from the present viewpoint using historical origin of the word. At present, the necessity of requiring the definition of tourism from the etymology has decreased and the argument of linking the etymology and the present situation has shifted to the detailed categories of tourism such as culinary tourism and so on. [Kivelä and Crott, 2009; López-Bonilla and López-Bonilla, 2015]

From this point of view, if defined as operational definition accordance with the purpose and context used, it can be regarded as sufficient as a definition of tourism. However, in this paper, we intend to argue the definition of tourism from the meta standpoint, against such intellectual and professional tradition. Of course it is not denied that the academically effective definition of tourism is always an operational definition. On the other hand, some discrepancies and contradictions are beginning to arise between the definition of tourism and tourism in reality, and it can be considered that a dialectical relationship has been established between the two. Although it is operational concept, it can be said that the definition of tourism is always a mapping of tourism in reality. The inconsistency between these two cannot be analyzed without the understanding of the transformation of tourism or of the change of social perception of tourism.

As main aspects that cause the inconsistency and the contradiction between reality and conceptual definition, it is possible to point out various problems peculiar to contemporary tourism such as lifestyle migration and medical tourism. In this paper, we will argue the new frame of reference for considering current state of tourism by focusing on the various aspects of the tourist enclaves. The tourist enclaves are areas that have been established in various places in recent years and have a somewhat inconsistent character from the character of traditional transitory tourism. At the same time, behavior and consciousness of the tourists who gather there are different from the conventional understanding on tourists.

II Typology of the definition of tourism

Reflecting the social situation of each era, the sphere included in the term tourism seems to have a certain empirical range. On the other hand, even on the assumption of a constant historical background, the definition of tourism varies depending on the tourism academics and what to put emphasis on, and it is quite diverse. In this paper, to avoid dealing with these diverse definitions entirely and to induce the criteria that classify various definitions, we will discuss about the official definition of tourism as basis, and the individual definitions as necessary.

In the general understanding, it is considered that the first publicly recognized definition of tourism was a notion enacted by the Statistics Committee of the League of Nations. From the beginning of enactment in 1937, the definition of tourism had an expedient nature. And this nature has not changed up to the present. The expedient nature of the definition of tourism is depends on two aspects. As the first aspect, it is possible to point out a conceptualization based on the actual state of tourism, which was paid attention at that time. The second aspect is that the definition of tourism was introduced by statistical request. Indeed the definition by the International Federation regarded only international tourism as tourism, and domestic tourism was not considered as tourism. This reflected the request from the position of the League of Nations and the circumstances of those days that domestic tourism was underdeveloped except for few countries. The concept of tourists by the Statistics Committee of the League of Nations is
as follows. [Leiper, 1979]

who visits a country other than that in which he habitually lives for a period of at least twenty-four hours.

In 1945, the definition of tourism by the League of Nations was reaffirmed by the United Nations with only minor modifications. [Theobald, 2005] Even after World War II, the efforts to define tourism or tourists continued. At the international conference held in 1963 with the support of the United Nations, IUOTO (the International Union of Travel Organization) introduced a concept of visitors as a superordinate concept and clarify the relationship between tourists and excursionists. This was a significant evolution of the distinction between tourists and excursionists (day visitors) as proximity concepts. Hereby, the concern from the time of the League of Nations was resolved, and at the same time, the closeness of both concepts was re-acknowledged by the introduction of a concept of visitors.

Leiper divided the definition of tourism into three categories in the form of “Economic Definitions”, “Technical Definitions” and “Holistic Definitions”. “Economic Definitions” is an economic aspect of tourism, that is, a categorization method that emphasizes only on the supply side, and “Technical Definitions” is a method that emphasizes statistical validity. To accomplish this purpose, distinguishing tourists clearly from other related categories was the main objective of “Technical Definitions”. On the other hand, “Holistic Definitions” does not emphasize specific aspect of tourism but refers to a conceptual structure that includes the elements usually regarded as a part of tourism. [Leiper, 1979] He implied that the definition of tourism should aim for “Holistic Definitions”. However, these three categories were not induced from same criteria, and the reason for regarding “Holistic Definitions” as an ideal type was not explicitly clarified. The examples of “Holistic Definitions” by Leiper are not necessarily accompanied by the operational effectiveness or the expansion of recognition. It seems these definitions are merely descriptive in nature. [Gunn, 1972; Jafari, 1977]

Another important categorical criterion is to focus on which aspect of the phenomenon that society considers as tourism. The issue of definition that should be pointed out at the beginning is whether tourism is regarded as human behavior or as a social phenomenon or a social institution. Overall, in Western tradition, the social aspect of tourism is emphasized, and personal behavior tends to be regarded as part of it. Particularly, in considering the definition of tourism from the viewpoint of travel, this categorization has an important meaning. If tourism is considered as a leisure-oriented travel different from the previous journey, it can be looked on as a personal behavior as a recursive human movement. However, if it is considered that leisure-oriented travel cannot be established without social infrastructures that enable to the travel, or social functions that create motive for the travel, tourism must be regarded as the social phenomenon. Williams had conceptualized these two aspects by bisecting it as a personal behavior and a social activity surrounding it. [Williams, 1998] Even though there are two aspects that mentioned above, but these two are not in the same level. There is no doubt that personal behavior is the basis of tourism as the social phenomenon or the social institution. Although it is basically a problem of the terminology, the first aspect is the terminology that specific movement of individuals is called tourism, and the second is the terminology that the social institution to induce specific human movement is called tourism.

It is widely accepted that the traditional defini-
tion of tourism has those two aspects. Simultaneously two factors can be specified as elements characterizing the traditional definition of tourism. One is the concept of travel, and the other is the concept of leisure. If this idea is accepted, tourism will be considered as the intersection between two concepts such as travel and leisure. Travel is an essential concept for excluding tourists from excursionists, and leisure is an important concept to specify tourism from other travel purposes.

Along with the rapid growth of domestic tourism in various countries in the 1960s and 1970s, the official definition of tourism including domestic tourism was required. IUOTO redefined tourism by excluding the concept of boundary of countries in 1974. At this point, the definition of tourism made it possible to handle both international tourism and domestic tourism explicitly on a common foundation. At the same time, this definition emphasized on conceptualization of travel, which is one of the necessary elements of tourism, and the other element such as the purpose of the human mobility, in particular the relation with leisure, was disregarded. In this definition, it was assumed that the travel considered as tourism is defined by three factors: 1) the traveler’s residence, 2) the geographical setting of the trip, and 3) the duration of the trip. [Hunt and Layne, 1991] As Hom Cary and McCabe argue, it is only subjective perception that a person to be the tourist. [Hom Cary, 2004; McCabe, 2005; Yu et al, 2012] Gilbert’s criteria of “statistical classification” are possible to exclude the purpose of travel that depends on subjectivity, and narrow down to the explicitly observable elements. [Gilbert, 1990] As a result, this definition turns tourism into a measurable concept.

In 1991, reflecting the results of the International Conference on Travel and Tourism Statistics co-hosted with the Canadian government, WTO (World Tourism Organization, later UNWTO), the successor of IUOTO, changed the definition of tourism significantly. After the definition of 1974 by IUOTO, various types of tourism such as eco-tourism, medical tourism and so on has been emerged during the nearly 20 years. However, even assuming some exceptions, still tourism had been implicitly regarded as the intersection of travel and leisure.

The activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes. (WTO [Theobald, 2005])

The travel purpose that was described vaguely as “except an activity remunerated from within the place visited” in the previous definition, had replaced with the simple and definitive provision as “leisure, business, and other purposes”. By this definition, it was clearly indicated that travels with purposes other than leisure are included in tourism. Another major modification is that a staying is clearly pointed out as the constitutional element of tourism, even with a limitation of maximum one year. This is an important conceptual extension of tourism as the human mobility. This conceptual provision became the basis of the current definition of tourism. With this definition, various contemporary types of tourism such as medical tourism, [Connell, 2011] VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives), [Jackson, 1990] lifestyle migration, [Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014; Benson and O’Reilly, 2016] volunteer tourism [Benson, 2010; Wearing, 2001] and others were recognized as a part of tourism. In this respect, it can be considered that this definition played the role of some sort of the paradigm shift.
III Factors that affect the definition of tourism

While being intended to statistical validity, the official definition of tourism by IUOTO, UNWTO (WTO) and others were reflecting the current state of tourism to a considerable extent. Especially in the era when mass tourism was overwhelming, this kind of tourism definition was almost consistent with the phenomenon called tourism. This coincidence is caused by the nature of the definition of tourism by public organization that is derived from a conceptualized description of the actual tourism phenomenon while aiming statistical validity. From another point of view, mass tourism was not only an internal mechanism that generates desire for leisure-oriented travel, but also a package of social infrastructures that makes tourism possible as a human mobility. This holistic and consistent structure of mass tourism was easy to match concept and reality. This recognition became a common understanding of tourism that is regarded as a phenomenon premised on commercial or business engagements. [Gee, Makins and Choy, 1997]

However, the conceptual provisions on tourism not always roughly coincide with the phenomenon society considers as tourism in reality. Along with the transformation of tourism phenomenon, sometimes the gap between the two can extend beyond an acceptable range of logical recognition, and an adjustment have been made by modifying the definition according to social recognition of tourism. This is a modification in the official definition of tourism. This process is a dialectic interaction between tourism phenomenon in reality and conceptualization, and it can be considered that the production process of social knowledge. In other words, the definition of tourism can be regarded as the cycle in which recognition is updated at regular intervals. Nevertheless, the modification of definition is not depending on an epistemological recognition unlike Gilbert’s claim. [Gilbert, 1990] The epistemological definition pointed out by Gilbert is merely expression of values by tourism academics on social function of tourism. Regarding the reconstruction of tourism perception, it seems that the technical definition of quantifying the actual tourism phenomenon efficiently has played a greater role than these epistemological definitions with normative character.

Even if the definition of tourism is the cycle of reality and conceptualization, the reality of tourism phenomenon will perform a leading role. Conceptualization as tourism makes it possible to link with existing research accumulation, and creates a new frame of reference to understand and reconstruct the reality. In this regard, the aforementioned epistemological definition will be a secondary product by this process. The definition of tourism is conceptual as well as extremely realistic. As mentioned before, what was regarded as the problem at the era of the League of Nations was the definition of tourist prior to the definition of tourism. If the definition of tourist cannot be determined, the total market scale of tourism, the amount of tourism consumption, and even the tourism industry cannot be measured or defined. This situation shows that the public definition of tourism was extremely practical and had a definite purpose at the same time.

The important theme at that time was to distinguish tourists and excursionists who are day travelers aimed at leisure. [Burkart and Medlick, 1981] Which means that the definition of travel is to leave from their daily living sphere more than 24 hours, and the characteristic of tourism as an accommodation travel had been reconfirmed. Next three decades, this way of classification had continued to be maintained without substantial alteration. [Gilbert, 1990] When entering the 50–
60’s, a huge domestic tourism market had been established mainly in developed countries, and definition of tourism had to incorporate domestic tourism. At the same time, the market of day travel aimed at leisure became huge scale, furthermore the physical range of day travel expanded due to the development of transportation, as a result, the boundary between tourists and excursionists became ambiguous. In fact, from the viewpoint of the supply side, the division between tourists and excursionists made little sense except for some of tourist industries like lodging industry and so on. As mentioned before, putting visitors as the superordinate concept on both, and virtually integrating two categories to eliminate the contradiction, in this way a modification of definition was made.

After that in the 1980s, a limit of mass tourism had been clarified, then so-called alternative tourism emerged, and therefore types of tourism began to diversify. Some part of alternative tourism is not aimed at a pleasure travel in the conventional sense. For this reason, in the WTO definition of 1994, it became necessary to expand the travel purpose included in tourism beyond the conventional concept of leisure. Viewing at the circumstances described above, the conceptual provision on tourism was forced to do an argument on how to understand actual tourism phenomenon over two points. The first was an argument on what to consider as a travel that is the requirement for tourism, among diversified human mobility. [Theobald, 2005] The second was an argument on what to consider as the constituent requirement of tourism among various travel objectives.

In the meantime, among various alternative tourism, type of tourism that has purposes different from traditional one such as medical tourism, religious tourism represented by pilgrimage, volunteer tourism have played a major role at reviewing of the definition. The new types of tourism that influenced the review of the definition of tourism did not change the conceptual role of travel as the basic component of tourism, even though there were slightly changes on the constitutional requirements of travel. However, the development and transformation of tourist enclaves in recent years is requesting for review of travel as a basic concept of tourism. At the same time, it seems that the tourist enclaves have a possibility to become a starting point of the next paradigm shift, as seeking reconsideration on the implicit understandings about tourism. These implicit understandings include some important aspects like activities that do not earn money for living and so on.

IV The emergence of the tourist enclaves

The term enclave originally meant a territory separated from the home country. It converted to a term representing a collective residential area of a specific group such as particular ethnic group established in the city. However, in the case of the latter, it is not only the residential area of a specific group separated from other parts of the city but also the economic substance that production, consumption, investment and entrepreneurial activities are completed within it. At the same time, it is required the condition that it is a place of cultural reproduction. [Forment, 1989] Along with the increasing and settling of immigrants, various enclaves such as the Jews in Manhattan and the Japanese in the West coast of US were historically formed, as well as the cases such as the Korean in Los Angeles, the Cuban in Miami are currently progressing. [Portes and Manning, 2002]

Judd focused on the existence of small areas for tourists constructed in the city. Judd asserted that many cities create an enclosed space called a tourist bubble similar to an enclave to protect them from the unpleasant aspect of the city for tourists.
This trend was based on the fact that the number of areas that tourists cannot use due to low security and landscape problems has increased, because of “inner city” becoming more serious. For this reason, measures were taken to handle redevelopment areas for tourists inside the city as if these were isolated islands, with the intention of releasing the connection with adjacent areas. [Levine, 1987] The concept of the tourist bubble was expanded spatially to point to a small area of the city as well as an entire small-enclosed area for tourists, isolated from the surrounding areas. As a result, resort development in remote areas has also been included in the category. [Torres and Momsen, 2005; Ros-Tonen and Werneck, 2009] A type of tourism called an enclave tourism that leisure activities and consumption are completed within a limited development area is almost synonymous with the tourist bubble. [Mbaiwa, 2005] The choice of these two terms depends on the academics. Regarding tourist bubbles in remote areas, problems are pointed out from the perspective of community involvement and cultural exchange. [Freitag, 1994; Carrier and Macleod, 2005; Adiya et al., 2015] On the other hand, it is a realistic measure from the viewpoint of having an efficient return on investment, minimization of negative impact to local community by tourists, and it is recognized as one category of tourism.

Under the context of tourism, tourist enclaves are used as a term indicating basically two existences. These two existences are not conceptually different, but the form and the function as an actual tourist destination are drastically different. In the first usage, the term tourist enclaves mean the aforementioned the enclave tourism. That is, in this case, the tourist enclaves are intentionally developed areas where lodging services, food services, leisure functions, and so on are compounded as described above, and it is a category of tourist destinations that leisure behavior and consumption of tourist will be completed within the area. [Britton, 1882; Oppermann and Chon, 1997] Large-scale resort development is a typical example of this category, and it has been rapidly increasing mainly in developing countries. Recently, the idea which regards cruise ship as an extension of this category has also appeared, based on the characteristics of the internal completeness of leisure activities and consumption and the enclosed space. [Weaver, 2005; Weaver, 2018]

The second terminology refers to tourist areas that are originated from backpacker enclaves. The backpacker enclaves can also be considered as a type of tourist bubble because of the character of viewing the people, places and culture through protective walls of familiar environment. [Cohen, 1972; Howard, 2005] Originally, backpackers used the backpacker enclaves for various purposes such as inexpensive accommodation, relax, socialization, collection of travel information, arrangements for the next trip. [Cohen, 2003] For this reason, business activities that satisfy these various functions were concentrating on the backpacker enclaves. And the backpacker enclaves indicate features that are significantly different from the surrounding area in terms of an urban function and a touristic landscape. The backpacker enclaves have also played a role as a temporary shelter to alleviate stress caused by individual travel under unfamiliar cultural environment. [Hottola, 2004] In recent years backpackers have changed its nature significantly. The backpacker’s image of “male, alienated from the west, and traveling for long periods” pointed out by Cohen is a thing of the past. [Cohen, 1973] Especially the emergence of flashpacker obscured the boundary between ordinary tourists and backpackers. [Paris, 2012] Along with these changes, the tourist enclaves began to accept a wide range of tourists such as budget travelers including flashpackers, not only backpackers. Howard calls this type of tourist en-
Howard suggests that the “backpacker tourist enclaves” should be reclassified to an urban location and a remote location, [Howard, 2007] but there is no significant difference except for the duration of stay. The above three conditions are exactly the same, and there is little effective basis for classification. Meanwhile, the tourist enclaves originated from the backpacker enclaves do not heavily depend on traditional tourist resources. Of course the tourist enclaves located in a remote area depend on tourist resources such as landscape, accessibility to the beach, but the tourist resources in the tourist enclaves do not have absolute importance compared with traditional tourist destinations. 4 Although the location near to the major tourist resources is preferable, even areas with the conditions such as a lack of attractive tourist resources and a low-level development as a tourist destination often develop as the tourist enclaves. Pai in northern Thailand has developed into a transportation hub as the bus transfer point to Mae Hong Son where is famous for ethnic tourism and is an enclave which is not blessed with excellent tourist resources except quiet rural scenery. [Cohen, 2006] Likewise, although in Vang Vieng of Laos, it cannot be denied that the landscape has become a trigger for the enclave development, but the important location on the traffic route connecting Vientiane and Luang Prabang was the main factor of enclave formation. [Yokoyama, 2007]
has increased. [Korpela, 2010] The emergence of communes in Goa, Manali Valley and Kullu Valley by hippies can be regarded as a pioneering form of the backpacker enclaves. [D’Andrea, 2007; Garner et al., 2002] Then so-called the hippie trail that was a land route of hippies’ travel from Europe to India and Southeast Asia was established, and Katmandu, Kabul and Kuta became a gathering places of hippies called “3K”. [Hampton, 2010] The enclaves also had been established in these areas. In the 1970s, Hampton’s “formalization of information” [Hampton, 2010] occurred, travel information that had been depended on word of mouth was institutionalized by guidebooks. [Wheeler, 1973]

With this background, backpackers separated from hippies, and it was established as a peculiar travel segment. [Cohen, 1973]

Backpacking is long-period, low-cost travel mainly by young people and had been considered as basically free and autonomous travel. Also backpacking is often done in the gap year, and it has been considered that there is certain educational effects in broaden their perspectives. [Pearce and Foster, 2007] Simultaneously, it is also pointed out that the backpackers themself consider backpacking is a self-enlightenment travel. [Noy, 2004]

In the 1970’s, on the background of these characteristics, many academics favored backpacking and backpackers. [Cohen, 1972; Vogt, 1976] Especially characteristic of backpackers’ behavior that Plog pointed out as “allocentric”, is an important viewpoint for thinking about the active and friendly relationship with others, that is, local residents. [Plog, 1974] Furthermore, the backpackers’ relationship with others has expanded to open minded relationships with other travelers, [Riley, 1988] and their commitment to authentic destinations has also been pointed out. [Noy, 2004] Despite the problems such as using drugs existed on the other hand, for a certain period of time, based on these understandings, it had been considered that backpackers embody the original ‘value’ of tourism by comparison with mass tourist. Similarly backpackers had been positioned as successors of romantic tourism era. [Adler, 1985] From the 1970’s to the 1990’s, it can be pointed out that backpackers were regarded as existences that academics’ idea on tourism was embodied to a certain extent.

Meanwhile, as the means of transportation of the backpackers changed from land route to air travel, the importance of the gateway cities increased and urban enclaves represented by Khao San in Bangkok were formed. [Howard, 2005] Thereafter, a network connecting the enclaves of the gateway cities and the enclaves of the remote location such as the beach had been constructed. [Hampton, 2010] In the 1990s, with the stability of political situation and opening policy, countries that were unknown to the backpackers until then, such as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were incorporated into the route. [Hampton, 2010] With an emergence of new backpacker’s trails, [Hampton and Hamzah, 2016] enclaves had been diffused along the route. [Lloyd, 2004] As background of the increase of enclaves, the fact that the nature of the backpackers has changed and the diffusion process that tourists targeted by the tourist enclaves expands beyond backpackers are pointed out as push factors. In addition, changes in tourism policy and relaxation of regulation can be mentioned as pull factors. Also the means of air travel were shifting from cheap 2nd rank airlines that were the mainstream in the 1970’s [Hampton, 2010] to the LCC (Low-Cost Carrier) since 2000. Such improvements in the infrastructure that facilitated travel easily and comfortably for ordinary budget travelers also can be regarded as an additional factor of the increase of tourist enclaves. With this environmental change, the tourist enclaves expand to a place that meets various requirements, such as a transportation hub, a place with a relatively low living expenses level that en-
ables long-term stay, a place excellent in access to entertainment. The tourist enclaves are not only a place for backpackers as before, but are universal existences for tourism to attract a large number of tourists, mainly budget travelers, and began to obtain the natures of global phenomena emerged in various places.

The universalization of the tourist enclaves and its transformation are proceeding at the same time. Among these transformations, there are three changes that are considered to affect paradigm shift of tourism. The first is the tendency that the tourist enclaves to become a possession of a specific ethnic group. There was the point of view that considered the tourist enclave as a special form of the ethnic enclaves. [Howard, 2005] However it is difficult to equate the tourist enclaves with the ethnic enclaves occupied by residents of specific ethnic group. Nonetheless, the existence of tourist enclaves where the specific ethnic group gathers as a traveler was already known like British people in Costa del Sol, and so on. [O’Reilly, 2000] We will refer to these tourist enclaves as the ethno-tourist-enclaves in this paper.

As in case of Little Italy, China Towns in San Francisco and New York, the phenomena of ethnic enclaves becoming tourist destination is usual. [Conforti, 1996; Timothy, 2002; Show et al., 2004] The ethnic enclaves are small areas where mainly a specific ethnic group lives and carries out business and forms a unique landscape as a so-called city inside the city. Various tourists gather to call for exotic atmosphere, and as a result, the ethnic enclaves are multicultural due to the existence of tourists as others. On the other hand, in the ethno-tourist-enclaves, tourists as customers belong to the same ethnic group, consequently an ethnically closed space have been formed. In recent year, furthermore, this trend is accelerating and the formations of ethno-tourist-enclaves for each ethnic group are increasing still more. Middle Eastern enclave around Sukhumvit Soi 3 and Soi 3/1 in Bangkok is typical example and serves as a hub for tourists from Middle Eastern countries. [Cohen and Neal, 2012] Besides, in Bangkok, many of the tourist enclaves are formed as ethnically homogeneous areas and these areas have totally different appearance and atmosphere. For example, Soi Cowboy [Wilson, 2010] and Sukhumvit Soi 4 (Nana Plaza) [Munpao, 2018] are targeted for Farang (Westerner), and Thanon Thaniya is targeted for Japanese.6) The philosophy of diverse enclaves is retreating and homogeneous enclaves are increasing. In the past, socialization in the enclaves was closed only among tourists, and communication between tourists and locals was not so active. At present, the circumstance has deteriorated further, socialization in the enclave tend to be limited within the same ethnic group.

This ethnocentric situation is largely contrary to the idea implicitly entrusted to tourism, that is, “to know others through travel”. Tourism academics have not expressed this value explicitly. However, analysis had been carried out with this value implicitly as the background. This is reflected in the epistemological definition of tourism. These trends in the tourist enclaves have the importance of impacting the perception of tourism, and tourism academics are forced to respond to it.

The second can be regarded as a special form of the first situation. The budget travelers in the 1980s did not pay great attention to amenities such as plumbing of accommodations, air conditioners in transportation and so on, also they did not pay much attention to West European life such as food. [Riley, 1988] However, the situation has changed completely, and many Western tourists gathering in the tourist enclaves have desire to certain level of amenities and Western living. Especially in developing countries, it has been pointed out that
tourism is accompanied by Westernization. However the Westernization here is a conceptual tendency. [Cohen, 1984; Winter, 2007] As a matter of fact, in the tourist enclaves, the modifications of food and lifestyle according to Western tourists'
preference are often observed. Thus Westernization in the tourist enclaves is not a conceptual thinking but a more specific trend. This can be consider as an adaptation behavior by locals for travelers who do not want to change everyday life familiar to them. This tendency is strongly manifested especially in the food that is thought to be the most near to an embodiment. Along with changes in circumstances, tourists whose consciousness and behavior differ significantly from the conventional backpackers began to gather at the tourist enclaves. This would be a main factor that changed the tourist enclave. This kind of Westernization is called “banana pancake”. It is said that this term derived from the fact that restaurants and guesthouses started to serve banana pancake for breakfast as an easy adaptation to Western tourists.

From the beginning, the enclaves had a character as the temporary shelter from a long individual travel under different cultural environment. However, the current trend is excessive Westernization beyond the character of the temporary shelter. Currently the tourist enclaves are becoming more or less Westernized. This tendency is particularly remarkable in relatively emerging enclaves such as Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Hanoi. This trend is progressing even in Khao San, which has been considered as a typical multicultural enclave. [Teo and Leong, 2005] As mentioned above, the main factor of Westernization will be the change in the nature of tourists gathering in the tourist enclaves. The conventional backpackers who seek exoticism and broaden their perspective have decreased, and tourists who pursue cheaper and more easy-going life than in their home countries, are becoming a mainstream. What they mainly seek is the familiar lifestyle, not the exotic experience. The distinction between package travelers and non-packaged travelers has already become ambiguous, [Jacobsen, 2000] and many tourists gathering in the tourist enclaves seek for such home-like holiday. In other words, they can be regarded as seeking the sameness of daily life and leisure.

Although Westernization has progressed, the similar environment of Western countries is not altogether established in the tourist enclaves, as a result, in the tourist enclaves, the ethnic food as the symbolic consumption is often seen. However “Euro-food” or “global-food” for majority of tourists who do not seek locality are mainstream of food there. In this way, quasi-global or quasi-European space like a patchwork of local and Western elements has been established. [Jacobsen, 2003] Also, these types of tourist enclaves tend to be established in former colonies, and the influence of the postcolonial cannot be denied. [Teo and Leong, 2005] In any case, in the tourist enclaves which main purpose is the home-like holiday, meaning of leaving usual habitat that is a basis of tourism has been largely lost. The Westernization in tourist enclaves will be a factor that urges reconsidering the basic notion of tourism.

The third is a concept of “mooring”. The mooring is a term that refers to a temporary place of stay in the middle of the migration. Conventionally, the tourist enclaves have been regarded as nodes of tourist mobility as a transportation hub or tourist information circulation nodes. In addition, the tourist enclaves are now becoming places as the mooring of tourists. The tourists staying in the tourist enclaves are by no means long-term. [Firth and Hing, 1999] However, the tourists who live in the tourist enclaves have also appeared. From conventional, an existence of these residents is known,
and Cohen called these residents as dropout expatriates. [Cohen, 1984] The dropout expatriates do not have common features such as educational standards and age, but in general it is often engaged in illegal professions or low wage occupations. As the tourist enclaves expanded and especially as specific ethnic groups concentrate, some tourists began to use the enclaves as the mooring. They are tourists who can be said to be a variant of the dropout expatriates. As their characteristics, it is pointed out that they belong to the tourist enclaves instead of belonging to the expatriate communities. [Cohen, 1977]

The tourist enclaves increase, and as some of them became the ethno-tourist-enclaves, the number of travelers using the enclave as the mooring also increased. In the ethno-tourist-enclaves, tourists belonging to that ethnic group are able to do long stay under a less stressful environment, and it is relatively easy to find a temporary job from cultural sameness. In the process of developing the ethno-tourist-enclaves, there are many cases involving a group that is familiar with a specific ethnic group’s behavior and way of life such as language and so on. For example, Vietnamese returnees from Russia are involved in the formation of the Russian speaking ethno-tourist-enclave in Nha Trang, Vietnam. [Ohashi, 2017] In this respect, it is very common that the drop expatriates belonging to the same ethnic group has a certain connection to the transformation and the operation of the ethno-tourist-enclave.

People who use the tourist enclaves as the mooring, however, have already stopped moving and are immobilized, and it is hard to say that they are travelers in the usual sense. Many of them settle in the tourist enclaves illegally, or repeat short-term stay by visa run, [Green, 2015] and to engage a job temporarily and illegally, some will start up even their business. Like the former backpackers they are not getting current earnings for the next travel. Their earnings are devoted to living expenses in the tourist enclaves. They are not immigrants, but they are not travelers in the sense that they do not have a strong will to return to the original habitat. The tourist enclaves generate these marginal people as part of the tourism phenomenon. This situation urges reconsideration on the notion of travel that has been regarded as the foundation of tourism.

VI Conclusion

The definition of tourism is not simply a mapping of the real tourism but has certain social functions. One is operational means to grasp of the actual state of tourism called the technical definitions. The other is an opportunity to express the value and normative recognition of tourism, called the epistemological definitions.

The Definition of tourism was officially defined for the first time at the committee of the International Federation in 1937, and it has been revised many times since then and has reached the present. Changes in the circumstances surrounding tourism are rapid therefore there is no guarantee that the definition always matches with what society considers as tourism. From this point of view, the definition of tourism is not just a description of phenomena but a dialectical cycle between reality and conceptualization, and it can be regarded as a process of creating and updating knowledge. The definition produced is a frame of reference of academics as a provisional anchor point, and it becomes the basis of further knowledge production. As a paradigm shift, the major modifications in this cycle contribute to the renewal of recognition and the production of new knowledge. The elimination of purposes of travel from the definition would be a typical example of this process. The ideological tourism concept with value-related
characteristics not related to specific phenomena, such as sustainable tourism, responsible tourism and so on have been born out of this recognition. Currently the situation of tourism has changed further, and it seems that the next paradigm shift is being requested.

Small areas called the tourist enclaves are intensively bringing about new trends to change such perception of tourism. The tourist enclaves are enclosed sub areas that are different from the adjacent areas, which mainly target for tourists. A large-scale resort development in remote areas is one typical example, and tourist spaces occurring in cities or in remote areas called the backpacker enclaves are another typical example. The former is not deeply related to the local, and it is also called the enclave tourism. On the other hand, the latter is areas where small-scale private facilities such as inexpensive hostels and guesthouses, food stalls and eateries, travel arrangements and so on have accumulated. As a special small area targeting tourists, both are often considered as the same or similar concepts. However, in this paper, we focused on the difference between the two, such as the state of the boundary, the process of formation, the relationship with the locals, and distinguished them from each other. Then we analyzed the latter that showed the remarkable tendencies.

The latter began as a commune of hippies in the 1960s and spread to various places along with the transition from hippies to backpackers. Today, due to the change in the nature of backpackers such as the emergence of flashpackers, the tourist enclaves are established in the gateway cities and various other places, and these areas target not only for the backpackers, but also for the ordinary budget travelers. Already the tourist enclaves are not a special area targeting for a specific tourism mode, and it can be said to be the global phenomenon. The tourist enclaves are increasing, and are beginning to change further. Among these changes, three aspects that affect perception of tourism are the formation of ethno-tourist-enclaves, the Westernization, and the role as the mooring. The formation of the ethno-tourist-enclaves means that tourists of specific ethnic group take possession of particular tourist enclaves. Further, the Westernization means that the tourist enclave is modified according to taste and preference of tourists from Western Europe. In addition, the use as the mooring refers to a situation that tourists stop to travel and live in the tourist enclaves, and they are hired or start business. All of three aspects will cause discrepancies between the current definition of tourism, and the philosophy and the perception of tourism that have been implicitly assumed. However, as long as we consider that the definition of tourism is the dialectic cycle of updating recognition and producing knowledge, exploring this discrepancy is nothing other than thinking about the next paradigm shift concerning tourism. In other words, it can also be said as an opportunity to sublation. Even though the situation occurring in the tourist enclaves gives that opportunity, we cannot say that we have sufficient knowledge about the situation itself and the current tourist enclaves. Although there is some degree of research accumulation about enclaves, most of them are studies on the relationship with the backpackers, and a research on the tourist enclaves in the new era is still few. In the future, a detailed research on new tourist enclaves will be urgent.

NOTES
1) The situation is somewhat different in Japanese academia. In the scenes not strictly scientific or scholastic, arguments that criticize the current situation of tourism in normative way with reference to etymology are seen. This is due to the fact that the term “Kanko” representing “tourism” in Japanese has the Chinese origin and has a philosophical background completely different from the
semantic content of tourism in Western way. However, this argument does not contribute to the deeper understanding of the phenomenon of tourism at all.

2) It seems that Japanese tourism academia and practical scenes still have a deep interest in leisure as a necessary requirement of tourism. Especially it seems that their major attention is a pleasure travel. In the official tourism statistics, the purpose of the travel is no longer taken into consideration. However, in the some researches, the sub categories of tourism that are combined with leisure for other travel purposes is used under the name of “Ken-Kanko” (Business travel as well as tourism).

3) According to the author’s tourist enclave research that had been conducted in the environs of Nhà thờ Lớn (The Big Church) in Hanoi, the profitability in the enclave is increased as the visitors change from the backpackers to the ordinary travelers, while the rent of the commercial properties rise. As a result, the micro enterprises and foreign individual business that cannot bear high rent have tended to be expelled from the enclaves and the environs. However, even if the micro-businesses or the local individual owners are replaced by businesses with relatively large scale, most of them are a small-scale capital in their own country, and a large corporation does not enter to the enclave business. In this regard, unlike a large-scale resort development, the framework of local capitals and small businesses never changes.

4) There is no doubt that Pub Street which is the tourist enclave of Siem Reap (Cambodia) depended on Khmer ruins such as Angkor Wat. However, the facts that tourists gathering there are less frequent visit to Khmer ruins than other tourists, and the duration time in the ruins is also shorter, were clarified by the group of author’s research.

5) As a feature of the ethno-tourist-enclaves, it is pointed out that these areas are not strictly formed by a single ethnic group, but it is composed of a larger framework of ethnicities, such as Arabs in Middle-eastern enclave in Bangkok, Farangs in Soi Cowboy (Bangkok), People from Common Wealth countries in Niseko (Japan) [Kureha, 2014; Nelson and Matthews, 2018] and so on.

6) At Thanon Silom in Bangkok, several ethnic groups established neighboring Soi (alleys) as the ethno-tourist-enclaves, therefore these alleys reached totally different mono-cultural appearance. Among these alleys, as gay town, Soi 4 is not an enclave formation based on ethnicity, as a result it still holds multicultural atmosphere.

7) [Riley, 1998] uses breakfast of banana pancakes as an example that backpackers of that time did not demand a similar everyday life as in home country. Currently, however, it is often used as a term symbolizing easy Westernization that is directly opposite to Riley’s usage.

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