

A Study on the Formation and Transformation of Tourist Enclave around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi (St. Joseph's Cathedral)¹

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Summary: Tourist enclave is one of the phenomena that characterize current tourism. In Vietnam, the formation of tourist enclaves was delayed compared to other Asian countries due to political situations such as prolonged war. However, international tourism is now on track and several enclaves have been formed, serving as an important element of tourism in Vietnam, especially international tourism. In this paper, based on the consideration of the development stage of Vietnam tourism since Doi Moi in 1986, taking the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi (St Joseph's Cathedral) in Hanoi as an example, the formation and transformation process of the tourist enclave is clarified.

The development stages of the tourist enclave in the area correspond very roughly to the stages of TALC. But at present there is no sign of saturation or stagnation. Although the number of tourism-related facilities in the area has reached a certain upper limit, the number of visitors continues to increase, and the commercial potential continues to expand. The contradict tendencies such as the simultaneous coexistence of saturation and growth, and the simultaneous progress of the de-regionalization due to the relocation of the original residents to the outside and the shifting to domestic demand can be considered as the major characteristics in the final stage. An overview of the developmental stages around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi shows a recursive and qualitative change, starting with a very simple tourist destination, returning to the tourist destination again through the formation of an enclave. This change is wide-ranging, including change in the nature of visitors, local tourism functions, regional landscapes, and representation of tourist facilities. As a result, the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi has been transformed into a general tourist destination that attracts domestic tourists and local leisure demands while retaining the characteristics of a tourist enclave. The colonial landscape, the exotic atmosphere created by the backpacker play a role in attracting domestic visitors as a special place in the region. The evolutionary process leading to this stage is not yet fully generalizable. But it can be regarded as an implication for the development stages of tourist enclaves. At the same time, as a viewpoint of analysis, instead of simply following the internal and formal

developmental process of tourist enclave, the macro socio-economic dynamics, such as changes in national policy, economic growth, changes in information technology and their social impact, should be considered. Then on the premise of them, it is become clear that the importance of considering the unique historical background, including the colonial past.

Key words: tourist enclave, tourism in Vietnam, Doi Moi, state-owned enterprises, backpacker, post-colonial

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I—Introduction

Tourist enclaves that reminiscent of European concessions, [Jacobsen, 2003] are one of the remarkable characteristics of current tourism and questioned the idea of tourism as a simple mobility. In other words, although tourist enclaves are temporary space for residence (settlement) , and it seems to change the concept of tourism as a short term recursive mobility. [Inagaki, 2019] In many cases, the formation of tourist enclaves involves a variety of mobility that is not directly related to the short-term mobility of tourism. The social structure established there is not an exchange of values through commercial relationship between tourists and tourist facilities that is originally considered as tourism structure, nor is a host-guest relationship between tourists and locals that became mainstream later on. More multilayered relationship has been established there. Tourist enclaves that originated as the hippie commune, enhanced more touristic character and increased in 1990s. [Gardner et al.,

2002] Tourist enclaves are important in tourism studies as well as cannot be ignored in reality. For example, we can point out examples of changing the character of a greater tourism area that the enclave is located like Kuta, in Bali, or determining a tourism image of a country like Khao San, Bangkok.

In Vietnam, entry into the international tourism market was delayed, and the formation of tourist enclaves was delayed compared to other ASEAN countries and South Asian countries. The formation of tourist enclaves is affected by environmental factors such as location on travel routes and is also strongly influenced by policy factors such as tourism policy, immigration control, and its actual operation status. However, there are now several tourist enclaves in Vietnam. The so-called foreign enclaves that exist in Vietnam can be divided into several categories in relation to tourism. The first is for expatriates, which is relatively unrelated to tourism, and the second is tourist enclaves for tourists. The second category is further subdivided into multinational enclaves that accept diverse tourists, mainly backpackers, and ethno-tourist-enclaves [Inagaki, 2019] that specialize in tourists based on specific regional attributes. [Cohen and Neil, 2012] On the other hand, reflecting the immigration policy, [Green, 2015] there are no enclaves in Vietnam that accept amenity migration like a retirement

community. [Benson and O'Reilly, 2016; O'Reilly, 2000]

As enclaves for expatriates, [Cohen, 1977] Ho Tay (Hồ Tây) in Hanoi and the north coast of Ho Truc Bach (Hồ Trúc Bạch) are known as foreign settlements mainly consisting of the Westerners. On the other hand, Kim Ma (Kim Mã), Cau Giay area (Cầu Giấy) and some part of Hai Ba Trung Ward (Quận Hai Bà Trưng) are regarded as territory of Japanese expatriates, and the along of Le Van Luong Street (Đường Lê Văn Lương) is regarded as Korean enclave.

As for tourist enclaves, the largest multinational enclave has been formed in a block surrounded by Pham Ngu Lao (Phạm Ngũ Lão), De Tham (Đường Đề Thám) and Bui Vien (Bùi Viện) in Ho Chi Minh City (TP Hồ Chí Minh). [Lloyd, 2003; Otsuka and Maruyama, 2016] Especially Pham Ngu Lao Street is known as "Backpacker's Street". In Hanoi, an area centered on the intersection of Ma May Street (Phở Mã Mây) and Luong Ngoc Quyen Street (Lương Ngọc Quyến) in the Old Quarter (Phố Cổ) is considered as a typical backpacker enclave. Also, an enclave is formed in a block surrounded by Au Trieu Street (Áu Triệu), Ly Quoc Su Street (Lý Quốc Sư), Ngo Huyen Street (Ngõ Huyện), and Phu Doan Street (Phủ Doãn), in the north of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi (Nhà Thờ Lớn Hà Nội, St. Joseph Cathedral). In other regions, An Thuong area (An Thượng), and an encircled area by Ha Bong street (Hà Bồng), Dinh Nghe street (Đường Đình Nghệ), Ho Nghinh street (Hồ) and Ha Chuong (Hà Chương) in Da Nang (Đà Nẵng) can be pointed out as tourist enclaves. These tourist enclaves are all multinational enclaves, and there are few cases of ethno-tourist-enclaves in

Vietnam. As an example of one of the few ethno-tourist-enclaves, it can be pointed out Russian ethno-tourist-enclave [Ohashi, 2018] that spreads along the alley of Hung Vuong Street (Hùng Vương) south of Biet Thu Street (Biệt Thự) in Nha Trang (Nha Trang). As an example of one of the few ethno-tourist-enclaves, it can be pointed out Russian ethno-tourist-enclave that spreads along the alley of Hung Vuong Street (Hùng Vương) south of Biet Thu Street (Biệt Thự) in Nha Trang (Nha Trang). However, this Russian ethno-tourist-enclave is weakening its character as an ethno-tourist-enclave due to the increase in various tourists including Chinese. [Nelson, Matthews, 2018]

In this paper, we will examine the background of enclave formation, factors related to transformation, and the generality of the development stage, taking the case of tourist enclave near Nha Tho Lon Na Noi. In addition, this paper clarifies the transformation process of tourist enclaves and at the same time, through examination of the generality of its developmental stage, we will examine the appropriateness of the Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) for real tourism destinations. Tourist enclaves are diverse and not all show similar formation and transformation processes. In tourist enclaves, the character as a tourist destination sometimes recurs like a circle, and it is not always a linear change in a certain direction. The transformation of tourist enclaves as a tourist destination is not stages of development or evolution, but a character changes that is difficult to measure on a quantitative scale. In addition, the cause of change is not due to external intentions but can be regarded as a spontaneous phenomenon contained within a tourism phenomenon itself.

II——Literature Review

Tourist enclaves are related to various field of study such as tourist bubble, [Judd, 1999] backpacking [Cohen, 2018] and various style of amenity migration, [Green, 2015; O'Reilly, 2000] and is often discussed in relation to it. But tourist enclaves itself is relatively rare to be the center of discussion. As a paper dealing with the formation process of a particular tourist enclave strictly, [Howard, 2005; King, 2017] about Khao San, [Allon, 2004] about Sydney, [Cohen, 2006; Lortanavanit, 2009] about Pai, Thailand, [Schmid, 2017] about Luxor, Egypt, [Kureha, 2014] about Niseko, [Hory et al., 2017] about Budapest, [González et al., 2014] about Cuba etc. can be pointed out. In addition, [Hampton, 1998; Hampton, 2010; Hampton and Hamza, 2016; Howard, 2007; Kravanja, 2016; Wilson and Richards, 2008; Winger, 2005] etc. may be mentioned as papers that conceptually dealt with the formation process. In Thailand, where a typical tourist enclave is located, such as Khao San, there are many papers on its formation. However, most of them are in Thai, and there are few English articles. Many English articles are dissertations such as [Suwannik, 2016; Manpao, 2018], few have developed into English journal papers. There are very few papers to focus on the formation of a specific tourist enclave in Vietnam. [Lloyd, 2003; Lloyd, 2006] dealt with Pham Ngu Lao and Hanoi Old Quarter, also [Otsuka and Maruyama, 2016] targeted Pham Ngu Lao, and [Ohashi, 2018] focus on Nha Trang. These are only few examples that can be mentioned. There are no papers that cover the region where this paper deals with.

There are several papers related to tourist enclave titled “transition”. [Cohen, 2006; Lloyd, 2006] Most of them express the formation process of tourist enclave in terms of “transition” on the premise of comparison with the situation before the introduction of tourism. In these papers, tourist enclave is regarded as a complete form of tourist destination, and mainly the backpacker’s acceptance process and diffusion process are considered as a subject of research. The aim of this paper is to place tourist enclave in the wider and more dynamic tourist destination transition process and to clarify the relationship between other tourist destination types and tourist enclave. In this regard, the subject of the above paper is very different from this paper’s awareness of issue. Very few papers analyze the qualitative changes in tourist enclaves, except [Teo and Leong, 2005] that deals with a transformation of internal communication process in Khao San.

III——Method

Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi that was surveyed in this paper, is a Catholic church founded in 1886, located



Pic-1 Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi

A Catholic church built under French colonial administration in 1886. The majority of visitors who gather in front of the cathedral are already Vietnamese

150-160 meters in a direct distance from Hoan Kiem Lake (Hồ Hoàn Kiếm, Hồ Gươm) in the center of Hanoi. (cf. Pic-1) On the south side of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, there are catholic facilities such as an archbishop mansion and a seminary. Despite that, a local elementary school is located between these facilities and the church, creating complicated land use patterns. Although it has a deep psychological connection with Westerners including tourists as a colonial heritage, it also has a complicated history that it was built by removing Buddhist temples. In the past, there has been a dispute over the ownership of the site and the boundary between the church, the followers and the local government, forming a special area.² The tourist enclave is located to the north of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. The block of tourist enclave is surrounded by four roads, Au Trieu Street in (Ấu Triệu), Phu Doan Street (Phủ Doãn), Ly Quoc Su Street (Lý Quốc Sư) and Ngo Huyen Street (Ngõ Huyện). And there are some more small alleys inside. The tourist enclave is a slightly deformed diamond shaped block with about 150 meters in the east and west and 50-60 meters in the north and south.

As mentioned above, this paper aims to clarify the process of formation and transformation of tourist enclave located in the north of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. In addition to the fact that the area near Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi is a typical tourist enclave in Vietnam, there are several reasons why Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi became a subject of the research. First of all, Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi area has reached a certain stage of development as a tourist enclave through several stages, and at the same time the process of transformation has already emerged. From this reason, it can be considered suitable for observing the formation process and transformation of tourist



Pic-2 An inside of enclave

Ngo Huyen Street seen from Phu Doan Street. Near the entrance of enclave, the local life and atmosphere of enclave unite to form a cluttered space.

enclave. Although it has reached a certain stage of development, the time lapse since its establishment is not so long, there are very few documents, and it is a realistic object of investigation in Vietnam where there is no choice but to rely on interviews. Third, although has been formed a developed tourist enclave, sprawl to the surrounding area is limited, and it is easier to determine the boundary of region than other enclaves. Because it is impossible to sprawl in two directions, Au Tieu street on the church side and Phu Doan street (cf. Pic-2) side facing Vietnam-German Hospital (Bệnh Viện Việt-Đức), and there is very little possibility for the spatial expansion of enclave indefinitely.

This paper is based entirely on qualitative methods. This is due to the crucial lack of reliable quantitative data related to the subject as well as the qualitative character of the research. For the research methods, author employed interviewing to business owners (including withdrawn), resident, former residents, and continuous observation on the spot as well as past visual data. The loan relationship of commercial property that is a key concept of this tourist enclave research is also very personal, and it

is often seen that even written contracts do not exist. In many cases, real estate along the main roads in the region is owned and leased by the State-owned Enterprises like HAPRO. However, even if contracts are made, there are many examples where double books are used to exchange much amount than contracts.⁴ Due to these circumstances, the information provided does not always reflect the actual situation, even for public documents such as contracts. In the case of qualitative changes in the region, although the general tendency can be grasped by changes in the number of businesses for each category, the representation of tourist facilities and the changes in clientele play a more important analytical role. For these, quantitative analysis is not effective.

IV—Vietnamese Tourism in Transition

Vietnam's entry into the international tourism market was far behind that of other Southeast Asian countries, except Myanmar and Laos.⁵ [Hampton,2010] This is mainly due to the political situation. Vietnam has been in a virtually divided state since the Declaration of Independence in 1945, and the situation in the South (Republic of Vietnam) is unstable, making it difficult for tourists to travel in intermittent battles. The north (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) was closed to the West as a socialist country. After that, Vietnam and Western countries continued to confront each other. Throughout the so-called Vietnam War and Sino-Vietnamese War after the unification, the conditions for accepting international tourists were largely lacking. Even after the end of the Sino-Vietnamese War, socialist policies, extreme shortages of supplies, and poor economic conditions have impeded

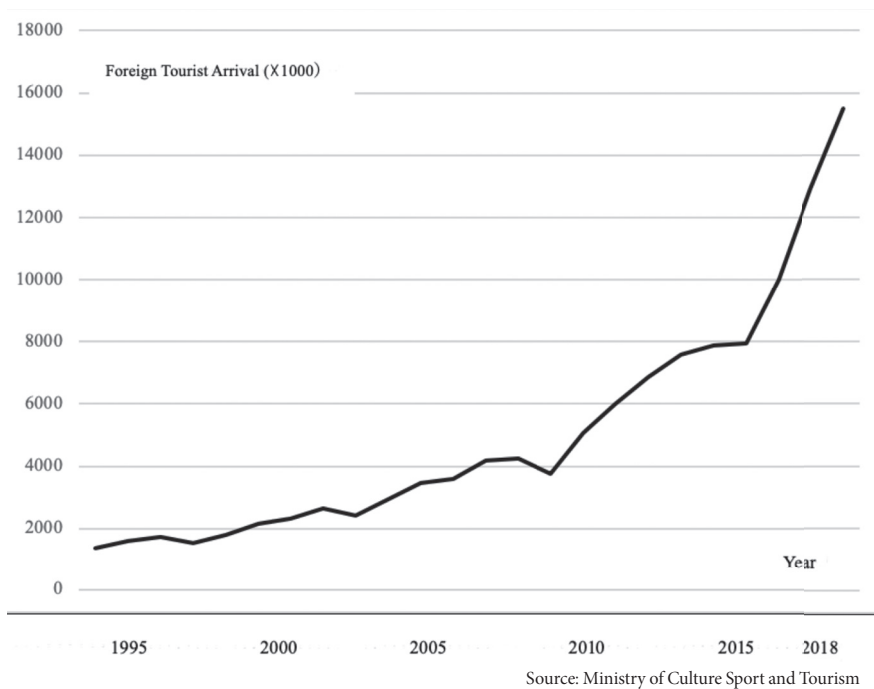


Figure-1. Foreign Tourist Arrival at Vietnam

domestic leisure, as well as international tourism. During this period, recreational use of regional resources was limited to the official visitors from the Eastern countries and the expatriates such as Soviet and Eastern European aid engineers and workers.⁶

A major turning point in tourism in Vietnam is Doi Moi (Đổi Mới), which was introduced in 1986 at the 6th Vietnam Communist Party Congress. Doi Moi was a major shift to market economy while maintaining the political regime. Vietnam had induced a socialist planned economy throughout the country since the reunification in 1975, but the central planning system had not been successful. Moreover, the economy was in a collapsed state due to the prolonged invasion of Cambodia and Sino-Vietnamese War. [Irvin, 1995] The attempt to break through this situation was Doi Moi, an economic opening policy whose main contents are the transition to the market economy and opening policy to foreign countries including the Western block. [Freeman, 1996] Doi Moi was a revolutionary policy in terms of the transition to Socialist Market Economy. With Doi Moi, tourism had been positioned in policy as a means of acquiring foreign currency, and at the same time the possibility of involving private sectors in tourism had emerged. From these circumstances, the key concepts in analyzing tourism in Vietnam include government policy involvement, SOEs, trends in private businesses, and relations with international investors. [Cooper, 2000]

[Suntikul et al., 2008] refers to the key concepts described above, and divides the development process of tourism in Vietnam into six stages including Pre-Doi Moi era, mainly based on hotel

management and, supply and demand of accommodations.

- I -1986 Pre-Doi Moi
- II Early 1986-90 A Period of State Dominance and the First Joint Ventures
- III 1990-1994 Rise of Joint Venture Hotels
- IV 1995-1996 Reaction of State Hotels
- IV 1996-1999 Oversupply and Falling Demand
- VI 1999-Present

According to [Suntikul et al., 2008], each stage is characterized as follows. Pre-Doi Moi era, although luxury hotels from the colonial period still remain, visitor from Eastern Europe has become the mainstream of customer and had been rapidly deteriorating of facilities. Many hotels did not meet the standards required by international visitors. The second stage, although Doi Moi has already started, tourists are still mainly from Eastern Europe, and most of the hotels were state-run hotels owned by government agencies at each level. The hotel nevertheless does not reach international standards, and a small number of foreign capitals began to enter the market for tourists seeking higher facilities and amenity standards. The third stage is the Rise of Joint venture Hotel. Many joint ventures entered the market due to the relaxation of foreign investment by the government and enjoyed high occupancy rates due to increased demand due to Doi Moi getting on track. In the next stage, state-run hotels begin to respond to the real situation. State hotels had begun to acquire management skills in line with international management systems and market principles and had begun to adopt new strategies such as promotion of domestic tourists. The fourth stage is era of Oversupply and Falling Demand. Joint

Ventures continued to enter the market, resulting in an oversupply, and due to the effects of the Vietnamese government's immigration control measures and the Asian Economic Crisis, some hotels were sluggish. And the last stage is the trend that continues today. Especially in large cities, the number of international standard rooms has increased, and has reached a stable state.

When considering the historical development of tourism in Vietnam, it is certain that the trend of SOEs and the position of them in tourism as a whole have great significance. However, hotel trends do not always match those of tourism as a whole. Except in the early stages, the hotels mentioned here are so-called global operators and, small businesses, local capital are not considered. According to VNAT (Vietnam National Authority of Tourism), as of 2018, there are a total of 15,615 accommodation facilities in Vietnam, with only 152 five-star, which are mainly related to foreign capital, accounting for less than 1% of the total. The total up to three-star to five-star hotels is only 6.2%. Most of the three-star and four-star facilities are local hotels, despite being affected by foreign hotel chains due to their know-how in facility development and operation. Although five-star hotels have a large business scale and occupy 14.7% in the total rooms, it is hard to say that they represent the overall trend. [Suntikul et al., 2008] presents some suggestions for analyzing the development stages of Vietnam tourism, but it is difficult to rely entirely on them.

Lloyd uses traveler cafes as an example to analyze the expansion of foreign capital and the trends of local small businesses. [Lloyd, 2004] Lloyd also analyzed the development stages of traveler cafes in

three parts. [Lloyd, 2003] This is a very micro-analysis, but discusses a dynamic negotiation process between government and small private business, reflecting local realities of tourism more than macro analysis of hotel industry. The three phases are as follows.

First phase 1990-94	Rise of Traveler Cafes ⁸
Second phase 1994-96	The Golden Age of Traveler Cafes
Third phase 1996-2000	Tightening of Regulations

First phase is the rise of traveler cafes. After inducing Doi Moi policy, the freedom of small private sector activities was granted. [Bennette, 2008] As a result, the proliferation of unlicensed traveler cafes was occurred due to the relaxation of ordinances and the turmoil of law enforcement. The Second Phase is an era where travel cafes continued to increase and backpackers surged after the Travel Permit was abolished in 1993, boosting travel cafes' profits. The majority of traveler cafes are still unlicensed, and the conflict between traveler cafes and the government, local community was growing. The Third Phase is a time of strengthening enforcement under such conditions. The government intervened in traveler cafes in the name of maintaining the quality of travel services, and enforcement was strengthened. A license was required and unlicensed traveler cafes were excluded. Taxation has been strengthened and travel cafes can be said to have been incorporated into the administrative framework. Lloyd's argument is limited in term and does not cover the entire period from Doi Moi to the present. However, considering the development stage of Vietnam tourism, it is

extremely suggestive that pointed out various important factors such as restrictions on private capital (legal framework and actual enforcement), competition between SOEs and private business, and changes in tourists attribute.

V—Formation and Transformation of the Enclave

As a prerequisite for analysis of formation and transformation of enclave in the vicinity of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, based on some of the above-mentioned arguments, this paper would like to define the development stages of Vietnam tourism as follows. However, there are significant points to note in the following stages of development that differ from previous discussions. The first difference is the recognition that each stage is not separated by epoch-making events. Because the factors that characterize each stage change over time, the transition between stages is gradual, and at the same time there is overlap between each stage. Even Doi Moi is no exception. Doi Moi was an epoch-making event that happened at some point, but it took a certain amount of time for the outcome to realize. The second is that individual tourist destinations such as enclave are not always consistent with the macro dynamics at the national level. Due to this, there is a certain time lag in the changes between each tourist destination. Especially in developing countries including Vietnam, there are various regional disparities such as urban and rural areas, and this tendency may be strengthened.

- Stage I 1986 Pre-Doi Moi era
- Stage II 1986-90s State-run Tourism era
- Stage III Early 1990s-Circa 2010 Emergence of

Private Enterprises

Stage IV Circa 2010-The Present Changes in Tourist Attribute and Growth of Domestic Market

Stage I was a time when international tourism was virtually nonexistent, except for its relation to the Eastern block. Stage II was the period when Doi Moi was introduced, private enterprises were allowed to enter the tourism market, and also foreign capital began to enter the market. However, SOEs remained significant and influential. The main business mode was to accept group tours organized mainly in foreign countries by state-owned travel agencies and treated them by fixed routes that have been set in advance. Mainly hotels that was used were state-owned hotels, so it was a period when the tendency of socialist tourism remained. As tourists, French that is the former sovereign country, and Americans that is veterans of the Vietnam War, were relatively high, and individual travelers were nearly neglected. Stage III is the time when the leading role of tourism shifted to private enterprises. Although state-owned enterprises still own properties like hotels, but they disappeared from the surface of tourism scene through management contracts with foreign capital, and their presence diminished. Private enterprises have expanded from micro businesses such as mini-hotels, hostels and traveler cafes to large-scale resorts. Travelers were also diversifying, and backpackers and other young people were expanding. At the same time, the formation of the tourist enclave began. In Stage IV, the majority of tourism will be run by private enterprises. The majority of inbound tourists will move to Asia, such as China and Korea, and the number of tourists from neighboring Southeast Asian countries will

increase. Among these new markets of tourists, still group travel is a mainstream of travel mode, but backpacker also has a significant presence and supports micro businesses primarily. In addition, the center of travel information has completely shifted to the Internet, and the method of collecting travel information has definitely changed. This has had a major impact on the situation of enclave. On the other hand, with the economic growth, the domestic tourism market is expanding rapidly, the trend of domestic tourists cannot be ignored for both tourist facilities and tourist destinations.

Among slow to develop enclaves in Vietnam as a whole, the enclave near Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi belong to a relatively new group. For this reason, it can be considered that this is a typical example that was established in a time lag with the macro dynamics at the national level. The neighborhood around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi is often considered to be a part of the Old Quarter by the guidebook and so on, due to the continuity of the townscape, but the current townscape was formed after the introduction of tourism and it has historically been regarded as different districts. According to the usual understanding, the boundary of the Old Quarter is regarded as Hang Gai Street (Hàng Gai) and Hang Bong Street (Hàng Bông), and Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi south of it is not the Old Quarter. A strategic map created by the National Imagery and Mapping Agency (US) in 1965 shows that the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi is sparsely constructed and distinctly different from the Old Quarter, which had a dense block. The area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi can be considered a marginal area between the Old Quarter and the French Quarter.

In the 1990s, tourist cafes, mini-hotels and hostels were accumulated in HCMC's Pham Ngu Lao to form a tourist enclave, which became known through guidebooks and word of mouth among backpackers. [Lloyd, 2003; Otsuka and Maruyama, 2016] Also in the 1990s, even in Hanoi, the area was not concentrated, but facilities for backpackers such as Queen Café and Darling Café were appeared in the southern part of the old quarter, which became the center of their activities. As well as, the existence of these facilities became known through guidebook such as Lonely Planet. [Lloyd, 2003] Meanwhile, around the same time, there were no major traveler cafes around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, and there was no accumulation of mini-hotels or hostels. It can be concluded that there was no tourist enclave formation around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi throughout the 1990s. However, this does not mean that tourism has not progressed in the region. Already in the 1990s, Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, along with Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum (Lăng Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh) and Van Mieu (Temple of Literature, Văn Miếu), has established itself as a representative tourist destination in Hanoi. It was built into the route of group tourists, the center of Stage I, and was a destination visited by most tourists who visit Hanoi.

In the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, with the increase in visiting tourists, local residents often used their homes to open small souvenir shops. Many of them were located at Ly Quoc Su and Nha Tho Street and the items sold were very common souvenirs. On the other hand, the town block north of Au Tieu Street, which is now the enclave, was used as a general residential area and commercial area for local residents such as small eateries, stationery stores and rental video shops. The square

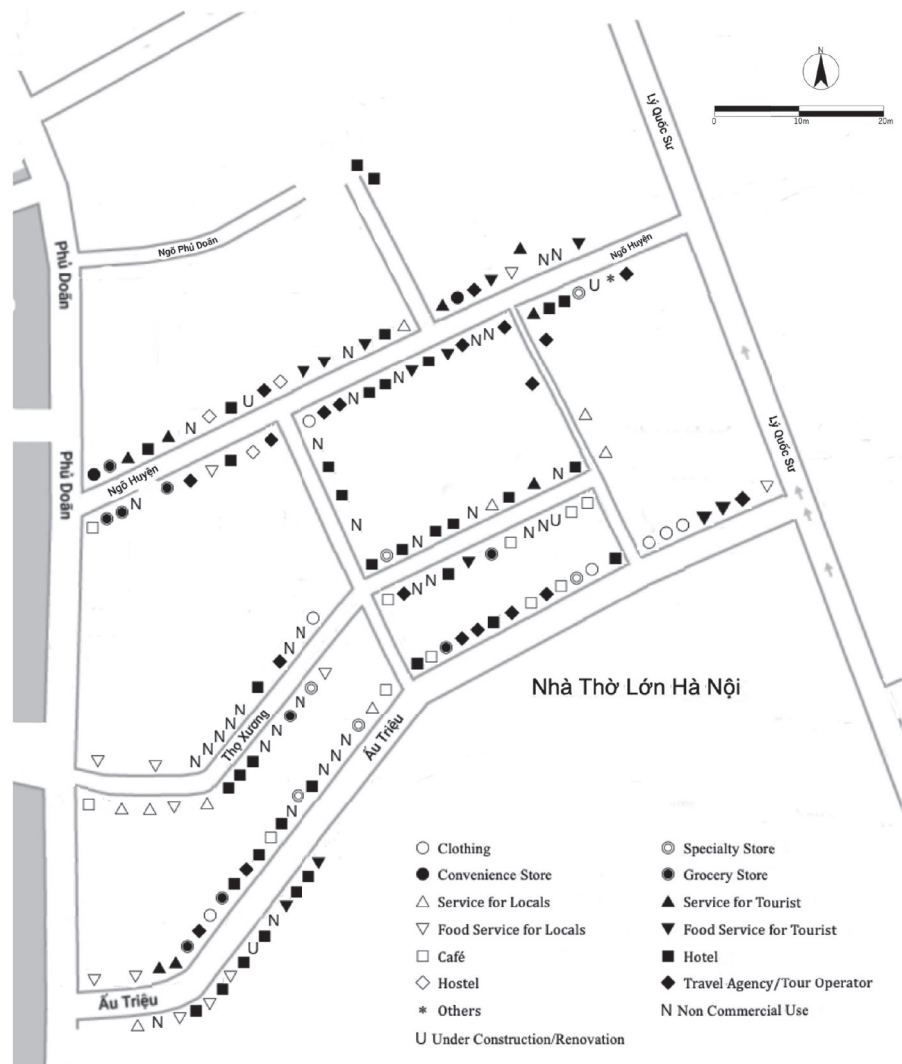


Figure-2. Map of Enclave near Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi

Source: Author's fieldwork

in front of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi was used as a playground for local elementary and secondary school students. The 1990s as a naturally occurring and ordinary tourist destination can be considered as the first phase in tourism in the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi.

Later, in the late 1990s, focusing on the increasing commercial potential of visiting tourists, the entry of foreign entrepreneurs began. Foreign entrepreneurs who entered the area include Europeans (French and

Italian), Australians, Hong Konger and Japanese. The main businesses are foreign restaurants, crafts that make use of Vietnam's low labor costs and high craftsmanship. It covers various industries such as hand-made clothing, stuffed dolls, indigo dye, silver jewelry and so on. All were significantly higher quality and significantly higher prices than conventional souvenirs in the area. In addition, the store was made in full scale, giving a Western-style atmosphere. To date, huulala from the fusion apparel, Ipa Nima from the decorative bag, Nagu

Type of Business	No. of Establishments	Comp Ratio (Com)%	Comp Ratio (Total)%
Clothing	10	8.5	6.4
Specialty Store	5	4.3	3.2
Convenience Store	1	0.9	0.6
Grocery Store	9	7.7	5.7
Service for Locals	7	6.0	4.5
Service for Tourist	8	6.8	5.1
Food Service for Locals	6	5.1	3.8
Food Service for Tourist	10	8.5	6.4
Café	9	7.7	5.7
Hotel	23	19.7	14.6
Hostel	9	7.7	5.7
Travel Agency/Tour Operator	19	16.2	12.1
Others	1	0.9	0.6
(Commercial Use)	117	100.0	74.5
Non Commercial Use	35		22.3
Under Construction, Renovation	5		3.2
Total	157		100.0

Source: Author's fieldwork

Chart-1. Composition Ratio by Type of Business

from the handmade Teddy bear, and Mediterraneo from Italian cuisine have survived. Due to the increase of stores by foreigners, a quasi-Western landscape was established around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. (cf. Pic-3) This trend is not unique to Nha Tho



Pic-3 Westernized townscape
Restaurants and cafes on Au Tieu Street. The restaurants facing Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi make up the westernized townscape.

Lon Ha Noi. Van Mieu, where Craft Link etc. are located, is a similar case, but Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi was larger and created a more Westernized landscape. From the perspective of westernization of the region by foreigners, this movement can be considered as a manifestation of enclave formation. This period around 2000 is the second phase in the tourism of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi and could be regarded as an early stage of enclave formation.

However, the second phase ends very quickly. In the 2000s, the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi attracted the backpackers, and the backpacker enclave began to rapidly form. In the early 2000s, a block was established for backpackers, including inexpensive tour operators, mini-hotels, and hostels. At present (August 2018), there are 19 tour

operators, 23 hotels and 9 hostels in the entire area except for the area facing Ly Quoc Su and Phu Doan Street. All the hotels except the Conifer Grand Hotel are so-called mini-hotels. (cf. Pic-4) Although shops and services for locals still exist, the majority of them are for tourists, and the living functions of the area have declined significantly. (cf. Chart-1)

The background of the rapid formation of the backpacker enclave around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi can be attributed to the backpacker enclave situation in Hanoi as a whole and the unique characteristics of the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. The former is relationship to the tourist enclave in the old quarter, which had been formed throughout the 1990s. At the time, enclaves in the old town were not as centralized as they were now, and facilities such as traveler cafes were scattered over a relatively large area in the south of the old town [Lloyd, 2006] Due to this, the conditions for fully enjoying the benefits of accumulation as an enclave were somewhat lacking. As a result, it can be pointed out that a compact enclave that can easily enjoy the benefits of accumulation had been demanded. The latter is considered that the colonial atmosphere of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi and in the quasi-Western landscape created by foreign entrepreneurs acted a major role. [Jacobsen, 2003; Pawaskar and Goel, 2012] This may be the result of the post-colonial emotion of Western tourists [Kothari, 2015] and seeking a familiar cultural expression as a temporary rest space while traveling in a unfamiliar cultural environment for Western backpackers. [Kravanja, 2016; Wilson and Richards, 2008]

As the number of Western backpackers gathering around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi has increased and the



Pic-4 Mini-hotel

A typical mini-hotel located on Ngo Huyen street. This hotel is one of the earliest opened hotels and has a long road-facing area and relatively good conditions.

area has been converted to backpacker enclaves, the past trends have changed drastically. As the ratio of backpackers to total visitors increases, the unit consumption price in the area has decreased.¹² Backpackers are basically price-conscious, and the business of foreign entrepreneurs, which has been depended on high-pricing strategies, has become more difficult to continue. At the same time, booms around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi caused a rise in rents,¹³ as a consequence many foreign entrepreneurs to withdraw from the area. As a result, the focus of commercial activities in the area has been shifted to Vietnamese, and internalization has progressed. At the same time, the cases where local residents have leased their homes to tourism business and relocated

to outside the area has increased. Reflecting this, the transformation of enclave took the form of Vietnamization and de-regionalization simultaneously. This period is the third phase of tourism around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, and the further transformation of enclave.

Around 2010, a new situation will begin at the enclave around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. The factors behind the change are the development of the Internet and the transformation of the backpacker itself. The acquisition and information exchange of travel information by backpacker has completely shifted from traditional interpersonal communication at traveler cafes and hostel [Firth and Hing, 1999; O'Regan, 2010] to internet, especially social media. [D'Andrea, 2008; O'Regan, 2008] Arrangements and reservations of accommodations including hostel, local transportation can be made via the Internet in advance, the advantage of accumulation of tour operators, hostels or place for information exchanges has been greatly reduced. As it were, the necessity for the existence of enclave has diminished significantly. In the past, due to the incompleteness of information, it was necessary to accumulate travel-related functions and accumulate personal travel information in the form of enclave. However, the internet has completely overturned this necessity. Of course, enclave is not completely useless due to the peculiarity of Vietnam. In Vietnam, the local transportation network is still undeveloped, and it has been considered that the use of rental motorcycles is realistic for backpackers. The rental motorcycle shop is also one of the functions of enclave, and lending and borrowing the substantial goods still remains the role of enclave. However, the foundation of traditional tourist enclave itself is being lost. (cf. Pic-8)

The second point is the change in the nature of the backpacker, especially emergence of the flashpacker. [Paris, 2011] Backpacker's philosophy [Cohen, 1977; Elsrud, 2001; Riley, 1998] and behavioral styles have changed, [Noy, 2004; Vogt, 1976; Wheeler, 1973; Pearce and Foster, 2007] and segments seeking comfort and stylish expression have begun to appear. [O'Regan, 2016] In response to this tendency, the area has changed fashionably, such as the conversion of mini-hotels to boutique hotels, and tourist enclaves have begun to appear different than before. [Brenner and Fricke, 2016] (cf. Pic-5, Pic-6) On the other hand, with the economic



Pic-5 A mini-hotel turned into a boutique hotel
This is a mini-hotel located on Au Tieu Street which has become a boutique hotel. The expression has been renewed and changed to a modern impression, but the frontage is remarkably narrow, leaving the characteristics of a mini-hotel.



Pic-6 A reception of boutique hotel
The reception and lounge area of the boutique hotel facing the very narrow alley of Ngo Huyen Street. It is well designed, but the site and frontage are very small.

growth, domestic tourism demand and local leisure demand are growing rapidly, and these local demands are starting to use the transformed tourist enclave as leisure place or tourist destination in search of exotic and fashionable atmosphere. From the perspective of domestic tourists and local leisure, a postmodern situation emerges in which the backpacker itself and the enclave, which were the main constituent of tourism, become the object of local leisure as “what to be seen”. On a different dimension from foreign tourists, boutiques, gadget shops and specialty shops targeting local demand are increasing, and even wedding services are located, localization of tourist enclave is progressing. (cf. Pic-9, Pic-10, Pic-11) Thus, tourist enclave begins to be transformed into tourist destination or place for leisure, as space of “internal others” for domestic tourists and locals. This transition from tourist enclave to local leisure space is the fourth phase of tourism around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi.

The formation and transformation of the tourist enclave around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi is rather congested and not simple, as described above. However, as mentioned above, although it does not completely match the development dynamics of Vietnam tourism, it constitutes a certain stage of development under its influence. TALC is a method of conceptually formulating the stage of development in tourism. [Butler, 1980; 1997] In a very rough way, it would be possible to apply TALC to its development as a tourist destination around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. The area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi was an ordinary tourist destination, mainly selling souvenirs parasitic on extremely attractive resources, as a colonial heritage of an old church that continued from the colonial era. This Phase I could



Pic-7 A hostel entrance

A typical hostel located in Ngo Huyen. This backpacker's hangout is a well-known and representative hostel and a joint venture between Australians and Vietnamese.



Pic-8 A rental motorcycle shop

A motorcycle shop that became one of the basic functions of enclave. Provide tourists with services such as motorcycle rental, sale and purchase.



Pic-9 A craft shop with modern design

A modern-looking craft shop located on Nha Chung Street (Nhà Chung). This facility does not deal with typical souvenirs and is mainly targeted at local customers.



Pic-10 A gadget shop for local customers

A gadget shop for young locals on Au Tieu Street. A shop for local residents is turned into silk shop for tourist, then were reborn again to gadget shop in response to changing demand.



Pic-11 Couple taking marriage photo in front of boutique

A newly married couple takes photos for a wedding photobook in front of a small boutique on Au Tieu Street. A colonial heritage and a fashionable landscape are very commonly used as a special place for taking newlywed photograph.

be considered as the TALC's exploration period, or the early stage of involvement period. Phase II, in which foreign entrepreneurs have entered and the landscape of the region has begun to become Western, is likely to be an involvement period. Similarly, Phase III, in which the backpacker enclave was rapidly formed, is equivalent to the development period.

TALC basically consists of two counter-concepts: exponential growth and saturation. However, the growth around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi is still ongoing

in Phase IV, with no signs of saturation or stagnation. This situation is also very different from “regrowth model” presented as a partial modification of TALC. [Agarwal, 2006] The “re-orientation” period or restructuring assumed by the regrowth model does not exist in the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. Nor is there any resilience as a reaction to the temporary stoppage of growth due to some external factors. Around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, it seems that the growth process continues, and the development period is also continuing. However, from the point of view of commercial supply in the area, facilities are already saturated and new entries are very limited.¹⁴ The area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, contradicting trends of saturation and growth are coexisted. An overview of the developmental stages around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi shows a regressive and qualitative change, starting with a very simple tourist destination, forming an enclave, and returning to the tourist destination again. Qualitative changes that include aesthetic value, range from the natures of visitors to the touristic functions of the area, to the landscape and the representation of the facilities. The qualitative changes in these multifaceted tourist enclaves are spontaneous and are closely linked to socio-economic macro dynamics, such as changes in national policy, economic growth, evolutions in information technology and their social impact. In order to clarify the transformation of tourist enclave, it is necessary to consider the interaction of the various factors involved and its dynamic change on the assumption of historical factors, rather than internal complete and superficial changes like TALC.

VI—Conclusion

Tourist enclaves in Vietnam began to emerge in the mid-1990s. At present, the location has spread from major cities such as HCMC and Hanoi to some local cities such as Nha Trang. The history of tourist enclaves varies, and it is generally difficult to find a certain tendency in the formation process due to the strong influence of inherent conditions. It is clear, however, that Vietnamese tourist enclaves were heavily influenced by national policies such as economic policy, trends in SOEs, tourism policy and immigration policy. From the viewpoint of demand, the basis of tourist enclaves is price-conscious individual tourists such as backpackers and it was premised that group tours run by SOEs would turn into individual travel, and that small private enterprises would enter the tourism industry. The major prerequisite for the macro condition was a drastic change in economic policy such as Doi Moi.

As a micro factor, especially around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, the influences of post-colonial cannot be ignored. This is due to the uniqueness of tourist enclaves as a tourism space. Tourist enclaves can act as a temporary haven for tourists from exotic cultural environment of foreign travel and are required some degree of everydayness. The colonial atmosphere around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi and the quasi-Western landscape created by foreign entrepreneurs provided an extension of everyday life for travelers from Western Europe. On the other hand, for locals, the same landscape is an exotic being as “an internal others” and is therefore perceived as a special place. This duality is a major feature of tourist enclaves in developing countries.

The stages of development of Tourist enclaves can be roughly identified to the stages of TALC. However, the degree of conformity is not always high. The development path, which eventually saturates and falls into stagnation, is not observed in tourist enclaves in Vietnam, including the area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi. In the vicinity of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, the number of visitors is still increasing, and the growth process is continuing even if the number of tourist facilities is saturated from a regional point of view. (cf. Pic-12) This is due to the fact that the transformation in tourist enclaves is not the rise and fall of tourist destinations with fixed characteristics, but rather the nature and qualitative changes of broader destinations including the aspect of tourist enclave. This change has wide aspects, including change in the nature of visitors, the tourism function of the region, the regional landscape, and the representation of tourist facilities. Also, even though premised on national policy, it is spontaneous transformation by the interaction of the factors involved. The area around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi has been transformed into a general tourist



Pic-12 Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi in Christmas Eve

The square in front of Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, which is very crowded in Christmas Eve. A double-decker scheduled sightseeing bus has also entered, accelerating traffic congestion. Most of the people gathered are residents of Hanoi.

destination that attracts domestic tourists and leisure demands in the region while retaining the character of a tourist enclave. The colonial landscape and the exotic atmosphere that arise from the existence of backpacker play a role in attracting domestic visitors as a special place in the region. Here, the reverse phenomenon that backpackers and enclaves, which should have been the subject of tourism phenomenon, are also targeted for leisure activities is seen, and the post-modern situation in tourism can be observed. This tendency is particularly noticeable around Nha Tho Lon Ha Noi, which leaves a colonial atmosphere, in sharp contrast to the old quarter, which is nearly ignored by young people in the region. It would be

difficult to generalize the developmental stages of tourist enclave mentioned in this paper immediately. Also a similar tendency was observed in HCMC's Pham Ngu Lao and Bangkok's Khao San, which is not a unique case. [Howard, 2005] This will be an important suggestion for understanding the development stages of tourist enclave.

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Notes

- 1 A part of this research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP15H13047.
- 2 Based on interview with former resident in the area.
- 3 Although the ultimate owner is a state, this type of company is controlled by various levels of administrative units. With this regard, this type of company should be called Public-owned Enterprises, but this paper uses the term State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) in accordance with convention.
- 4 Based on interviews with business owner in the area.
- 5 Cambodia was also a country with a delayed return to the international tourism market, but the situation is very different from Vietnam and other countries. Cambodia, especially Angkor Wat has already been established as a tourist destination in the golden age of tourism since the 1920s. [Demay, 2014] Even after its independence as a protectorate in 1949, its status as a tourism country was maintained under the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Nlyum) regime. Later, after a coup in 1970 drew into civil war and international tourism was completely disrupted. Returning to the international tourism market was after the end of the civil war, and it is one of the countries that returned most lately like Vietnam.
- 6 Mai Chau (Mai Châu), Hoa Binh Province (Hòa Bình), a well-known example of CBT (Community Based Tourism), has started as a vacation base for Russian engineers engaged in dam construction. (According to author's research).
- 7 Traveler Cafes is a café that originally provided cheap food and drink, rest places for backpackers, socialization and information

- exchange among backpackers but it started travel arrangements such as transportation, lodging and guiding etc. without permission. It functioned as a substantial tour operator and was made known through guidebooks such as Lonely Planet and used by backpackers and other tourists. Until now, some exist as ordinary tour operators.
- 8 The title of each phase depends on the author.
- 9 Based on interviews with business owner in the area.
- 10 Based on interview with former resident in the area.
- 11 Mini-hotel is a unique hotel style in Vietnam invented based on the introduction of private capital into tourism and in response to the needs of budget travelers seeking cheaper hotels than state-owned or foreign-operated hotels. It is a small hotel that has been renovated from a long building with a narrow frontage or built on the same shaped site. It is built in close proximity to a building adjacent to a densely populated area, so there are many rooms without windows, and the conditions for a hotel are inferior. Since property taxation in Vietnam is determined by the length of the site facing the road, land use with narrow frontage and long depth has become common, especially in urban areas. Since the private room can be provided at a low price, it has increased rapidly since the late 1990s. Due to the existence of mini-hotels in Vietnam, hostels and guest houses for budget travelers are less important than in other regions. Although there is a clear distinction between Mini-hotels and hostels, there is no definitive difference in the building. The relationship is fluid, with mini-hotels having shared rooms in

dormitory style and hostel having private rooms in some cases
 12 Based on interviews with former business owner in the area.
 13 As mentioned in the text, rents and its increases are in strong influence of personal relationship, making it difficult to grasp accurate data. However, interviews have shown that rents increase often exceed legal limits and contracts, and in some cases have increased more than five-fold in a few years.

14 The author's ongoing research from the end of 2016 to 2019 shows that the number of properties used for tourism has not increased. Very few properties are newly diverted for tourism purposes. Most of the properties listed in Fig-2 as being under construction or renovation are hotels, which are new constructions or renovations to upgrade its facilities in response to changing demand.

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