Research Paper

"Otherness" of Ethnic Enclave Attractions in Multicultural Cities: A Study of Chinatown and Little India

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Abstract: For ages, tourists have been fascinated with "Other" cultures making it a primary reason for international travel. Several destinations around the world are blessed with cultural pluralism and proudly boast of being "multicultural". These destinations comprise multiethnic migrant communities living in their respective "ethnic enclave" settings in a foreign land. Enclaves enrich the tourism product by pleasantly punctuating the cultural homogeneity of a destination and inviting attention towards other diverse exotic attractions. This study is an attempt to identify the distinct impressions of the ethnic enclave attractions of "Chinatown" and "Little India" in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore city, in order to determine the imprints of "otherness" left behind in the minds of tourists during their visits to these enclaves. The findings reveal that while authentic ethnic cuisine retains a dominant appeal of the "exotic other", additional elements of cultural exoticism from these enclave settings are fast fading into oblivion. Rather than being identified as a showcase of a unique culture, the otherness of these ethnic enclave attractions is becoming more apparent in terms of their recognition merely as precincts for "inexpensive shopping".

Keywords: "Other", ethnic enclaves, cultural pluralism, Chinatown, Little India, tourism

Introduction

Throughout the ages, "Other" cultures have piqued the curiosity of mankind and brought about international travel to exotic destinations that house distinct people, ethnicities, religions, cuisines, traditions, lifestyles and art forms. However, over the centuries, the pattern of multicultural tourism has evolved on account of significant

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global cultural diffusions resulting in the birth of multicultural tourism destinations. The evolution of multiethnic/multicultural destinations is attributed to diaspora, either to colonise or in search of good quality life, that has from time immemorial uprooted people from their place of origin to transcend territorial boundaries in search of "lands of opportunity". In the thereafter identified "greener pastures", the immigrant communities implant the seeds of resettlement that grow in the form of distinct "ethnic enclaves" of particular ethnic populations. For destinations in which migrant ethnic communities have conglomerated, the influx of diversity and resultant "cultural pluralism" has come as a blessing in disguise as it has enhanced the exotic tourism product, making cultural diversity a unique marketable asset to attract "ethnic enclave tourism".

Ethnic enclave attractions dot the tourist maps of several multicultural cities around the world. An enclave is identified with terms like "Little" (xyz) (e.g. Little India, Little Italy, Little Portugal), or (xyz) "Town" (e.g. Chinatown, Koreatown, Greektown), or (xyz) "Street" (e.g. Arab street, Turkish street, Jewish street, etc.). On account of its very name that associates an enclave with a particular community/ country, the enclave attraction has the power to evoke an image of distinct "cultural exoticism". Hence an enclave is understood as a thriving culture within itself that provides a microscopic view of a native "authentic homeland culture" of a particular community in a foreign land. Being both socioculturally and economically significant in terms of tourism, an ethnic enclave becomes an appealing "exotic" tourism attraction that punctuates the cultural homogeneity and monotony of a destination (Anderson, 1990; Conforti, 1996; Henderson, 2000; Mak, 2003; Santos & Yan, 2008; Shaw, 2011; Wood, 1984). Multicultural destinations continue to advantageously exploit the presence of ethnic enclave settings as cultural attractions in order to invite tourists for an additional diverse exotic other experience. However, not much has been done in investigating the actual nature of experiences gained by tourists at these ethnic enclave attractions. This paper makes an attempt in identifying if the experiences of tourists at ethnic enclaves are realized as exotic or not. The study also illuminates the positive and negative aspects of "otherness" of ethnic enclave tourism as imprinted in the minds of tourists. The study has implications for destination management organizations to formulate innovative strategies that can enhance and preserve ethnic enclaves as cultural reserves, rather than leave them in neglect to transform into ethnic slums or ghettoes.

Background

The Appeal of the Other

It is imperative to understand the meaning of the other in order to determine the appeal and interest that the exotic other invites. The concept of other implies

something different from the familiar, the known and the norm. In social sciences, the other is interpreted as different from the "Self", "Us" / "In-group", and regarded as "You", "Them" / "Out-group". Otherness is recognized as quite intriguing even in tourism research (Picard, Michael & Di Giovine, 2014). In tourism, the other is who/what is regarded by the tourist (observer) to be 'different' from himself and his own cultural background. The other is therefore equated with an alluring object that attracts curiosity (e.g. destination, its attributes, people, culture, heritage, etc.). However in tourism, the otherness has been criticized as being a Western-produced representation (Echtner & Prasad, 2003) suggesting that the West being the dominant tourist, considers itself to be the centre/norm and perceives everything else beyond its central domain as the peripheral other. Santos (2006) is of the belief that otherness also tends to create a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority, with the other being regarded as inferior. The other in tourism is also often investigated in the context of Urry's (1990) "tourist gaze" that has prompted significant research in exploring how tourists, out of mere curiosity or ethnocentrism, tend to look at /gaze upon people from other lands, ethnic backgrounds or cultures, as spectacles.

Ethnic Enclaves as the Exotic Other

The importance of ethnic enclaves can be justified in a number of ways. For the ethnic minority/migrant population, an enclave serves as the cocoon of comfort zone and provides an "at home" feeling of safety and security amongst one's own people in an alien country. An enclave acts as a distinct spatial hub where both the residential and commercial activities of a particular ethnic community are concentrated. With regard to tourism, an enclave enhances the tourism product of a destination by providing a thematic attraction (Conforti, 1996; Phua & Miller, 2014; Terzano, 2014; Wang, 1999). For tourism developers, an enclave serves the purpose of a marketable cultural asset that can be projected to communicate the exotic cultural pluralism and otherness of the destination (Henderson, 2003).

In a foreign land, an enclave is a manifestation of the home culture of a migrant community. Enclave settings facilitate for the migrant community, a spontaneous expression and practice of a lifestyle akin to their native homeland (Bai, 2007; Cohen, 1998; Goh, 2008; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999; Phua & Miller, 2014; Smith, 2001). At a multicultural location, the presence of several diverse ethnic enclaves that display their distinct cultural ambiance and character can appear quite enchanting for tourists.

The Southeast Asian region is home to several multicultural cities that allure tourists with their treasures of ethnic diversity. The cultural diversity in the region can be enjoyed against a backdrop of year-round warm tropical climate, varied natural beauty, flora and fauna as well as plentiful opportunities for recreation, inexpensive

shopping and entertainment. Comprising of migrant Asian, Oriental, Eurasian and European populations, the multicultural cities of a number of Southeast Asian countries are regarded as "one-stop-shop" destinations that offer a kaleidoscopic confluence of diverse exoticism and otherness in a single platform (Hall & Page, 2000; Kahn, 1998; Yuen & Hock, 2001). In the region, Malaysia and Singapore are ideal examples of destinations that are recognized as "Asia's cultural melting pot". Both countries capture the essence of their composite diversity in order to aptly reflect the holistic flavor of "All of Asia" in their tourism promotion brands. To communicate unity in diversity, Malaysia has long held firm to her successful brand of 'Truly Asia' but Singapore has been continuously experimenting with brands like 'Instant Asia', 'New Asia-Singapore', and 'Uniquely Singapore'. A significant Chinese and Indian ethnic migrant community (among others, Malay and European) constitutes the population of both Malaysia and Singapore. Particularly in the cities of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, this significant presence of both these communities has consciously necessitated the conservation of ethnic enclaves of 'Chinatown' and 'Little India', both of which have become a draw for urban ethnic tourism (Chang, 2000; Henderson, 2000, 2008; Santos & Yan, 2008; Yan & Santos, 2009). In both cities, the enclaves of Chinatown and Little India are amongst the top-rated "must-see" attractions sought after by cultural tourists to get a glimpse of the other culture. Chinatown acts as a magnet for Chinese cuisine, inexpensive gadgets, clothing, curios, souvenirs, and especially cheap imitations of brands. The enclave of Little India enthralls tourists on the appeal of Indian curries, colorful clothing, precious jewelry and a vibrant lifestyle that continuously pulsates against a background of omnipresent Indian (*Bollywood*) music.

It is indubitable that the mention of an ethnic enclave instantly conjures the image of cultural exoticism. But, whether or not an ethnic enclave attraction is actually able to provide an exotic cultural experience to the tourist requires serious investigation. By providing an insight into the reviews of ethnic enclave attractions, this study attempts to identify the distinct character of otherness of Chinatown and Little India as experienced by tourists in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

Methodology

For contemporary tech-savvy tourists, travel review websites have become an important constituent of travel planning as they provide authentic and unbiased user-generated content on tourism destinations, products and services (Chatterji, 2001; Gretzel, Yoo, & Purifoy, 2007; Lee, Law & Murphy, 2011; Sotiriadis & Van Zyl, 2013; Sparks & Browning, 2011). *Tripadvisor.com* is one such popular website that is used by tourists for sharing their travel experiences. In view of its popularity, *Tripadvisor* was chosen as the source of data for this study. Employing a qualitative

content analysis using a data-driven thematic approach (Bernard & Ryan, 1998; Krippendorf, 2004; Neuendorf, 2001) on user-generated content (i.e. tourists' reviews) from *Tripadvisor.com*, the study aimed at answering each of the following research questions (RQ).

RQ1: What themes convey the distinct character of Chinatown of Kuala Lumpur (KUL) and Singapore (SIN)?

RQ2: What themes convey the distinct character of Little India of KUL and SIN?

RQ3: What is the overall ambience of ethnic enclave tourism as evident from the impressions of Chinatown and Little India?

Fifty latest tourist reviews were collected each for Chinatown and Little India of KUL and SIN from *Tripadvisor.com*. In total, 200 reviews were used as the data source for the study i.e. Chinatown = 100 reviews (50 KUL + 50 SIN), and Little India=100 reviews (50 KUL + 50 SIN). From each review, every significant word that conveyed the impression/experience of the ethnic enclave was extracted, noted and assigned an individual code (e.g. *Food*-1, *Bargain*-2, *Crowded*-3, etc.). For every word that had a repeat occurrence in other (following) reviews, a tally was made against the previously assigned code. The frequency (f) of the mentioned codes/ words was later added up, for example, Code (f), i.e. *Food* (6), or *Bargain* (9), etc. Codes/ words conveying a similar/ homogenous common context were pooled together and their sum total of frequencies (n) led to the identification of each dominant theme that conveyed the distinct character of the particular ethnic enclave. In addition, any particular tourist remarks that reflected the unique character of the enclave were also noted down to substantiate the discussion.

Findings and Discussion

The findings of the study are discussed below with respect to the individual research questions.

Themes Conveying the Distinct character of Chinatown

Table 1 highlights the distinct impressions of the Chinatown enclave of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore city.

Table 1. Imprints of Chinatown

Kuala Lumpur		Singapore City	
Theme ←	**Reported Impressions**	**Reported Impressions**	**Theme** →
	(f)–frequency of mention	(f)–frequency of mention	
1. Price (n=32)	Bargains (26), Haggling(4), Outrageous Prices (1), Triple the Price (1).	Cheap (19), Budget Items (5), Negotiable (3), Good Prices (2), Cheap (1), Reasonably Priced (1).	**1. Price** (n=31)
2. Shopping (n=27)	Souvenirs (9), Gifts (8), Shopping (5), Brands (3), Designer Wear (1), Curios (1).	Souvenirs (14), Clothes (7), Shops (4), Best Finds (1), Shoppers' Paradise (1).	**2. Shopping** (n=27)
3. Products (n=16)	Handbags (5), Electronics (2), Accessories (1), Perfumes (1), T-Shirts (2), Watches (1), Shoes (1), Sunglasses (1), Low Quality Products (1), Sub Standard (1).	Luggage (5), Trinkets (3), Cheap Knick Knacks (1).	**3. Products** (n=9)
4. Food (n=8)	Hawker Food (3), Street Food (3), Bacon (1), Fresh Fruit (1).	Traditional Food (3), Street Food (3), Food Heaven (1).	**4. Food** (n=7)
		Safe (1), Very safe (1), Comfortable for Solo Female Tourist (1), Totally Safe (1), Friendly people (1), Didn't Feel Threatened (1).	**5. Safety** (n=6)

n=total (mention of words related to the theme)

Chinatown-KUL: Chinatown in Kuala Lumpur is concentrated along Petaling Street. Considered to be a reflection of oriental culture, this area is very vibrant and is identified as a "bargain hunter's paradise" (*Tripadvisor.com*). As noted in Table 1, *Price* (n=32) is indicated as the prime theme for Chinatown in KUL. Tourists regard the place as "inexpensive" for shopping and hence conveying this theme, the word *bargain* is seen as the most mentioned in reviews, along with the word *haggling*.

Several tourists have suggested that one must haggle and bring down the prices and that normally shopkeepers give in as they are usually quoting *triple* the price. *Shoppping* (n=27) ranks as the second theme, with people mentioning Chinatown to be the "best place to shop" for *souvenirs*, *gifts*, *curios* and *brands* (though largely fake imitations). Tourists find this place good for buying gifts for "back home" rather than purchasing expensive items from up-market downtown shopping centers. The shopping *Products* (n=16), emerge as another important theme. Several tourists mentioned that one can shop a range of items particularly *handbags*, *accessories*, *perfumes*, *electronics*, *watches* and *T Shirts* although most tourists are well aware and candidly acknowledge that the shopping items being sold in these Chinese shops are *low quality*, *sub-standard* products. *Food* (n=8) is regarded as another dominant theme for Chinatown. The place is dotted with *hawker food* that is sought after by tourists to savor the true flavor of traditional authentic Chinese cuisine. This hawker food is inexpensive as well. Besides that, tourists can also find bacon in Chinatown, which is not easily available everywhere in the Islamic country. It is also reported that *fresh fruit* can also be picked up from fruit sellers in the enclave. Hence Chinatown of Kuala Lumpur seems to be an attractive place especially for inexpensive shopping.

Chinatown-SIN: Chinatown in Singapore is identified as a pedestrian shopping mall along the Trengganu Street of the Outram district. It reflects an ideal blend of the old and the new. *Price* (n=31) emerged as the prime theme for Chinatown of Singapore as well. It is acknowledged in one comment that prices of items in Chinatown are *a lot more cheaper than other parts of Singapore*. Interestingly, the word *bargain* is not mentioned in the reviews but a few tourists did suggest that everything is negotiable. Similar to Chinatown in Kuala Lumpur, *Shopping* (n=27), *Products* (n=9), and *Food* (n=7), ranked as the 2nd, 3rd and 4th theme, respectively. In the context of shopping, it is remarked for Chinatown that *every type of merchandise can be found here*. It is *a place to get whatever you can imagine! and that there is a usual collection of budget items*. An interesting additional theme noted for Chinatown in Singapore is *Safety* (n=6). Though usually tourists do have safety concerns in unknown places and foreign lands and remain particularly cautious while travelling, Chinatown in Singapore is found rather safe by tourists as rightly reflected in a comment that said *I didn't feel threatened whatsoever*. This perhaps also accounts for the fact that Singapore is considered to be a safe country with strict discipline and rules in practice. In essence, Chinatown of Singapore leaves distinct imprints of an interesting and primarily inexpensive marketplace similar to Chinatown in Kuala Lumpur.

Themes Conveying the Distinct Character of Little India

The imprints left behind in the minds of tourists on their visits to the ethnic enclave of Little India in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore city are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Imprints of Little India

Kuala Lumpur		Singapore City	
Theme ←	Reported Impressions	Reported Impressions	Theme →
	(f)–frequency of mention	(f)–frequency of mention	
1. Price (n=20)	Vegetarian Restaurants (7), Cheap Meals (6), Curries (3), South Indian Food (2), *Masala Dosa* (2).	Colorful (6), Lively (3), Noisy (3), Bollywood Music (2), Crazy (1) Very Crowded (1).	1. Gaiety (n=16)
2. Unclean (n=15)	Dirty (9), Smelly (4), Unhygienic (2).	Restaurants (5), Food (5), Vegetarian Food (3), Curries (2).	2. Food (n=15)
3. Gaiety (n=14)	Colorful (5), Lively (3), Crowded (3), Activity (3).	'Mustafa' (8), Shops (3), Typical Indian Markets (1).	3. Shopping (n=12)
4. Uncomfortable (n=12)	Noisy (4), Traffic (3), Very Busy (2), Not Friendly (1), Ghetto (1), Dodgy (1).	Clothes (5), Jewellery (3) Sparkling Indian Dresses (1), Spices (1).	4. Products (n=10)
5. Products (n=11)	Clothes (6), Fabric (3), Jewellery (2).	Cheap (7), Bargains (2).	5. Price (n=9)
6. Price (n=9)	Cheap food (6), Cheap Souvenirs (3).	Temples (4), Architecture (2)	6. Buildings (n=6)
7. Unsafe (n=4)	Unsafe (3), Intrusive men (1).		

n=total (mention of words related to the theme)

Little India-KUL: Little India in Kuala Lumpur is located in the Brickfields area. An assessment of the reviews identified *Food* (n=20) as the top theme for the Little India enclave. As India is world-famous for the variety of her cuisine and *popular curries*, it seems a lot of tourists are interested in the Indian gastronomical delights and appreciate whatever food one is offered. However, it is noted that the food found in Little India is largely *South Indian*. For vegetarian tourists, the enclave has a lot of *vegetarian restaurants*. Although the enclave is reported *interesting*, the tourists also reported it to be *dirty* (as compared to the rest of Kuala Lumpur city). This rated *Unclean* (n=15) as the second theme for the enclave reflected through words

like *dirty*, *smelly* and *unhygienic*. The *Gaiety* (n=14) of Indian lifestyle ranked as the 3rd theme. The Indian culture is rightly considered as *full of life* and colorful and the same is experienced by tourists. The *crowds* and plenty of *activity* contribute to the *gaiety* of the enclave. The next theme associated with the enclave is yet again identified as negative, i.e. the area has been found rather *Uncomfortable* (n=12) by some tourists. This can be gauged by words in remarks like, *noisy*, *not friendly*, *dodgy*, and congested with *traffic* and *chaos*. This chaos is uncomfortable, particularly for tourists who are used to peace and quiet. Coming out rather strongly, one of the comment mentioned the word *ghetto* for the enclave. The *Products* (n=11) found in Little India found a frequent mention in reviews making it the 5th theme. It was indicated that *colorful clothing*, *fabric*, and *jewellery* are eye-catching in Indian shops. *Price* ranked near the lower end as the 6th theme for the enclave. Unlike Chinatown, the word *bargain* was not mentioned in the reviews of Little India. Only *food* and *souvenirs* were mentioned as inexpensively priced. Another striking theme, though negative again, is that the place was considered to be *Unsafe* (n=4) by a few tourists, particularly females. A comment mentioned that Indian men are intrusive and they stare at females. One tourist, who seems to have visited the place with his daughter, posted cautious words stating *Little India should be avoided*, *especially if you have young girls with you*! Such imprints of Little India at Kuala Lumpur suggest that the enclave leaves both equally positive and negative imprints in the minds of tourists.

Little India-SIN: Little India in Singapore is a located along the Serangoon Road in the district of Little India. The top theme identified for Little India in Singapore was its *Gaiety* (n=16). This can be justified by the presence of a vibrant and colorful Indian lifestyle. *Noise*, *Bollywood music*, *blasting from every second shop* and *crowds* contribute to the pleasant craziness of the enclave. *Food* (n=15) seemed to be a second draw for tourists, who mentioned *restaurants*, *curries* and *vegetarian* food as something that pleased them. The third theme identified for Little India in Singapore was *Shopping* (n=12), the experience of which can be garnered through *typical Indian markets*. It is interesting to note that the store Mustafa has been mentioned and recommended for shopping in a number of reviews, with suggestions like *it is the best place to shop*. In this store, *one can find everything from a pin to an elephant*. Mustafa is equated in a comment to be *just like Harrods in London*. Indian *Products* (n=10) like *clothing*, *jewellery* and *spices* follow in ranking as the 4th theme. As Singapore is known to be a relatively expensive country for tourists, *Price* found at the enclave is regarded as *cheap* for shopping compared to the city centre shopping streets that house expensive stores. Through their reviews, tourists suggested that one can find *good bargains* in the enclave. An interesting distinct theme for Little India in Singapore (not identified for Little India in Kuala Lumpur) is *Buildings* (n=6), found in the area that reflect *typical Indian architecture*, particularly through *Indian temples*. This indicates that Singapore

Tourism Board has taken conscious steps to preserve the ambience of *built heritage* in the enclave which adds to the authentic look of the area. While similar positive themes emerged for Little India of both cities, negative imprints are strikingly more evident in Little India in Kuala Lumpur than that of Singapore.

Overall Ambience of Ethnic Enclave Tourism

The results revealed that the overall impressions of tourists on their visits to Chinatown and Little India echo similar thematic imprints of otherness (Table 3). It is apparent through the study that other than the reference to the availability of distinct "authentic cuisine", the cultural imprint of the "exotic" at ethnic enclaves is conspicuously lacking as mentioned in the reviews. It seems that the overall resultant experience of tourists at the ethnic enclaves of Chinatown and Little India in both Kuala Lumpur and Singapore is not as thoroughly "cultural" as tourists would anticipate. Hence tourists rightly reported that ethnic enclaves are overrated and actually disappointing in terms of cultural exoticism.

Table 3. Overall imprints of ethnic enclaves

Little India		Chinatown	
KUL	**SIN**	**KUL**	**SIN**
Interesting, Very dirty, Typical smell, Overrated, Not appealing, People watching, Little South India, Touristic	Overwhelming, Chaotic Interesting, Senses Overload, Dirty, Smelly	Chaotic, Mess, Smelly, Dirty, Run Down, Lack of Chinese, Crowded, Hustle Bustle	Great Vibe, Very Busy, Noisy, Happening Place, Vibrant, Where is the 'Chinese?'

The gaiety of the ethnic enclave precincts, although perceived as *interesting*, *lively* and *happening*, has a serious negative undertone of being experienced as *chaotic*, *messy* and rather *overwhelming*. This perhaps can be accounted for by the fact that an enclave is geographically defined within a rather limited (small) spatial boundary in the receiving territory. This small limited space becomes the gravitational hub for the particular migrant ethnic community and tends to attract a high concentration of both residential and commercial activity, eventually resulting in crowding, congestion and chaos that are perceived by tourists as *ghettoization*. For tourists who prefer their own quiet space, when the *noise*, *crowds*, *dirt* and *odor* all assault senses simultaneously, they experience an overwhelming *senses overload*! Another notable observation about ethnic enclaves is that although the enclaves are identified under their distinct country banner (e.g. Little India or China town), they do not

necessarily showcase a true picture or "holistic" culture of the homeland country. Rather, enclaves tend to become an "overrepresentation" of the majority migrant ethnic group/cultures from the homeland (e.g. the Tamil Indian community of Little India, or the Southeast/Mainland/Hong Kong Chinese community of Chinatown) and "underrepresentation" of others. This creates a "misrepresentation" of the wider country culture. Such representation may create wrong cultural impressions and national stereotypes. This concern was echoed in certain tourist remarks. For Little India, it was stated in a comment that it *should not be considered to be equivalent to India* and that the enclave *is not a reflection of the whole of India*. It was also mentioned for Little India that *it can sometimes be confusing for people who have never been to India and think that India is actually like this!* A similar remark for Chinatown disappointingly summarized, *some Chinatown feeling is missing..!*.

The results further suggest that a 'diluted authenticity' is evident in both ethnic enclaves. Particularly for Chinatown, in terms of ethnic Chinese people in the area, a conspicuous *lack of Chinese* is observed. Reviews mentioned the presence of a large number of *non-Chinese immigrants* who were seen managing businesses/shops in Chinatown, and one tourist rightly questioned *where are the elements of Chinese/ Chinatown?* In the Little India enclave too, there are growing signs of infiltration of other South Asian migrants like Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans.

Hence, the overall ambiance of ethnic enclaves as gathered through the tourists' reviews indicates that primarily, enclaves have become associated with *suburbs for inexpensive shopping* instead of cultural conservatories. Besides the exoticism of ethnic cuisines, all other culturally significant elements of otherness are fast fading into oblivion from these ethnic enclave settings.

Conclusion and Implications

A destination blessed with a mosaic of multi-ethnic enclaves can have a powerful appeal for cultural tourism. The mere nomenclature of the ethnic enclave and its associated cultural otherness intrigues and beckons tourists to seek the flavors of diversity. However, the very ethnicity of the enclave that tourists are attracted to is not always presented as the authentic and ideal representation of the ethnic homeland culture. While fresh migrant settlements initially have a tendency to cling tightly to their parent cultural associations in order to maintain their identity and security in a foreign land, the enclaves do not remain impervious for long to extraneous influences and succumb to the forces of commercialization and localization which invariably infiltrate into and dilute their cultural authenticity. With the passage of time, ethnic enclaves become representations of cultural "commoditization", "touristification" (Leong, 1997; Santos, Belhassen & Caton, 2008) and "distorted cultural authenticity".

Therefore, for multi-ethnic destinations that aim at attracting tourism primarily on their multicultural appeal of the other, there is a need to consciously adopt measures to preserve the "exotic otherness" of enclaves. Research needs to probe further to gain a wider insight into the aspects of otherness experienced by tourists at ethnic enclaves in multicultural destinations. This can help to ascertain whether ethnic enclaves can retain their cultural symbolism as thematic attractions to provide an exotic experience, or merely become popular with tourists as marketplaces for inexpensive shopping. The management organizations of these destinations need to draw on such research to evaluate the tourism significance of ethnic enclaves as cultural attractions and initiate proper planning and management. They should formulate innovative strategies that facilitate the preservation and enhancement of the distinct exotic cultural elements of ethnic enclaves in order for the other diversity to be genuinely experienced and celebrated at multicultural attractions.

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