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“ETHNIC MINORITY TOURISM” AND “INDIGENOUS TOURISM”: THE CRITICAL DISTINCTION

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There is confusion between the use of “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” as concepts, both in practice as well as in tourism research. Since different tourism types occur in different communities in different geo-historical contexts, these two tourism concepts should be understood to be situated in a particular context. In order to enhance peoples’ epistemological understanding of the two kinds of tourism phenomenon, this article aims to critically distinguish the concept of “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” by highlighting commonalities and differences. The paradigm of critical realism, and a critical literature review method, are applied in this article. Commonly abstracted as types of “ethnic tourism,” both “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” can be understood as a form of interethnic interaction, a way of reconciliation and a model of community-based tourism that should emphasize local peoples’ indigeneity in tourism. Differences of these two tourism types mainly exist in different official identities of local peoples. “Ethnic minority people” and “Indigenous People,” as two different social identities, lead to different roles of local peoples in tourism practices and contribute to these two tourism types at different stages. For example, the understanding of Indigenous tourism has changed from “tourist-based economy” to “Indigenous-based tourism” based on the practice of Indigenous control in tourism. While ethnic minority tourism is still in the stage of “tourist-based economy,” and current understandings are also at this stage. In addition, the sensitivity of the relationship between hosts and guests is different because of the colonial and intrusive experience emphasized in Indigenous identity that can make non-Indigenous tourists feel shame or guilt in a settler state.

Key words: Ethnic minority tourism; Indigenous tourism; Ethnic minority; Indigenous People

Introduction

Modernity, and processes such as globalization, lead cultures around the world to gradually become ever more homogeneous. Faster Internet

that is available in virtually all parts of the globe, concentration of news media, the spread of popular culture, as well as increasing tourism numbers, all contribute to this phenomenon (Conversi, 2012; Dwyer & Čavlek, 2019). Hand in hand with

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globalization come neoliberal values that emphasize economic growth as the focal point. “Development,” “gross domestic product,” and “free-trade” are all words and ideas that are used to enhance that growth agenda, to the detriment of other factors (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019). Indigenous Peoples, and ethnic minority populations across the world, contribute significantly to enhancing global diversity through their conscious focus on culture, tradition, and identity. Indigenous tourism, and ethnic minority tourism are often branded as socio-economic growth though maintaining traditional culture while promoting business development, as these groups of people provide their culture as the essence of attractions (Feng & Li, 2020; Pacific Asia Travel Association [PATA] & World Indigenous Tourism Alliance [WINTA], 2015; Scherrer, 2020). The success of this kind of tourism stems from tourists’ urge to consume and experience differentiation, authenticity, and cultural diversity (Fan et al., 2020). The reason for the attraction is similar in both Indigenous and ethnic minority tourism—both occur in the context of special groups, who typically are seen as distinct, in terms of their cultural and social identities, from dominant groups in the societies they inhabit (Vergun & Grishin, 2020). Therefore, in some literature, Indigenous tourism and ethnic minority tourism are defined as the same concept (see, e.g., Hathaway, 2010; Hiwasaki, 2000; Yang & Wall, 2009). However, this can be questioned by the view that Indigenous groups and ethnic minority groups are distinguished from one another based on the groups’ historical experience. The likeness of the two concepts creates confusion and hinders credible research to be developed.

Thus, what is the relationship between ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism? There is limited research about this question at present (e.g., Carr et al., 2016). However, these are just focused on analyzing the different social identities of “ethnic minority” and “Indigenous People,” but do not continue by analyzing what the different roles are that these labels attached to people play in tourism, according to these different social identities examined. In order to enhance peoples’ epistemological understanding of the two kinds of tourism phenomenon, this article aims to critically distinguish the concept of “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism.” The commonalities and differences between “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” will be discussed (see Table 1). The paradigm of critical realism and method of critical literature review are applied in this article. An epistemological contribution is to create knowledge that is of value for researchers of Indigenous tourism and ethnic minority tourism. Consequently, future research can help diverse groups of people gain a deeper understanding of benefits and values of different tourism paradigm in their societies.

Methodology

Critical realism (CR) is the research paradigm of this article. Knowledge of the social world in CR theory is stratified into three layers: 1) surface or experiential knowledge perceived at the *empirical layer*, 2) events that happen whether we experience them or not at the *actual layer*, and 3) mechanisms hidden in a *real layer* that produces the events in the world (Bhaskar, 1978). The stratified and differentiated understanding of reality in CR provides an

Table 1
Distinctions Between “Ethnic Minority Tourism” and “Indigenous Tourism”

Category	Ethnic Minority Tourism	Indigenous Tourism
Commonalities	A form of interethnic interaction A way of reconciliation Community-based tourism The role of indigeneity in tourism	
Differences	Ethnic minority Tourist-based economy Low sensitivity in relationship between hosts and guests	Indigenous people Indigenous-based tourism High sensitivity in relationship between hosts and guests

ontology that accommodates plural epistemologies for researching the targeted social subject (Gao, 2021). Irreducibility is also emphasized as a very important concept of CR. It means that the universal category in an underlying real layer is abstracted from different empirical events (Bhaskar, 2016). However, it is not possible to reduce a single event into the general category. On the contrary, the universal category should be understood to exist in a particular spatial and temporal context, mediated by social positionality, and concretized in the life experiences of individuals (Martinez Dy et al., 2014). This provides us a multidimensional position on understanding commonalities between ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism from a universal category of “ethnic tourism” on the one hand, and on the other hand understanding differences based on concrete events of ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism respectively.

This article uses a critical literature review method to review studies related to ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism. According to Jesson and Lacey (2006), in order to foster a deeper understanding of existing knowledge, literature reviews should take a critical approach. A critical literature review involves analyzing positive and negative features, which means thinking critically about the strengths and weaknesses of previous research (Jesson et al., 2011). For example, in reviewing studies focused on “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism,” a critical analysis not only contributes to a more objective discussion on commonalities and differences of these two concepts in existing research, but also inspire us to know the deficiencies of existing understandings. Certainly, the subjectivity of this method is inevitably criticized, since it can bias the researcher and preclude objectively understanding a reality (Ratner, 2002). However, reality is stratified and multidimensional (Bhaskar, 1978). Objectively understanding reality requires active, sophisticated subjective processes—such as diverse perception, analytical reasoning, synthetic reasoning, logical deduction, and the distinction of essences from appearances (Ratner, 2002). It shows that subjective processes can enhance objective comprehension of the world. The first author and the second author come from Asian and European countries, respectively. Our different perceptions of ethnic

minority tourism and Indigenous tourism contribute to a diversified understanding of these two concepts. In addition, the first author is partially of ethnic minority decent and has also worked as tourism staff in an ethnic minority village, whereas the second author is brought up in the culture of a national minority language group. Such experiences can facilitate emic and etic perspectives to objectively understand ethnic tourism better.

The method of this article comprises three steps based on the guidance of Jesson et al. (2011): first, consultation with a qualified librarian to identify relevant electronic databases to search; second, selecting a dataset of studies by applying appropriate criteria; and third, critically coding and analyzing the studies.

In this study, searches were performed on four relevant electronic databases: Web of Science, JSTOR, CNKI and supplemented with Google Scholar search tool. Ethnic minority tourism is especially prevalent in Asian countries, and it was therefore important to include a Chinese database (e.g., CNKI) to complement searches in Anglophone sources. The keywords used were related to the topic of this article, such as “ethnic minority,” “ethnic tourism,” “ethnic minority tourism,” “Indigenous People,” “indigenous tourism,” and “Aboriginal tourism.”

The selected procedure included a three-step exclusion procedure based on the filtering criteria. In the first step, studies where the terms related to “ethnic minority,” “ethnic tourism,” “ethnic minority tourism,” “Indigenous People,” “Indigenous tourism,” and “Aboriginal tourism” did not appear in the title, keywords, or subtitle section were excluded. In the second step, abstracts were read in detail, and studies that did not focus on “ethnic minority,” “ethnic tourism,” “ethnic minority tourism,” “Indigenous People,” “Indigenous tourism,” and “Aboriginal tourism” but instead mainly discussed tourist motivations, perceptions and attitudes regarding tourism were excluded (see, e.g., Li et al., 2021). In the third step, full texts were read, and studies that described a very similar perspective to a companion article were then excluded. As a result, a final set of 53 relevant studies—including journal articles, books, book chapters, conference papers, and doctoral theses—were critically coded after the three-step procedure of exclusions.

We acknowledge that some relevant publications surely exist in other databases that were not included in the review. This is a limitation of the study that it may not have included all relevant literature, and it does not include, for instance, other types of literature beyond English and Chinese language articles identifiable in the above databases. However, these limitations are consistent with the paradigm and methodology chosen, a selected epistemological entity.

Commonalities Between “Ethnic Minority Tourism” and “Indigenous Tourism”

Arguably there is substantial overlap when considering “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism,” as both can be abstracted as a phenomenon of “ethnic tourism” (Yang & Wall, 2009). Certainly, as an abstract concept, “ethnic tourism” not only refers to “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism,” but it includes also a much broader variety tourism types, such as urban ethnic tourism, slum tourism, Jewish tourism, etc. (Diekmann & Smith, 2015). The latter types of tourism generally occur in an immigrant community, which is a minority community in one country might constitute the majority community in another country, like Chinatowns and Little Italies. We will clarify tourism in such immigrant communities in more detail below. Although there are many concrete differences in these different types of tourism, their constant theme is the abstract concept of ethnic tourism. Accordingly, when it comes to commonalities between “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism,” analyzing characteristics of “ethnic tourism” has become a good entry point.

Most researchers highlight the main purpose of ethnic tourism is familiarization with the peculiarities of traditional material and spiritual culture, the unique way of life of an ethnic group, rites and customs, other ethnic characteristics of individual Indigenous Peoples and other ethnic groups (Vergun & Grishin, 2020). This generic perspective implies that ethnic tourism is a form of interethnic interaction. As tourism promotes travel across ethnic boundaries, it almost invariably creates situations of ethnic interaction. Such ethnic interaction in tourism often changes relationships in ethnic groups, attitudes towards the State and other ethnic groups

(Vergun & Grishin, 2020). As Diekmann and Smith (2015) mentioned, “positive aspects of contact with other cultures include developing understanding, respect and mutual appreciation, and reducing stereotypes, prejudices and racial tensions.” (p. 1). Accordingly, ethnic tourism can be used as a way of reconciliation between different ethnic groups (Daniels, 2020). However, many negative aspects also occur in interethnic interaction such as cultural appropriation, inauthenticity, and feelings of inferiority caused by unjust relationship between local ethnic peoples and external stakeholders, which can lead to social tension, discrimination, and racism (Council of Europe, 2014; PATA & WINTA, 2015; Yang & Wall, 2008). Empowering local community in tourism is the biggest voice in academic research to deal with the issues above (Feng & Li, 2020; PATA & WINTA, 2015; Scherrer, 2020). According to Higgins-Desbiolles (2020), empowering local communities is conducive to shake the structure of neoliberal injustices and exploitation, and to transition tourism in ethnic communities to greater justice and well-being.

The theoretical foundation of empowering local peoples stems from another core characteristic of ethnic tourism. This refers to the fact that both ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism occurs in the context of local communities and generally belongs to community-based tourism (CBT) (Feng & Li, 2020; Pereiro, 2016). The ontology of CBT is embedded in the sustainability paradigm that empower local peoples and encourages community participation for a more equitable and holistic development (Carr et al., 2016; Feng & Li, 2020). For example, Feng and Li (2020) noted that Miao peoples in Upper Langde village in Guizhou retain their rights to self-governing in tourism, and to exclude outside investors. They concluded that community-based tourism development in their case has enhanced community empowerment. As another example shows, community-based tourism in Guna, a Latin American Indigenous community, has been observed to encourage cultural revival more successfully, a positive evaluation of local culture and identity, an inclusion of local communities in the development of their own futures, and their involvement in environmental stewardship (Pereiro, 2016). The effective implementation of the CBT paradigm is acknowledged

in empowering local communities when interacting with external stakeholders. However, the internal inconsistencies that CBT may face are still a matter of concern (Iorio & Corsale, 2014). According to Iorio and Corsale (2014), most communities are complex, heterogeneous, and stratified, so that subgroups and individuals often pursue their own interest rather than the collective well-being. Meehan (2001) agreed with this viewpoint and argued that the word “community” distracts one from the “intense complexity of micro-politics that all sides are inevitably imbricated within and shaped by” (p. 61). In addition, local individuals are often impliedly consented as “primitive” peoples who do not have the necessary capital and knowledge to start and manage a bottom-up participation process, except some local elites (Jamal & Camargo, 2014).

However, concrete to the context of ethnic tourism, the characteristics of indigeneity that local ethnic individuals possess plays a significant role in reconciling such internal inconsistencies in CBT. The term of indigeneity connects closely with the interaction between nature, land, and social environment. It contains diverse dimensions of ecological knowledge, specific political rights, and cultural identification (de la Cadena & Starn, 2009; Matute, 2020; Merlan, 2009). During the generational interaction with natural environments, the worldview contained within indigeneity is that humans are an integral part of nature, which is the primary source of all life that nourishes, supports, and teaches (Ma, 2018). Land, and in general nature, have for local people a sacred quality that is not merely perceived as economic resources, but instead as the center of the universe, the core of culture, and the origin of ethnic identity (Toledo, 2001). Cultural dimensions of indigeneity refer to Indigenous knowledge that results from such close generational interactions. It is acknowledged as “an invaluable basis for developing adaptation and natural resource management strategies in response to environmental and other forms of change” (Chandler & Reid, 2018 p. 259). The representation of indigeneity in management systems is a series of socially shared rules formed by local communities in a horizontal fashion (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004). Such informal systems are different to formal authority systems that are created within a hierarchal system (Chen et al., 2017). Equality and joint governance are core

values of the informal authority systems. Local ethnic peoples spontaneously and voluntarily follow and respect these informal systems (Wang, 2020). Accordingly, self-governing consciousness and capacity commonly exist in local peoples’ characteristic of indigeneity. Different from the macropolitical sensitivity, the microtourism context provides a good space for local individuals to represent their indigeneity (Feng & Li, 2020). Agreements are therefore not difficult to reach when discussing significant issues on how to make tourism contribute to the sustainable development of local communities (e.g., Scherrer, 2020).

Distinguishing “Ethnic Minority Tourism” From “Indigenous Tourism”

The officially recognized identity of local peoples in any tourism community is the most significant difference between ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism. The former refers to tourism practices happening in a community that belongs to peoples classified as ethnic minorities while the later occurs in Indigenous Peoples’ communities. Different social identities lead to different roles in tourism practices, which therefore makes these two tourism types different. Even through, there is still no universal agreement in defining these two identities, the core characteristics of ethnic minorities and Indigenous Peoples basically arrive at a consensus.

The political status of ethnic minorities can be further divided into national minorities and non-national minorities (Marmaryan, 2010; see Table 2). The term “national minority” as one part of “ethnic minority” has two meanings. It is a peculiarly European term and created by the two world wars that swept across Europe during the 20th century (Valentine, 2004). As a result of wars borders in Europe used to change, the first meaning of “national minorities” is appearing during the new boundary that refers to “a minority community in one country constitutes the majority community in a neighboring country” (Eralp, 2010, p. 1). For example, when the Free City of Gdansk became part of Poland, Germans in Gdansk became a minority within Poland. Its meaning can also be extended due to international immigration like many ethnic Chinese around the world, or due to slave trade like

Table 2
The Political Status of Ethnic Minorities and Tourism Under Different Status

	National Minorities		
	International Immigration	Internal Immigration	Non-National Minorities
Political status	Officially recognized	Officially recognized	Not officially recognized
Tourism	Urban ethnic tourism	Ethnic minority tourism	Ethnic minority tourism
	Hybrid community	Homogeneous community	Homogeneous community
	Artificial “ethnoscape”	Living heritage	Living heritage

many African American, etc. Moreover, the second meaning of “national minorities” can also refer to “ethnic minority,” which is a selected number of those groups and communities of peoples who might legitimately lay claim to a distinctive nationality in their country (Mason, 1991). For example, in China, the central government has recognized 55 minority groups as national minorities. However ethnic minority groups like Kurds, Yazidi, Gypsies/Roma, Assyrians, and Gagauzi cannot be included into the concept of “national minority” (Marmarayan, 2010) but as non-national minorities, also as is the case with the Chuanqing group in Guizhou in China, since they have not been endowed a nationality by the state (Hasmath, 2010).

Tourism occurring in communities of the first meaning of “national minorities” is generally named “urban ethnic tourism,” like the Chinatowns and Little Italies mentioned above. Immigrant minorities in these communities are not homogeneous—there are many subgroups with different cultural practices and viewpoints (Diekmann & Smith, 2015). The most visible characteristic of these minority immigrant communities are diversified artificial “ethnoscapes” by drawing on faux designs and histories (Diekmann & Smith, 2015). Different from artificial “ethnoscapes” in such hybrid immigration communities, living heritage in communities of the second meaning of “national minorities” and “non-national minorities” generally tends to be core tourism attractions that are consistent with Indigenous tourism (see Table 2). Confusion between the understandings of ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism arise easily in this case. Therefore, the concept of “ethnic minority tourism” in this article focuses on tourism within communities of the second meaning of “national minorities” and “non-national minorities.”

“Minority” plays a very important role in understanding the concept of “ethnic minority.” According to Ariamanesh (2011), “minority” literally means little amount and a small proportion and idiomatically refers to a group of people in a country or city that is distinguished from the majority population in terms of religion or ethnicity. In addition, “minority” also implies ethnic minorities are politically weaker than the majority of the society. The political rights of ethnic minorities in international law is limited to two no-substantive rights: right to live and right of identity (Mihandoost & Babajanian, 2016). Minority autonomy right granted by the state just belongs to the part of internal self-determination without land rights (Anderson, 2017; Aukerman, 2000). The immigrant attribute, as another core characteristic of ethnic minorities, also becomes a reasonable explanation for such limited minority rights (Carr et al., 2016). It is because land rights are specifically granted to those whose ancestors have occupied the land in priority instead of migrants (Fresa, 2000). Terms such as “native” and “nativeness” are generally used to describe ethnic minorities, which is in order for those groups not to claim sovereignty, human rights, national inclusion, and environmental stewardship, to name some dimensions (Yeh, 2007).

In contrast, “minority” is not necessarily a significant characteristic of being Indigenous Peoples. As cases show, Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia are in the majority, while Indigenous Ainu in Japan are a minority (Alfred & Cornthassel, 2005; Canessa, 2018). In addition, according to Butler and Hinch (1996), “the umbrella term of Indigenous people is used to describe races of people who are endemic or native to a destination region” (p. 9) as opposed to ethnic minority communities who may inhabit an area to which they have migrated. Other

terms also in use refer to “First Peoples” or “First Nations” or “People of the Land” or “Aboriginals” or “Fourth World Peoples” (Tuhiwai, 1999). These terms commonly highlight a special identity of Indigenous Peoples whose ancestors had occupied the land prior to colonization. Indigenous rights in relation to homeland right and self-determination right are justified based on their ancestral linkages. It is possible to state that an ethnic minority exist only in relation to a majority group within a nation state, while an Indigenous group does not need any numerical evidence to be characterized as such. The historical continuity and special right are actually the major characteristics of Indigenous Peoples to distinguish them from ethnic minorities who may be migrants (Carr et al., 2016). The term of “indigeneity” is generally used to describe Indigenous Peoples, which connects closely with land and highlights specific political rights and power of local peoples (Matute, 2020).

In addition, there are some ethnic groups that may possess both of these two identities. It means Indigenous Peoples that are in minority in their societies may also belong to a particular ethnic minority group, like Ainu peoples in Hokkaido, Japan (Hiwasaki, 2000). Their self-identity can be very dynamic and complex, often fluidly interpreted with many young Indigenous Peoples defying being constrained to one particular definition that may essentialize them as “Indigenous” (Carr et al., 2016). Similarly, “ethnic minorities” who are descendants of peoples who have resided in the territory for centuries, if not millennia, before the arrival of a new majority population, may be named “Indigenous,” like the Miao peoples in Guizhou, China (Feng & Li, 2020). Therefore, the boundaries between these two identities are not completely independent but overlaps exist (Fig. 1). Such kinds of interactional relations have brought diversification to the tourism phenomenon.

According to Hinch and Butler (2007), “Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activities in which Indigenous people[s] are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction” (p. 5). Two key dimensions determine the depth of Indigenous affinity of a tourism experience, product or enterprise and are thus central considerations when assessing an Indigenous tourism business model:

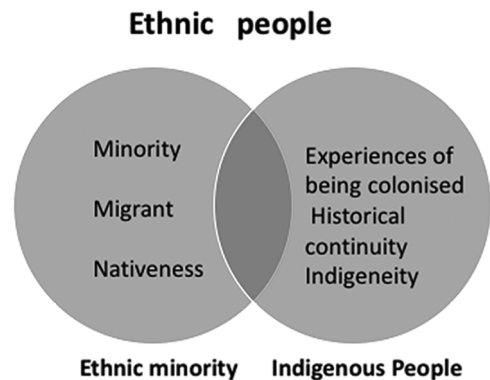


Figure 1. Distinguishing “ethnic minority” from “Indigenous People.”

the level of Indigenous control, and the depth of Indigenous (cultural) theme (Hinch & Butler, 2007). As such, direct Indigenous involvement in tourism activities in Indigenous People’s communities is essential. A primitive image of Indigenous Peoples used to be marketed as the core attractions for tourists and local peoples are required to show their primitive image in tourism practice (Fan et al., 2020). It is because Indigenous tourism used to be treated as a kind of tourist-based economy. Tourists seek to have encounters with people they perceive to be living harmoniously as an integral part of nature; the “primitive” actually offers an opportunity for tourists to escape from a contemporary world that they consider to be too modernized and globalized (Fan et al., 2020). However, shifting from the traditional focus on tourist-based economy in Indigenous tourism research, critical scholars have begun to acknowledge the agency of Indigenous hosts. Indigenous scholars continually make efforts to get recognition and assertion of their self-determination rights in tourism such as through the Larrakia Declaration in 2012 (<https://www.adventuretravelnews.com/the-larrakia-declaration-on-the-development-of-indigenous-tourism>). Furthermore, the report of Indigenous tourism and human rights in Asia and the Pacific region further complemented a detailed framework to guide tourism stakeholders to respect, protect, empower, and cooperate with Indigenous peoples (PATA & WINTA, 2015). Indigenous powers in tourism are also gaining attention globally as evident from the growing recognition of organizations such as the

World Indigenous Tourism Alliance and increasing consideration by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2017). Power in here refers to people's ability to control the resources required for tourism development—labor, capital, culture, and natural resources—and to secure personal returns from having tourism in their community (PATA & WINTA, 2015; UNWTO, 2017; <https://www.adventuretravelnews.com/the-larra-kia-declaration-on-the-development-of-indigenous-tourism>). It means that Indigenous Peoples are no longer regarded as passive recipients rather than active authors of their own fate in tourism (Fan et al., 2020). Indigenous-based tourism should be a more appropriate way to understanding Indigenous tourism at present stage. Indigenous Peoples are “authorized” to claim authenticity in tourism instead of global imaginations (Fan et al., 2020; Scherrer, 2019). As the case of the Tulalip Tribes (Indian/Native American tribes) located in Washington State (US) shows, tourism activities are tied directly to gambling. While gambling activities may neither connect with Indigenous culture nor have a positive impression because of the connection to consumerism and addiction, Tulalips acknowledge gambling activities as authentic indigenous tourism (PATA & WINTA, 2015). Tulalips have managed to create a tourism resort of high quality with strong cultural representation of their nation in many facets of the operation and infrastructure by using the considerable economic benefit from tourism.

The concept of “ethnic minority tourism” is generally interchangeable with the concept of “ethnic tourism.” However, in ethnic tourism, peoples on which the tourism activities are based are not necessarily ethnic minorities but also include other ethnic peoples like Indigenous Peoples or religious minorities to mention some. According to Klemm (2002), ethnic minority peoples are usually seen as part of tourism products, rather than as controllers like the role of Indigenous Peoples underlined in Indigenous tourism. Ethnic minorities always contribute to attracting tourists with their colorful costumes, traditional way of life, unique songs and dances, their fairs, and fascinating festivals (Yang & Wall, 2008). Such a “tourismified” definition of ethnic minorities implies the general understanding of ethnic minority tourism is still in a stage of tourist-based economy (Wang & Yotsumoto, 2018; Yang,

2011; Yang & Wall, 2008). Main aims at this stage are to promote rural development and poverty alleviation (Li et al., 2016). For example, since China's “Open Reform” policies began in 1978, tourism has been considered a development tool to alleviate poverty among ethnic minorities in China's southwest frontier (Yang, 2011). Under this understanding, it is a common phenomenon in ethnic minority tourism, a tourist version of traditional representations is created by the pressure of economic forces (Barker et al., 2006, p. 218). Many traditional ceremonies have been adapted into daily performances and many traditional crafts are replaced by mass-produced replicas by machines in order to satisfy the needs of tourists for exotica, cheapness, and convenience (Wang & Yotsumoto, 2018; Yang & Wall, 2008). A contentious issue in ethnic minority tourism that continues to disrespect stakeholders is that tourism commodifies practices and cultural interactions without consulting local peoples, eroding traditional ways of life and collective values as a result (Li et al., 2016; Wang & Yotsumoto, 2018). Although there exist voices criticizing the disadvantaged role of ethnic minorities in tourism, it is still under discussion at this stage. A mature conceptual framework to empower ethnic minorities in tourism has not been formed yet.

Different social identities not only affect the role of local peoples in tourism, but also affect the relationship between hosts and guests. The colonial and intrusive experience emphasized in Indigenous identities makes the participation of Indigenous tourism more sensitive compared with ethnic minority tourism for non-Indigenous majority tourists in a settler state. According to Travesi (2018), there exist some non-Indigenous domestic tourists who prefer to stay ignorant of Indigenous cultures in their home country. It is because that allows them to deal better with feelings of shame or guilt about their colonial history. However, this viewpoint does not exist in ethnic minority tourism so far. For domestic tourists, they generally regard ethnic minorities' culture as a symbol to satisfy their desires for nostalgia, exploration, and personal liberation (Walsh & Swain, 2004). Such sensitivities can affect the number of domestic tourists visiting ethnic communities. In practice, domestic tourists have always been the main market for ethnic minority tourism, while Indigenous tourism is

generally more attractive to international tourists than to domestic tourists (Cluff & Rigby, 2021; Song et al., 2013).

Conclusion

The present study has critically reviewed existing literature on “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” and distinguished these two concepts from the aspects of commonalities and differences.


From the selected literature, both ethnic minority tourism and indigenous tourism can be abstracted as ethnic tourism. They can be commonly understood as a form of interethnic interaction, a way of reconciliation and a model of community-based tourism. Local peoples’ role of indigeneity in tourism should be emphasized when we consider these two concepts. However, as concrete tourism events, there exist differences between ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism. The concept of “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” should also be understood to be located in a particular context. The officially recognized identity of local peoples in tourism communities is the most significant difference between ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism. The former refers to tourism practices happening in a community that belongs to ethnic minorities while the later occurs in Indigenous Peoples’ community. Different social identities lead to different roles in tourism practices, which therefore makes these two tourism types different. Just as the understanding of the concept of Indigenous tourism has changed from “tourist-based economy” to “Indigenous-based tourism,” this change is inseparable from the unremitting efforts of Indigenous Peoples for Indigenous rights and power in tourism practice. On the contrary, in the macropolitical discourse, ethnic minorities are regarded as immigrants, and the legitimacy of their land rights is denied. This limits the role of ethnic minorities’ indigeneity in tourism. Thus, the current tourism practices and understanding of ethnic minority tourism are still at the stage of “tourists-based economy.” However, there are promises that the indigeneity of ethnic minorities will be further acknowledged in tourism in the future, because some scholars and local peoples have begun to criticize the existing tourism practice and aim at empowering local ethnic minorities in tourism. In addition, different social identities

also affect the relationship between hosts and guests. The colonial and intrusive experience emphasized in Indigenous identity makes the participation of Indigenous tourism more sensitive compared with ethnic minority tourism for non-Indigenous majority tourists in a settler state. Accordingly, domestic tourists have always been the main market for ethnic minority tourism while Indigenous tourism is generally more attractive to international tourists than to domestic tourists. However, the number of domestic tourists is significant for the development of tourism sustainably, especially in the context of COVID-19 pandemic where international markets have been shut down by border restrictions. How to further reconcile the ethnic relationship through tourism is an issue that should be focused on in further research.

In addition, the existing understanding of ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism obviously does not consider ethnic reunions in tourism, which refers to peoples with the same ethnic identity returning to their hometown through tourism, or the tourism activities carried out by local ethnic peoples as tourism purchasers/tourists (see, e.g., Tan & Barkathunnisha, 2018; Wei et al., 2021). We call on more researchers to pay attention to these ethnic tourism phenomena.

Our study critically distinguishes “ethnic minority tourism” and “Indigenous tourism” from one another, focusing on the role of “ethnic minority” and “Indigenous People” in tourism. It clarifies the commonalities and differences and values of these characteristics that contribute to enhance peoples’ epistemological understanding of the two kinds of tourism phenomena. Additionally, we provide a theoretical foundation to upgrade a paradigm of “ethnic minority tourism” from “tourist-based economy” to “ethnic peoples-based tourism” inspired by the distinction created with “Indigenous tourism.”

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